CHAPTER FIVE

# THE HIGHPOINT OF DEVELOPMENT: 1883-1914

The year 1883 brought a new chapter in the Batakmission's educational endeavour because in that year it began to take steps to fundamentally reform its system of education and at the same time to consolidate its view of education as an integral part of all its activities. We call the reforming of the educational system and the consolidating of its educational view a qualitative development stimulated by supporting factors both from within and beyond the RMG/Batakmission. This paralleled its quantitative development, i.e. the increase in numbers and kinds of schools. All of these brought the Batakmission's educational effort to its zenith.

In this chapter we shall not be discussing all the chronological details of the Batakmission's development of its educational efforts during this period; we shall only investigate the prominent themes or issues which characterized this period. But before we study those steps towards improvement begun in 1883, we shall relate several factors contributing to reform and offer descriptions of the quantitative development in numbers and kinds of schools. Only then shall we discuss the consolidation of the Batakmission's theological, missiological, and pedagogical/methodological views. The consolidation of those views formed the basis for reforming the educational system and for educating the teachers; both actions will involve the reformation of the basic educational system.

The expansion of the Batakmission's working area, one of the factors contributing to reform, will be discussed later. This means that many places will show characteristics of the pioneering period discussed in Chapter Four. Therefore, many of the phenomena and general problems which appeared then will reappear during this second period of the Batakmission's ministry. However, we are not going to go into those details again. It will be sufficient for our purposes to make reference to them in just outline fashion as this seems advisable.

## *A. Factors Contributing to Reform*

*1. Expansion of the Working Area*

Until 1880, the Batakmission was able to work only in the area of Sipirok-Angkola, Silindung, Sibolga and surroundings, plus the drier plateau region around Humbang (between Silindung and Toba), because that was the limit of the permit given by the Dutch Indies government. Not until 1881 did the Batakmission receive official permission to work in the Toba area (Balige and surroundings), even though several missionaries had visited the shores of Lake Toba several years before and had begun pioneering ministries there. Entrance into the Toba area was very important politically because it meant that the missionaries had penetrated to the center of traditional Batak community's political power symbolized by the authority of Si Singamangaraja XII. The Batakmission's success in opening evangelistic stations and posts in this area facilitated the expansion of its working area in to regions to the west, east and north.

During the first half of the decade of the 1880s, the Toba area continued to be shaken by a series of battles between the forces of Si Singamangaraja and the Dutch colonial government so that the situation was far from being secure and quiet. Even so, during that same decade, a relatively short period of time, the Batakmission succeeded in winning the hearts of the local communities; this meant it was able to found its stations and branches in strategic locations having a denser population. Furthermore, Nommensen resided in the same area after being appointed as the Ephorus by the RMG the same year as the establishment of the Church Order of 1881.[1]

In a similar pattern to the one evident in other RMG places of work and one also in harmony with the principle of the unity between congregation and school, the opening of each station and evangelistic post was accompanied by the opening of a school as well. Although here and there (especially among Si Singamangaraja's supporters) suspicion remained that the Batakmission sided with the colonial government, nevertheless there was a considerable number of residents who gave

[1] At first Nommensen resided in Laguboti (1885-1888) and after that he remained in Sigumpar until his death in 1918; *JB* 1888, p. 42, and P. Sibarani, *100 Taon HKBP Laguboti* [100 Years of the HKBP in Laguboti] (1984), pp. 75ff.

an enthusiastic welcome to the opening of schools. In fact, most schools were begun at the people's request. Even parents along with their children were among those who became students. Apparently, they had heard about the benefits which the missionary schools had brought to their brothers in Sipirok-Angkola and Silindung, and wished to participate in them as well. Interest from the Batak community for learning and knowledge continued to increase from year to year. This resulted in many problems for the Batakmission later, because its motivation and objectives for schooling not only differed from those of the Bataks themselves, they were in actual conflict with them (see Chapter Six).[2]

After Toba, expansion was directed to **Samosir**, an island located in the middle of Lake Toba. In 1893, Johannes Warneck, a son of Gustav Warneck, opened an evangelistic post and school in Nainggolan. Even though this area had not as yet been annexed by the colonial government, nevertheless permission was given to the Batakmission to open a post there. In 1892, the local headmen had requested that it place a missionary and teacher in Nainggolan in order to open a school; some of its children had been in the Balige school earlier. Even though the development was not as rapid as it had been in Silindung and Toba, congregations and schools continued to multiply gradually but surely because the interest and intelligence of the Samosir community was not less than that in other Batak areas.

The penetration of the Simalungun Batak area in 1903 was very significant.[3] The Batak-

[2] Commenting on this issue, Situmorang (*Toba Na Sae*, p. 120) concluded that "the twin swells of learning and knowledge continued in an unbroken line during the 1880-1930 period, which in retrospect may be called the 'take-off decades' of the cultural modernization movement in Toba."

[3] With reference to the penetration into the Simalungun area, the Batakmission generally refers to RMG inspector A. Schreiber's telegram entitled: *Tole!* (*Vorwarts!* Let's Go!), as a response and support for the February 3-7, 1903 Batakmission Conference's request. But there are also documents which note that the first evangelistic post opened in Simalungun, i.e. in Tigaras, was begun by Pastor Samuel Panggabean who had been sent by the *Pardonganon Mission Batak*. Moreover, J. Warneck (*Sechzig Jahre*, p. 151) wrote that before 1903 Batak workers from Samosir

mission offered four reasons why it considered so:

(1) The Simalungun Batak tribe had a language, or at least a dialect, different from both the Angkolan and Toba Bataks. Thus, to begin work there meant it needed to prepare workers who were able to communicate in the local language, and in turn these had to make literature available in Simalungun to both congregation and school.[4]

(2) The Simalungun Batak society had social patterns and governmental structures differing from other Bataks, especially from the Toba Bataks.

> According to Clauss, for years the Simalungun society had known and developed a political-social structure which was monarchist-feudalistic. In the Simalungun area there were a number of small kingdoms which were subservient to a state or ruler of a larger area, and there was an established social stratification of nobility, ordinary citizens and slaves *(jabolon)*.[5]

(3) According to the colonial government administration then, the Simalungun area was placed

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had opened a line of communication with the Simalungun community residing along the Simalungun shore of Lake Toba. For another perspective, we need to note that in 1902, Guillaume, on loan from the RMG to the NZG, which was working among the Karo Bataks, began relations with Simalungun headmen. This information was given by Guillaume himself at the 1903 conference just mentioned, and thus became one of the materials to be weighed by the Batakmission in beginning its work in Simalungun. At the same time, C.J. Westenberg, the colonial government's resident based in Simalungun had initiated contact with the 'heathen' Simalungun headmen in 1891, and to a greater or lesser extent, according to Guillaume, this played a part in opening a way for the Batakmission to enter the Simalungun region. Guillaume, *Regierung und Mission*, pp. 24ff.

[4] This language problem became more acute, developing into competition between the Toba and Simalungun tribes. As a matter of fact, the Batakmission workers preferred to use the Toba language both in oral and written communication, including in the schools to such an extent that the Simalungun people felt that they were being 'Tobanized'; their reaction was not pleasant from the perspective of the Batakmission personnel. W.R. Liddle, "Suku Simalungun", in *Indonesia* No. 3, April 1967, pp. 1-30, cf. Chapter Six, A.2.

[5] W. Clauss, *Economic and Social Change among the Simalungun Batak of North Sumatra*, 1982, pp. 48ff; cf. G.K. Simon in *BRMG* 1904, pp. 9-29.

in its East Coast Province of Sumatra[6], whereas at this time the Batakmission's work was limited to Sumatra's West Coast. To work in Simalungun meant entering an entirely new area and which in turn formed the beginning of the Batakmission's entrance in to other eastern areas of Sumatra, i.e. the Karo Batak area and that of Deli Serdang. "Thanks be to the government for opening a way for a door to be opened for the Batakmission; thanks be to God for opening the mission's work, even though this was through the government."[7]

(4) Some of the Simalungun people had become Muslims, especially those in the eastern area, so the Batakmission had to work hard and faced formidable competition in its efforts to win the Simalungun society for Christianity, just as had been the case in the South.

Basically, the Batakmission's approach to the Simalungun society utilized the same method practised among the Angkolan and Toba Bataks, meaning that it began with headmen.[8] But here, apparently, the slogan *cuius regio eius religio* was not as relevant even though the society was feudalistic. Each person had the freedom to determine which religious conviction he would follow, which meant that mass baptisms rarely occurred among the Simalunguns.[9] The headmen themselves were not eager to embrace Christianity since some of them were already Muslim, and others were not prepared to give up the old traditions of polygamy and slavery, just two practices which the mission struggled to eradicate.

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[6] In 1892, the colonial government included the Simalungun under its regional administration; J. Tideman, *Simeloengoen*, 1922, pp. 33ff. Even before this, the colonial government had placed its officials there even though annexation was not effected until 1906, *JB* 1906, p. 70.

[7] Guillaume, *op. cit*, p. 26.

[8] In order to obtain the support of these headmen, the Batakmission founded the School for Children of Headmen in Samosir in 1909, complete with dormitory, *JB* 1909, p. 79, and *BRMG* 1910, pp. 14ff. But in fact this school was not particularly successful in drawing its pupils to the Christian faith; *Barita ni Hoeria HKBP Pemantang Siantar* 1907-1932, p. 12.

[9] *60 Tahun Injil Kristus di Simalungun* [60 Years of the Gospel of Christ in Simalungun], 1963, p. 24.

But in general, the headmen not only did not reject the establishment of schools in their areas, they gave their full support for that purpose. They believed Nommensen was telling the truth when he visited this area for the first time as Ephorus and said that the goal of the Batakmission in coming to the Simalungun people was to teach their children in school, and in addition to instruct them in the true religion.[10] This was why schools were quickly erected in many places, and in general were rapidly filled with pupils, both children and adults, even though there were none as yet, or at least very few, who had been baptized.

This reality stimulated the Batakmission to give more attention to organizing schools as a principal means for evangelism. In many places, for example in Raya, pupils emerged as 'evangelists' in the midst of their families and community. It was a fact too, that school children were the first to be baptized in Simalungun, i.e. in Raya. Therefore, it would not be missing the mark if the *GKPS* (Simalungun Protestant Christian Church) would conclude later that "the development of Simalungun congregations took place basically, at first, through the founding of mission schools".[11]

In order to speed up the rate of evangelization and schooling in Simalungun, the Batakmission opened a course for evangelists in Pematang Bandar in 1905 under the leadership of the missionary, G.K. Simon and the Batak teacher, Ambrosius Simatupang. But the life of this course was not very long because among other reasons, it had been considered a temporary measure from the beginning.[12]

What was the main motive for the Simalungun community to receive the mission schools, and

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 13ff; cf. J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, p. 152.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[12] All of its students were Toba Batak candidates for admission to the Sipoholon Seminary but who failed the entrance examination, among whom were several who were already married. Most of their evangelis-tic efforts were unsuccessful. As a result, most of them became governmental employees; *BRMG* 1905, pp. 235f and 1906, p. 259; *Barita ni Hoeria*, pp. 6ff.

were its people happy with them? It cannot be denied that here and there, the motivation was evangelical, a desire to receive the Gospel as the true religious teaching, and to obtain the knowledge based upon that Gospel. But in addition, and more importantly, there were political and economically-based motivations, such as to avoid *koeli* labor, as was the case in Sipirok and Silindung too, and in order to become office workers on plantations and in businesses which Europeans were opening in eastern Sumatra.

Here again we see the difference in motive and objective for founding schools between the Batakmission and the persons or communities being evangelized. The Batakmission itself was conscious of those differences, but that did not render its purpose ineffective in promoting its educational or schooling ministry. Even though at first not all of the pupils became Christians, nevertheless it was convinced that eventually the seed of the Gospel planted in the schools would grow within the pupils themselves and spread to the surrounding community, so that in the end its objective would be attained, namely the christianization of the Simalungun people as part of its cherished hopes of christianizing the whole Batak people.

Together with the entrance into the Simalungun area, the Batakmission began its ministry to the **Karo** Batak in 1903 in cooperation with the NZG, which had been there since 1890.[13] Supported by local residents, the Batakmission quickly founded schools in the villages where it began its work. But some of the schools were torched by "malevolent hands", an action which was painful for the villagers. The reason for the burnings was not clear, but there was a presumption that it was related to the suspicions and negative feelings on the part of some persons towards the missionaries whom they considered to be henchmen of the Dutch.[14]

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[13] Guru Martin Siregar in *Immanuel*, July 1903; cf. J.H. Neumann, *Het Zendingsonderwijs van het NZG onder de Karo Bataks* [The NZG's Mission Education among the Karo Bataks] (no year), pp. 1-6, and L. Bodaan in *MNZG* 1910, p. 23.

[14] The Karos did not like the Dutch colonial government because they felt the government gave 'backing' to plantation entrepreneurs who expropriated their lands and then defended

As a follow up, the evangelistic posts and schools of the Batakmission were apparently taken over by the NZG, because in the Batakmission's reports and maps relative to the deve-lopment of its congregations and schools, no further mention was made of the Karo work.

The Batakmission's movement to the **Dairi (Pakpak)** Batak region coincided with the Dutch Indies' annexation of this area beginning in the second decade of the 1900s.[15] Within the framework of its annexation, the colonial government opened a main road from Dolok-sanggul to Sidikalang in 1906, and built a military headquarters and support structures in Sidikalang afterwards.[16] In order to complete this project, the government mobilized many workers both through paying them wages and through the *koeli* system. This project resulted in many Toba Bataks residing along the length of the highway and in Sidikalang itself, and later in the whole of Dairi. At the request of the local Dutch military commander, the Batakmission sent two teachers to Sidikalang who had just been graduated from the Depok seminary; they established an evangelistic post and school there. The army commander gave enthusiastic support to the construction of school

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themselves by saying that they had already obtained concessionary rights from local authorities (among others the Sultan of Deli). Tridah Bangun, *Manusia Batak Karo* [Batak Karo People], 1986, pp. 6ff; cf. K.J. Pelzer, *Planter and Peasant*, 1978, pp. 67ff. But it is interesting to note that according to Guillaume (*op. cit.*, pp. 20ff), the Mission not only forged good relationships with the colonial government in the Karo area, but also with local figures, and these latter exercised an important role in causing the Karo community to receive the Gospel.

[15] In fact the attention of the Batakmission was turned toward the Dairi people toward the end of the 1870s (see the placement of the picture of the two Pakpak people in *BRMG* 1880, p. 67), but the security situation and colonial government did not yet permit work among them.

[16] At that time, Si Singamangaraja XII was in Dairi and the colonial government wanted to launch its largest effort yet to finalize the annexation of the Batak lands; see for example, Sidjabat, *op. cit.*, pp. 231ff. In his conclusion about the Batakmission's cooperation with the government in entering the Dairi region, J. Warneck (*Sechzig Jahre*, pp. 159ff) wrote that "the Dutch government pioneered a way for the Christian mission", and that in contrast with other places, the presence of the Batakmission in Dairi was not at the request of either headmen or local citizens.

buildings and of the schools' development in the region. He also initiated the founding of a vocational school in Sidikalang (see below).

In a way reminiscent of what happened in Simalungun, the number of schools and pupils increased rapidly in Dairi, even though the numbers of congregational members from the Pakpak tribe grew very slowly, since in general Pakpak people continued to embrace their tribal religion. The school development was rapid because leaders of the community were enthusiastic about providing schooling for their people. The leaders requested that Dutch and Malay, especially, be taught to their children. Comparing this fact with facts about schooling from other places, we have a strong presumption that the Dairi people's main motivation for sending their children to school was social and economic, that is their desire to raise their social status and economic condition by an occupation and position made possible by a school certificate. As a result, the rate of growth of the schools and pupils was not balanced by a similar growth in congregations.

The hindrance to the growth of congregations was made greater by the reaction of Mus-lims after seeing the mission's penetration of this region; they increased their *dakwah* (out-reach) which resulted in their winning many Pakpak people away from their tribal religion to Islam. Because of this situation, the greatest increase in congregational membership came from the Toba Bataks who continued to flood the region.[17] In order to stem the development of Islam especially in the region of the western coast (Singkel and surround-ings) in succeeding years, the government supported the Batakmission's effort, particularly in the field of education. To accomplish that objective, the Tapanuli resident, W.K.H. Ypes (1921-1925) suggested that the Batakmission teach Pakpak sons

[17] When the author visited this area in September 1986, he was treated to an impressive view. In places where the majority of residents were Pakpak Bataks (especially in the interior) there were many mosques, but in places where the majority were Toba Bataks, there were many church buildings. To be sure, there were congregations where the majority of members were from the Pakpak Bataks, i.e. the HKBP Simerkata Pakpak congregations, but their numbers were far less than congregations where most members were Toba Bataks (HKBP, HKI, GKPI, etc.).

themselves to become teach-ers, in order for the people not to feel the domination of the Christian Toba Bataks too deeply.[18]

Through the Batakmission's moving into the Toba, Samosir, Simalungun, Karo and Dairi areas, it would be accurate to say that the whole of the Bataklands had become territory of the Batakmission. Congregations and schools involved all sub-tribes grouped with the main *bangso Batak* (Batak 'nation'). Of course at this period, the Batakmission had not as yet penetrated into the farthest corners of the whole Batak region, nor had it done so up to the end of its era. But its ideals and spirit of "christianizing the whole Batak people", which attained its zenith during this period, continued to be aflame within the personnel of the Batakmission.

*2. An Increase in European Personnel*

The expansion of the work area and the increase in the numbers and kinds of schools were made possible by the addition of both European and Batak workers. We shall discuss the addition of Batak workers, particularly teachers, later, and at the same time look at their educational problems and efforts undertaken to overcome them (Chapter Six, A.5.). The increase in European missionaries fell into several categories:

(*a) Pastors of Congregations (Gemeindemissionare)*

These functioned as leaders of 'mother' or main congregations with a number of 'daugh-ter' or branch congregations under them, along with their schools, and with their principal tasks being evangelizing through verbal witness, and the nurturing of church members.[19] Several of these were recruited to become teachers in the seminary. During this period, the RMG sent 64 pastors to the

[18] Note of Transfer (*Memorie van Overgave*), resident W.K.H. Ypes, June 17, 1926, p. 10.

[19] Before the setting up of the organization in 1892, they also functioned as school supervisors in the area of each station, and sometimes even became teachers.

Batakmission, the largest number ever sent either before or afterwards.[20]

*(b) Teachers*

Along with a program of providing various special kinds of schools (see below) and its implementation, the RMG sent several missionaries with the specific task of teaching: two persons for the trade or vocational school, two for higher elementary schools (HIS) using Dutch as the medium of instruction, one person for the teacher training school (*Übungsschule*) which was joined with the Sipoholon Seminary, and one other person for the agricul-tural school. Some of them were from Germany and the others from the Netherlands. Even though these were professional teachers, nevertheless each had to understand his position as "a mission tool"; a person who saw his school position and teaching profession as something apart from the Batakmission would not be accepted.[21] That was the reason why they were required to receive additional education either in the Barmen or Oegstgeest seminary.

*(c) Women Evangelists (Schwester/Sisters)*

The first woman evangelist was Hester Needham from England, who arrived in the Batak field in 1890[22]; 34 other women followed her afterwards during this second period. Although the major emphasis of their work was in service (diakonia) which did not include education, according to the RMG's purview, nevertheless these women were given the task of establishing elementary schools especially for girls, and teaching there afterwards. Those with special skills were asked to teach in specialized schools, school for weavers, and a school (or course) for nursing and midwifery. Their

[20] During the first period, there were 29 missionaries, including those from the Ermelo mission, and then 34 missionaries during the third period.

[21] J.W. Gunning's letter to J. Spiecker, Director of the RMG, dated February 6, 1914.

[22] Her biography was written by M. Enfield, *God First: Hester Needham's Work in Sumatra,* 1898; its translation into Batak was made and published as a serial in *Surat Parsaoran ni Departemen Ina HKBP*, May, 1985, and successive issues.

presence had been pioneered by A. Schreiber, former Praeses of the Batakmission and who later became an inspector or director of the RMG. He had long been concerned about the Batak women's social position and had thought about ways to elevate it through education (see Chapter Three, A.l.f.).

*(d) Doctors*

The first doctor sent by the RMG was Julius Schreiber, a son of A. Schreiber. He arrived in the Batak area in 1898 and was followed by Johannes Winkler in 1901 and seven others during the third period. They came to undertake a health ministry as a part of mission. They also served as teachers in the nursing school.

Thanks to the addition of European workers from various professions, the Batakmission was able to expand and develop the network of its ministry, including the field of education. We shall see later whether all of the workers were able to bear their tasks as church and mission leaders in harmony with the goal as defined by the RMG/Batakmission.

*3. Government Subsidy*

As we saw in the last chapter, the Batakmission failed to receive a government subsidy until the end of the first period, even though there was an increasing desire for it. In 1885, the Indies government promised to give a subsidy for the schools of the Batakmission. The promise was received enthusiastically by the RMG in Barmen, yet its leaders continued to hope that the subsidy would not issue in the Batakmission's schools losing their Christian character. There was anxiety among missionaries in the Batak field that the subsidy would threaten the nurturing of Christian character in the schools because up until that time at least, regulations regarding subsidies included the abolishment of religion studies (cf. Chapter One) as one of its conditions.

The promise of subsidies was reaffirmed by the government through Governor General Kroesen when he visited the Pansur Napitu seminary in 1886. He took the opportunity to allay the

anxieties of the missionaries by affirming that government subsidies would not remove the Christian character of the mission schools because religious studies and activities would continue to be permitted in the interests of nurturing the Christian life. He could also imagine that in the future graduates of the Batakmission's seminaries would be recruited as teachers in government schools.[23] Furthermore, the government would not build its own schools in the Batak area, but would totally hand that responsibility over to the community; the government would only give a subsidy for school building construction and for equipping the schools afterwards.

In order to speed up reception of the subsidy, the RMG leaders sent a letter to the Dutch Minister of Colonies through "the Netherlands' Committee for RMG Concerns" (cf. Chapter Three), requesting that the subsidy funds be given as soon as possible.

> Among other matters, that letter requested that: (1) the government would not erect school buildings in places which already had mission schools in order to avoid self-defeating rivalry, such as had occurred in Sipirok and surroundings; (2) the government would utilize an RMG person as inspector of the Batakmission schools should the government desire such an inspector. It was implied that the inspector would be J.H. Meerwaldt, a Dutch missionary holding a Dutch teachers' certificate.[24]

But up until 1892, no subsidy had as yet been received. The reason given was that until 1890, the government was still writing the regulations for schools which operated from religious foundations; the new regulations would replace those which had been based on the principle of religious neutrality in the schools. After the new regulations were promulgated (*Staatsblad* no. 223, 1890, see Chapter One), there was the further hindrance brought about by several preconditions which could not be fulfilled by the Batakmission schools.

> The conditions included (a) the maximum teacher-pupil ratio was 1:50, with a minimum of 25 pupils in the school; (b) teachers must pass a qualifying examination as set by the government; (c) the school organization and administration must follow the pattern used in government

[23] J.H. Meerwaldt, one of the teachers in the Pansur Napitu seminary, was not enthusiastic about this possibility or idea because it was connected with the demand that the seminary receive students also who were not Christian (Meerwaldt's letter, August, 1886).

[24] RMG letter to the Colonial Minister, January 14, 1889.

schools; (d) the school building and learning aids must meet minimum standards; and (e) pupils must pay tuition in cash.[25]

As we shall see in Chapter Six, A.3., those preconditions continued to be the subject of debate between the Batakmission and the government. In any case, in 1892 those preconditions spurred the Batakmission to undertake a thorough evaluation leading to the renewal of its entire educational system. The Batakmission's decision to undertake that renewal and its subsequent accomplishment will be discussed in the section where we shall analyze the efforts toward renewal underway since 1883 (D.1.b. below).

After the Batakmission accomplished the steps leading to renewal and consulted with the government in order to overcome differences of opinion about several matters of the regula-tions, finally during the early part of 1893 the government began to subsidize Batakmission schooling.[26] The first step took the form of subsidies for school building construction and readying school equipment, and the second step meant granting teacher salary subsidies for those teachers who had fulfilled the teacher-qualifications as set by the government.[27] The RMG leadership indicated its pleasure with the flow of government funds, yet for "the tenth time" it kept in mind the hope that

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[25] Several of these conditions were difficult for the Batakmission to fulfil; for example, (1) the minimal number of students. We are reminded of the Batakmission's policy of founding congregations and schools in parallel with the pattern of Batak settlement, because sometimes the number of village members was very minimal; (2) tuition payments in the form of money, because until this point the Batakmission collected rice once a year as a form of the community's self-support of its congregation and schools (*Reissteuer* [Rice Tax]); see Meerwaldt's letter November 15, 1892.

[26] Meerwaldt's role in the consultation was very great, because he had been the one who had been entrusted to represent the Batakmission in its communication with the government; Minutes of the Missionary Conference, May 17-19, 1892.

[27] The teacher's salary subsidy was set forth in the *Staatsblad* 1895, no. 146; among its other condi-tions to be met were: (a) the teacher must possess an *akte van bekwaamheid* [Certificate of Capability], which was given by the government through its school commission after the teacher had passed his examina-tion; (b) the school where the teacher would teach had

the subsidization would not reach the point of damaging the Christian character of its schools.

The subsidy was not only valid for all kinds of elementary schools (the regular ones, elementary schools for girls, and elementary schools using the Dutch language)[28], but also for the seminaries, the vocational, agricultural and weaving schools. Furthermore, the subsidy was also given for the Pearaja hospital and the Hula Salem leprosarium.

> For example, just for the Sipoholon seminary, the government gave a subsidy in 1901 in the amount of *f* 12,000.00 for the construction of a new building, and in 1906 an annual operations grant of *f* 500.00, which was raised to *f* 5,000 in 1909.
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> For the Narumonda seminary, the subsidy began in 1908 amounting to from *f* 3,000,00 to *f* 4,000.00 per year and was ear-marked especially for the salary of two European teachers based on a 1906 letter of authorization.

As a happy result of the subsidies, the Batakmission had greater freedom to increase the number of its schools and teachers, so that during this period, their total numbers increased rapidly

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fulfilled the conditions for receiving the subsidy.

[28] For just the elementary schools, the subsidy was about *f* 27,570 per year, for the year 1901 and 146 elementary schools; in 1913 the total had risen to *f* 209,999 with 523 elementary schools involved; C. Lulofs, "*Voorlopige Nota nopens de eventuele vervanging van de bestaande subsidieregeling voor het particu-lier onderwijs in de residentie Tapanoeli door eene in den geest der ontwerpen nieuwe Soemba- en Flores-regeling*" [A Provisional Note Concerning the Possible Replacement of the Existing Regulation of Subsidies for Private Education in the Residence of Tapanuli, Being in the Spirit of the Draft of New Sumba and Flores Regulation], Sibolga, February 21, 1915, in *Voorstellen betreffende de Reorganisatie van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in de Residentie Tapanoeli (1915)* [Proposals Concerning the Reorganization of Indigenous Education in the Residence of Tapanuli, 1915] pp. 4f; cf. VEM Archives, "General Kasse Sumatra", F/b4. The government acknowledged that the amount was not very large in comparison with the need and request of the Batakmission. But the government deliberately gave a small amount, because in addition to the government's own limited funds, the Batakmission elementary schools, except those using the Dutch language, were considered to be at the same level as village schools of Java which relayed more on community initiative and self-support for the payment of school costs; *Nota van Overgave resident Tapanuli, J.P.J. Barth*, March 1, 1915; cf. his letter to the Dutch Indies Governor General, September 7, 1912. Later setting Batak schools as at the same status as Village Schools caused a continuing debate between the government and the Batakmission.

and with satisfactory school room facilities. The Bataknission's annual report never ceased to contain expressions of its gratitude and praises for the government's generosity. In summarizing the basis for that gratitude and the praises expressed, J. Warneck wrote:

> If we were in Sumatra now, along almost the entire length of its roads, we would see clean school buildings, with well-organized learning space, with neat benches, with maps, a globe, an adding machine, and so on. For all of this, we express our whole-hearted gratitude to the Dutch government for its generosity in providing subsidies to the elementary and secondary schools of the Batakmission.[29]

The latter's appreciation for the colonial government's school support was indicated in various ways within the classroom, such as by celebrating the Netherland's Queen's birth-day[30] and the liberation of the Dutch from the French (in l8l3)[31], by hanging a portrait of the queen in the classroom, and by teaching the Dutch national anthem (Wilhelmus).

In spite of all that, tensions relative to subsidization frequently arose between the government

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[29] J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre,* p. 205.

[30] Bielefeld went so far as to call this activity a means to plant patriotism in the minds of the children; see his 1905 annual report; cf. Meerwaldt in *Immanuel*, November 1898.

[31] At the celebration of Liberation Day in the Narumonda seminary, for example, Meerwaldt asked his students why they wanted to celebrate the day, and whether it was proper to do so. According to Meerwaldt's story ("Ons Zendingswerk te Naroemonda in het jaar 1913", in *RZ* 1914, pp. 166ff), the students answered, "Yea, it is appropriate, because now God has made the Dutch and us to become one; the Dutch queen has become our adored ruler. If the Dutch had not been liberated from the French, then we would be a French colony which definitely would not be as good as for us to be under Dutch care." On the basis of that response, Meerwaldt concluded, "Zoo hebben wij met onze bruine leerlingen Nederlands bevrijding van de Fransche overheersching gevierd en ik ben er zeker van, dat zij het met geen haar minder blijmoedigheid en liefde jegens land en Koningin in bet hart gedaan hebben dan de feestvierende scharen van jong en oud in het verre moederland waarmede zij zich door eenheid van religie verbonden voelen." (Thus, we along with our brown-skinned pupils celebrated the liberation of the Netherlands from the power of the French, and I am convinced that the joy and love in their hearts for country and queen were not less than that of the adults and youth who were celebrating in the Netherlands, with whom our pupils felt united by religious ties).

and Batakmission. From the perspective of the government, the Batakmission did not use the subsidy precisely as intended, nor did it understand its significance or intent. For example, subsidy funds for the construction of school buildings were used for supporting evangelization, or to print books, or to increase the wages of indigenous personnel.[32] Or if the funds were used for school building construction, the government felt that the Batak-mission wasted them because the location of the school buildings were too near each other. As a result, the government published new regulations to bring order to these problems.[33] From the side of the Batakmission, the new regulations were the same as reducing the subsidies and retarding its efforts in developing its network of schools which were parallel to its endeavours to christianize the Batak people.[34]

Therefore, the Batakmission did. not just passively receive criticism and decisions of the government. In its self-defence against the government's position, the missionaries empha-sized that the government had misunderstood both the Batakmission's educational efforts, and the structure of Batak society where each village formed the territory of a particular marga so that it was not possible to just group them together in the interest of consolidating educa-tional facilities. According to the missionaries, their success in evangelizing and developing of schools in the midst of the Bataks occurred just because the Batakmission paid attention to the social and territorial structure of the Bataks, and adjusted themselves to it. The govern-ment ought to be aware that in comparison with the government subsidy, the contribution of the German Christian community for

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[32] Meerwaldt's letter of September 13, 1893, and July 14, 1908; cf. *JV* 1912, p. 59, and H.J. Köhler, "Enkele opmerkingen betreffende de Schoolsubsidiën en het inlandsch onderwijs in de Bataklanden" [A Few Remarks about School Subsidies and Native Education in Batakland], in *Tijdschrift van het Binnenlandsch-Bestuur* no 46, 1914, pp. 339-352.

[33] I.e. *Staatsblad* 1911, no. 157 (this was a revision of *Staatsblad* 1895, no. 146) and regulations for its implementation (*Staatsblad* 1912, no. 33).

[34] J. Warneck, "Fünfzig Jahre Batakmission", in *AMZ* p. 564; Meerwaldt's letter, June 14, 1912; and "Synodal Conference Minutes February 28-March 5, 1912".

the work of the Batakmission was very much greater.[35]

These arguments and mutual recriminations with reference to subsidies and the goal of education continued to multiply until they reached their zenith in the succeeding period (see Chapter Six). What is clear, however, is that the government subsidy was of great help for the Batakmission in the development of its educational ministry.

*4. The Batak Community's Desire for Education*

The development of the school system in the Batak area was not only determined by the initiative of the Batakmission and Dutch Indies government's support, but also by the participation of the Batak society. To be sure during the earliest years of the Batakmission's presence, its personnel both European and Batak made every effort to cultivate an understand-ing of the value of schools. But within a relatively brief period of time, the interest and initiative of the Batak community began to grow rapidly as we have already seen in our discussion of the earliest period of the Batakmission. In fact, not infrequently community members demanded an opportunity and facilities for learning greater than those which could be made available by the Mission.

During this second period, the request for educational services became more insistent. Frequently, the initiative for a school came first from the community; its members requested the services of a teacher and attempted to pay for his support; they built a school building, a house for the teacher and equipped it, even though a large part of all this was far from satisfactory. Moreover, while waiting for a teacher, there were congregations which took steps to open a school with whatever person was available to serve as teacher.

The demands of the community were not limited just to providing regular elementary schools; it also wanted ones which taught the Dutch and Malay languages.[36] On the basis of such demands,

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[35] "Missionary Conference Minutes February 20-25, 1907" and *JV-Zct* (Annual Report of the Mission Consulate), 1912, p. 11.

[36] Government schools included those in Medan, Sibolga and

we could very easily guess what the motivation and objective would be, namely to help their children be received more readily as government employees or employees with foreign-owned plantations and businesses. Of course the reality supported that objective; graduates of government schools who spoke Dutch and Malay found it easier to become employees compared with graduates of the mission schools. The greatest number of the graduates of the government schools were children of the Mandailing and Angkola communities embracing Islam.[37] Indeed, there were a few Christian Batak communities who tried to have their children admitted to government schools, especially families who were able to pay the tuition themselves. There were even some Christian families who sent their children to Java for schooling. But parents unable to pay either tuition in government schools or to send their children to Java also wanted their children to have an education which would offer them the same opportunities. This strong desire for Dutch and Malay language schooling and persistent request for its implementation became channelled to the Batakmission. Parents hoped that schools using Malay and Dutch would be operated in their areas also so that their children would not need to leave their home villages.

The request of the community for a regular elementary school with a Batak teacher, generally was rather easy to fulfil; but the Batakmission had to be very cautious about trying to fulfil the request for a school using Malay and Dutch. On the one hand, after seeing the challenges faced from the Adventists, Catholics and Methodists who were entering the Batak area and opening schools[38], and after seeing the risk to Christian Batak children of being snared by Islam when

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Padang Sidempuan. According to the Resident Barth's "Transfer Document" (*loc. cit.*) within the Tapanuli residency there was an ELS (at Sibolga) whose student body was 86% Batak; a HIS (at Padang Sidempuan, founded in 1912) and 25 Schools of the Second Class (*Standaardschool*), distributed in Padang Sidempuan, Natal, Sibolga dan Barus: cf. Lulofs, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[37] J. Pasaribu, "Harugian" [The Disadvantage], in *Immanuel*, February 1, 15, 1909; cf. Ydens' letter August 12, 1912.

[38] According to Batakmission notes, Methodist evangelists began to work in the Simalungun region in 1907 (*JB* 1907, p. 65).

studying abroad, the Batakmission quickly wanted to fulfil the request for Malay and Dutch language schools. But on the other hand, there were several reasons which caused them to be hesitant about fulfilling it: (1) the Batakmission did not have teachers available for those special schools; (2) the Batakmission wanted to continue to maintain the use of the Batak language in its schools in harmony with its purpose in conserv-ing and purifying the Batak language; and (3) the Batakmission saw that the parents were motivated by an objective not based on the Gospel and in opposition to its motive and objective for operating schools.

Because the presence of the Christian groups mentioned above made the Batakmission feel itself threatened, because the community was increasingly vociferous in its demands, and in addition because the government itself was planning to open schools using Dutch and Malay within the heart of its working area, like it or not the Batakmission endeavoured to fulfil the request for

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Seventh-Day Adventist evangelists went to Silindung from Singapore in 1908 (*JB* 1908, p. 47 and 1909, pp. 56ff). In 1909, the Catholic Mission asked governmental permission to open a Dutch school in Tarutung ("Batakmission Conference Minutes January 27-February 3, 1909") and it began to evangelize in 1913 (*JB* 1913, p. 60). At the same time, according to Roman Catholics themselves, i.e. L. Fäh OFM Cap, "A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the Archbishopric of Medan", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesial, volume 3a, p. 15, ".... There were priests who worked in various places from the middle of the 19th century: Padang, Medan and Kotaraja" and ".... there had been a Catholic effort to christianize the Bataks before that". In other words Catholics wished to stress that its mission had preceded the work of Protestant missions in the Batakland. In addition to wanting to begin schools, various sects provided schooling beyond the Batak region for a number of Batak children. The Methodists, for example, taught a number of Batak young people in their Singapore seminary, some of whom had failed the entrance examination of the Sipoholon seminary. Afterwards, the graduates of the Methodist seminary were sent to Sumatra (*JB* 1910, p. 63 and *BRMG* 1913, p. 101). At the same time some of the Batak young people who moved to Java were netted by the Catholic Church and sent home afterwards to work for the Roman Catholic Church (*BRMG* 1914, p. 52); cf. the case of Batak students called home from the Depok semin-ary, 1913 (see D.1.a.). Later the Batakmission cooperated with the Methodists, but it maintained its early antipathy towards the Adventists and Roman Catholics, labelling their workers "false brethren". J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, pp. 149 and 196; cf. Chapter Six, A.6.

Dutch and Malay schools. Beginning in 1908 as a first step, several missionaries gave additional lessons in Dutch to a number of elementary school graduates who wished to continue their schooling, and the Dutch language became part of the curriculum in the Narumonda seminary. The next step was the opening in 1910 of an elementary school using the Dutch language (a school which later became an *HIS*) at Sigompulon-Tarutung, and at Sidikalang in 1911.

But as late as 1914, the Batakmission was unable to fulfil the request of the community for a school using Malay, such as the government's Standaardschool. In fact, it was never prepared to offer Malay as a subject in all elementary schools. In addition to those reasons, there was another reason for rejecting Malay: the Malay language was infused with Islam so that there was a danger to the mind and thought of children who were just beginning their schooling. The Malay language would be permitted to be taught only at the seminary level; in fact this was already occurring at Pansur Napitu, and Malay was taught as a subject in the upper classes of the elementary schools located in the environs of the main or mother congregations. In short, the Batakmission was not overly serious about responding to the demand for Malay schools.

But after the government opened a Standaardschool in Tarutung and Balige in 1915 based on weighing the efficiency of recruitment and transfer of employees, and after the Batak-mission saw that the community was very determined in its interest in Dutch and Malay, at last it saw no alternative than to respond very seriously to the request for Malay schools. We shall analyze the steps taken in the next chapter when we discuss the attitude and response of the Batakmission towards the Hamajuon movement and to the steps taken by the govern-ment in 1915 for the reorganization of its schools in Tapanuli.

From the analysis above, we have seen that the community's desire for schooling brought joy on the one hand to the Batakmission, but on the other hand it resulted in deep soul-searching because of the differences of motivation and goal between itself and the Batak community. What was definite, however, was that like it or not the Batakmission was propel-led towards increasing the number and kinds of its schools. The Batakmission's struggle in this regard will be studied in a

more detailed way in the following section.

### *B. Development in Numbers and Kinds of Schools*

During this period the numbers and kinds of schools of the Batakmission increased rapidly both at the elementary and the secondary levels (vocational), thanks to the four supporting factors for renewal discussed above.

*1. Elementary School*

Until the end of the first period of the Batakmission's work, there were just 57 elementary schools with 1,100 pupils. All of the schools were of the basic kind; within them were boys and girls, children of chiefs and children of ordinary village members. But in this second period, the numbers ballooned in an amazing way. At its end in 1914, there were 510 elementary schools with 32,790 pupils; 26,310 of these were boys and 6,480 were girls (see the table of statistics at the end of this chapter). The kinds of schools exhibited significant variety as well.[39]

*(a) Basic or Regular Elementary Schools*

This kind comprised the highest total number, i.e. in excess of 90%. Because of the principle of the unity of congregation and school, the Batakmission operated a school in each main or 'mother' congregation, as well as in its branches. Pupils were both boys and girls, with the majority being boys, and the teachers were either graduates of the Batakmission seminaries or of the one in Depok. These were helped by a number of teacher aides. This type of school formed the spearhead of the educational thrust of the Batakmission. Through it, for the first time, the Batak

[39] The government itself was very impressed by this development and concluded that "the Bataks were far above most of the people of the archipelago, perhaps above all of them, in excelling in natural intelligence as well as in enthusiasm and persistence"; *Nota van Overgave* [Transfer of Office Document] of Resident C.J. Westenberg", May 3, 1911.

community was introduced to a new style of education, i.e. western or modern.

*(b) Elementary School for Girls*

This type came into being in 1890 thanks to the coming of lay women missionaries (*Schwester*) but they were only located in the 'mother' congregations where the women evangelists worked. Through this type of school, the effort to advance the status of Batak women through education proceeded with greater seriousness. The students were not only given general and religious knowledge, but also skills especially needed by women with the hope that these would be models for Batak women in general and for their families later in terms of cleanliness, orderliness and piety. In the next period, elementary schools for girls developed more rapidly in both quantity and quality (see Chapter Six, B.2.).

*(c) Elementary School for Chiefs' Children*

During this period the Batakmission opened three elementary schools for the children of the village chiefs or headmen (*Sikola Anak ni Raja*), one each in Narumonda (1900), Pema-tang Siantar (1909) and Sidikalang (1911).[40] This type was a continuation or an upgrading of the regular elementary school, except for the one in Pematang Siantar, which had been begun at the lowest level. The objectives of this kind of school were twofold: (a) to become the catalyst for the reception of the Christian faith by the local community based upon the assumption or operation of cuius regio eius religio; and (b) to provide education especially for the children of headmen in order for them to become government employees, particularly as members of the colonial civil service or as village administrators. For that purpose they needed to be given Dutch language lessons; their teachers were missionaries. In subsequent developments, neither goal was achieved with the second one never even coming close to being attained. There were no positions available to them as

[40] The idea for the opening of this type of school was inspired by the operation of a similar school in Java since the 1870s, which after 1900 was closed and succeeded by OSVIA (see Chapter One).

graduates because they did not fulfil the qualifications set by the government, and in addition because the Indies government had limited needs for local employees.[41] As a result, this type of school was closed or changed in its status and kind, for example the one in Narumonda became a seminary (a teachers' training school), the one in Sidikalang became an elementary school using Dutch, while the one in Pematang Siantar became a regular elementary school.

*(d) Dutch Language Elementary School*

As we have seen above, the Batakmission opened this type of school to meet the demands of the community. During this second period, there were just two Dutch schools, one at Sigompulon-Tarutung and one at Sidikalang. The pupils in the latter were exclusively children of village headmen, which is why this one was formerly called the School for the Children of Headmen, whereas at first the one at Sigompulon was intended by the government to be limited to the children of headmen as well.[42] Only this latter school had a dormitory for the students in order for

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[41] Especially with reference to the school for village headmen (*raja-raja*) at Narumonda, the Resident of Tapanuli at that time actually did promise to appoint 12 of its best graduates to become government employees, but the promise was abrogated, perhaps because of the low quality of the graduates, so this school failed to achieve its objective. (P. Groote, in *RZ* 1916, p. 71). In order to raise the quality of the school, as a matter of fact Ephorus Nommensen had made a suggestion to the government that it send the graduates to Java in order for them to obtain further studies so that upon their return it was hoped that they might become village heads, succeeding their fathers and then become pioneers in agriculture; see Nommensen, *Bemerkungen zum "Kolonial-Verslag van 1904" betreffend die Zukunft des Batakvolkes auf Sumatra* [Some Observations about the "Colonial Report of 1904" concerning the Future of the Batak People of Sumatra] (July 20, 1905). But apparently this suggestion was not accepted by the colonial government. At the very most, the government was ready to accept them as teachers in its schools. The Batakmission rejected this solution, "because if they must become teachers, then why not just be teachers in the Batakmission's schools themselves?" (*BRMG* 1905, p. 225 and *JB* 1905, p. 42).

[42] The government's intent was based on financial considerations; pupils' parents must pay school tuition *f* 5 per month per pupil, and this amount could only be paid by headmen.

them to be taught discipline, to live out Christian character, and to use the Dutch language effectively. Therefore, while the students were in both school and the dormitory 6.5 days per week, the Toba Batak language was not allowed to be spoken.

*2. Vocational Secondary Schools*

Throughout the time of the first period of the Batakmission, the only secondary school operated by the Batakmission was the teachers' school (seminary). But during this second period, the numbers and kinds of secondary schools increased rapidly.

*(a) Seminary*

In 1901, the seminary at Pansur Napitu was moved to Sipoholon, and in 1907 a new one was opened at Narumonda as a replacement for the School for the Children of Village Headmen. Before that, in 1884, while the school was still at Pansur Napitu, it also offered a course for pastors (*Kursus Pandita*), as a way to upgrade the ability of teachers who were to serve in congregations. This seminary together with the pastor's course will be discussed in section D when we analyze the renewal of the Batakmission's educational endeavour in general, and the educational system for teachers in particular.

*(b) Industrial or Trade School (Industrieschule; Sikola Hapandean)*

The first of this type was opened in 1900 at Narumonda, along with the School for the Village Headmen's Children and at the same place. Because of that, students from both schools studied general subjects together such as reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, geography and science. Therefore at first, the schools were referred to as a "double school" (*Doppelschule*) until they were

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But the Batakmission opposed this intent by setting the tuition at *f* 3 per month. In fact later on, Ydens (a teacher at the school from the Netherlands) suggested that the tuition be lowered to *f* 2 per month so that the school could be competitive with a similar type of government school whose tuition was only *f* 0.80 per pupil per month.

separated in 1904. It is not particularly clear why the Batak-mission called this school "the Industrial School", perhaps in imitation of the name of a German school type. What is clear, however, is that it was opened to answer the needs of Batak society for trained persons in the technical fields and in fields requiring skilled workmen, and to plant the love for work with ones hands among the Bataks. The specifica-tion of this objective resulted from the observation of missionaries that Bataks preferred to become clerks while looking with disfavour on labouring with their hands. This problem will be discussed when we note this type of school's development during the third period of the Batakmission, Chapter Six, B.4.

After 1907, the school for the village headmen's children was entirely revamped to be-come a seminary, and in the same year the Narumonda trade school was moved to Laguboti. It was equipped with a workshop for woodworking, and metalworking products, printing, binding, and clock repair. Its teacher was P. Pohlig, who was also the first missionary who endeavoured to teach the dignity of handwork, to raise the status and independence of Batak workmen and to plant the spirit of entrepreneurship in them. But some of the students preferred to become clerks and took the opportunity to withdraw from the school after seeing that earlier graduates had difficulty finding employment. As a result, this school experienced decline, especially after Pohlig returned home in 1915. We shall look at its later development in Chapter Six, B.4., when we shall see that this school progressed rapidly, especially after its graduates became needed by many employers.

The second trade school was opened at Sidikalang in 1909 at the initiative of the Dutch military commander. In comparison with the school in Laguboti/Narumonda, this one was lower in quality and equipment, especially so because most of the students had never studied in any elementary school. Accordingly, it would be more accurate to refer to it as an elementary school specializing in teaching hand-working skills.

*(c) Nurse and Midwifery Course*

As a next step in the development of the Batakmission's medical ministries, its doctors began

a training course for nurses at Pearaja in 1903. At first, most of the students were elementary school teachers, both fulltime and assistants. With the coming of women missionary teachers, especially from Germany, a midwifery course was begun at Pearaja in 1905 and was followed by another in 1914 at Nainggolan on the island of Samosir. Further developments resulted in these courses being upgraded to become a three-year Nurses and Midwife School at Tarutung and Balige respectively. To be enrolled, the girls had to be graduates of a *Meisjeskopschool* (see Chapter Six, B.2.). One of the objectives for beginning these courses and schools was to counteract the treatment given by the tribal healer (*datu*), and the midwifery practice of the *sibaso* (traditional midwife). Afterwards, the impact of the school was very positive as indicated by the sharp decline in infant mortality after nurses and midwives had increased in number and had become located in all places across Batakland.[43]

*(d) Agricultural School*

Having begun an investigation in 1907 about the possibility of founding an agricultural school, the Batakmission finally opened one at Lumban Nabolon (Sibarani) near Laguboti in 1917. This school's beginning and continued operation depended entirely upon financial support from the Indies government, including the cost of providing for its teacher from the Netherlands, F. Fiebig. The main objective of the school was to increase the skills and love of the Bataks for tilling the earth, to improve the quality of their production and to expand the hectares under cultivation so that their economical and social standard of living could be raised. If so, they would not feel economic pressure to leave the land or their villages. But the life of this school was short. In 1915, it was closed and Fiebig moved to Java due to reasons which remained unclear.[44]

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[43] J. Johannsen (dr. med.) in *Immanuel*, May 3, 1936.

[44] In *Immanuel*, July 28, 1929, it was suggested that this school be closed and that Fiebig be expelled from service in the Batakmission because of World War I. Nevertheless it is not sufficiently clear about the relationship of the war to this school. Perhaps it was the financial difficulties experienced by

After this school closed, the Batakmission continued to encourage the interest of young people in farming through adding agricultural courses to the curriculum of its various schools. At the same time, the Indies government itself brought in agricultural experts to Tapanuli, however without cooperating with the Batakmission. But apparently, the interest of most members of the community and congregations was defeated by the greater attractive power of emigration and the community's hopes for its sons to become office employees. As a result, after the closing of the school at Lumban Nabolon, schools and projects for the development of agriculture no longer played a significant part in the Batakmission's educational ministries.

However, within the community there were a handful of people who hoped there would be a school of agriculture as well as agricultural projects because these persons realized that efforts in the field of agriculture provided the key to achieve self-sufficiency. There were even a few who personally tried to provide information and who established projects and small demonstration plots. They also tried to grow European crops which were suitable to the temperate climate of the Batak area. But these efforts were meaningless compared with the general trend in the community which placed a higher premium on working with a pen rather than a hoe.

*(e) Weaving and Crocheting School*

This school was begun in 1913 and was operated at Pearaja and Laguboti as the brainchild of Sister A. Temming as a result of her comparative study undertaken the previous year in West Sumatra. At Laguboti, the school was part of the Girls' School. In addition to increasing the income of the community and developing women's role in supporting the economics of the household, the school was intended to conserve and develop one product of Batak culture, that of traditional dress.

Besides the five vocational secondary schools mentioned, the Batakmission also operated

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the RMG because of the war.

secondary schools (*Mittelschule*) at Sigumpar (1892) and Laguboti (1912). But these schools must not have had a long period of operation because no further word was heard of them not long after each was opened. As a matter of fact, both schools were little more than advanced elementary schools for graduates of the regular elementary school and were intended to be at the same level as the government's Schools of the First Class. Therefore up through this second period, it can be said that the Batakmission did not have any general secondary schools because it was thought that such a school was unnecessary. Not until the third period did the Batakmission begin academic secondary education, and this was done at the instigation of the Batak community itself.

Although the numbers and kinds of schools developed by the Batakmission during this period were impressive, nevertheless the question arises whether all of them met the needs of Batak society. We shall try to find the answer in Chapter Six.

## *C. Consolidation of Views*

Having observed the quantitative development of the Batakmission's schools reaching its high point during this second period and some factors which would contribute to the reformation of its schools, we shall now look at their qualitative development in the form of the consolidation of the Batakmission's educational views and the operation of its schools. After that, we shall see their application in section D through reforming the entire educational system, beginning with the teachers' seminary education.

### *1. Theological and Missiological Views*

Not long after the Batakmission began its work in Silindung, about the end of the l860s, the thought and realization began to emerge that efforts should not be made to win the Bataks to Christianity one by one but rather as a group. The missionaries began to realize that it would be impossible to separate the individual from group relationships through the village and marga

systems. This meant that the Bataks had to be won as a group, as margas and villages. This was the reason why the opening of evangelistic posts or congregations along with schools followed a pattern parallel with the village pattern based upon the marga structure (see Chapter Four, B.1.).

The shift from individual conversions (*Einzelbekehrung*) to the christianization of a whole people (*Volkschristianisierung*) increased in strength from about the end of the decade of the 1870s and the beginning of the l880s. Then the term *Christianisierung des Batakvolkes* (the christianization of the Batak people) began to appear with increasing frequency in the Batak-mission reports. According to J. Warneck, this shift took place without problems, but the two methods should not be placed in opposition to one another, because the mass evangelization was in harmony with the needs, situation and condition of Batak society.[45] Within the scope of extending and intensifying the Batakmission's efforts in all fields during this period, including education, the method or view of christianizing a whole people became increasingly dominant, even though here and there, individual conversions continued to be sought.[46] The application of people conversions was found in the practice of mass baptisms, especially in Silindung and Toba. But not all the Batakmission's personnel agreed with people's conver-sions. There were those who criticized it because they were convinced that such a practice would only result in a shallow type of Christianity. We may presume that the tendency to maintain a conservative pietism lay behind the criticism. As we saw in Fabri's view (Chapter Three), pietism was a most influential theological and missiological conviction in the RMG which preferred an approach issuing in the conversion of

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[45] J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, pp. 7ff, cf. Mundle, *op. cit.*, pp. 121ff.

[46] Various publications of the RMG/Batakmission at this period reported statistics and a comparison of the numbers of church members with total population of the Bataks as a way of illustrating the extent to which the Mission was achieving its target of "christianizing the whole Batak people". See for example, J. Spiecker, *Die Rheinische Mission auf Sumatra, Nias und andern westliche von Sumatra gelegenen Inseln* [The Rhenish Mission in Sumatra, Nias and other Islands off the West Coast of Sumatra], Vol. I (1912), p. 12.

individuals.

> Steinsieck for example, in his paper presented at the 1895 Missionary Conference of the Batakmission, stressed most explicitly that the quantitative growth through mass baptism had an extraordinarily worrisome down side. Those who were baptized that way would be Christians who knew nothing at all about the Christian faith; they would be like the blind leading the blind. Furthermore, this practice was in opposition to the spirit of Pietism which was the spiritual foundation of the RMG/Batakmission.[47]
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> In a paper presented in this connection at the conference of 1913, 18 years later, Link criticized the tendency in teachers' education to pursue this desire for quantity too. In his opinion, the teacher seminaries sacrificed the quality of its graduates in pursuing the target of obtaining more teachers to balance the numerical growth of congregations and schools.[48]

The Batakmission leaders themselves were well aware of the danger in the practice of mass baptisms, yet it answered its critics by reminding them that mass baptism was not only the desire of missionaries, but also the wish of the 'heathen' community itself, who let it be known (and frequently so) that if mass baptisms were not allowed, this would cause its people to change to a religion other than Christianity. To solve this problem, the Batakmission Synod Conference of 1895 was of one mind in taking integrated policies and steps to deepen Christianity in the Batakland. The newly baptized would be nurtured through two principal tracks: the congregation (through catechism instruction, Sunday School, women's group, Sunday morning and evening worship), and the school. Thus in harmony with Hesse's view (Chapter Three, B.2.), the Batakmission increasingly stressed the function of the school as a means for deepening pupils' Christian faith and for nurturing members of the congregation, even though the school would continue to exercise its primary function as being a means to attract members of society to the Christian faith. In support of those two main functions, religious lessons and activities occupied a major portion of the school curriculum, especially in the elementary schools and seminaries.

At the same time we can see from this development, that education was a support for the

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[47] W. Steinsieck, "Christianisierung und lebendiges Christentum", a summary found in *BRMG* 1895, pp. 326ff.

[48] A. Link, *Wie erziehen und erhabten wir einen brauchbaren Gehilfen?* [How We Teach and Achieve Fruitful Helpers?], pp. 5f.

coming into being of the Batak people's church. This Batak church in the process of becoming was continuously directed towards autonomy (*Selbständigkeit*). This view of autonomy had already emerged during the Batakmission's first period in connection with the education of Batak church workers, and now it became increasingly clarified through stressing that the whole effort and educational system of the Batakmission must support the realization of autonomy. In other words, the educational effort of the Batakmission was education for independence, for the sake of the formation of a strong and autonomous Batak people's church emphasizing spiritual independence.[49]

In stressing these views of autonomy, the Batakmission missionaries referred many times to the Three-Self theory (The Church as Self-Supporting Self-Propagating, and Self-Governing; see Chapter Three).

On the basis of this view, the Batakmission emphasized that first of all, its educational effort was intended to make the Batak church self-propagating in its proclamation of the Gospel, especially through the work of Bataks themselves. With reference to becoming self-supporting, as we have seen in the previous period, this ideal was fostered first of all within the congregation through various means to help the congregation support itself, including support for its school and payment of the teacher's salary. In further developments, the vocational schools (especially the trade school, agriculture school and the weaving school) were intended to increase the income of the graduates so that they in turn could help aid the congregation in becoming self-supporting.

> In this connection, Spiecker emphasized that even though at that time most of the cost of education was borne by the Indies government, nevertheless it was hoped that in the future all the school costs would be paid for by the congregations so that the schools would be their very own indeed (*Gemeindeschulen*). Therefore, he wrote:
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> If we wish to achieve autonomy for the Batak church in terms of finances, then we must strive to utilize all means which we can mobilize to raise the social and economic standard of Batak society. This may be realized through the influence of the Christian faith (which has the character of raising up and perfecting the condition of human life), through steadfastly and faithfully providing schooling, and through establishing vocational schools with special

[49] Link, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "geistige Selbständigkeit" [spiritual autonomy]. Cf. Schreiber, Chapter Four, note no. 73.

education in order for students to become skilled workers.[50]

With reference to becoming self-governing, this idea too had been expressed earlier; just this idea was one of the points of departure for accomplishing education for the Bataks. But until the latter part of this second period, the idea had not as yet taken form. Furthermore, as we shall see in Chapter Six, even as late as the end of the third period, missionaries were still struggling with this idea forming one of the main issues which brought about a very serious difference of opinion between themselves and the Batak Christians.

To be sure towards the end of the 1890s, there were missionaries such as Pohlig who asserted that the time had come for the Batakmission to begin giving authority and opportuni-ty to Batak churchmen for bearing the responsibility of stewardship and leadership, especially at the level of the main centres of evangelism.[51] But in general, other missionaries were not able to agree with this opinion for reasons such as "The Christianity of the greatest number of our Christians still depends upon the faith that authority is held by the missionaries", or because "the personality of the Batak church workers is still immature", or even because "Ba-taks do not have a character for autonomy" as is evident in the matter "of their having no ini-tiative, or enthusiasm, or seriousness about work and no ability for independent thought".[52] Therefore, the Batakmission must still continue to intensify its efforts to educate so that at some time, they will achieve maturity. In other words,

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[50] Spiecker, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Obviously, this hope did not fully materialize until 1940; see Chapter Six and Eight.

[51] P. Pohlig, "Gegenwärtiger Stand unserer Batakmission im Blick auf ihre Selbständigmachung und ihre fernere Ausdehnung" [The Present Position of our Batakmission in View of Its Success in Batak Autonomy and the Mission's Further Expansion], paper read at the Synod Conference of April 27- May 3, 1896 (summarized in *BRMG* 1896, p. 233).

[52] See Schültz's response to Pohlig which was supported by the RMG representative (*BRMG* 1896, p. 234); J. Warneck, "Vor welchen speziellen Aufgaben stellt uns der gegenwärtige Stand unserer Missionsarbeit?" [With what special tasks are we faced as a result of the present situation of our mission work?], (1903), p. 22; Spiecker, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 35.

while the Batakmission indeed had ideals for forming a self-governing church where its leadership would be in the hands of Bataks themselves, in the judgment of the Batakmission leaders, that time had not yet come.

In tracing the RMG/Batakmission's views about autonomy requiring a process for "the coming into being of the Batak people's church", we are quick to sense an echo of Gustav Warneck's view, both with reference to history as a process which must bow to the law of gradual development as well as autonomy being an educational process requiring a long period of time. The impact of Warneck's view was also felt in the Batakmission's understanding of the essence and significance of its educational endeavour, i.e. as an institution of evangelism. The Batakmission understood itself as the bearer of the essential function of mission, as the "mother of the school", and as the bearer of the holy mission-calling as an educator.[53] Such an understanding joined to an understanding of autonomy as the fruit of a long process of education caused the Batakmission to be more determined than ever in its educational efforts. Furthermore, as with Gustav Wameck, the Batakmission, too, was of the opinion that all of its activities were educational.

The Batakmission's view of the educational ministry in the context of autonomy, especially in finances, was connected to its view of culture. Thus, the educational ministry was not only intended to raise the economic conditions of the church members so they could be independent in financial matters, but it was also meant to raise the welfare of the wider society. For the RMG/Batakmission, this was identical with the effort to raise the level of the culture. In other

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[53] Among others, see J. Warneck, "Die Entwicklung" [Development] (in *AMZ* 1898, esp. p. 150) and N.N., *Die Rheinische Mission und das Schulwesen* [The Rhenish Mission and the School], p. 1. At the same time, A.W. Schreiber (in *AMZ* 1911, p. 272) advanced the idea of the mutual relationship between the congregation and the school, namely "the school is also the mother of the mission congregation" ("die Schule ist zugleich die Mutter der Missionsgemeinde"). This idea was referred to by E. Pichler in his paper at the Batakmission Conference of 1920, "Zur Gehilfenfrage innerhalb der werdenden batakschen Volkskirche" [The Problem of the Indigenous Workers in the nascent Batak Folk Church].

words, the meaning of culture was not only human actions and the results of human actions' as defined in anthropology, but also the attempt and results of human effort in mastering nature to obtain economic well-being for persons.

> Johannsen-Dhünn, a member of the RMG delegation which visited the Batak area in 1902, stressed that such an understanding was in line with the RMG principle: "Where the mission causes 'pagans' to become Christians, first of all, there too it causes them to become genuine human beings, and where the mission plants the Kingdom of God in the midst of persons, there it also plants genuine culture." In order to be convincing about the truth of that principle with reference to the Batak people, he quoted a statement made toward the end of 1897 by P.H. Johannsen, a Batakmission missionary: "Should a Batak who lived in former times rise from his grave, he would no longer find the same Silindung he knew before." Furthermore, according to Johannsen, the school system was one of the cultural factors which the Batakmission developed most successfully in the Batak area.[54]
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> According to W. Spiecker, the same principle was also followed by Protestant mission bodies in general, even though their main emphasis was still placed on religious education. He said that within German mission circles from about the 1870s, enthusiasm for improving the socio-economic side of culture was aroused at the same time as the development of German colonialism giving the impression that socio-economic or cultural activities were stressed more than evangelism through verbal witness. But as a consequence of the German failure in World War I, German mission bodies again realized that efforts in the social, economic and cultural fields were no more than auxiliary activities, whereas the main task was to win 'pagan people' for the Gospel through proclamation and education.[55]

To speak about the educational function as a tool for elevating the culture was the same as discussing the Batakmission's view of culture. In Chapter Three, we noted the RMG leaders' views of culture (especially Fabri, Gustav Warneck and Schreiber) as well other mission figures from the European continent (for example Plath and Oehler). Their views can be defined with a certain amount of simplification under three categories. First of all, culture, meaning western culture in this context, had two sides. On the one hand, western culture had become so infused with

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[54] P. Johannsen-Dhünn, "Was hat die Rbeinische Mission in den 75 Jahren in kultureller Beziehung geleistet?" [What Has the Rhenish Mission Achieved during Its 75 Year Life regarding to Culture?], in Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 172ff and 186; cf. *idem*, "Ein Besuch im Lehrer- und Predigerseminar in Sipoholon auf Sumatra" [A Visit to the Teacher-Pastor Seminary In Sipoholon, Sumatra], in *MB* November 1902, pp. 83-86.

[55] W. Spiecker, *Die R.M.G. in ihren volks- und kolonialwirtschaftlichen Funktionen* [The Rhenish Mission in Its People's and Colonial Economic Function] (1922), pp. 9ff.

Christianity that it was identical with Christian culture, but on the other hand that culture contained elements which were in opposition to Christianity. Secondly, with reference to the first side of the first category, missionaries felt themselves called to carry their culture along with the Gospel to the mission field. In other words, evangelism occurred along with civilizing, even though the main emphasis remained centred on evangel-ism. But at the same time missionaries must oppose culture because the application of western culture without the Gospel would lead to the demoralization of indigenous societies. Thirdly, the main bearer of the civilizing task of improving indigenous culture was the colonial government. Missionaries were just co-workers. Nevertheless in bearing this task, it was most important for the government and mission to work hand in hand.

This view was followed and developed by the Batakmission during this second period, including its activities in the field of education. The organization of vocational schools was based on the conviction that these institutions would elevate the culture (read: social-economic well-being) of the Batak society.[56] This too was the case for health ministries, and the systematization of market operations within the larger framework of marketing produce from agriculture and animal husbandry. The objective of all these activities was to elevate the quality of the culture along with raising the spiritual quality of the Batak people.

Missionary conferences held between the years 1907 and 1909 made a comprehensive analysis of the theme "The Effort of the Batakmission to Upgrade the Culture of Batak Society". During the years 1907 and 1908, the investigation still emphasized the practical side: What can be done by the Batakmission to upgrade the culture of the Batak Christian community so its members will become independent in providing financial support for its congregations and schools? Even so, the 1907-

[56] The Narumonda/Lagoboti Trade School, from its beginning, was intended as a practical solution to the need for a highschool other than just a teachers' training school. But in its further development, it was declared quite firmly that this school, too, was intended to raise the quality of the reality symbolized by the terms "Education and Culture" (*Bildung und Kultur*) in keeping with the demands of society (Steinsieck, in *BRMG* 1913, p. 21).

1908 conference outlined one very firmly-held view: the Dutch colonial government bore the main responsibility for upgrading the culture of the Batak society, whereas the Batakmission had a supporting role in being ready to clasp hands with the government in improving the cooperation and congenial relationships which had prevailed thus far.[57]

The RMG leaders supported the idea of the Batakmission to investigate this theme in greater depth at the next conference and also suggested that the investigation take cognizance of the most recent of Oehler's writings.[58] As a guide for the Batakmission, the RMG outlined its thinking as follows:

> In principle, we agree with your view, that the colonial government is primarily responsi-ble for raising the quality of the Batak culture, but along with that statement and with what actually happened with the trade school, we must remind you about how the Gospel speaks to this situation, and that efforts to raise the social and cultural standard of a people must do so according to the correct way. On the basis of the whole experience of the Mission, the penetration of the Gospel into the life of a people, gives rise to new needs at the same time. In this connection, the Mission must give guidance to its people in order for them to increasingly value things and means which are available in their land, so that those new needs can be met most satisfactorily.[59]

E. Wagner, a missionary, was given the assignment to prepare a paper for the 1909 Conference in harmony with the RMG's suggestion to pay a great deal of attention to Oehler's views. For the most part these were not much different from the understanding of Gustav Warneck and Plath. Among other matters, Wagner emphasized that there were two cultural categories: spiritual and material, nevertheless the two may not be separated. In the first category were

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[57] "Minutes of the Missionary Conferences of 1907 and 1908"; cf. *BRMG* 1908, pp. 182f and especially J. Warneck, "Vor welchen speziellen Aufgaben ...?" [With what special tasks are we faced ...?], 1903, p. 29, which from another perspective stressed that the government had the responsibility to assist the Batak-mission in the stimulation of Batak Church self-support, so that the church would no longer need to rely upon government subsidies.

[58] I.e. D. Oehler, "Mission und Kultur" in *EMM* 1908, pp. 49-57.

[59] The response of the RMG to "the Minutes of the Batakmission Conference of 1907", July 26, 1907.

grouped the philosophy or view of life, the work ethic, ideals, mental and spiritual attitudes and other non-material matters. However, the second category comprised material products of culture such as clothing, housing, medicines, books, tools for work, etc.

Within the framework of elevating the quality of Christian Batak communities, Wagner continued, the two categories of spiritual and material must be integrated, and the school, especially the vocational school, was the most effective institution for bringing this about. This was the case because schools planted spiritual and mental attitudes in the minds of the students, as well as the work ethic, and a new view of life based upon the Gospel. It was in this fertile soil of spiritual culture that various kinds of knowledge and skills would be planted later enabling Batak Christians to improve their own culture themselves. Therefore, the task of the Batakmission was not merely to transplant western culture in order to replace the indigenous culture, but rather to help the indigenous people build their own culture with the help of western culture infused with the Gospel. Or as Wagner himself put it, "The true culture of a people arises from their own free effort."[60]

After defining his understanding of culture, he then mentioned the practical fields which needed nurturing and development in order to elevate the culture of the Christian Batak community, such as through wet rice cultivation, plantations (especially coffee), through establishing demonstration garden plots, animal husbandry, vocational schools, and hospitals. Even though not all missionaries agreed with every detail of Wagner's view, especially with reference to the practical fields mentioned, nevertheless they were of one mind about the necessity of the Batakmission to set up more concrete programs for elevating Batak culture, and that vocational schools were a most effective means towards that objective.

On the basis of such a view, the Batakmission perfected its plan to open an agricultural school

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[60] E. Wagner, "Was können wir zur Hebung der Kultur tun?" [What can we do to raise the Culture?]. A summary was contained in the "Minutes of the Batakmission Conference, January 27 - February 3, 1909".

(see above), and even to establish an Agricultural Commission with the responsibility for planning a mission plantation in the Simalungun area.[61]

In summarizing the RMG/Batakmission view of the objective and endeavour of education to improve Batak culture, the RMG stressed that the educational (and social service) goal of the Batakmission was "to help your own society (= Batak society, author) to achieve full autonomy based upon the Gospel and to step forward to the next higher level".[62] This summary made it evident that there had been a development of the RMG/Batakmission's view of the method and means for christianizing; the christianization of the Batak community was not only undertaken through the witness of the Word, but also through social, economic and cultural efforts based on and infused with the Gospel.

With reference to this view or understanding, we may ask the following question: Was the educational ministry of the Batakmission merely a tool or means for the proclamation of the Gospel, for nurturing congregations, for elevating the quality of the culture, or in a broader definition, to give shape to the ideals of christianization? Or was the educational effort itself the content of the Gospel or also the culture? According to Mundle, for the first half century of RMG's life (ca. 1828-1878), it continued to view education as an evangelistic tool (*Missionsmittel*). But upon entering the second half of its life, it more and more came to view education as an evangelistic task (*Missionsaufgabe*). The shift in this understanding went parallel to the shift in the view and method of doing evangelism, from endeavouring to convert the individual to trying to

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[61] "Minutes of the Batakmission Conference, February 28 - March 5, 1912". The plan for a Mission plantation did not come to fruition, even though the RMG Mission Board supported it. What was achieved, however, was accomplished by Ed. Müller, a missionary in Simalungun, who opened a place for Batak Christians to live who had emigrated to Simalungun. Later this place, in fact even to the present, is known by the name of *Kampung Kristen* (Christian Village) in the city of Pematang Siantar.

[62] Response of the RMG Deputation (Mission Board) to the 1911 Conference.

bring about the christianization of a whole people.[63]

From this we can see that the educational effort was no longer merely a kind of tool, rather it continued to be a secondary activity, or a support to the principal task, i.e. christianization in its widest possible meaning, including raising up a culture based on the Gospel. Therefore, the educational effort was not seen as the content of the Gospel itself. Or we could refer to J. Warneck's conclusion that what was accomplished by the Batakmission during this period was only the introduction of Christianity as a spiritual force which in itself had a pedagogical and cultural impact.[64]

*2. Views of Pedagogy and Method*

From the above analysis we have seen that in harmony with the RMG, its parent organization, the Batakmission understood itself to be an educator, and all its activities as being educational: education for autonomy, education for work, education for thankfulness, education for stewardship, etc. How could this pedagogical view be integrated with the theological-missiological view above in order to arrive at such slogans? As we touched in Chapter Three, there were various views of education which had developed in Germany prior to the 19th century and which directly or indirectly influenced the RMG view of education and subsequently influenced the Batakmission's educational view. We are able to assume too that through communication and cooperation with Dutch mission bodies and through Dutch missionary teachers or those missionaries who studied in the Netherlands, especially Meer-waldt, the theology and pedagogy which developed there influenced the Batakmission.[65] But the greatest influence felt by the Batakmission was the

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[63] Mundle, *op. cit.*, pp. 127f.

[64] J. Warneck, "Fünfzig Jahre", in *AMZ* 1911, p. 562; cf. H. Petrich, "Helfer und Helferdienste unter den Batak" [Helpers/Indigenous Workers and their Ministry among the Bataks] in *EM*, November 1909, p. 249.

[65] The "Ethical Theology" (*Etische Theologie*) was one of the

educational view developed in Pietism.

In agreement with Pietism, the Batakmission perceived that the highest knowledge was knowledge of the Word of God which was identical with the Bible. All kinds of knowledge must be based upon the Bible and be subservient to it, i.e. all knowledge must support the communication, the understanding and practice of the Word. Knowledge of the Word was so important that all teachers and pupils had to memorize it, not making a mistake even with a comma![66]

In harmony with Franke, that prominent figure in Pietism, the objective of education was the formation of Christian character as indicated by piety, obedience, trust, awareness of having been born again, diligence, wisdom, and the ability for self-control and self-denial. To attain that objective, it was not sufficient merely to memorize the Word or Bible, the Word had to be practised, and in so far as possible, it should produce Christian experience especially fitted to each individual. And in order to produce such Christian character, discipline and order were needed, and if necessary punishment may be used to bring it about.

To be sure, in building discipline and order, there was no necessity to utilize too many regulations or punishments, and the freedom of the pupil did not need to be sacrificed. In other words, the pupils must be orderly and disciplined on their own volition through obtaining knowledge of themselves. Because Batak children were never taught obedience and discipline within their families, according to the missionaries, various written regulations and strict order

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very influential theological currents in the Netherlands of the 19th century. Some of its proponents were D. Chantepie de la Saussaye and J.H. Gunning Jr.; see Rasker, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-190, especially p. 173. But the pietistic influence on some Dutch RMG/Batakmission missionaries was also very strong, for example, on Meerwaldt.

[66] J. Warneck in *Immanuel*, March 1900; Idem, *Unsere batakschen Gehilfen* [Our Batak Helpers] (1908), p. 95. The priority of Biblical knowledge in Batakmission schools was so great that Warneck could boast that the elementary school pupils of the Batakmission were superior in Biblical knowledge (and in singing) to their German counterparts; J. Warneck, "Eingeborene Helfer" [Indigenous Helpers], in *EM,* May 1896, p. 12.

must be applied in the school.[67] Nevertheless, all of this must be applied based on love. It must be remembered also that as with Christian character and the marks of a Christian, the teacher, including the missionary teacher, was the first one who must be disciplined and orderly. He must at all times present himself as a model of Christian virtues. This harmonized well with the pedagogical principle outlined by Jesus and Paul.[68] In order that the building of discipline would not cause the pupil to be too tense, the lessons must be broken up with recreation, such as games, contests, field trips.

Because the principal goal of education was to form individuals and society having Christian character and who had the ability to think independently, then all types of knowledge were but means for supporting its attainment. Along with that principle, the most important matter to be considered was not the quantity of knowledge communicated or memorized, but rather its quality. In this connection, the Batakmission complained again and again about the demands of the colonial government and its view of education. According to the Batakmission, the government stressed the quantity of knowledge mastered to excess and put too much of a premium on an intellectual approach in its schooling.

With reference to the content of the lessons and the intellectual integrity of the curriculum, at first the Batakmission tried to place them on the same level as those known in Europe. But building on a realization begun during the first period of the Batakmission, the missionaries became increasingly aware that lessons and curriculum must be adjusted to the Batak community's needs and ability to assimilate them. Therefore, they insisted that beginning with the elementary school, all lessons must help the pupils do ordinary work in order to meet the necessities of daily living.

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[67] J. Warneck, *Unsere batakschen Gehilfen*, p. 97; cf. O. Marcks in *Immnanuel*, November 1, 1909 and January 1 and 15, 1910, where he calls upon parents to cooperate with the teachers in bringing about growth in discipline and orderliness in their children.

[68] A. Theis, "Paulus als Erzieher seiner Gemeinden" [Paul as Educator of His Congregations], paper read at the Batakmission Conference of February 7-14, 1906; cf. Link, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

This emphasis was concurrently a criticism of the false tendencies embraced by the community sending its children to school in order to enter the seminary or to become government employees.

To fulfil the Batakmission's purpose, knowledge must be communicated in a manner as practicable as possible through the utilization of examples or visual aids present within the environment familiar to the pupils: elements from nature, folk stories, tools used in daily living, etc. Sometimes, the communication of knowledge through those practical means occurred through inviting the pupils to take part in nature trips. While the pupils were enjoying their field experience, the teacher would teach them knowledge related to geography, nature study, including zoology, and botany, even religion. This method was called "bookless learning".[69] This same principle of communicating knowledge in a practical way formed the basis for vocational schools as well as manual training courses inserted into the *Proseminar (Vorschule)* which reflected Meerwaldt's ideas (see Section D below).

Of course, teaching of knowledge was not done entirely without the use of books. The Batakmission tried to write textbooks for each type of school and each grade in those schools by adding to or revising the books made available during the first period. The writing of textbooks had to be based upon the principle already articulated, i.e. they must be appropriate to the situation, needs, and abilities of the students. Thus there was no urgency in translating western books. From this same principle too, the insight dawned that western teaching methods were not

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[69] Especially with reference to zoology, this method of "bookless learning" was also intended to foster the growth of love for animals, and through nature study it was hoped that there would be an increase in appreciation of nature; see, for example, S. (initial of writer) in *Immanuel*, April 1902; J.G. Dammerboer in *Immanuel*, January 15, 1907, and Justinian Sihombing in *Immanuel*, April 15, 1914. Nevertheless, this did not mean that the Bataks knew nothing about nature or never learned from nature before the coming of the missionaries. J. Warneck's experience on Samosir caused him to be amazed by the amount of understanding and keenness of observation of nature possessed by the Bataks, and in fact, Bataks themselves considered that westerners who had come into their midst did not understand the facts of nature; J. Warneck, *Werfet ...* p. 97.

entirely appropriate to the needs and situation found in Batak society.

Again with reference to the principle of adaptation in writing textbooks and the specification of teaching methods, the Batakmission was firm in its position that both books and lessons must use the Batak language, just as it had been doing during the previous period, even though there were certain elements in society that lobbied for schools using the Malay language. However, schools using Dutch were an exception to the principle of teaching in Batak. We have already encountered the Batakmission's thinking with regard to teaching in Batak rather than Malay. First of all it wanted to maintain the purity of the Batak language, and secondly it was concerned about the influence of Islam, which it felt had already been absorbed into the Malay language. In other words, as Joustra concluded, the use of Batak was closely connected with the Batakmission's effort to bring about and maintain "religious exclusivism" in the Batak area.[70]

In trying to consolidate this view of pedagogy and methodology, of course not all missionaries were of one mind. As we shall see in the next section, not infrequently serious differences of opinion surfaced, especially between Meerwaldt, a Dutch missionary teacher, and his German colleagues. Nevertheless, the pedagogical principles already advanced formed a consensus to guide the general policy and practice of the Batakmission's school effort during this second period. Together they realized that it was necessary for the Batakmission to develop the theory and practice of education which was useful and relevant in upgrading the quality of its schooling.

### *D.Reforming the System of Educating and Nurturing of Teachers*

Since its first period of work, the Batakmission had been conscious that the key to the success of its educational ministries, in fact the key to all of its activities, lay in its system for educating and nurturing its indigenous workers, especially teachers as bearers of a dual-function, teaching in

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[70] M. Joustra, *Van Medan naar Padang en terug* [From Medan to Padang and Back] (1915), p. 54.

the schools and working in the congregations. Therefore, in 1879 the Batakmission began to reform its educational system in the Pansur Napitu seminary, and to improve the quality of its teachers beginning during the middle of the decade of the 1870s. But the effort was quickly felt to have been unsatisfactory. Therefore, in 1883, the Batak-mission took steps to reform the total system from the ground up, i.e. reforming the elemen-tary schools which formed the foundation for teacher education. Beginning in 1883, **J.H. Meerwaldt**'s presence at Pansur Napitu working with Johannsen indicated the seriousness of the reform effort. In fact, as we shall see, Meerwaldt was the key figure. In the sections below, we shall see the step by step effort made in that regard by the Batakmission and at the same time note the adaptation and validation of the theological/missiological and pedagogical/methodological views already discussed.

*1. Renewal of the Teacher Seminary Education*

*(a) Rebuilding the Learning Facilities and Increasing Its Capacity*

When Meerwaldt arrived and began his work in the Pansur Napitu seminary, he was very concerned about its very 'primitive' physical conditions; there were no classrooms equipped with desks and chairs, and there was an inadequate number of books and other learning aids. In his opinion, the disturbing physical situation was one of the factors causing the low quality of the final examination results for 1883 and 1885. The pitiable condition of the school building was caused primarily by the RMG s principle of thrift carried to an extreme, as if a teacher-training school could be well-operated without satisfactory financial support. Therefore, he called upon the RMG to make funds available for the constructing of facilities which would more adequately fulfil conditions for a school; if necessary, the sending of new missionaries should be postponed in order that the funds for their support be might redirected towards the construction of a new seminary building.

As a follow-up to that suggestion, Meerwaldt quickly made plans for the new building,

complete with a budget for its construction. The suggestion was received by both the Batakmission missionaries and the RMG with construction beginning in 1885. Its funds came from three sources: congregational members, primarily the parents of the students, the RMG central treasury (with most of its funds coming from the contributions of poor widows!), and from RMG friends in the Netherlands.[71] The building had been under construction in stages and was finally completed in 1888. The main carpenter was Raja Benjamin, himself a product of the carpentry school operated by Simoneit, and who taught carpentry there later. The new building was placed on a range of hills higher than the cultivated fields surrounding it so the seminary became known as the *Sikola Tinggi*[72] (High School), but its name did not indicate a certain academic level of the school. Later, the same name was applied to the Sipoholon seminary. In the same way that the building came into being, the learning facilities, too, became available in stages.

Even though the seminary had been enlarged twice, i.e. in 1879 and 1885-1888, it became obvious that the Pansur Napitu school was not able to fulfil the need for new teachers brought about because of the rapid expansion of the Batakmission's area of work and its number of schools, and the desire on the part of persons to become teachers. In fact, even the third expansion of the school in 1895 was not able to meet those needs and desires.

> The Batakmission actually tried various ways to dampen the desire of the community for more teachers, for example (1) charging the parents for the full cost of their sons' residence in the dormitory;[73] (2) establishing procedures for the entrance examination, both oral and

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[71] In his letter of January 3, 1887, Meerwaldt related that he had also requested financial assistance from the Dutch Indies colonial government, but there are no indications in subsequent documents which would indicate that the government had agreed to his request, so it can be said that the government gave no assistance for expansion of school building construction during this second stage. Not until the third stage in 1895 and the construction of the Sipoholon seminary did the government give any financial assistance.

[72] J. Warneck, "Battaschen Lehrerleben" [Lives of Batak Teachers], in *MB* May, 1898, p. 35.

[73] The annual tuition and board costs for each student amounted to about *f* 36 per year (see Meerwaldt's letter of December 13,

written, and very intensive lasting several days; (3) making the conditions for entrance more difficult, for example the piety of the parent; (4) levelling fines on graduates who were not willing to be teachers in the service of the Batakmission; (5) not permitting "drop outs" to become teachers' aides. But in the end, all those stringent regulations failed to dampen the desire of parents to send their children to the seminary. In the last period, we saw the reason and motivation for this desire, one which continued to be valid during this second period as well.

To meet this situation, the "Batakmission Conference of 1900" decided to move the Pansur Napitu seminary to Sipoholon, and at the same time to increase its teaching staff.

> The new building was designed by Culemann, one of the missionaries, and was officially opened December 17, 1901, and began to receive new students in January 1902, even though it was not completely finished. Students from the Pansur Napitu seminary who had not as yet been graduated were transferred to the new seminary. They along with the new students worked to complete the new building complex and later helped to maintain it. Therefore, as an extracurricular learning experience, they were trained to work with their hands. This would be useful in building their character and for fulfilling their work in the teaching field later.[74]

The goal of moving the seminary was more than a matter of just increasing student capacity. Rather it was "to consolidate, strengthen and to further the expansion of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Batakland".[75] And even though one of the practical goals of its move was to expand its capacity and productivity, this did not mean that the standards for entrance were lowered, in fact it was just the opposite; the standards were raised in harmony with the principle of *selecting as intelligently as possible*, a principle long followed by the Batakmission. It became clear also that the Sipoholon seminary never lacked candidates. Rather, each year the numbers increased, even after the second seminary was opened at Narumonda, and the opening of several other vocational schools. As a result, the percentage of students received each year decreased even though the total numbers increased.

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1893), a sizeable amount when compared with the teacher s salary after graduation amounting to between *f* 7.50 and *f* 15 per month.

[74] For the details of construction and beginning situation of the Sipoholon seminary, see for example, J. Warneck's series of letters in *Der Bote* 1901-1904; idem *Unsere ...*, pp. 86ff, and Johannsen-Dhünn, "Ein Besuch" [A Visit], in *MB* 1902, pp. 82-86.

[75] *JB* 1901, p. 43.

Because the Sipoholon seminary was not able to fulfil the needs for new teachers as well as the desires of the community for their sons to become teachers, the Batakmission decided to open a second seminary at Narumonda (eastern part of Toba) in 1905.

> As already touched upon, the Narumonda seminary formed a transition from the School for the Children of Headmen, which had been forced to close because it did not attain its objective. In addition, the Sipoholon seminary was unable to fulfil the needs and desires of the community. But there was another reason not less important, namely to assuage the feelings of the Toba people because the Sipoholon seminary had been dominated by sons from Silindung.
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> The process of opening the Narumonda seminary was no simple matter. Missionaries in Silindung, especially the Sipoholon teachers, J. Warneck and Bielefeld, carried on a lengthy debate with the Toba area missionaries, particularly Meerwaldt, who had been appointed a teacher there. The debate persisted, even after the second seminary was opened in 1907.
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> The Sipoholon staff did not agree that the School for the Children of Headmen be closed, because then the people would demand that the government open a similar school, and should that happen, there would be a danger and loss for the Batakmission.[76] Furthermore, they did not support the opening of the second seminary because the latter would give rise to a dualism and unhealthy competition, and a lack of uniform standards and quality of teacher education originating in a difference of teaching methods between the Germans and the Dutch. What is more, a bare minimum of instructors would be available for the new seminary.
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> But Meerwaldt rejected the criticisms of the Sipoholon group, especially the issue of dualism in teacher education. He charged that the main critic behind the Sipoholon people was Warneck, an arrogant missionary who did not appreciate the wishes of the Toba people, and would not admit the reality that there were different backgrounds among the teachers of the Batakmission even before the Narumonda seminary was begun. Meerwaldt acknowledged that there were differences between the methods of the Germans used at Sipoholon and the methods of the Dutch used at Narumonda. But as a Dutch teacher, he held that the German methods were not appropriate for meeting the needs and conditions in the Batak area, for example their use of German letters in the writing and reading courses. Meerwaldt also criticized the RMG leadership, which he thought favoured the Sipoholon group inviting the danger of a split in the brotherhood (*Brüderkreis*) of the Batakmission.

The opening of the Narumonda seminary did indeed give rise to polemics between the Sipoholon school which was based on German (and therefore superior?) teaching methods, and the Narumonda group which tended to use the Dutch methods. The polemics were not limited to the practical problem whether there should be one or two seminaries, or even methods of teaching, but

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[76] The pupils of the School for Children of Headmen themselves went on strike as a protest against the decision to close the school and also accused the Batakmission of not wanting them to become government employees. One of the strikers was M.H. Manullang (cf. Chapter Six, A.2.); Pedersen, *Batak Blood*, p. 149.

rather the dispute dealt with more fundamental matters, whether there needed to be a uniform system of teacher education (especially in pattern and content), and with reference to the opportunities opened for becoming teachers, and whether some Batak people must be treated as though they were legitimate children, whereas others were to be treated as step-children. We shall see the debate continuing in terms of curriculum. But the series of polemics did not hinder the production of teachers, in fact it prompted the two seminaries to be engaged in healthy competition, especially in matters of quality, until the Narumonda seminary was changed to *HIS* in 1919.

Even though the two seminaries succeeded well in educating between 30 and 50 graduates per year, nevertheless this still did not fulfil the needs for teachers. Because of regulations governing subsidies which specified that each teacher would teach a maximum of 50 pupils, there were many schools which required more than one full-time teacher, especially at each main or mother congregation. Until the beginning of the 1890s, the Depok seminary conti-nued to help fill the need for teachers. But afterwards, it no longer played a significant role in educating teachers because the attitude of the Batakmission towards it was too changeable.

> At the suggestion of J. Warneck, the Batakmission Conference of 1897 decided not to send anymore of its young people to Depok because they became alienated from their Batakland. But the following year (1898), the conference decided to send students there again, because the Pansur Napitu seminary was unable to receive all of those seeking admission. A note was added that priority would be given to children of families with more limited resources.
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> At the Conference of 1900, it was again decided not to send students to Depok because the Sipoholon seminary would be built soon and with a greater capacity than Pansur Napitu. But the 1908 Conference again decided to send students to Depok, with the qualification that these would be "only students who were talented and financially poor".
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> Once again, in 1913 the Conference decided not send students to Depok any more. In fact, it called those students home who were already studying there with the reason that "the Depok seminary was under Roman Catholic influence".
>
> As a consequence of this continually changing policy, the number of Batak graduates of Depok continued to decrease until there were none after 1920.[77]

[77] According to the Minutes of the Batakmission Conference June 16-22, 1920, the reason for stopping the sending of students was because the Depok seminary no longer received a subsidy. But

In order to overcome the shortage of teachers during this second period, the Batakmission pursued a policy of increasing the number of teacher 'interns' (*guru-bantu* or *guru penolong*) and at the same time promulgated regulations regarding their appointment. In the formulation of 1904, those who could be appointed interns were: (1) elders who were considered to have some teaching ability, even though they had no opportunity for seminary study; (2) seminary candidates who had failed their seminary entrance examination but yet had a burning desire to become teachers; (3) seminary candidates who were not old enough to be received as students; and (4) graduates of the School for the Children of Headmen at Narumonda who wanted to be teachers. With these regulations, the desire by some Bataks to become teachers could still be channelled into the classroom, even though it could not be satisfied by attending seminary.

But, especially the first and second of those regulations gave rise to problems related to the receipt of subsidies. According to regulations governing the latter, a school could only receive a subsidy for the school building and equipment provided that the teacher were a graduate of a teachers' training school (seminary), and furthermore if the teacher or teachers had passed the government examination. Since there were so many interns, for example in 1905, 205 of 485 elementary school teachers were interns, this meant that many schools and teachers received no government subsidy. To deal with this problem, the Batakmission endeavoured to improve their abilities, and at the same time attempted to improve their condition and status. This matter will be raised again later when we discuss the effort to upgrade the roles and abilities of all teachers.

The series of Batakmission policies to mobilize and later to raise the status of the interns, of course helped to overcome the need for teachers on the one hand, but on the other it failed to raise

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before that, Meer-waldt (in his letter of March 7, 1907) wrote that the changeableness of the Batakmission's attitude to Depok was the result of the strong influence of J. Warneck who did not like the Depok seminary. His influence, too, lay behind the Batakmission's antipathy towards founding another seminary for receiving teacher candidates for the Batakmission, besides the one in Sipoholon.

the quality and image of the teachers. There were many qualified teachers who took a dim view of their colleagues who were interns, so that on occasion quarrels developed among them[78] and at the same time, the number of interns who could have their status and skills improved were too few, remembering that their numbers increased each year. In any case, the interns were properly figured in as members of the teaching corps, which the Batakmission boasted of as being the pillar of its educational effort, in fact the pillar of all of its activities.

*(b) Improving or Reforming Elementary Education*

Seeing how dreadful were the results of the 1883 and 1885 final examination of the Pansur Napitu seminary, and the low quality of the graduates for those years, Meerwaldt concluded that the main cause was not just the 'primitive' physical conditions of the seminary, but rather, and most importantly, the low quality of elementary school education. Just these graduates were chosen to become seminary students. Even though it was known that those chosen and sent to seminary were the best graduates of each elementary school, yet in reality, according to Meerwaldt, most of them did not know anything. Therefore, the first step to raise the quality of education in the seminary, in fact of the Batakmission's education in general which was already in a critical condition, according to him, was to reform the whole elementary school system.

Where should the reforming begin? According to Meerwaldt there were three steps which needed to be taken concurrently. First of all, there must be a reforming of the curriculum and teaching methods of the seminary, because the graduates of the seminary as teachers would share in the responsibility for raising the quality of elementary education by teaching the content more thoroughly and by using better teaching methods. Secondly, there must be an improvement in the skills of teachers who were already teaching, including the missionary teachers who shared in the responsibility for the quality of elementary education in each's working area.

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[78] Such quarrels or conflicts generally were quickly finished by "*tuan pandita*", i.e. "the reverend Mr. Pastor", i.e. a European missionary, *Immanuel*, September 15, 1909.

> In this connection, Meerwaldt criticized his missionary colleagues who were posted at various stations because in his opinion, most of them failed to show interest in or give attention to the schools, including the nurturing of the teachers themselves. One cause of this lack of interest and attention, according to Meerwaldt, was that they lacked a basic understanding of the details involved in the operation of schools and of the science of education, especially its later developments, so that they had been left far behind. If this situation were allowed to continue without resolution, Meerwaldt was worried that at a certain moment, the government would take over the operation of schools in the Batakland from the Batakmission. In order for this not to happen, the skills of the missionaries would have to be raised, including equipping them with knowledge about school operation details and the latest developments in the science of education.

Thirdly, the whole school organization, administration and teaching in all the schools of the Batakmission must be reformed, so that each person involved within the educational activities would know his task and responsibility, beginning with the missionaries, teachers, and including the pupils themselves.

Meerwaldt's ideas in the main were set forth in his paper entitled *Nationalgehilfen* (Indigenous Helpers) given at the Batakmission Conference of 1884. Although in general his colleagues praised his ideas, nevertheless in reality until 1892, most of them had yet to be embodied in practice. In 1885 Johannsen tendered a different idea, the operation of a pre-seminary course (*Vorschule*) which was an imitation of the seminary education in Barmen (see Chapter Three, A). Meerwaldt put forward two reasons for opposing the establishment of a pre-seminary course: (1) there were but two teachers at Pansur Napitu, himself and Johann-sen, and their teaching loads were already excessive, so that it would be impossible for them to further divide their time and energy to teach the pre-seminary course unless the RMG would send more teachers; (2) organizing a preseminary course would not solve the most basic problem, the low quality of elementary education. But Johannsen with the support of other missionaries tried to flesh out this idea beginning in 1886.

After the pre-seminary project was in operation a few years, it was obvious, according to Meerwaldt, that it did not result in any improvement in the quality of education in the seminary. The students continued to study mechanically, just memorizing without any ability to think independently, just as what was happening in the elementary school, too, before renewal. Therefore, in 1892, Meerwaldt suggested that the pre-seminary course be abolished and substituted

by a laboratory school (*Sekolah Latihan, Übungsschule*), which it was hoped would become a demonstration or model school for all Batakmission elementary schools and at the same time a place for the students' practice-teaching. But his suggestion was not accepted at that missionary conference, even though Ephorus Nommensen considered it to be valuable. Not until 1904 was the idea of a laboratory school put into operation; this only happened when the Pansur Napitu seminary moved to Sipoholon and after Bielefeld, a graduate of a German teachers' school, arrived and was given the two-fold assignment of administering and teaching in the Sipoholon seminary. The organization of the laboratory school formed an integral part of the curriculum and teaching-learning in the seminary, a matter which we shall discuss later.

At the same time, missionaries, especially seminary teachers, continued to be busy debating whether in the interests of reforming elementary education and fulfilling the conditions for receiving government subsidies, the pre-seminary course and the laboratory school were necessary or not. In 1892, the Batakmission decided to reform the organization and system of teaching in the elementary schools. Among other matters, this decision involved: (1) making a firm division of the school into at least three classes; (2) receiving students just twice each year, in March and September; (3) beginning the school day at 08:00 and concluding it at 12:00, Monday to Saturday; (4) teaching each class in turn while giving personal attention to each pupil; correcting of mistakes to be done immediately after they occurred; (5) providing a roster of pupils for each class indicating each's attendance and data about him; (6) having the teacher be more disciplined, meaning he may not do other work during the school hours.

In order to consolidate the reforms of elementary education, the Batakmission formulated regulations for the work of the teacher and a uniform curriculum for all elementary schools to be made effective in 1898 and 1900 respectively.

> Regulations for the work of the teacher (*Aturan ni Ulaon ni angka Guru*) for the year 1898 consisted of 29 parts and at the same time formed a clarification of the teacher's task in school and congregation as outlined in the Church Order of 1881. In terms of his work in the school, among other things it was specified that:

1. The teacher may not leave his work in the school before asking permission from his supervisor (i.e. the western missionary, author).
2. Each teacher must keep a diary to be examined by his supervisor each month.[79]
3. Each teacher must study continually, especially the Word of God, so that his knowledge will continually be developing.
4. The teacher must give attention to each non-industrious pupil and call on his parents after the school day and advise them to share in motivating him to attend school regularly.
5. During the time in school, the teacher must do no work other than teaching and nurturing his pupils, and he may not smoke while teaching.
6. If the teacher is assisted by an aide or intern, he may not allow the aide to teach alone, unless the teacher is sick or has received permission from his supervisor.
7. The teacher must protect the school equipment so it will not be lost, damaged or fall into disrepair; likewise the school building, the house provided for him, and the church building must be kept clean. If something is damaged, he must endeavour to repair it.
8. If the congregation provides a plot of ground for his use, be must till it in order not to be ridiculed as a lazy person.
9. The teacher may not order his students to do work which is his responsibility, unless they are happy and willing to do so.

The curriculum which was adopted in 1900 comprised the different subjects and hours for each subject, a schedule for teaching the subjects for class I through III from 8 a.m. to 12:00 noon, Monday through Saturday, and also brief suggestions for the method of teaching and the sharing of the teaching responsibilities between the teacher and his aide or intern.[80]

Regulations for teacher and pupils in the elementary schools of the Batakmission continued to be added year by year.[81] In addition, the Batakmission began to introduce compulsory schooling

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[79] With reference to these writing responsibilities (*schriftliche Arbeiten*), the teachers had other tasks to do: compose a roster of students, an inventory of property, monthly and annual reports, statistics, etc. All of these became the source of data for determining the subsidy for the school; J. Warneck, *Unsere batakschen Gehilfen*, p. 99.

[80] Subjects specified in the curriculum were Biblical knowledge, catechism, arithmetic, writing and reading (Latin and Batak script); the ratio between study hours for religious subjects and general ones was about 1 to 3. See *Aturan ni Ulaon Ari-ari di Sikola Metmet* ("Regulations for Daily Work in the Elementary School"); cf. "Minutes of the Batakmission Conference of 1900", and *BRMG* 1900, pp. 258-261. The curriculum continued to be perfected during subsequent years as well; J. Warneck in *Der Bote,* September, 1904, p. 284.

[81] For example, regulations governing teachers' private lives, such as type of clothing, forbidding of hunting, travel, seeking supplemental income, including playing the lottery on Sunday; and clothing regu-lations for elementary school pupils, their way to show respect to the teachers and pastors; B. Mindermann, "Das Schulwesen im Batakland" [School Conduct in Batakland], pp.

(*Schulpflicht*) and penalties for absentees and inattentive pupils.[82] But these stipulations were not firmly applied and were not put into operation in all schools. In fact, up until the end of this second period the regulations for absenteeism and inattentiveness were not carried out in all schools because the conditions in many schools did not permit it. What is clear, however, is that the Batakmission began to seriously reform its elementary schools, as suggested by Meerwaldt in 1884.

While the Batakmission was endeavouring to bring order to its system of elementary education, it never ceased receiving criticism from the Indies government and demands that it follow the standards in force for the government s elementary school, i.e., a five-year course of study, in order to have uniform standards of elementary education in the whole of the Dutch Indies. Sometimes, the criticisms were accompanied by certain offers, guides and procedures for supervision and evaluation, structure of curriculum content, text books and occasionally the offer of teaching personnel. But there were implied threats behind the offers, such as reducing the amount of or delaying the paying of subsidies, not acknowledging the validity of the graduates' diplomas in order to be received as employees, and even being ready to open government schools in areas which had formerly been entirely assigned to the Batakmission.[83]

Of course, the Batakmission did not meekly accept the government's criticisms and demands. Without forgetting the government's readiness to give subsidies to its schools, and without rejecting various offers which were considered useful, nevertheless the Batakmission held that not all the government s criticisms were objective. The missionary, Guillaume, for example, argued

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III-IV (paper given at the Teachers' Conference in Germany, about 1913/1914).

[82] Steinsieck in Laguboti, for example, applied a progressive fine; 2 cents for one day of unexcused absence, 6 cents for two days, and so on.; *BRMG*, p. 341.

[83] This threat was indeed carried out later in Sipirok in 1913 (*JB* 1913, p. 68) and in Tarutung and Balige in 1915 (see Chapter Six, A.3.).

that the government's evaluation and criticism was based only on 96 of the approximately 600 elementary schools of the Batakmission and made use of Dutch methods of education as the criteria for evaluating the German methods of education which were generally used by the Batakmission. This was certainly not fair.[84] Prior to Guillaume, J. Warneck, in fact, had given a description and an assertion that some of the Batakmission's elementary schools were better than village schools in Germany.

> In its (Batakmission's) schools are found excellent seats and desks, a map of the Dutch Indies hangs on the wall; furthermore there is a calculating machine, globe, very brawny blackboard and a large bookcase filled with books and writing materials.[85]

According to the Batakmission, the improved conditions of the elementary schools, even though this did not happen to all of them, was the result of the reform it had undertaken especially in 1892 and the receipt of subsidies from the government.

In any case, the government, apparently, was not satisfied with the reform which had been undertaken by the Batakmission throughout this second period of its work, so that in the next period the government attempted a total reorganization of the policies which had brought about tensions between the two parties. We shall investigate this matter in the next chapter.

*(c) Reform of the Curriculum and Teaching Methods*

Before Meerwaldt proposed his ideas for renewal of elementary education as a means to heighten the quality of seminary education, on his return from Depok, Johannsen devised a curriculum in 1882 for the Pansur Napitu seminary. The new curriculum was based upon stipulations in the Church Order of 1881 that seminary education would continue for four years, and be approved by the Synod Conference of 1882, but it was not put into operation before receiving the new class in 1885. The four-year curriculum was as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Year 1** | Catechism | 3 hours |
| | Biblical History/New Testament | 3 hours |

[84] Guillaume's letter to the Governor General, A.W.F. Idenburg, September 1909.

[85] Warneck in *MB*, May 1898, p. 35.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Reading and Practice Teaching of Reading | 6 hours |
| | Geography and History of Sumatra and the Dutch Indies | 4 hours |
| | Arithmetic | 4 hours |
| | Physics and Zoology | 2 hours |
| | Penmanship (Latin and Batak Letters) | 4 hours |
| | Singing | 2 hours |
| | | Total: 28 hours |
| **Year 2** | Biblical History/Old Testament | 3 hours |
| | Biblical Knowledge | 3 hours |
| | Synoptic Gospels | 2 hours |
| | Practice Teaching of Reading | 2 hours |
| | Penmanship | 2 hours |
| | Geography (Asia and Africa) | 2 hours |
| | General History | 4 hours |
| | Arithmetic | 4 hours |
| | Physics | 2 hours |
| | Singing | 2 hours |
| | | Total: 26 hours |
| **Year 3** | Biblical Knowledge/Old Testament | 3 hours |
| | Introduction to the New Testament | 3 hours |
| | The Gospel of John | 2 hours |
| | Practical Theology | 2 hours |
| | General Geography | 2 hours |
| | General History & Batak History | 4 hours |
| | Arithmetic | 4 hours |
| | Malay Language | 4 hours |
| | Medicine | 1 hour |
| | Pedagogy | 1 hour |
| | Physics | 2 hours |
| | Singing and Violin Playing | 2 hours |
| | | Total: 30 hours |
| **Year 4** | Biblical Theology | 3 hours |
| | New Testament Letters | 3 hours |
| | Apologetics/Polemics | 1 hour |

| | |
|---|---|
| Practical Theology | 1 hour |
| General History/Church History | 4 hours |
| Malay Language | 4 hours |
| Mathematics | 4 hours |
| Physics | 2 hours |
| Medicine | 2 hours |
| Natural History | 2 hours |
| Singing and Playing the Violin | 2 hours |
| | Total: 28 hours |

In addition to those subjects, the students were equipped with other extra-curricular know-ledge and skills, such as plant cultivation, animal husbandry, carpentry, choir, flute, etc.

In this curriculum we sense the strong echo of the Barmen seminary because of the great number of Biblical subjects, the large percentage of hours devoted to them, and also because of the inclusion of the course entitled, "apologetics and polemics". It is of interest, too, that the German language was no longer included even though it was part of the curriculum of the Catechetical School at Parausorat and the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* (see Chapter Four). Apparently, Johannsen and colleagues realized that German lacked usefulness for students in the Batak area.[86] It is of interest too that "Dogma" which was in the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* curriculum, was no longer studied. It could be that its content had been included in other subjects, or it could be that, because the RMG stressed the ecumenical character of its mission, it did not wish to limit itself to the

[86] Actually, the RMG leaders themselves did not entirely reject the teaching of foreign languages in the Pansur Napitu seminary. In 1889 Schreiber, for example, opened its possibility again so that students could read foreign language books, recalling that there was a shortage of books in Batak and Malay. Never-theless, he preferred to encourage making reading material available in the local language (*BRMG* 1889, p. 218). In this connection, J. Warneck, a teacher at the Pansur Napitu seminary since 1896, stressed that the study of German or Dutch was not included in the curriculum in order to avoid alienating students from their surroundings; this was also related to the negative impact of sending students to study in a foreign coun-try; J. Warneck, "Eingeborene Helfer" in *EM*, May 1897, p. 12; cf. the Samuel Siregar case, Chapter Four.

theology of one particular German church.[87] It could be, too, that the subject of "Dogma" was omitted because of the Barmen seminary's Biblical-Pietistic pattern which down-graded dogmatics in favour of a literal understanding of the Bible. Of course this characteristic itself reflected a particular theological view. Another point of interest is that the curriculum had but the most minimal concern about the science of education, i.e. only 1 hour per week and that only in the third year; but then at that time there was no Batak textbook on pedagogy. This fact was criticized later by Meerwaldt and prompted him to write one, but his book was not published until 1915.

Afterwards this "Curriculum of 1881" was reviewed by Meerwaldt in his paper read at the previously mentioned Batak Missionary Conference of 1884. In doing so, his point of departure was the principles and goals of the seminary. In his view, the seminary was the vessel for nurturing indigenous personnel who were capable of accomplishing work in church and school within the overall principle of their unity issuing in the formation of an autonomous people's church. To fulfil that purpose, they must be supplied with a certain amount of knowledge consisting of two main parts, knowledge of the Word of God and general knowledge. The communication of this knowledge was not an end in itself, but rather it was a means or a working tool. Therefore, what was most important in the teaching-learning process was not the total amount of knowledge or the number of subjects studied, nor would the curriculum s success be measured by the amount of knowledge which the students had memorized in a mechanical way, but rather it would be measured in terms of the extent to which the students had understood its content in their minds and hearts.[88] From this we can see that for Meerwaldt, the essence of education in the seminary was not

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[87] Cf. Fabri's view of Church and Dogma which is given in W.R. Schmidt, *Mission, Kirche, und Reich Gottes bei Friedrich Fabri* [Mission, Church and Kingdom of God in the Thought of Friedrich Fabri], especially p. 39: "According to Fabri, the future form of the empirical church is analogous to that of the apostolic church with its threefold characteristics of free association, mission and ecumenicity."

[88] Meerwaldt, "National-gehilfen" [Indigenous Aides], 1884, p. 17.

only learning (*Gelehrsamkeit*), but the nurturing or development of thought, and character formation (*Charakterbildung*).

Thus, Meerwaldt was indirectly criticizing Johannsen's curriculum because there were too many courses within it, and his teaching method put too much emphasis upon the mechanical memorization of knowledge.[89] But apparently Meerwaldt's criticism was not particularly effective because up until 1890 his letters contained complaints about the mechanical learning which was adopted by his seminary colleague and also by the elementary school teachers who were graduates of the seminary.

In that same 1884 paper, Meerwaldt presented a proposed curriculum complete with explanations of the significance and function of each subject along with methods for teaching it. At the same time, he suggested the reduction of the total number of theological subjects and the addition of two general knowledge subjects, *drawing* and *writing*, as part of the plan to sharpen the understanding and the clarity of the students' way of thinking. Afterwards those two courses were put into the curriculum and the writing course in particular bore fruit bringing pleasure to the hearts of missionaries because of the graduates' - now teachers' - ability to write working papers or articles on certain topics to be presented at teachers' conferences, or to participate in writing contests (see D.2.d. below).

In terms of *music* and *singing courses*, Meerwaldt originally shared the opinion that traditional Batak musik and songs should not be taught, because along with Warneck (Chapter Four, note 49), he considered that these were tainted too much by paganism and their art was not of any significant quality. This evaluation demonstrated that at that time (he had just been in the Batak area for four

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[89] B. Mindermann, a teacher at the Sipoholon Seminary from 1913, in his essay, "Missionar P.H. Johannsen zum 100 jãhrigen Geburtstag" (*MB* 1939, pp. 59ff) noted that it was true that Johannsen continued to use old teaching methods: "Die Methode, nach den er unterrichtete, war die seiner Zeit. Das Gedächtnis musste viel Wissensstoff aufnehmen und behalten" [The method by which he taught was the one in use during his time. The memory must take in and retain a great quantity of information].

years) Meerwaldt's thought and attitude still reflected feelings of western superiority causing him to devaluate Batak culture and its state of development. Later, his evaluation of Batak musik and songs changed, even though he maintained a selective attitude and did not agree with total indigenization. In a series of writings, he considered that there were certain elements in Batak music, style of language, terminology, melody and even instruments, which could be used to compose spiritual songs but these needed careful weighing in compiling a hymnbook for school and congregation.[90] This caused him to differ with Bielefeld who took a hard line in asserting that Batak music could not properly be utilized for the singing of hymns, even for the singing of western songs in general, because it would damage or pollute the purity and beauty of those songs.[91]

The attitude of superiority reflected in Meerwaldt's paper of 1884, was evident in his view of the teaching of *language* as well. In his opinion, it was not yet necessary for the seminary students to study either the classical (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), or the modern European languages, because

> a study of those languages would only cause fatigue and mistreatment of the students; they must advance beforehand as was done by the more developed peoples, If not, foreign language study would only give rise to greater loss than profit; furthermore this would only stimulate arrogance in them.[92]

However, because of practical needs later, his opinion was pushed aside when it was said that seminary students had to study Dutch (see below the discussion of the blending of the seminary curriculum).

Meerwaldt's attitude of superiority tended to change when he talked about the method for teaching reading and also the content of the reading textbook a few years after his 1884 paper.

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[90] J.H. Meenwaldt, "Iets over Muziek en Zang op bet Terrein der Zending" [Something about music and song on the mission field] (*RZ* 1904, pp. 28-36) and "lets over Muziek en Zang bij de Bataks" [Something about music and song among the Bataks] (*RZ* 1909, pp. 81-86, 129-133).

[91] "Annual report" (1909), Bielefeld, February 1910.

[92] Meerwaldt, "National-gehilfen", p. 22.

According to this new view, in addition to using modern western methods, the reading book must be adjusted to the Toba Batak alphabet, and it would be advisable for the book to use both Latin and Batak script.[93] Here it can be seen again, that through a process of working, learning and teaching for several years, Meerwaldt increasingly came to appreciate particular elements in Batak culture.

In line with the development of the theological-missiological, and pedagogical-methodological views experienced by the Batakmission during this second period (section C above), which included Meerwaldt's criticism and suggestion given above, the Batakmission came to realize more and more that the seminary was the heart or the nerve-centre of its educational efforts. For this reason, the seminary teachers endeavoured to plant certain theological-missiological and pedagogical-methodological principles in their students:

(1) *The Principle of deepening Batak Christianity*: Because the school was the institution or means for deepening Christianity within the overall goal of consolidating the forming of a Christian people, first of all religious knowledge and its embodiment in persons must be supplied to the students who would later become teachers, and most importantly, these teachers in turn must accomplish the same goal in their pupils.

(2) *The Principle of Autonomy*: Because the final goal of the Batakmission was the formation of an autonomous Batak Church, the students should be nurtured to become independent in their work their thinking and in their faith, and afterwards it was hoped they would plant those same principles of autonomy in their pupils.

(3) *The Principle of Elevating the Culture* (read: improving the social-economic welfare of the people): Because the school had the objective of improving the social-economic welfare of the community, the seminary students, as well as vocational school students, needed to be supplied with knowledge, practical skills and methods of teaching which would utilize cultural and

[93] In his book, *Parsiadjaran Pardjolo di Anak Sikola na di Tano Batak* [First Lesson Book for Batak Children] (1886).

environmental elements of the Batak community as visual aids or means to facilitate learning. In that way, they could improve their livelihood by supplementing their wages, and later supply their pupils with practical knowledge which could be readily used to obtain a livelihood after being graduated from the elementary school and be able to give practical examples and pointers to the surrounding community.

The Batakmission tried to clarify and adapt those principles to the curriculum, extra-curricular activities, and means for nurturing discipline and orderliness (particularly so in the Sipoholon seminary after 1902).

The 1902 curriculum for the Sipoholon seminary was as follows:

**Second Class** ( = the lowest class, or first and second years)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old Testament | | | 2 hours |
| New Testament | | | 4 hours |
| History: | - Church History | 3 hours | |
| | - General History | 1 hour | 4 hours |
| Practice Preaching | | | 2 hours |
| Arithmetic: | - Written | 2 hours | |
| | - Oral | 2 hours | 4 hours |
| Geometry | | | 2 hours |
| Reading: | - Latin | 2 hours | |
| | - Batak | 1 hour | |
| | - Malay | 2 hours | 5 hours |
| Writing: | - Penmanship | 2 hours | |
| | - Dictation | 2 hours | 4 hours |
| Writing (essays) | | | 1 hour |
| Drawing | | | 1 hour |
| Singing | | | 2 hours |
| Geography | | | 2 hours |
| Physics | | | 1 hour |
| Music (Harmonium, Trumpet, Violin) | | | 4 hours |
| Physical Education | | | 1 hour |
| | | | Total: 39 hours |

**First Class** (= highest class, third and fourth years)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old Testament | | | 2 hours |
| New Testament | | | 4 hours |
| History: | - Church History | 3 hours | |
| | - General History | 1 hour | 4 hours |
| Catechism | | | 2 hours |
| Sermon Preparation & Practice | | | 3 hours |
| Pedagogy | | | 2 hours |
| Arithmetic: | - Written | 3 hours | |
| | - Oral | 1 hour | 4 hours |
| Geometry | | | 2 hours |
| Geography | | | 2 hours |
| Physics | | | 1 hour |
| Reading: | - Latin | 1 hour | |
| | - Batak | 2 hours | |
| | - Malay | 1 hour | 4 hours |
| Writing: | - Penmanship | 1 hour | |
| | - Dictation | 1 hour | 2 hours |
| Singing | | | 2 hours |
| Drawing | | | 1 hour |
| Music | | | 4 hours |
| Physical Education | | | 1 hour |

Total: 40 hours

In comparing this curriculum with the one in use in 1882 at Pansur Napitu, we note the following: (1) The curriculum load at Sipoholon (39-40 hours per week) was much heavier than at Pansur Napitu (26-30 hours per week). (2) The portion or percentage of religious subjects not including singing and music was greater than at Pansur Napitu, i.e. 28-37 % of the Sipoholon curriculum, and 21-32 % of Pansur Napitu's curriculum. (3) The kinds of subjects, both religious and general, were fewer at Sipoholon, or in other words, the Sipoholon staff had managed to reduce the total offerings.

It is of interest to note that in both the Sipoholon and Pansur Napitu curricula, the German language was not offered even though J. Warneck (a change from his earlier opinion) had proposed to the missionary conference of 1898 that it be taught, and the conference agreed. In fact, German

was taught that year at Pansur Napitu. The students were so attracted to it that later there were some who expressed regret when it was no longer offered. Its cancellation was made on the advice of the RMG as its response to the decision of the 1898 missionary conference. There was agreement to teach a foreign language in the seminary, but this should be Dutch, rather than German since the Batak area was part of a Dutch colony.[94]

Reviewing points (1) and (2) above, we very quickly receive the impression that the Batakmission, through the Sipoholon seminary teachers (Warneck and colleagues), wished to improve the quality and skills of the graduates by increasing the course load and improving the students' mastery of religious subjects. This policy seems to have been based on the faculty's anticipation of the major point of the graduates' work later which was expected to be more heavily weighted on the side of being evangelists rather than teachers in schools. But Meerwaldt, who was not a participant in shaping the Sipoholon curriculum, advanced criticisms which were of the same kind as given when he, along with Warneck, was teaching at Pansur Napitu, even though to be sure some of his suggestions had been included in the 1902 Sipoholon curriculum.

Even though the goal of the Batakmission in education was to form persons who were Christian in character and personality, nevertheless in his view this did not require loading the curriculum with as many religious subjects as possible. Neither did this mean that seminary education must place its emphasis upon turning out evangelists. Furthermore, the value of a seminary student or a teacher was not determined by the kinds and total amount of knowledge

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[94] If formerly Warneck had rejected teaching the German language, reasoning that this would alienate the students from their environment, in 1898 he supported the practice but this time his reasoning was that the instruction was intended for the talented students so these could help adapt German textbooks into Batak, or in order for them to be able to read German theology books if they had the opportunity to enrol in a pastors' course. See "Minutes of the Batakmission Conference May 9-15, 1898". Cf. M.C.L. Tobing in his written memento about his study at the Pansur Napitu seminary in *Immanuel*, May 31, 1936, p. 86.

which had been taught to him, or by the total number of hours in classes, but rather by the quality of his understanding of the knowledge received.

In 1905, J. Warneck and colleagues revised the Sipoholon seminary curriculum. As a result, there were 14 subjects offered and the content of each subject was indicated in rather great detail.[95] Regrettably, the 1905 syllabus did not specify the exact number of hours for each subject, so we are unable to make a comparison between the percentage of religious and general subjects. But in its introduction it is said that the "new curriculum" had at the same time opened up the possibility for further basic revisions of its schedule of courses. The same curriculum was validated also for the Narumonda seminary when it opened in place of the School for the Children of Headmen.

Apparently, Meerwaldt did not consider that the 1905 Curriculum was complete. He had just returned to resume an active role within the Batakmission after having had a lengthy sick-leave furlough in Europe. As part of the Narumonda leadership, he held that teaching of the Dutch language needed to be added to the curriculum. This made him a supporter of the RMG's position mentioned above. Anticipating the Batak community's eagerness to learn Dutch, his first purpose in teaching Dutch was to prevent the Bataks leaving their home villages. Secondly, enabling the students to read Dutch would increase the amount of literature available to the Batak community, remembering that the amount of Batak literature was very limited. Meerwaldt himself taught the Dutch course at Narumonda.

While the two seminary staffs were busy debating whether Dutch should be part of the curriculum, the government was criticizing the curriculum because the religious offerings were too many, the general knowledge courses too few. Grivel, the colonial government's school inspector,

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[95] This curriculum was formulated based upon the Batakmission Conference of 1903. The subjects included were: Old Testament Knowledge, New Testament Knowledge, History (church and world), Arithmetic, Geometry, Reading (Latin and Batak; for reading using the Batak script, Van den Tuuk's collection of folk tales continued to be used), Writing, Geography, Physics, Pedagogy, Preaching, Drawing, Singing, and Physical Education. Music was an extra curricular subject. See *BRMG* 1905, pp. 186f.

requested that the curriculum be reorganized in order to provide 24 hours per week for general subjects, excluding "Singing" and "Music", as specified by the government within the 1906 regulations governing subsidies.[96] The government demands revolved around two points: in the first place the quality of the seminary, including its graduates, must reach the same standards as valid for government schools and of the teachers employed in them, and secondly, the total subsidies would be made available should the government demands or conditions be fulfilled.

Considering that 18 hours of class time per week for general subjects were sufficient, the Sipoholon leadership took the opportunity of registering its objections through the Mission consulate in Batavia. But because the government was not ready to soften its demands, the two seminaries of the Batakmission were forced to revise their curricula with the results validated for the academic year 1907-1908. The revisions were largely 'administrative' accomplished by switching some religious subjects to the 'general' category such as moving "Church History" to "General History".

The next step in applying the pedagogical-methodological views already defined was the consolidation of the teaching methods in the seminary which in turn would result in improving the teaching methods in use in the elementary schools. In order that the seminary students would not only study "Pedagogy" and "Methodology" at a theoretical level (and without text books!), beginning in 1904, the Sipoholon seminary operated a *laboratory school* (*Übungsschule*) as well, an institution which Meerwaldt had proposed in 1892.

Each seminary student took turns in teaching one subject per month at the laboratory school during his final year so that during that time, each student would have tried out teaching methods for six elementary school subjects: Biblical Knowledge, Catechism, Arithmetic, Reading Latin and Batak Script, Writing Latin and Batak Script, and Singing.

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[96] Required subjects according to article 5 of Regulations for Private school Teachers (*Staatsblad* 1906, no. 242) were Science, History, Geography, Malay or Regional Language, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Drawing and Pedagogy.

As already mentioned above, one of the pedagogical-methodological principles emphasized by the Batakmission missionaries (especially Bielefeld, a teacher at Sipoholon and a staff member of the laboratory school) was the utilization of elements found in nature and the indigenous culture as "audio-visual aids". But particularly with reference to "Singing" and "Music", Bielefeld held that the Batak singing and music elements were not appropriate to be used and studied because they were too tainted with 'paganism'. Therefore, for "Singing" and "Music" courses he used nothing but items and material from the West which he considered more lofty. Indigenous instruments, for example, *gondang*, Batak drums and gongs, were inappropriate to even merely accompany western songs, such as *Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe* and *Wilhelmus van Nassaue*, as he had once heard, because this would result in a travesty of taste (*Geschmäckverwirrung*).[97]

In addition to individual practice-teaching, the students also practised in groups of four as maintainers of order (*Ordinarius*) for each class of the *laboratory* school.[98]

Besides providing a place for practising and deepening pedagogical and methodological ideas and for evaluating the abilities, discipline and character of the seminary students, it was hoped that the laboratory school at Sipoholon, and at Narumonda in 1909, would serve as an exemplary school (*Musterschule*) in providing a uniform model for all the elementary schools of the Batakmission. In fact, it was intended as an indirect main point of entrance for the best candidates for the seminary. Just this latter purpose received the greatest attention from the Batak community. Therefore parents tried very hard to enrol their children into the laboratory school with the hope and strong belief that they would be accepted as seminary students afterwards.

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[97] Bielefeld, "Sipoholon Seminary's 1909 Annual Report".

[98] The responsibility of the *Ordinarius* included supervision of the students with reference to their neatness and cleanliness, and the completeness of the school room, writing daily and weekly reports about the class and study situation. At the end of each week, under the leadership of Bielefeld, the results of his observation and supervision were discussed with the last year students of the seminary. See "the Sipoholon Seminary's Annual Reports" for 1904/1905 and 1906/1907.

Obviously, the laboratory school was unable to fulfil all those hopes. As with graduates from the elementary schools, graduates of the laboratory school would also have to take an entrance examination and not everyone would pass. Furthermore, parents of elementary school children as well as their mentors (missionaries and teachers) objected if their children were not given the same opportunities to enter the seminary. Not only that, as with other elementary school graduates, graduates of the laboratory school might have to wait several years to fulfil the minimal age limit for entrance of 18 years. With this discussion, we enter into the following subject: reforming conditions for entering the seminaries.

*(d) Reforming Seminary Entrance Conditions and Procedures*

As we have indicated earlier, the Pansur Napitu seminary used an entrance examination since 1885 to limit the candidates whose numbers continued to swell, and to obtain the very best students. On the one hand this policy caused unsuccessful candidates and their parents to be disappointed, in fact to lodge protests.[99] But on the other hand, the results of the entrance examinations disappointed the Batakmission because of the low quality of the candidates it was forced to accept, the best of the worst!

The reason which caused the low quality of the seminary students, according to Meerwaldt, was not just the low quality of the elementary schools as we have seen earlier. Another cause not less important was the fact that most of the candidates had been graduated several years before and during those years they had not been involved in any kind of study activities. As a result, the

[99] Among the parents whose children were not admitted, there were those who said they were leaving the church and stated their intention to found an elementary school better than that of the Batakmission. For according to the information they received, the candidates taking the entrance examination were the highest ranking of the elementary school graduates and had been recommended by their teachers and missionaries; *BRMG* 1890, p. 328. In the next period, there actually were those who fulfilled that threat, but with a different motivation and reasoning.

knowledge and understanding which they had while in the elementary school, which was already very minimal, evaporated into thin air.

The Church Order of 1881 had actually specified the minimum age for seminary entrance at 14, i.e. the age when students generally were graduated from elementary school. But in reality, the candidates who were recommended and sent by the congregations were older than that, meaning that these had been graduated several years before. Perhaps another important reason for delaying entrance to the seminary was to avoid graduating persons who would be too young to teach. But after seeing the low quality of those who sat for the entrance examination, Meerwaldt suggested for the future that candidates should be those who were still 'fresh', who had just finished elementary school. But the Batakmission Conference of 1890 was only willing to raise the minimal age to 16 years. Subsequently the Conferences of 1900 and 1907 raised the minimal age to 17 and 18 years respectively. The basis of the decision taken was that the older persons were more adult physically and mentally, and therefore would be able to fulfil the demands of the discipline of study, and they would not be too young when they began their teaching. Trying to respond to Meerwaldt's observation and concern that the candidates would be unemployed after finishing elementary school, the 1890 conference decided that while these were waiting to meet the minimal age requirements, the congregations could recommend them to become teachers' aides.

But in reality not all seminary candidates, including graduates of the laboratory school, had an opportunity to become teachers' aides. Even though there were such opportunities, their availability would not of themselves be a means for the aides to maintain their intelligence, much less increase the sharpness of their minds, because the missionaries and professional teachers in each's place of work would not give them effective guidance. Furthermore, while waiting to enter seminary, some of them married. To be sure, those who married could receive dispensation from the rule against married students and be permitted to enter seminary provided that their achievements as aides or as evangelists were considered to be satisfactory. But there were not many persons who were ready or interested in using such an opportunity because the regulations forbidding marriage while they

would be students tended to become a psychological impediment for them. Therefore, this policy of teacher aides or interns did not particularly help overcome the problem of raising the quality of teachers or as candidates to be admitted to the teacher training seminaries.

In addition, Grivel, the government's inspector for education, saw that the age limitation for entering seminary was too high and was one of the causes resulting in the low quality for both candidates and the students of the Batakmission seminaries because they had stopped the activity of studying for too long a period of time. Therefore, he suggested that the age limitation be lowered to 13 or 15 years of age, as was the case in government schools for training teachers. Furthermore, while supporting the existence of the laboratory school[100], Grivel presented two other alternatives to support or to enhance the quality of the seminaries: (1) operate the elementary school for 7 years, i.e. by following the model of Schools of the First Class (which later became *HIS*; author); and (2) organize secondary schools (*Fortbil-dungsschule*) for elementary school graduates, and from the pool of secondary school graduates make a selection of candidates for the seminaries.

But the Batakmission was not able to accept Grivel's idea, instead it tendered another idea, i.e. the idea of a pre-seminary school (*Proseminar*) of two years before studying at the seminary. This idea was presented in detail by Meerwaldt in the name of the Batakmission at the 1907 missionary conference attended by Grivel.

> In his paper on the Proseminar idea, Meerwaldt suggested that the two-year Proseminar not be connected directly with the four-year study at the seminary. His purpose being that the Proseminar graduates would not automatically nor necessarily become seminary candidates; therefore there would be another selection process for those who wished to enter the seminary.

[100] Grivel even offered to have a Batak teacher lead the Laboratory School of the Batakmission, whose salary would be paid by the government. But the Missionary Conference of 1907 rejected the offer because this would give rise to jealousy among Batak teachers from other schools, because the government's salary for teachers was much larger than that received by teachers of the Batakmission (see "Minutes of the Batakmission Conference 1907", p. 10). The rejection of Grivel's offer may also have been because the Batakmission wanted to have a German missionary as the head of the Laboratory School, in this case Bielefeld.

Meerwaldt was aware of the difficulties which might arise in the realization of this idea, because he put forth steps to overcome them at the same time. In addition, he discussed the subjects which should form both the basis of the entrance examination for the Proseminar as well as for the courses to be taught during the two year period, including artisan skills and methods for teaching them. The Proseminar as well as the laboratory school should be operated at both Batakmission seminary complexes.

With this idea, said Meerwaldt, the Proseminar idea would help overcome many problems, for example:

(1) The minimum age limitation of 18 years for entering the seminary, and the basic considerations for it could be maintained;
(2) The quality of the seminary candidates could be enhanced meaning that neither the Batakmission nor the government would be disappointed;
(3) There could be economizing in the number of instructors needed because only one more European staff member would be needed at each seminary plus several Batak interns, whereas for each seminar, three fulltime instructors and one intern would be sufficient, a number which would fulfil the conditions for the seminaries' receiving government subsidies.

The Proseminar idea was not completely accepted by the RMG leadership in Barmen because it would result in a waste of funds and human resources. Because of that, the RMG leadership, in this case Inspector Wegner, sent a counter-proposal which in essence was directed towards the unification of the two seminaries because of anxiety about faculty dualism within the Batakmission.

His counter-proposal included:

(1) In principle the RMG agreed with the idea of the Proseminar, but suggested that it be called a Middle School (*Mittelschule*). It was unnecessary to have one at each seminary; it would be adequate to have just one and at Narumonda. Only graduates from this school would be selected to enter seminary.
(2) The minimal age for the Middle School would be 15 years. After being graduated at the age of 17 years, those who wished to continue on to seminary would have to serve a preparatory period (*Schulpräparand*) of 1 year in an elementary school as an intern under the guidance of the missionary there. His recommendation would be one of the factors to be considered when selecting candidates for the seminary.
(3) The first year of seminary education would be at Narumonda, while the second through the fourth would be at Sipoholon.

With this proposal, the RMG leaders hoped also to end the controversy about changing the School for the Children of Headmen at Narumonda to become the second seminary. But Meerwaldt, as the originator of the Proseminary idea, was not ready to accept the counter-proposal. The question of founding the Proseminar was reminiscent of the debate about the opening of a second seminary, because it too issued in a sharp exchange between Meerwaldt and the RMG leaders, particularly with Inspector Wegner.

> Meerwaldt, together with the Toba area missionaries, rejected the idea of the Middle School because, first of all, such a school would not be in harmony with the needs and aspirations of the Batak community for education. On the one hand, the counter proposal from the RMG/Wegner, which was really one in essence, would reduce the opportunities to enter the seminary, and on the other hand the Middle School would not open clear opportunities to persons other than to enter the seminary. Secondly, such a school did not exist as yet within the government's school system. As a result, the government had not as yet established standards and regulations governing a subsidy for it. Thirdly, based upon his previous experience, Meerwaldt was not convinced that the missionaries at the various stations would truly give guidance to the those young people involved in a period of preparation before entering the seminary.

The sharp polemic about the Proseminar idea became more heated as a result of a new suggestion offered by J. Warneck after he had already returned to Germany (1907). In his suggestion, Warneck rejected almost all the ideas of Meerwaldt and corrected part of Wegner s counter proposal.

> In Warneck's suggestion there was included the following: (1) It would not be realistic to operate the Proseminar in the seminaries as they are now because the working load of the teachers and the capacity of the school would be unable to absorb that many new students since the facilities were already strained; (2) What was already in process at Sipoholon and the Laboratory School was excellent, therefore there should be no further changes; (3) If indeed there were need for preparation to enter the seminary, whether through the Proseminar or the Schulpräparand, one year would be sufficient and could be accomplished under the guidance of the missionary at each station; (4) Do not open a Middle School because that would only result in a half-educated proletariate, i.e. people who cannot advance unless they enter seminary. Persons such as these would only give rise to difficulties later.

So as not to prolong arguments concerning the Proseminar, at the suggestion of Meerwaldt, the different factions agreed to postpone the problem. With that decision, the Batakmission maintained the status quo: the Sipoholon seminary would have four classes with a four-year study requirement for graduation, whereas the Narumonda seminary would have two classes with a four-year study period as well. The minimum age-limit for acceptance would remain at 17 years. Based on this accord, the two seminaries accomplished their work smoothly in the succeeding years; in fact beginning in 1911, the entrance examination for both seminaries was unified, and the students received were divided evenly between the two.

*(e) Enhancing the Cultivation of Discipline*

Actually, the cultivation of discipline had begun at the elementary school level. Especially

since the 1890s, various regulations were in force related to its cultivation. Then too, most elementary school teachers were seminary graduates who had undergone the process of cultivating discipline. Furthermore, the entrance requirements for seminary not only demanded intellectual ability and a minimum age for the candidates, but also moral and spiritual characteristics or qualifications: piety, industry, obedience, etc. Because of that, the seminary teachers did not have to worry too much about efforts for cultivating discipline in the interest of forming Christian character, because this had been spelled out in detail during the elementary school days of the students.

But in reality, the candidates received were judged to be unfamiliar with discipline and did not yet have a Christian character or Christian characteristics. This was the case, according to the observation of the seminary teachers, because not all of their elementary school teachers were seminary graduates and many were teacher aides or interns. The lack of discipline was the case as well because the students  families had not planted Christian characteristics in the students before they went to seminary. What is more, among the parents there existed the erroneous opinion that the seminary was the place for cultivating discipline among wayward children. According to Meerwaldt, many missionaries tolerated this opinion if these were children of the headmen who had to be given priority for seminary entrance in the interest of winning the village and marga to Christianity. The consequence of this situation was that while the students were in seminary, the teachers had to exhaust every effort to plant Christian characteristics in them through the cultivation of strict discipline and order (*Zucht und Ordnung*).

> Sometimes the Pansur Napitu seminary followed a rather practical policy for alleviating the task of cultivating discipline and character by prioritizing the acceptance of the children of teachers and pastors. Their assumption was that Batak workers who had already experienced training in the seminary would certainly apply the same process to their own families. But this policy met with protest from the wider community who wanted their children to be accepted as well.

The cultivation of discipline and character was not only intended to form Christian persons who possessed certain mental and spiritual qualifications, but also to wipe out the 'class'

differences and at the same time to foster the growth of solidarity between children of headmen and prominent people in the community and the children of ordinary citizens. Through taking care of the seminary complex and participating in all types of seminary activities based upon the principle of equality of burden and responsibility, it was hoped that a feeling of unity and solidarity would grow in the students, a valuable capital in the effort to form an independent Batak church.

Thanks to the effort in cultivating discipline and Christian character, the Batakmission missionaries were rather satisfied with the study discipline and mental-spiritual qualities of most of the elementary school teachers who were seminary graduates. They especially felt encouraged in the development of education and in the whole Batakmission in general. But occasionally they were also disappointed and buffeted in facing a reality which they had not expected, i.e. the continued adherence of their former un-Christian characteristics and character, or because of the emergence of new non-Christian characteristics in the students. This happened especially towards the end of this second period and was more or less related to the development of new currents of thinking which overwhelmed the Batak community (for a complete discussion of this matter, see Chapter Six, A.1.).

> For example, expressions of disappointment burst from Bielefeld in connection with a writing assignment he had given. For an essay entitled, "If I became wealthy" he asked the Sipoholon students to express their dreams as honestly as possible. After reading their writings, he was saddened to conclude that in their inmost beings, most of their hopes were connected with or directed towards money, women, clothes, prestige; in short, they were yet or already very self-centred and materialistic. Facing this reality, Bielefeld almost felt that he had totally failed to cultivate character which was good and Christian, according to his conception.
>
> Disappointment in another form was experienced by Meerwaldt at the Narumonda seminary. At the beginning of a student conflict which resulted in some of them being punished, some students wrote an unsigned letter, in fact some withdrew from the seminary. Even though later on, those involved were permitted to resume their studies, nevertheless Meerwaldt saw the case as an indicator of the growth of rebelliousness which formed a negative impact on them from the spirit of the modern age.

Another serious problem which the seminary faced in the matter of cultivating discipline was connected with the forbidding of students to marry while still studying in the seminary. As indicated above, the 1890 decision specified the minimum age of 16 years for seminary candidates

and this was raised to 17-18 years. Fabri and Meerwaldt saw this as a complicated problem. According to their observations, the Bataks matured physically very rapidly so that they wanted to marry at 15 or 16 years, and the Batak adat itself supported their early marriage.[101] In consequence, many of the students, some of whom were very able, became 'victims' of this seminary regulation; they were expelled from the seminary because their engagement or marriage had become public. Furthermore, students who were known to masturbate were given strong warnings because the act was considered to be a stain or blemish on their Christian character.

Even though the Batakmission realized that the regulation against marriage for students, or even engagement, was harsh and resulted in many being affected by its sanctions, nevertheless it continued to be maintained. It seemed as though through that prohibition, the Batakmission wanted to suggest to the Batak community that it ought to abandon the practice of early marriages. The only dispensation from this prohibition which the seminary was able to give was for teachers' aides or interns who already had families before beginning their seminary studies.

*(f) Encouraging the Writing of Literature*

During this second period of the Batakmission s work, just as was the case during its first, the seminary teachers were the driving force behind the production of textbooks and reading materials for both school and the public. In fact these kinds of writing continued to be encouraged even though the teachers were actively involved in the seminary issues just discussed above. The encouragement of the production of literature was supported from the technical side by the founding of the Batakmission's publishing division in 1903. This was later moved to Laguboti in 1907, along with the Trade School.

The realization of the necessity to take in and use indigenous elements which had already begun to develop before (language, script, and other indigenous products considered able to

[101] Fabri's introductory note to the Church Order of 1881, in *Benih yang Berbuah,* p. 154, and Meerwaldt's letter of May 17, 1893.

support the communication of the Gospel) and the imperative to utilize methods of writing appropriate to the needs and capabilities of the Batak community continued to develop even more during this second period. In fact, there were missionaries who suggested the writing of books dealing with practical knowledge so that the aspiration to advance could be channelled not only towards the professions of teachers and clerks, but also towards the development of entrepreneurs by providing authoritative books which would help these persons. In all of this, Batak church workers were encouraged and instructed to author writings of quality.[102] Accordingly, encouraging the production of literature was no longer just a matter of introducing the universe of new thought from the West into the arena of indigenous thinking, but of bringing about a meeting between the new from outside the Batak region with the old from within it.

The Batakmission workers, especially the seminary teachers, were so enthusiastic about encouraging the making of literature be available that sometimes a portion of the subsidy funds for buildings and equipment was diverted to pay for the printing of books. Even though the transferring of funds was based upon good intentions by the Batakmission leaders, i.e. so that school children would receive books gratis, nevertheless Meerwaldt saw that this decision would damage the Batakmission's credibility in the eyes of the government. In addition, he saw that the giving of books without charge did not square with the principle of self-sufficiency which the Batakmission had always been trying to have embodied in the Batak community. As is often the case with undertakings at the developmental stage, these activists in literature too manifested differences of opinion.

> Meerwaldt, for example, differed with Johannsen, and sometimes with the RMG leadership, with reference to the grammar used by Johannsen in his translation of the Old Testament.

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[102] Writings of Batak teachers read at the teachers' conference and which were considered to be of quality and relevant for meeting the needs of elementary school children, were also used as material for the elementary school textbooks (Meerwaldt in *Immanuel*, September 1895). Some of their writings were also published as general readings or were used as material for compiling *Habatahon* literature in German.

Meerwaldt differed with J. Warneck, too, about Batak grammar in general. Even so, Nommensen entrusted Meerwaldt with the task of perfecting his Toba Batak translation of the New Testament, even though this had been done by Marcks and Warneck before. In the matter of indigenizing hymns related to the compiling of Batak hymnbook, Meerwaldt also differed with Bielefeld, as we have seen before.

Meanwhile, pastor Johannes Siregar, a Batak church worker, was actively composing hymn melodies using Batak rhythms and reported with pleasure that the school children thoroughly enjoyed singing them. In fact, according to Siregar, those songs were very effective in attracting the 'heathen' to attend school. Regrettably, his report did not contain the songs which he mentioned, and in other documents he did not indicate whether his works were put into his school song book.[103]

But these differences of opinion did not reach the point of weakening the missionaries' enthusiasm and cooperation in producing a varied literature and other publications[104] even though their efforts did not succeed in meeting all the needs for both school textbooks, and general literature. The Batakmission's realization of the importance of literature for aiding the development of the quality of education motivated the activists to continue writing, and they were even more industrious after the government had warned the Batakmission about the small number of textbooks in its schools and their low quality. Strangely enough, sometimes the warnings were accompanied with a contribution of books with the intent to have the quality of the Batakmission s schools, especially teacher training schools, be equal to those of the government. But the Batakmission leaders were not necessarily happy with the gift of books because their content did not always agree with their view of education, or support its application.

The next step taken by the seminary teachers to encourage the availability of literature was through the publication of the magazine, ***Immanuel***, beginning on January 1, 1890.[105] Even though

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[103] In 1928, a song book for school children was published as edited by A. Van der Bijl and Arsenius L. Tobing, *Angka Ende sipangkeon raphon angka Anak Sikola* (1929). But it did not include Johannes Siregar's compositions even though there were several traditional melodies as composed by Arsenius and associates, in addition to adaptations of western songs.

[104] Meerwaldt and Marcks, for example, cooperated in making a Christian calendar using Batak script (see Meerwaldt's letter of February 14, 1907).

[105] Initially, this magazine was under the leadership of J.H.

at first the magazine was intended for the seminary students and the Batak teachers, but at this point the RMG leadership formulated a long range goal of "deepening and spiritualizing the congregations' spiritual life".[106]

Its early editions contained general letters, pastoral advice, news about the Mission, and meditations. In addition, there was homework for the Batak teachers and seminary students in the following subjects: arithmetic, geography, general science, Biblical knowledge, and pedagogy and methodology. Sometimes, too, the issues contained advice and admonitions to students and teachers.

> In the July 1894 edition, for example, Meerwaldt offered advice to teachers, because some of them were making mistakes such as: ordering their students to work at their houses or fields from 10, 15, even 30 days per months so that most of them had to be absent from school; treating their work lightly by being present at school only long enough to hand over instruction to the oldest students; being involved in conflicts in front of their pupils or their parents too; direct one student to punish another who was deemed to be in error; not supervising their students at play during recess permitting them to be involved in fights; not showing mutual respeèt among teachers.

Thus, effort to encourage production of literature was connected with the effort to enhance the role and ability of the indigenous workers, especially the teachers, a subject to be discussed below. This too was the reason why missionaries urged Batak workers to write in this magazine, in addition to fulfilling the writing obligation through other media and channels.

*2. Enhancing the Role and Ability of the Teacher*

The effort to increase the number of institutions (seminaries) for teacher education and to enhance their quality at this period brought about positive results in the teaching field and in education. To be sure, here and there grumblings from missionaries were heard about the quality

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Meerwaldt who was teaching then at the Pansur Napitu seminary; at first it was published monthly. Its content was written by hand (by Guru Jonathan; see *Immanuel*, April 24 and May 22, 1938) and reproduced by a hectograph. Beginning in January 1895, it was printed in Padang, and after 1904 in Narumonda.

[106] *JB* 1890, p. 31.

and behaviour of certain teachers. But the more prominent impression and evaluation is the Batak teachers' success and ability in exercising their pioneering function of expanding the influence of the Gospel. In this way, they became the backbone of the effort of nurturing the congregation within the overall framework of realizing the ideal of an autonomous Batak church. They were educators of their people, sharpening their minds and improving their social and economic conditions.

In speaking about the industriousness and hard work of the teachers as bearing the dual function of congregational workers and school teachers, the RMG leaders not only acknow-ledged that the Batak teachers were the busiest people in the community, but that they were very much busier than teachers in the German schools. Whereas they were evaluated higher than their government school counterparts in terms of their spiritual, moral and mental identities, yet their salaries were much lower, so that these teachers serving the Batakmission from the very time when they were in seminary could properly be called models for the people. In fact, some of the missionaries, in all honesty, acknowledged that they had learned much from these Batak teachers, particularly in understanding the soul, the world of thought and the cultural heritage of their people and in communicating the Gospel to the Bataks' inmost beings.

From the perspective of the community, its teachers were highly valued and appreciated; in fact sometimes this was expressed demonstratively when for example residents went on strike to protest the transfer of a teacher. The teacher was respected and was ranked high socially. Even though from the financial side, the teacher's income was relatively small, yet it was better on the average than that of the ordinary citizen, which generally was very low. As we have just seen, the positive image of the teacher in the eyes of the community became one of the strong motives for it to send their young people to the seminary.

Even though the image of the teacher at this period became brighter in the eyes of the community, yet the Batakmission was not entirely satisfied, especially with reference to the teachers' spiritual and mental maturity, which in the opinion of the missionaries, had not yet

reached the necessary level for them to be relied upon as autonomous church workers. The Mission's dissatisfaction tended to increase after the government gave a low mark to the Batakmission's teachers' school performance.

But it was not only the missionaries who were dissatisfied; the Batak teachers themselves were dissatisfied, and their dissatisfaction increased from time to time. Their dissatisfaction centred upon several matters, for example: (1) Their low incomes, especially for those teachers whose salaries were not increased by government subsidy due to their schools having failed to fulfil the conditions set by the government[107]; (2) The low status of teachers' aides or interns who were also part of the Batakmission's cadre of teachers; (3) Their low position *vis-à-vis* the European missionaries and the improper treatment which they received from their 'masters'.

> Some teachers felt their treatment by the 'Lord Pastor' (*Tuan Pandita; Dominee*) was inappropriate, and there were some who expressed their displeasure in their writings. Guru Lukas, for example, noted in his diary that he was often unable to teach in school because he had to assist his 'master' do domestic work such as shopping, or being ordered by the missionary to help a government official calculate the amount of taxes. At the same time Guru Herman Ritonga frankly wrote that he often felt sick at heart during teachers' meetings because of a missionary's expressions or attitude which demeaned the Batak teachers, although he acknowledged that this was rooted in mutual misunderstanding.
>
> But there were teachers who took action beyond words and became involved in actual physical clashes with missionaries. Guru Kleophas Lumbantobing, for example, struck the head of G. Betz because he felt humiliated. Meerwaldt called this event "sad news".
>
> Here we note A.C. Kruyt's experience and observation during his visit to the Batak region in 1905 regarding the case of a physical altercation between an unnamed Batak teacher and a missionary named Lett. According to Kruyt, Ephorus Nommensen sided with the teacher and did not fulfil the demands of other missionaries that the teacher be discharged. (Cf. the case of a conflict between the missionary Bonn and Ompu Timbang in Balige in 1885.) Nommensen's attitude resulted in his being derided by many missionaries, especially because he was not a Prussian as were most of them.[108]

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[107] In order to obtain a certificate from the government which indicated one's teaching ability, there were teachers who took the initiative to take the *examen van bekwaamheid* (exam of competence), but did not pass. Therefore, Johan Pasaribu writing in *Immanuel*, July 15, 1909 described the situation as *mangalap haurahon* [bringing about embarrassment]. Cf. J.G. Dammerboer, Government School Inspector, in *Immanuel*, January 1, 1909.

[108] W.C. Remme, "De Correspondentie van A.C. Kruyt met J. Warneck en H. Kraemer" (Master thesis, 1985), p. 77.

To overcome the dissatisfaction felt by both missionaries and teachers, the Batakmission took a number of steps to enhance the image, role and ability of the teachers.

*(a) Re-examination (Wiederholungsexamen)*

The Batakmission conducted a re-examination of its teachers who had already served several years; this had a two-fold purpose: to sharpen the ability of the teacher, and if he passed the examination, to raise his salary.[109] Particularly for the graduates of the School for the Children of Headmen, who had the status of teachers' aides or interns up until this time, this re-examination became the means for them to achieve the status of full teachers. If they wished to become a seminary student, they would no longer be required to take an entrance examination as was the case for other teachers' aides.

*(b) Examination of Abilities (Befähigungsexamen)*

This examination was conducted for teachers' aides, with the exception of graduates of the School for the Children of Headmen, and was a vehicle for being admitted to the seminary, with several stipulations: (1) Those with families would be received as students in the second class, and would be permitted to teach while studying; (2) Those without families would be received as special students, and if they passed their final examination they would become full teachers, whereas if they failed they would be discharged.

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[109] This examination began in 1893 as the idea of the RMG so that the teachers could continually have their capabilities improved by taking a second course after working several years. But not until 1910 was this idea implemented, at Sipoholon. The participants had already worked five years or more, and some others just three years. It became apparent that those who were most successful had been on the field just three years, because apparently they had forgotten the least amount from their seminary days, and had not lost their enthusiasm for study (*JB* 1910, p. 64, and *BRMG* 1911 p. 175). Meerwaldt took this reality into consideration when he proposed that an examination be given once every three years (Meerwaldt's letter, September 17, 1909).

*(c) Periodic In-Service Training*

This was organized at the station and district levels, usually once a month.

In the interests of systematizing the organization and consolidating service in the ever-expanding working area of the Batakmission, the Conference of 1905 decided to divide the working area into 13 regions or circles. Each would consist of from 3 to 4 stations with their dependent congre-gations. But the leadership for the regions was not yet appointed; only an inspector of schools (the local missionary) was appointed for each. He also had the responsibility of preparing the area teachers' conferences which took place twice a year.

At the Conference of 1911, it was felt that there were too many areas so these were consolidated into 5 *districts*: Angkola, Silindung, Humbang, Toba and Uluan, and Simalungun and Pakpak. Each district was led by a *Praeses*. An inspector of schools continued to be appointed for each district from among the local missionaries. Among other tasks, the inspector visited each school once or twice per year; his salary was paid by the government. He also led the district teachers' conferences.

At these conferences, the teachers were free to raise any problems or difficulties and specify steps to be undertaken together to overcome those problems or difficulties, including those related to improving their economic welfare.[110]

Mindful of the limited amount of literature available to the teachers at that time, the missionaries tried to use this opportunity to enrich the Batak teachers' knowledge and to enlarge the horizons of their thought about evangelism and education by summarizing the contents of various books and magazines. In addition, these conferences provided an opportunity for reevaluating the application of disciplinary regulations for the teachers in terms of their work in congregations and schools, as well as their conduct at home and in the community. In order to supervise and reevaluate the application of the regulations, the Batakmission appointed an Investigative Commission and a Judicial Commission. It was hoped that with the regulations and the two commissions, conflicts could be avoided between missionaries and Batak church workers in school and congregation.

The teachers were assigned the responsibility, according to a regular schedule, to prepare

[110] For that purpose, the teachers formed a Welfare Commission, a Pension Fund, and a Savings and Loan Cooperative, in addition to suggesting a salary increase.

papers which would be discussed together, particularly at the district level conferences. This had been begun during the first period. Thus, the teachers were trained to express their thoughts in writing in a clear and systematic way and to analyze each topic in depth.

*(d) Writing Contests with Prizes (Preisarbeiten)*

Beginning in 1906 the Batakmission conducted contests and awarded prizes in continuing effort to raise the ability of Batak teachers and pastors to write. These contests were valuable not only for the participants themselves but also for the missionaries. Through the teachers' writings, the missionaries were able to learn more about the ways of the Bataks, their thinking, philosophy and culture. Warneck himself as the promoter of this contest was amazed at the depth of understanding and writing ability of the participants.[111] And he made use of the writings accumulated through the contest as well as the papers presented at teachers conferences as written sources for his own writings.[112]

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[111] J. Warneck in *BRMG* 1901, p. 360f, *Der Bote*, October 1901, p. 219, *Immanuel*, June 1901, and *Unsere batakschen Gehilfen*, p. 100.

[112] Among the contest papers and essays were the following:
(1) N.N., *Ruhut Parsaoran di Habatahon* [Rules of Social Intercourse among the Bataks]. It was first published by the American Missionary Press in Singapore, 1898, and reprinted by the Centre for Documentation and Research of Batak Culture, the Nommensen HKBP University, Medan, 1984;
(2) Gr. Willem Lumbantobing, *Patik dohot Uhum ni Halak Batak* [Regulations and Laws of the Bataks], a paper presented at the teachers' conference April 12-14, 1899, and published also by the American Missionary Press, Singapore, 1899, but without printing the author's name.
(3) Gr. Daniel, *Umpama na patandahon bisuk ni halak Batak nahinan* [Proverbs which Illustrate the Wisdom of the Earlier Bataks]; winner of the contest of 1901, and delivered at the Teachers' Conference of 1901;
(4) Pastor Josep, *Angka subang-subang ni halak Batak na so jadi masa be di Halak Kristen* [Batak Taboos Which Are No Longer Valid for Christians]. He identified 134 separate taboos which he grouped into 14 categories. This paper was delivered at the Batak Teachers' and Pastors' Conference of 1905.
These and other works were used by J. Warneck in his work, *Die Religion der Batak*, see p. 23). Regrettably sometimes

*(e) Pastors' Courses*

These courses were organized especially to raise the ability of the teachers and evangelists to do their evangelistic and pastoral work in the congregation, so that the seminary graduates would no longer be directly responsible for school responsibilities, meaning they would no longer teach daily in the school, but instead would only supervise and give nurturing instruction.

Actually, the RMG/Batakmission's intention to appoint indigenous pastors had been voiced for some time (see Chapter Four), but it only came to maturity in the year 1880. In that year, continuing nurture was made available in Silindung to improve the pastoral abilities (*Weiterbildung*) of teachers who had served in congregations for quite some time. This idea became more concrete in its formulation in the Church Order of 1881, which outlined regulations governing the education of pastors, for example:

> Teachers who have worked in the congregation for several years and have demonstrated their ability to serve in the field of evangelization … may be appointed evangelists by the Ephorus with the concurrence of the Synod Conference.
>
> The evangelists who had served several years successfully and their knowledge continued to develop, would be able to become candidates for seminary education in order to become pastors (….).[113]

In an introductory note to this Church Order, Fabri as RMG Inspector, summarized the intent of the regulations governing pastors and their education with these words: "Thus, only those with experience and who manifest ability will be able to reach the office of pastor."[114]

At the same time, Meerwaldt emphasized that the goal of providing for Batak pastors and their education was to lay a firm foundation for the formation of an autonomous people's church in the

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Warneck or other missionaries did not mention the name of the writer such as happened to (1) and (2) above.

[113] Church Order 1881, Chapter 15, in *Benih Yang Berbuah*, p. 160.

[114] Fabri, in *ibid.*, p. 154.

Batakland.[115] This course was begun with three students at the Pansur Napitu seminary at the beginning of 1884: Johannes Siregar, Petrus Nasution and Markus Siregar. The three were graduates of the Parausorat Catechetical School.[116] After studying for one and one-half years they were ordained on July 25, 1885. The first two men served as pastors of a branch congregation, or in other words they were assigned to a missionary who worked at a station or main (mother) congregation, while Markus Siregar became a travelling evangelist (*Reisepredіger*).[117] After this first graduating class, the course for a new class followed successively once every two years so that at the end of this second period of the Batakmission, the total number of graduates reached 30+ persons. (See the Table of Statistics at the end of this chapter).

While taking the course, the candidates were accompanied by their families. A modest housing unit was provided for each family with the units being separated from the dormitory housing the teacher seminary students. In addition, full scholarships were provided each student by the Batakmission.[118] While their husbands were studying at the seminary, their wives were given

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[115] Meerwaldt, "Nationalgehilfen", p. 13.

[116] While the course was in progress, another student was added, Johannes Sitompul, whom Johannsen deemed most talented, but he died before the course was finished (*BRMG* 1885, p. 109).

[117] *JB* 1885, p. 32. With reference to the appointment of Johannes Siregar, tensions flared between the congregation of Banuarea and the Batakmission leadership. Before Siregar began taking the course, he had worked in that congregation, and the Ephorus had promised to place him there again after being graduated. In fact, he was placed in Toba. The congregation protested, and the children even went on strike at school. Siregar himself, although disappointed, was unable to reject the decision for "the sake of obedience to Christ". Finally, the Ephorus acceded to the congregation's protest and placed Siregar at Banuarea before he could go to Toba (*MB* 1886, p. 13).

[118] Afterwards Meerwaldt questioned this policy because according to him, the principle of self-help must be applied to those in this course as well; the participants still had a source of livelihood such as rice fields, etc, in harmony with the Batak adat. (Meerwaldt's letters, February 14, 1890, September 2, 1890, and April 19, 1892.)

special instruction from time to time by the wives of the seminary teachers.[119]

In terms of the course's content and goal, the curriculum was limited to only theological subjects.[120] In the main, the textbooks were written by Johannsen, most of which were translations or adaptations of the works of Pietistic theologians.[121]

Although the general conditions for receiving participants in this course had been formulated in the Church Order of 1881 above, nevertheless there were differences of interpretation and application among the missionaries who were responsible for the course. These differences surfaced first of all in 1889 in connection with the final examination for the second class. The results were very disappointing; only two of the six students passed at the first sitting. Later, the four remaining ones had to be passed after the second examination, even though the results remained unsatisfactory.

According to Meerwaldt, who taught there with Johannsen, one of the factors contributing to the poor results was the lack of careful screening of the candidates beforehand, with the result that there were students who lacked the ability to become pastors. The differences of opinions regarding reception of the candidates reached their highpoint at the time for receiving the third class of

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[119] The wives of the students were given various kinds of knowledge and household skills but especially they were provided with intellectual and spiritual nurture in order for them to be able to stand with their husbands (*JB* 1887, p. 32). Later the wives of teacher candidates were also required to take the same kind of course of 3 months ("Batakmission Conference Minutes, February 9-15, 1910").

[120] For the details of the curriculum content, see *BRMG* 1884, p. 363ff and A. Lumbantobing, *Das Amt*, p. 69.

[121] Among these were translations of the works of K.C.L. Ernst, a member of the RMG leadership whose works and views were very influential at the Barmen seminary (Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium*, p. 54ff). In one of the books about shepherdiag, *Poda-poda taringot tu Ulaon Seelsorge* [An Introduction to Pastoral Care; no year of publication] Johannsen advised the participants in the pastors' course to model themselves after the manner of pastoral leadership provided by such figures of Pietism and Revivalism as Arndt, Spener, Francke, Bengel, Zinzendorf, Wesley, and Baxter (p. 10).

candidates. Ephorus Nommensen chose a certain number but, according to Meerwaldt, several among them were not suitable for bearing "the holy office of pastor and minister of the Holy Sacraments".[122]

To deal with these differences of opinion, Meerwaldt offered suggestions containing detailed specifications for choosing a ministerial candidate:

(1) The course period would be set at two years.
(2) The candidate must have served as a teacher at least five years.
(3) Receiving of the candidate as a student would depend upon the results of the entrance examination; every teacher who had served five years would be permitted to register for the examination; the application must be accompanied by a written letter from his missionary which revealed the candidate's (a) good conduct; (b) faithfulness in his work; and (c) his teaching ability.
(4) The total number of candidates to be received would be set for the time being at five.
(5) Whoever took the entrance examination twice without passing would not be permitted to try for the third time, but would remain in his usual position as a teacher.[123]

Meerwaldt's criticism of the earlier process of selection and his above suggestions resulted in tensions and open debate between him and Ephorus Nommensen. Nommensen and others charged that Meerwaldt's criteria only specified knowledge and intelligence. But Meerwaldt denied the charge with the same argument which he had directed to the RMG leadership earlier:

> In my opinion, the objective of teaching is not the amount of knowledge amassed, but the growth in the student's true spiritual formation and understanding, so that, first of all, the Batak teacher and pastor would be able personally to comprehend the Word which he was communicating, and then to be able to communicate that Word in a simple, concise and clear way, so that it would be comprehensible to the people.[124]

Finally, Meerwaldt s proposal was received by the RMG leadership in Barmen and also at the Batak Missionary Conference of 1890, after the Ephorus made a few cosmetic changes.

The differences of opinions among the missionaries were related to implementing the pastors' course as well as to other matters involving the Batakmission's efforts in education, as we have already seen in earlier analyses. On the one hand, all this showed the dynamism and seriousness of

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[122] Meerwaldt's letter, August 26, 1889.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Meerwaldt's letter June 4,1889.

its endeavour to formulate the most appropriate system of education for the Batak people, both basic and general and also the more advanced and specialized education. But on the other hand, the differences give the impression of nuances of emphasis and priority in education. For the German missionaries (Johannsen, Warneck, Bielefeld, et al.) the educational emphases and priorities were placed on forming a church so that the system of education must be adapted for its formation. But for the Dutch missionaries, especially Meerwaldt, the educational system had priority because it must be built and reformed in order to automatically have a strong base on which to form an autonomous Batak church. Meerwaldt had indicated this emphasis and priority since his paper of 1884, which was often quoted and defended in his later writings and thought.

Did the carrying out of the pastors' course avoid the emergence of problems or dissatisfactions with 'the Lordly Pastors' (missionaries) on the part of the indigenous workers because the latter felt themselves placed on a lower plane and had received improper treatment from the missionaries? Obviously, the problem was not solved. Even though a small number of teachers were rated sufficiently able to be brought into the corps of pastors, nevertheless their status remained below that of the western missionaries. Not only that, the improper treatment received from the missionaries continued to be experienced.

> Pastor Johannes Siregar, for example, in his letter to Inspector Schreiber expressed very sharply the bitterness of his heart towards his fellow Batak Christians and the missiona-ries, whom he considered as a cause for the lack of appreciation of the Batak Christian community for their own church workers:
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> If we Bataks feel ashamed of those of our numbers who have become pastors because they are poor, having neither needle nor cloth, not being able to dispense various gifts, and because there is no money to scatter about, or to build a large house or a beautiful church building for the congregation, as can be done by white-skinned pastors, why then should we have been made Batak pastors? We would have remained content with the office of teacher assigned to us. As a result the office of pastor would not have heaped shame and difficulties upon us. You pick us over and handle us as if we were just so many yams in the market.[125]
>
> Meanwhile, in Pastor Ernst Pasaribu's autobiography, he frequently related instances of conflict between himself and certain missionaries (Lett, Wagner, *et al*.) both when he was still a teacher and also when he had become a pastor, and also conflicts with some of his fellow church workers. He also mentioned that the missionaries enjoyed formula-ting new regulations

[125] Letter of Johannes Siregar, March 30, 1900.

> which made life more difficult for the Batak workers; they liked to speak of love but did not hesitate to embarrass Batak church workers in public, they mocked Pasaribu in their letters to Barmen, and never wanted to frankly acknowledge their own errors. In fact, there were missionaries who acted with the disdain of colonial government officials and ordered teachers and elders to do forced labor on Sundays. Pasaribu brought this unjust treatment out into the open without diminishing his feeling of respect and praises in general for the Batakmission, and especially for Ephorus Nommensen.[126]

There were also missionaries who engaged in self-criticism because of the improper treatment meted out to the Batak workers, and who levelled criticism at the hierarchical and subordinational system as being too paternalistic. There were also missionaries who called to their colleagues to treat the Batak workers as coworkers (*Mitarbeiter*) and not as servants (*Knecht*).[127] This problem continued to become more acute in the next period in connection with the issue of church autonomy.

[126] Autobiography of Ernst Pasaribu, pp. 34-37, and 113ff (no year, hand-written manuscript).

[127] For example, G.K. Simon, *De Positie van de zendelingen in de inlandschemaatschappij* (brochure, translated from German, no year), and Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 25. Cf. Pohlig, above.

## *E. Statistics*

### Quantitative Development of Congregations, Workers, and Schools 1883-1914

| Year | Congregation | | Members | Western Workers | | | Indigenous Workers | | | | School | | Pupils | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Main | Branch | | Pastor | Lay Male | Lay Female | Pastor | Evang. | Teachers | Elders | Elem. | High | Elem. Boys | Elem. Girls | High | Total |
| 1883 | 13 | 43 | 8.239 | 17 | - | - | - | 43 | 133 | 56 | 1 | | | P | | 1.123 |
| 1884 | 13 | 39 | 9.149 | 16 | - | - | - | 44 | 153 | 52 | 1 | | | u | | 1.209 |
| 1885 | 13 | 48 | 10.077 | 15 | - | - | 3 | - | 53 | 154 | 61 | 1 | | t | | 1.385 |
| 1886 | 13 | 50 | 10.746 | 15 | - | - | 3 | - | 56 | 147 | 63 | 1 | | | | 1.335 |
| 1887 | 13 | 50 | 11.785 | 15 | - | - | 3 | - | 61 | 156 | 63 | 1 | | | w | 1.371 |
| 1888 | 13 | 56 | 13.135 | 16 | - | - | 3 | - | 78 | 202 | 69 | 1 | | | i | 1.428 |
| 1889 | 13 | 71 | 15.124 | 19 | - | - | 9 | - | 85 | 210 | 84 | 1 | | | t | 1.936 |
| 1890 | 18 | 81 | 18.207 | 22 | - | 1 | 11 | - | 88 | 272 | 92 | 1 | | | h | 2.666 |
| 1891 | 18 | 88 | 23.694 | 22 | - | 4 | 14 | 6 | 104 | 306 | 106 | 1 | | | | 3.085 |
| 1892 | 18 | 98 | 24.366 | 23 | - | 3 | 14 | 8 | 94 | 398 | 116 | 1 | | | e | 4.103 |
| 1893 | 19 | 114 | 29.177 | 23 | - | 5 | 13 | 9 | 133 | 442 | 133 | 1 | | | l | 4.505 |
| 1894 | 22 | 107 | 31.076 | 23 | - | 5 | 13 | 7 | 141 | 467 | 129 | 1 | | | e | 4.051 |
| 1895 | 22 | 109 | 33.170 | 26 | - | 5 | 20 | 5 | 136 | 523 | 131 | 1 | | | m | 4.729 |
| 1896 | 22 | 127 | 36.156 | 30 | - | 10 | 20 | 5 | 148 | 660 | 159 | 1 | 5.222 | 873 | e | 6.095 |
| 1897 | 23 | 133 | 37.546 | 33 | - | 8 | 19 | 11 | 167 | 688 | 171 | 1 | 5.826 | 759 | n | 6.585 |
| 1898 | 24 | 148 | 40.723 | 34 | 1 | 9 | 19 | 10 | 182 | 702 | 183 | 1 | 5.997 | 883 | t. | 6.880 |
| 1899 | 26 | 159 | 43.883 | 37 | 1 | 9 | 22 | 17 | 188 | 737 | 183 | 1 | 6.799 | 907 | | 7.706 |
| 1900 | 28 | 175 | 46.154 | 41 | 1 | 11 | 23 | 12 | 202 | 725 | 206 | 1 | 6.995 | 1.168 | b | 8.163 |
| 1901 | 30 | 179 | 47.784 | 43 | 2 | 12 | 25 | 18 | 221 | 702 | 215 | 2 | 7.499 | 1.542 | o | 9.041 |
| 1902 | 32 | 205 | 51.585 | 45 | 3 | 12 | 25 | 24 | 275 | 828 | 241 | 2 | 8.803 | 2.099 | y | 10.902 |
| 1903 | 34 | 226 | 55.685 | 45 | 3 | 13 | 25 | 31 | 266 | 823 | 260 | 2 | 10.408 | 2.555 | s | 12.693 |
| 1904 | 36 | 265 | 61.764 | 51 | 2 | 13 | 27 | 26 | 359 | 910 | 298 | 3 | 11.742 | 2.777 | 182 | 14.519 |
| 1905 | 39 | 301 | 66.918 | 55 | 2 | 14 | 29 | 32 | 421 | 1.082 | 334 | 3 | 13.105 | 3.275 | | 16.380 |
| 1906 | 42 | 338 | 75.795 | 56 | 2 | 13 | 31 | 24 | 485 | 1.158 | 382 | 3 | 15.216 | 3.766 | 202 | 19.194 |
| 1907 | 43 | 357 | 82.136 | 54 | 2 | 13 | 29 | 30 | 530 | 1.352 | 410 | 3 | 16.495 | 4.361 | 231 | 21.087 |
| 1908 | 40 | 382 | 89.027 | 54 | 2 | 11 | 29 | 24 | 578 | 1.318 | 450 | 3 | 16.809 | 4.509 | 219 | 21.537 |
| 1909 | 41 | 400 | 93.916 | 54 | 3 | 11 | 26 | 23 | 611 | 1.345 | 465 | 3 | 18.780 | 4.569 | 207 | 23.556 |
| 1910 | 40 | 432 | 103.528 | 52 | 3 | 13 | 29 | 22 | 637 | 1.422 | 494 | 3 | 22.314 | 5.171 | 225 | 27.710 |
| 1911 | 40 | 415 | 117.586 | 56 | 4 | 12 | 26 | 27 | 688 | 1.779 | 506 | 4 | 23.157 | 5.856 | 267 | 29.280 |
| 1912 | 40 | 440 | 133.745 | 56 | 4 | 12 | 26 | 22 | 735 | 1.857 | 523 | 5 | 25.162 | 6.326 | 297 | 31.786 |
| 1913 | 40 | 462 | 149.457 | 55 | 6 | 12 | 32 | 11 | 787 | 2.077 | 541 | 5 | 25.697 | 6.731 | 296 | 32.724 |
| 1914 | 40 | 467 | 159.024 | 56 | 6 | 13 | 34 | 19 | 789 | 2.241 | 510 | 5 | 26.310 | 6.480 | 309 | 33.099 |

summarized from the statistical data in *Jahresbericht der RMG* 1883-1914