

Stereotyping the Turks: Images from Dutch Colonial Newspapers in Indonesia

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Abstract

There are abundant studies on Turkish Historical influences in the world, from Europe to Asia, India, and Southeast Asia. But there are insufficient scholarly narratives consulted from the existing available 19th century colonial newspaper sources that dealt with the colonial works on reshaping the character of the Rum-Turk and the Ottoman that had in previous centuries, preserved in extensively pleasant and inspirational images among the societies in the Netherlands East Indies. Before the colonial period, numerous scholars agree that the influence of the Ottoman occurred in early days where the Portuguese set foot in Malacca Straits. The Ottoman relation with Aceh and the continuous correspondences contributed to the view of societies in the Netherlands East Indies to present fond impression on the Ottoman that the victory and naval force of the Ottoman were penned down in numerous local letters and manuscripts across the Islands and Peninsula as an inspirational depiction. As mass printing had become the most effective measure in producing new type of knowledge, especially on describing images of racial class and defaming the colonial economic and political non-native rivals, the colonial propaganda and descriptions were printed repetitively over the centuries. As the result, the constructed images of the Turks were politicized for the colonial gain. This paper examines the role of Dutch colonial newspapers in shaping images of the Turks, the Ottoman, and the caliphate among its colonized societies. It investigates dissemination of colonial pseudo-scientific knowledge and the transformation of views on the Turks resulted from it. Through utilizing Dutch colonial newspapers between 1840s-1945, this paper provides additional narratives on colonial knowledge production discourse on Indonesian trans-boundary relations under colonial era.

Keywords: Stereotype, Turks, Colonialism, Newspapers, Dutch East Indies.

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Endonezya’da Hollanda Sömürge Dönemi Basını’nda Türk İmajı

Özet

Avrupa’dan Asya’ya, Hindistan’dan Takımadalar’a kadar dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde Türklerin tarihsel etkilerine dair pek çok çalışma yapılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, 19. yüzyıl sömürge dönemi basınında yer alan belgelerle ilgili yeterli çalışma olduğunu söylemek güçtür. Söz konusu bu yayınlar Hollanda Doğu Hint yönetimi altındaki çeşitli toplumlar arasında önceki yüzyıllardan itibaren var olan olumlu ve ilham verici Rum-Türk ve Osmanlı imgesini yeniden değerlendirmektedir. Bölge tarihi konusunda uzman pek çok yazar, söz konusu Hollanda sömürge dönemi öncesi örneğin Portekizlilerin Malaka Boğazı’nda varlık göstermeye başladıkları erken dönemlerde Osmanlı Devleti’nin etkisi konusunda hem fikirdirler. Bu noktada, Osmanlı ve Açe Devletleri arasındaki ilişki ve karşılıklı gerçekleşen haberleşme süreci Hollanda Doğu Hint yönetimi altındaki toplumlarda Osmanlılar hakkında olumlu yaklaşımın ortaya çıkmasına katkıda bulunmuş ve Osmanlıların zaferleri ve deniz gücü Takımadalar’da çeşitli el yazması eserlere konu edilmiştir.

Basılı medyanın yaygınlaşmasıyla yeni tür bilgi üretimi gündeme gelmiş ve özellikle böylece çeşitli etnik topluluklarla ilgili görüşler yer almaya başlamış ve sömürge dönemi ekonomi-politiği çerçevesinde yerli olmayan rakip güçler olumsuzlanmış ve böylece sömürge propagandası medya vasıtasıyla tekrarlanarak gündeme getirilmiştir.

Bu çerçevede, oluşturulan Türk imgesi sömürge yönetiminin siyasi kazanımına el verecek şekilde siyasal bir boyut kazanmıştır. Bu makale, Hollanda sömürge dönemi gazetelerinde bölge toplumlarında Türk-Osmanlı imgelerinin yer alışı halifelik olgusu incelenmiştir. Çalışma, sömürge dönemi sözde bilimsel bilginin basın vasıtasıyla yayılımı ve bundan kaynaklı Türkler hakkında değişen görüşler üzerinde durulmuştur. 1840’lı yıllar ile 1945 yılına kadarki çeşitli yayın organlarından hareketle, Takımadalar toplumlarının sınır-aşırı ilişkileri üzerine sömürge dönemi bilgi üretimine dair veriler ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Stereotip, Türk, Sömürgecilik, Gazeteler, Hollanda Doğu Hint Adaları.

Introduction

There are abundant studies on Indonesia and Turkey in the last couple of decades, dominantly established through the narratives of history, travelling from pre-colonial to the post-colonial era. From the diverse angles of these studies, one

of the most debated subjects lays in the spheres of post-colonial studies, such as orientalism where 19th and 20th century scholarly literatures, including newspapers, are linked to be one of founding period of racial stereotypes.¹

Although much challenged and debated, in late 19th towards the beginning of 20th century, Dutch colonialism in Indonesia is believed to have played crucial role in inserting, defining, establishing adjectives of racial stereotype to not only the colonized societies but also the diverse trans-boundary others that stayed circulated across oceans for the nature of commercial network and sustainable belonging that trans-versed its sovereignty², including the Turks, the Turkic, and its Islam politic surrounding the sultanate and the caliphate.

One of the tools that were used to mold the adjective to race was the spread of printed newspapers. Conceptions on the Islam, Turk, Ottoman, the caliphate and Turkey have been displayed differently, contrasting each other throughout the studies of newspapers during Dutch colonial era.

Today, for many Indonesian Muslims, Turkish people are identical to stereotype of being hero and savior, mainly when referred to the Ottoman era, but when it comes to the founding father of the republic, the views reflected a travel of periodization where positivity perceptions can be traced gradually changed into a negative ones followed the development of Islam and secularism in Turkey which were constantly provided through local and foreign newspapers, supported, debated, challenged, and rejected.³ The flow of time in the polemic of Atatürk and stereotyping of the Turks lead to inherited network of ideological group that remains till today, such as that of Soekarno, Mohammad Natsir and Ahmad Hassan.

This perhaps can be seen from the latest event occurred in October 2021 where Indonesians was divided by the idea of naming one of its capital road after the name of infamous father of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

- 1 Wim F. Wertheim, "Koloniaal racisme in Indonesia, Ons onverwerkt verleden?", in *de Gids*, 154, 1991, dbnl.org; Wim F. Wertheim. "Rassenprobleem is Werkelijkheid, Rassenleer Daarentegen een Mythe", *Het Parool*, No. 1456, October 7th 1949, p. 9.
- 2 Jan Breman, *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and Colonial Order in Southeast Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi 1989.
- 3 Chiara Formichi, "Indonesian Readings of Turkish History 1890s-1940s", in A. C. S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (eds.), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottoman, Turks and Southeast Asia*, Oxford University Press, Britain, p. 241-258.

This idea was delivered by the Indonesian ambassador for Turkey in Ankara, Lalu Muhammad Iqbal. The internet was stirred with intense debate between pros and cons, swiped quickly into the box fighter of conservative Muslims and the liberals. News from *the Jakarta Post* titled, *Muslim Group Oppose Renaming Jakarta Street after Turkey's Ataturk*, enunciated that for Indonesian conservatives Muslims, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk is a controversial figure and still regarded as an offense to the Muslim worlds.⁴

Despite the abundant studies that were done, there is a level of inadequacy in scholarly literature. It has survived the missing racial stereotyping narratives studied based on Dutch Colonial newspapers in the Indies. Milner in his work published in 1986 stated his concern on the difficulty to gauge opinions among the Malay, including Indonesian post independent period due to the limited sources implied when discussing about Malay literature discourse towards Turkey, Ataturk and post abolishment the caliphate⁵. Unlike the 1986 where access to literature, especially newspapers were limited, the study of Dutch colonial newspaper in general and precisely on the images on the Turks stereotype in the Indies has been made possible through the global digitized access online, but still ignored significantly.

Within hundreds of newspapers produced in the Indies between 1845-1945, *Bataviaasche Advertentieblad* stood as the very first published newspaper in the Indies in 1825, followed with *Nederlandsch Indische Handelsblad* that began circulation in 1829. Stood next, published firstly under the name *Semarangische Advertentieblad* in 1845 before it was known as the *De Locomotief* since 1863, led by Pieter Brooschoft, a prominent activist of political ethic. In the span of a century, numerous other types of Dutch newspapers introduced and widely spread throughout cities in the Indies, not only in Java but also in Sumatra and Sulawesi.⁶

Collecting data related to Turkey within such a huge number of collections obviously demands extensive time. So for the purpose of this conference, this paper concentrates on several selected newspapers published between the time span of 1873-1945 which are available in digital version.

4 Nurjanti, "Muslim Groups Oppose Renaming Jakarta Street After Turkey's Ataturk", *the Jakarta Post*, October 19th 2021, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2021/10/19/muslim-groups-oppose-renaming-jakarta-street-after-turkeys-aturk.html>.

5 A. C. Milner, "The Impact of the Turkish Revolution on Malaya", *Archipel*, 1986, 31, p. 122.

6 Nabuto Yamamoto, *Print Power and Censorship in Indonesia 1914-1942*, Cornell University, PhD Dissertation, 2011, p. 29-30.

Images from Dutch Colonial Newspapers in Indonesia

For this study I utilize qualitative methodology applied through the archival digitized documents provided by numerous official and reliable newspaper platform online such as delpher.nl, europeana, and library congress of America, looking into the colonial newspaper printed and distributed in the Dutch East Indies, such as the *Java Post*, *Java Bode*, *Bataviaansch Handelsblad*, *De Locomotiev*, *Deli Courant*, and *De Sumatra Post*. *Het Indische Volk*, *De Nieuwe Voorsendlanden*, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, and *De Indische Courant* that provided information on Turkey written in late 19th to the first quarter of the 20th century.

By consulting these methods and sources, It is expected that the study would be able to elaborate the role of Dutch colonial newspapers in shaping bifurcating images of the Turks, the Ottoman, and the caliphate and Ataturk among its colonized societies.

Racial Stereotypes in Dutch East Indies

Raden Mas Noto Soeroto gave a public lecture on racial problem in Indonesia in 1928. His speech was quoted by numerous Dutch newspapers in the Netherlands, sparking increasing debate on the supremacy of the white colonials in the areas.⁷ His criticism had indeed arrived in the mind of prolific Dutch scholar W.F. Wertheim who had spent all of his life in tackling the racial issue of the Dutch and challenged the theory of race that were popular in Europe at that time. He stood for the racial equality and pressure on the change of government policy.⁸

This development in the 1920s was the tip of the iceberg that can be seen from the social pathology of colonialism in the Indies. It was manifested and accumulated through countless experiences against the Muslims and the Hindus attached to its economical fabrics that involved highly diverse ethnic and racial interactions. Within that diversity, positioned the Turks, influences, and imaginary realities that became the centre of racial hatred and prejudices.

The intermingling political relations between Indonesia, the Dutch and Turkey in history intensified for the first time in the 19th century for majorly colonial reason. Dutch company's aggression, unfair trade treaties and contracts, political interferences, Christianization, and employment of military aid in internal conflict

7 Raden Mas Noto Soeroto, "Het Rassenprobleem in Indonesie en het ontwaken der inheeschen", *Nieuwsblad va het Noorden: Dagblad voor de Noordel Provinciën*, Maart 20 1928, No 68, 41st Year, p. 12.

8 W.F. Wertheim, "Ik Ben Oon Beïnvloed Geweest door die racistische gedachtenwereld", *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant Handelsblad*, February 13th 1986, No. 115, p. 19.

caused the weak parties to turn to Turkey Ottoman which was remembered as the most powerful Islamic empires. Felemenk as word continuously mentioned in numerous letters intended but intercepted or arrived to Istanbul from Sumatra, Java, and Sulawesi, marked precisely as the offending party that dehumanizing the people of Indonesia.

This can be seen from the well-known wave of letters from Aceh between 1849-1853, 1872, and similar attempts in 1902, followed with letter from Jambi in 1855 and Riau in 1904 through the Ottoman consulate in Batavia, Muhammad Kamil Bey (1897-99). The letters clearly appoint request to be vassalage and to be equipped with the power of sanction and military aid for the obligation of protecting the Muslims *ummah*. Within this span of time, Indonesia's Sultanates that awaited response and further lobby with the Turks played crucial roles in gradual but sounding efforts of calling on unity between the Muslims, re-purifying the religious purpose on right to lands and people such as displayed by the progress in Aceh, Jambi and Riau in 1855, 1867, and 1872-3.⁹ Although efforts were launched and constantly fell on disappointment, the hype rumours, and hopes remains strong. This caused the increasing surveillance and restrictions on regulations against both the natives and the mobile communities not only on the Arabs, the Indians, and the Chinese but also on every suspected networking contact with Turkish Ottoman traders and officials via Aceh, Batavia, Penang, and Singapore.

On the other side, while all these correspondences were made, the Dutch political territory and economical exploitation was definite in Java, Sulawesi, and half of Sumatra which included Siak, a small sultanate layed at the border sovereign of Aceh, that was freshly subdued in 1854. Colonial income and revenue from plantations in Java, Sulawesi and partial of Sumatra had been suffered under the cultivation system and ill decided policies where treatment towards the natives rights was standardized through the color of their skin and the biblical prophetic arguments on their intellectualities. Although the social and economic conditions has seen a better light under the wave of protestants Christians and the liberals in third half of the 19th century, it failed to prevent further encroachment of racists colonial intellectual culture in other Islands of the East Indie as revealed through the swapping fashion of civilizing mission mobilized by the supreme enlightenment

9 Barbara Watson Andaya, "From Rum to Tokyo: The Search for Anti Colonial Allies by the Rulers of Riau, 1899-1914", *Indonesia*, No. 24, October 1977, p. 129-130, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350920>.

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circles of middle class Christians. The policy of missionary delivery to colonized societies was met with frightful resistance which went better after the introduction of ethical policy in 1901, where education through the European language and books laid access to its history, politics culture and values¹⁰, including the method of seeing other race and religion such as the Muslim Turks and the secular ones.

It was ethical policy's educations approach that succeeded in inheriting and establishing institutionalized views of critics on race and religion through the native middle class children recruits for educations to the Netherland and other European countries. This means similar to the dissemination of lively debatable and doubtful European views on the Turk of the Ottoman and the Turks of the Ataturk which reflected to current richly bifurcated opinions on the Turks in Indonesia.

Colonial Newspapers and Stereotyped Turks

The changing images of Turkey in Dutch colonial newspapers spanned through three periodization, that is between 1849 to 1870, 1870 to 1924, and 1924 to 1945. The various content on Turkey in these periodization were attached to the representation of ideological turn, gradually progressed from general comment on history, pseudo-scientific and bias elaboration based on prejudices on Islam, politics, and race, such as those lead by the Christians Middle Class to the revolutionary inspirational perspectives on Turkey's movement of Young Turk and Ataturk as revealed by number of Democratic and Socialist Dutch Newspaper in Indonesia.

From the period of 1849 to 1870, news on Turkey was mostly general, reporting on numerous political events in Turkey and abroad, the shipping schedule, Turkish products advertisement and Islamophobic related content.

It was on 1870 onwards, closer reports of Turkey in the Indies were intensified, majorly caused by the recent development of political lobbies against the Dutch from Aceh to Istanbul. Between 1870 to 1924, numerous news, spy reports, race and religion propaganda enriched transfer list of knowledge as responding to the fuelling anti-colonial movements, Native political lobbies, Pan-Islamism sympathizers and paranoia, and increasing outbreaks in the Dutch East Indies.

10 Chiara Formichi, "Indonesian Readings of Turkish History in From Ottoman to Aceh 1890s-1940s", in A. C. S. Peacock and Annabel The Gallop (eds.), *From Ottoman to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia*, Oxford University Press, Britain, p. 243.

Since the envoys from Aceh to Istanbul took place, there are countless of rumours on the coming aids from the Ottoman to the Indies to help bring freedom against colonialism. That rumour including the journey of 8 ships from Ottoman to Singapore in 1873, letter of vassalage recognition and etc which was followed closely by the newspapers around the Indies and the Strait Settlement. Such a hype both in the form of anticipation and fear by locals and the Dutch regimes lead to the increasing propaganda, suspicions, prejudices, and conspiracies that created an environment of hostility to every move involving Turkish representatives. This for instance can be seen from the visit of Ghalib Bey to Java and Aceh in 1884 where accusation of violence incitement would occur due to the 'hostile' nature of Islam, especially when it involves Aceh, would be a demise to Dutch Government.¹¹

These evolutions of images were propagated by the intention for to open the path for the native to learn dynamic thoughts on Islam in Turkey. As newspaper printing was dominated by the eloquent and prolific Dutch Christian middle class in the Indies, images on Turkey was definitely formed in the shape of biblical cultural thoughts woven heavily from so called fact and material evidences supported by expertise rhetorical demonstration. Fallacy on Islam, Ottoman and race spread through numerous established newspapers in the Dutch East Indies, such as *Java Post*.

Generaal Van Daalen who was a catholic and a prominent military general himself wrote lengthy of narratives on Islam, including the Turkish Islam that according to him not less different in the nature of backwardness and uncivilized codified law than Islam of the Arabs. He believed Islam was not compatible with Modern life and European must be aggressive to introduce its civilization as Christianity had done. Further He said, "*Bloedige strijd schijnt dus oppervlakkig beschouwd, niet te vreezen*" implying to Islamic reformations was hot on the surface but nothing more beneath. He said the Dutch and Christians not to be afraid.¹²

Van Daalen connected Ottoman Turk with violent evil that relies solely on the sword. He said that "forgetting that such Islam should finally perish by the sword, because its powers, great as they may be, have no coherence, being scattered

11 Nn. "Turkije, De Islam en Onze Regeering", *Java Bode*, January 2th, No,20 Jaargang 1, 1884, p. 3.

12 HB Van Daalen, "Brieven en Boodschappen: Batavia", *Java Bode: Nieuws Handels en Advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indie*, 17 November 1885, p. 3

everywhere on three continents, and separated by insurmountable barriers, seas and deserts, while the enemy with whom he would face is as strong as it is intelligent and would not let him rest.”¹³ His Islamophobe obstinacy and blood thirst civilizing mission led him into massacre of thousands of Acehnese in the hinterland Gayo in 1904.

De Java Post: Weekblad van Nederlandsche Indie (1903-1927), is a Dutch Catholic weekly Press lead by firstly W.H Bogaart, a Protestant convert to Catholic and published its first release in 1905. He was replaced by Catholic Pandit, Jesuit W van den Heuvel from 1905 to its demise in December 1927.¹⁴ The newspaper sent clear messages to the Dutch readers and elite in Indies on unproven pseudo-scientific history on Ottoman Islam, to the extend labelled as destroyer of Islam. In one of the addition, it is clearly mentioned that it would be impossible for the Ottoman empire that was preaching freedom of religion would be less fanatical as the religion and genealogical race were bound to be ‘hereditary immorality’ such as hatred of Christianity, cruelty to apostle, heavy punishment for religious violators, Christians were not allowed to be in th army or to hold higher position in the state. The newspaper further expressed support fort he Young Turk who according to the writer no longer willing to be under the harassment of Islam, that the Young Turk movement would be an advantage to launch Christianity.¹⁵

A year before the abolishment of the caliphate, Java Post release another unverified and non-credible reports where the concentration was made on the Turkish looting, raping and killing of innocent people, Christians and Jews during unclarified duration of attack in Smyrna. This information was written based on conversation with a afriend who happen to have a friend that heard on the News in Turkey. Surprisingly, Java Post was not a fond of Kemalist either. Kemalist were described as psychotic showing lack of respects to the graves of the Christians where violence, vandalism and cruelty to the corpse were involved.¹⁶

News from 1924 to 1945 represented the glimpse into the debate of corruption

13 HB Van Daalen, “Brieven en Boodschappen: Batavia”, *Java Bode: Nieuws Handels en Advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indie*, 17 November 1885, p. 3

14 Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: a Documented History*, Volume 2, KITLV, Leiden 2007, p. 60-61.

15 Nn, “‘N Islam Met Minder Fanatisme?”, *De Java-post: weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 8, No. 10, 1910, p. 152.

16 Nn, “Turksche Manieren”, *De Java Post, weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, jrg 21, 25 May, 1923, p. 152-153.

within Ottoman, abolishment of Caliphate and its successor, the young Turk reformation, and Kemalism as model for Indonesia as a nation state. In this latest period, large number of local newspapers participated in responding and refuting news that were rotating from Dutch colonial newspapers and newspapers abroad alike.

De Sumatra Courant's *Geestesstroomingen* looked into the reaction of Muslims in India and Indonesia on the abolishment of the caliphate and further discourse on its succession and preserving the legacy. The Muslims in India recognize the corruption in the body of the caliphate but maintained Istanbul and Turkey as the traditional point of attraction to major Muslim in Asia. While Indonesians, in this case the Javanese ulamas and numerous mobile merchants communities took initiatives to preserve the line of intellectual of the Ottoman and the caliphate, propagating on the mobilization of Turkish literary and scientific works to be disseminated in Indonesia. Dutch colonial government has taken such reactions as a form of new political Turkey wings and this taken into the anticipation of pan Islamism sparks in the Indies.¹⁷

Although some news delivered in the sense of reporting and justice to opinions, other newspapers took the chance to launch fear and stereotyping efforts, defaming the Turk and Islam to maintain the complete rule of Dutch in the Indies. This can be seen from the Surakarta's publication of *De Nieuwe Voorstanlanden: Solo Laandhuurders* where the writer believed that the wave of pan Islamism and caliphates was violent and full of intrigue that the sparks of sympathy towards Turkey would mean the gateway to allow societies in the Indies to be Ottoman Citizens and thus, would incite violence against the colonial government.¹⁸

This periodization also represented the debate of favor towards the revolutions lead by Ataturk. However, despite all the supports and hails towards Ataturk revolutionary movement, suspicion and question attached to race remain. After praising Ataturk movement on the abolishment of caliphate and prohibition measured billed on Turban, Azan, and religious education, the author from *Het indische Volk* lastly questioned that, "The Turkey of Mustafa Kemal has liberated itself outwardly from the Islamic community, inwardly from the many irrational things that so far had found refuge only in Turkey. Can the country, shrouded

17 Nn, "Geestesstroomingen", *De Sumatra Courant*, 3 April 1924, Jaargang 76, No. 80, p. 10.

18 "Officieel gedeelte: Niet Officieel Gedeelte: Brieven uit den zetel van het Khalifaat", *De Nieuwe Vorstenlanden: Officieel Orgaan van de Solosche Landhuurders*, 31 Jaargang, No 107, 1902.

physically and mentally in the guise of the European, face a new, vigorous life on Asia's soil?"¹⁹

Conclusions

In this preliminary research, I argue that Dutch Colonial newspaper's attention to Turkey in the Indies between 1845-1945 is marked through 3 waves of periodization. Firstly, between 1845-1870 where the attentions were mostly put into the general political news abroad, record of shipping logs, commodities import and export, trading advertisement, and in relation to Islamophobia. Secondly is from 1870 to 1924. The focus of newspapers was significantly increasing within trans-boundary politics, dominantly caused by the movement of Aceh and other rebellious colonies in Sumatra, Sulawesi and Java towards the alternative political power, sought for alliance. Since the number of newspaper companies at this time were booming in the Indies, propaganda was heightened surrounding the issues of Ottoman, Caliphates, the Young Turks and the Ataturk revolutionary movements. In this period, politics of Turkish images and stereotypes were molded through large number of citations, contrasted and established by Dutch Colonial regime to suppress foreign influences and maintain the Dutch governance sustainability. The Turks were dubbed as violent, evil, hereditarily immoral, cunning, destroyer of Islam, hostile, and pretendent savior, found pages of destination in the publication. Almost every move made by Turkish representatives were challenged with suspicions, conspiracies, and prejudices which led to increasing restrictions and intelligences that victimized the material and immaterial attachment to Turkey such as the Arabs, Islam, the Hadjis, and its commercial networks. And lastly, is from 1924-1945. In this last periodization, images and stereotype on Turkey were centered on the fashioning narratives of nationalism, independence, and freedom were Ataturk and his revolutionary works taken as a model and inspiration. Such images find its voices among the locals middle class who played vital roles in the efforts of freedom from the Dutch, although on the other hand, there was increasing disappointment displayed throughout the latest decades. However, the Dutch molded stereotype on the Turks continued to be supported and defended through the second class natives that enjoyed internationally prestige education.

How far the colonial stereotype influence educated Indonesian locals post independent up to now is further research worth looking up.

19 Maxmillan Harden, "Turkije Zonder Tulband", *Het Indische Volk: Orgaan van de Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij*, No 7, Mei 1926, p. 4.

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