

Islamic Periodicals in Late Colonial Indonesia¹

—A Picture from the *IPO*'s Lists of Vernacular Periodicals—

Yasuko KOBAYASHI

Introduction

This paper aims to present an overview of the publication of Islamic periodicals of the late colonial era in Indonesia (the Dutch East Indies at that time), based on the official Dutch government report, *Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers* (Survey of the Native and Malay-Chinese Press, *IPO*)². *IPO* was published weekly in Batavia (present Jakarta) by Volkslectuur³, a Dutch colonial institution which regulated publications and information for the native population. *IPO* provided a summary of the news in the vernacular press. *IPO* has been frequently cited in previous studies on late colonial Indonesia concerning economy, politics and society. *IPO*'s news summaries are useful as a guide to periodicals of the time, and as substitute research materials since not all periodicals of this era were collected and kept in libraries⁴.

However, it is not well-known that in *IPO* there appeared lists of native language periodicals on an irregular basis, and it provided valuable information concerning periodicals themselves of the time⁵. It seems necessary to grasp a general overview of the periodicals before tackling specific periodicals. By knowing the context of an individual periodical, we can understand its contents better and would

¹ This is a largely revised version of my Japanese article [Kobayashi 2013].

² I have used *IPO* mainly in the Koninklijk Instituut van Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies: KITLV) library, Leiden. The KITLV library materials have now become a part of the Leiden University Library. Nowadays the digitalized *IPO* can be seen at the following website. However, both collections are incomplete. [https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/results?page=1&sortfield=date&ccql%5B%5D=\(alternative+exact+%22Overzicht+van+de+Inlandsche+en+Maleisch-Chineesche+pers%22\)&coll=ds](https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/results?page=1&sortfield=date&ccql%5B%5D=(alternative+exact+%22Overzicht+van+de+Inlandsche+en+Maleisch-Chineesche+pers%22)&coll=ds)

³ To be precise, the publisher is printed as “Afdeeling Pers, Bureau voor Volkslectuur en aanverwante aangelengheden” (Press Section, Bureau for Popular Literature and related matters). Its Indonesian name is Balai Poestaka.

⁴ Perpustakaan Nasional (National Library in Jakarta) boasts a collection of these periodicals. However, complete volumes of periodicals are very rare, and those that exist are not always in good condition. In fact, several need great care when reading.

⁵ Only recently Yamamoto [2019] has published an informative work concerning the Dutch censorship policy, in which the *IPO*'s lists are used.

be more careful to treat the information obtained from that periodical.

In this paper, I will first describe the background to the publication of *IPO* to explain its function. Next, I will explain the publication of periodicals in general based on the *IPO*'s lists. Finally, I will focus on "Islamic periodicals" and present an analysis of data obtained from the *IPO*'s lists concerning this genre. The specified genre of "Islamic periodicals" means newspapers or magazines which were classified as *Mohammedaansch* (Mohammedan) in *IPO*. I will explain more in detail on this classification later in section III. This is an important resource in understanding the voice of Muslims from that era, which has yet been fully utilized.

Some explanation is needed for the languages in Indonesia. Indonesian society consists of many ethnicities, each with a different language, allegedly totaling hundreds of local languages. The national language, Indonesian, originated from old Malay, called *Melayu*. *Melayu* was originally spoken in the western part of the archipelago and used for trade and became a lingua franca in port cities throughout the archipelago. The colonial government did not use Dutch in their interactions with local people, but instead adopted the so-called Low Malay (*Melayu Pasar*) as an administrative language. Not many people spoke Malay as a daily language, rather the majority used a local language (ethnic language) such as Javanese, Acehnese, or Minangkabau. Already developing as a language of the press, the nationalist movement took Malay as a communication tool, and in the late 1920s, began to call it *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language).

During that period, *surat kabar* (*soerat kabar*)⁶ was generally used for newspapers or magazines, and *majallah* (*madjallah*) used for magazines or journals. Literally, *surat kabar* means a printed matter which delivers news on a regular schedule. However, publishing was somewhat unstable or changeable. A daily newspaper could change into a weekly publication, or a weekly magazine could be changed into a monthly publication. In this paper, I will simply use the word "periodical" for these publications⁷.

I Publication of Native Periodicals in Colonial Indonesia and *IPO*

1. A Short History of Native Periodicals

Ahmat Adam, a Malaysian historian, has traced the early development of vernacular periodicals during the colonial period in Indonesia [Ahmat 1995]. In this section, I largely rely on his detailed work to survey Indonesian vernacular periodicals in the period preceding publication of *IPO*.

Long before native periodicals appeared, Dutch newspapers were published in Java. The first of these appeared in 1820, after the interim British administration (1811–1816), and addressed a mainly

⁶ The spellings of several Indonesian words were changed in early 1970's. In this paper, I will use the present spelling, and only show the original spelling in parentheses.

⁷ As the title shows, *IPO* uses *pers* (press), whereas the list includes *periodiek* (periodical) and *blad* (newspaper, magazine or journal).

European, Eurasian⁸ and Chinese readership. In 1856, the colonial government issued publishing regulations in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Acts of the Netherlands Indies, Stb.N.I.) 1856 No. 4 (Press Law). This regulation aimed to prevent newspapers from criticizing the colonial government⁹, and it provided standards for publication.

The first vernacular periodical was a Javanese weekly, *Bramartani* (The Messenger), published in Surakarta (Solo) in 1855 by a Eurasian editor¹⁰. Surakarta and the neighboring Yogyakarta were the cultural and political heartland of Java, and consisted of special administrative districts known as *vorstenlanden* (princely states). In these areas, royal families descended from the late Mataram Kingdom governed under the strict supervision of Dutch officials. In addition to being a center of Javanese culture, Surakarta was also a place of burgeoning modern western education. Literature and other reading materials for the students were needed. Mangkunegara IV (1853–1881), who was famous as a cultural leader, supported the publication of *Bramartani*. The wide range of information and current topics attracted a decent readership [Ahmat 1995, 16–19] [Ricklefs 2007, Chap. 6, 7].

Following *Bramartani*, a few periodicals were published sporadically in various places. Some were oriented towards culture or commerce, and others were tied closely to the Christian missions. In either case, the primary readership was Chinese and Javanese *priyayi* (*prijaji*: aristocrats, government officials)¹¹. Surakarta and Yogyakarta were the centers of Javanese language publication, while Malay language newspapers were published in Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya, which were commercial cities on the northern coast of Java [Ahmat 1995, Chap.2]. Initially these publications were edited by Eurasians, but later Chinese also participated in editorial work and management.

In the beginning of the 20th century a new Dutch colonial policy, the so-called *Etische Politiek* (Ethical Policy) became dominant, and one of its pillars was to develop modern education for native people. It was expected the literacy rate would increase steadily¹². Reflecting the new liberal trend, the colonial government relaxed the Press Law of 1856 by introducing Stbl N.I. 1906, No. 270. The Press law was revised, and censorship of the pre-publication system was replaced by the post-

⁸ A Eurasian is a person of mixed Asian and European ancestry, and usually was usually called *Indo* in Indonesian.

⁹ From 1830 to 1870, the Dutch colonial government followed a policy which required a portion of agricultural production to be devoted to export crops (indigo, coffee, sugar, etc.), *Cultuurstelsel* (Cultivation System). This policy imposed heavy obligations on peasants, and caused social transformation in Java. Later this system was called *Tanam Paksa* (Enforced Planting) in Indonesian.

¹⁰ Literally, "bra" means everywhere, and "martani" means giving news. Ahmat has said that the last issue of *Bramartani* appeared on December 3, 1856, and in 1871 a new periodical of the same name appeared [Ahmat 1995, 19]. However, Ricklefs has pointed out that Ahmat is wrong on this respect. According to Ricklefs, *Bramartani* only changed its name into *Jurumartani* (News Expert) so they were the same newspapers. Later *Jurumartani* changed again to *Bramaratani* [Ricklefs 2007, 130–131].

¹¹ *Priyayi* were supporters of Javanese culture, and at the same time they were also cultural brokers. Swift response to foreign culture such as publication showed that royal families and *priyayi* paid attention to these developments.

¹² In this context, "literacy" means literacy in a Latin alphabetical script. On Java, Javanese and Arabic scripts were also used in written books before the western education prevailed.

Table 1 Vernacular Newspapers and Periodicals Published between 1855–1913

Period	Number of Periodicals						Total
	Batavia	Surakarta	Semarang	Surabaya	Padang	Other cities	
1855–1875	6	4	1	3	2	2*	18
1875–1900	8	2	6	5	5	14**	40
1900–1913	31***	9	11	5	17	40	123

Source: The data of Ahmat [1995, 184–190] edited by the author.

*Including one from Rotterdam.

**Including one from Amsterdam.

***Including two from Weltevreden (the present Central Jakarta area)

publication system. However, it was not until 1903 that the first *pribumi* (*priboemi*: native)¹³ editor, Tirtoadisoerjo (1880–1918) published a weekly newspaper *Soenda Berita* (Sunda News)¹⁴ in Cianjur, West Java.

Ahmat presented lists of vernacular newspapers and periodicals at the end of his book, dividing publications into three periods. From these lists, it is clear that publishing was most active in five cities. In addition to this, between 1900 and 1913, Bandung and Buitenzorg (present Bogor) emerged as the 3rd and the 5th publishing city respectively. Among these cities, only Padang was located outside of Java, in West Sumatra. This area is known to have been a pioneering place of Muslim reformism and also to have produced great nationalist leaders before independence. In this way, vernacular periodicals developed from the middle of the 19th century up to the beginning of the 20th century. However, many periodicals were rather short-lived.

The language used for these periodicals was predominantly Malay both in Java and the Outer Islands. One of the reasons was that early editors were Eurasians or Chinese who preferred to use Malay, which was not identified exclusively with specified ethnicities. Ahmat concluded that Malay was established as a communication language through the development of vernacular press, which promoted “a modern Indonesian consciousness” [Ahmat 1995, Chapt. 5].

However, Surakarta where Javanese publication continued, merits special attention. *Bramartani* was one of the very rare publications which continued quite a long time, until 1932, although it experienced temporary discontinuance and name changes. During the years from 1900 up to and including 1913, six more Javanese periodicals and two more Malay-Chinese periodicals also began to be published in the city in this period [Ahmat 1995, 188–189]. Surakarta showed persistence in using Javanese as well as cultural abundance, but its enthusiasm for publishing was also noteworthy.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked the dawn of a new era. Modern organizations appeared and they appealed to society to support their own interests. Early organizers were Europeans, Eurasians, Chinese and Arabs; later, *pribumi* took the initiative to develop their own

¹³ *Pribumi* means inhabitants whose ancestry is Malay. Before independence, the word *bumiputra* (*boemipoetra*) was more used, however here I used the word *pribumi* in order to avoid intricacy.

¹⁴ Sunda means the West Java area which is inhabited by Sundanese.

movements. Usually each organization published an organ for reporting its activities to members. *Pribumi* journalists also emerged and influenced the movements.

The above mentioned Tirtoadisoerjo was a member of the first Javanese association, Boedi Oetomo (Superior Endeavour), and later set up a native Muslim merchant society, Sarekat Dagang Islam (Commercial Association of Islam, later Sarekat Islam: Association of Islam), which soon attracted a native mass following and developed rapidly. His second periodical, *Medan Prijaji* (Priyayi Forum) presented information on politics, and he also worked on a women's magazine *Poetri Hindia* (Indies Women) whose readership was primarily the wives and relatives of the higher *priyayi* and also Chinese [Ahmat 1995: 112–113]. Marco Kartodikromo (1890–1932), who once worked at *Medan Prijaji*, later moved to Surakarta where he became the editor of an organ of the Sarekat Islam. He became known as a militant journalist, and established Inlandsche Journalisten Bond (League of Native Journalists) in Surakarta in 1914 [Shiraishi 1990, 82].

Ahmat saw the emergence of Sarekat Islam's organs in the major Java cities¹⁵ in 1913 as a turning point in the history of vernacular journalism. *Medan Prijaji* concentrated on *priyayi*'s performance problems while Sarekat Islam organs went directly to issues affecting the general welfare of the little people, and the criticisms were more fundamental [Ahmat 1995, 171–172]. The development of native periodicals went into a new phase.

2. IPO

The new colonial policy was designed with the hope that the more educated native population would associate with the Dutch colonial government. They were expected to fulfill the needs of the expanded administration. At first the rapid growth of Sarekat Islam was seen as “awakened consciousness” of the natives by proponents of the Ethical Policy. However, it soon began to cause serious concern for the Dutch authorities since it may have opened the gate to manifest social unrest. Faced with these challenges, the Dutch colonial government responded severely to journalists that criticized the government while at the same time monitoring the press became an urgent task.

Initially, summaries of news articles which appeared in vernacular language newspapers were printed in the *Persoverzicht* (Media Survey) section of the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Journal) published in the Hague by Vereeniging van Ambtenaren bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië (Association of Officials of the Interior Administration in the Netherlands Indies), a journal for Dutch officials. In its first volume, it was mentioned that the Association had asked for news summaries from the native and Chinese press [*Koloniaal Tijdschrift* Jan. 1912, 89]. The reports consisted of three sections, *de Inlandsche Pers* (the native press), *de Chineesche Pers* (the Chinese Press) and *de Javaansche Pers* (the Javanese Press). News from about two months earlier was reported there. It can be said that *Persoverzicht* picked up topics which attended to Dutch officials' matters of concern, and seemingly politics and the economy made up the majority of summarized articles. After 1920, *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* did not contain *Persoverzicht* any longer.

¹⁵ *Oetoesan Hindia* (Indies Courier) in Surabaya, *Hindia Serikat* (Indies Society) in Bandung, and *Pantjaran Warta* (News Broadcasting) in Batavia.

Yamamoto has detailed how the press survey of *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* was terminated and new press survey report, *IPO*, was born. D.A. Rinkes, Adjunct-adviseur voor inlandsche zaken (adjunct adviser for native affairs), advocated for a regular survey of the native press since 1912. He was frustrated with the kind of survey published in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, and he wrote to Governor-General Idenburg urging creation of a regular representative press abstract. Rinkes's detailed report concerning Sarekat Islam seemed to be persuading for Idenburg to accept his advice. In 1916, the monthly summary of the indigenous press "Overzicht der Inlandsche Pers" (Survey of the Native Press) began to be compiled by the Bureau for Native Affairs. In 1917 Rinkes became the first director of Volkslectuur, where he guided "cultural projects"¹⁶ and press monitoring [Yamamoto 2019, 62–78].

I have not located the precise time *IPO* began to be published. According to KILTV Collection catalogue, it is written as "1917? –1940". I have found older reports in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta. The oldest one is *Overzicht van Inlandsche Pers* (Survey of Native Press) No. 18 of 1916, which covered the periodicals of around the end of November and December of the year 1916. This report was written by Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken (Bureau for Native Affairs). It was a typewritten report consisting of 16 or more pages and produced weekly. Probably sometime in 1917 the task was transferred to Volkslectuur from Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken. In November 1920 (No. 43) its name was changed to *Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers* and was switched from typewritten publication to printing press publication. The last issue of *IPO* was No. 42 of 1940 (edited on 19 Oct. 1940), a half year after the German occupation of the Netherlands.

IPO was initiated by the Dutch government just around the time when Sarekat Islam was growing rapidly, and was becoming a threat to *rust en orde* (peace and order) of the Dutch colonial regime. In July 1919 the Afdeeling B (Section B) Affair happened in Garut, West Java¹⁷ and the government's apprehension became a reality. Volkslectuur published another press monitoring report in addition to *IPO* which became public; that is *Algemeen Overzicht van de Inlandsche Pers* (General Survey of the Native Press, *Algemeen*). It was classified and circulated only among high government officials [Yamamoto 2019, 76]. *Algemeen* provided a brief explanation and was more concise than *IPO*. From this confidential report, it can be said that the colonial government wanted to grasp the following: what was going on in native society, what were becoming hot topics, and who was leading the public opinion. Probably these concerns inform the background from which *IPO* emerged. The government was ready to regulate the press if such criticism in the press might influence society and disturb the colonial order. The colonial government paid extra attention to watching the press¹⁸.

¹⁶ Volkslectuur was intended to deal with all kinds of printed matters. It played an important role in guiding "good reading" by publishing books and periodicals for native people who benefited from modern education.

¹⁷ A minor religious teacher was shot and killed after he refused the assistant resident's demands for the delivery of rice. At that time the local government was investigating the existence of a clandestine section of Sarekat Islam with "subversive" purposes [Shiraishi 1990, 113].

¹⁸ As for the Chinese press, there were also two survey reports, one was standard and the other was confidential. So, there were altogether four kinds of press surveys [Yamamoto 2019, 77].

II Overview of periodicals from *IPO*

1. List of Periodicals

The lists of periodicals appeared irregularly in *IPO*, 30 times between 1918 and 1937. The lists were attached as *Bijlage* (Appendix) to certain issues. From 1918 until 1925 the lists were without dates, so in these cases I have just written the editing date of that issue in a bracket (See table 3, p. 105).

Apart from these lists, on the last page of the issue No. 20 1924, there was a graph “Wat de Afdeeling Pers van het Bureau voor de Volkslectuur e.a.a. te verwerken kreeg aan Inlandsche en Maleisch en-Chineesche periodieken (What the press section of the Bureau for Popular Literature. obtained to summarize Native and Malay-Chinese Periodicals)” which showed the total number of periodicals from 1916 until 1923 (see ① in Table 2). In Table 2 ② shows the total number of periodicals from the *IPO*'s lists. The lists were often included twice or three times in a year. I have used the last list of each year. Another government report, *Indisch Verslag* (Netherlands Indian Report) also provided information on periodical publishing from 1925 until 1939. Table 2 presents these figures (See ③ in Table 2).

The figures are somewhat different despite being compiled in the same year. In 1923, the figures from ① and ② became very close. This means calculation became reliable from around this time¹⁹.

Table 2 Total of Periodicals

Year	①	②	③	Year	②	③
1916	6			1928	203	228
1917	22			1929	241	237
1918	35	65		1930	237	269
1919	40	59		1931	242	264
1920	75	65		1932		285
1921	107	72		1933	280	261
1922	131	107		1934	287	458
1923	140	139		1935	424	457
1924		145		1936		459
1925		191	211	1937	470	449
1926		166	197	1938		559
1927		168	196	1939		641

Source: ① *IPO* Graph (See discussion above. This graph only indicates the total number of publications.)

② Lists of Periodicals in *IPO* (1918–1937).

③ Data obtained from *Indisch Verslag* (1925–1940), edited by the author.

¹⁹ I have excluded periodicals from overseas, which were shown in the *IPO*'s lists of 1918, 1919 and 1920, and these

This difference might have been caused by the difference of the compiling date. As is shown in table 7 (see p.113), a few periodicals disappeared and reappeared probably because the editors might not have had a collection of all publications from a particular year. Figures from ② and ③ do not differ much, except for in 1934. *Indisch Verslag* used plural resources besides the reports of Volkslectuur.

The accuracy of the numbers is difficult to guarantee. In fact, the data concerning *Pers* is admitted as incomplete in *Indisch Verslag*. However, it can be said that the rough image is shown. It is clear that the number of periodicals increased more than seven-fold during 1918–1937. In 1931 the colonial government issued a new law (Stbl.N.I, 1931 No. 394) to regulate press more strictly by an administrative measure²⁰. Nevertheless, this new regulation did not hamper development of native periodicals. Periodical publishing flourished especially in the latter half of the 1930s.

2. Classification

The *IPO*'s lists provide general information concerning the publishing of native periodicals: *namen* (names), *taal* (language), *redactie* (editor), *plaats van uitgifte* (place of publication), *verschijndagen* (publication interval) and *richting* (trend). The lists divide periodicals according to their own criteria, probably based on some factors such as editors and political situation. However, its classification was somewhat fragile, so minor or major changes were made repeatedly for propriety.

The lists of 1918, 1919 and 1920 utilized the following classification. The Dutch word *bladen* means newspapers, magazines, and journals.

- A. Maleische Bladen op Java (Malay Newspapers in Java)
- B. Bladen der Buitenbezittingen (Malay Newspapers in the Outer Islands)
- C. Javaansche Bladen (Javanese Newspapers)
- D. Extremistische Bladen (Extremist Newspapers)
- E. Nationalistische Bladen (Nationalistic Newspapers)
- F. Godsdienstige Bladen (Religious Newspapers)
- G. Vrouwenbeweging (Women's Movement)
- H. Minahasa Bladen (Minahasa Newspapers)²¹
- I. Neutrale Bladen (Neutral Newspapers)
- J. Vak- en Vakverenigingsbladen (Profession and Trade Union Newspapers)
- K. Arabische en Buitenlandsche Bladen (Arabic and Overseas Newspapers)

might be included in the *IPO* graph. So, it might have some bearing on these figures. As for ③ *Indisch Verslag*, the statistics table of *Pers* show three categories, daily newspapers, weekly and two-weekly papers, and monthly or other papers. Furthermore, it is also classified according to the publication languages: European (Dutch), Native, Malay Chinese (Malay by Chinese), Chinese and Arabic. In this table I have excluded European publications, and totaled the number of the other four language publications. However, there were Dutch periodicals published by the natives such as *Het Licht* (The Light) although they were very few. It might cause a difference between ② and ③.

²⁰ Concerning this new regulation and its application, see Yamamoto [2019, Chapt.7] .

²¹ Minahasa is the northern peninsular of Sulawesi (Celebes), and the area was Christianized and affected by European culture earlier in the colonial time.

L. Chineesch Maleische Bladen (Chinese-Malay Newspapers)

Partly, the classification utilized the publication language, a remnant of the *Persoverzicht* in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, although language alone was not enough to judge the character of periodicals. In 1918 comments on the tendency of the periodicals were mentioned partly and not so clear. However, in 1919 and 1920 it seemed to differentiate the tendencies of the periodicals. In 1919, 18 out of 40 periodicals were classified as extremist or mentioned as radical, while in 1920, the ratio decreased slightly to 16 out of 75. These periodicals were published by Sarekat Islam, ISDV²² or Insulinde²³ which were judged to be dangerous by the government.

However, this classification was rather irregular and not so useful, and in 1921, the classification system was changed and became more neutral:

- A. Nieuwsbladen op Java (Newspapers in Java)
- B. Nieuwsbladen op de Buitenbezittingen (Newspapers in the Outer Islands)
- C. Inlandsche Periodieken op Java (Native Periodicals on Java)
- D. Inl. Periodieken op de Buitenbezittingen (Native Periodicals in the Outer Islands)
- E. Godsdienstige Bladen (Religious Newspapers)
- F. Vrouwenbeweging (Women's Movement)²⁴
- G. Vak- en Vakverenigingsbladen (Profession and Trade Union Newspapers)
- H. Arabische Bladen (Arabic Newspapers)
- I. Chineesch-Maleische Bladen (Chinese-Malay Newspapers)
- J. Japansch-Maleische Bladen (Japanese-Malay Newspapers)²⁵
- K. In Nederland en Elders Verschijnende Bladen (Newspapers Appeared in the Netherlands and Elsewhere)²⁶

In 1926, Godsdienstbladen were moved to the front, probably because they were considered especially important. Additionally, the remarks column *richting* was replaced by a more moderate word, *aard* (character) in 1927. In 1930, the classification changed again:

- A. Godsdienstige Bladen (Religious Newspapers)
- B. Jeugdbladen (Youth Newspapers)

²² Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (Indies Social Democratic Association), which was the predecessor of the Indonesian Communist Party.

²³ Insulinde was established by Eurasians in 1907. Some members of Insulinde then established Indische Partij (the Indies Party), which was rather vocal but very short-lived, September 1912–March 1913. After the Indische Partij disbanded, its main leaders returned to Insulinde. Insulinde never found mass support, however, the colonial administration was still concerned.

²⁴ This category disappeared in 1922.

²⁵ This category appeared from the last list of the year 1925.

²⁶ This category appeared from the latter half of the year 1924 until the year 1931.

- C. Vrouwenbladen (Women's Newspapers)
- D. Vak- en Vakverenigingsbladen (Profession and Trade Union Newspapers)
- E. Nieuwsbladen en Periodieken in de Buitengewesten (Newspapers and Periodicals in the Outer Islands)
- F. Nieuwsbladen en Periodieken op Java en Madoera (Newspapers and Periodicals on Java and Madura)
- G. Arabisch-Maleische Bladen (Arabic-Malay Newspapers)
- H. Japansch-Maleische Bladen (Japanese-Malay Newspapers)
- I. Chineesch-Maleische Bladen (Chinese-Malay Newspapers)

The appearance of a new item "Jeugdbladen" and the reappearance of "Vrouwenbladen" mean those kinds of publication had increased rapidly in number or in importance. Until 1929 these periodicals were classified in Nieuwsbladen and Periodieken. Nieuwsbladen and Periodieken were also merged into one item, probably they were difficult to differentiate. Furthermore, the remarks column changed again from *aard* into *bijzonderheden* (details) in 1930. There the names of publishers were recorded instead of labelling them "neutral", "liberal" and "radical". This change means a more neutral attitude in judging the character of the periodicals.

3. General Trend

I have modified the classification of the lists 1918–1929 with that of 1930–1937. See Table 3. As already mentioned before, periodicals increased more than seven-fold. Publishing increased particularly in the last ten years. In this period, *pribumi* periodicals (A)~(F) increased rapidly, while Chinese-Malay periodicals increased a little. However, when figures are considered more closely, we find that only 54 periodicals out of 237 (1930) can be found in 1937, so many of the periodicals were rather short-lived. Looking deeper into this problem, among these 54 periodicals, 41 were *pribumi* and 13 were Chinese-Malay. It means that one thirds, 33 percent of Chinese-Malay periodicals survived while one fifth, about 20 percent of *pribumi* periodicals survived. It is obvious that Chinese-Malay periodicals survived longer than those published by *pribumi*, and this suggests that the former were better supported financially. Additionally, compared to Java, periodicals developed a bit more slowly in the Outer Islands.

4. Languages and Publication Places

Usually periodicals were published only in one language, but some were in two or three languages. As mentioned above, the present national language, Indonesian, originated from old Malay. In 1928, Malay was acknowledged as the national language at the second Indonesian Youth Conference, and it became to be called *Bahasa Indonesia*. Nowadays this language is used all over Indonesia while local languages (ethnic languages) are still used in everyday life. Ahmat [1995] has surveyed the period from the middle of the nineteenth century until the early 1910s and has concluded that the use of Malay language in periodicals contributed much to the awakening of Indonesian nationalism. For comparative purposes, I selected three years, 1923, 1930 and 1937, seven years apart. See table 4.

Table 3 Number of Periodicals

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	total
1918 [n.d.]	5 (4)		4(2)	6 (5)	11	(30)	(1)		8 (6)	65 (44)
1919 [6.21]	3 (2)		5(2)	10 (8)	11	(29)	(1)			59 (40)
1920 [1.31]	4 (2)		5(2)	10 (8)	14	(27)	(1)		8 (6)	69 (40)
1920 [9.11]	4 (2)		3(1)	11 (9)	13	(25)	(1)		8 (6)	65 (44)
1921 [5.14]	5 (2)		1(0)	13(11)	16	(26)	(3)		8 (6)	72 (48)
1922 [8.26]	7 (5)			14(11)	25	(41)	(3)		17(13)	107 (73)
1923 [2.3]	12 (9)			20(20)	29	(51)	(3)		16(13)	131 (96)
1923 [7.28]	14 (5)			20(20)	32	(58)	(4)		15(11)	143 (98)
1923 [10.20]	15 (6)			20(19)	32	(53)	(3)		16(12)	139 (93)
1924 [4.17]	15 (7)			20(19)	39	(60)	(3)		19(14)	156(103)
1924 [7.12]	19 (9)			20(20)	36	(48)	(2)		17(13)	142 (92)
1924 [10.25]	19 (9)			19(19)*	37	(51)			19(14)	145 (97)
1925 [n.d.]	19 (9)			21(21)	39	(59)		(1)	22(15)	154(105)
1925 [4.18]	21(11)			23(22)	44	(64)		(1)	24(18)	177(116)
1925 [8.29]	25(14)			26(24)	45	(60)		(1)	27(18)	184(117)
1925 [12.12]	25(14)			26(24)	47	(61)	(2)	(1)	29(20)	191(122)
1926.5.29	28(17)			25(23)	47	(51)	(2)	(1)	31(21)	185(115)
1926.9.4	31(19)			17(15)	39	(50)	(1)	(1)	27(20)	166(106)
1927.3.12	31(22)			15(13)	36	(51)	(2)	(1)	32(20)	168(109)
1928.4.7	38(27)			30(19)	35	54	(5)	(1)	40(25)	203(131)
1929.9.7	46(34)			33(24)	38	(77)	(7)	(2)	38(29)	241(173)
1930.9.15	42(31)	19(13)	7(5)	45(32)	33	(48)	(3)	(1)	39(30)	237(163)
1931.3.14	46(32)	24(16)	7(5)	48(31)	36	(51)	(6)	(1)	42(33)	261(175)
1931.6.20	45(31)	24(18)	7(5)	50(34)	32	(57)	(6)	(1)	36(27)	258(179)
1931.9.30	42(28)	24(18)	8(5)	53(36)	24	(53)	(6)	(1)	31(23)	242(170)
1933.1.7	41(23)	19(16)	8(7)	44(32)	39	(71)	(2)		28(22)	252(173)
1933.3.31	51(27)	26(20)	9(7)	45(33)	38	(80)	(2)		29(23)	280(192)
1934.3.3	48(29)	26(20)	9(7)	49(38)	33	(88)	(3)		31(24)	287(209)
1935.7.13	94(63)	43(33)	11(9)	64(52)	53	(116)	(1)	(1)	41(32)	424(307)
1937.8.16	113(71)	40(31)	12(9)	62(49)	58	(140)	(2)	(1)	42(33)	470(336)

• Figures in [] indicate the editing the issue of date of *IPO*.

• Figures in () indicate the number of periodicals published in Java.

Source: Made from *IPO* (1918–1937) by the author.

* The publishing place of one periodical is not printed, but it is probably Weltevreden (Batavia).

Table 4 Publication Languages of Periodicals

Publication Languages	Number of Periodicals		
	1923 [10.20]	1930.9.15	1937.8.16
Malay	103	151	306
Javanese (Middle and East Java)	13	25	69
Sundanese (West Java)	6	6	27
Madurese (Madura, East Java)	1	1	1
Batak (North Sumatra)	2	6	3
Minangkabau (West Sumatra)	0	0	1
Dayak (West and Middle Kalimantan)	0	1	1
Buginese (South Sulawesi)	0	1	1
Arabic (Arab Inhabitants)	3	2	0
Dutch	2	9	21
Javanese and Malay	4	9	9
Javanese, Malay and Dutch	1	0	2
Javanese, Sundanese and Malay	1	0	0
Javanese and Sundanese	1	0	0
Sundanese and Malay	0	1	1
Balinese and Malay	0	0	2
Batak and Malay	1	2	5
Batak and Dutch	0	1	1
Torajan (Middle Sulawesi) and Malay	0	0	1
Malay and Dutch	1	22	16
Malay and English	1	0	0
Multi-languages	1	0	2
Malay and Chinese	0	0	1
Total	139	237	470
Malay only	103 (74.1%)	151 (63.7%)	306 (65.1%)
Combination of Malay with other languages	10 (7.2%)	34 (14.3%)	39 (8.3%)
Javanese only	13 (9.4%)	25 (10.5%)	69 (14.7%)
Combination of Javanese with other languages	7 (5.0%)	10 (4.2%)	11 (2.3%)
Sundanese only	6 (4.3%)	6 (2.5%)	27 (5.7%)
Combination of Sundanese with other languages	3 (2.2%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.2%)

Source: Made from *IPO* (1923, 1930, 1937) by the author.

Obviously, the Malay language was predominantly used in periodicals. Some ten percent of periodicals were published in a combination of Malay and other languages probably because of convenience. However, periodicals utilizing two local languages also increased rapidly, namely Javanese and Sundanese. On the other hand, in the Outer Islands, local languages were rarely used in periodicals. The Outer Islands might have become closer to Java through Malay periodicals, while local languages were very resilient in Java. In 1937, Javanese language periodicals accounted for 17.0%, or 1/6 of the total, while Malay language periodicals accounted for 73.4%, or 3/4 of the total, a slight decrease compared to 1923 and 1930. The total number of Malay periodicals increased almost three times, however, local languages such as Javanese and Sundanese showed resilience. Therefore, it is not so easy to say that communication between Java and the Outer Islands was developing as Ahmat had suggested.

It may be necessary to also examine places of publication to address this problem. According to my own count, total publication places were 37 in 1923, 54 in 1930 and 84 in 1937. *Indisch Verslag* shows the publishing places not by city level but only provincial level from 1925 to 1939. It is rather reasonable since there were also publishing places in the vicinities of the big cities. Therefore, I have counted the publishing places on provincial level, as is shown in Table 5. Batavia always came to the top, followed by Surakarta, Surabaya and Yogyakarta²⁷.

Concerning the individual cities, several middle-size cities emerged as publication centers for periodicals. In Java, the two old capitals, Surakarta and Yogyakarta emerged as publication cities. These two old cities were not so big, nor economically important like Surabaya or Batavia. However,

Table 5 Major Places of Publication

Province* (major cities)	Number of Periodicals		
	1923 [10.20]	1930.9.15	1937.8.16
Batavia	24	42	57
Priangan (Bandung, Cianjur, Garut, Tasikmalaya)	12	15	46
Semarang (Semarang)	12	11	25
Yogyakarta	13	21	44
Surakarta	8	26	60
Surabaya (Surabaya)	8	26	35
Westcoast Sumatra (Padang, Bukittinggi, Solok)	23	12	17
Eastcoast Sumatra (Medan, Baligie)	11	11	18
Menado (Menado, Tomohon)	3	10	18

Source: Made from *IPO* (1923, 1930 and 1937) by the author.

*Following the administrative divisions mainly in 1930's.

²⁷ *Indisch Verslag* (1925–1939) also show the similar image.

they were culturally rich. It seems that as centers of Javanese culture, their intellectual traditions became the base for developing modern culture. In 1937, 80 periodicals were published in Javanese or a combination of Javanese and other languages. 34 of these periodicals were published in Surakarta and 18 in Yogyakarta. A slight difference can be seen between these two cities. In Surakarta, more than a half of the periodicals produced were in Javanese, while in Yogyakarta, more Malay language periodicals were published than Javanese periodicals. During the 1930s, Yogyakarta was changing into an education city which attracted students from various areas, and thus Malay was needed more.

As for the Outer Islands, the former publication center of Padang did not develop as further as other cities, while Medan emerged as a lively publishing center. Medan grew rapidly from the latter half of the nineteenth century as rubber, tobacco, tea and palm oil plantations flourished in surrounding areas. Government institutions and enterprises were established, and both Chinese migrant workers and Javanese workers through the transmigration policy, flowed into this area. Medan grew into a multi-ethnic city, and it became the fourth largest city in the Dutch East Indies. Medan had a large amount of capital and published major periodicals, among others *Pewartu Deli* (Deli Herald). This publication started in 1910 and continued until 1941, and was an influential newspaper read nation-wide. Besides this one, there was another factor in North (Eastcoast) Sumatra which made publishing activities flourish, the Christian missions. Protestant churches developed around the lake Toba area, and actively published in smaller cities. In Menado (North Sulawesi) too, Christian missions actively published. Similarly, in Java, smaller cities began publishing.

What brought about the flourishing of periodicals? The reasons seem to be complex. The literacy rate might have risen²⁸, communication tools developed and various organizations emerged. Especially, the native movements of the time promoted publishing culture.

As seen from the lists, publishing culture was more developed in Java, and in this sense the gap between Java and the Outer Islands could be seen. On the other hand, nation-wide periodicals emerged in Java and also in North Sumatra, and they were expected to provide a bridge between Java and the Outer Islands.

III Islamic periodicals

1. The Development of Islamic periodicals

Now let us focus on Islamic periodicals. Presently Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world. The majority of the population are Muslims, although other religions have prevailed

²⁸ According to *Indisch Verslag*, the literacy (Latin script) of the native population of the year 1920 was 11.75% for male and 3.10% for female in the whole Dutch East Indies, while the literacy rate in Java was 6.52% for male and 0.46% for female [*Indisch Verslag* 1929, 104]. The figures are rather dubious because in Java modern schooling was not less prevalent than in other areas. The 1930 census showed just numbers, not percentage [*Indisch Verslag* 1935, 97]. What we can say from this data is only that literate population was increasing in number, and that female literacy was far less than male literacy.

sporadically in specific regions²⁹. What is complex is that in these years not all Muslims were actively practicing their religion, and western-educated Muslims' thinking was rather secular and not so influenced by the religion Islam. The modern elite went ahead in modern sectors including education, organized movements, and publishing. "Islam oriented" Muslims came later and became involved in these sectors. In the early 1920s they began to express their identity or "Islam-ness" in the movements and publishing.

Here I define "Islamic periodical" as having one of the following points:

- 1) Classified as a religious periodical in *IPO* and recorded as *Moh (Mohammadaansch, Mohammedan)* in the column of remarks.
- 2) Indicating Islamic orientation by its name or by its publisher, although classified as non-religious.
- 3) Published in Arabic.

I have classified a part of the periodicals as "Islamic" according to information concerning the publishing institution. Therefore, a periodical is judged to be "Islamic" if it is published by a Muslim association/organization or if they carry a clearly Islamic name. In fact, almost all "Islamic" periodicals have Islamic names which are borrowed from Arabic. In the lists, sometimes periodicals classified in "non-religious" were moved to the "religious" category. It seemed judgment depended on the editors of *IPO*. Probably the difference between "religious" and "non-religious" was rather ambiguous for outsiders.

Concerning the periodicals published by Sarekat Islam, the problem is rather complicated. This association started as a mass organization to seek the improvement of *pribumi* people, and comprised heterogeneous elements of the society from *priyayi* elite to ordinary people. The character varied depending on the region. The central board published an organ while local branches also had their own organs. In late 1910s there was a schism in the body of Sarekat Islam, and it became divided into two factions. The central board became Islam oriented, and the Semarang faction consisted of ISDV (the later Indonesian Communist Party) members. In the years 1923–1924 Communism oriented members were ousted from Sarekat Islam. Therefore, I have counted only the periodicals of non-ISDV factions as Islamic periodicals. In cases both of "Communism" and "Mohammedanism" are printed, these are judged as published by communist influenced factions. So, I have not included them in Islamic periodicals.

The word *Islamietische bladen* (Islamic Newspapers) was found in the above mentioned confidential report [*Algemeen* Des. 1922, 3]. Also, the term "soerat kabar Islam" (Islamic newspaper/magazine) was used in a certain native periodical of the time. In an issue of *Bintang Islam* (The Star of Islam)³⁰ February 1926, there is a report concerning the government's prohibition of an Islamic event. It was reported that this problem became a significant public issue as following: "Soerat-soerat kabar Djawa, Islam, Tiong Hoa dan djoega soerat kabar poetih poen tak berhenti membitjarakannya." (Javanese,

²⁹ According to national census of 2010 (Badan Pusat Statistik: Statistics Indonesia), Islam 87.2%, Protestantism 7.0%, Catholicism 2.9%, Hinduism 1.7%, Buddhism 0.7%, Confucianism 0.1% and others 0.5%. <https://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=320&wid=0>

³⁰ This was published initiatively in Surakarta and later in Yogyakarta.

Islamic, Chinese as well as white newspapers talk about this problem endlessly³¹ [*Bintang Islam* Vol. IV No. 4 1926, 62]. From this sentence we can conjecture that the nature of “Islamic periodicals” was recognized by Muslims themselves and that Islamic periodicals was considered as one genre in this time.

As for the contents, I have not been yet able to step in further. I have obtained just a rough impression that Islamic periodicals provided basic knowledge of Islam, and also information on contemporary affairs as with non-religious periodicals. However, the proportion of Islam-related contents was varied diversely depending on each periodical. Some provided only religious knowledge, while others provided more information on secular matters than religious ones. In addition to this, as the time went on, Islamic periodicals became more similar to other non-religious ones, that is, the contemporary affairs occupied a bigger portion. It remains as an assignment to analyze whether some different viewpoints can be found between Islamic periodicals and other ones on contemporary issues.

Table 6 Publication of Islamic Periodicals: Languages and Major Place of Publications

Date of Publication	Number of I.P. (Java)	Publication Languages							Major Places Publication and Number of Islamic Periodicals
		J	JM	S	Md	MI	A	N	
1918 [n.d.]	10(8)	3				6	1		Surabaya 4, Solo 2
1919 [6.21]	11(8)	2				8*	1		Surabaya 2, Solo 2
1920 [1.31]	11(6)	2				8*	1		Surabaya 2, Solo 2
1920 [9.11]	12(6)	2				9*	1		Surabaya 2, Solo 2,
1921 [5.14]	14(9)	2				9*	3		Surabaya 4, Solo 2, Sibolga 2
1922 [8.26]	14(12)	2	2			7	3		Solo 3, Kediri 3, Batavia 2
1923 [2.3]	24(16)	5	2			14	3		Solo 5, Batavia 2, Yogya 2, Pekalongan 2, Padang 2
1923 [7.28]	26(18)	2	3			18	3		Solo 6, Batavia 3, Yogya 2, Pekalongan 2, Padang 2, Bukittinggi 2
1923 [10.20]	19(13)	6	1			9	3		Solo 4, Yogya 2, Pekalongan 2, Bukittinggi 2
1924 [4.17]	23(15)	6	1	1		12	3		Solo 3, Yogya 2, Pekalongan 2, Kediri 2, Surabaya 2, Bukittinggi 2
1924 [7.12]	26(14)	4		1		19	2		Solo 4, Batavia 2, Yogya 2, Surabaya 2, Bukittinggi 2, Samarinda 2
1924 [10.25]	22(13)	6		1		15			Solo 5, Yogya 3, Bukittinggi 3, Batavia 2
1925 [n.d.]	20(12)	4				16			Solo 4, Yogya 3, Bukittinggi 3, Batavia 2, Garut 2, Surabaya 2
1925 [4.18]	25(16)	4				21			Solo 5, Garut 3, Yogya 3, Bukittinggi 2, Batavia 2, Surabaya 2

³¹ “Javanese newspapers” means non-religious native newspapers, while “white newspapers” means Dutch newspapers.

1925 [8.29]	27(17)	5		21	1	Yogya 7, Solo 4, Batavia 3, Bukittinggi 3, Garut 2, Surabaya 2			
1925 [12.12]	29(20)	3	1	23	2	Yogya 6, Batavia 4, Solo 4, Surabaya 2, Bukittinggi 2			
1926.5.29	29(21)	4	1	22	2	Yogya 6, Batavia 4, Solo 4, Surabaya 4, Padang 2, Bukittinggi 2			
1926.9.4	30(19)	6	1	22	1	Yogya 5, Solo 5, Surabaya 4, Padang 3, Batavia 2, Bukittinggi 2			
1927.3.12	34(26)	8	1	1	1	21	2	Yogya 8, Solo 6, Surabaya 6, Padang 3, Batavia 2	
1928.4.7	37(29)	11		1	1	18	5	1	Yogya 10, Batavia 5, Solo 5, Surabaya 3, Padang 2
1929.9.7	42(35)	8	2#a	1	27	2#b	3#c	Yogya 8, Surabaya 8, Solo 7, Batavia 3, Bukittinggi 2	
1930.9.15	35(30)	8		3	19	2	3#c	Solo 7, Yogya 6, Batavia 5, Surabaya 5, Garut 2	
1931.3.14	44(34)	7	2	3	25	5	3#c	Solo 8, Yogya 7, Surabaya 7, Batavia 6, Garut 2	
1931.6.20	41(32)	6	1	4	22	5	3#c	Batavia 7, Solo 6, Surabaya 6, Yogya 5, Garut 2, Makassar 2	
1931.9.30	39(33)	4	1	5	22	5	2#c	Batavia 6, Yogya 6, Solo 5, Surabaya 6, Garut 3, Makassar 2	
1933.1.7	32(23)			3	16	1	3#c	Solo 5, Yogya 3, Surabaya 3, Makassar 3, Garut 2, Tasikmalaya 2, Padang 2	
1933.3.31	42(30)	1		4	34	1	2#c	Solo 6, Yogya 5, Surabaya 4, Makassar 3, Padang Sidenpuan 3, Garut 2, Padang 2	
1934.3.3	40(31)	3		4	30	1	2#c	Solo 7, Yogya 6, Surabaya 4, Semarang 2, Garut 2, Padang 2	
1935.7.13	64(50)	9		10	42		3#c	Solo 15, Sukabumi 7, Yogya 6, Medan 5, Tasikmalaya 4, Surabaya 4, Batavia 3, Semarang 2, Padang 2, Solok 2	
1937.8.16	83(62)	13	2	11	51		6	Solo 16, Sukabumi 7, Tasikmalaya 6, Yogya 6, Medan 6, Surabaya 4, Batavia 3, Bandung 3, Garut 2, Semarang 2, Padang 2, Solok 2	

Source: Made from *IPO* (1918–1937) by the author.

J=Javanese, JM = Javanese and Malay, S=Sundanese, Md=Madurese, Ml=Malay, A=Arabic, N=Nederlands (Dutch)

*Including one periodical printed in both Arabic and Malay.

#a Including Malay, Javanese and Nederlands, #b Including Arabic and Malay, #c Including Nederlnads and Malay

Solo = Surakarta, Yogya =Yogyakarta, Bukittinggi = Fort de Kock

Batavia: Including Weltevreden and Mr. Cornelis (the present area of Jatinegara, East Jakarta)

By referring to Table 6 it can be seen that Islamic periodicals increased steadily in late colonial Indonesia as periodicals in general developed³². This genre became an important part of native periodicals because Muslims also established their organizations and published their organs, initially by Muslim reformists and later by traditionalists. Especially the diversity of Muslim reformist movements brought flourishing of Islamic periodicals. Hitherto, the nationalist movements attracted far more attention than the Muslim movements in Indonesian studies. However, we should not forget that the Muslim movements were grass-roots while the nationalist movements were basically of modern elite in cities. Some of the Muslim movements have continued to develop even after the independence and are still active today such as Muhammadiyah³³ and Nahdlatul Ulama³⁴.

As mentioned above, native periodicals increased rapidly, but they were usually short-lived in general. The fate of Islamic periodicals was almost the same or worse. For example, 32 Islamic periodicals were listed in 1930, but only 7 still being published in 1937, as shown in Table 7. Some might have changed names such as *Berita Nahdlatol Oelama* (Nahdlatul Ulama News) which was changed from *Swara Nahdlatol Oelama* (Voice of Nahdlatul Ulama). However, more than half seemed to disappear within two years, and less than a quarter survived until 1937.

Concerning circulation, data is difficult to locate, and I have only found sporadic data. *Dewan* (Council), published in Yogyakarta, mentioned a circulation of 5,500 in 1931 [*Dewan* No. 1, 2, 3-4, 1931]. It seems its claim was rather exaggerated. The above mentioned *Bintang Islam* had a more believable peak circulation of 2,000, but was forced to curb its publishing to 800 due to weak subscription [*Bintang Islam* Th.VII No. 1 1929, 2-3]. *Pedoman Masyarakat* (Guidance for Society), published in Medan, mentioned 4000 at most [Hamka 1974, 192, 202]. However, we should not underestimate the influence of these publications, because individual copies of books and periodicals might have been passed around and read by multiple readers³⁵.

³² We should not forget that "Religious periodicals" in general increased (Table 3). It means that both Islamic periodicals and Christian periodicals flourished. It seems likely that they were competing with and stimulating each other.

³³ Muhammadiyah (followers of Muhammad), a Muslim reformist movement was set up in Yogyakarta in 1912. At the beginning the movement's activities were limited to the Yogyakarta residency, in the early twenties it developed in other cities in Java. Furthermore, it united with reformists in West Sumatra and developed into a nationwide organization. The above mentioned *Bintang Islam* was published by Muhammadiyah members.

³⁴ Nahdlatul Ulama (the Awakening of *Ulama* (religious scholars)) was established in Surabaya in January 1926. Its core members are *ulama* who hold *kitab* (classical religious books) in high regard, and the Muslims under their influence follow especially in the rural areas of Java. Generally they are referred to "traditionalist".

³⁵ I have obtained the following information on newspaper circulation during the colonial period:

1) "Wajah Surat kabar Hindia Belanda" (Profile of newspapers in the Dutch East Indies) <http://www.pantau.or.id/?/d/239> (Accessed: 19 February 2016)

According to this source, well-known periodicals in the 1930s, *Pemandangan* (Perspective, Batavia), *Pewarta Deli* (Deli Herald, Medan), *Soeara Oemoem* (Public Voice, Surabaya) had circulations of under 6000 copies, while the circulation of others was less than 1000 copies per issue.

Table 7 Continuity of periodicals

1930.9.15	1931.9.30	1933.3.31	1934.3.3	1935.7.13	1937.8.16
<input type="radio"/> <i>Pembela Islam</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Bintang Islam</i>		<input type="radio"/>			
<input type="radio"/> <i>Soerjo</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Soeara Moehammadijah</i>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Papadaging Moehammadijah</i>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Moehammadi</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Menara Koedoes</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Swaara Persjarikatan Oelama</i>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
<input type="radio"/> <i>Dewan</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
<input type="radio"/> <i>Mimbar</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Oetoesan Nahdlatoeel Oelama</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Swara Nahdlatoeel Oelama</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
<input type="radio"/> <i>Daroel 'Oeloem</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Noeroe'l Islam</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Risalah Islam</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Tacawwoef uslam</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Al Imtisal</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Al Haq</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
<input type="radio"/> <i>Tjahaja Islam</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
<input type="radio"/> <i>Noere'l Jaqim</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Fadjar Islam</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Al Hoeda</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Correspondentieblad</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Het Licht</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
<input type="radio"/> <i>Soeara Aijisijah</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/> <i>Woro Soesilo</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Al Hamra</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Benteng Rajat</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Pembela Ra'jat</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Sepakat</i>					
<input type="radio"/> <i>Arrabitah (Al Rabitah)</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Borhoet</i>	<input type="radio"/>				
<input type="radio"/> <i>Hadramaut</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		

indicates this periodical found out in the list.

Source: Made from *IPO* (1930–1937) by the author.

2. Languages and Publication Places

Malay was used predominantly in periodicals in general. However, focusing on Java, more than forty percent were published in local languages. Two local languages, Javanese and Sundanese showed the greatest resilience. It is worth noting that compared to non-Islamic periodicals, local languages were more often used in Islamic periodicals. Islamic periodicals tried to deliver their messages more directly to the readership who used local languages in daily life, and oriented towards the local societies in Java. At least concerning local language periodicals, difference became so obvious between Java and the Outer Islands.

Looking at geographical data, two Javanese cities, Yogyakarta and Surakarta emerged as Islamic periodical publishing centers. These cities were also bases of the Muhammadiyah movement, and its influence was felt significantly in publishing. In the latter half of the 1930s, smaller cities in West Java also published Islamic periodicals. Sukabumi and Tasikmalaya, middle-sized cities in West Java, also enthusiastically produced Islamic periodicals. These cities produced Sundanese periodicals, so the targeted readership was limited and were probably smaller scale. These periodicals seemed not related to big organizations such as Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama. This means that local *ulama* (religious scholar) personally produced such periodicals. In short, the use of local languages showed that Muslim movements developed at the grass roots level.

Special attention is needed for Surakarta. According to the 1937 list, half of the Islamic periodicals were published in Javanese while the other half were in Malay. Contradicting its image as a Javanese cultural center, Surakarta boasted of Mamba 'al-'Ulum, an institution of Islamic education supported by the Surakarta court. This school seemed to have been the first *madrasa* (modern Islamic school) in colonial Indonesia. Javanese periodicals published by this school were found in the 1923 and 1925 lists. The court contributed to the modernization of Islamic education.

Additionally, the Surakarta Muhammadiyah branch experimented with new types of periodicals, rather than depending on *Soeara Moehammadijah* (The Voice of Moehammadijah), the official organization organ published in Yogyakarta. *Soeara Moehammadijah* delivered mainly information on the association's activities and religious teachings, and its style was rather simple. In Surakarta, Muhammadiyah members produced *Bintang Islam* (1923–1930), *Adil* (Justice: 1932–1942) and *Islam Raja* (Great Islam: 1937–1942), which distributed information on current affairs including overseas news. As time went on, photographs were included, making the periodicals more attractive to their readers. Obviously, they targeted a broad readership which was not necessarily affiliated to the organization³⁶. As the time went on, the portion of current affairs increased. The increased information on domestic and overseas affairs might have broadened the outlook of Muslims.

2) "Raden Mas Tirtohadisoerjo, Pelopor Jurnalis Indonesia" (Raden Mas Tirtohadisoerjo, Pioneering journalist of Indonesia) <http://kediri.aji.or.id/2015/04/19/> (accessed: 19 February 2016).

This site mentioned that *Medan Prijayi* attained a circulation of 2000 copies in 1910–1912.

However, neither 1) nor 2) mentioned its source.

³⁶ Yamamoto has also pointed out this shift, and he has further mentioned the emergence of a new type of readership [2019, 134].

In contrast, Islamic periodicals published in Batavia and Surabaya were not so well known in the 1930s. These cities were larger than Surakarta, however they were cities of commerce and administration. Nahdlatul Ulama was based in Surabaya, but its activities were low-paced and not visible to the eyes of outsiders. NU also published an organ, but initially it was written only in Arabic or *pegon* (Javanese written in Arabic script). Its readership was limited, although later Malay (in Latin alphabet) was also used.

Now we turn our eyes to the Outer Islands. As shown in Table 1, Padang was one of the pioneering cities for publishing periodicals. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Padang became the center of administration and economy in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. As mentioned above, here the Modern Muslim reformist movement first started developing in the early twentieth century, a bit earlier than Java. As shown in Table 6, the cities of Minangkabau such as Padang, Bukittinggi (Fort de Kock) and Solok published Islamic periodicals, especially in the field of Islamic education. However, as the years went on, the region's leading position was deteriorating.

In place of Minangkabau, Medan, the capital of North Sumatra, emerged as a publishing center. As mentioned earlier, this city grew rapidly with the development of the local economy. In the 1930s, influential Islamic periodicals were published such as *Pandji Islam* (Banner of Islam), *Pedoman Masjarakat* and *Dewan Islam* (Islamic Council)³⁷. A young Muslim leader, HAMKA (Haji Abdul Malik Amrullah, 1908–1981), who was born in Maninjau, West Sumatra, moved to Medan and became the editor of *Pedoman Masjarakat* in 1936. HAMKA was also an activist of Muhammadiyah, and with his father he contributed to increased communications between Java and the Outer Islands.

Hamka articulated a modern style of Islamic magazine. *Pedoman Masjarakat* delivered a great deal of information on current affairs, as well as modern interpretations of Islamic teachings. HAMKA also wrote a serialized novel to attract subscribers. These Medan periodicals were also read in Java, and they became nation-wide. Here we can see one aspect of the development of Indonesian nationalism.

IV Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to describe the publication of native periodicals in general, and especially that of Islamic periodicals in the first half of the twentieth century in colonial Indonesia. *IPO*, the Dutch government report on the native press was the main resource, helped by some information from other official reports of periodicals. Complete data were rather difficult to obtain, however, a general image of periodical publication can be described.

In the first half of the 20th century periodical publication developed vigorously in colonial Indonesia although the colonial government tightened press regulations. Correspondingly, Islamic periodicals also developed and in the 1920s it grew to consist of one genre in native periodicals. Enthusiasm for publishing was particularly pronounced in the mid-1930s. Besides this, the character of periodicals

³⁷ Badri presented a short history of Islamic media in Indonesia. He made special mention of *Pandji Islam* and *Pedoman Masjarakat* as influential periodicals in Medan [Badri 2005, 9].

was changing from an organ of a certain association or organization which targeted affiliated members. So, new type of periodicals looked for public readership and tried to deliver information on current affairs in addition to knowledge of Islam. Islamic periodicals also were predominantly published in Malay (later *Bahasa Indonesia*), while in Java two local languages, Javanese and Sundanese were also persistently used as a publishing language. In this point there was a difference of publishing culture between Java and the Outer Islands.

Around the end of the colonial era there were the two Islamic press centers in Indonesia. One was the principality region of Surakarta-Yogyakarta, the two old Javanese capitals. In these cities, modernity and tradition coexisted. There, periodicals were published in Malay and Javanese. The other publication center was Medan, a newer commercial city in North Sumatra. Several Islamic periodicals became well-known on the national level, and they contributed to linking Java and Sumatra. It should be also noted that the modernist Muslim organization Muhammadiyah was the base of such activities.

However, this time I only analyzed the periodicals statistically, but did not step into the contents. From this forth, I will scrutinize some specific periodicals such as *Bintang Islam*, *Adil* and *Pedoman Masyarakat* which are representative Islamic periodicals of the time, to understand what information these periodicals conveyed to the Muslim society, and how they contributed to broadening Indonesian Muslims' horizon.

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Islamic Periodicals in Late Colonial Indonesia

——A Picture from the *IPO*'s Lists of Vernacular Periodicals——

小 林 寧 子

要 旨

植民地インドネシア(当時はオランダ領東インド)では、20世紀初頭より始まった「倫理政策」下に、プリブミ(マレー系)住民が定期刊行物を刊行するようになった。政府はメディア監視のために現地語メディア報道を要約した *IPO* (原住民および中国系マレー語報道摘要) を毎週発行したが、そこには定期刊行物リストが1918年から1937年まで不定期に30回添付資料として掲載された。本稿では、このリストをもとに、定期刊行物の出版状況を概観するとともに特にイスラーム系定期刊行物(リストでは「ムスリム」と分類された)の出版動向を分析した。

定期刊行物全般は20年の間に約7倍の量となったが、イスラーム系も1920年代半ばより数が増えた。また、リスト冒頭にその情報が置かれるほど重視されるようになった。出版地はジャワでは王侯領のスラカルタとジョクジャカルタが中心で、またジャワ島外では北スマトラの新興都市のメダンが全国レベルの定期刊行物を発行した。これらの都市はイスラーム改革派系団体ムハマディヤが活動の拠点としていることが出版に影響していると考えられる。大半はマレー語(のちのインドネシア語)で出版されたが、ジャワでは地方語であるジャワ語とスンダ語も多く出版され、草の根の住民を読者と想定していたことがわかる。また、その意味ではジャワとジャワ島外の出版文化の発展には違いがある。しかしながら、ムハマディヤがジャワ島外にも展開し、それに参加するムスリムがマレー語定期刊行物を刊行したことは、ジャワとそれ以外の地域をつなぐ一定の役割を担ったと考えられる。