

COUNTED, EARNING, AND BEHAVING AS EUROPEANS: WESTERN ART MUSIC AND
SOCIAL CAPITAL IN LATE 19th CENTURY BATAVIA

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Counted, Earning, and Behaving as Europeans: Western Art Music and Social Capital in Late 19th Century Batavia

This thesis examines how and why the musical preferences of the Batavian elites shifted in the late nineteenth century. I argue that Batavian elites constructed and performed “Europeanness” to distinguish themselves not only from the Indies natives but also from Europeans of lower social and economic status (*blijvers*). While the Indies elite had previously enjoyed native, hybridized, and European entertainments in the previous century, they gradually distanced themselves from non-European music and behaviors. The creation of exclusive spaces, such as the Batavian Schouwburg and social clubhouses, also strengthened the idea of “Europeanness” among the elites. I also examine how participation in Batavian music scenes affected the economic and social capital of three musicians: Marie Storm ‘s van-Gravesande, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, and Gijbertus van Dam. Within this close-knit circle, these musicians attempted to exchange their cultural capital for economic and social capital with varying degrees of success.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Before pursuing higher education in the United States, I spent the first eighteen years of my life in the sprawling metropolis of Jakarta. There, one can find colonial and modern architecture standing side-by-side. In the Gambir district (then-*Weltevreden*), the neo-Gothic Jakarta Cathedral is across from the New Formalism Istiqlal Mosque. Sharing the same block as the Jakarta Cathedral is the *Gedung Kesenian Jakarta* (GKJ). As a budding pianist, I braved Jakarta's notorious traffic to attend a piano recital in GKJ. Surrounded by vestiges of colonial architecture, I sat attentively listening to an all-Western art music program performed by an Indonesian pianist who just returned from their study in the United States. It was not until I started this research that I learned that the *Bataviaasch Schouwburg* (as the GKJ was formerly known) was the colonial bastion of high arts. Back then, these juxtapositions of colonial and postcolonial were merely familiar sights.

My research began with a simple question: what Western art musical activities happened in Batavia a century before my birth? I initially thought that I would trace changes in concert repertoires to satisfy my own curiosity. However, I encountered not just the issues of race and colonialism in my research, but also social class. This came as a surprise to me because most scholarship I read regarding Indonesian music emphasized the role of race and hybridization. In my undergraduate Music in World Cultures class, for instance, I listened attentively to my professor explaining the two "types" of gamelans, Javanese and Balinese, out of Michael Bakan's *World Music Traditions and Transformations*. Even in *Music on the Move* (2020), Danielle Fosler-Lussier portrayed the lasting European influence in Indonesian music through

the lenses of race.¹ She explained that *tanjidor* is a hybridized and localized genre combining elements of Western, Javanese, and Chinese cultures. These two examples, unfortunately, did not portray the whole socioeconomic dimension of gamelan or *tanjidor*. Similarly, discussion of concert repertoire in the Indies is incomplete without consideration of power inequality within the European population.

While race undeniably played a significant role in the Dutch East Indies' colonial society, the dynamic of social class within each racial group also affected the society's perception of several musical genres.² For example, the Oxford Music Online *tanjidor* entry describes *tanjidor* as a hybridized genre with European elements (clarinet, trumpet, cornet, euphonium, and trombone) and Indonesian elements (*kecrek*, *kenong*, *tambur*, and *gendang*). Missing from the entry is the function of *tanjidor* in Batavian society as popular music and the society's perception of the genre.³ Although it has European elements, the Batavian elites viewed *tanjidor* as "low" music not simply because of its native elements but also because of its association with lower class natives. I argue that the elites' perception affected what Indonesian music Jaap Kunst, for instance, studied in the early twentieth century.⁴ Instead of "low" music such as *tanjidor*, Kunst recorded what he deemed "pure" or courtly tradition. While my research is confined to the nineteenth century, the colonial perception of the "low" and "high" music persists to this day, where its positionality in modern-day Indonesia still influences attendance of Western art music performances.

¹ I would add that although I am critical about the "Colonialism in Indonesia" chapter, I am overall very pleased with the chapter. Fosler-Lussier's discussion is the first time I read a succinct and digestible discourse regarding the effects of colonialism to undergraduate music majors.

² In this thesis, I will use the term Indies to describe the Dutch East Indies.

³ Heins, Ernst, and Andrew C. McGraw. "Tanjidor." Grove Music Online. 28 May 2015

⁴ Jaap Kunst was a Dutch ethnomusicologist known for his studies of folk music of the Netherlands and of Indonesia. Over his 15 years living in Java, he took numerous photographs and recordings of Indonesian music. He was also the first person to record gamelan music on wax cylinders.

In this thesis, I examine how and why the musical preferences of the Batavian elites shifted in the late nineteenth century. I argue that Batavian elites constructed and performed Europeanness to distinguish themselves not only from Indies natives but also from Europeans of lower social and economic status (*blijvers*). While the Indies elites had previously enjoyed native, hybridized, and European entertainments in the previous century, they gradually distanced themselves from non-European music and behaviors. Additionally, the elites created exclusive spaces, such as the Batavian Schouwburg and social clubhouses, where only Europeans were permitted to enter. I also analyze the effects of Europeanness on the lives of Batavian musicians. I posit that the cultural and social capital aspects of Europeanness allowed some musicians to achieve social mobility despite their humble backgrounds. The idea of Europeanness also barred certain genres and European performers to enter the Batavian Schouwburg's stages.

Throughout this thesis, I use several concepts coined by Pierre Bourdieu as tools to understand how social class, education, and economic class influenced the creation of "Europeanness" among the nineteenth-century Batavian elites. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979), Bourdieu posited that cultural taste is not innate but is rather constructed through power inequality. The idea of taste as a construction permeated my thought process in this thesis. How did the racial and social inequality created by the colonial system affect musical performances and musicians? Bourdieu also argued that certain arts preferred by a culture's dominant class become the culture's "high culture," while those preferred by members of the lower economic class constitute the "low culture."⁵ In the case of late nineteenth-century

⁵ In the context of the nineteenth century, not all forms of low culture were popular. As Lawrence Levine demonstrated in *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, the designation of low and high culture is fluid. Shakespeare, for example, used to be part of popular American culture and exhibited a gray area between low and high culture.

cosmopolitan Europe, concert music became the “high culture,” whereas “light music”—operetta, polka, popular songs, and marches—became the “low culture.”⁶

Adopting Bourdieu’s theory in the context of Batavian society, with its intricate web of race and class, certainly requires some adaptations because of the theory’s origin. Bourdieu developed his theory primarily in the context of French society and tended to paint the picture with a broad brush. Indeed, Bourdieu did not emphasize the role of race and tends to overschematize his analysis in *Distinction*.⁷ In *Distinction*, he did not explore the different racial groups in French society and focused on the socio-economic status of each group. Bourdieu’s emphasis on the dynamic between the dominant and dominated groups did not mean that he was unaware of the issue of race. In his study of Algeria, for instance, he chose not to emphasize the question of race because he did not regard it as a central issue for Algeria.⁸ Bourdieu viewed the 1950s Algeria as a society consisting of various social and economic classes within different race and societies. Some groups, such as the urban proletariats, did not fit neatly into the binary characterization of French and Arabs, colonizers and colonized, or black and white peoples. I believe that while Bourdieu’s idea lacks nuances in regards of race, his theory is still crucial in examining the power relationship between and within different groups, as demonstrated as his study of Algeria. In the case of Batavian society, I choose to use Bourdieu’s concepts to create a more nuanced analysis of the elites’ perception of Western art music and to discuss the social and economic tension within the European community. In order to remedy Bourdieu’s tendency

⁶ I would categorize *volksmusik* as a separate entity. Although they originate from and are enjoyed by members of the lower class, its role in concert music by composers such as Bartok made the genre lie between the “high” and “low” culture. Additionally, elites often co-opted folk music as their own as a nationalism building tool after adjusting the genre to highbrow tastes.

⁷ Bourdieu also disregards music’s social life and location. Despite writing in the 1970s, Bourdieu does not engage with commercial music genres. For further discussion of Bourdieu and music, see Nick Prior, “Critique and Renewal in the Sociology of Music: Bourdieu and Beyond,” *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 1 (March 2011): 121–38.

⁸ Roxanna Curto, “Bourdieu and Fanon on Algeria,” in *Bourdieu and Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Raphael Dalleo (Liverpool University Press, 2016), 106.

to oversimplify the relationship between music and society, I use archival research and focus on specific case studies (discussed in Chapter 2). By using Bourdieu's concepts, especially his ideas of capital, and tracing the lives of some Batavian musicians, I explore how performing European music affected these musicians' lives, especially regarding their social and economic standing.

The goal of using these concepts is not to prove that Bourdieu's idea regarding the construction of taste is correct, but rather to borrow his model and vocabulary in examining how social classes affected music-making and the musicians' lives in this region and period. For this purpose, I lean heavily on the concept of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Economic capital is the most straightforward form of capital. It is "immediately and directly convertible into money" and could also exist in the form of property rights.⁹ Cultural capital can be defined as a form of value associated with "culturally [authorized] tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills, and awards."¹⁰ Formal musical training is an example of cultural capital. Because formal musical training was not as widespread in the late nineteenth century, I argue that some individuals could have high cultural capital based on their knowledge of music inherited from their families. Social capital is made up of social obligations or connections—having the "right" social contacts. Both cultural and social capital could be converted with certain conditions into economic capital. Symbolic capital is the most distinct type of the four types of capital. Bourdieu himself describes symbolic capital as capital "misrecognized as capital," because this capital is often perceived as a natural or inherent quality instead of something acquired through competition, inheritance, or learned in school.¹¹ Examples of

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu and John Richardson, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2016), 242.

¹⁰ Jen Webb, Tony Schirato, and Geoff Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu*, Cultural Studies (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2002), x.

¹¹ Webb, Schirato, and Danaher, 152.

symbolic capital are prestige and good reputation. In Chapter 2, I argue that the European legal status acts as a symbolic capital and a prerequisite to higher economic capital within the colonial system of Batavia.

In Chapter 2, I examine the amorphous idea of Europeanness in nineteenth-century Batavia through its legal and cultural implications and show that the European society in the Indies did not exist as a monolith but was rather diverse. I argue that the concept of Europeanness moved away from denoting parentage, i.e., being born to a European parent, into a form of identity that encompassed socioeconomic, behavioral, and cultural knowledge. Instead of a simple dichotomy of European and non-European/native, an interplay of race and class took place in the Indies. Additionally, I propose that the construction of Europeanness coincided with the rise of the European newcomers (*trekkers*) into political power in the Indies. This Europeanness allowed the *trekkers* to distinguish themselves from the local Europeans (*blijvers*), who had long patronized native and hybridized entertainments. Due to their position as the politically dominant group, the *trekkers* were able to set the “high culture” taste in the Indies, which was strongly informed by the idea of Europeanness. This distinction between the “high” and “low” culture also existed in Europe, where music has wide ranges: popular operettas, art songs, chamber music, and symphonies. From understanding this concept, we could better learn the taste of Batavian elites and why some musical genres were excluded or neglected. For example, the idea of Europeanness informed the elites’ perception of *kroncong* as non-European despite its Eurasian performers.¹²

My understanding of the role of race and social class in the Indies is shaped by Ulbe

¹² *Kroncong* is a popular ensemble found in Indonesia and Malaysia comprising of ukulele, melody guitar, cello, double bass, violin, transverse flute, and singers. The genre is believed to be Portuguese-Indonesian origin. Kartomi, Margaret J., and Andrew C. McGraw. "Kroncong." *Grove Music Online*. 28 May. 2015; Accessed 2 Jun. 2023.

Bosma and Remco Raben's *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolization and Empire, 1500-1920*; Jean Gelman Taylor's *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*; and Matthew Cohen's *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903*. Bosma and Raben depict how colonial policies and world events shaped the culture and the fortunes of Eurasian families. Additionally, they discuss how educational background, social milieu, and wealth separate the *trekkers* and *blijvers* within the European groups in the Indies. Taylor discusses the role of women, especially Asian women, in creating the distinct *Indische* culture from the early days of the Dutch East India Company. These three authors also serve as a model for using genealogical studies to analyze cross-generational families. Cohen's book, in particular, traces the rise and fall of *Komedie Stamboel*, a genre of theater that originated from the Eurasian population in the Dutch East Indies. Of particular importance is his depiction of class and racial tensions in the *Indische* performing scene.

In order to discuss the multifaceted aspect of Europeanness, I divide this chapter into three sections: "Counted as Europeans," "Earning as Europeans," and "Behaving as Europeans." In "Counted as Europeans," I trace the judicial changes surrounding the European legal status and the myriad ways one could acquire that status. The following section, "Earning as Europeans," discusses how that legal status could function as symbolic capital, yet nonetheless lost its value over the course of the nineteenth century. I also portray the cycle of poverty that plagued most *blijvers*, which hindered them from attaining a European quality of living. The final section, "Behaving as Europeans," depicts behaviors and activities associated with being European and not being European. I also engage with Bourdieu's idea of taste and capital in order to analyze how the *trekkers* controlled musical taste and maintained cultural hegemony in exclusive performance spaces of the Indies.

Chapter 3 examines how the idea of Europeanness in late nineteenth-century Batavia impacted Batavian musicians through three case studies of musicians active in the 1890s. The three musicians I chose—Marie Storm van 's-Gravesande, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, and Gijbertus van Dam—appeared numerous in 1890s Batavian newspapers and they represent divergent economic, social, and cultural backgrounds.¹³ I trace their lives, sometimes across multiple countries, through recital advertisements, birth certificates, marriage registrations, and census information. Recent work in genealogy has provided me with anecdotal information not available through common archival methods. Genealogy websites also allow me to measure whether these musicians achieved social mobility through their musical activities. This method is useful because social mobility could happen across multiple generations. I also engage with concert reviews of the three musicians, which allow me to gauge elites' perception of their musical ability. Finally, I consider how these musicians' choices of repertoire and performance spaces influenced their Europeanness and whether the elites' perception created significant economic or social impacts in these performers' lives.

My first case study, Marie Storm van 's-Gravesande, strategically deployed her “European,” *Indische*, and “Frenchness” persona throughout her musical career across two continents. Coming from a prominent Indies family, Storm van 's-Gravesande was a social equal of the Batavian elite audience. Thus, her inclusion in the Batavian elite circle was unsurprising. While she emphasized her Europeanness in the Indies, she capitalized on her *Indische* heritage in Europe, especially in her role as the lead in Leo Delibes's *Lakmé*. Her case study illustrates how colonial musicians could utilize different backgrounds as their cultural capital.

¹³ The surname 's-Gravesande consists of a contraction of the article “des.” Although the article has fallen to disuse in modern Dutch, the contraction is still used for surnames and locations. For example, the Hague's official name is 's-Gravenhage (*des Graven hage*).

The subsequent case study, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, exemplifies successful social mobility through active participation in the Batavian musical scene. Although Lange-Rijckmans was born into a modest musician family, her daughter achieved social mobility by marrying a prominent Indies politician. I propose that Lange-Rijckmans used her cultural capital—her musical prowess—to gain social and economic capital. Similar to Storm van 's-Gravesande, Lange-Rijckmans used her musical education in France as a sign of “Europeanness,” which bolstered her cultural capital further. Her long-lasting mentorship with a well-known Indies musician also allowed her to establish social contacts in her early career. I suggest that this social capital allowed Lange-Rijckmans to have a long musical career in the Indies.

The life of Gijbertus van Dam, my last case study, showcases how social class had a significant role in determining someone’s Europeanness in the Indies. Van Dam, a military bandleader, was born and educated in Europe. Despite his numerous performances in both public and private spaces, he failed to achieve the officer rank. I argue that his proximity to the natives, lack of certain cultural capital, and the elites’ association of “light” music with the lower social class are the reasons Van Dam was unable to join the circle of Batavian elites.

This thesis uncovers that the musical community of Europe in the nineteenth-century Indies was not a uniform society. Instead, it comprised diverse social groups with different musical preferences. Often, musicologists and ethnomusicologists studying Indonesian music portray Indonesia’s colonial society as racial based, neglecting the power relationship within each social group. Furthermore, this thesis challenges the idea that the European culture in the Indies was static. In the New Imperialism, the Batavian elites shifted their music taste, creating the idea of Europeanness to cement their cultural superiority over the poor Europeans and the

natives.¹⁴ Additionally, this thesis tries to answer some of the missing pieces in the colonial history of Jakarta, giving voices to the old, oft-neglected buildings in the ever-growing metropolis.

¹⁴ The New Imperialism took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During New Imperialism, various European powers, the United States, and Japan rapidly acquired overseas territories. While only 10% of Africa was under European control in 1870, almost 90% of the continent was colonized in 1914. In the context of Dutch East Indies, the Dutch government increasingly subjugated various parts of the Indies. The Dutch took control of Aceh in 1913 (after a 40-years military conquest) and Bali in 1908.

CHAPTER TWO

COUNTED, EARNING, AND BEHAVING AS EUROPEANS

Introduction

Compared to other colonies in the nineteenth-century world, the Dutch East Indies held a unique position. Unlike most South American colonies, the Indies was never quite a settler colony. Indeed, Europeans and Eurasians in the Indies were minorities, with most living in urban centers (Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya). Nor was Indies governed with direct rule. A Sundanese farmer in the Priangan district might never know the names of various Dutch Governors-General coming and leaving their tenures. The farmer would, however, know the owner of the land he tilled—the gentleman-landholder residing in spacious villas and living as a feudal lord. He would also know the local Sundanese aristocrats whom he would often see in local celebrations in their exorbitant garments. He might have been born, lived, and died in the same district as his forefathers had. Similar to the nineteenth-century European colonization of African colonies, the Dutch governed the Dutch East Indies through indirect rule. Although the Dutch were minorities in the Indies, they controlled a vast amount of the region through intricate bureaucracy and connections with native aristocrats and rulers.

The Dutch East Indies colony centered its power in urban towns and cities. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Batavia (present-day Jakarta) was transformed from the Dutch East India Company's center of trading network in Asia into the capital of the colony. While some Europeans lived outside urban centers, they primarily resided in Batavia, Surabaya, Semarang—the three big cities in Java—and Sumatra's Medan. Often, indigenous rulers maintained their

power in rural areas. Thus, the Dutch East Indies was a bifurcated state, where two forms of power (colonial and indigenous) were under a single hegemonic authority (the Kingdom of Netherlands). The bifurcated state extended to the legal realm, leading to two distinct forms of law—one for Europeans and another for Indies natives.¹ While there were two forms of law and power, the Europeans and the Indies natives were never equal; the natives were mere subjects of the Kingdom, whereas the Indies Europeans were citizens entitled to guaranteed education and welfare assistance.²

Being perceived as European separated the Europeans from the subjugated natives, creating a line between the ruler and the ruled. This perception allowed the Europeans to enter certain buildings, sit in the first-class train compartment, and don European articles of clothing. However, the line between the ruler and the ruled was never straightforward, for one Eurasian with a European father could be deemed European while another did not. In the second half of the nineteenth century and at the turn of the century, being European in the Netherlands Indies increasingly required more than the stroke of luck of being born to European parents. After all, numerous Eurasians lived in the Indies, requiring upper-class Europeans to separate themselves from the “common folk.” Thus, in order to fully embody being European, one had to be counted, earn, and behave as a European.

This chapter examines the idea of “Europeanness” as understood and performed by the Batavian elites during the late colonial period of the Dutch East Indies. While the idea of Europeanness in the previous century mainly consisted of parentage, the concept expanded into socioeconomic, behavioral, and musical taste in the long century. Who were these Europeans?

¹ Chloe Ahmann, “Mahmood Mamdani, Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (June 22, 2013): 927–34.

² Upik Djalins, “Becoming Indonesian Citizens: Subjects, Citizens, and Land Ownership in the Netherlands Indies, 1930–37,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (June 2015): 232.

Instead of existing as a monolith, the European society in the Indies was diverse, with the newcomers (*trekkers*) dominating the top of this hierarchy. This new group enjoyed and celebrated European traditions to distinguish themselves from the local Europeans (*blijvers*), who had long patronized native and hybridized entertainments. By taking a closer look at how Europeanness was constructed and used in the colony, we can understand this construction's social and musical implications, even in our current time. For example, the strong emphasis of gamelan knowledge in American ethnomusicology program cannot be separated from the perception of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Indies elites of Europeanness. Gamelan is often seen as a complex genre and as such part of "civilized" culture.³ Additionally, the genre was closely related to Javanese aristocracy, which lent it an air of elitism.

Understanding the Europeanness construction and the colonization of the Dutch East Indies will allow us to understand that many Europeans viewed Javanese culture as more civilized than other parts of the Archipelago. The colonial connotation of Europeanness as being highly civilized also persisted into the modern period, as demonstrated by the prestige given towards Western art music in modern times.

In this chapter, I will first explain the fluid categories of European legal status ("Counted as Europeans"). The European legal status acted as the first barrier to elite society. However, not all those of European descent held this status. Indeed, the elites continued to redefine the legal status in the century. In the second section, "Earning as Europeans," I will describe how legal status acted as a symbolic capital, the diminishing power of European legal status, and the

³ I posit that the Westerners interest to gamelan stems from its rhythmic complexity and its "purity" as a non-hybridized genre. Jaap Kunst's decision to study some Indonesian genres and not others would have been influenced by the *trekkers'* perception of hybridized and non-hybridized genres. Various Javanese courts, such as Surakarta and Yogyakarta, had close relationships with European government during the colonial period, allowing some Europeans to observe the "pure" gamelan genres unlike those found in hybridized genres.

changes in European and non-European income levels. Legal status conferred material benefits to Europeans as the Indies government required their civil servants to hold the European status. However, this status slowly lost significance in the century after the professionalization of civil servant positions. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the trekkers migrated in high numbers to the Indies and gained employment in high-paying jobs. In turn, professionalization and migration created wider economic disparities between high- and lower-class Europeans. Attempting to separate themselves from the lower-class Europeans, the trekkers redefined European and non-European behaviors. The third section, “Behaving as Europeans,” explores the cultivation of European musical taste and dances and the rejection of “native” music. The rejection yielded persisting effects. *Komedie Stamboel*, one of the excluded genres, was influential in the development of *kroncong* (a popular ensemble found in Indonesia and Malaysia), and one of its songs was later adopted as the national anthem of Malaysia. Nevertheless, its history was sparse and often neglected due to the genre’s exclusion in the nineteenth century.

I. Counted as Europeans

Being born to European parents was the first and rudimentary step in “being European,” yet acquiring European legal status did not come automatically to a person of European descent, nor was it the only way to obtain the status. A child born to a European family would earn their European civil status if and when their European parents registered them as European at the Registry of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. In some circumstances, extramarital children or native women could also fall under European status. In short, European legal status in the Indies was not straightforward but a cultural, social, and legal construct where “race” and skin pigmentation

sometimes acted as secondary parameters.⁴ In order to understand the agents involved in the Batavian elite society, one has to understand the fluidity of European legal status, which acted as the first gatekeeper to admission into the society and employment in various Indies occupations. In this section, I will explain how the legal construction of European ethnicity in the Indies was continuously reconstructed during the nineteenth century. I will first begin by giving a summary of Dutch citizenship's genesis in the Netherlands. Afterward, I will detail various ways a person born or living in the Indies could attain European legal status. Understanding how the Indies government conferred the legal status allows us to comprehend how one gains membership within the Batavian European community. Moreover, this legal status is one of the admission factors used by various Indies clubhouses and concert halls.

In essence, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European legal status in Indies directly opposed to the native (*Inlanders*) status. The primary statute that defined racial status in 19th-century Indies was Article 109 of the *Regeringsreglement* 1854, a sweeping set of laws that primarily served as the constitutional regulation of the colony. This article classified the Indies population into two distinct groups: (1) European and those “deemed to be alike” (*gelijksteld*) in status and (2) natives and the *gelijksteld*.⁵ The establishment of this article did not mean that there were no racial differentiations prior to the establishment of this constitution. Indeed, the

⁴ See the first part of G. Roger Knight, “A Sugar Factory and Its Swimming Pool: Incorporation and Differentiation in Dutch Colonial Society in Java,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24, no. 3 (January 2001): 451–71. “European ethnicity in the Indies was hence a cultural, social – and legal – construct, in which ‘race’ and skin pigmentation were secondary considerations. People of mixed descent were to be found among the richest and poorest, in the ‘best’ colonial circles as well as in the most humble. They were European by virtue of recognition by their fathers, and the legal status consequent upon this. There was indeed an ‘indo’ subgroup in Indies society, but its membership was defined more by class and self-identification than by skin colour alone. The well-to-do, whatever the colour of their skin, were not ‘indo’. The term was largely reserved – the additional qualification of ‘klein’ or ‘petty’ underlined the distinction – for those who existed on the economic and social margins of colonial society” (453).

⁵ In 1920, the colonial authorities created a middle group, Foreign Oriental (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), which consisted of Chinese, Arabs, and other non-native Asians. Djalins, “Becoming Indonesian Citizens,” 231.

Dutch East India Company had always separated the racial status in every census since the early days of Batavia. The constitution cemented the lack of legal differentiations between Eurasians and Europeans and provided a legal foundation to enforce the existing racial categorization.

The *Regeringsreglement* followed the changes in Dutch citizenship during the nineteenth century from the *jus soli* principle into the *jus sanguinis* principle.⁶ Dutch citizenship prior to the formal colonization of the Dutch East Indies followed the *jus soli* principle and was thus simple—a citizen was someone who was born in the Netherlands. This definition meant that children of foreign nationals (such as Belgians and Germans) who were born in the Netherlands also acquired citizenship rights by virtue of being born in the Netherlands.⁷ However, the annexation of overseas territories into the Kingdom of Netherlands created an ambiguous situation for Dutch citizenship. Is the Dutch East Indies an overseas territory or part of the Netherlands? The Dutch government's answer to this question is to release the 1850 Nationality Law (*Nationaliteitswetgeving*), aimed at solving the ambiguous position of Indies subjects. Instead of the *jus soli* principle, the *jus sanguinis* was the guiding principle. This change essentially excluded the indigenous population from holding Dutch citizenship. Without Dutch citizenship, the Kingdom could legally prevent the indigenous population from holding political power. The indigenous population was merely the subject of the Netherlands. Thus, in the nineteenth century, Dutch citizenship shifted from a private law and residency concept into a political-constitutional definition, with actively participating citizens who would carry and govern the nation-state.⁸

⁶ In short, the *jus sanguinis* dictates that a child's citizenship is determined by the citizenship of their parents whereas the *jus soli* means that a person acquires citizenship if they were born in the territory or state.

⁷ This is based on the 1838 *Burgerlijk Wetboek* (Civil Code). Bart Verheijen, "Staatsburgerschap en Nederlanderschap in Nederlands-Indië in de Negentiende Eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 134, no. 3 (December 1, 2021): 471.

⁸ Verheijen, 449. Verheijen discussed the changes nature of Dutch citizenship in detail in his 2021 article, "Staatsburgerschap en Nederlanderschap in Nederlands-Indië in de negentiende eeuw."

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Dutch and Indies governments frequently changed the legal basis of European legal status to reflect the changing ideas of nationality and civil rights in Europe. These legislations also affected the legal positions of Dutch subjects in the Indies. Although a person’s ancestry was the primary criterion in defining their legal position, religion and “civilized qualities” also served as the basis of acceptance. In the following paragraphs, I will describe the various means of acquiring European legal status based on parentage, adoption, religion, and other means.

Legislation and year	Descriptions
Het Burgerlijk Wetboek 1838	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No distinction between residents, subjects, burghers, and natives in either the territory of the colony or the kingdom
Algemene Bepalingen van Wetgeving voor Nederlands-Indië 1848	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Native Christians were equivalent to Europeans
Nationaliteitswetgeving 1850	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children of any nationality born in the Netherlands were Dutch citizens Children born to a Dutch father in the Dutch colonial territories were Dutch citizens
Regeringsreglement 1854, Article 109	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Categorized Indies population into two groups: European and natives No formal distinction between Europeans and Eurasians Native Christians, Arabs, and Chinese belonged to the category of natives Native women married to European men were of equal status to European Native persons could attain European legal status through petitions to the Indies governor-general (<i>gelijkstandige</i>)
Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1892, No. 268	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dutch citizens were “the legal, legalized or paternally recognized child of a father who possessed Dutch citizenship at the time of the child’s birth.”

Patriarchal parentage played a crucial role in securing a child’s European legal status. A European child must have a European father who was Europe-born or Indies-born with European

legal status. The race of the child's mother did not matter—a child with a European, Chinese, or native mother could still earn a European legal status.⁹ The reverse, however, was not true. A child born from a union of a non-European father with a European mother would not acquire European civil status.

Patriarchal parentage took such high precedence in determining a child's "Europeanness" that the issue of a child's legitimacy was of no consequence. An illegitimate child could acquire European status as long as their European father recognized them. For the status to take effect, the father was not required to marry the non-European mother either. This legitimization issue stemmed from the lack of European women available for marriages in the Indies, which had been prevalent since the early days of the Company. Even more, lower-ranking Dutch government employees and soldiers were required to sail to the Indies as bachelors.¹⁰ As such, it was common for European men to keep Indonesian concubines (*nyai*) during their stay in the Indies. Children born out of these relationships were European as long as their fathers acknowledged them or claimed the children as their progenies.¹¹

Although less common, illegitimate children left by their fathers in the Indies could still acquire European legal status through adoption. The Dutch authorities often allowed this adoption out of religious notions—the adopter promised to raise the adoptee in a Christian environment. Bolma and Raben gave an example of this situation from the early eighteenth century. Sgt. Vincent Piquerie adopted Maria and Cecilia, two illegitimate girls of a European father and a Javanese mother, with the promise to look after them and give them a Christian

⁹ The *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* 1892, No. 268 established that anyone "who was the legal, legalized or paternally recognized child of a father who possessed Dutch citizenship at the time of the child's birth was a Dutch citizen by right of birth." Paul W. van der Veur, "The Eurasians of Indonesia: Castaways of Colonialism," *Pacific Affairs* 27, no. 2 (June 1954): 124.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2, "Growth of the Settlement Society" in Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

¹¹ Djalins, "Becoming Indonesian Citizens," 231.

upbringing.¹²

As seen from the example above, religion was an essential factor in determining a person's legal status. A European could lose their legal status by forsaking their Christian belief, with conversion to Islam as the most common situation. Because the government regarded European converts to Islam as natives, their progenies were also ineligible to receive European status. The total number of conversions was low—only 0.8% of 170,000 persons of European status in the 1930 census were Muslim.¹³ Van der Veur posited that this small group would likely to be native women married to Europeans. The low number of converts should not come as a surprise. After all, losing European status came with massive social and economic disadvantages. Although conversion was rare, European newspapers regularly remarked on this occurrence from the end of the 1870s.

The Dutch government required European persons to be members of the Catholic or Protestant churches and regarded professing the Christian faith as a cornerstone of civilized behavior. However, this view of Christianity and civilization created ambiguity in the legal position of native Christians. For example, Ambonese from the Moluccas (Maluku Islands) had long adopted the Christian faith after the Portuguese missions in the sixteenth century.¹⁴ Their legal status continuously changed in the nineteenth century. In 1804, Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels declared that native Christian soldiers (those from the Ambonese islands, Timor, and Minahasa) were equals of European soldiers, thus putting them in a semi-European

¹² Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920*, Research in International Studies Southeast Asia Series/Ohio University, no. 116 (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), 44.

¹³ Paul W. van der Veur, "Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society," *Indonesia* 6 (October 1968): 41.

¹⁴ The term "Ambonese" itself is rather ambiguous. Although it means people from Ambon Island, the Dutch colonial government also uses the term to describe soldiers from both Minahasa and the Moluccas. Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 175.

status.¹⁵ The 1848 General Provision of Legislation for the Dutch East Indies (*Algemene Bepalingen van Wetgeving voor Nederlands-Indië*) strengthened this idea. It stipulated that all Christians, including those belonging to the native population, were equivalent to Europeans.¹⁶ Conversely, the 1854 Constitutional Regulation (*Regeringsreglement*) determined that native Christians belong to the category of natives, except in marriage and family law.¹⁷ Thus, the legal position of Christian natives in the nineteenth century was never clear. However, individual natives could apply for European status after 1871 as long as they fulfilled the criteria for this petition: professing Christian belief, using Dutch as their primary language, and adopting “European behavior” in clothing, manners, and occupation.¹⁸

Unlike men, native (or unacknowledged Eurasian) women could achieve a quasi-European legal status through marriage with a European man. These women fall under the *gelijkstandige* (those of the same status) clause in the 1854 Constitutional Regulation.¹⁹ As their position depended on marriage, their European status was fluid. Should their husband die or divorce them, they could lose their status. The firmly ingrained patriarchal element also means that even in the death of a European father, non-European mothers did not have parental rights or claim to the guardianship of their European children.²⁰ Their numbers were also relatively low as European men kept non-European concubines and married European wives after amassing enough wealth and status.

The *gelijkstandige* status could be extended to native-born men in exceptional instances. One example is Raden Saleh (1814-1897), a European-trained Javanese painter. Although he was

¹⁵ Bosma and Raben, 174.

¹⁶ Verheijen, “Staatsburgerschap en Nederlandschap in Nederlands-Indië in de Negentiende Eeuw,” 467.

¹⁷ Verheijen, 468.

¹⁸ Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 170.

¹⁹ Taylor, 125.

²⁰ Taylor, 148.

a Javanese man, his long study in Europe and his status as a celebrity in various European courts allowed him to join the upper-level European circle in the Indies. Additionally, he married an affluent Eurasian woman, Constancia von Mansfeld, and maintained close relationships with influential and wealthy members of the society who commissioned his paintings.

The European legal status did not merely give the Indies-born European citizens political power, such as voting rights, freedom to travel, and access to government positions; it also conferred economic benefits. Applications for widow's pension or orphan's allowance required the applicants to submit a certificate of birth, baptism, or marriage. This requirement means the local authority would reject these requests without proof of European legal status.²¹ Furthermore, entry to Indies secondary schools, such as the Willem III *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS, Higher Civic School) in Batavia, was often limited to those with European legal status.²² As those wishing to enter the civil service—a ubiquitous job among the European population—needed to own a secondary school diploma, the European status enabled a higher chance of social mobility.

Additionally, upper-class Europeans felt the need to create in-group criteria beyond the legal realm after the turn of the twentieth century. The requirements to be deemed European became more relaxed at the end of the nineteenth century: living as European and being regarded as European by their associates.²³ As such, the upper-class Europeans held a stronger desire to distinguish themselves from the “common people” further. *Trekkers* (Europe-born Europeans) began to see that others, such as the *blijvers* (long-term European or Eurasian residents) and the *priyayi* (Native nobles of the robe), adopted some European social markers. The *blijvers* and

²¹ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 224.

²² Bosma and Raben, 209–10.

²³ A. van Marle, “De groep der Europeanen,” *Indonesië* 5 (2): 99. An example of a native passing as Eurasian was Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, the *regent* of Serang. With the urging of his Dutch elementary school's principal, he assumed the name “Willem van Bantam.” His native status was not revealed until he entered high school. van der Veur, “Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society,” 39.

priyayi, for example, became more fluent in Dutch due to the proliferation of Dutch schools throughout the Indies. Furthermore, members of the *priyayi* group also entered the colonial civil service, an occupation usually reserved for Europeans. These situations propelled them to distinguish themselves further by economic means and adopting “European behaviors.”

II. Earning as Europeans

The three elements—counting, earning, and behaving as Europeans—worked in tandem: one regularly required European legal status to earn as European, and those earnings allowed one to behave as European. Thus, in order to understand the agents involved in the musical activities of the Batavian elite society, one must first comprehend how these agents’ earning power and common occupations in the Indies shaped the social strata. In the nineteenth century Indies, the European legal status assisted numerous Europeans in holding governmental jobs. The preferential treatment allowed many Indies Europeans to work as civil servants. However, most of them worked as lower clerks with low incomes, which prevented them from maintaining a European standard of living. The stark economic contrast between European newcomers and Indies-born Europeans challenged the idea of “earning and behaving” as Europeans and, ultimately, what it meant to be Europeans in the colonial Indies.

This section will first discuss how European legal status functions as a symbolic capital in the Indies community and how the arrival of *trekkers* in the second half of the century reduced the symbolic value of European legal status. In the middle of the nineteenth century, several factors led to the status slowly losing its value: the professionalization of civil servant positions, lack of higher education in the Indies, and the low salary rate for the lower ranks of Indies civil servants. Thus, European legal status conferred some employment benefits to these lower-class

Europeans, but their employment did not allow them to afford a European standard of living. The European legal status ultimately lost its symbolic value at the turn of the twentieth century as the Dutch government ended its preference of hiring European civil servants and hired an increasing number of natives. As the *blijvers* could barely afford the European standard of living, partaking in costly highbrow entertainment was not feasible. Understanding the economic disparity between the *trekkers* and the *blijvers* will give us insights into the exclusion of *blijvers* in the prestigious musical activities of Batavia as performers and spectators.

Throughout the nineteenth-century Indies, European legal status determines a person's eligibility to work in the civil service and the leadership position within the Indies military. In this manner, the legal status functions as a symbolic capital: a socially recognized legitimization, which has no value in itself and depends on others agreeing that someone possesses these qualities.²⁴ The European legal status acted as a preliminary employment requirement; having the European legal status did not mean one would automatically gain employment without proper education and skills. Historically, the function of this symbolic capital within the Indies government was a continuation of the Dutch East India Company's recruitment policy. Employment in various ranks of the Company required European status, and this pattern persisted in the newly created Dutch Indies government.

The symbolic value of the European legal status remained significant due to the Indies-born European community's strong preference for civil service positions. The Indies-born Europeans highly coveted civil service positions (*ambtenaar*) and other government jobs due to the steady flux of income, promised pensions, and the prestige that came with the positions. For

²⁴ Examples of symbolic capitals include prestige, veteran status and outstanding reputations. I argue that the legal status is a symbolic capital as it will not have any substantial meaning in a different society. For instance, being acknowledged as European in the United States will not give someone a preferential employment from the government.

many Europeans, “properly employed” in the Indies meant not doing hard labor jobs.²⁵ Their disdain for hard labor relates to their idea of Europeanness, in which, as the more civilized society, they would not be in a lower rank than the natives. The Indies-born Europeans’ preference for gaining employment within the government remained high and only changed slightly, even after eight decades. In 1855, 63 percent of the 4,145 Europeans living in Batavia worked for the government, making the Dutch East Indies government the largest employer of the Batavian Eurasian community then. Although there were more private sector jobs in 1930, most Eurasians still worked in the civil service; almost half of the Indies Eurasian population worked for the Indies government: in the civil service, railways and tramways, and the telegraph and telephone service. Those who earned their living outside the government only amounted to 10.4 percent of the Eurasian population, working in independent occupations, such as business owners or the private sector.²⁶

Officer positions in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (*KNIL* or *Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger*) were also primarily conferred to those with European legal status. Having Europeans as officers and leaders in various Dutch expeditions allowed the Indies government to maintain colonial prestige and to stamper the division between the rulers and the ruled. Until the late nineteenth century, most colonial migrants were soldiers recruited from continental Europe.²⁷ These migrants eventually became the *blijvers* of the nineteenth century. The high number of casualties in the lengthy Aceh War (1873-1913) and numerous military expeditions to expand Dutch control in the Archipelago eventually forced the Indies military to recruit the Indigenous populations within their ranks. In this situation, the officer positions

²⁵ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 270.

²⁶ Van der Veur, “The Eurasians of Indonesia,” 126.

²⁷ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 16.

remained predominantly in the hands of Europeans.

Although the European legal status remained important within the Indies population, its value within the European community abated after the 1850s. Instead, the economic and cultural capital became more substantial distinctions in this community after the influx of European newcomers. These European newcomers were unlike the local Eurasians: many held higher civil service posts and significantly higher wealth. The newcomers' strong influence in the Indies government and the gradual expansion of the Indies' European population created a sharper internal dividing line within the European community. Several terminologies emerged from this division—*blijvers*, *trekkers*, *indisch*, and *totok*. Although racial purity played a dominant role in the birth of these terminologies, class consciousness also affected these group identities. Understanding these terminologies and the groups' roles in the Indies European community will enhance our understanding of “earning and behaving as Europeans.”

Europeans in the Indies used the terms *blijvers*, *trekkers*, *indisch*, and *totok* to describe a European's cultural orientation. All terms were used in contemporary newspapers and demonstrated the group distinctions within the European community. *Indisch* and *totok* described a European's cultural affinity; *indisch* Europeans were those with strong ties with local culture, while *totok* Europeans had deep affinities with Dutch or European culture.²⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, the *trekkers* rose to the top of the Batavia social hierarchy and determined the “taste” of the European community. Below I will focus on the *blijvers* and *trekkers* groups and show how *trekkers* became the dominant group in the Indies European circle starting in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Trekkers or sojourners was the term used to describe European newcomers who came to

²⁸ The term *totok* was originally used to describe Chinese Indonesians newcomers who had distinct cultural affiliations than *peranakan* or local-born Chinese Indonesians.

the Indies for a specific duration and planned to return to Europe after acquiring wealth in the Indies or upon retirement. Heavy *trekkers*' immigration started in 1870 following the removal of immigration restrictions from Europe. Additionally, the Indies government's abolishment of the *cultuurstelsel* (Cultivation System) and the liberal changes in the New Agrarian Policy (1880) enticed many Europeans to start private businesses in the Indies.²⁹ In 1870-80 alone, at least 10,000 new migrants arrived in the Indies. Some migrants took out long-term leases of uncultivated land and started agricultural enterprises. These led to the emergence of a European land-owning class with an exclusive lifestyle.³⁰ Other *trekkers* dominated the top of the Indies' European hierarchy due to their high positions within the Indies' government. Not all *trekkers* were Europeans; some were Eurasians. All *trekkers*, however, retained a strong sense of Dutch identity.³¹ As part of their Dutch identity, they rejected native and hybridized genres.

The influence of *trekkers* in the Indies was concentrated in Batavia, where most newcomers resided. Although most Europeans in the Indies lived in Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya, Batavia was distinct from the other cities as the primary seat of the Dutch East Indies government. While the Indies-born Europeans continued to be the majority in Batavia (63 percent of the 1870 European population in Batavia), their internal group dynamic differed significantly from Semarang and Surabaya, where more than 80 percent of their European population were born in the Indies.³² The dynamic difference could be seen in the music and theater realm. Although all three cities had theaters, the *Schouwburgen* in Semarang and Surabaya were not as prestigious nor exclusive compared to the Batavian Schouwburg. *Komedie*

²⁹ Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 128.

³⁰ Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 128; Ahmat Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)*, Studies on Southeast Asia, no. 17 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 34–35.

³¹ Knight, "A Sugar Factory and Its Swimming Pool," 453.

³² Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 228–29.

Stamboel, a hybridized Eurasian theater, could perform in the Surabaya Schouwburg but not the Batavia's.

On the opposite side of this hierarchy were the *blijvers* or stayers, Europeans who resided permanently in the Netherlands Indies.³³ Many *blijvers* had ancestors settling in the Indies since the early 1600s.³⁴ These were the descendants of the Dutch East India Company soldiers or clerks that settled in the Indies following the end of their contracts. The *blijvers*, whose family history spanned several generations in the Indies, often were of mixed descent due to the low numbers of European women available to the Company soldiers and clerks.³⁵

Although the *blijvers* outnumbered the *trekkers* in the Indies, the *trekkers* held more political power due to their sheer numbers within the higher posts of the Indies government and political positions, such as the Council of Indies. The low numbers of *blijvers* in the very highest positions (councilors of the Indies or governor generals) had existed since the early days of the Dutch East India Company. The Company never established an exclusionary policy for the *blijvers*, yet few *blijvers* reached such positions.³⁶ A similar situation existed under the Netherlands government: the government did not explicitly exclude *blijvers* from the higher civil posts, but their numbers remained low in these positions. The Netherlands government, however, excluded Indies-educated *blijvers* from attaining civil servant positions above low-paying clerks. For instance, the 1849 *Staatsblad* stated that only those educated entirely in Europe were eligible for posts within the *Binnenlands Bestuur*.³⁷ In the following section, I will demonstrate how the professionalization of the Indies' civil service in the 1820s hindered Indies-born Europeans from

³³ Djalins, "Becoming Indonesian Citizens," 231.

³⁴ Ann Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 3 (July 1992): 515.

³⁵ Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26–27.

³⁶ Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 185.

³⁷ Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 128.

achieving social mobility and created a class of petty clerks living on the margins of the Indies' European society. Unable to "earn as Europeans," members of this group had limited economic capital to "behave as Europeans." Their financial limitation, ultimately, hindered them from participating and spectating "European" entertainments or to join the exclusive clubhouses.

The fall of the Dutch East India Company at the end of the eighteenth century led to the demise of nepotism in civil servant hiring practice. Replacing this old practice was a professionalization of the Indies' civil service through higher educational standards for civil servants. Previously, respectable literate European men were of limited supply in the Indies. This low supply of adequate applicants and the Company's lack of specific qualifications in hiring its personnel meant that anyone able to read and write could easily attain a clerk position in the Company.³⁸ After the 1820s, however, the Dutch East India Government required higher-level civil servants to have a European education in secondary or higher levels. However, the professionalization effort did not fully take effect for several decades. For instance, many ex-military Europeans entered the civil service in the 1830s due to the low numbers of suitable personnel.³⁹ By the middle of the nineteenth century, both higher educational requirements and the exorbitant cost of European education created a vicious cycle among the Indies-born Europeans: only those of high financial standing would have sons able to achieve similar standing, and those born to low financial standing had a slim chance of upward mobility. Those with the lower socioeconomic status eventually developed taste for native and hybridized entertainment due to the high economic barrier to partake in European entertainment. Additionally, the cycle of poverty among the poor Europeans affected how the Batavian elites viewed European and non-European behaviors and taste.

³⁸ Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 185.

³⁹ Bosma and Raben, 188.

The new higher educational requirement created a massive barrier to enter Indies civil service positions for many Indies-born Europeans. Starting in 1849, the Indies government required all applicants to the higher posts in the civil service to be educated in Europe. As such, public service aspirants often had to start their education in Europe before reaching their teenage years, creating emotional and financial hardship for the applicants and their families. Children as young as eight years old were sent to Europe in order to pursue good European education. After completing their elementary education, these children would enter the Delft Academy, an academy created by the Netherlands government and designed to provide a higher education appropriate for higher civil service positions. Established in 1842, the Academy emphasized the training of linguistic skills in the three common languages in the Indies (Malay, Javanese, and Dutch), as well as ethnology, indigenous law, and geometry.⁴⁰ The Netherlands government expected this new skill set would better prepare applicants for higher civil servants positions, such as *residents*, *assistent-residents*, and *controllers* in the *Binnenlands Bestuur* (Interior Administration).⁴¹ An estimate from 1848 showed that parents had to spend 14,200 guilders to finance their sons' education from the age of eight until the completion of the Delft diploma.⁴² This exorbitant cost meant that only select Indies-born Europeans could send their sons to study in Europe.

Further exacerbating this lack of economic mobility opportunities is the lack of higher education institutes in the Indies up to the late nineteenth century. The Dutch East India government did not open a secondary education institute until the 1860s with the establishment

⁴⁰ Taylor posited that the Delft Academy also taught aspiring Indies officers "to look upon Indonesians as children needing protection rather than as subjects with rights and duties." This led these officers and commissioners to debase the Indies subjects stronger than they did before. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 118.

⁴¹ The *assistent-residents* position did not necessarily mean that the holders had less responsibilities than the *residents*. Sometimes this simply denotes that the *assistents* are of junior status. Both *residents* and *assistent-residents* headed residencies, which hierarchically under the provinces and above the districts.

⁴² Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 185–91; Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 117–20.

of the first *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS), the Willem III *Gymnasium* (Willem III School) in Batavia. Prior to 1860, European parents prepared their children through costly private tuition, which meant that only “exceptional locally educated man” could rise beyond the lower rungs of government.⁴³ Establishing the *Gymnasium* eased the financial burden for the public service aspirants as they no longer needed to pursue higher education in Europe. However, the *Gymnasium*’s annual tuition of 180 guilders (in 1879) was still financially strenuous for families in the lower rung of colonial administration. (Compare this tuition rate with the lower civil servants’ monthly salary of 220 guilders.)⁴⁴ Although some pupils were fortunate to attend the school with the help of government school funds, this number is low. Indeed, only four out of 104 pupils in Surabaya HBS received government funding in 1880-1881.⁴⁵

Upon graduation from the Batavian *Gymnasium*, the Indies-born Eurasians only acquired the skills necessary to pass the lower civil servant exam (*kleinambtenaarsexamen*), not the higher civil servant exam (*grootambtenaarsexamen*). Higher civil service posts—law officers, officials in the *Binnenlands Bestuur*, and government officers stationed at Batavia—required applicants to successfully pass the higher civil servant exam or the Leiden examination.⁴⁶ Applicants to the three higher civil service posts also needed a doctor’s degree in law or politics. Compared to the *grootambtenaarsexamen*, the *kleinambtenaarsexamen* was much less rigorous; it examined applicants’ proficiency in arithmetic, elements of the Dutch language, and legible handwriting.⁴⁷ Successful applicants of this exam could only apply for officials of junior rank with salary barely

⁴³ Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 119.

⁴⁴ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 268.

⁴⁵ Bosma and Raben, 210.

⁴⁶ The *grootambtenaarsexamen* and *kleinambtenaarsexamen* replaced the Delft diploma following the closure of the *Indische Instelling* (or Delft Academy) in 1901. Bosma and Raben, 119.

⁴⁷ Jacques Spanjaard, “The Civil Service of the Dutch East Indies as Compared with That of Britain in India and Africa,” *African Affairs* 2, no. VIII (July 1903): 440.

able to cover their living costs.⁴⁸

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Europeans in the lower ranks of the civil service experienced economic hardship because of the imbalance between their salary and European living cost. Between the 1850s and 1880s, there was no salary rise for these lower-rank employees while the price of Batavian housing ballooned quickly. Builders could not satisfy the demand for brick houses, leading to housing shortages. This hardship was not limited to the lowest rung of the civil servants; some *commiezen* (senior clerks) had to live outside the European neighborhoods due to the high living cost.⁴⁹ It would not be farfetched to surmise that these clerks could not take part in European entertainment as easily as their counterparts who lived in European neighborhoods.

The professionalization of the higher civil service positions, the exorbitant cost of secondary education in the Indies, and the low salary rate for the lower civil service employees created a class of petty clerks living on the margins of the Indies European society with little means of social mobility. Up to 1903, the *blijvers* received employment preferential as only those with European legal status could serve in civil positions. However, they were trapped in the vicious cycle of lower economic positions with limited chance of economic mobility. While a “pure blood” newcomer working in a cultivation enterprise could earn 150 guilders a month, only a senior office clerk could earn such an amount towards the close of their career.⁵⁰

The European legal status’ symbolic value diminished even further at the beginning of the twentieth century due to the removal of the European legal status as the prerequisite to civil service positions. The Indies government initially only hired Europeans for civil service

⁴⁸ See Spanjaard, “The Civil Service of the Dutch East Indies as Compared with That of Britain in India and Africa.” for more information regarding the civil service positions in the Indies.

⁴⁹ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 268.

⁵⁰ Bosma and Raben, 315.

positions but increasingly hired more native employees for lower positions after 1903. The *Ethische Politiek* (Ethical Policy) was pivotal in this hiring shift. Initiated in 1901, the *Ethische Politiek* initially aimed to improve the welfare of the native population through specific policies in irrigation, transmigration, and education. Although the competition for lower posts became competitive, the higher-ranking jobs in the civil service and the military were still under the monopoly of the Europeans.

The education aspect of the *Ethische Politiek* held a crucial role in causing the Eurasians to lose their monopoly over the lower civil service posts. While previously, Indies natives (predominantly Javanese *priyayi*) could only attend Western primary schools in the Indies, the policy allowed more native children to receive and finish European secondary school. The Dutch government soon realized that the Western-educated natives were now suitable for various lower ranks of civil service positions in the Indies. Additionally, they could offer lower salary rates to the native employees, and there was ample enthusiasm among the natives to enter the civil service corps. After all, the salary rate of the civil service corps was much higher than other career options. While the Indo-Europeans were still eligible for these positions, they did not receive any preferential hiring treatment from the government. Moreover, with the higher supply of suitable civil servant candidates, the government did not need to offer competitive salary rates to fill their ranks, eventually maintaining the same rate between the European and the native lower clerks.⁵¹

Similar to European legal status, “earning as Europeans” in the Indies was also fluid throughout the nineteenth century. The legal status initially conferred employment benefits to many Europeans in the Indies as the Dutch government only hired Europeans in civil servant

⁵¹ Bosma and Raben, 312.

positions. The arrival of the *trekkers* in the middle of the nineteenth century marked a crucial point in the defining European level of income. Many *trekkers* were hired in the civil government, replacing *blijvers* who were deemed ill-equipped for this position. Attaining a European standard of living became much more difficult for most Europeans in the Indies. Moreover, most *blijvers* were trapped in a cycle of poverty through employment in the lower ranks of the Dutch government with little chance of social mobility. Towards the late nineteenth century, the growing *trekkers* population became the dominant group in the Indies due to their seats in key positions within the government. Understanding the dynamics between the *blijvers* and the *trekkers* is crucial in examining behaviors associated with Europeanness in late nineteenth-century Batavia. As the dominant group, the *trekkers* played a major influence in deciding the elite's tastes and behaviors deemed as Europeans. The following section will discuss examples of behaviors deemed European and non-European and how these behaviors are strongly correlated to the power dynamics within the Indies society.

III. Behaving as Europeans

In *Distinction* (1979), Pierre Bourdieu provided a method to understand the construction of taste in society and bridged the gap between cultural studies and sociology. Of particular importance is his idea that cultural taste is not innate. Rather, it is socially constructed and determined by various factors, including social class, education, and economic capital. He further posited that the dominant upper economic class created the distinction between “high culture” and “low culture” within French society. Although the nineteenth-century Batavian society is a century older than the book *Distinction*, some of Bourdieu's theory applies to this society. As the center of the Dutch East Indies government, Batavia harbored diverse population groups:

blijvers, trekkers, natives from various Indies islands, and other Asians. The Others surrounded the Europeans, yet Europeans in the Indies maintained cultural hegemony in the performance spaces by associating Western art music with “high culture.”

Among Bourdieu’s determiners of taste is musical entertainment. Just as the French elites controlled which music was of “high culture,” the repertoires performed inside the government-sponsored Batavian Schouwburg and the elite clubhouses were under the hands of the Batavian European elites. In a larger scope, the elites’ motivation was their fear of “going native.” However, on a smaller sub-scale within the European community, their motivation was to distinguish themselves from the Europeans of lower economic backgrounds. After all, the accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state involved a long process of incorporation which cost money and time, a benefit only enjoyed by the affluent. Appreciation and knowledge of Western art music require years attending musical events and lessons. As I will later demonstrate, behaving as Europeans within their community gave them a sense of cultural superiority and social capital.

Just as European legal status directly opposed the native status, so did behaviors associated with being European. Surrounded by Others, Europeans in the Indies created European-only spaces to enjoy European cuisines and entertainment among themselves. These spaces include the Batavian Schouwburg, the *Societeit de Harmonie*, and the Concordia Club. While the Schouwburg mainly served as a theater, Harmonie and Concordia were clubhouses with facilities such as billiards, card tables, libraries, dining rooms, and bars.⁵² Access to these clubhouses required membership dues, a financial barrier to many lower-class Europeans, and

⁵² Artyas details the functions and role of Societeit de Harmonie in nineteenth-century Batavia in Yasmin Artyas, “Societeit de Harmonie: European Elite Entertainment Center in the 19th Century in Batavia,” *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 29, no. 2 (2019): 130–38.

thus limited its membership to only the elites in Batavian European society. The two clubs had a different sense of exclusivity. As a military club, Concordia's memberships were only open to officers in the Indies military. The Harmonie did not require its applicants to be in the military. Instead, applicants had to state their occupations and places of residence to the club's council. In other words, only applicants deemed to be of similar standing to the members would be able to join the Harmonie.⁵³

An evening in these clubs required attendees to “perform” numerous aspects of European behaviors in order to solicit approval from other attendees. An 1890 event celebrating De Harmonie's 75th anniversary is a prime example. At this event, attendees consumed European cuisine (*foie gras*, mayonnaise salad, and *truffle*), listened to several European music works, and danced to waltz, polka, and polonaise tunes. Of particular importance are the music performance and the dances. There were two waltzes by Johann Strauss (*Wiener Blut* and *An der schönen blauen Donau*), a polonaise by Carl Faust (*Der Fackelzug*, op. 239), a character piece by Richard Eilenberg (*Die Wachtparade kommt*, Op. 78), a potpourri piece based on Edmond Audran's *La Mascotte* (*Grand potpourri de concert sur 'La mascotte'*), and an overture by Frans von Suppé (*Ouverture from Pique Dame*).⁵⁴ These works were by European composers from the second half of the nineteenth century. Specifically, they were Viennese popular and “light” music, which the attendees would view as cosmopolitan and modern. As attendees to Batavian Schouwburg were required to wear European outfits, it would not be surprising that Harmonie members would also don European dresses and suits.⁵⁵ Fashion style among the Indies Europeans started to move away from *Indische* elements beginning at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ One had to have

⁵³ Artyas, 134.

⁵⁴ Artyas, 135–36.

⁵⁵ Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 92.

⁵⁶ For further discussion regarding the changes in colonial fashions and food preferences at the beginning of

adequate knowledge of current and popular European music and dances to garner social acceptance.

By participating in these exclusive society events, attendees created opportunities to build and maintain relationships with Batavian elites, including members of the highest echelons of the Indies government. The Minister of Home Affairs and even the Governor-General of the Indies occasionally partook in these soirées. It would not be surprising if the then-Governor General, Cornelis Pijnacker Hordijk (1888-1893), would be in attendance for the 1890 Harmonie event. In this space, those with economic capital (appropriate occupations) and symbolic capital (European legal status) would be able to use their cultural capital (knowledge of European music and dance) to build rapport among the Batavian elites (social capital) and further their economic and social standing outside the clubhouse space.

In contrast to the elite *trekkers*, many *blijvers* enjoyed various Javanese, Chinese, and hybridized music, dances, and theaters—entertainments deemed non-European by the *trekkers*—due to the proliferation of these entertainments, its low admission fee (if any), and their preference for hybridized art forms. This is evident from the writings of E. F. Wiggers, the editor and chief reporter of Batavia-based Malay newspaper *Bintang Barat*, who in 1872 chronicled the various entertainments in public spaces. He stated that every night there were performances of *topeng* folk plays in the Batavian public markets and numerous Chinese performances (Chinese opera or Chinese-style *wayang cokek*) in the Batavia Chinatown.⁵⁷ Wiggers also noted a touring

the twentieth century, see Chapter 4, “Summer Dresses and Canned Food: European Women and Western Lifestyles” in Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and The Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000).

⁵⁷ *Topeng* (mask) refers to Indonesian dance-drama in which the dancers wear masks often accompanied by a small gamelan ensemble. It can be found in various regions in Indonesia. The *topeng* troupes mentioned in Wiggers are likely to be of Javanese or Sundanese origin. *Wayang cokek* is a social dance accompanied by a hybrid Chinese-Sundanese musical ensemble. Matthew Isaac Cohen, *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016), 1–2.

family circus performing dog-and-monkey acts, equestrian numbers, acrobatics, comical songs, and clowning in Gambir and Glodok public squares. Additionally, he observed that “all races” were welcome in these public entertainments while only a few non-Europeans attended events at the *Schouwburg*.⁵⁸

The performers' racial makeup and attendance are not the most significant factors in deciding whether an art form is European or non-European. Instead, the art form’s proximity to “nativeness” is crucial. *Topeng* and *wayang cokek*, performed and enjoyed primarily by natives, were unsurprisingly deemed non-European. On the contrary, *Komedie Stamboel*, a theater art form created and performed by Europeans, was also considered “not European.” Auguste Mahieu, the son of a low-ranking civil servant, created *Stamboel* by combining elements of European fairy tales, Southeast Asian chronicles, and stories from Arabian Nights.⁵⁹ Mahieu’s adoption of various operas (*Norma*, *La Sonnambula*, and *Aida*) and the troupe’s European instruments (guitar, violin, and harp) in its performances showcased the European element in the genre.⁶⁰ However, the *trekkers* considered the genre as native because the genre used low Malay instead of Dutch in its dialogue. Additionally, the popular genre’s audience included all ethnic groups of the city. The genre’s proximity to nativeness was likely the main reason the *Batavian Schouwburg* repeatedly rejected Mahieu’s effort to bring the *Stamboel* to the elite theater.

Another vital factor that relegates *Stamboel* as non-European is its association with Europeans of lower economic status. Mahieu came from a modest Eurasian family and went to the *Hoogere Burgerschool* in Surabaya, where he familiarized himself with European drama. His

⁵⁸ Cohen, 1–4.

⁵⁹ Cohen traced the rise and fall of the *Komedie Stamboel* in Matthew Isaac Cohen, *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903*, Ohio University Research in International Studies. Southeast Asia Series, no. 112 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006).

⁶⁰ Cohen, *Inventing the Performing Arts*, 64–67.

father and grandfather held humble occupations as a salt warehouse employee, a tax collector, and a low-ranking civil servant.⁶¹ As such, Mahieu did not grow up with economic or social capital. While Mahieu's choice of adapting Indische *romans* (novels) made his troupe popular, the sensationalism of these *romans* did not help the genre's prestige among the Europeans. Titles of these novels—*Secrets of Batavia*, *Nyai Dasima*, *A Tale from Batavia*, *Revenge*, or *Oeij Kim Nio and Lie Koen Njan*—showed the stories' connection with non-Europeans and the lower economic class. The popularity of these novels came from the fact that they presented actual occurrences in the Indies and appeared in Malay newspapers.⁶² Moreover, the troupe's initial low admission fee solicited the attendance of “drunken European men...sailors and soldiers, [and] Eurasian clerks.”⁶³ Fights among the attendees also often broke out during the performances. The attendees' behaviors further strengthened the *trekkers*' association with *Stamboel* as non-European.

Applying Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capitals to the nineteenth-century Batavia musical scene allows one to examine the cultural practices and social structures, including the promotion and exclusion of specific musical genres. Bourdieu's emphasis on power dynamics in society directly applies to the deeply racially stratified nineteenth-century East Indies community. The *Komedie Stamboel* troupe, for instance, never performed in the Batavian Schouwburg not simply because the genre did not fit the elite's taste but also because of its association with non-Europeans and poor Europeans. Performers wishing to perform in the Batavia Schouwburg had to obtain government permission to hold public performances before entering the prestigious theater. In the case of *Stamboel*, Batavian residents allowed *Stamboel* to

⁶¹ Cohen, *The Komedie Stamboel*, 61.

⁶² Cohen, 278.

⁶³ Cohen, 1–2.

perform in Batavia but not in the Schouwburg as some of the performers were not Europeans.

Furthermore, using Bourdieu's idea of social and cultural capital could aid in explaining why agents within this community (musicians or organizers) made particular musical choices either consciously or unconsciously to uphold the current power structure or advance their position. As seen above, performances in the Batavian elite clubhouses involved European music. In the close-knit Batavian elite community, various forms of capital—economic, cultural, social, and symbolic—were earned and exchanged to maintain social status and achieve social mobility for a select few. As seen later in Chapter 3, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans earned close proximity to the European elites through her prowess in piano and voice, which aided her daughter in marrying someone of higher social standing.

Conclusions

This chapter described the aspects associated with being “European” in the nineteenth-century Indies society—counted, earning, and behaving as Europeans—in order to understand how European music functioned within the Batavian elite circle and why Batavian elites wanted to distinguish themselves from both Indies natives and the *blijvers*. The first section, “Counted as Europeans,” explored the fluidity of European legal status throughout the century. A person with European legal status held some rights exclusive to Europeans, such as pensions, education, and other economic welfare. While most Europeans born to European parents in the Indies automatically held European legal status, not all persons born to European parents had these rights. The following section, “Earning as Europeans,” showed the economic implications of European legal status and how the status functioned as a symbolic capital. Europeans in the Indies primarily held jobs in the Indies government. As the Dutch government only hired those

with European legal status within the civic service, the legal status conferred economic benefits to these Europeans. The section also detailed how the arrival of the *trekkers* in the middle of the nineteenth century and the cycle of poverty among the lower-class Indies Europeans resulted in shifts in what constituted European and non-European income levels. Many *blijvers* working in the Dutch government's lowest rung could not escape the cycle of poverty nor achieve social mobility. The last section, "Behaving as Europeans," provided examples of European and non-European behaviors. As many *trekkers* held influential posts in the government, the group became the dominant group within the society. As such, the European taste fell under the control of these elites.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDIES OF THREE BATAVIAN MUSICIANS

Introduction

With the forces of colonialism, European music traveled to other continents—Asia, South America, and Africa. Spanish colonists in South America brought their instruments across the Atlantic Ocean, built pipe organs, and sang their church songs. Similar situations happened in the Indies. In the early days of the Batavia settlement, the Dutch colonists imported and printed music textbooks for their children’s education.¹ At the same time, they patronized *ronggengs*, *gamelan* ensembles, and *wayang* performances. Beginning in the Interregnum period (1811-16), British newcomers arrived in the Dutch East Indies and openly mocked its mestizo culture, especially in the Batavian newspapers.² Instead of enjoying performances by their retinues, the newcomer elites introduced the Batavian elites to amateur theater and dancing, where the performers were the social equals of the audience.³ To that effect, the British created the Military Bachelor’s Theatre (the precursor of the Batavian Schouwburg), where they held theater and opera performances. As a reaction to the mestizo’s habits of wearing *kebaya* and *sarong*, the British required the attendees to “behave” as Europeans—wearing shoes and stockings.⁴ Hoping to curry the favors of the British powers, the Batavian Dutch “confined Mestizo manner to the household.” Thus the advent of “Europeanness” began, or as Jean Gelman Taylor described this

¹ For instance, the Dutch East India Company’s press printed J. J. Steendam’s “Songs of Morality for the Batavian Youth” in 1671. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 25. Taylor 25.

² The British newcomers wrote essays and letters open to the public in the *Java Government Gazette*. They wrote disapprovals of the *Indische* woman outfits, slavery, and separations of men and women in public spaces.

³ Taylor, 100–101, 111.

⁴ After the British left, the theatre and the dress code for the audiences remained. Bosma and Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies*, 92; Cohen, *Inventing the Performing Arts*, 16.

cultural imposition—“an assault on Indies culture.”⁵

This chapter examines how the idea of Europeanness in late nineteenth-century Batavia affected the lives of its musicians. Specifically, I will trace the economic and social standing of three musicians active in 1890s Batavia: Marie Storm van 's-Gravesande, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, and Gijbertus van Dam. Each musician came from different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds, which affected their success or failure to climb the social ladder. While both Lange-Rijckmans and Van Dam came from economically modest families, the cultural and social capital they inherited enabled one to join successfully the ranks of Batavian elites, while the other could not. As discussed in the previous chapter, social class also played a dominant role in the idea of Europeanness. While not all European music genres were perceived equally by the elite, I argue that such perception of certain genre—but also performance spaces, and level of music education of musicians—impacted the trajectory of musician's lives in Batavia.

By studying the lives of these musicians, we can gain a better understanding of how the tension between social classes within the European group in Batavia impacted the elites' perception of some musical genres, such as *kroncong* or *stamboel*. This perception continued even after the end of Dutch colonialism and affected Dutch repatriates as well as practitioners of some hybridized genres in postcolonial Indonesia. Dutch repatriates—Indies-born Europeans who relocated to the Netherlands after Indonesian independence—had to suppress their affinities towards *kroncong*, for instance, due to the colonial perception of the genre among the elites. Most of these repatriates were *blijvers*, with distinctive sets of tastes and habits from the “mainland” Dutch populations. The post-1949 Indonesian elites, who had taken Dutch education and adopted the elites' taste, continued their perception of “low culture” genres, such as *tanjidor*.

⁵ See Chapter 4: “The Assault on Indies Culture” in Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*.

Like the Dutch elites, they used courtly traditions such as gamelan as Indonesia's official cultural ambassador.

Throughout this chapter, I will engage with primary sources such as recital advertisements, legal documents (birth certificates, marriage registrations, census information, etc.), and concert reviews. I also use some genealogy websites maintained by the musicians' descendants to trace the musicians' family tree and to obtain anecdotal information not mentioned in public sources. In each case study, I analyze the economic, social, and cultural capital each musician inherited from their family based on legal documents and anecdotal information. Based on available data, I trace their formal and informal musical education. By examining recital advertisements, I gain knowledge of each musician's repertoire and performance locations. Finally, I consider how the idea of Europeanness influenced the elites' perception of these musicians based on their concert reviews.

I. Marie Leontine Charlotte Storm van 's-Gravesande

As an Indies-born European, Marie Leontine Charlotte Storm van 's-Gravesande skillfully utilized her European and Indies heritage as cultural capital in order to further her musical career. In the Indies, she emphasized her Europeanness—French musical training, successful European performances, and prowess in European high art music—to maintain her social status. Her active participation in the Indies' musical life was unsurprising as she was born to a prominent and prosperous Dutch family. On the contrary, she accentuated her *Indische* roots in European contexts where exoticism was highly valued.⁶ In this section, I will first show how

⁶ Compare with Margaretha Geertruida MacLeod, also known as Mata Hari, (1876-1917) who was born to Dutch parents and used her short stay in the Indies to legitimize her exotic dance persona. She advertised herself as a Javanese princess who was well-versed in Indian dance since her childhood.

her economic, social, and cultural capital gave her advantages within the musical circle of Batavian elites. Then, I will demonstrate how her creation of the *Indische* persona aided her success in Europe.

Marie Leontine Charlotte Storm van 's-Gravesande was an opera singer active in Batavia in the 1890s. Born in Batavia on 10 January 1859, she had some music training in France and performed in Den Haag, Amsterdam, Berlin, and St. Petersburg under the stage name Maeth Piazza.⁷ After several years of performing in Europe, she held numerous opera and voice recitals in the Indies before moving to Europe permanently. A notarial record dated 24 October 1905 in Den Haag showed that she lived in the Netherlands in 1905.⁸ Not much is known about her activities between 1906 and 1913. Based on an article published in Den Haag in 1917, she possibly went to France prior to World War I and taught voice between those missing years.⁹ She returned to Den Haag during World War I, where she joined “De Toonkunst” music school. (The Netherlands remained neutral during World War I.) She passed away in July 1942 in Brussels, Belgium.

Storm van 's-Gravesande came from a family of prominent civil servants, which provided her with significant economic and social capital. Indeed, two of Storm van 's-Gravesande family members served as leaders of Essequibo and Demerara, two Dutch colonies on the northern coast of South America. Laurens Storm van 's-Gravesande was the governor of Essequibo and Demerara in 1743-1772, and under his rule, “Essequibo reached the apex of its prosperity whilst subject to Dutch rule.”¹⁰ Leontine's father, Frans Jonathan Pieter Storm van 's-

⁷ It is unclear why Storm van 's-Gravesande used an Italian sounding stage name. I speculate that she wanted to distance herself from her family's political background. Her niece, Alexandrina Johanna Walravina Gleenewinkel Kamperdijk, followed her footsteps into the opera stage and also adopted an Italian stage name (Andrine Savelli).

⁸ Based on the Notarial Archive of Den Haag: *Notarieel archief Den Haag II, 's-Gravenhage*, archive 373-01, inventory number 2879, 24-10-1905, *Solko Johannes van den Bergh*.

⁹ *De Kroniek*, July 1917.

¹⁰ J.A.J. De Villiers, “British Guiana and Its Founder--Storm van 's Gravesande,” *Journal of the Royal*

Gravesande, was born in Demerara and moved to the Netherlands Indies following the cession of the two colonies to the United Kingdom. During his lifetime, Frans steadily rose within the ranks of Indies civil servants, beginning as *tweede kommiezen* in 1834, promoted to the *assistent resident* of Palembang in 1846, and stationed in Batavia starting in 1856. In the last two decades of his life, he was the Receiver-general (*algemeen ontvanger*) in Batavia and later had a position in the Netherlands Indies life insurance and annuity. When Leontine was born, Frans had achieved a high-ranking position within the Indies government. As such, she would have grown up in significant wealth and been introduced to the Batavia elites circle through her father's position in the Indies government.

Within Batavian music circles, Storm van 's-Gravesande utilized her numerous European performances as her cultural capital to make claims to musical superiority. She first appeared in Dutch newspapers on 1 October 1890, performing as Lakmé in the *Nederlandsché Opera* of Amsterdam.¹¹ Within 1890 and 1891, she reprised her performance as Lakmé in Den Haag and Berlin. Lodovico Balzofiore, whose opera company toured the Indies in 1893, promoted the joint recital between the Balzofiore opera company and Maeth Piazza on 10 June 1893. In her debut in Batavia, she was billed as “*Ire Cantatrice des Théâtres Neerlandais, St. Petersbourg et Berlin.*”¹² Her St. Petersburg performances might explain her disappearance from Dutch newspapers in 1892. Shortly after her debut recital, Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans (discussed in the following section) held a joint recital on 16 October 1893. This collaboration showed that she successfully (re-)entered the Batavian musical circles.¹³ (Both

Society of Arts 60, no. 3081 (December 8, 1911): 88.

¹¹ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 October 1890.

¹² *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 June 1893.

¹³ She performed the Flower Duet from *Lakmé* in this recital with Ms. M. Kroeze. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 13 October 1893.

Lange-Rijckmans and Storm van 's-Gravesande promoted themselves as European-trained.) By 1897, her success in Europe had been part of her persona. Otto Knaap wrote on 30 January 1897: “Is Maeth Piazza then completely unknown to *Le Ménestrel*, she, who has really performed in the spotlights in Paris, be it not at the *Grand Opéra* or at the *Opéra-Comique*?.”¹⁴ One can surmise from Knaap’s comment that Storm van 's-Gravesande’s European performances were well-known to the public. Indeed, her first appearance in Batavian newspapers included her Berlin performance review.¹⁵

Avec la permission de M. le Résident.

Théâtre de Batavia.

COMPAGNIA d'OPÉRA ITALIANA
Margherita di Savoja: Regina d'Italia.

MERCREDI 21 JUIN 1893,
à 9 heures du soir:

GRAND CONCERT VOCAL et INSTRUMENTAL
DE MADAME MAETH PIAZZA.

1re Cantatrice des Théâtres Neerlandais, St. Petersbourg
et Berlin.

3529 L. BALZOFIORE.

Figure 2.1: Storm van 's-Gravesande’s advertisement of her debut recital, *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 June 1893.

Although Storm van 's-Gravesande was active in Batavia music scenes in the 1890s, her

¹⁴ “Is Maeth Piazza dan voor *Le Ménestrel* geheel en al eene onbekende, zij, die te Parijs toch werkelijk wel eens voor het voetlicht is opgetreden, zij het dan ook niet in de Groote Opera of in de Opera-Comique?” Otto Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes* (Batavia: Albrecht, 1899), 147–56.

¹⁵ *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 September 1891.

performances were not devoid of criticism. I argue that the prestige and Europeanness (symbolic capital) she gained from her European performances allowed her to continue performing in the Indies despite her not-so-stellar singing techniques. Regarding Storm van 's-Gravesande's performance in *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Otto Knaap wrote that she was "no match for Santuzza's party" and that her voice in the head register was "zeer onzuiver" (very impure).¹⁶ Knaap also stated regarding Storm van 's-Gravesande's performance of Auber's *Manon Lescant* that the "staccati and martelatti were not always completely pure and the grupetti were a bit runny."¹⁷ Despite these unfavorable reviews between 1896 and 1899, she continued to perform regularly, not just in Batavia but also in other cities in the Indies. In 1899, the Surabaya newspaper, *De Locomotief*, reported that she performed *De Controleur der Slaapwaggons* and donated the proceedings to the Ceram Funds. (She even performed in Singapore in 1898, singing "her grand air" from Lakmé.)¹⁸ After the turn of the century, she expanded her performances to plays, performing Tristan Bernard's *L'Anglais tel quo'on le parle* (French Without a Master, 1899) in 1904. After this year, she disappeared from Indies newspapers.¹⁹

While Storm van 's-Gravesande emphasized her Europeanness in the Indies, she accentuated her Indies persona in Europe. Although later newspaper articles (1914-16) identified her as a "Hollander," she was described as "Indische" in some newspaper articles before her return to Batavia. For instance, an 1891 *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* article quoting a Berlin newspaper stated:

Die Stimme, ein hoher Mezzosopran, ist klein, und nicht kräftig, auch in der oberen Lage

¹⁶ Review of the *Cavalleria Rusticana*, 27 February 1899 in Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 416–27.

¹⁷ Review of the Concert of Mrs. J. C. Mulder - van den Wal on 30 September 1896. Knaap, 81–83.

¹⁸ *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 10 January 1898

¹⁹ Her name was mentioned in 1908 in an article regarding Andrine Savelli (stage name of Alexandrina Johanna Walravina Gleenewinkel Kamperdijk). Savelli was Storm van 's-Gravesande's Indies-born niece and was an opera singer active in Europe.

oft unrein. Aber der Tonansatz ist sehr weich, die Töne verschmelzen manchmal ineinander, und das Organ übt zuweilen einen bestrickenden Reiz aus, d. h. wenn es in der richtigen Stimmlage bleibt, besonders im *piano* und *mezza voce*. Dabei spielt diese Indierin so natürlich ohne den mindesten Schein von Angelerntem; ob die Rolle ihr so ganz passte, ob sie immer als Naturkind sich auf der Bühne bewegt, muss die Folge lehren. Jedenfalls ist sie sehr interesssant und werth gesehen und gehört zu werden.

The voice, a high mezzo-soprano, is small and not powerful, often impure even in the upper register. However, the pitch of the tones is very soft, the tones sometimes blend into one another, and the organ sometimes exerts an enchanting charm, i.e., if it stays in the right register, especially in *piano* and *mezza voce*. At the same time, this *Indische* girl acts so naturally without the slightest semblance of learning; whether the role suited her completely, even if she always moves on the stage like a child of nature, the sequel must teach us. In any case, it is very interesting and worth seeing and hearing.²⁰

Her perceived identity as “Indische” during this period relates to her performances of Léo Delibes’ orientalist opera, *Lakmé* (1882). If Storm van ’s-Gravesande deliberately leaned on her *Indische* origin and heritage in these newspapers, her positioning certainly furthered the aura of authenticity and exoticism in her portrayal of *Lakmé*. I suggested that she could have used her origin and residency in the Indies as a cultural capital in the way that Mata Hari, the infamous Dutch exotic dancer and courtesan, did. Living in the Indies for roughly a decade, Mata Hari moved to Paris in 1903 and became a famous exotic dancer. In order to further her authenticity, Matae Hari posed as a Javanese princess of priestly Hindu birth, although she was born and grew up in the Netherlands. Due to the Parisian’s unfamiliarity with the Dutch East Indies, they believed her claims. I argued that Storm van ’s-Gravesande could have capitalized on her *Indische* origin due to the European’s unfamiliarity of the region. Storm van ’s-Gravesande’s *Lakmé* performances were deeply memorable to the Batavia public; articles regarding *Lakmé* performances in Batavian newspapers continued to mention her name, even after she migrated to Europe.

²⁰ *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 September 1891

The perception of Storm van 's-Gravesande's "Europeanness" was not static but changed based on Europe's historical events. For instance, her "Frenchness" was heavily emphasized in her appearance in the Dutch newspapers (*De Kroniek*, July 1917). This focus on her "Frenchness" might have been an example of the contemporary Dutch anxiety about German military strength. *De Taak*, an Indies publication, summarized the article as follows:

In de Kroniek van Juli spreekt Henri Borel over de Indische zangeres Maeth Piazza, die voor ongeveer 15 jaar hier in Indië met succes optrad, maar later terugkeerde naar Frankrijk, waar zij had gestudeerd, om leerares te worden aan de Muziekshool Maligne en die nu, door den oorlog naar Holland gekomen, les geeft aan de Muziekschool van Mevrouw Bergsma in den Haag.

Borel knoopt daaraan een beschouwing vast over het zingen volgens de Fransche en de Duitsche methoden van lateren tijd en over de vergroving van den zang in Duitschland door de eischen welke men vooral aan Wagnerzangers stelt. Hij schrijft: o.m. "Er wordt zelden meer gelet op timbre, op kleur, maar alleen "op de kwestie of men "eine grosse Stimme" heeft... Er worden geen nachtegalen gevormd maar zangmachines van "grooten omvang.

In the Kroniek of July, Henri Borel speaks of the Indies singer Maeth Piazza, who performed successfully here in the Indies for about 15 years, but later returned to France, where she had studied, to become a teacher at the Music School Maligne and who now, came to Holland because of the war, teaches at the Music School of Mrs. Bergsma in The Hague.

Borel attaches to this a reflection on singing according to the French and German methods of later times and on the coarsening of singing in Germany by the demands placed on Wagner singers. He writes among other things: "There is seldom more attention paid to timbre, to color, but only "to the question of whether one has "eine grosse Stimme" ... No nightingales are formed but singing machines of "great size."²¹

Borel's desire to align Dutch vocal aesthetic to French fell in line with Queen Wilhelmina's sympathy towards France and Belgium. Although the Netherlands remained neutral during the First World War, its citizens held individual preferences towards the Alliance

²¹ *De Taak: Algemeen Indisch Weekblad*, No. 1, Semarang, 1917, 144.

or the Central Powers. Words such as “zangmachines” described the Dutch anxiety about German war machines.

Compared to the articles written during her lifetime, Storm van 's-Gravesande's obituary did not include any trace of “Indische,” “Europeanness,” or “Frenchness.” Instead, her obituary from the Den Haag newspaper, *Het Vaderland*, mentioned her musical activities across multiple regions: the Dutch East Indies, the Netherlands, and France (see Figure 2.2). Here, she was memorialized as a cosmopolitan musician who left her marks on the opera scenes of Den Haag and Batavia.



Figure 2.2: Storm van 's-Gravesande's obituary, *Het Vaderland: staat- en letterkundig nieuwsblad*, 25 June 1942.

The musical journey of Marie Storm van 's-Gravesande showed how late nineteenth-

century musicians could craft their backgrounds in ways that benefit their musical careers. As an Indies-born European, Storm van 's-Gravesande capitalized on her Indies background in Europe in order to lend an aura of authenticity to her performance of Delibes' *Lakmé*. Although she likely had little interactions with indigenous culture, she was able to create an *Indische* persona solely from the virtue of being born in the Indies. In the following section, I will discuss another Indies-born musician who had shared the stage with Storm van 's-Gravesande, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans.

II. Pauline Lange-Rijckmans

The life of Pauline Lange-Rijckmans exemplified how musical activities in exclusive European-only venues could lead to higher social standing from accruing and exchanging social and cultural capital. I argue that her participation in Batavia's musical activities aided her family's social mobility, as demonstrated by her daughter's marriage to Max Bajetto, a prominent politician in the Netherlands Indies. While both Lange-Rijckmans and Storm van 's-Gravesande were Indies-born, their economic background differed significantly—Lange-Rijckmans did not inherit much economic capital from her family. However, she was able to earn economic and social capital and achieved social mobility despite her humble economic background and, from her maternal side, *blijvers* lineage. This would have been challenging in Batavian society, which had limited social mobility opportunities. In this section, I will showcase how her musical activities, European musical education, and repertoire choices aided her social mobility.

Born in 1860, Pauline Gesine Clementine Lange-Rijckmans was an active singer, pianist, and music teacher in Batavia. Her role in the Batavian musical scene is evident through

numerous concert advertisements in Batavian Dutch newspapers. Between October and December 1893, her name appeared in at least three concert advertisements (3 October, 16 October, and 3 December). Otto Knaap, a prominent music critic and writer, spoke highly of her musical prowess in his book, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899* (Some Years of Art Life in Batavia). Her inclusion in Knaap's book and frequent appearances in Batavian newspapers show that she was a popular and well-respected figure in public music. Lange-Rijckmans also advertised herself as a piano teacher in at least one Batavian newspaper and held public lessons for piano and voice.²²



Figure 2.3: Piano lesson advertisement on *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 26 January 1893

Coming from a family of professional musicians, Lange-Rijckmans inherited some cultural capital from her family through the early introduction to music and informal musical tutoring. Without access to Lange-Rijckmans' journal, determining her early musical education is challenging. However, one could safely surmise that her father, Elisée François Rijckmans, was likely one of her first music teachers as it was common among a family of musicians to

²² *Bataviasch Nieuwblad*, 26 January 1893. Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 83.

introduce their children to the basics of music making. In Batavia, Elisée worked as an organist at the *De Portugese Buitenkerk* (The Portuguese Outer Church, now called *Gereja Sion*).

Adequate proficiency in music was certainly a marker of the bourgeoisie lifestyle. Lange-Rijckmans' background stood apart from other musicians of her time because of the long lineage of professional musicians through her paternal side. For instance, her paternal grandfather, Eliseus Andreas Ludovicus Reijkmans, was a music teacher and active musician in Paris and Bourdeaux.²³ Additionally, Adèle Delamotte, her paternal grandmother, was also a musician and appeared once as a chorister in the first performance of Auber's *La Muette de Portici*.

In contrast with her paternal side, Lange-Rijckmans' maternal side likely conferred her limited cultural and economic exposure due to their position as *blijvers*. While Lange-Rijckmans was a first-generation *blijver* from her paternal side, she was a third-generation *blijver* from her maternal side. Both of her maternal grandparents were born in the Netherlands and moved permanently to Batavia prior to the birth of her mother, Sophie Jeanette Marie Mallet. (Elisée, her father, was born in Paris and settled in Batavia in 1841.) Both Lange-Rijckmans' maternal grandfather and great-grandfather were military members and permanently settled in the Indies following the end of their military service, as was common at the time. Neither of them held an officer position. Although information regarding her grandfather and great-grandfather's economic status is scant, they could have fallen into the lower classes among the Indies Europeans. After all, poor retired soldiers were among those Bosma and Raben call "assimilated into the kampong"—that is, into a group of Europeans with weak social and cultural links to the European elites.²⁴ Additionally, many retired soldiers lived in the native quarters, and some even

²³ Based on information provided by the family in a genealogy website, geneanet.org. While I am unable to determine its certainty, family knowledge suggested that Andreas was a court band member in the service of Napoleon I and was praised in Paris as the best bassoon player.

²⁴ Bosma and Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies*, 220.

joined the Muslim community.

Although she held European legal status without much resistance, the status did not confer her substantial economic benefits due to her father's employment outside the Indies government. Compared to Storm van 's-Gravesande, who came from a prosperous family, Lange-Rijckmans grew up in a modest family. Her somewhat large family size would also have restricted the economic resources she would have acquired from her family. Neither of her parents or grandparents gained employment in the upper ranks of the Indies government, the primary source of employment for Indies Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century. Elisée's salary as a church organist would not be close to that of a higher-rank civil servant. Because her family size was also somewhat large—she had five siblings who survived into adulthood—her parents would have limited means to provide their children with formal European education. Due to the traditional gender role in the Indies, her parents would also have chosen only to send their sons to European schools in the Indies. None of Lange-Rijckmans' siblings went to school in Europe.

Not only did Lange-Rijckmans' musical training provide her with cultural capital, but it also gave her some social capital through her lasting mentorship with a distinguished singer in both the Indies and abroad in Paris. Information on Lange-Rijckmans' musical education is sparse and anecdotal, yet two pieces of information are crucial in understanding her later success. First, Lange-Rijckmans underwent training with Isidorus Van Kinsbergen.²⁵ Van Kinsbergen primarily left his legacy as a distinguished Indies photographer and as the first to photograph *Borobudur* shortly after the ninth-century temple's restoration. However, he was also a trained singer who had studied in Paris and settled in the Indies after his French opera company ended

²⁵ Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 437.

its Indies tour. As Van Kinsbergen's protegee, Lange-Rijckmans would have been able to build networks with various Indies elites by attending her teacher's performances and informal gatherings. This network serves as her social capital—knowing the right social contacts.²⁶ Her relationship with van Kinsbergen was long-lasting; they founded the Batavia Opera Club with Lange-Rijckmans as the prima donna.

Second, Lange-Rijckmans might have studied piano and voice in Paris. It is unclear whether she learned under a famous pedagogue or at an illustrious institution like the Paris Conservatory. However, Lange-Rijckmans at least had told her daughter, Betsy, of her Paris education.²⁷ If the Batavian elites believed that she had learned in the continent, this information would have given Lange-Rijckmans a claim to a European musical background. Her connection to continental Europe would make her more accepted among the Batavian *trekkers*. Both Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans studied in Europe. However, I would argue that Lange-Rijckmans' close mentorship with Van Kinsbergen led her to have a longer career in the Indies compared to Storm van 's-Gravesande. She would have known important musical social contacts through Van Kinsbergen, which Storm van 's-Gravesande did not have.

Lange-Rijckmans' choice of performing European works allowed her to enter private European spaces, thereby solidifying her Europeanness among the elites. One concert advertisement in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* showed that she held an opera-concert in the Bataviasche Schouwburg performing works by European composers: Haydn, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Henry Tolkunst, Johannes Dupont, and Engel (see Figure 2.2.). Although some composers included in this program (Tolkunst, Dupont, and Engel) were obscure to modern listeners, most would have been well-known to the cosmopolitan *trekkers*. In this concert, she

²⁶ Webb, Schirato, and Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu*, 94.

²⁷ Lange-Rijckmans' living descendant stated that Betty Battejo, Lange-Rijckmans' daughter, confirmed this.

shared the stage with Maeth Piazza and potentially sang in a quartet for Dupont's "De Geboortegrond" and Engel's "Was ist's das unser' Zeit erhellt." She might have provided the piano accompaniment for Schubert's "Der Wanderer" as well. In another advertisement dated 16 October 1893, Lange-Rijckmans accompanied other performers on the piano. Again, some composers on this program were well-known European composers (Max Bruch, van Weber, Delibes, Donizetti, and Schubert). In contrast, Boieldieu, A. Thomas, Goltermann, and D. Delibes are relatively unknown to modern aficionados.

5078

Met toestemming van den Resident.

BATAVIASCHER SCHOUWBURG.

ZONDAG, 3 DECEMBER
des avonds ten 9 uur,

Groot Opera-Concert
te geven door
Mevr. P. LANGE—Rijckmans,
met welwillende medewerking van Mevrouw MARTH
PIAZZA en H.H. Dilettanten.
Eerste gedeelte.

CONCERT

1. ANDANTE uit de Synchronie
No 2 in D..... J. HAYDN.
gearrangeerd door A. Ritter.
Vicol, Orgel en Piano.
2. DER WANDERER..... FR. SCHUBERT.
Bar-Solo.
3. RIGOLETTO..... VERDI.
Concert Paraphrase voor Piano.
van Liszt.
Mevr. P. Lange—Rijckmans.
4. a) Frage..... MENDELSSOHN.
b) Adieu notre petite table..... MASSNET.
c) Vöglein im Walde..... TAUBERT.
Mevr. Maeth Piazza.
5. ANDANTE RELIGIOSO..... HENRY TOLMANN.
Vicol, Orgel en Piano.
6. a) DE GEBOORTEGROND... J. DUPONT
b) WAS ISTS DAS UNSRE ZEIT
ERHELLET..... ENGEL.
Dubbelt zang-quartet.

Tweede gedeelte.

Opera
4me acte du grand opéra
HAMLET.
Musique d'Ambroise Thomas.
Madlle Maeth Piazza remplira le rôle d'Ophélie.

1. INTERMEZZO.
2. DANSE DE 18 JEUNES FILLES.
3. GRANDE SCENE ET AIR D'OPHÉLIE.
4. SCENE FINALE.

Prijzen der plaatsen:
LOGE / 4.—, PARTERRE / 3.—, BALCON / 1.—
Plaatsen te bespreken à 50 cts. Iederen ochtend van
8—10 uur in den Schouwburg. 3081

Figure 2.4: *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 November 1893

Concert in den Schouwburg

to geven door MAETH PIAZZA met medewerking van
Mevr. LANGE (piano) Mej. KROEZE, (zang) de
heer CORES DE VRIES (cello) en anderen.

op Maandag 16 October 1893,

Programma :

1. Ouverture JEAN DE PARIS... Boieldieu.
2. Styrienne uit MIGNON met varia-
ties van Chr. Nilsson..... A. Thomas.
3. K L NIDREI, Hebreischer Ge-
sang für violoncel..... M. Bruch.
4. FANTAISIE (fluit, viool, cello en
piano)..... C. M. v. Weber
5. Scène du 1^{er} acte de LAKMÉ... L. Delibes.
Lakmé..... Maeth Piazza.
Mallika..... Mej. M. Kroeze.
6. a. CANTILENE uit het A. Moll
Concert (violoncel) Goltermann.
b. MUZURKA in G. (violoncel) D. Delibes.
7. Scène de la folie (LUCIE),..... Donizetti.
8. Fantaisie (fluit, viool, cello en
piano)..... F. Schubert.

Aanvang precies te 9 ure.

Prüzen der Plaatsen:

LOGE.	/ 4.—
PARTIERRE	# 3.—
BALCON EN FACE	# 2.—
BALCON.	# 1.—

2722

Figure 2.5: *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 13 November 1893

Lange-Rijckmans was comfortable in both serious and popular music, as seen in her selections in the Schouwburg and exclusive social clubs. She created more meaningful social contacts by performing in multiple venues, unlike Van Dam, who primarily performed in military events. Performances in the Schouwburg were not limited to serious music. Although the Schouwburg was the premiere European stage of the Indies, the theater also hosted

performances of touring operettas and marionette companies. Europeans living outside of Batavia would visit the Schouwburg during “opera seasons” and “attended theater by waiting outside in their carriages” with “alcohol from the Schouwburg café,” which made their nights tolerable.²⁸ Thus her choices of including Liszt’s opera fantasy on themes from Verdi’s *Rigoletto* and selected songs from Mendelssohn, Massenet, and Taubert would have catered to this specific audience. In contrast to her performance in public spaces, her work for exclusive events included more ‘serious’ music. For instance, she sang an aria from Meyerbeer’s *Robert le diable* and Francesco Tosti’s *Je veux mourir (Vorrei morire)* in a 10 February 1898 performance at *Toonkunst-Aurora*, a music society.²⁹ Meyerbeer and Tosti were not the only Parisian Grand Operas that Lange-Rijckmans performed. With Van Kinsbergen, she performed as Clairette in a full production of Charles Lecocq’s *La fille de Madame Angot* on 9 May 1898. Knapp critiqued Lange-Rijckmans over her choice of tempi, stating that she sang “Jadis, les rois, race proscrite” as *andante* instead of *allegro non troppo*. Despite her tempo problem, Knapp stated that the concert was overall a success.³⁰ By performing in both serious and popular genres, Lange-Rijckmans also ensured her familiarity with the Batavia (and Indies) elite public, accumulating social capital.

After the 1910s, Lange-Rijckmans appeared less often in the newspaper, possibly due to her age. Although she had few musical activities, she continued to be a well-known musician in Batavia. Her reduced engagements should not be a surprise. After all, Lange-Rijckmans would have been 40 after the turn of the century, which made performing operas and virtuosic piano pieces more challenging. Despite her age, she remained musically active until her last decade. A

²⁸ Cohen, *Inventing the Performing Arts*, 17.

²⁹ Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 345.

³⁰ Knaap, 364–65.

1933 article from *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* mentioned her name as a choral conductor for a concert in a Batavian church, noting her woman choir as *bekende* (noted, well-known, familiar).

Compared to Storm van 's-Gravesande's background, Lange-Rijckmans' background was much more humble. Thus, her daughter's marriage to a prominent politician is remarkable and a testament to the family's social ambitions. Born in 1883, Betsy Lange was the fourth child of Lange-Rijckmans. Not much is known about her educational background, but she might have gone to a *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) in Batavia. Since Reinhard Lange was a merchant in the 1890s with moderate economic capital, Betsy's marriage to Max Bajetto is significant. Betsy and Max Bajetto were born in the Indies but had different economic standing. Bajetto received his HBS education in Breda, Nederland, which would have been out of reach for most European Indies. He entered the Dutch Royal Military Academy and joined the military as a second lieutenant in 1903. His European education and military officer status would have set him apart from other Europeans in the Indies. I propose that despite their economic differences, Betty would have been a suitable choice as Max's spouse due to Lange-Rijckmans' cultural and social capital. As an officer, Max would have to attend social events with strong European activities, similar to the De Harmonie's 75th anniversary. With the cultural capital acquired from her parents, Betsy would have been proficient in "performing Europeanness": she would be comfortable with European dances and knowledgeable in both serious and light music.³¹

³¹ Bajetto would later become a lieutenant-general in the Indies army and serve as a politician in the Netherlands House of Representatives following his military retirement. Both Betty and Bajetto moved to Den Haag after Bajetto's retirement. Retiring in the Netherlands would have been impervious to Elisée Rijckmans, Betty's maternal grandfather.

III. Gijbertus Johannes van Dam

Despite his high musical outputs and active participation in Batavia musical scenes, Gijbertus Johannes van Dam could not achieve social mobility (i.e., promotion to officer rank). Similar to Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans, van Dam performed European music in exclusive European venues. However, he also provided musical performances for civic rituals as part of his military bandleader occupation. Although he was deemed “European” enough, some Batavian elites did not see him as erudite (not a “*musicus*”) due to the lowbrow associations of his military band repertoire.³² Thus, in his case, one can see how the lack of economic and cultural capital can hinder a European-born musician from achieving social mobility in late nineteenth-century Batavian society.

Unlike the two previous musicians, Gijbertus Johannes van Dam was born in Gouda, the Netherlands. Born in 1855, Van Dam worked in Batavia for a decade after serving in various military positions for 18 years. Prior to his appointment as the *kapelmeester der stafmuziek te Batavia* in 1891, he was a *kapeelmeester* of a horse artillery regiment in Arnhem (1881-1884) and a *kapeelmeester* for the music corps of the second Huzaren regiment (1884-1891). In Batavia, his military duties included performances in the *Batavia Tentoonstelling* (Batavia Exposition) 1893 and regular concerts in the Batavian military club, *Concordia*. As there were few available conductors in Batavia, van Dam also often conducted various non-military ensembles, such as opera performances in the Batavia Schouwburg. Although he steadily climbed through the military ranks, he retired at the rank of *Adjutant*, a senior non-commanding officer in the enlisted ranks. By 1901, he was registered in Breda as a *muziekonderwijzer* (music

³² The Dutch language borrowed the word “musicus” directly from the Latin word. Other Dutch words describing musicians are *muzikant* and *toonkunstenaar*. In my reading of this term, the *musicus* here carries similar connotation as the Renaissance idea of a well-rounded and educated musician.

teacher) and lived in Breda until his death at the age of 65 on 21 March 1929.

Similar to Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans, Van Dam received his musical education in Europe, which gave him some cultural capital among Batavian elites. What contrasted him from the other two musicians is his theory and composition education. One biography of him stated that he took lessons from Jacob Kwast (1820-1890), a Dutch pedagogue, organist, and composer, and Gustav Adolf Heinze (1820-1904), a German composer.³³ One may assume that Van Dam's musical education in music theory and composition gave him more musical prestige than his peers, especially since Batavia had few European-educated composers. For instance, Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans only took lessons in voice and piano performance. However, since Van Dam took lessons in his hometown of Gouda and not in a major European capital, he did not beget the cultural capital associated with European cosmopolitanism.

Van Dam also acquired cultural capital among the Batavian elites by performing in European-only venues, such as the Batavia Schouwburg and the clubhouses. For example, he and his military's strings ensemble (*het Strijkorkest der Stafmuziek*) accompanied a performance of Gounod's *Faust* on 6 April 1894 in the Batavia Schouwburg.³⁴ Conducting an orchestra for a well-known opera showcased Van Dam's understanding of European "high art." Unfortunately, not all Batavian elites thought highly of his conducting ability. For a performance review of Lecocq's "La Fille de Madame Angot," Knapp mentioned Van Dam's work as a conductor and "kindly suggested" that the orchestra accompany the stage performers more softly.³⁵ Besides

³³ Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 167–68.

³⁴ *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 April 1894.

³⁵ Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 373.

performing in the Schouwburg, Van Dam and his band regularly performed in the Concordia military clubhouse. A program from 15 April 1893 shows some of his repertoire: Schubert's Overture to *Fierrabras*, Moszkowsky's Spanish Dances, and C.P.E. Bach's "Hamlet" Fantasy (see Figure 2.6). Van Dam's active participation in the Batavia music circle was also related to the dearth of conductors available in Batavia. In 1898, Van Dam was one of the two conductors available to lead Batavia's opera orchestras.³⁶ As such, he was likely one of the best well-known public musicians in the 1890s.



Figure 2.6: Program of *Stafmuziek Societeit Concordia* on 15 April 1893

As part of his duties as a military musician, Van Dam also had to perform in a public capacity. I argue that his proximity to non-Europeans in these performance spaces diminished his cultural capital. In the same month as the performance of Gounod's *Faust* mentioned above, he and his ensemble also provided musical entertainment for a *Concert-Champêtre* (Country

³⁶ In a public essay addressing his rival critic, Knaap defended Van Dam's ability as a conductor. He also wrote that the other available conductor, Mr. S'rogl, gave up conducting opera performances, leaving Van Dam as the only available conductor. Knaap, 376–81.

Concert) in the Batavian Botanical Garden and Zoo. The 15 April 1894 advertisement on the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* mentioned “rolschaatsen in de zaal” (rollerskating in the hall) and allowed entries of non-Europeans: *Vreemde oost erlingen* (Foreign Orientals) and *Inlanders* (natives). During the Batavian Exposition in 1893, he also provided musical entertainment on the exhibition grounds every Sunday and Wednesday.³⁷ Similar to the Country Concert, these performances were also open to the public, European and non-European alike.

816 A. MAHIEU.

Planten- en Dierentuin.

Zondag 15 April 1894,
’s avonds 9 uur,
Concert-Champêtre,
STAFMUZIEK.

Rolschaatsen in de zaal.
10¹/₂ uur precies.
Vuurwerk van Görs.

Leden met huize gezinnen op vertoon van bewijs
van Lidmaatschap vrij entées.

Entrée voor niet-leden:

EUROPEANEN.	f 1.—
VREEMDE OOST ERLINGEN.	” 0.50
INLANDEERS	” 0.10

L. M. J. VAN SLUIJTERS,
Secretaris.

818

Figure 2.7: Advertisement for the Country Concert in the Batavian Botanical Garden and Zoo, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 8 October 1893

Despite his active participation in the Batavian music circle, the Indies government denied Van Dam’s promotion to an officer rank. In his role as a military bandleader, an officer rank would have given Van Dam more prestige and a higher salary rate. The Batavian elites’

³⁷ *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 8 October 1893

opinions of this promotion petition were divided. Some people, like Knaap, fully supported Van Dam's promotion and expansion of the *Stafmuziek* ensemble. To Knaap, Van Dam had demonstrated that he was a capable music leader through his myriad performances. On the opposite side, Hans Van de Wall wrote that Van Dam's musical performances were too militaristic: "stijf, correct, meetkunstig" (stiff, correct, geometric). Van Dam was caught in the whirlwind of competing ideas of what music and musicians meant to society.

The public debate between Knaap and Van de Wall demonstrated two competing thoughts on art's function in society: utilitarianism and aestheticism. In his article, Van de Wall called Van Dam a "musician-hussar from Venlo" with a minimal understanding of literature.³⁸ As such, Van Dam was unsuitable to lead the *Stafmuziek*, which had to "satisfy the musical taste of the highest placed and most educated in the country."³⁹ Furthermore, he compared Van Dam with the previous *kapeelmeister*, Marcus, who allegedly used the slogan "l'art pour l'art" as the music corps's banner.⁴⁰ Here, Van de Wall aligned himself with the contemporary Tachtigers movement, which rejected the utilitarian notion of art. (The Dutch Tachtigers or "Eightiers" were a group of influential Dutch writers active in the 1880s. The movement initially strongly adhered to the principle of "art for art's sake. In its later years, some members of the movement were influenced by the rise of Marxism and labor movement and believed that art also had an important social role.) Knaap, who believed in the utilitarian value of art and promoted

³⁸ Knaap's support of Van Dam is a response to Hans van de Wall's writing. In his book, Knaap reproduced Van de Wall's writing in the appendix. Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 463–65.

³⁹ In the late nineteenth-century, hussars were viewed as reckless, hard-drinkers, and womanizers. Van de Wall's choice of calling Van Dam as a hussar stemmed from Van Dam's previous position before his appointment in Batavia: the 2nd Hussar regiment's music corps leader.

⁴⁰ Knaap rebuked this comparison, stating that *Kapeelmeister* Marcus was a "doniet" (someone who does nothing useful) and that Marcus' musicians were a "great gang of drunkards, who had to be brought between bayonets from the provost to rehearsals and performances." Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 380–81.

professionalism among Batavian musicians, defended Van Dam's position. Knaap viewed musicians as professionals that should receive fair compensation. Art is not just for the elites. The Indies government's rejection of Van Dam's petition for his promotion and the expansion of the ensemble possibly meant that the aestheticism ideology permeated the ranks of the policymakers.⁴¹

Van de Wall's criticism that Van Dam was not knowledgeable in classic literature may be valid. Van Dam's family gave him minimal cultural capital in non-musical knowledge and low social capital. The lack of these two capitals hindered him from achieving social mobility in his later life. Unlike Storm van 's-Gravesande, Van Dam grew up in a *petite bourgeois* family; his father was a tailor. As such, Van Dam likely did not pursue secondary education, where he would have encountered some high literature. One of Van de Wall's ideas of a "generally educated musician" is one who had some literary training. This musician could "interpret the most beautiful musical tone poems."⁴² Van Dam's social capital would be limited by his lack of secondary education and his parents' rudimentary social capital as members of the lower middle class.

Most importantly, Batavian elites associated Van Dam with lowbrow musical genres, such as operetta overtures, popular waltzes, and military marches. These genres are certainly European, but their status as "light" music did not impart additional cultural capital to Van Dam. In Batavia clubhouses, such as the Harmonie (discussed in the previous chapter), this light music functioned as background music during a meal. For example, Concordia's program on 19 April

⁴¹ Alternatively, the Indies government might have rejected the petition due to the hefty price tag. Van Dam requested immediate 5000 guilders for procuring new instruments and 5000 guilders annually for the musicians' salary.

⁴² Knaap, *Eenige Jaren Kunstleven Te Batavia, Januari 1896-Mei 1899: Verzamelde Kritische En Didaktische Dagbladopstelletjes*, 463–85.

1893 included Benjamin Bilde's "Mit Bomben und Granaten" Marsch, Suppé's Overture of *Pique Dame*, Richard Eilenberg's *La Babillarde*, Thomas Popplewell Royle's *Toreador Waltz*, and Charles Lecocq's Potpourri from *La fille de Madame Angot*.⁴³ Van Dam's audience would not have observed these works as they do in a concert hall. Indeed, they might dance to these popular waltz tunes.

Among Batavian elites, Van Dam did not have sufficient cultural and social capital to receive a promotion or to be viewed as a first-rate musician. Nevertheless, he left a lasting impact with his compositions in Batavia and the Netherlands. His composition, "La Corbeille de Roses" Fantasie, was performed in Nijmegen as part of a concert.⁴⁴ A Delft concert included his *Tot wederziens, Lied zonder woorden* on 22 August 1915.⁴⁵ His works and arrangements were performed in the Indies long after he left Batavia. For example, his *La Fête Triomphale Fantasie* was performed by the third Infantry Regiment's music corps on 6 June 1926 and the fourth Infantry Regiment's music corps on 8 October 1936.⁴⁶

Van Dam's life in Batavia showed how the idea of Europeanness transcended the constrain of racial groups and enveloped the issue of social class. Unlike Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans, Van Dam was a European-born European who spent his formative years in the Netherlands. Thus, he easily "counted" as a European. In the Indies, Van Dam likely performed more than the other two performers. Despite his European background and numerous performances, he did not receive a promotion to an officer rank—his ticket to join the upper middle class. Three elements hindered his social mobility: lack of non-musical cultural capital, proximity to the native population from his public performances, and the elites'

⁴³ *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 April 1893.

⁴⁴ *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, 30 April 1914.

⁴⁵ *Delftsche Courant*, 21 August 1915.

⁴⁶ *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4 June 1926. *De Locomotief*, 7 October 1936.

perception of the music he performed. From Van Dam's case, we learn how the elites' perception of non-concert music affected the lives of its performers and how social class played a significant role in determining the creation of taste in Batavia.

Conclusion

While Chapter 2 discussed how Europeanness was constructed in the nineteenth century Indies society, this chapter examined how that construction shaped the lives of three musicians active in Batavia: Marie Storm van 's-Gravesande, Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, and Gijbertus van Dam. In all three cases, cultural capital and prestige garnered from European music education gave Batavian musicians visibility among the elites. Both Storm van 's-Gravesande and Lange-Rijckmans used their education in France to promote themselves. On the contrary, Van Dam's European education was not considered prestigious due to his lack of literary education. Formal music education was not the only form of cultural capital that benefited Batavian musicians. Indeed, inherited cultural capital greatly influenced Lange-Rijckmans' social mobility. As a daughter of an organist, Lange-Rijckmans would have been exposed to musical concepts, works, and taste earlier than Storm van 's-Gravesande and Van Dam. The emphasis on European education was not simply about the quality of education. It also acted as a way to denote someone's class due to the high cost associated with European education. (I discussed the exorbitant cost and benefits of European education in Chapter 2.)

Musicians' social capital is also crucial for Batavia musicians' success, as demonstrated by Lange-Rijckmans and Storm van 's-Gravesande's long careers. Although Lange-Rijckmans came from a modest economic background, her close relationship with a well-known Indies musician gave her "the right social contacts" to enter exclusive performance spaces. Similarly,

the political position of Storm van 's-Gravesande's in the Indies and the Netherlands assisted her musical career. Born as a member of the Batavian elites, Storm van 's-Gravesande would have been introduced to this elite circle at a young age. Understanding the importance of social capital gives us an insight into the exclusion of certain musicians, such as Auguste Mahieu, from the Schouwburg stage. As a lower-class European, Mahieu would not have known the right social contacts to enter the bastion of the Indies' high arts.

Van Dam's failure to rise to the officer rank exemplifies how social class also played a significant role in Europeanness. Van Dam clearly held the European legal status as a European-born European. While his European legal status allowed him to enter exclusive venues, it did not help him to achieve social mobility. His numerous performances did not aid his social mobility either. Indeed, Van Dam's public and military performances hindered him from being seen as an educated musician due to the elites' perception of "light music" and his proximity to the natives.

From examining how the idea of Europeanness affected these three musicians' lives, we better understand the interplay between race and social class in the Indies society. The elites' view of Europeanness is not simply based on someone's skin color but also on their knowledge of European high culture. This interplay explains how some native Indonesians, such as the Javanese painter Raden Saleh, could earn European legal status in the nineteenth century. As a European-educated painter who earned many accolades in Europe, Raden Saleh easily became a member of the high social class upon his return to the Indies. His race mattered little due to his extremely high social and cultural capital. To the elites, his social and cultural capital elevated him from the uncivilized nature of his race.

Future Directions

In this thesis, I presented how the idea of “Europeanness” in nineteenth-century Batavia was fluid as seen in both legal and cultural realms. While issue of parentage continued to be an important factor in determining someone’s Europeanness, other markers such as economic, level of education, and social milieu were also crucial. This shift in European identity affected musical performances and musicians in Batavia. While some musicians were able to achieve social mobility through their participation in Batavian musical scene, others were unsuccessful. Pauline Lange-Rijckmans, for example, improved her family’s social status by utilizing her cultural capital to earn social and economic capital. On the contrary, Gijbertus van Dam failed to receive a promotion to the officer rank and thus could not enter the ranks of upper middle class. Van Dam’s close proximity to the natives, lack of secondary education, and the lower social class connotation of the music he performed led the elites to believe that Van Dam was not European enough.

While this thesis manages to show some aspects of Batavian musical life in the late nineteenth century, more research is needed to portray wider aspects of Batavian musical life. For example, why did Van Dam include various arrangements of Viennese operettas in his ensemble’s performances? Considering that Viennese operettas did not become international genre until after the turn of the century, did Batavian elites or Van Dam have certain attachments to Viennese operettas?¹ The length of this thesis also did not allow me to examine whether there was a change in genre or national preferences in Batavia throughout the nineteenth century. Had

¹ Tobias Becker, “Globalizing Operetta before the First World War,” *The Opera Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (November 11, 2017): 7–27.

Batavian elites always been fond of Grand Operas?² Additionally, did the creation of the Royal Conservatory in The Hague affect music making in the Indies? These questions are essential in investigating the growth of nationalism and its implications at the end of the nineteenth century among the Netherlanders and its colony.

Although this research's scope is limited to the Dutch East Indies, the idea of diverse European and Eurasian communities in Asia is applicable to other contexts. As migrations came in waves, tensions often arose between the local population and newcomers. This situation is applicable to various colonies. For example, the European community in colonial South Africa was not a monolith. Rather, it primarily consisted of two groups: the Dutch (commonly known as Afrikaners) and Anglophoned descendants. Similar to the *blijvers* and *trekkers* of Batavian society, these major groups had different socio-economic and cultural background, while simultaneously enjoying social benefits from being Europeans.

² In nineteenth-century France, the Opéra was a prestigious space not just to see works of theatrical art but also to be seen as leading members of society. Could the Dutch elites in the Netherlands and the Indies adopt this perception in the nineteenth century as well?

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