CHAPTER THREE

'QUEEN WILHELMINA, MOTHER OF THE MENTAWAIANS': THE DUTCH NATIONAL ANTHEM IN INDONESIA AND AS PART OF THE MUSIC CULTURE OF SIBERUT

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Introduction

On the 10th of May 1932, the *Wilhelmus* officially became the Dutch national anthem. Before this date, in addition to the *Wilhelmus*, the song *Wien Neêrlands bloed* was also widely used as a kind of national song. The Dutch government took the decision to end a long debate about the status of the two songs, both of which were being used as national anthems during official occasions. In fact, for some time, *Wien Neêrlands bloed* had been more popular than the *Wilhelmus*, particularly among Catholic people in the country. The official decision, taken in The Hague, not only had implications for the Netherlands, it also changed the position of the song in the Dutch East Indies, as well as in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. Indeed, from 1932 onwards, the *Wilhelmus* also became the official national anthem in the colonies. Before that time, the song was well known in the Dutch East Indies in a variety of versions and it was often sung on the anniversary of Queen Wilhelmina.

Surprisingly, little has been written about the life history of the song in the colonies. In general terms, the song was never controversial in Suriname or in the Dutch Antilles because of a general sympathy for the monarchy and the lack of strong nationalistic feelings before World War Two (Oostindie 2006). In the Dutch East Indies, however, this situation was radically different. Here, the status of the *Wilhelmus* became a 'hot' issue and a lack of respect for the Dutch national anthem was punished. Consequently, the song became a crucial element in the struggle of Indonesian nationalists.

The life history of the *Wilhelmus* is quite complicated. Its wording, melody and its official status has changed over time. There is a substantial amount of literature on the history of the *Wilhelmus*, including its controversial status. In fact, the biography of the song is a fascinating story (Grijp 1998). At the same time, it is somewhat surprising to note that little

is known about the use of the national anthem in colonial times or in specific local contexts within the Dutch East Indies.

Along with the establishment of colonial government structures, including its military power, the Dutch introduced aspects of their music culture into the Dutch East Indies. Numerous musical encounters have taken place between Dutch people and Indonesians over time. They occurred within diverse contexts ranging from showing off military force supported by impressive and powerful march music during parades, to classroom settings, religious gatherings and informal encounters between individuals. It is clear that these encounters have influenced the various musical traditions of Indonesia, including its songs and musical training, in a number of ways (Gommers-Dekker 2011). I want to begin this contribution on the 'social life' of the *Wilhelmus* in Indonesia with an account of one such unexpected encounter, which happened long after Indonesian independence.

A Musical Encounter

It was some time in the early 1980s when a strong, middle-aged Mentawai man, sitting on his veranda in Maileppet (Siberut Island, West Sumatra), sat upright and announced that he was going to sing a song for me, which had been taught to him by his teachers in the late 1930s.

He sang:

Bilemurai Nasau
 Jermani asangku
 Ku kasi blandari
 kau seinga asangku
 Ku tuani orang
 demerdeka branila
 Selalu rajaku
 kasi blandari
 Rimata Bilelimi
 kau seingga asangku
 Ku tuani orang merdekaan lai
 Ku kasi blandari¹
 [My translation]

In translation:

Wilhelmus of Nassau,
 I am of German origin
 I surrender to the Dutch
 And to them I belong
 I respect the people
 of freedom and courage
 I will always respect
 the queen of the Dutch
 To *rimata* Wilhelmina
 I will belong
 I respect the people of freedom
 I will surrender to the Dutch²

¹ Track can be found on CD *Songs from the uma* (Persoon and Schefold 2009) as track 22 on CD1.

² My translation. Some of the original words in the Mentawai translation must have been changed over time. The word *Bilemurari* in the first line is most likely a corruption of the word *Wilhelmus*. The Queen's name *Wilhelmina* was transformed over the years into *Bilelmi*.

After the first few tones, I recognized the Dutch national anthem. Surprised by hearing this song at that time and at that place, I started to wonder: How did this song survive for more than forty years on an isolated Indonesian island, which the Dutch had left in 1942? How can a man, who never learned to read and write, still sing the song in such an articulated way? Was he singing the song especially for me, because of my Dutch origin?³

I had never realized that there were localized versions of one of the core symbols of another people's national identity. And, if the song had been locally adapted on Siberut, was this also true of other places in Indonesia? Finally, why would someone even try to remember a song that had almost certainly been forced upon him by colonial rulers?

The Singer: Asak

The singer of the *Wilhelmus* was a man called Asak. He regularly sung the song during my various periods of fieldwork on Siberut between 1979 and 1998. I have made numerous recordings of his songs, including several versions of the *Wilhelmus*. Asak was an elder of the Maileppet group, an hour's walk from Muara Siberut. He was a well-respected medicine man (*kerei*) and a key figure in the community. Though he and his wife did not have any children of their own, he had raised five children belonging to his brother, who had passed away at a relatively young age.

Though Asak had attended a missionary school for a couple of years, he never practiced the reading and writing that he had learned at this time. He informed me that he had learned the song when he went to the missionary school in Malupetpet near Muara Siberut during the late 1930s and until the Japanese occupied Indonesia in 1942. The Japanese also established a military post on Siberut, which ended the Dutch occupation. Asak had been recruited as a kind of local policeman by the Japanese, who also taught him some Japanese words and a couple of songs, which are still part of his repertoire.⁴ The Dutch never returned to Siberut after the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945.

³ From 1979–1982 I worked on Siberut for the implementation of a project for Survival International aimed at the improvement of livelihood opportunities for the local population. Since then, I have worked and conducted anthropological fieldwork during extensive periods.

⁴ Song 23 of CD1 on the album *Songs from the uma* (Persoon and Schefold 2009) is an example of a Japanese song.

Image 3.1 Asak performing a ritual after construction work at his house (photo by author, 1981).

Asak always recounted how this song was sung during flag raising ceremonies at the open field in Muara Siberut. He would sit upright and change his voice as if this was a song from a different world and a different era. As one of the few living former pupils of the missionary school, it was always a remarkable moment when he sang the *Wilhelmus*. Though Asak had an enormous repertoire of songs to sing, he could always be heard singing the *Wilhelmus* during a gathering, when people would just sing their favourite songs, despite it constituting a somewhat strange element of the music culture of the island.⁵

Music Culture of Siberut

Siberut has an interesting music culture. It has a variety of musical instruments, including a number of drums, flutes, shells, bells, gongs and Jew's harps. The wooden dance floor of the communal house is also used as a rhythm instrument. Most of the instruments are locally produced and are made of wood, bamboo, animal skins, and triton shells. Bells and gongs made of brass had to be imported through relations with Minangkabau traders because the Mentawaians never developed the art of metallurgy. The Jew's harp was originally made of bamboo, but the Dutch brought metal versions to the islands, which have now completely replaced the original ones.⁶

Songs are the most important element in the music culture of the people of Siberut. There are various genres of song texts. First, there are the *urai silange* or *urai siokko*, literally boys' songs or girls' songs. They are self-created songs about daily matters, about social relations, about love and love affairs. Frequently, they are about special events that inspire young people to compose a song. The lyrics can be about almost anything: the arrival of a new trader or teacher in the village, the sight of a beautiful animal, the activities of the logging company or the misbehaviour of one of the *uma*-members, who are usually referred to by their own names. In

⁵ In June 2009, just a few weeks before we organized a big gathering in Maileppet to present two CDs of Mentawaiian music, to the original singers and other villagers, Asak passed away. He must have been in his eighties at that time.

⁶ There are a few publications on the music of Siberut. See Schefold (1973) for an article on the slit drums and the drum language. Persoon and Schefold (1999) discuss a number of song texts from Siberut. The discography on the island's music consists of the following: 1. Duran (1989), 2. Yampolsky (1995), 3. Schneemann (2003) and 4. Persoon and Schefold (2009).

principle, anybody can compose such a song, but once a song is there, it can be sung by everybody, irrespective of age, gender or status. Songs are learned through careful listening and repetition, and only spread through oral transmission. If the theme, words, and melody of a song are appealing, it can spread rapidly across the island. In this way, songs tell a story or reflect on a particular event. In some cases, different songs texts are used with the same melody. The lyrics and the melody are composed by individuals. The songs are usually sung during the evening while smoking, chatting or 'just sitting in the wind' on the veranda of the communal house. But, they may also be sung while canoeing on the river, while working in the forest fields or while minding the pigs. Other people attracted by the song might pick up the lyrics and add it to their own repertoire. They learn the songs by listening carefully and learning the rhythm and lyrics by heart. Consequently, there is much improvisation in the texts and the wording is often slightly changed from one occasion to the next.

A second category of songs, the *urai turu* ('dance songs') are sung while dancing. One of the dancers sings along while the drums are played, and he and the other dancers move around the dance floor in circular movements, rhythmically stamping on the boards of the dance floor, which produces a counter sound to the beat of the drums. The songs, which are often difficult to hear with all the other noise going on, are about animals and animal behaviour in which birds and primates take a prominent place. Dancing is done by both men and women. Together with the beating of the drum, the stamping of the feet makes the dancing an inciting event which sometimes leads to a trance. Someone takes the lead in the dancing movement while the others follow, making the same movements.

A third genre of songs consists of the *urai kerei*, the songs of the shamans or *kerei*. These are complex songs because they are phrased in a special language of which many words are not known to the general audience. They are basically a medium for the shamans to communicate with the spirits, and not, as with the other songs, to tell a story or to communicate a feeling of joy, love or fear.

A fourth category of songs are songs that have been introduced by external parties, of which the *Wilhelmus* is a clear example. In the past, teachers working in the missionary schools introduced Dutch songs. Minangkabau traders and teachers have brought general Indonesian and Minangkabau folk songs to the island and, via radio and television, a great variety of modern songs have been brought to the local communities in more recent times. Radio/cassette players have become popular since logging companies became active on the island in the late 1970s. Young male

Mentawaian workers were often paid in kind: radio/cassette players and Seiko 5 watches were among the most popular luxury items, in addition to cigarettes and foodstuff. More recently, video and karaoke-players have become very popular.

Colonial Influence on Siberut

Dutch colonial rule was established on the Mentawaian islands rather late. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century occasional visits were made to the islands but a military post was not established on Siberut until the beginning of the twentieth century, located about 90 kilometres from the mainland of Sumatra. Initially, the post was founded near the mouth of the River Saibi, but due to a lack of fresh water it was transferred to Muara Siberut. During this period, the main policy was to establish law and order in the area. The suppression of headhunting was among the major issues at that time. A small military garrison travelled across the island, ordering people to cease the practice of this custom. At the same time, the government appointed local headmen in each settlement, which usually consisted of only one extended (patrilineal) family group, called *uma*. These men received a jacket and a cap as symbols of their new position. In reality however, these positions had little effect and the village headmen never enjoyed a great deal of authority. Mentawaian society was, and to a large extent still is, egalitarian.⁷

In order to start the civilization process, the German Rheinische Mission was invited to start its missionary activities on the island, as Dutch missionary organizations had expressed little interest in working on these islands. It all started on the southern Mentawai Islands of North and South Pagai. At the end of 1901, missionary A. Lett was appointed in Sikakap, the main village on the island. A few years later, another missionary F. Börger joined him. In 1909 however, missionary Lett was killed by local people when he tried to intervene in a conflict between the Dutch commander and some villagers. It would take until 1916 before the first Mentawaians were baptized as the first Christians on the islands. In a settlement nearby Sikakap, in Nenemleleu, the missionaries had started a school for local children. In the first phase, only boys attended

⁷ There is a large number of publications on the culture of the island. For a description of the traditional culture of the Mentawaians, see Schefold (1988). For an overview of processes of change during the last few decades, see Persoon (1994).

Image 3.2 Group of Mentawaians around 1910. The man in the front is wearing his official outfit after having been installed as village head (source: picture collection Mrs. Ruinen).

classes. The mission also hired some Christian Batak teachers to educate the Mentawaian children in reading, writing, geography, Malay language and religion. These teachers were recruited from the Batak traders who had established themselves on the islands. At a later stage, when more schools were founded on the islands, Batak teachers were recruited from Tapanuli in North Sumatra through the close relationship of the Rheinische Mission with The Batak Protestant Church (*Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*, the HKBP), church in North Sumatra. Hansen, who was the military commander on the Pagai Islands for about ten months (August 1911–April 1912), writes favourably about the receptiveness of the young Mentawaians to education, who rapidly learn how to read and write. He also makes a remark about their singing: ‘One who has heard the screeching and off-key singing of children at other native schools, will be surprised how rhythmically and purely the children sing’ (Hansen 1914: 218 [my translation]).⁸

⁸ ‘En wie het krieschend en valsche gezang van kinderen op andere inlandsche scholen heeft gehoord, dien valt het hier op hoe maatvast en vrij zuiver de kinderen zingen’ (Hansen 1914: 218).

Already in the early days of colonial and missionary activities on the island, a large repertoire of religious songs in their original German version and a small number of Dutch songs were translated into Mentawaiian. In 1909, a hand-written compilation of 63 songs by missionary Börger was available in the mission centre in Nenemleleu, near Sikakap on the island of Pagai in the south of the Mentawai Archipelago (Börger 1909). All the songs were all translated by the Batak teachers who were brought to Mentawai by the German missionaries via the German missionary stations in North Sumatra.⁹

The Wilhelmus in Mentawai

The songs that were taught at the missionary school by the German and Batak teachers were mainly psalms and other religious songs, as well as a number of secular songs translated into Mentawaiian. The latter included songs such as *Wien Neêrlands bloed* and the *Wilhelmus*. Under the guidance of missionary Lett and later Börger, the Batak teachers must have adapted the Dutch songs to the local setting in order to make them more understandable for the local people.

This is evident from the fact that references were made to the islands of Mentawai and concepts like *rimata*, which means the ritual leader of the clan, and which in this case was used to refer to the Dutch queen as *Rimata Wilhelmina*. The text also included reference to the Dutch flag, Queen Wilhelmina, described as Mother of the Mentawaians, the villages on the Mentawaians islands, and praying to God. In a hand-written document, missionary Lett described how the *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe* was sung for the very first time to celebrate the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina when Governor Heekler visited Sikakap in the early years of the twentieth century. From what has been described above, it is clear that the indigenous music culture of the Mentawaians did not avail of these kinds of official songs. People were also not used to singing in chorus. The first song played upon the visit of Heekler, *Wien Neêrlands bloed* was most likely the most official song as it is described as the 'flag song'.

⁹ A copy of this hand-written document was kindly given to me by Prof. W. Wagner of Bremen University. Prof. Wagner is the son of one of the German missionaries who worked on Sipora in the 1930s and 1940s.

Image 3.3 A page of the account written by missionary Lett on the visit of Governor Heekler to Sikakap 1909.

Flag song (tune: *Wien Nederlandsch Bloed*)

[Mentawai language]	[Dutch language]	[English language]
Kase si-itjo manderamai Si teloe ngakomakan	Wie onze vlag ziet Met drie verschillende doeken	Whoever sees our flag With three different cloths
Boei ta iagai topitmai	Die wete, dat wij trouw zijn	He will know, that we are loyal
Masirendret tebai ngantoman	Te gehoorzamen aan de leer	And will obey the teachings
Siaket kakai rimata	Die ons geschonken is door	That have been given to us
Sipoeoni Wilhelmina Sibakat sangamberi noesa ne	Koningin Wilhelmina Het hoofd van al deze eilanden	By Queen Wilhelmina The head of all these islands
Sibakat Sakalangan te Sibakat Sakalagan.	Het hoofd der Mentaweiers	The head of the Mentawaians
Iangan te ne manderamai	Dat is onze vlag	That is our flag
Sipoeoni Bolanda Ke itjo ne sagakmai	Ze heet Holland Als onze vijanden die zien	She is called Holland If our enemies see it
Boei ta rapoeloto te nia	Zullen zij dezelve vreezen	They will fear it
Magege poi sidjago et	Want sterk zijn hare bewakers	Because her protectors are strong
Salandroe sipoebetoeët	De soldaten met geweren	The soldiers with guns
Masikau loemoen dili djondra et	Om straf te geven voor hun slechtheid	To punish their evil
Ka sipasiasa nene Ka sipasiasa ne	Aan degenen die haar bespotten	To those who mock her
Tapoi ka kai sipoenoesa ne	Maar wij die deze eilanden	But we who live in these islands
Samberi Skalagan Koba kai koeitibai nene	bewonen, alle Mentaweiers	All Mentawaians

[Mentawaian language]	[Dutch language]	[English language]
Katet bacha ka rimatakai	Wij willen dit zeggen;	We want to say this:
Koetindrou kai ka Oekoeita	Uit liefde voor onze Koningin	Because of our love for our Queen
Sipoelaggai ka manoea	Bidden wij onzen Vader	We pray to our Father
Masikau oektoek ka ina laggai	Die in den hemel woont. Dat Hij Zijn zegen moge geven	Who lives in heaven So that He will give His Blessing
Siobanake noesamai	[Aan de moeder van het dorp – de Koningin –] Die gegeven heeft aan ons eiland	[To the mother of the village – the Queen] Who has given to our island
Boele mabaoe aratmai.	Vrede en nieuwe zeden.	Peace and new customs
Oto ke noe-itjo maroembe	Dus als ziet het gedeelde (3 kleuren)	So if you see the three colours
Manderata Bolanda	Dat is onze Hollandsche vlag	That is our Dutch flag
Boei ta noeroroi ma	Groet ze dan werkelijk	Greet it sincerely
Masikau tebai hormata	En bewijst haar eer	And pay respect to her
Ka mata't sibakat sita	Want ons Hoofd is namelijk	Because our Head is
Radjanta et Wilhelmina	Onze Koningin Wilhelmina	Our Queen Wilhelmina
Sipoe-oekoe sangalio Bolanda	Die heerscht over geheel Holland	Who rules over the whole of Holland
Samba polakta India	En over (onze aarde) Indië	And over (our land), the Indies
Sakalagan leuw bagai.	En ook over de Mentaweiers.	And also over the Mentawaians
Source: Hansen 1914, 147/8 [Mentawaian and Dutch text in original, English text my translation].		

The Queen's birthday (sung to the melody of the *Wilhelmus*)

[Mentawaian language]	[Dutch language]	[English language]
Pateangkat bachata	O, hoe vrolijk is ons hart	O, how cheerful is our heart
Gogoi kinenegan	Op dezen dag	On this day
Ait poeioetokat mata	Den geboortedag	The birthday
Radja Bolanda en	Van de Koningin van Holland	Of the Queen of Holland
Rimata Wilhelmina	Onze Koningin Wilhelmina	Our Queen Wilhelmina
Sibakat sita ne	Die ons Hoofd is	Who is our head
Makate leuw bachania	Die ook bemint	Who also loves
Ka Sakalangan te	Der Mentaweiers	The Mentawaians
Patetonem bochata	Hoe vol vertrouwen in ons hart	Our heart is full of confidence
Gogoi kinenegen	Op dezen dag	On this day
Ka sikoepkoop toeboeta	In degene die ons beheerscht	In the one who rules over us
Ka laggai Indoa en	Die in Indië	All in Indonesia
Mangka bachata tebai	Vrolijk zijn allen	Are happy
Ka senet noesata	Op elk eiland	On every island
Masioe moenake bai	Om te roemen	To praise
Oni Wilhelmina	Den naam Wilhelmina	The name Wilhelmina
Patekate bachata	Vol liefde in ons hart	Our heart is full of love
Gogoi kinenegen	Op dezen dag	On this day
Minindrau ka Oekoeita	Zodat wij onzen Vader bidden	So that we pray to our Father
Toenoe Toeboenia en	Voor Haar	For Her
Boele iake oektoek	Dat hij geve zegen	So that he will give blessing
Samba paeroekat	En heil	And salvation
Ka radja Wilhelmina	Aan Koningin Wilhelmina	To Queen Wilhelmina
Ina 't Sakalangan.	De Moeder der Mentaweiers.	The Mother of the Mentawaians

Source: Hansen 1914, 148 [Mentawaian and Dutch text in original; English text my translation].

From the initial settlement in Sikakap, the colonial administration expanded its influence into the other islands of the Mentawai Archipelago, towards Sipora and Siberut. While the military commander took care of general administrative issues, including the suppression of headhunting, the Rheinische Mission started its missionary and educational work.

Little is known about the curriculum at the early missionary schools on Siberut. The general impression is that children never spent more than a few years in education. From what is known, one gets the impression that they never mastered reading and writing to any level of fluency and the Dutch language was not taught at all. The Batak teachers taught the children in Mentawaian and the Malay language. The songs that were sung were religious songs translated from German and a very small number of Dutch songs including the *Wilhelmus* and *Wien Neêrlands bloed*.

A school was built near Muara Siberut and children from there and nearby villages were ordered to attend. In the 1920s, an open prison was also established in Muara Siberut for criminals from Sumatra and Java. The risk of escape from Siberut was minimal. The movement of ships to Padang on the west coast of Sumatra was easily controlled by the colonial officials and fleeing into the interior was hardly an option as local communities would not welcome ethnic strangers in their midst. The layout of Muara Siberut at that time consisted of a quarter for the government buildings, with houses of the officials all along a straight lane lined with *kanari* trees, the prison complex, the missionary post (church, school and some houses), and finally a quarter close to the mouth of the river predominantly for Minangkabau traders and fishermen. A big open field was used for ceremonies, flag parades and the like. Old people on Siberut still remember such gatherings.

The Wilhelmus in the Dutch East Indies

If the *Wilhelmus* was introduced in the Mentawai Archipelago in a local version at the very beginning of Dutch occupation of the islands, could it have a similar kind of history in other parts of the Dutch East Indies? And if so, how was it received and what has been the song's biography in those areas? These kinds of questions are easier asked than answered.

In the extensive bibliography on the *Wilhelmus* not much is found on its introduction and history in the Dutch East Indies (Grijp 1998). There is only one reference to the use of national anthem in the former colony and that is that it was strictly forbidden to sing the song in the Japanese camps. The Frisian anthem provided a good alternative because it was not known by the Japanese (Grijp 1998: 79). However, scattered in the extensive literature on the Dutch colonial era are some references to the *Wilhelmus* and the ways it was used. Sometimes the *Wilhelmus* is mentioned but only in passing (see for instance Coolhaas 1977: 76). Schulte Nordholt

refers a couple of times to the singing and playing of the *Wilhelmus* while passing through villages in Timor in the years after the end of the Japanese occupation.¹⁰ But the song has rarely received explicit attention other than with regards to the resistance it met among Indonesian nationalists, as will be discussed later.

With the establishment and expansion of colonial occupation and the development of governmental structures, including its military power, the Dutch also introduced aspects of its official music culture into the Dutch East Indies. With the explorations and expansions of the VOC, the *Wilhelmus* travelled to distant destinations. Military attacks were often heralded with the powerful sound of trumpets blowing the *Wilhelmus*, soon drowned out by the sound of guns and canons (see for instance Knaap 2002: 272).

Brass bands, playing military music with their impressive and loud instruments were introduced in the Dutch East Indies, just as they were introduced in other colonies. Dutch music, songs, lyrics, rhythms, and instruments were also introduced into the archipelago through the educational system. A completely new religious music culture was brought from Europe to the archipelago via Catholic and Protestant missionary activities. So in the course of history, trumpets, a great variety of drums, cymbals, and organs were introduced into the archipelago. Initially, they were used mainly to accompany European music, but gradually they were also incorporated into more local forms of music. The reverse also happened. Local instruments were used to play music that originated from the West (see for instance Kunst 1994). It is mentioned, for instance, that during the celebration of the inauguration of Queen Wilhelmina in 1898 in Batavia, the *Wilhelmus* was played by a gamelan orchestra. Fifteen years earlier, when Wilhelmina was only three years old, a 'colourful group of Indonesians' played the *Wilhelmus* during the colonial exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883 on a gamelan and they sang in their 'native' language (Vis 1994: 66).¹¹ So apparently the *Wilhelmus* had been translated into

¹⁰ Mr. Nico Schulte Nordholt (personal communication) mentioned letters from his mother, which reference a number of occasions when the *Wilhelmus* was sung in 1947. See also Oostindie 2006: 100).

¹¹ Talusan (2004) describes an interesting parallel with the Philippine Constabulary Band performing successfully at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. 'Half-naked' Igorot tribesmen, often labelled 'headhunters', were juxtaposed with educated Filipino musicians who could apparently handle the military band instruments introduced by the Americans very well (Talusan 2004).

the Malay language, even though the exact wording of the translation is not known.

A crucial element in the 'ethical policy' of the colonial government, which was officially proclaimed in 1901, was the expansion of educational opportunities for the younger generation. Numerous schools were established throughout the country and because of the lack of qualified teachers in the East Indies, quite a number of teachers were recruited in the Netherlands to serve in the colony. By the 1940s, some 1.7 million pupils had passed through the various types of Dutch schools (De Jong 1984: 145). In terms of musical education in the early twentieth century, singing was an official part of the primary curriculum, in addition to Dutch language, reading, writing and arithmetic. A lot of attention was paid to the teaching of the Dutch language. Teaching in local languages and cultural traditions was allowed to some extent. Such teaching, however, should not be combined with nationalistic ideas. Teachers or students who promoted or were too outspoken about Indonesian nationalistic ideas faced punishment (Lelyveld 1992: 155).

The song book that was used in schools in the Netherlands was also introduced in the Dutch East Indies. This book, entitled *Als je nog zingen kunt, zing dan mee!* [*If you can still sing, sing along!*] was a collection of popular songs as well as some religious songs (Veldkamp and De Boer 1939). But it also included the official national songs, including the *Wilhelmus* and *Wiens Neêrlands bloed door d'aderen stroomt*. The book was published for the first time in 1908 and it initially comprised 50 songs. Over the years, the number of songs grew to more than 150. It was published in a large number of editions and it was the core element of musical education for Dutch children for a number of decades. Soon after its first publication it was also introduced in the Dutch East Indies. Thus, pupils attending the schools in the colony were taught the same songs as their peers in the Netherlands. Though not much has been written about musical education in the Dutch East Indies, the fact that this song book was the main source of instruction must have had an impact on the musical education of the Indonesian pupils: at the colonial school there was no room for Indonesian songs and no musical training in local instruments. It would take until 1939 before a somewhat modified '*Indische*' version of *Kun je nog zingen, zing dan mee* was published. The aim of this special edition was to develop a collection of songs that would be more appropriate for the '*Indische school*' than the version used in Dutch schools.

However, the number of songs which were considered more appropriate for the Indische school were limited. A number of songs refer to the landscapes in Indonesia, with its mountains and palms.¹² In some songs an Indonesian word is inserted in originally Dutch songs (examples include *kali* [river], *sawah* [rice field], *banjir* [flood], *senang* [happy], and *prahu* [dugout canoe] – written as *prauw*). Or, Indonesian names replace Dutch names in a rhythmic song like *Vier kleine kleutertjes* [*Four little infants*], which is now about Soemidjo, Soetidjo, Radiman and Sajidiman. Only one song refers directly to Indonesia. *Aan de Minahassa* is a song about the beauty of the Minahassan landscape: ‘*This is the land that I love.*’ Two songs deal with fire flies which do not exist in the Netherlands, but one of them is a modified version of a ‘Spring song’ about beetles. The last song in the book, called *Indië en Holland* is about the love for Little Holland (with the beauty of its flowering heath, its winter landscapes, but which lacks the splendour of the tropical vegetation and the rice fields). In spite of the splendour, the song refers to the intimate connection to ‘my country’. It is obvious from the text that the song is written from a Dutch perspective with a strong longing for the home country (Veldkamp and De Boer 1939).

In order not to change ‘too much at once’, a number of Dutch songs were kept in the ‘Indische’ edition, even though it was stated that they ‘belonged more to the Dutch environment’. In addition, the Educational Department issued an instruction that a number of songs were still compulsory material for pupils. Out of a total of 103, 11 songs belonged to this category. These songs (given with original authors’ names) were *Wilhelmus* (by Marnix van St. Aldegonde), *Neêrlands Volkslied*, *Vlaggelied* (Dutch Anthem, Flagsong by W. Smits), *Kent gij het land*, *De Zilvervloot*

¹² For instance, song 103 is titled *Indië en Holland*. It compares ‘Little Holland with the Indies. Some lines read as follows: ‘Klein Holland, wat lig je daar verre, in streken van mistige kou. Soms weet ik niet, als ik mocht kiezen, wie of ik zou begunstigen. Klein Holland, je hebt geen vulkanen, geen bergstroom in gapend ravijn. Je ligt daar zo stil in de weide, vlak aan de rustige Rijn. . . . Klein Holland, je kent niet de weelde, de kracht van tropische groei. Je ziet niet de thee en de koffie, de noot en de peper in bloei. Geen bamboe met reuzige halmen, geen rijst op de sawah geplant. Toch denk ik hier onder de palmen, zo dikwijls terug aan mijn land’.

[In translation: Little Holland, lying far away, in misty cold regions. Sometimes I do not know, if I could choose, which I would favor. Little Holland, you do not have volcanoes, no mountain river in yawning ravine. You are lying there silently in the meadow, close to the quiet Rhine. . . . Little Holland, you do not have the abundance, the strength of tropical growth. You do not see the tea and the coffee, the nutmeg and the pepper while flowering. No bamboo with giant stalks, no rice planted in the fields. However I often recall my country while sitting underneath the palms (Veldkamp and De Boer 1939: 190)].

[Dost thou know the Country, the Silver Fleet by J.J. Viotta), *Een Draaiersjongen* (A Turner's boy, referring to the heroic deeds of famed Dutch admiral Michiel de Ruyter by R. Hol), *Een liedje van Koppelstok, Voor Nederland, Aan mijn Vaderland* (A Song of Koppelstok,¹³ For the Netherlands, My Fatherland by G.H. Harting), *Wilt heden nu treden*¹⁴ (Do come forward now, a so-called Valerius 'Gedenck-Clanck or Valerius Song), and *Hollands Vlag, je bent mijn glorie* (Dutch Flag, you are my glory, by J.P.J. Wierds). At the end of the preface, the editor states that in later editions more 'Indische' songs would gradually replace songs from the Dutch environment (Veldkamp and De Boer 1939). I have not come across later versions of this song book and it is unlikely that later versions were actually published in Batavia.

Finally, mention should be made of the very last page of the book. It is addressed to students who are about to leave school. They are urged to take good care of the book, which had now become their property. They should open the book often and sing the songs with their father and mother, with their brothers and sisters, and with their friends. They should sing them while at home or when in the fields. Keep singing them, for as long as you live, but most importantly... sing them beautifully! (Veldkamp and De Boer 1939). The question remains, to what extent this advice was put in practice.

1932: *Wilhelmus* as National Anthem

The little amount of attention for the *Wilhelmus* is somewhat surprising given that the song was a more or less compulsory element for the celebration of Queen Wilhelmina's birthday and after 1932, when the *Wilhelmus* also became the official national anthem in the Dutch East Indies, the song must have been played and sung many thousands of times during official occasions, at military parades, and so on. It was also taught in schools as part of the musical education of children, in which Dutch songs were often prioritized above local songs. In an interesting article by ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst, it is stated that local singing cultures ran the risk of dying out completely as a result of a wrongly directed

¹³ Koppelstok was the name of a ferry man in the town of Brielle who helped the Protestants (the 'Geuzen') invading the town in 1572.

¹⁴ This is a song to praise God for all the victories of Prince Maurits over the Spaniards (1597).

educational policy. 'Even in the public schools the children were taught exclusively European school songs. Dutch songs had taken root, like *Waar de blanke top der duinen* [Where the white top of the dunes], *Wij leven vrij, wij leven blij* [We live free, we live happy] and *Wien Neêrlands bloed door d'ad'ren vloeit* [Whose Dutch blood flows through the veins] (Kunst 1994: 73). The Japanese occupation in 1942 put an end to the teaching of Dutch language in schools. It also ended the singing of Dutch songs, and in particular the *Wilhelmus*, by Indonesian pupils. Their education was continued in the Malay language while Japanese language was introduced.

I have not come across any recordings of the *Wilhelmus* in the Dutch East Indies before the Japanese occupation. Indeed, the only recording of the *Wilhelmus* that I have found is one by a flute orchestra from Paperu, on the island of Saparua in the Moluccas, made in 1949 by a Dutch traveller named G. Hobbel, who recorded numerous songs in the area. The song had apparently survived the Japanese occupation and was played in combination with other Dutch songs (Spoorman and Kleikamp, CD Frozen Brass, 1993).

A remarkable moment in relation to the status of the *Wilhelmus* in the Dutch East Indies occurred during the World Championship Football in 1938 in France. Both the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies qualified for this tournament along with 14 other teams. Only three non-European teams participated (Dutch East Indies, Brazil, and Cuba). Both teams played only once as they were kicked out of the tournament after being defeated by Czechoslovakia and Hungary. At the beginning of both matches the *Wilhelmus* was played as the official national anthem of both 'football countries'.¹⁵

It is somewhat surprising to note that in spite of the official governmental decision taken in 1932 to select the *Wilhelmus* as the national anthem, *Wien Neêrlands bloed* continued to be referred to as the national anthem in the Dutch East Indies. Even as late as 1942, there was still a considerable lack of awareness in the colony that *Wien Neêrlands bloed* was no longer the official national anthem. It is also possible, of course that this decision had not been clearly communicated, or the decision may also not have been accepted as such by some parts of the Dutch community in the

¹⁵ J. van de Vooren, 'Nederlandse-Indië op WK Voetbal van 1938', <http://www.sportgeschiedenis.nl/2010/06/02/nederlands-indie-op-het-wk-voetbal-van-1938.aspx> (last accessed 30 December 2010).

East Indies. Even in the 1939 official version of the song book *Kun je nog zingen, zing dan mee*, the song *Wien Neêrlands bloed door d'adren vloeit* is still referred to as the national anthem, despite being placed after the *Wilhelmus*. Another example: 'Kring Batavia der Vaderlandse Club' published a small programme booklet on the occasion of 'Prinsjesdag'¹⁶ on the 17th of September 1940 with five songs. The last of these songs was announced as the national anthem ('volkslied') but it referred to *Wien Neêrlands bloed door d'aadren vloeit*. The other songs were *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe*, *Mijn Nederland (Waar de blanke top der duinen)*, *Hollands Vlag*, and *Een Lied van Nederland (Alle man van Neêrlands stam)* (Kring Batavia der Vaderlandsche Club 1940). It appears that the *Wilhelmus* was kept as a national song of great importance in the Dutch East Indies, but it was not always referred to as the national anthem.

The Wilhelmus and the Indonesian Nationalists

For the Indonesian nationalist movement the playing of the *Wilhelmus* at the celebration of Queen Wilhelmina's birthday, during military parades, flag raising rituals and all kinds of other official celebrations, must have been a source of irritation and political frustration. In particular, the idea of nationalism was greatly stimulated among young Indonesians after a now famous meeting of the youth congress held in Batavia on the 27th and 28th of October 1928. The congress, which was organized by representatives of the main youth organizations, bridged narrow ethnic divisions. It was also during this congress that the famous 'Youth Pledge', *Sumpah Pemuda*, was proclaimed. This pledge stressed Indonesia's common history and the collective desire for nationhood on the basis of 'one nation, one people, one language' (Legge 1972: 97–98). It was during this congress that the Indonesian anthem *Indonesia Raya* was played for the first time. This song, composed by Wage Rudolf Supratman, was chosen as the national anthem for the nation-to-be by the entire congress. It was to replace the *Wilhelmus* or *Wien Neêrlands bloed*, the national anthem of the colonizers. Interestingly, President Soekarno is claimed to have insisted that *Indonesia Raya* should sound more or less like the *Wilhelmus*;

¹⁶ 'Prince's Day is the day on which the reigning monarch of the Netherlands addresses the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament. The Speech from the Throne sets out the main features of government policy for the coming parliamentary session (<http://www.minbuza.nl/en/you-and-netherlands/about-the-netherlands/>, last accessed February 2012).

it needed to sound 'plechtstatig' (solemn) (Winarno 2003: 56–57).¹⁷ Later, the Indonesian national anthem was reorchestrated by the Dutchman, Jos Cleber, who was sent to Indonesia in 1948 (Gommers-Dekker 2011).

From that moment onwards it must have been increasingly frustrating for the nationalists to be repeatedly confronted with the Dutch national anthem. Over the years, more and more people refused to sing the anthem at official occasions. The revolutionary thinker and writer Jef Last is one of the few people to explicitly write about this phenomenon. The suppression of the communist rebellion on Java and Sumatra in November 1926 and January 1927 and the way some of those involved were punished made a great impression on Last. Some of the rebels were executed for their part in the insurgency and thousands of communists from all over the archipelago were sent to the Boven-Digoel prison camp, deep in the jungle of Southwest New Guinea. Those prisoners who refused to sing along with the *Wilhelmus*, on the Queen's birthday were exiled to an even more severe location. These events led Last to write the so-called Digoel version of the *Wilhelmus*.

The Digoel Wilhelmus

Wilhelmus van Nassauwe
Zing ik omdat ik moet,
Den vaderland getrouwe
Dat dronk mijn broeders bloed.
De knechten van Oranje
Lieten mij ongedeerd,
De rechter zei, 'k verban je
Opdat je ginds krepeert.

Wilhelmus van Nassouwe
I sing because I must
Loyal to the homeland
That drank my brothers' blood
The servants of Orange
Left me unharmed
The judge said, I exile you
So that you suffer there.

In Blanda's vrees te leven
Heb 'k niet genoeg betracht,
Daarom ben ik verdreven
En werd ik hier gebracht.
De heerschers, die regeeren,
Kozen als instrument
In dienst der suikerheeren
Van Rhemrev's regiment.¹⁸

To live in fear of (the) Dutch
I did not sufficiently obey
That's why I was exiled
And I was taken here
The rulers, who govern
Chosen as instrument
In service of the sugar kings
Van Rhemrev's regiment.

¹⁷ It is claimed that Supratman is among the few people who have composed both the lyrics and the melody of the national anthem. Other cases of single authored national anthems include France, Canada and Sri Lanka (Winarno 2003: 9).

¹⁸ Captain W.R. Rhemrev's regiment was put in charge of the suppression of the revolt in West Sumatra in 1928. His regiment committed many atrocities during this mission which were never made public (Poeze 1994: 100).

Mijn schild ende betrouwen	My shield and my trust
Zijt gij niet, 'grootte heer',	That is not you, 'my lord'
Voortaan zou wil ik bouwen	In future I will just count
Slechts op mijn volks verweer,	On the resistance of my people
Dat het toch vroom mag blijven	That it may stay loyal
Vol strijdlust t' aller stond,	And full of spirit at all times
De tyrannie verdrijven	To expel the tyranny
Die mij het hart doorwondt.	Which wounds my heart.

[Adapted from Marnix van St. Aldegonde] (Last 1994: 63. My translation).

Other poems, too, demonstrated a lack of respect for the *Wilhelmus* and the refusal to stand up or to sing along to the anthem gave rise to the so-called '*Wilhelmusrelletjes*', 'little Wilhelmus rebellions', which were widely publicized in the European press (Poeze 1994: 105–106; Vanvugt 1996: 19). There can be no doubt that similar incidents occurred in other parts of the Dutch East Indies. Sympathizers with the Indonesian nationalist movement would have been hesitant to show respect for the Dutch national anthem. The degree to which this resistance was openly expressed or hidden is hard to determine as there is little written about it.

The great Indonesian author Pramoedya Ananta Toer mentions in one of his books the story of his father who refused to join in the celebrations for the wedding of the Crown Princess Juliana and Prince Bernhard in 1937. His father, who had nationalist sympathies, was determined not to give in, despite the fact that such an act could end his dream of becoming the head of a school.

The government had ordered all schools to take part in the big celebration. My father, however, kept refusing to sing the *Wilhelmus* and to raise the flag, and he would not join the parade either. There were endless discussions between my father and the local authorities. However, my father insisted on his rejection of the *Wilhelmus* and the tri-coloured flag. Then they came with threats, which my father simply ignored. Finally the assistant-resident gave in: they would allow him to refuse to sing the *Wilhelmus* and to use the flag as long as he took part in the parade and as long as he displayed an adequate symbol of the royal wedding (Toer 1990: 33–34 [my translation]).¹⁹

¹⁹ Translated from the Dutch: 'Alle scholen moesten van de regering meedoen aan het grote feest. Mijn vader bleef echter weigeren om het Wilhelmus te zingen en de driekleur te hijsen, en hij zou dus ook aan geen optocht meedoen. Er volgde een eindeloos overleg tussen vader en de plaatselijke ambtenarij. Wilhelmus en driekleur wees mijn vader echter pertinent af. Zij kwamen met dreigementen, die mijn vader voor kennisgeving aannam. Toen gaf de assistent-resident zich gewonnen: het Wilhelmus niet zingen en de driekleur

The history of the nationalist movement in Indonesia is complicated. Various parts of the country were much more involved than others and, in addition, the resistance against the Dutch was not uniform. Case studies suggest that the movement enjoyed differing degrees of support in isolated communities than in parts of Java and Sumatra. One particular group needs to be mentioned here and that is the people of mixed Indonesian-Dutch origin or the so-called Indo-European community. At various stages they have occupied ambivalent positions towards both the Dutch colonial rulers and the Indonesian nationalists. They often claimed an intermediate position because they, more than others, were able to bridge the gap between the rulers and the Indonesian population. In fact, this self-defined position was often closer to the Dutch governing institutions, which meant that they did not always enjoy the full confidence of the Indonesian nationalists. But, in terms of the choice to use either Dutch symbols of political power on the one hand or the symbols of the Indonesian nationalists on the other hand, there simply is no intermediate position. The choice is either for the *Wilhelmus* or the *Indonesia Raya*, it is either for the Dutch or the Indonesian flag and so on. This lack of compromise played a significant role in the complex position of the Indo-community in Indonesia (Nomes 1992).

Given the resistance of the Indonesian nationalists and the controversial status of the *Wilhelmus* as the national anthem, it is somewhat surprising to see that similar situations did not occur in the other Dutch colonies of Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. In these areas, the populations have always been more sympathetic to the Dutch royal family compared to Indonesia and, to a certain extent, the *Wilhelmus* and the royal family were considered to be somewhat differentiated from the Dutch colonial administration (Oostindie 2006).

Conclusion

In the history of the musical encounters between a colony and its ruling country the national anthem occupies, by definition, a special position. In the initial phase of colonization the national anthem is introduced into a very different context. It is forced upon the colonized people who must accept it as an inherent part of the ruling authority. There is little room

niet voeren, dat mocht, als hij maar meedeed aan de optocht en daarbij voor de dag kwam met een zo goed mogelijk zinnebeeld van het koninklijk huwelijk'.

for the development of local adaptations and variations. Together with other symbols of the ruling power like the national flag and the official language, respect for the national anthem is seen as a crucial element in relations between the colonizing authorities and the colonized people.²⁰ The situation in Indonesia was no exception to this general rule. After the emergence of a strong nationalist movement obligatory respect for the national anthem of the colonizing country becomes controversial. The history of the *Wilhelmus* in Indonesia during the colonial period clearly shows this. Resistance to the Dutch national anthem grew, in particular once the Indonesian nationalists had adopted '*Indonesia Raya*' as their own national anthem. During the Japanese occupation the Dutch national anthem was officially silenced and replaced by the Japanese national anthem. After Indonesian independence was declared in 1945, and officially recognized a few years later, one would expect the Dutch national anthem to be completely forgotten.

Within this context, it is remarkable that a translated version of the *Wilhelmus* survived for such a long time on the island of Siberut. This can be explained partly by the fact that nationalism never played a role in local politics in the Mentawai Archipelago and also because, apparently, nobody on the island felt offended by people singing the national anthem of the former colonizers. At the same time, it is also an indication of the type of musical culture on the island. The fact that the *Wilhelmus* had been introduced by the Dutch governmental authorities did not prevent it from being added to the repertoire of some local singers. That the *Wilhelmus* survived for so many years after Indonesia's independence can only be attributed to the personal taste of the singers and the respect that they received from their audiences for having such an historic song in their repertoire.

There can be no doubt that the formal education system in the Dutch East Indies played a crucial role in the musical training of Indonesian pupils. The *Wilhelmus* and a number of other songs were compulsory elements in formal musical education, which included hardly any instruction in local musical traditions in the form of songs or instruments. In this

²⁰ In the British Empire the national anthem, *God Save the Queen*, was used as a symbol of unity. This was not done by simply having the same song played throughout the entire empire, however. In the nineteenth century, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, the lyrics of the national anthem were sung in five languages from the Indian subcontinent. An effort was also made to 'translate' the music into 12 musical styles of India. Later, at the Queen's diamond jubilee, the lyrics were translated into 50 of the most important languages spoken in the Queen's Empire (Scott 1998: 119–120).

respect, the Dutch-Indonesian musical encounter was largely one-sided and left little room for local variation.

Indirectly, however, this fact has contributed to the emergence and the position of the Indonesian national anthem. Even though the *Wilhelmus* was a symbol of Dutch power and authority, it had a distinct influence on the creation of the Indonesian national anthem which sounded equally solemn.

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