

CHAPTER SIX
"ADVANCE THROUGH STORM": 1915-1940

Various interconnected problems and crises having the power to determine the life or death of the Batakmission's educational effort followed successively beginning in 1915. That was why Ed. Müller, a person with missionary experience, saw that year as the turning point of the whole work of the RMG in the Batak area.¹ Even so, the Batakmission worked indefatigably to maintain what had been achieved and to go forwards in the whole area of its activities, including its field of education, until its existence ended on May 10, 1940² due to forces beyond its control. For this reason we have borrowed a term from Latourette and called this period "*Advance Through Storm*".³

First of all in this chapter, we shall investigate the most pressing problems which characterized this period: (1) Modern culture's penetration of Batak society giving rise to the *Hamajuon* spirit and movement; (2) The movement for autonomy in Batak church and society. (3) The educational reorganization initiated by the Dutch Colonial Government; (4) The financial crisis which swamped the RMG after World War I; (5) An increase in the number of teachers from the Netherlands among the European workers with the Batakmission, and (6) Competition with the Roman Catholic mission. Next, we shall look at the Batakmission's effort to maintain and develop its educational endeavour, including the development of its theological attitude and views which formed the basis for its education.

A. The Period's Most Pressing Problems

¹ Ed. Müller, "Strömungen im Batakvolk und die Mission" [Currents at Work Among the Batak People and Mission] in *BRMG* 1930, esp. p. 335.

² On that date the Dutch government interned all the German Batakmission workers. For more details, see Chapter Seven.

³ In Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Volume VII was given the title *Advance Through Storm*.

1. The Penetration of Modern Culture and the "Hamajuon" Movement

Fundamentally, modern Western culture penetrated the Batak area with the coming of the missionaries and the colonial government's personnel, a coming which varied with one of the two preceding the other at different times and not always showing the identical pattern for each location (cf. Chapter Four, A.). But whenever the Batakmission personnel talked about modern culture or the spirit of the new age, they meant modern Western culture which penetrated the Batak society through such channels as the colonial government, rather than through their own presence, so that modern culture did not experience mission censorship as well as "perfection and purification" beforehand. However, the missionaries viewed themselves as invested with the authority to accomplish just that.⁴ In the eyes of the Batakmission, Western culture was materialistic and in conflict with the Gospel.

Western culture began its determined penetration of the Batak area from the end of the second period and was not separated from economic development in the form of the opening of plantations, the entrance of trading companies, especially in East Sumatra,⁵ and the building of a highway piercing the very heartland of the Bataks from east to west.⁶ As a result of unimpeded communication and transportation along the whole length of the highway from Medan to Sibolga, various products of the West's material culture flowed in a steady stream to the interior of the Bataklands, including such forms of recreation as the movie house, billiards, dance halls, gambling

⁴ Cf. Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church*, p. 68, who also notes that after World War I, the Batakmission was no longer capable of functioning as the main curb against the current of modernization as it had been able to do earlier.

⁵ In terms of the history of the development of plantations and trading companies in East Sumatra, see Sidjabat, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-147, and Pelzer, *Planter and Peasant*.

⁶ The construction of this road had been begun at the end of the 19th century, and was completed in 1915 at the same time as the completion of the road from Tarutung to Sibolga; *JB* 1915, p. 28; cf. Joustra, *Van Medan naar Padang en Terug*, pp. 3ff.

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games, bars, and bordellos. According to the Batakmission, these were damaging to the morals and character of the Batak Christians, including the school teachers and pupils whom the Mission had been nurturing. The Batak way of life began to change; people began to imitate western ways, especially in dress, a reality which the missionaries viewed as a cultural caricature.

At the same time, the ease of communication and transportation prompted some Bataks, especially the youth, to leave their ancestral villages to emigrate to other areas (*diaspora*): to East Sumatra, Riau, Aceh, especially southeast Aceh, and even to Java and the whole archipelago later, in order to find new fields of work or to continue their education. According to the missionaries, this Batak diaspora was motivated primarily by 'worldly' concerns, the seeking of riches and position, a fact which proved that the Batak society was infected with materialism, the essence of the new modern age. The missionaries used this reality to confirm their thesis that the Bataks' most fundamental character was materialistic and consumptive. Therefore because modern culture offered various 'worldly' pleasures, its spirit was very congenial with basic Batak character.

It was not only general society which had become possessed with the modern spirit, but this was the case even with seminary students and teachers who had received intensive indoctrination from the Batakmission. Three examples could serve as indicators of this possession: (1) The rebellion by the seminary students of Narumonda (see Chapter Five); (2) The way of dress and appearance of the seminary students who aped people who had been infected by the plague of modern culture so that they no longer were obedient to the seminary's dress code and behaviour; (3) The request on the part of teachers' aides at Narumonda to resign in order to become teachers at the Methodist school in Singapore.⁷ To these examples could be added others mentioned by Bielefeld such as the writing assignment given to his seminary students at Sipoholon.

⁷ Hara Harahap, the aide mentioned, felt he had been mistreated by both the seminary and the colonial government, because he did not receive the salary (and later, a pension) normally paid to a certified teacher even though he was a Pansur Napitu seminary graduate and held that he had the right to such a salary.

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According to the missionaries, modern culture would bring neither benefit nor progress to the Batak society; on the contrary modern culture would result in its impoverishment, addiction and ultimately the destruction of its life. If that should happen, then all the hard work and effort of the Batakmission would have been in vain. The missionaries' negative evaluation of modern culture and its impact on Batak behaviour were voiced more clearly when they witnessed that villagers became increasingly averse to tilling their fields, and that many of those who emigrated fell into immoral behaviour, such as having relations with prostitutes, becoming infected with venereal diseases, returning to their home villages and then spreading their immorality and sickness to their inhabitants.

Here in a most concrete way, we see the two-sided view of the Batakmission toward modern culture. In the eyes of the Batakmission workers, the western culture which had made inroads into the Batak area during this 'new age' was increasingly dominated by its negative aspects, i.e. the side containing elements which had not been infused with the Gospel. They washed their hands of any responsibility for that culture's penetration of Batak society averting that they had no part in bringing 'wordly culture' to the Bataks; in fact they were resolute in warring against it. In their various writings, the missionaries emphasized that modern culture was brought by western businessmen (plantation managers, traders, etc.),⁸ as well as by government officials.

The Batakmission workers gratefully admired that among colonial government officials there were persons of piety and supporters of mission work, such as the two residents Westenberg (1908-1911) and Barth (1911-1915). But in contrast to those, there were many whom the Batakmission considered lacking in piety and morality as demonstrated in their daily lives, and who failed to support mission efforts. Most of these were young officials and many more of them were appointed after the annexation of the Bataklands was completed (1907). Returning from Sunday worship, they engaged in activities of pleasure. There were those who had relationships with women outside the bonds of marriage, behaviour which contributed to the growth of prostitution, a reality which began to infect the Batak region and environs just at that time.

⁸ See, for example, G.K. Simon, *Sumatra Deckblatt Bilder aus Leben der Tabakarbeiter auf Sumatra* [Sumatra's Outer Leaf Portrait of the Life of the Sumatran Tobacco Workers] (1910), pp. 6ff.

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According to the missionaries, such behaviour would damage the religious and moral values which they had managed to plant in the Bataks with such difficulty, such as through the schools, and in fact destroy them. The missionaries lived under the assumption that the Dutch nation and government had a Christian character, but they never ceased to be amazed how government officials could act the way they did. To guard against the spread of such conduct, even though advanced in age Ephorus Nommensen felt compelled to journey to Batavia in 1910 in order to discuss this problem with Dutch colonial government officials.

The Batakmission stressed that western culture was neither evangelical nor Christian. It not only damaged the values and foundations of the Christian moral and religious life which the Mission had nurtured, but it also damaged the positive elements and sides of original Batak character and culture.

As we have put forward in our analysis thus far, the Batakmission acknowledged that there were many elements of Batak tribal culture which were shot through with 'paganism' and in opposition to the Gospel. The same could be said of the basic characteristics of Batak people and their character. In addition to being materialistic, they were often lazy, quarrelsome, liars, prone to incur indebtedness, gamblers, arrogant, self-centred, nepotists, slobs, and the like. But the missionaries gradually came to see and appreciate positive elements in them as well. The missionaries made positive judgments about Batak culture, about the Batak script and languages, their proverbs (*umpama*) which contained a noble and profound philosophy of life, and about their traditional textiles and dress, which possessed a high esthetic value.

Their appreciation and high evaluation of those cultural elements became embodied in the founding of a museum at the Sipoholon seminary complex, in establishing a vocational school, and in taking cultural products to Europe to become part of collections there. In terms of basic character, the missionaries said that the Bataks had a passion for learning and progress, for persevering, for being able to endure hardship; they were intelligent, they had a natural ability to remember, and a natural talent for business. At the same time, the Batakmission tried to obliterate the negative characteristics mentioned, especially through its educational program. But that endeavour experienced threat from modern western culture because in its penetration of Batak society, it had resurrected the Bataks' negative characteristics and character.

There was no question that the currents of modernization or the spirit of the new age had motivated Bataks, to emigrate, to pursue and enjoy material things. But the desire to emigrate together with its implementation in order to achieve material profit were not merely stimulated by external factors, i.e. modern cultural currents, even though those factors were effective catalysts and stimulators for all that. But at that time, there were also propelling factors within Batak society itself. First of all, there was the poverty of the Batakland and society. In general, the Batak region is a barren area. To be sure, there are pockets of fertile, tillable land, but its amount is insufficient to meet the needs for the Batak people's livelihood because their numbers increased markedly after

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the coming of the Mission and the colonial government, thanks to the involvement of both in alleviating inter-village conflicts and in improving health delivery services. Their poverty became felt more acutely when the government continually raised taxes.⁹ Therefore, they had to seek an opportunity for work and to earn a livelihood felt to be more satisfactory in other places. There they could develop their knowledge and skills of wet rice culture which they had mastered from earliest times (see Chapter Two). Secondly, as acknowledged by the Batakmission, Bataks had a great passion for advancement. After the coming of the Mission and colonial government, they became more and more aware that schooling would be the most effective vehicle to achieve progress, a reality which would be seen most concretely in official positions and material wealth. When the currents of modern culture penetrated the Batak area rapidly at the beginning of this century, their desire to achieve advancement became more intense at the same time that the Batakmission schools were insufficient to provide channels for that desire. This was one of the reasons which prompted them to emigrate and to purchase advancement (*manuhor hamajuon*) through enrolment in colonial government and private schools beyond the Bataklands.¹⁰

*Hamajuon*¹¹ is the key word to express the impact of the penetration of modern culture on the

⁹ After 1914, the government raised taxes from 2 to 4% of the peasants' income based on the reasoning that this would balance the amount of the subsidy which it had to pay for private schools, most of which were mission schools; Lulofs in *Voorstellen*, I, pp. 1ff, *Nota van Overgave Resident Barth*, March 1, 1915 in *ARA*, no. AA 237. The tax increase caused unrest in society (*JB* 1917, p. 21) and invited protests from Mission circles (C.W.Th. Baron Van Boetzelaer, *De Zendingsscholen en het Volksonderwijs* [Mission Schools and People's Education] (1917), p. 2). However, the government paid no attention, but instead came back with a new tax increase in 1922 (*JB* 1922/23, p. 24) and 1932 (*JB* 1932/33, p. 3).

¹⁰ This was the term used by J. Pasaribu in *Immanuel*, February 1 and 15, 1909; c f. D. Tambunan in *Immanuel*, October 1, 1919.

¹¹ The term *Hamajuon* is not an original Batak word; its root is from the Malay word *maju* (advance or progress), the language Batakmission did not like; but then Bataks absorbed it into their vocabulary and language; see for example, Irle in *BRMG* 1917, p. 34.

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lives of Bataks. The slogan of *manuhor hamajuon* came into usage along with another of similar slogan, *Manaekma bangso Batak* (raise up the Batak people). Both slogans merged into a movement to bring together the Batak community's potential for pursuing advancement in the field of education, social-economic welfare, as well as in politics. Therefore, if the Batak society, both Christian and non-Christian, wished to possess and enjoy the products of modern culture, and if persons left their villages in droves in order to obtain more satisfactory results or to obtain higher education and in turn to win 'status' or 'position', basically then all this was to reach out for advancement, and at the same time to free themselves from western domination, socially, politically, economically, and spiritually.

The missionaries expressed a mixed reaction, attitude and judgment towards the *hamajuon* desire and movement. On the one hand, they stated emphatically that they were not anti-hamajuon. In fact, everything which they had tried to accomplish in the Batak area was to bring about hamajuon in all fields, some of whose fruits were already obvious: progress in education, social-economic welfare, health, etc. But according to the missionaries' convictions, the primary and most important hamajuon which formed the foundation for hamajuon in other areas was *hamajuon partondion* (spiritual advancement). External advancement, including progress in education, was precisely the *fruit* of the Gospel or progress of the spirit as had happened among western people before. The Gospel prepares the way for advancement through fostering such characteristics as: (1) diligence and productivity (not consumptive, such as can be seen among many Bataks); (2) goodness and honesty; (3) justice and solidarity; (4) cleanliness and neatness; (5) eagerness to learn. Accordingly, if Bataks really wanted to advance in a whole and complete way, then they ought to grow and advance spiritually first of all in keeping with Matthew 6:33, and then pursue advancement in stages afterwards in other fields. The product of western culture was also the fruit of a process which took a long time. Therefore, if the Bataks only wanted to obtain and enjoy the

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products of western culture, what they would receive would be just its shell and not its content.¹²

On the basis of this argument first of all, the missionaries wanted to oppose the charge from certain Batak Christian circles (especially the HKB figures, see the next section) that the Batakmission did not bring about progress for Batak society and did not heed its desires for advancement.¹³ The organization of Dutch language schools (HIS, later MULO and Schakel-schools) were intended precisely to channel the desire for advancement towards its achievement.¹⁴ On the other hand, the missionaries wanted to criticize those Bataks whom they considered were only interested in external advancement as offered by modern western culture which was infused with the spirit of the 'new age', 'the evil age', one secular and materialistic. Because all offerings from western culture such as thirst for riches, respect, position, and other worldly things, were acceptable to the Bataks, they were ready to neglect the spiritual matters and moral values which were planted in them and cared for by the Batakmission up until then. This was especially the case after they left their Batak homeland.

For those reasons, initially the missionaries strongly objected to the interest of the Batak Christians to emigrate and to their actual emigration later.¹⁵ Various negative examples presented

¹² Warneck, *Hamadjoeon* (1922), pp. 8-19.

¹³ C. Gabriel, "Hamadjuon dohot Zending" in *Immanuel*, September 7, 1919; cf. J. Warneck, "Cultuur (Hamadjuon) na binoan ni Zending" in *Immanuel*, January 23 - February 13, 1921; and *JB* 1924, p. 21.

¹⁴ *BRMG* 1916, p. 174; Gabriel, et al., "Die holländische Schule in der Batakmission" (suggestion addressed to the RMG leadership to increase the number of Dutch language schools, in the VEW archives F/d.1); J. Warneck, *Maju! Ein Gang durch die Batakmission* [Progress! An Overview of the Batak Mission] (1928), p. 51.

¹⁵ In *Immanuel*, September 7, 1919, C. Gabriel ridiculed the desire which flared up among the Batak to emigrate for purposes of schooling by using a Batak proverb: *Gumba magumbahu, disolang deba bulung tabu; sikola masikolahu, disoluk deba tonga ni jabu* [free translation: If there is a too intense enthusiasm to go to school beyond the Batakland, the person's own house will be taken over by someone else.]

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by the emigrants, both at their destination beyond the Batakland and also after they returned, caused the missionaries to conclude that those Bataks' life as emigrants had damaged the foundations and pattern of the Christian life which they had tried to nurture. Therefore, they were tireless in their appeals to the Batak Christians to remain in their ancestral land, to develop their noble heritage, both their land, values and cultural products to the extent these were given a positive evaluation by the missionaries and to care for their Christian identity whose growth had been fostered by the Mission.¹⁶ The Batakmission worked energetically in their schools, too, through songs for example, to plant love for the Batak homeland in the students.¹⁷

But gradually, the missionaries came to accept the reality that the Bataks were emigrating, and found ways to justify it. They began to see that obviously not every Batak who emigrated fell into a conduct and a way of life which they opposed. On the contrary, many of the emigrants pioneered in the building of church and school buildings and then requested pastors, evangelists or teachers from the Batakmission to serve them. A considerable number became volunteer or lay evangelists to the non-Christian communities encountered in their new places of residence. The Christian Batak emigrants endeavoured to nurture the Batak youth who were continuing their education in the place to which they had emigrated, including their spiritual nurture, and gave financial support for the

¹⁶ *JB* 1916, pp. 29ff; J. Warneck, "Nach Vierzehn Jahren" in *AMZ* 1921, esp. p. 31; and Gabriel in *Immanuel*, March 24-April 7, 1918.

¹⁷ In Van der Bijl et al., *Angka Ende* there are several songs having that type of message. One of them (no. 47: *Tano Batak*) utilizes a melody from German anthem with text as follows:

Tano Batak hasoloan situtu di rohangkon

Ingkon ho do haholongan sai tongtong di ngolungkon, etc.

Trans.: Batak land you are truly dear to my heart

Only you shall I love as long as I live ...; etc.

Another song (no. 49: *Oenang djalang ho!*; Do not emigrate) calls upon the children to never leave their home village:

Di luatmi mian ho, mangula tanomi

Sai tong marhaburjuon ho mangula golatmi; ... etc.

Trans.: Stay in your home area, there work your land

Remain steadfastly faithful in tilling your soil; ...

etc.

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needs of the congregation in their home village.

This reality prompted the Batakmission to expand the network of its ministry to the regions where the emigrants had gone. As a result, during this third period the field of the Batakmission s work extended far beyond the borders of the Batakland, namely to Deli, Asahan, Southeast Aceh, Riau and Java, especially the city of Batavia (Jakarta).

Within the framework of expanding the area of its ministry, the Batakmission was helped greatly by the activities of the *Pardonganon Mission Batak* (PMB), an indigenous evangelistic institution founded in 1899.¹⁸ This organization, sometimes called *Kongsi Batak* (Batak Company), changed its name in 1920 to the *Zending Batak* (Batak Mission) which had support for verbal evangelization as its main objective. But indirectly, it helped pay for schooling because those whom it assisted also functioned as teachers who could not be supported by their local congregations alone, and in fact sometimes the Batak Mission gave direct financial support for schools.

In addition to verbal evangelization, the focal point of the Batakmission, a ministry in which the *Pardonganon Mission Batak* shared, the Batakmission undertook the spiritual nurture of the emigrant Batak Christians, especially the students who were studying in the large cities. In this venture, the Batakmission cooperated with the individual Christian Bataks who had pioneered in this ministry, with congregations and also with mission bodies which had been working in those places before.¹⁹

Regardless of the Batakmission's general toleration of the Batak Christians' desire to emigrate, especially from the Toba area, nevertheless it was happier to have them continue their residence in

¹⁸ The idea for founding the PMB was first broached by A. Schreiber, RMG Inspector, when he re-visited the Batak area in 1899. Its first chairperson was Pastor Henoeh Lumbantobing (*BMRG* 1900, p. 279).

¹⁹ For example, in Medan the Batakmission cooperated with Christian Reformed congregations and local Christian organizations in teaching Batak Christian pupils in spiritual matters and for meeting other needs, such as for housing, until the local Batak Christian community would have succeeded in establishing its own congregation (which would be supported as well by the Christian Reformed congregations). See *JB* 1920, pp. 33ff; *Immanuel*, June 15, 1919 and "Minutes of the Batak Mission Conference June 16-22, 1920".

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the land of their ancestors. To a certain extent, this attitude of the Batakmission became a psychological barrier for those who wanted to emigrate. Besides that, among the Batak Christians there were those who agreed with the Mission and concurred in urging their Batak families and friends to continue living in their home villages so that "they would not lose that most precious treasure, the Word of God".²⁰ Not until after World War II was the desire to emigrate permitted to proceed without hindrance. At the same time the independent Batak Church (HKBP) enthusiastically accompanied the flow of emigration.²¹

2. The Movement for Autonomy

The *Hamajuon* movement also awakened the desire of the Batak Christians to free themselves from western domination in all fields. In other words, the *Hamajuon* movement stimulated the emergence of the movement towards church autonomy. Within the context of the life and activity of the Batak church, the spirit and movement towards autonomy was manifested in such matters as evangelizing, administering the congregation and school, deepening the members' spiritual life, producing Christian literature, and maintaining the ancestral cultural heritage, especially the Batak language. The missionaries welcomed the strengthened manifestation of the spirit of autonomy because just those matters, most desired by the movement towards autonomy and for which it struggled, were also ideals of the Batakmission since the beginning of its presence among the Bataks. If earlier the missionaries had complained frequently about the lack of interest in and

²⁰ D. Tambunan in *Immanuel*, October 1, 1919.

²¹ Just during the period 1950-1956 alone, at least 250,000 Bataks emigrated from Tapanuli to East Sumatra, etc. Certainly there were various factors which brought about the emigration, such as the impact in East Sumatra of the Indonesian revolution against the Dutch which caused great plantation areas to be opened to cultivation by Indonesians themselves (Cunningham, *Postwar Migration*, p. vii and Pelzer in *ibid.*, p. iv). But the Batak Church's removal of psychological barriers to emigration definitely had a role in the mass migration as well.

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initiative towards autonomy by congregational members, now they found themselves overwhelmed by the challenge to take steps to fulfil those desires and to participate in their total management.

But the joy of the missionaries was quickly followed by anxiety. In fact they published a declaration that the Batak Christians were not yet fully able to be entrusted with autonomy and to manage their own affairs because of their lack of maturity. Such an argument was heard also during the previous period when it was trotted out by the RMG leaders in responding to the Dutch colonial government's request to reduce the numbers of European missionaries and to hand over as much authority as possible to the Batak church workers themselves. According to the RMG/Batakmission, the enthusiasm for autonomy needed to be further nurtured through a series of instructional programs for both the Batak church workers and the lay persons themselves until they became mature, both mentally and spiritually. As with so many times before, here again we hear echoes from the thought of G. Warneck (see Chapter Three).

The anxiety about the enthusiasm for autonomy which the missionaries felt to be premature continued to increase as they saw that the enthusiasm and movement for autonomy had absorbed various ideologies and political understandings such as the messianic enthusiasm inspired by 'ancient paganism'²², anti-western nationalism²³, socialism and communism²⁴. It was felt that these threatened the Christian faith.

²² The RMG/Batakmission documents from the 1920s, again and again mention indications about the resurgence of former paganism, such as the *Porhudamdandam* movement. This movement was a combination of messianism (i.e. the return or reincarnation of Si Singamangaraja XII, i.e. *Raja na Siak Bagi*) and an anti-colonial spirit. It even caused school children to be afraid to attend school.

²³ *JB* 1924, p. 20 and 1937-38, p. 39; cf. J. Spiecker, "Der Bataksche Christenbund" in *EMM*, 1919, esp. p. 229, and Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church*, pp. 62ff.

²⁴ Ed. Müller in *BRMG* 1930, p. 360. But he warns here that one must be very careful about identifying the influence of Socialism and Communism in the independence movement, because the facts about it are not clear.

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The enthusiasm and movement for autonomy were not only related to life in the church, but also to social, political and economical life. And to be sure these were not free from the spirit of nationalism or the national awakening which were enveloping the whole archipelago, and East Asia in general.²⁵ In the Batakland, this spirit and movement were particularly embodied in *Hatopan Kristen Batak* (HKB) an association pioneered by some Christian Bataks.²⁶

During the HKB's first year after its founding at Balige on September 21, 1917, it received full support from the missionaries because its defined goals corresponded with their own, for example: (1) to check the expansion of *Sarikat Islam* to the Batak area²⁷; (2) to check the penetration of modern culture through maintaining the ancestral cultural heritage and through maintaining their identity as Batak Christians; (3) to advance social and economic life through

²⁵ The influence of the National and Asian Awakening movement within the Batak area on the movement for Batak church and national autonomy has been thoroughly analyzed by Hutauruk in his dissertation, *Die Batakkerche*, pp. 1-176; cf. Ed. Müller, "Strömungen", in *BRMG* 1930, pp. 334ff and E. Ellinghaus, "Der Missionar in der zur Selbständigkeit Drängenden Missionskirche" [The Missionary in the Pressure for Independence in the Mission Church] (paper given at the Batakmission Conference June 15-July 1, 1935).

²⁶ The HKB activities received careful attention in Hutauruk's dissertation, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-187. Polin Siahaan and M.H. Manullang were two founders of the HKB. Siahaan had been a teacher in the mission school at Balige and by the Batakmission was considered to be the best teacher and preacher there, but later he resigned from his position when he became chairperson of the HKB. Manullang, who became known as Tuan Manullang afterwards, was a former student at the School for Children of Headmen at Narumonda (cf. Pedersen, *Batak Blood*, p. 149), but later studied at both the Adventist and Methodist seminaries in Singapore. In 1916, before the HKB had been founded, he had opened an English school in Balige, but continued to be an active member of the congregation. In addition to those two persons, there were many other teachers of the mission and government schools, as well as chieftains, who became board or regular members of the HKB.

²⁷ *Sarikat Islam* (Islamic League) entered the Batak area in 1917, and to oppose it, the HKB began to use the name *Sarikat Kristen Batak* (Christian Batak League).

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defending and cultivating their land so that it could not be taken away by the 'Company' (*Kompeni*; i.e. colonial regime as well as foreign enterprisers)²⁸; and (4) to strive for the general betterment of Batak teachers' status and livelihood and for increasing the number of women teachers.

But in the HKB's second year, the missionaries began to see that it was tending to move in the direction of becoming a political organization with affiliation with *Insulinde*.²⁹ Anti-western nationalism was not only directed against the Dutch colonial government, but against the missionaries themselves afterwards. Through speeches and the HKB newspaper *Soara Batak* (The Voice of the Bataks), some members attacked the policies and views of the missionaries, and even launched very cruel criticisms and accusations against them personally, an experience painful for them to bear.³⁰ But what was really painful to them was the fact that later some of the HKB figures cooperated with leaders of *Sarikat Islam* in the dissemination of ideas showing hatred of the

²⁸ One of the HKB's slogans was "*Ula tanom, unang dibuat Gomponi*" ("Cultivate your own land so you won't be cut out by the Company"). This slogan arose as a result of the colonial government's plan to give permission to Western enterprisers to open plantations in the Batak area. While supporting the slogan, and protesting the government's plans, the missionaries reminded the Batak Christians that the government had set out such a plan because the Batak community itself neglected to work its land. (*JB* 1918, pp. 36ff; *BRMG* 1921, p. 110; cf. J. Merle Davis, "The Batak Church" in *The Economic Basis of the Church*, p. 426.)

²⁹ Many Batak teachers who were members of the HKB did not agree with that affiliation because they considered *Insulinde* to be a non-religious and anti-government party. *Insulinde* itself opened a branch in Pematang Siantar, Simalungun, and organized a school which obviously had the support of the city government.

³⁰ For example Ephorus Warneck himself was nicknamed, "Judas the Betrayer", "The Batak Church Pope", "Autocrat", etc., while the Batakmission in general was accused of misappropriation of church and school funds, and of being an enemy of the Bataks, because it was only concerned about the purse and power. But not all HKB members agreed with such criticisms and accusations. (See Alexander L. Tobing, who criticized Amir Hamzah, an HKB figure from the Sibolga branch who cooperated with the *Sarikat Islam*, in *Immanuel*, November 10, 1918).

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Mission.³¹ In addition, the missionaries noticed that the HKB was in relationship with the *Porhudamdandam* movement, which to them meant that the HKB's Christianity was becoming syncretistic. Therefore, in 1918, the missionaries endeavoured to check the HKB's development, for example through appealing to the Batak Christian community to become members of the *Christelijke Ethische Partij* which they deemed more eager to work for the advancement of education, especially Mission education, and by protesting to the colonial government that the HKB was an organization which threatened the existence of both Mission and government in the Batak area.

Occasionally, the Batakmission adopted a persuasive manner by calling upon the HKB leaders not to cause their organization to become a political party, but to become a religious organization which would support evangelism through cooperating with the Batak evangelistic institute, *Zending Batak*, or to become an organization dealing with social, cultural and economic matters and to maintain loyalty to the colonial government. In reality, this approach was not particularly successful, because each side's convictions and activities had different foundations. The HKB leaders quite frankly opined that one goal of their struggle was to gain political autonomy, whereas the missionaries were just as adamant in saying that they did not like involvement in political matters. (We shall see whether they were truly non-political in Chapter Eight).

One of the HKB's criticisms of the Batakmission was that the Batakmission did not seriously endeavour to advance the welfare of Batak society, not even through its educational program. It reasoned that the Batakmission only emphasized elementary education and this was not only insufficient in number of schools, but the quality of elementary education was inadequate as well. Therefore, according to some HKB leaders it would be better for them to send their children to

³¹ At the *Sarikat Islam*'s meeting in Sibolga in 1918, Amir Hamzah, a local HKB figure, supported Abdoel Moeis' address which attacked Christian missions in general and the Batakmission in particular. Moeis was a *Sarikat Islam* (Islamic League) leader and member of the *Volksraad* (The Dutch East Indies' People's Council).

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government schools. The mission schools which did meet the needs of the times, i.e. those using the Dutch language and highschoools were too few. As a result, their young people had to leave their villages to obtain a highschoool education. Trade schools, too, did not provide young people with abilities to make the Bataks autonomous in matters of building expertise, for example. In connection with those criticisms, the HKB planned to open Dutch language schools (HIS) from funds gathered from its members and also the wider community, and an agricultural school by seeking help from the government.³² In fact, the HKB began to raise the issue of organizing a university in the Batak area!

Another criticism similar to the one just mentioned was related to the administration of school and congregational funds. HKB activists accused the Batakmission of being insufficiently open about this matter, in fact of misappropriating the use of some of the government s subsidy.³³ Therefore, they asked that administration of funds be turned over to the HKB, or at a minimum that a church council (*Kerkeraad*) be formed with authority to manage financial affairs. The basis of their thought was that the congregation and school were property of the Batak Christian community so its members had the right to know about and to administer their school funds. In a similar vein, they demanded that all church and school buildings be opened for HKB meetings, because according to these leaders, the HKB embodied the aspirations of the community.

Of course, the Batakmission could not just meekly receive such criticisms. Particularly with reference to the limited number of Dutch language schools and highschoools, the missionaries

³² Manullang proposed this idea when he had a hearing before the Dutch Indies Governor General in June 1918 (*BRMG* 1919, p. 45). But the idea never took form in subsequent developments.

³³ Cf. L.M. boru Silitonga, *Boru-boru na maruloshon langit* [A Lady blanketed by the sky] (Tarutung, 1953), especially pp. 56ff, which accused Mission and church leaders of taking some of the money given by the congregations (*belasting*) to enrich themselves in order to live extravagantly while the lay people continued to be in poverty unable to enjoy the results achieved by the sweat of their brows.

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offered an argument that the numbers of those schools were deliberately limited to avoid the emergence of a half-educated proletariat (*halb gelehrtes Proletariat*). Besides, the colonial government had already established such schools even though the openings for their graduates were very limited. In terms of suspicions about the administration of funds, or more importantly the Batakmission's autocratic rule over schools and congregations, the Batakmission was agreeable to the idea of forming a church council, most of whose members would be Batak church workers and congregational members.³⁴

As a result of differences of opinions and mutual criticisms between the missionaries and the HKB lasting for about a decade, namely from 1918 to about the end of the 1920s (when the HKB's prestige began to wane), their relationships were continually marked by tensions. During the earlier years of the HKB, the colonial government did not pay much attention to it, in fact it called upon the Mission to cooperate with the HKB in advancing the condition of Batak society. But after colonial officials began to see that the HKB was increasingly anti-government, they began to take repressive steps against it.³⁵ At the same time, Crommelin, the Mission Consul, called upon the missionaries to continue developing close relationships with the HKB, to continue supporting and fulfilling its aspirations as much as possible, and those of the younger generation of Christian Bataks in general, and carrying on pastoral care of the leaders and members of the HKB so that they would not lose their sense of direction and Christian identities.³⁶

³⁴ Beginning in the early 1920s, church councils (*Kerkeraad*) began to be formed in stages at number of congregations, but the practice was not adopted for all congregations until the idea was made official in the HKBP Church Order of 1930.

³⁵ In resident Vorstman's letter of September 19, 1918 to the Indies Governor General, he suggested that the government take action against the HKB. In his letter of transfer of authority dated April 22, 1921, Vorstman called Manullang a "danger to the state" (*staatsgevaarlijk*) and "agitator" similar to Si Singamangaraja. In June 1920, Manullang received a 12 month prison sentence for attacking a government official.

³⁶ The extent of the influence of Crommelin's call is not

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Apart from the problem of tension between the HKB and the Batakmission, it may be said that the HKB was an organization which endeavoured to receive and channel the aspirations of many Batak Christians to achieve progress in all fields, especially for those who lived in the Toba area, the place of the HKB beginnings.³⁷ The truth of this reality was confirmed by the support, including financial, which was given to the HKB by many Batak Christians, both those from the Batak area and those from emigrant communities as well, especially from those who had schooling. For this reason, Kraemer concluded that the nationalistic and independence movement in the Batak area, particularly as manifested by the HKB, was pioneered by the younger generation of mostly Christian Bataks, primarily those who had the opportunity for schooling outside of the Batak area. When they came back to their home villages, with them came new ideas and ideologies which collided with the paternalism of the Batakmission.³⁸ Therefore it would not be exaggerating to conclude with Zanen that the HKB was the crystallization and manifestation of the spirit of *hamajuon* and autonomy.³⁹

Although the prestige of the HKB continued its decline in the 1920s, nevertheless the movement and enthusiasm for independence continued unabatedly in the Batak Church. Among

particularly clear; what is clear is that the Batakmission Conference of 1921 decided that it should act as a shepherd or pastor (*Seelsorger*) to the HKB rather than forbid church members from joining it.

³⁷ Perhaps there was a relationship here to the attitude of the Batakmission which gave priority to Silindung children in enrolling at the HIS (which caused the Toba community to protest, demanding the organization of a HIS in its area) and the attitude of the colonial government which gave priority to Silindung youth to become government employees; cf. the case of the reception of Sigompulon HIS students, noted by Mindermann in *Immanuel*, September 1, 1918.

³⁸ Kraemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 62ff; cf. P.S. Naipospos, *Aku dan Toba* [Toba and I], p. 53, which reports the MULO students' 1934 outburst of nationalism in ripping up the Dutch flag.

³⁹ A.J. Zanen, *Voorwaarden voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling* [Conditions for Social Development] (dissertation 1934), pp. 71 and 87.

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some of its consequences in the Christian community after 1927 may be listed the separation of some independence activists from the *Huria Kristen Batak*⁴⁰ which had nurtured them, and the formation of new churches, such as *Huria Christen Batak* (HChB)⁴¹, *Gereja Mission Batak* (GMB) and *Punguan Kristen Batak* (PKB).⁴² Some of the congregations which became part of those new churches also tried to operate schools⁴³ and many of their teachers had been with the Batakmission earlier.⁴⁴

In addition to those new churches founding schools, there were also a number of individuals or groups which had ties with particular villages or margas initiating the opening of private indigenous schools, such as the *Christelijke Schakelschool* which was operated by the *Handelsvereniging Balige*, the *Instituut voor Westersche Lagere School* (plus *Boekhandel*) in Tarutung which was operated by Gr. Sopar Situmorang and brothers, the *Raja Mangarerek Instituut* in Porsea, and the *Neutrale Schakelschool* in Nainggolan (1930-1942) which was managed by Rénatus Lumbanraja (a pensioned notary). The numbers of these non-foreign-operated private schools were added to as well by schools founded and operated by sects or other denominations

⁴⁰ This was the official name of the Batak church as determined by the Synod meeting of June 12, 1925, before it was revised to become *HKBP* (*Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*) at the Synod of 1929.

⁴¹ In 1946, most HChB congregations changed their name to *Huria Kristen Indonesia* (HKI) whereas a minority continued to maintain the original name of HChB.

⁴² The background and details concerning the founding of these three churches has been studied by Hutauruk, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-207, and Pedersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-155.

⁴³ Sutan Malu, a HChB figure, for example, founded the *Meisjeskopschool* (School for Girls) in Silindung, the National School of Economics, and Teachers' School in Uluan, led by a Black from Surinam.

⁴⁴ Most of those who joined were teachers who became unemployed as a result of the reduction in the number of schools. (For its cause, see sub-section 3 below.)

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(Advent, Methodist, and especially the Roman Catholic Church). In fact, there were also schools operated by groups of young Muslims. All of these tended to foster unhealthy competition with schools of the Batakmission even though initially the government placed those non-Batakmission schools in the category of the "non-accredited" (*liar*)⁴⁵. In any case, private schools operated by nationals were founded based on the spirit of *hamajuon* and independence, such as the HKB itself. Some of those initiating the founding of schools were those who had been offended by the Batakmission because it had failed to open schools in their areas.

But not all independence activists separated themselves from the "official church". This was especially the case with some Batak pastors, all of whom remained within the Batak church nurtured by the Batakmission even though some had felt themselves mistreated or unappreciated by certain missionaries (see Chapter Five, D.2.). Those who had felt themselves mistreated, struggled even more energetically within the church. They were dissatisfied with half-way independence even after the confirmation of the Church Order of 1930, which brought about the *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* or HKBP (Protestant Batak Christian Church) which was formally independent.

The general synod of October 8-9, 1929, composed a document of Church Order making a place for and fulfilling the increasingly persistent demands from both church leaders and lay persons for a fully independent church freed from the nurture of the Batakmission in order for the Bataks themselves to be given the trust of leading the church. In the Church Order which took effect on May 1, 1930, it was specified that the highest body of the HKBP was the Synod, whose membership consisted of 12 missionaries, 44 delegates from congregations, 7 community leaders, the chairperson of the pastors' convent, and the chairperson of the teachers' convent. This Synod body was higher in authority and independent from the Conference of Missionaries. In other words, after the HKBP was organized formally, it was independent from the Batakmission organization. In the Church Order it was also specified that a Batak pastor was given the authority to lead the resort and congregation, whereas the local missionary only functioned as a teacher-colleague and advisor.

But in reality, the leadership of the church (the Ephorus) remained in the hand of a missionary; this was also the case for the leader of the resort. The Batak pastor and teacher continued to be aides serving under the authority of missionaries. In fact, it could be said that all church policy continued to be decided by the Conference of Missionaries. This happened because in the judgment of missionaries, the Bataks were not truly, mature and adult in

⁴⁵ Based on the Ordinance for Unofficial schools (*Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie*); cf. Chapter One.

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intellectual and spiritual matters to lead such a large church organization so that delegation of authority must occur in stages, a classic argument which had been echoed for years.

Viewing this reality, several Bataks registered their objections. One of them was pastor **Hercules Marbun**. Through a series of writings, he worked for complete independence for the HKBP. In very clear and no uncertain terms, he stressed that the Bataks were God's elected people based upon His grace just as were the people of Israel, and at the same time the Bataks were a people who had a true identity of batakness and a consciousness of their ability for spiritual independence.

Dissatisfaction and demands for full independence continued to be heard until 1939.⁴⁶ But the missionaries did not approve of demands for more autonomy than had already been granted. They considered that the independence movement of the 1930s, the HKB, the hamajuon and other independence movements were all motivated by vanity and would fall into splintering. At the same time, there were voices among the indigenous church workers who shared the opinion of the missionaries and derided the independence movement.

But not all missionaries expressed a negative view of the desire for independence and the independence movement itself which had made itself known both from within "the official church" and outside it. Ed. Müller, for example, saw various positive aspects in the independence movement, and based on that observation, he invited the Batakmission to undergo self-criticism and introspection. According to Müller⁴⁷, the growth of the spirit and movement for church independence and nationalism were not only prompted by outside forces such as the movement of national resurgence in Indonesia and awakening in Asia, but also from within, especially from

⁴⁶ Beginning in 1915, especially in the 1930s, a movement for autonomy arose among the Simalungun congregations. These endeavoured to be served by Simalungun church workers using the Simalungun language in church, school and literature. The organization *Komite na Ra Marpodah* was one of the forms taken by the independence movement.

⁴⁷ Ed. Müller, "Strömungen" in *BRMG* 1930, pp. 334-343 and 357-365; cf. idem, "Das Bewährungsringen der batakischen Volkskirche" [The Struggle for the Preservation of the Batak Folk Church] in *NAMZ* 1925, pp. 134-144.

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within. The motivating power from within Batak Christian community was the result of the effort of the Batakmission itself, especially in the fields of education and congregational nurture. For example, the consciousness of themselves as a *bangso Batak* (Batak nation) had become so firm because the Batakmission, particularly through its schools, had seriously tried to bring about a Batak nationality. Such was the case also with *hamajuon* in all fields; this desire arose first of all in educational circles and most persons involved in the *hamajuon* movement were products of the Batakmission's educational effort. These in turn had also been the pioneers of the independence movement both within and beyond the church. All this remained a logical consequence of the Batakmission's work thus far which never separated spiritual advancement from social and economic progress, even though spiritual advancement was given priority. In brief, the desire to progress and to be independent which had been accompanied by sharp criticism had actually been born out of the Batakmission's own educational effort.

Furthermore, Müller continued, the Batak Christian community's criticism of mission paternalism was not directed against the Word of God, but rather against the Mission. Just the desire to advance and to be independent motivated the Bataks to increasingly experience more of the Word's depth and to communicate that Word of God even though it needed to be acknowledged that here and there one could find small groups of people who had returned to the spirit of 'former paganism', or who had confused that spirit with the Gospel. The Batakmission must be able to distinguish between the two while understanding the independence movement as the storm of God (*Gottes Sturmwinde*). Parallel with that, the Batakmission must also receive this reality and criticism with an open-mind, including the changes reflected in the Church Order of 1930 even though this might be a bitter pill because with it all the missionary would no longer receive the honorific title of 'father' (*bapak*), but rather, helper (*Gehilfe*).

Furthermore, the Mission task had not been finished with the validation of the Church Order of 1930. The penetration of modern culture had brought radical changes to the Batak *Weltanschauung*. These changes were much more radical than those brought thus far by the

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Batakmission because those of the latter came more gradually compared with the changes resulting from the penetration of Batak society since 1915 by the rapidly moving currents of modernization. These modern currents had made the Bataks lose their world view and former picture of the world without having found a new view. Until that point, the Bataks had merely known the shell of modernization, they had not known its profound essence, just as they had not known the profound essence of Christianity. Therefore, the task of the Batak-mission was to help them discover and build that new view and picture of the world: the principle of life, the power for life, the hope and goal of life which were based on and started from the Gospel. At the same time, the Batakmission must change its way of evaluating and measuring the results of its efforts, and developments which had taken place in Batak society.

Similar analyses and criticisms were put forward by H. Kraemer after visiting the Batak area from February to April 1930 and seeing various activities of the Batakmission. According to Kraemer⁴⁸, the missionaries, most of whom came before World War I and never returned home afterwards, so that they had not been able to follow the developments in the West, could no longer defend patriarchalism⁴⁹ and its sense of superiority. Indeed before World War I, the Batakmission missionaries occupied a privileged social position; they ranked next to the officials of the colonial government in the social order of the Bataks.⁵⁰ But afterwards, thanks especially to educational

⁴⁸ Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church*, pp. 43-68. Cf. A.C. Kruyt's criticism both of the Batakmission's pattern of leadership and its negative attitude towards nationalism after he visited the Batak area in 1924 (Remme, "De Correspondentie", pp. 72ff). Remme also noted Kraemer's criticism of the chauvinism evident among Germans, including Batakmission missionaries (*ibid.*, p. 77).

⁴⁹ This term was used by the Batakmission and Kraemer, and basically is synonymous with 'paternalism'.

⁵⁰ In fact, colonial government officials judged that according to the Bataks themselves, the missionaries were felt to be on a higher plane and more respected because they had been among the Bataks for a longer period of time and knew more about details related to the Batak society and area, and also because they

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progress and the raising of the indigenous society's social status, the newly educated generation criticized the missionaries' patriarchalism and demanded a comparable position, even though they did not demand that the missionaries and the colonial authorities walk away from the Bataklands in particular and from the Dutch Indies in general.

After World War I, the Batakmission could no longer defend its function as the major controller of the currents of modernization flowing to the Batak area, in fact it was not even able to check those currents which it considered in opposition to its version of modernization. Therefore, the Batakmission must renew itself and endeavour to be more open towards those new developments. It must also realize that the elementary school education which had been made available thus far, regardless of how beneficial it had once been, could no longer be considered to be satisfactory by society to meet the challenges and needs of the times. This was the case as well with the much too narrow structural system which it had used to build up the spiritual welfare of the Batak Christian community; it would be impossible for the Batakmission to continue to defend the Batak Christians' isolation within the confines of each of their villages and to oppose emigration for the sake of and in the name of spiritual care, so that they would not be stained by the currents and spirit of the modern age.⁵¹

Of course, the Batakmission leaders had not totally closed their eyes to all the developments about them, as well as to the demands arising from those developments. When J. Warneck had just returned from Germany to take on the position of Ephorus, he acknowledged that the missionaries could no longer maintain their paternalism. He also took the opportunity to criticize his more

thought Germans as a people and nation were more important than the Dutch (Castles, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 and 44f.). This feeling or thought played a role in the tension between the government and the Batakmission.

⁵¹ The Batakmission tried to defend its religious exclusiveness (Joustra, *op. cit.*, p. 312). According to Jongeling (*op. cit.*, p. 101), until 1915, the Batakmission formed a state within the state.

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senior colleagues for what he considered their excessive readiness to defend it. While looking at and praising several positive sides to the independence movement which had emerged in Batak church and society, Warneck concluded that to speed up the realization of independence, the education and nurture of Batak church workers and lay persons needed to be heightened.⁵² But as we have seen before, this positive evaluation was quickly accompanied by his anxiety or doubts about the capacity of Batak church workers to bear leadership responsibility in the church. As a result, he continued to be bound up with those anxieties during the subsequent developments of the next years. Theoretically, Warneck was a most advanced in his thinking about independence as was indicated by the Church Order of 1930 which can be considered his work. However, in practice paternalism continued its persistent adherence to him personally until he returned to Germany in 1932, and then to his successors, Landgrebe (1932-1936) and Verwiebe (1936-1940).⁵³

It must be noted that the Batakmission also tried to raise the quality of Batak workers, especially pastors, who it hoped would take over the leadership of the Batak church later (see section B.5. below for the details). In summary, we can see during this third period, especially beginning with the decade of the 1920s, that on the one hand the Batakmission became increasingly conscious that the desire for independence and the independence movement at some point would cause it to hand over leadership to community and church leaders. However on the other hand, it continued to keep a tight grip on the reins of church leadership. If that were the case, did the Batakmission at last succeed or fail in teaching the Batak Christian church and society matters

⁵² According to A.C. Kruyt, Warneck was no longer quite as paternalistic, but he was unsuccessful in his efforts to bring his colleagues to a similar position. Even at the Barmen seminary, there was no one who had begun to think with a new attitude (see Remme, *op.cit.*, p. 73).

⁵³ Cf. Pastor H. Marbun (in author's interview August 18, 1986): When Landgrebe taught at the seminary and *Sikola Pandita* in Sipoholon, he taught about church independence. But in practice, after he became Ephorus, he defended German paternalism, a mixture of spiritual and national paternalism.

related to independence? We shall try to find answers in the final chapters.

3. Governmental Reorganization of Education

Beginning in 1915, the government announced a reorganization of education in the Tapanuli residency just as it had done in other areas. This reorganization did not only effect the government schools but also the private schools receiving subsidies. Because in the Tapanuli residency, especially the Batakland section, most schools were operated by mission boards and primarily by the Batakmission, its schools were the ones experiencing reorganiza-tion most fully. On the one hand, the reorganization was not done apart from the new educational policies which the government announced in 1906 (see Chapter One), and on the other it was not done separately from the government's evaluation of the Mission schools since 1893 when subsidies had been validated for private schools.

As we saw in Chapter Five, the government was often dissatisfied with the Batakmission's school operation and levelled criticisms of it in terms of both the quality of its schools, equipment and text books, and of its teachers. Even though in 1911 the government tightened regulations governing subsidies, nevertheless on the basis of a series of inspections, the government concluded that the positive impact of the 1911 regulations was not yet evident.

At the end of 1914, Van der Veen, the Adjunct Inspector for Indigenous Education, inspected the mission schools, especially those of the Batakmission in East Sumatra and Tapanuli. He investigated the situation relative to the teachers (their education, quality and methods of teaching and their salaries), buildings and school furniture, study materials (curriculum, books, equipment, schedules, and total class room hours), pupils (ages, level of attendance and absenteeism, and division of classes), and systems of supervision. On the basis of his total experience, Van der Veen concluded that with the exception of the Sigompulon HIS, the quality of the Batakmission schools was extremely low and that they were really not much more than play schools (*schooltjespelen*); therefore their quality needed to be raised through new governmental guidelines or regulations. He hoped that the *Standaardschool* which the government was going to construct soon in Tarutung and Balige (this was realized in 1915) would become models for the Batakmission.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Note of Van der Veen, November 9, 1914, contained in *Voorstellen*, I, pp. 20-27.

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In January-February 1915, C. Lulofs, Adjunct Government Advisor for Affairs of the Outer Islands, inspected all schools in Tapanuli, both government and private. In his note, he repeated the criticisms of Grivel and Van der Veen. According to Lulofs, the poor quality of the Batakmission's schools was caused principally by their goal and functions as stipulated by the Batakmission, namely a means for christianization rather than the dissemination of knowledge. Therefore, the quality of instruction in both the elementary schools and the seminaries was not particularly emphasized. Along with this, the Batakmission did not endeavour to fulfil the yearnings of the community for receiving a higher quality education (this in parallel with the spirit of *Hamajuon*), which meant that the schools did not meet the needs of the community. The Batakmission's effort for obtaining financial support or community self-support was not directed towards the raising of the quality of school buildings and equipment but rather for constructing church buildings. This happened after the Batakmission received subsidies beginning in the 1890s. Article 8 of the Church Order of 1881 specified the role of elders and teachers (along with the community) for collecting funds for school construction and maintenance, but this was not carried out as it should have been done. As a result, about 80 % of the operational costs of the schools, including buildings and teacher salaries, depended upon the government subsidies. For that reason the subsidies for Tapanuli were inordinately large; for the whole of the Tapanuli Residency, it was f 306,000 per year, whereas for just the Batakland district alone where most Batakmission schools were located, the total was about f 170,000 per year. If to this were added the salaries for government personnel, including teachers and the government's school inspector, the total would be f 520,000 per year, an amount much larger than the total tax receipts for that area. Therefore, Lulofs suggested that the colonial government reorganize education in the whole of the Tapanuli Residency.⁵⁵

On the basis of Van der Veen's and Lulof's Reports of Inspection, the Dutch government formed a Commission for the Reorganization of Education in Tapanuli to be guided by the Subsidy Regulations of 1906 (= *Staatsblad* 1906, no. 241 and 242) and the Sumba-Flores Regulation (SFR) 1913 (= *Staatsblad* 1913, no. 308 and 309).⁵⁶ In other words, the two groups of regulations were to be adapted to Tapanuli. In June 1915, the Commission organized a meeting in Sipoholon with the Batakmission, one marked by great tension, and afterwards issued its "General Report" covering the school situation, both government and private (primarily Mission) in Tapanuli. Some

⁵⁵ Temporary Note of Lulofs, February 21, 1915, contained in *Voorstellen*, I, pp. 1-18.

⁵⁶ According to the "Regulation of 1906" which was valid for Java and Madura, the elementary schools for Indigenous pupils were the Village School of 3 years, and the *Standardschool* of 5 years; the School for Teachers was also regulated according to the same categorization. In 1913, this policy began to be applied in the Outer Islands, and especially involved mission schools. The first regulation which took in this policy was SFR 1913, mentioned before.

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of the proposals for renewal were as follows:

In "The General Report of the Commission for Reorganization: dated July 1, 1915", it is proposed that there are too many Government Schools of the Second Class (= *Standardschool*) in the district of Padang Sidempuan (Sipirok, Angkola, Padanglawas, Mandailing and Natal) and the district of Sibolga (region of Tapanuli's west coast), so these need to be reduced in number, whereas in the district of the Batakland there are only two, namely in Tarutung and Balige which were opened in 1915, so the number of this type of school needs to be increased.

It is also proposed that several Batakmission schools are of sufficient quality to be categorized as *Standardschool* or *Vervolgschool*. But most of them are of such poor quality as to be categorized as Three-Year Village Schools. Because the total number of Batakmission schools is very large, whereas in some of the schools the number of pupils is very small, it is suggested that there be consolidation of those nearby schools which can not individually fulfil the subsidy requirements.

Considering that in areas where most residents are Muslim, especially in Sipirok and Angkola, the pupils, too, are mostly Muslim, therefore, the Batakmission schools receiving subsidies must follow the provisions for optional classes as followed in Java and Madura based on the Regulations of 1906. This means that non-Christian children are free not to participate in classes and activities specifically related to the Christian faith.

Of the same tenor as the reasons for the specifications found in SFR 1913, this Commission emphasizes that the objective of the reorganization of education is to simplify the educational system of Tapanuli, and at the same time to place the educational effort of the Mission at the same position ('the same position' in the view of the government, author) while heightening cooperation between the government and the Mission. To that end, it is necessary to form a Commission on Education whose members would be made up of the Department of Education and local government officials (*gewestelijk bestuur*) and several missionaries.⁵⁷

Along with the General Report, the Commission on Reorganization prepared a working paper on new regulations for subsidies to be called "The Tapanuli Regulation" (*Tapanoeli Regeling*). Its contents declared very firmly that the regulation was an application of SFR 1913 to Tapanuli. The proposal also included subjects and suggestions which were contained in the General Report above and the plan that the Tapanuli Regulation could be enacted into law by 1916 and subsequently to be made operational on January 1, 1917.

Within the proposal of the Tapanuli Regulation⁵⁸ were included specifications as follows:

- (1) Elementary schools authorized to receive subsidies were divided into two categories: the *Volksschool* (3 Year Village School) and the *Standardschool*, which was the

⁵⁷ "The General Report" found in *Voorstellen*, II, pp. 3-60.

⁵⁸ Found in *Bijlagen Voorstellen*, no. 17 and 17a, pp. 52-66.

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Vervolgschool or continuation school for graduates of the *Volksschool*. In other words, in distinction from the government's *Standaardschool* which consisted of five levels (class I through V), in the private subsidized *Standaardschool/Vervolgschool* there were only three levels; *Volksschool* graduates were considered capable of entering class I of the *Vervolgschool* (which was comparable with class III of the government *Standaardschool*). Thus the *Volksschool + Vervolgschool = 6 years*.

- (2) The kind and difficulty of subjects taught in the *Volksschool* must be adjusted to the needs of the local community, whereas subjects for the *Vervolgschool* must be made comparable to those of the three upper classes of the government's *Standaardschool*.
- (3) With reference to the language of instruction, the Batak language will be used primarily in the lowest level classes of the *Volksschool* and the *Vervolgschool* (but Malay will be taught also), while in the upper classes the Malay language will be used.
- (4) In terms of religious education (Christian) and religious activities, these must be subject to the stipulation of free choice (*facultatiefstelling*), namely non-Christian children are free to take part in them or to abstain.
- (5) The responsibilities of the government and local community are regulated as follows: the initiative for organizing schools, especially elementary schools, will come only from the local community. The government will determine whether a school will have a claim or not to receive a subsidy (for buildings, teacher salaries and school equipment). The school will be under the supervision and guardianship (*voogdij*) of the local government official. The responsibility of the local community is not just limited to the initiative for constructing a school building, but it also includes school tuition to be paid monthly for each child as follows: f 50 for the *Volksschool* and f 100 for the *Vervolgschool*.
- (6) The government has the right to determine which *Vervolgscholen* among those in existence fulfil the conditions for being identified under that category.
- (7) The minimum number of pupils for the *Volksschool* is set at 50 persons, while it is 25 for the *Vervolgschool*. The number of teachers must be adjusted to the number of pupils: multiples of 50 pupils per teacher for the *Volksschool* and multiples of 40 pupils for the *Vervolgschool*.
- (8) The *Volksschool* teacher must be a graduate of *Normaalcursus* of 2 years, whereas the teacher in the *Vervolgschool* will be a graduate of *Kweekschool* or *Normaalschool* of 3 years. Because the Mission seminary is evaluated only at the level of *Normaal-cursus*, persons wishing to teach in the *Vervolgschool* must have passed an examination to obtain the *akte van bekwaamheid* from the government's teachers' school.
- (9) Supervision or inspection will be done by the local Adjunct Inspector for Indigenous Education in cooperation with the local Education Commission.

The series of notes from the inspectors, the General Report and "the Tapanoeli Regulations Draft" which were funnelled into the effort for "Reorganization of Education in Tapanuli" were heavy blows to the Batakmission's educational endeavour. The missionaries did not intend to meekly receive the contents of those documents. Through sharpening their responses which were put forth earlier (see Chapter Five), they offered a series of arguments in self-defense aided by other mission leaders, particularly J.W. Gunning (who was responsible for RMG affairs in the Netherlands) and ZC C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer (who later became the government's commissioner

for supervising RMG finances).

In responding to criticisms and the low estimate of mission education as expressed by colonial government officials, the Batakmission asserted that all of those judgments were based upon superficial observations, in fact upon a misunderstanding of the essence and objective of mission education, namely the building of character based upon Christianity and not merely the dissemination of secular knowledge. From the view of the missionaries, the government's schools were only institutions for instruction (*opleiding*) which gave primary importance to economic results of its teaching, namely making candidates intellectually capable of filling government positions. However, for the Mission, schools were educational institutions (*opvoeding*) which stressed the nurturing of people towards developing their moral and religious character. The matter which the government considered the school's primary objective enabling pupils to read, write and master a certain quantity of knowledge was merely a secondary goal for the Batakmission and for Mission bodies in general. The Mission acknowledged that for the government too, education included character formation (*Charakterbildung*) but the character intended was ethical-humanistic, rather than religious and Christian.⁵⁹

In opposition to the Tapanoeli Regeling draft, the Batakmission and its supporters offered lengthy arguments. We shall present several of their most important ideas without regard to the order presented in the original working paper.

(a) Categorizing the Elementary School as Volksschool and Vervolgschool

Putting those two categorizations into effect in Tapanuli, especially for the schools of the Batakmission, was not in harmony with the demands of society for a school of high level and

⁵⁹ J. Warneck, "Memorandum Betreffend die Subsidiereregulation auf Sumatra" [Memorandum about the Subsidy Regulation for Sumatra] (1915) (abb. "Memorandum 1915"); cf. J.W. Gunning, "Het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië" [People's Education in the Dutch Indies] (no year, about 1917); Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken*, p. 496; and *The Batakmission's Educational View*, Chapter Five, C.

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quality, namely HIS or at least a *Standaardschool*, even though the government had always been trumpeting that its educational policy had been based on the demands of society. The government's placing Tapanuli on the same level as Sumba and Flores, or as the villages of Java and Madura where the development of the schools was not as advanced as in Tapanuli was not as it should be. Most Batakmission elementary schools had 4 or 5 years or even 6 years for their period of study. To classify almost all Batakmission elementary schools (except a handful) as at the same level as the three-year Village Schools meant a lack of appreciation for the Batakmission's effort thus far and would cause disappointment to the Batak community. Moreover, classifying its elementary schools in the way mentioned meant the application of a dualism in basic education and at the same time placed government elementary schools (*Standaardschool*, *HIS*, *ELS*, etc.) higher than privately sponsored elementary schools most of which were given the status of Village Schools.

(b) The Language of Instruction

For the Batakmission, Malay should neither be studied as a subject nor used as the medium of instruction. If it must be studied as a classroom subject, it was sufficient for it to be studied in the upper class of the *Vervolgschool* (and HIS), and not as a medium for teaching. There were several reasons for this policy. First of all, Malay was the language of the Islamic community so it was not appropriate to be used to teach the Christian faith. Secondly, Malay would prompt Bataks to leave their villages and to not appreciate their own language, a matter which the Batakmission disapproved. To be sure for the government, Malay as well as Dutch fitted in nicely with its need for office workers and for efficient communication, but Malay as a medium of instruction was not in harmony with the concerns of the Batakmission which wished to maintain the purity of the Batak language along with the spiritual purity of Batak Christians. Thirdly, the Batak language had already been acknowledged by linguistic specialists to be a very rich language and one of the highest quality in the whole of the Dutch Indies. To negate or reduce its use in the schools would have the result of threatening the Batak people's whole tribal identity and race. In brief, the

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Batakmission was firm in continuing to defend the use of the Batak language as a medium of instruction in all its schools with the exception of the HIS.

(c) The Status and Ownership of the Schools

The Batakmission considered that the *Tapanoeli Regeling* draft made the status of the schools unclear, especially the *Volksschool*. Who actually owned them? Were they the property of the community, the government or the Mission? Because the initiative for constructing the school originated with the community and later it was the community which collected the funds for constructing the school building, the school must be the property of the community. The Batakmission itself had always followed the principle that the school belonged to the congregation and was under its nurture (therefore, it was not the property of the general community through the village governmental apparatus because not in all places there was an overlapping of village residents and church members). Next, to what extent did the government as the granter of a subsidy have rights over it? Did the stipulation that the school was under the guardianship of the local government official mean that the school was the government's property? Furthermore, was each local government official competent to manage school affairs? What was the place of the Batakmission as the school administrator? In the view of the Batakmission and its supporters, the status and ownership of the school as covered in the Regulation of 1906 might be appropriate for Java, but not for Tapanuli or other mission boards' centres of education. Therefore, the Batakmission requested that the government explain this matter further; moreover that it review the proposed regulation again.

Responding to this Batakmission's question, Creutzberg, the Director of the Department of Education and Religion, sent a letter to G.J. van Limburg-Stirum that although the Village School was called the *Volksschool*, that did not mean that it was owned and operated 100 % by the community, but that the community *shared* in bearing its responsibility and burden. "People's education is veiled government education" ("*Volksonderwijs is een verkapt Gouvernementonderwijs*") and indeed the people are not only obligated, but are required to bear its responsibility. It is natural to increase their burden of responsibility commensurate with their having raised demands for having the opportunity of schooling. In consequence of this idea, there is no further place for private initiative, including that of mission bodies, if they do not wish to share in this burden and if they do not wish to cooperate with the

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government in carrying out such an educational system.⁶⁰

After reading Creutzberg's explanation, Gunning and J.C. Van Boetzelaer quickly responded: If the government wanted to play the game of compulsion as it had done in Java, then the policy would definitely fail because the society of the Batakmission's area knew nothing about such compulsion and would certainly reject it. What the government needed to do was to determine the legal status of the school and its administrator, whether it was an individual or a group/organization rather than to have it appear outwardly the responsibility of the people, when in fact the government's hidden hand controlled all matters of schooling.⁶¹

(d) The Responsibility for the School's Financial Support

In principle, the Batakmission agreed that each pupil should pay tuition, but it did not agree that this should be forced upon the pupils immediately. The reasoning was based on the fact that there were many members of society who were just beginning to be acquainted with schools, and they had to be cajoled into sending their children to school even without paying tuition. Furthermore, the government had already raised taxes even though the people's income had not increased, so it would be burdensome for them to have to pay tuition after having collected funds for school building construction. To force payment of school costs on people who were already living under difficult conditions would weaken their spirit and interest in schooling, a condition desired neither by the government nor the Mission since both wanted all children aged 7 years and above to attend school. The Batakmission itself had been planting a consciousness among the church members for them to share in payment of their school's costs, but never as a requirement, but rather as a voluntary response. And this too must be adjusted in general to the way of livelihood of the people meaning that for farmers, support for both school and congregation would be collected annually in the form of rice rather than each month in the form of money because farmers did not always have cash at their disposal. Therefore, it was the task and responsibility of the government to advance people's education; it was also its task to make educational funds

⁶⁰ Note from the Director of Education and Religion to the Dutch Indies Governor General, December 28, 1916.

⁶¹ J.W. Gunning and ZC Van Boetzelaer, "Repliek" [Reply], July 5, 1917.

available without unduly burdening the people.⁶²

(e) The Minimum Number of Pupils per School

Determining the minimum number of pupils per school would result in many Batak-mission schools losing their subsidies. It must be remembered that there were places where the total number of pupils rarely reached 50 persons, especially so if that minimum figure were determined on the basis of average attendance when there was such a high level of absenteeism. Furthermore, the Batakmission had followed the policy of opening schools (and congregations) in harmony with the people's pattern of residency, namely on the basis of huta and marga. If the government did not weigh this reason just given carefully, there would be many schools which would have to close because the local population would not be able to bear the full financial burden of the school, including the teacher's salary. The RMG/ Batakmission could not make up this shortfall because of its own financial crisis (cf. A.4. below). This would mean a decline in education, and not its advancement as intended by the government through its series of policies and regulations.

Furthermore, this minimal number of pupils per school could not be a matter for negotiation because many Batakmission schools would need to close, or where possible consolidated with those nearby. But as a consequence of many villages losing their schools, interest in school education would decline. As a further consequence, many teachers would lose their work and livelihood and would be forced to leave their places of work, seek school employment elsewhere or even enter another field, or become teachers in non-mission private schools which were now emerging. This situation would cause a crisis in the ministry and life of the congregation because of the dual function of the teacher in school and congregation. We shall see a way out of this situation later.

(f) Optional Religious Courses and Activities

The Batakmission workers realized that this stipulation of *facultatiefstelling* was not precisely identical with the principle of neutrality adopted in government schools where there were

⁶² Afterwards, the Batakmission made payment of school tuition valid for each student, but in a flexible way, so as to avoid social unrest. It was hoped that by January 1, 1918, all students would pay tuition, but in reality this had not been realized as yet by 1919; see "Batakmission Conference Minutes 1915-1919".

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absolutely no religious courses and activities. But they also saw that the roots were the same, namely that the government's attitude of religious neutrality was based on the European liberal and secular ideology and educational system which was adapted to the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, most of those in the RMG/Batakmission circles rejected the application of that stipulation. In their view, its validation or its explicit inclusion in subsidy regulations would result in the loss of the Batakmission schools' distinctive characteristics and would make their position more difficult in facing non-Christian families who sent their children to its schools. Throughout its work in the Batakland, the Batakmission had never required any non-Christian children to take part in religion courses and religious activities; some of them had taken them voluntarily because they wanted to and their parents never forbade them to do so.⁶³ But if that stipulation were included in subsidy regulations, then the non-Christian parents would be motivated to register objections, which they had not done thus far.

Actually, mission circles in the Dutch Indies had struggled several years in a general way with this issue of *facultatiefstelling* before its inclusion in the Tapanuli Regulation draft. In addition, within the RMG itself, it was clear that not all persons supported the Batak-mission's rejection of the regulation. Gunning, for example, who was responsible for RMG affairs in the Netherlands, believed that there was no reason for the Batakmission to reject it. First of all, the mission had no right to compel a person to receive the Gospel or Christianity and its educational endeavour was not a tool for christianizing in the narrow sense of proselytizing.

⁶³ At the Batakmission's conference in 1898, it was decided that an effort would be made to have all Muslims take part in religious activities, but that they would not be compelled to do so. Furthermore, even though the principle was firmly maintained at the 1912 conference that "the school was a means for evangelization", nevertheless it was decided that schools would not have to organize religious activities when located in areas where 100 % of the residents were Muslims. But the RMG did not agree with this decision, because it diverged from the Mission's basic principle and objective. The government, itself, acknowledged that in certain regions, for example in Sipirok, the relationships between the Batakmission and the Muslim community were excellent and their children happily took part in Christian studies and activities of the mission schools (see General Report on Reorganization in *Voorstellen*, II, p. 9ff). But in other places, it noted that the Batakmission forbade children whose parents were members of Sarikat Islam to attend school, so the government was compelled to help Muslims found their own schools (noted in Castles, *op. cit.*, p. 112ff).

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Secondly, most of the subsidies for the Tapanuli schools came from taxes paid by the Javanese, most of whom were Muslims, so it was unethical for schools which were supported directly or indirectly by the Islamic community to require its children to take Christian religion courses and to participate in religious activities. This view was also supported by Spiecker, an RMG inspector at that time. But he did not think that the view would be supported by other RMG leaders.

But all shades of missionary opinion rejected the principle of religious neutrality as followed by the Dutch Indies government. In their view, if the mission schools reached a point of having no religious character at all, as was the case with government schools, then the Dutch Indies community would experience disaster. The reasoning was that on the one hand, the Dutch Indies community was religious and would not be able to imagine life without one based on religion; but on the other hand the religious neutrality of the school opened the opportunity for the entrance of and development of atheism and communism through the schools, ideologies which had already infiltrated into the Dutch Indies since the 1900s. In the view of the Batakmission, it would be better for the citizens of the Dutch Indies to remain 'pagan' or Muslim than to have no religious instruction at all.⁶⁴

But what became a problem most of all for the Batakmission and mission circles in general was not anxiety about the adoption of a religionless character for the mission schools, or for children of non-Christian families to have or not to have the freedom to study Christianity in school and participate in Christian activities, but rather the article being incorporated into the regulation governing subsidies making religious study optional (*facultatiefstelling*).⁶⁵

While mission personnel were busy responding to the *facultatiefstelling* issue, ZC Van Boetzelaer sent a circular letter to all mission school administrators in the Dutch Indies. In it he wrote that government leaders themselves, whether in the Indies or in the Netherlands, were not of one opinion concerning this matter so he called to the Batakmission to persist in its demand that the regulation in question be withdrawn.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ J.W. Gunning, "Eenige opmerkingen over het Volksonderwijs" [A Few Remarks about Elementary Education] in *Koloniale Studiën*, esp. pp. 216 and 227ff.

⁶⁵ Cf. Van Randwijck, *op. cit.*, p. 489 and 492ff.: "What was at issue is the requirement of the subsidy regulation ... to make the attendance of students in religion classes and worship optional for each child if the parents so desire ... The problem is not the mission attitude, but whether it is proper for the government in giving school subsidies to require the mission to adopt policies which have already been applied voluntarily ... Such a specification was not the result of the desires of local residents, but merely something born out of the Netherlands political situation."

⁶⁶ Circular Letter, ZC Van Boetzelaer August 20, 1915.

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In its concluding response, the Batakmission along with other mission bodies considered that the application of the Regulation of 1906 to mission institutions through the SFR 1913, the Tapanoeli Regulation and others of a similar type, forced the government's system of education on to mission schools. If the regulation became operational and if the Batakmission continued to wish to receive subsidies for its schools, then all of its educational effort and its educational system which had been built up with so much hard work over the years would be compelled to become subservient to the will of the government and become incorporated into the government's system of education and then be entirely liquidated ultimately. Fundamentally, the readiness of the Batakmission to bear responsibility in the field of education was only the offering of help to lighten government's burden in this regard.

In a parallel response, the Batakmission also requested that the government remember and weigh the mission's achievements in the field of education up until this point. It had founded hundreds of schools and had taught tens of thousands of students and hundreds of teachers. Even though the total numbers as well as percentage of Bataks who had been taught by the Batakmission continued to be small in comparison with the total population of the Bataks⁶⁷, nevertheless it remained one of the highest totals in the whole of the Indies. It must also be remembered that the Batakmission had tried diligently to raise the quality of its education again and again, especially through enhancing the teaching abilities of both missionaries and Batak teachers.

Because the Tapanoeli Regulation resulted in such lengthy debate, the government decided not to put it into operation. Nevertheless, this did not mean that the government was weakening its resolve to establish new subsidy regulations in the spirit of the 1906 policy. In 1916, the government promulgated a proposal entitled, "General Regulations Governing Subsidies"

⁶⁷ According to the Resident Barth's note of transfer of authority, *loc. cit.*, the total population of the Tapanuli residency at the end of 1914 was 700,492 people; 385,025 of them were in the Batakland district. For the total number of schools, teachers and pupils of the Batakmission during the same year, see Statistics at Chapter V, E.

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(*Algemene Subsidieregeling; ASR*) which it wished to be made operational for all private schools in the Dutch Indies. In the main, the content of this ASR was not different from the regional regulations governing subsidies which had been made before. But as happened with every regulation or proposed regulation, this ASR proposal provoked criticism and debate between the government and the mission. The mission's objections were summarized by Jongeling as follows:

The principal objection of the mission remained the same, namely that the people's school which it had planned to be autonomous must form a carbon copy of the government's schools; the indigenous bodies would still very greatly depend upon the government; they would not yet be free to manage the educational endeavour themselves as much as possible.⁶⁸

In evaluating the mission's above criticism, the government published a new ASR proposal in 1921 which was a revision of the 1916-1918 ASR. Even though this faced various reactions, criticisms and rejection by the mission, the government finally succeeded in enacting this ASR into law in 1924 as reported in the *Staatsblad 1924* no. 68.⁶⁹

Among other matters in the explanation (*Toelichting*) of the 1924 ASR, it was stated that the government gave freedom to private schools to the extent that this did not violate its main educational principles. The government also acknowledged that the Batakmission or church had endeavoured to operate most of the private schools for indigenous children, and that its sincerity could not be doubted. But it also had to be admitted that in the process there often arose conflict as the result of misunderstanding (*onjuiste opvatting*) on the part of government officials who had

⁶⁸ Jongeling, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁶⁹ The Malay edition was entitled, *Atoeran Soebsidi Oemoem bagi Pengajaran Rendah Boemipoetra* [Subsidy Regulations for Elementary Instruction for Indigenous People] (1925). It was explained in the introduction to this ASR, that these regulations were intended to be both a substitute for subsidy regulations of 1906 and at the same time to be a revision and a strengthening of them, and also to remove the confusion associated with the problem of subsidies begun in 1895. The goal was to let private indigenous schools, especially those founded after 1915, know that they had a fight to receive subsidies and also for them to be informed about the procedures to be followed in order to apply for them.

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authority in the field of the educational work of the Batakmission. That matter should be taken care of through this ASR. Because the Mission was not an agent of the government and did not have the power of compulsion - it had to work by persuasion (*overredend*) - the government had to be very alert so that its own concerns were not damaged by Mission endeavours. For every problem which emerged in relationship to Batakmission schools, the government would discuss it with the Mission side and community leaders. In this way, the government hoped that it could avoid or correct actions by its officials which were considered prejudicial to the 'noble dignity' of the government and the 'prestige' of the Mission.⁷⁰

The explanation also clarified that the school contribution of indigenous persons came from various sources: forced work (*rodî*), tuition, tax increases, annual contributions and profit from the school garden. The application in practice would be adjusted to the conditions and customs of the local community. At the same time, the government would only subsidize those parts of school finances which the community or local school administrators were unable to manage; if all those parts could be paid for by the local community, the government would no longer give subsidies.⁷¹

Before the ASR 1924 was enacted, several of the important points of the Tapanuli Regulation proposal and ASR were actually applied in Tapanuli, especially in the schools of the Batakmission. On October 24-25, 1917, a meeting took place in Sipoholon between the Tapanuli resident, Van Boetzelaer (the Mission Consul), and missionaries from the Batak-mission and Niasmission. The three sides came to a common understanding in the matter of structuring the government's relationship to mission bodies and in raising the quality of mission schools. The common understanding also formed the basis for weighing the demands of the community for higher quality and more advanced schools. Specifically, some of the points agreed upon were that the government

⁷⁰ Points in the Explanations of ASR, nos. 11, 18, 26, 28 and 29. An enclosure for the *Atoeran Soebsidi Oemoem*, p. 39-47.

⁷¹ Points in the *Explanation of ASR*, nos. 48, 49, 74-79; pp. 33 and 67.

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would continue to give subsidies and cooperate with the Mission in the field of school supervision and guidance through the Commission on Education.⁷² For its part, the Mission would endeavour to reform its schools, such as through (1) raising the quality of instruction, including books and teaching methods; (2) improving community participation; (3) increasing the allocation of funds from the Mission treasury for the payment of school expenses; (4) working to lower the level of pupil absenteeism; (5) consolidating a number of small schools in order to economize on personnel and funds; and (6) utilizing the subsidies for the precise purpose intended; and would not manipulate data in order to obtain a larger subsidy.

Even though all of this was called "coming to a common point of view", nevertheless in practice, the Mission side had felt itself under pressure from the government. Each time the Batakmission put forward a request for subsidies (which had to be repeated annually), the common understanding was always called to mind and its realization was always used as a standard to establish whether the Batakmission continued to have claim to the subsidy or not; if it still had claim, then what amount could it receive? But as we have seen earlier, the Batakmission was also facing pressures and demands from the community which was alive with the spirit of *hamajuon* demanding that the Batakmission increase the number of quality schools and also that Batak Christians participate in the administration of school and congregation, including their finances.

As a result of these multiple pressures, there was a retreat in the quantitative dimension of the Batakmission's educational effort; many schools were forced to close both because they did not fulfil the conditions for receiving subsidies and because of a loss of pupils. In addition to the pressures mentioned, there were at least two other factors which contributed to the decrease in the Batakmission's number of schools. First of all, work opportunities given by the government and

⁷² One realization of this cooperation was the up-grading of Batakmission teachers by the local adjunct inspector of education with reference to making matters of administration and organization more orderly, and to have methods, and curriculum in harmony with government standards for the years 1918 and 1919.

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entrepreneurs to the community both male and female, including school age children (8-14 years), for building roads, constructing buildings and plantations resulted in many children leaving their school desks. Secondly, the RMG was swamped by its financial crisis which caused it to reduce the number of its missionaries with the result that the numbers of school supervisors and instructors became fewer and fewer. A single missionary began to be responsible for supervising from 10 to 25 schools.

The Batakmission saw this series of pressures and problems as a serious threat to the future of its schools and congregations. Therefore, in 1921, J. Warneck, who had just become the Ephorus, met with the Director of Education and Religion to discuss the future administration of the Batakmission schools, whether they would be able to be maintained, or just the opposite, whether they would need to be handed over to the government. Because of the recent developments, Warneck considered that the Batakmission's educational ministry was more of a burden to it than a blessing. This conclusion was being considered because the amount of human energy and funds siphoned off for the educational effort, especially since the emergence of a series of crises since 1915, had caused the Batakmission to neglect its primary task of verbal evangelization and direct nurture of congregations. According to Warneck, if the schools could no longer function as a means for evangelization and the formation of Christian character because they were being hindered by the religious study option and the principle of religious neutrality which were part of the soul and body of each government regulation concerning subsidies, then it would be more advisable for the Batakmission to cease its ministry in the field of education.⁷³

But in the consultation, it was emphasized by the Director of Education and Religion that the government's policies and regulations had not been intended to burden the mission, nor had the government any intention of taking over mission schools, including those of the Batakmission. This was true even though there had been government officials who had given the impression as though

⁷³ J. Warneck, "Schulprobleme" in *AMZ* 1911, pp. 268ff.

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that indeed were the government's intention. What the government was seeking was just the improvement in the quality of the Batakmission's schools in harmony with the criteria specified by the government and which had been agreed to by the Batakmission.

After weighing various possibilities and consequences with reference to the future of its educational ministry, in fact of all of its activities, the Batakmission decided to continue to maintain its educational effort in continuity with nurturing the congregation and the formation of Christian character. In any case, up until this point the schools had been the means for christianization and building up of the community. In other words, the Batakmission continued to feel responsible for the educational needs of the community, not only in the transfer of knowledge and skills, but also in the nurturing of character based on Christian moral and religious values. Above all, the Batakmission felt responsible for the future of the Batak community, especially the Christian community.

The Batakmission in maintaining that resolve faced many difficulties which reached their highpoint after the ASR 1924 had been implemented. With the implementation of that regulation, the process of reducing the number of schools continued to increase and became more absolute as a condition for qualifying for subsidies: the Village School numbers were reduced from about 500 to 300. Of the total numbers of Batakmission elementary schools, only 18 qualified for the category of *Vervolgschool*; this number was far from adequate to take care of the *Volksschool* graduates who were deemed capable of continuing their studies and who wanted to do so. The seminary situation was shaken, too, since there was just the one at Sipoholon after the closing of the Narumonda seminary in 1919. Its graduates were only considered capable of teaching in the *Volksschool*, and if they wanted to become teachers in the *Vervolgschool*, they would have to take an examination in the government's teacher training schools. The subsidy would only be given for the first two years of study.

As a result of the reduction in the number of schools, many teachers lost their positions while those teachers who continued to teach and obtain a subsidy from the government became

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increasingly averse to fulfilling their two functions as teacher and pastor because of the heavy demands of the curriculum and the strict school order as specified by the government. Both situations engulfed the teachers and in turn caused difficulties for the congregations. Not only were the numbers of teachers reduced, but the numbers of missionaries too were cut drastically.⁷⁴

It was not only the Batakmission which felt itself buffeted and disappointed by the implementation of ASR 1924, but the impact on the community at large was similar. On the one hand, parents had to expend higher costs for education both for building construction and tuition. But at the same time, the amount and significance of knowledge taught during the three years at the Village School was extraordinarily limited and could not be relied upon as the basis for obtaining work. The opportunity for continued schooling at the *Vervolgschool* was also very limited, much more so to enter the HIS. As a result many parents no longer wanted to send their children to school.

For parents who were more favourably placed financially, the situation was not too difficult. Even though they could not find places for their children in Batak area schools, nevertheless they could send them to schools outside of the Batak region. But the consequences which began to surface in 1915 and which had caused anxiety to the Batakmission earlier now became real. Many of the children were influenced by the western way of life, various currents and ideologies as well as other religious doctrines; all of which were viewed negatively by Batakmission personnel.

Especially for parents who were unable to send their children to schools outside of the Batak homeland, the Batakmission tried to assuage their disappointment by working harder to make more of their schools achieve a status comparable to that of the *Vervolgschool* in addition to opening a number of new *Schakelschool* and HIS. But the struggle and effort did not quickly achieve results.

⁷⁴ Up until 1924, there were 120 teachers who lost their work and left the congregations because the latter were unable to make up the shortfall in their wages which occurred as a result of the subsidy loss. In terms of missionaries, in 1920 there were still 49; in 1925 just 28; This occurred because of the problem of loans (*Voorschot*); see A.4 of this chapter.

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After 1927, the crisis which engulfed the Batakmission school system began to abate along with the decrease in the disturbance caused by the *Hamajuon* movement and the HKB. The number of schools and pupils gradually began to increase again; this was especially true for the *Volksschool*, the type which had taken the heaviest blows before. Among other reasons this occurred because subsidies which had been threatened to be cut off in 1926 began to be restored so that the availability of finances, even though far from enough, began to increase for teachers who had fulfilled their conditions. At the same time, there was an increase of funds for school purposes supplied by the community and congregations. Members of the general community and congregations were more active in constructing school buildings even though this meant a temporary decrease in funds flowing to the central Batakmission treasury.

In order to make up for the deficiency of religious courses in the *Volksschool* due to the government's curriculum standards, the Batakmission began to encourage the operation of *Sunday Schools* in the congregations. But here again there were problems. Many school teachers were not willing to teach in the Sunday Schools or to take leadership roles in other areas of the congregation. For the Batakmission, this reality was an indicator of the identity crisis in teacher education. This in turn, prompted the Batakmission to formulate a new approach to teacher education and teacher responsibilities. Beginning in 1920, it became more convinced that the school teachers' dual functions were more and more difficult to be maintained.

The idea of separating the function and office of teachers had already been reflected in the wording of the Church Order of 1930 even though the dual function had not been entirely banned. But as a matter of fact the Batakmission did not like this separation of function as was evident by its effort to continue its maintenance until the last moments of its presence in the Batak area. As a result, after the Batakmission stopped its work, the problem came to the fore again (see Chapter Seven). In brief, after the emergence in 1915 of the issue of reorganizing the schools, the Batakmission began to see that each teacher's school assignment and in fact the very existence of the school was threatened or at least was a hindrance to a greater or lesser extent to the

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accomplishment of the task of evangelization, pastoral care and nurture of the congregation. Nevertheless, until 1930, the Batakmission continued to look upon the school as essential for the Batak church.

The school situation which had been relatively calm from about 1927-1930, began to be upset again from 1931-1934, and this afflicted all of mission education in the Dutch Indies. During those years, the government began to revise ASR 1924 and to formulate a new ASR. The revision of ASR 1924 and the new ASR proposal were intended to be implemented in the same way across the whole of the Indies. In the main, there were two principle changes: (1) a reduction in subsidies for all of private schools, and (2) placing more stringent requirements on the private *Volksschool* curriculum so that it would be at the same level as the curriculum for classes I-III of the government's *Standaardschool*.

This policy was part of the government's general policy of retrenchment planned as the result of the Great Depression of 1929, one more severe than the first shock wave of 1922-1924. The government realized that the expenditures caused by the ASR 1924 were too large and kept on increasing each year until it was no longer able to carry such a load, especially during the Depression. At the same time, during the time frame of the 1930s, private schools, especially mission schools which took most of the subsidy allotment, continued to increase in number and in their requests for funds so that it was no longer possible for the government to allocate as much school money as in former years.

But this reasoning was rejected by the mission side as represented by persons such as, H. Kraemer, Mission Consul Van Randwijck, and J. Kruyt because in general, most of the mission fields were located in the regions beyond Java and Madura and their schooling ministries continued to be at the same level as at the beginning of the Depression so their situation should not be placed on the same level as those of Java. Therefore it would be impossible to rigidly apply regulations for Java and Madura to the Batak scene and to expect Batak parents to bear the full cost of their children's schooling. In brief, large subsidies were still required. Moreover, the mission had no

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objection to the principle of self-support which the government intended to apply; in fact Christian missions had tried to foster this principle in their various fields. But the Batakmission was not in agreement with its application based only on practical considerations, namely matters of economizing or the government's inability to pay all of the education costs itself. For the Batakmission, the principle of self-sufficiency was closely linked to the social-pedagogical principle that the community should be asked to pay all of school expenses because it was fully responsible for the education and future of its young people. If the community were obligated to pay for all of educational costs, then it ought also to be able to determine the content and pattern of that education. If people's education received a subsidy, was that not really their right? Was not the subsidy itself paid from taxes exacted from the people?

The mission did not agree with the fact that on the one hand the government attempted to reduce the subsidy, while on the other it compelled private circles across the whole archipelago to abide by the content and pattern of government education. Furthermore, the government's pattern of education was too intellectual, was excessively oriented towards the West, neglected to take into consideration the situation and conditions of the local communities and failed to provide a place for indigenous culture. Indeed, the content and objective of mission education differed from that of the government, in fact mission education's objective and content was in opposition to those of the government. For the mission, education was *opvoeding*, which emphasized nurturing the whole person. Therefore, the mission did not agree that the system of education which it had developed should be forced to adapt itself to the government's system of *standaardonderwijs*. As the mission had done so often in the past, it again requested that the government grant it the freedom to develop its own system of education without being compelled to copy the government's system unconditionally. Of course, wherever it seemed appropriate, the mission was ready to adapt its system to that of the government.

It remains unclear to what extent the government gave heed to the mission's criticism and request. But it is known that the series of governmental policies promulgated during the 1930s

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dealt a heavy blow to the Batakmission's educational ministry. The government's subsidy was cut 5-10 % per annum so that many schools had to be closed and many teachers lost their work and livelihood just as had happened during the 1920s. Requests for increasing the numbers of *Vervolgschool* and *Schakelschool* had to be placed on hold as well. Likewise, the request that the government's Dutch language schools (*Standaardschool*, *Schakelschool*, and *Normaalschool*, as well as the HIS and MULO) be managed by the Batakmission in order to reduce the number of religionless schools was unsuccessful.

The Sipoholon seminary had tried to maintain its identity as an institution for educating teachers and church workers but in the end it was required to become a two-year *Normaal* course. Those students who were willing to bear the two-fold responsibility of teacher and pastor were given the opportunity to study theology for another year and later for two more years, but this latter program would not be subsidized by the government. Moreover, for the years 1933-1936 there was not even a subsidy for the original two-year program because the government deemed its quality to be below standard. This caused the Batakmission to be doubtful about its ability to maintain the school's existence.

Even so, there was also the proverbial silver lining in all this bitter situation. First of all, the community members served by the Batakmission schools (most of these were HKBP members who continued to be nurtured by missionaries) worked harder to increase their financial responsibility for their schools' support. Even though the Depression's impact was severe on them, they were willing to share more of that burden because their understanding of the significance and usefulness of education for their children's future had increased. In fact, many of them initiated the opening of their own schools. Secondly, the Batakmission endeavoured to simplify its educational system in order to make it less expensive and yet more in harmony with the needs of the community. In this way the Batakmission tried not to produce more graduates than were needed and thereby to avoid unemployment among "the half-educated", and at the same time it would not have to rely so much on government subsidies nor experience the impediments of government policies. These steps also

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increased the ability of the congregation and community to manage their own schools.

Perhaps the most important decision taken by the Batakmission to simplify its educational system and at the same to increase the congregation and community's ability to manage their own school system was the one to transfer the whole school system to the HKBP.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, that decision could not be implemented because the Batakmission could not fulfil several of the government's administrative conditions such as those related to subsidies. Giving body to the decision was made more difficult because of the government's own plan for the administration of mission schools in Tapanuli. Under the plan, the mission schools would be separated from the church and would be administered by autonomous foundations.

Although the process of handing over the schools to the HKBP was still beset with uncertainties, Batak Christians enthusiastically welcomed the idea because this went parallel with their fondest hopes embraced from the beginning of this period. Several Batak writers fervently appealed to their schools to trumpet their Batak identity, just as was done by the HKBP itself, saying that the HKBP meant *Huria Batak* and their schools were *Sikola Kristen Batak*. But apparently the government was not particularly attracted to either the Batakmission's plan or the enthusiasm of the Batak Christians, so it tried to transfer the Batakmission schools to institutions of its own making after the Batakmission ended its work in 1940, as we shall see in Chapter Seven.

Reviewing its relationship with the government after 1915, one which became more unhappy as the years went by, the Batakmission became more convinced that its educational ministry was strictly its own and was neither the concern nor responsibility of the government. It also came to realize more and more that the Dutch government which exercised authority over the government of the Indies was not a Christian government. Like it or not the Batakmission had to accept the

⁷⁵ Actually this decision had been pioneered in the HKBP Synod Meeting of 1932, along with the transfer of the administration of Dutch schools to the School Association. But in a definitive way, this was not confirmed until the HKBP Synod meeting of 1936, with the specification that its implementation would occur in stages.

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reality that the government only supported the work of the mission, including its effort in the field of education, to the extent that this was social work and not a ministry to make known the Gospel and the planting of Christian values. In the view of the Batakmission and mission bodies in general, the government took more of a neutral attitude towards religion, in fact it was more indifferent to it as a result of secularism and liberalism which tended to influence its policies to a greater extent. Those conclusions became stronger when the RMG/Batakmission became struck by the financial crisis which we shall analyze in the next section.

Even so, the RMG/Batakmission tried as hard as possible to maintain good relations with the government and to indicate its respect and gratitude which the government had a right to expect. This attitude was taught to the school children, too, through celebrations of national days and songs, just as had been done previously. The Batakmission had done this so faithfully that among some members of the community, especially those active in the nationalist movement, the impression seemed to be given that the Batakmission was too eager to support the government while down-playing the concerns of the Bataks.

On the other hand, the government indicated its appreciation owed to the Batakmission, even though the two sides were always involved in criticisms and arguments in terms of educational policy, a reality which resulted in tensions between the two. The government appreciated the Batakmission because of the mission's support for the success of its program in the Batak area, including its program of education.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Ephorus Landgrebe (1932-1936), for example, was honoured with the title of *Officier in de Orde van Oranje Nassau* (*Immanuel*, March 5, 1936). The visit of the Director of the Department of Education and Religion to the Batak area in 1939 also resulted in mutual understanding, appreciation and agreement (*BRMG* 1939, p. 200). According to Jongeling (in an interview December 16, 1985), the government appreciated the RMG and was ready to help because the RMG/Batakmission was considered a good partner in making the government's affairs more acceptable so that the community would not rebel.

4. Financial Crisis

Since the RMG first set foot on Batak soil, it had never been freed from financial difficulties. Apparently its enthusiasm for developing its working area, its fields of activities, the recruiting of personnel and the providing of all necessary facilities for their support was not balanced by the availability of sufficient funds. Financial difficulties resulting in annual deficits continued until they reached crisis proportions during this third period. World War I caused direct communication to be cut between the Batakmission and RMG headquarters in Barmen which meant that the transfer of funds ceased, particularly for the payment of salaries for its European personnel.⁷⁷ For the Germans, the war not only meant military defeat, but the state's economy became a shambles. Inflation raged until at one point it had reached 2000 %. As a result the exchange rate of the German Mark plummeted against the Dutch guilder while the incomes of people and government decreased drastically. Because the RMG treasury relied on voluntary contributions by members of its supporting congregations who themselves were beset by extreme poverty, it experienced a drastic decrease in its income even though if looked at just from the total amount of Marks received, the deterioration in its income was not too evident.

In order to overcome the financial crisis, in 1914 the RMG obtained a cash advance from the Dutch government. The RMG felt driven to pursue this path because the subsidy received was

⁷⁷ In terms of finances, the European personnel were not totally supported by the RMG, because after 1911, the Batakmission received an offer of a subsidy from the colonial government, especially to pay a small part of the missionary support at his station based on the subsidy regulation for established congregations which had been validated by the government for congregations under the care of the Sangir-Talaud Committee. At first, the Batakmission missionaries rejected this offer reasoning that their working freedom would be lost, and the anxiety felt that the Batak Church might become a State Church. But the RMG board criticized this rejection because it considered the reasoning without foundation, and because of its critical financial situation. It then requested the Dutch Indies Governor General to approve this request, namely f 3,500 per year per missionary.

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mainly for its social work, such as schools, hospital and leprosarium. However except for a handful of missionaries who worked at the various mission stations, this meant that both its European and indigenous personnel who did not work directly in those fields had no right to receive salaries from the subsidy.⁷⁸

In addition to direct borrowing from the Dutch government, the RMG also borrowed money from the *Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij* (Netherlands Trading Company, NHM). Apparently the company considered this a short-term loan because in 1917, the NHM requested its repayment without a willingness to increase its amount later. In this pressing situation, J. W. Gunning, the RMG's representative in the Netherlands, requested that the government grant a loan guarantee to the RMG so that in the future it would only need to deal with the government. In the beginning, the RMG expected the whole loan guarantee to be expedited easily because the Minister of Colonies had indicated his concurrence. But as was evident later, the whole matter became very complicated because certain circles in parliament and in the Dutch government objected to being bothered with such affairs. There was also objection to the loan guarantee because the RMG had not only been unable to pay even a small amount of the previous loans on a regular basis, it persisted in trying to obtain new loans.

Although in 1918, the Dutch government was willing to guarantee further NHM loans to the RMG, the NHM itself was unwilling to make new loans. As a result in 1920, the RMG was threatened with liquidation. In its publications for that year, there were requests for contributions from its sympathizers and from the Dutch government including this insert printed in capital letters: *UNSERE, VON GOTT REICH GESEGNETE, RHEINISCHE MISSION, IST IN GROSSTER GEFAHR* (Our Rhenish mission, which has been so richly blessed by God, is in the gravest danger). Even so, the RMG did not want people to be given the impression that its work was definitely bankrupt without government help.

⁷⁸ In 1914, the RMG borrowed £ 14,000; in subsequent years the amount ballooned.

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Because the government's guarantee of a loan from the NHM to the RMG did not persuade the former to make the loan, in 1920 the Dutch government not only assumed the f 526,000 NHM loan, it gave a new loan without interest as a result of an appeal and intense lobbying efforts by Gunning and Van Boetzelaer.

In Gunning's appeal to the government, he reminded its members that behind all the bickering about the matter of borrowing there was one main question, the extent to which the government was prepared to support the work of the Mission which was in fact for the sake of the people in its Indies colony. Specifically, he reminded the government of the RMG's excellent service rendered in the Dutch Indies in general and in the Batak area in particular, and therefore it ought to receive government help so as not to have all this be discontinued. As Colonial Minister, de Graaff emphasized to Gunning that the government would help the RMG, especially in the form of subsidies (the latter not to be mixed in with loans) to the extent that the work subsidized had the special character of social work and was to be considered for the purpose of meeting an emergency.

In Gunning's response to the Colonial Minister, he stressed the theological principle which formed the basis for the mission's cooperation with the government, namely that both sides were working for matters of value to the community, even though the way and path chosen differed for its accomplishment. He emphasized also that for the Mission, social work could not be separated from its true mission work because the two were integrated into one compact whole.

It was not just certain voices in the Dutch parliament and the government which did not promptly agree to give both a guarantee and a loan to the RMG, but there were also some in the Dutch Indies People's Council (*Volksraad*) holding the same opinion, especially those on its Liaison Commission (*Schakelcommissie*), such as Abdoel Moeis, a *Sarikat Islam* leader.

In the Commission's Annual Report (1920) which was chaired by A. Djajadiningrat, one of its points touched on the loan to the RMG. Abdoel Moeis's objections to the policy were noted as follows:

- (1) The RMG/Batakmission had done almost nothing for the Islamic community in the area of its work; the schools and hospitals were almost exclusively for Christians;
- (2) There were certain Batak Christians who also opposed the work of the RMG/Batakmission, such as those in the HKB;
- (3) The RMG's activities and fields were too extensive so that it needed large sums and aid which were wasted;
- (4) Many other foreign bodies supported the RMG financially, including commercial networks such as Henneman and Co., Rheinborn, among others. In addition, the RMG applied a levy (*belasting*) to the congregations to be paid either in the form of produce or money.

In conclusion, the report stressed that the government might give the loan provided that an investigation were made of the RMG finances beforehand and that the government would give a defensible reason for the loan.

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After the government formed its RMG Auditing Commission with Van Boetzelaer as its chairperson, the government loan proceeded without incident. Furthermore, the RMG and the government had come to an understanding beforehand that the loan was only valid up until 1924 after which time the RMG would begin making regular repayments. But because the German economy was still in dire straits and continued to worsen, a reality beyond the RMG's calculations, the RMG was forced to request a new loan in 1925 which it hoped could be valid until 1929.

At the suggestion and appeal of Van Boetzelaer, the government granted the request. In fact the government agreed to extend the loan request to 1930 even though the amount planned would decrease each year. If it were obvious later that the RMG was yet unable to get out of its crisis, the loan's maturation date could be extended. But A. Djajadiningrat as a member of the *Volksraad* criticized and objected to the 1930 loan and those to follow, so that the plan was cancelled. In other words, all loans ended in 1930.

Djajadiningrat was not the only one who registered objections. There were also objections from those in the government itself, just as happened in the Netherlands in 1920. One of those most vocal in his objections was B.J.O. Schrieke, Director of Education and Religion, who was well known as a member of the liberal faction which did not support the Mission, including its educational endeavour. Schrieke used corrections in the report of the government accountant as well as Djajadiningrat's objections to propose the cessation of all loans and pressured for the repayment of the loans which by 1929 had reached f 1,892,034.33.

In Schrieke's 1933 report to the Governor General and to the Colonial Minister, he insinuated that there were indications that the RMG had also used the loan to pay for its work beyond the Dutch Indies, something in conflict with the terms governing the loan. He also proposed that in 1934, the RMG would begin to make payments so that the entire loan would be repaid by 1946, and for that purpose he had made up a detailed table for the annual repayments. The RMG denied that insinuation and continued to request new loans. As a consequence, there ensued a lengthy polemic which in any case complicated the RMG's position as a debtor.

On the basis of the report and objections raised above, and based too on previous consultations with the RMG, the government decided that the RMG must pay a portion of its debt, namely f

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702,248.27, while the balance of f 1,189,786.06 would be remitted. It was also decided that subsidies would continue to be given based on the regulations in force, but these would not be connected with or mixed in with the calculation for the repayment of the loan so that the RMG would not be too burdened after the loan would end in 1930.

Through Boetzelaer, the RMG continued to bargain with the government about that decision. In view of the fact that the subsidies continued to be reduced, the RMG requested that the loan be cancelled entirely, or at the very least be repaid gradually from the subsidy itself. But the government rejected this proposal and at the same time stressed that there was no legal basis for forgiving the entire amount of the loan. Repaying the loan from the subsidy would actually threaten the RMG-Batakmission's work itself since the subsidy was already being reduced.

As a later development, the Colonial Minister proposed that the entire loan be cancelled. But in giving his detailed response, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, the new Director of Education and Religion, stressed again the matters given prominence by his predecessor, Schrieke.

In De Kat Angelino's note he again reminded readers that the government had no legal basis for totally cancelling the loan. Furthermore, any cancellation could not be based just on generosity or pity when it was seen that the RMG continued to be afflicted with financial difficulties which it was unable to overcome. He further brought to attention the fact that the RMG engaged in 'games' by using some of the subsidy to make payments on the loans. In any case, regardless of the reasons, the RMG debt must be repaid in order that the Mission would be more circumspect in the future and not rely too quickly upon government assistance. He also mentioned that on the basis of the government accountant's 1920s investigation, the Batak community was able to pay for the work administered by the Batakmission, including its school system. The RMG/ Batakmission needed to cultivate this potential to the greatest extent possible so that it would not need to rely on government aid, and to reduce the numbers of European personnel, as well as streamline its organization in the Dutch Indies. Thus far, it had been just these European workers rather than the indigenous personnel and field costs (buildings, equipment, etc.) who had absorbed most of both the loan and subsidy. If the government were to stop giving further loans, to tighten the granting of subsidies, and to exercise more stringent controls, its purpose would not be to take-over the RMG's "social and cultural ministries" in the Batak and Nias regions because if it had, that would have caused community unrest but rather all this would be done so that the RMG would be more orderly, wiser and professional in its work and cease being engaged in improper actions and scattering of its efforts as had been the case until the present.

Nevertheless, De Kat Angelino did not completely agree with Schrieke's evaluation before as though only the RMG were at fault in the complicated loan matter. According to him, errors had

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been made by the government as well. Therefore, it would be appropriate for the government to share in the consequences of the whole affair.

According to Jongeling, in a veiled way this last judgment of De Kat Angelino freed the RMG from government pressure and indirectly opened the possibility for a total remission of the loan. Apparently the loan was never repaid. We make that assumption because there is no proof in the RMG files that the loan had been repaid even after the expiration of the time limit specified before, namely 1946.⁷⁹

Whether or not the RMG ever repaid its loan, it is clear that during this period the RMG was very dependent upon the colonial government in financial matters. This also had the side-effect of making it dependent upon the government in policy questions as well. Such dependence was a bitter pill for the RMG because it had to receive many criticisms, accusations and belittling comments from government people. The RMG acknowledged that the assistance received in the form of subsidies and loans had been most helpful and in fact had saved it in the midst of its crisis after World War I. But at the same time, RMG leaders were aware of how embarrassing was their dependence on government aid. In fact it tended to paralyse their efforts and initiatives in the field of education, especially among the Bataks. This was the case because on the one hand the reception of funds required them to follow the regulations and educational system of the government which was liberal, including neutrality in religious affairs, and on the other hand its teachers who received the subsidy tended to be unwilling to take on ministries in the congregations, and the congregations themselves were not eager to carry their full responsibilities in the educational field. Again for this reason, the Batakmission tried to learn from this difficulty and to see a positive result from the shrinking subsidies and the loan forgiveness. As a result, the Batakmission along

⁷⁹ According to Jongeling, *op. cit.*, p. 198, "De kwijtschelding is geruisloos aanvaard, zo geruisloos, dat zelfs elk spoor van bevestiging of erkentelijkheid in het archief van de RMG ontbreekt." [There is silence about the cancellation afterwards, such a heavy silence, that even the smallest trace of an expression of gratitude is missing in the RMG archives.]

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with the community and congregations could increase their joint efforts to increase their self-sufficiency and self-support as well as to reform their system of operation or school administration in order to be more efficient and effective.

In its efforts to overcome this financial crisis, other than through subsidies and loans from the government, the RMG endeavoured to locate and cultivate other financial sources. These were found in both the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies; in practice there were no more remaining in Germany to be tapped to aid the Batakmission.

The RMG supporters in the Netherlands, especially those grouped under the *SZC*, formed a Support Committee (*Steun Comité*); other support groups had been formed earlier (see Chapter Three, B.1.). It was this committee which took a hand in both the debt problem between the RMG and NHM, and the government loan prior to the colonial government's forming its auditing and supervisory committee for RMG finances and appointing Van Boetzelaer to be one of its members. The Support Committee also tried to collect funds from a significant number of RMG friends and sympathizers in the Netherlands, both individuals and organizations. In fact, it tried to obtain contributions for the RMG from large Dutch firms, even though most of these declined. In any case, the money collected by the committee amounted to about f 60,000 per year and helped the RMG overcome its financial crisis. The main figure on the committee was J.W. Gunning who had been entrusted with the management of RMG affairs in the Netherlands, and whose contributions we have already noted.

In the Dutch Indies, too, the RMG tried to receive funds from its supporters such as the Rhenish-Borneo Trading Company (*Rheinische-Bornesische Handels-Gesellschaft*, RBHG) which operated a network of Hennemann & Co and Rheinborn stores.

Henneman & Co had opened a branch in Sibolga (and later in Tarutung, Balige, etc.), with a Batakmission missionary occupying a leadership position. The RMG leaders in Barmen required that the Batakmission buy all its working supplies, including school necessities and personal needs from the stores of this firm. The Batakmission protested against this requirement because the prices were much higher than from Chinese owned stores. But the RMG rejected the protest because of the contributions given to the RMG treasury by Hennemann's. At the same time, a German in Batavia criticized Hennemann and Company and

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Rheinborn because some commodities marketed damaged society (such as alcoholic beverages) and because profits were excessive.

From the donations given by Hennemann's, the RMG was helped to pay the salaries of its European personnel, including those in the Batak field.

Afterwards, cooperation with the RBHG caused problems for the RMG because the RHBG apparently owed money to NHM as well, and NHM considered the RBHG as a 'sub-firm' of the RMG so it attributed that debt to the RMG. This matter was upsetting to the RMG because it had not been able to pay its own debt to NHM. The RMG rejected this billing by emphasizing that RHBG was not its 'sub-firm', but rather one of its friends or supporters.

Several government officials in both the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies who were personally sympathetic to the RMG/Batakmission also tried to solicit contributions. As a further means to raise funds, the RMG was forced to sell its houses to the Indies government, for example in Parapat (Sipiak).

But more than from all of the above, the greatest contributions originated from the congregations of the Batak Christian community itself. It is not necessary to repeat how the Batakmission tried to promote self-support and self-sufficiency among the congregations for them to truly bear such a heavy responsibility, yet it must be admitted that at the beginning of this period, this consciousness decreased as a result of the coming of modern culture and the nationalistic spirit which in various places had eroded congregational life. But the decline and erosion did not last for a long time. After the spirit of modern culture and nationalism had become balanced by the spirit of church autonomy, and after congregations began to understand the financial difficulties faced by the Batakmission, the Batak Christians tried as much as possible to obtain funds for it even during the Depression and when taxes were raised.

For the school needs, in particular, the congregations collected special annual offerings. Later this was changed to a monthly cash tuition payment in harmony with the regulations for receiving government subsidies. With these funds, the congregations supplemented their teachers' salaries paid from the subsidy, and obtained school equipment. Before and after the government had published its series of regulations regarding subsidies as we have discussed above, the

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congregations built school buildings on their own initiative. In order to obtain educational funds, community and local congregational leaders initiated the formation of *Schoolfonds*. Through such community and church effort and initiative, the Batakmission was able to maintain most of its schools. In fact, it was able to open schools in new areas, although in several isolated places there were many schools which had to close because they were affected by the sanctions related to receipt of subsidies.

The Batak Mission (*Pardonganon Mission Batak*) was also active in collecting funds from congregations and emigrants and occasionally as well from persons in areas having schools using Dutch in order to pay the salaries of teachers in those congregations located in remote places where most of them had lost their wages because of the cut-off of subsidies. Even though the results did not counteract the number of schools closed and the number of teachers who had lost their work and salaries, nevertheless their conscientious efforts to work cooperatively with the Batakmission helped continue its work, including its school ministry.

The Trade School at Laguboti, which included furniture-making, carpentry, metal-working and printing sections, endeavoured to obtain minimal funds for its own needs by selling its products and services so that it did not cause a drain on the Batakmission's financial resources. Instead, it was able to make a modest contribution to the mission's needs.

In addition, the Batakmission tried to collect funds for its central treasury from congregational levies. Part of those funds were used to meet school expenses, including unsubsidized salaries for teachers who in general were living in areas with very limited resources and in more isolated locations or in new housing areas outside of the Batak region itself.

At the Synod meeting held on June 12, 1925, it was stipulated that each congregation must pay 12 % of its receipts to the central treasury. In 1928, the Batakmission raised this to 25 % in order to overcome its financial crisis and at the same time to increase the self-sufficiency of the congregations. But most large congregations objected to this increase because they had to pay for the cost of new school building construction and therefore continued to pay the earlier 12 % to 13 % of their receipts, although there were some which met the 25 % target.

In addition to obtaining funds on a regular basis for the Synod's central treasury, it also

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collected funds from special offerings in order to meet school needs. As a result of the appeal of the Batakmission, there were also congregations which gave extra funds to aid the RMG in its dire financial straits (*bahen manumpahi Rijnsche Zending na targot di tingki on*). A number of laymen and HKBP pastors even formed a Committee to Help the Barmen Mission (*Comite mangurupi Zending Barmen*) and Elders' Mutual Aid Society (*Kongsi Sintua Masiurupan*) which succeeded in collecting a sum to be sent to Barmen. There were also several congregations which bought Batakmission houses in their areas. *Immanuel* was not left behind in helping the Batakmission. This church publication which was entirely managed by Bataks set aside f 8,000 per year to pay for the travels of missionaries in the Batak area.

All these steps which were undertaken by the RMG/Batakmission helped it escape liquidation or bankruptcy, which eventuality had already become a subject for gossip. At the same time, it was able to reject Gunning's idea that some or all of its work, including schools, be transferred to the government, as well as to make the Batak Church become part of the Indies State Church. But one definite result of the RMG's financial crisis was that it had to transfer its Kalimantan field to the Basel Mission (*Basler Missionsgesellschaft*; BMG) in 1920. The Batakmission's financial crisis was also one of the basic reasons why it decided to transfer its schools in the Batak area to the HKBP in 1936.

5. Augmenting Its Teaching Staff with Teachers from the Netherlands

As we have seen in previous chapters, there were Dutch teachers in the listing of Batakmission missionaries since its second period. The first one was J.H. Meerwaldt who had actually worked as a missionary at one of the stations before the end of the first period. We have already noted his contributions towards the development of the Batakmission's educational effort and system until he concluded his service in 1916. We must also make note of the indirect contribution made by Dutch teachers to the Batakmission because of their ministry in the Depok seminary. After the opening of the HIS at Sigompulon in 1910, the number of Dutch teachers among the Batakmission workers

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increased, but none of the later arrivals ever served as missionaries in mission stations.

The Batakmission was grateful for these Dutch teachers and to the Dutch government which paid their entire salaries. Through their presence the Batakmission would be able to increase their number of schools in order to fulfil the aspirations of the community, namely for Dutch-language schools. Ydens, the first teacher at the HIS Sigompulon, especially received high praise and appreciation from the RMG/Batakmission because he had worked tirelessly and with great perseverance to improve the schools of the Batakmission, particularly its Dutch schools.

But the presence of Dutch teachers was not free from problems. To be sure, the RMG both at its Barmen headquarters and also from its Netherlands' office stressed that the Dutch teachers who were prepared to become teachers in the Batakmission ought to be persons who were not only skilled educationally, but who also had an evangelistic spirit and who realized that their presence and service was to share in the Batakmission's activities by carrying out its mission task also. Yet in reality many of them, especially those who came during this third period, were viewed by the Batakmission as lacking commitment to the mission because they felt themselves to be primarily government employees who happened to be assigned to work with the Batakmission. According to notes from the RMG/Batakmission, they isolated themselves from fellowship with congregations and with the German missionaries. Many did not even want to learn the Batak language. At a minimum, this happened because in contrast to the preparation given Meerwaldt and Ydens, they never had the opportunity for study or orientation at the Barmen seminary. Then too, they did not associate with German missionaries because their administrative organization was separate from that of the Germans. Because of their status as teachers paid by the government, their wages, too, were at the same scale as government teachers, which meant they were much higher than those of the missionaries.

In recognition of their 'ghetto-living', Ephorus Warneck promulgated a working order for

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them.⁸⁰ Among its contents was the stipulation that the Dutch were mission educators (*Zendingsonderwijzers*) even mission workers (*Zendingsarbeiders*), so organizationally they were members of the Batakmission association. Therefore, they had the general status, rights, and responsibilities of other missionaries. With reference to their special assignment as teachers, the work specification spelled out principles which they were required to follow, such as that they were directly responsible to the Ephorus.

But in reality, Ephorus Warneck's work specification was not fully functional as evident from the various complaints expressed at the beginning of the 1930s about the Dutch teachers' luxurious way of life causing them to isolate themselves from colleagues. Moreover the Dutch teachers, especially those in Silindung and Toba, requested autonomy for themselves and for the schools which they served.

In order to deal with this problem, in 1931 the Batakmission investigated the possibility of forming a School Association (*Schoolvereeniging*), intended especially for Dutch schools.⁸¹ In the following year a Dutch School and Teacher Association was formed officially with the name, *Dr. Nommensen Schoolvereeniging* (NSV).⁸² In the Simalungun area during the same year, another school association was formed, *Schoolvereeniging tot uitbouw van het werk der Rijnsche Zending in Simalungun* (The School Association for the Support of the Rhenish Mission s Work in

⁸⁰ *De Hollandsche Onderwijzers in het verband der Zendelingen van het Rijnsche Zendingsgenootschap in de Bataklanden* [Dutch Teachers in Relation to the Missionaries of the Rhenish Mission Society in the Batak Lands], about 1922.

⁸¹ Even though it is not expressed explicitly in the RMG/Batakmission documents, nevertheless it may be assumed that the idea for the formation of a School Association was inspired by the same tradition in the Netherlands, one which had also been adapted to the Christian schools of Java.

⁸² In addition to immortalizing the name of Nommensen, this name was also intended to continue the use of the name of Tarutung MULO which since its founding in 1927 had been given the name of *I.L. Nommensenschule*.

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Simalungun) with the same goal and characteristics as the NSV above.⁸³ The latter's statutes specified that the objective of the NSV was to improve the Dutch schools (HIS, MULO and Schakelschool), to try to cope with their financial burdens, to cooperate in matters related to each school's dormitory and to share in supporting the educational work of the Batakmission. Its members were the RMG missionaries and European teachers who worked for the Batakmission. Although formally, most of the NSV's governing board were German missionaries, yet in reality the initiators of its formation were Dutch teachers, and these Dutch teachers played the most important role in its later development. The official language of its proceedings was Dutch.

The formation of those two school associations was not done in isolation from the whole development in the field of education, particularly those developments related to the government's subsidy policy. The government did not only reduce the subsidies for the Village Schools as announced via the proposal for the Tapanuli Regulation and the ASR 1924, but beginning in the 1930s subsidies were reduced for the Dutch schools and their dormitories as well. The policy of economizing (*bezuiniging*) forced the Batakmission to seek support for increasing funds for its Dutch schools because it had decided to continue to maintain them as one channel for communicating the ideals of Christian character formation.

The NSV administered the Dutch schools of the Batakmission in the Batak area, whereas the school association in Simalungun managed the Dutch schools in its region. The government supported the formation of the NSV along with the full authority handed over to it by the Batakmission, because in that way the government's suspicion could be removed that the subsidy for the Dutch schools was being used for other schools as well. Furthermore, beginning in 1932, management of the subsidy for the Dutch schools, including the teachers' salaries, was placed in the hands of the NSV and proceeded smoothly even though the amount of the subsidy was reduced.

⁸³ This School Association was initiated by R. Puik, an HIS and a Batakmission *Schakelschool* teacher in Pematang Siantar. This association also received non-missionary Europeans as members, in fact indigenous persons as well.

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Indirectly, the formation of the NSV and the outlining of its task and authority also fulfilled part of the desire of the Dutch teachers for autonomy.

Even though the subsidy for Dutch schools was also reduced, and the infusion of the RMG's and the Batakmission's funds was non-existent, nevertheless the NSV was able to successfully manage the schools in its association, namely the Sigompulon and Narumonda HIS, the MULO in Tarutung, and the *Schakelschool* in Simorangkir. In fact, the NSV succeeded in opening a number of new HIS, in Padang Sidempuan, Sibolga, Sipirok and Simsim. This was possible because the NSV raised tuition and borrowed money from the community, in addition to receiving contributions from its sympathizers in the Netherlands and in the Dutch Indies.

In brief, with the formation of the NSV and the association in Simalungun, the Batakmission's financial burden for its school system was made lighter. Later, the HKBP was not burdened either by the Dutch schools under the care of the NSV because in the handing over of the Batakmission schools to the HKBP in 1936, these Dutch schools were not involved but continued to be managed by the NSV. But it could be said that organizationally and psychologically, the NSV schools were separated from the Batakmission and the HKBP because the NSV schools were looked upon as competitors. This was due to the fact that those schools had always received a positive evaluation from the government. This situation was rather logical in view of the fact that all of its teachers were Dutch and graduates from European teachers' schools, whereas the Batakmission's schools and various congregations' schools often received criticisms and insulting remarks from the government. Furthermore, from the perspective of the goal of mission education the question arises whether the two Associations' schools continued to be bearers of the mission's objective, remembering that after the NSV's formation and others of its type, as mentioned earlier, most of the teachers continued to give the impression that they were no longer tied to the mission's commitment.

In any case, the NSV and the *Simalungun Schoolvereeniging* along with the schools under their care were part of the Batakmission's educational ministry. Their achievements were also

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achievements of the Batakmission in operating quality schools for the advancement of the Batak community which had eagerly sought advanced quality education. Then too the presence of Dutch teachers in the midst of Batakmission workers shared in raising the mission's image in the eyes of the government and the Batak community. At the same time, the community's criticism of the lack of Dutch schools was reflected in part by their actions in founding their own non-mission schools and was therefore a criticism also of the NSV which was unable to fulfil all the needs and demands of the community.

6. Competition with the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM)

Beginning in 1909, the Roman Catholic mission tried to open schools in the Batak area. Nevertheless until the end of the last period (1914), the RCM was not successful in founding either mission stations or schools there. But in this third period, the RCM's penetration of the area was unceasing, so that the Batakmission saw it as a very serious threat, much more so than that which came from sects or other denominations.

Repeating the request which had been put forward in 1909, in 1919 Father A.A. Verhoeven from Padang met with the Tapanuli Resident, Vorstman, and requested a permit to work in the Bataklanden District. Verhoeven related that he had travelled to the Batakland and had succeeded in attracting a number of followers, including several Batak employees, teachers and pastors of the Batakmission. Vorstman responded that in principle he had no objection because the request was in agreement with the government's policy of religious neutrality and freedom. The Resident also affirmed that the government had never had a contract with the RMG guaranteeing that the Batak region would be its monopoly. Therefore, the RCM was given permission to work among the Bataks as well as in other areas of the Dutch Indies.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ As related by A. Quasti, a Dutch national living in Sibolga, in his letter to the Batakmission Ephorus dated September 28, 1919 based on his conversation with Verhoeven.

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We may be surprised to have Vorstman as Resident speak in that way since the Dutch government had not withdrawn art. 123 of its *Regeeringsreglement* (RR) of 1854, which had forbidden *dubbele zending*, namely the presence and competition of two mission boards in one location, particularly Protestant and Catholic. Therefore based on the RR 123 the Batak-mission along with its head office in Barmen opposed the presence of the RCM and requested that the government rescind its permit for the RCM to work in the Batak area. But obviously this effort was unsuccessful because according to RMG documents, the RCM had opened a station and school in Silindung in 1924 on the basis of an agreement with the government and the Dutch Indies *Volksraad*, in spite of the Batakmission's vehement protests.⁸⁵

The RCM not only founded congregations and opened schools in the heartland of the Bataks, but also in the large cities such as in Medan and Sibolga complete with dormitories for the students.⁸⁶ Those persons 'targeted' were Batak Protestant Christians, primarily their children. The schools operated were mainly those desired by Christian Bataks fired by the *hamajuon* spirit, namely HIS and kindergarten (*Froebelschule*).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ According to L. Föh in *The History of the Catholic Church in the Archbishopric of Medan*, p. 25 (ed. by M. Muskens), the government did not give special permission for it to work in the Sibolga area until 1928, and until 1933 in the whole Batak region. Cf. P. Diego OFM Cap, "Missioneering en Onderwijs op Noord Sumatra" [Doing Educational Mission in North Sumatra], in *Verslagboek Nederlandse Missiologische Week* [Report-book of the Dutch Missiological Week], especially p. 41, which reveals that the first Roman Catholic Mission missionary was not placed in the Batakland until 1934.

⁸⁶ According to Föh, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 18 and 23, the district of Medan officially became part of the apostolic prefecture of Padang in 1912; later the RCM workers there opened an ELS in 1923, and in 1932 a HIS with dormitory, to house the Batak pupils.

⁸⁷ The RCM also opened an HCS (*Hollandsch-Chinese School*) in Sibolga for Chinese children and this was also noted by the Batakmission as a threat (*JB* 1933/34, p. 205), even though the Batakmission itself had not succeeded in expanding its network of evangelism and school systems to this Chinese community.

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The Batakmission was well aware that the Batak community was drawn to the RCM schools and to other private non-mission schools because of its desire for a more extensive education than that offered in the *Volksschule*, a desire which the Batakmission could not satisfy. Furthermore, according to the Batakmission, the RCM schools promised social-economic welfare and advantage. The Batakmission noted that the RCM coaxed parents to send their children to its schools by promising that they would be given money, and that an effort would be made to help the graduates continue to a more advanced school.

Because the Batakmission saw the inroads made by the RCM mission were continuing unabated and were a most serious threat to its very existence, it took several steps to stem the tide or at least to balance out the rate of RCM development in the Batakmission's working area, such as (1) Founding an HIS in the same location where the RCM operated an HIS; (2) Disseminating writings to the Batak community, especially through the magazine *Immanuel*, about the evils of the RCM, including its doctrines, with the purpose of convincing the public not to become RCM members or to send their children to RCM schools. Those written appeals declared most firmly that the RCM schools would ruin the faith of the Batak Christians. At the same time the Batakmission stressed that its schools were much superior to those of the RCM.⁸⁸ (3) Especially in Simalungun, the Batakmission teachers formed an association, *Witnesses for Christ (Saksi Kristus)* and made plans for the opening of a School for Evangelists in order to stop the RCM's inroads.

Those steps were temporarily effective; most of the Batak Protestants continued to be faithful to the HKBP and its schools. But towards the latter part of the 1930s, RCM schools increased rapidly, especially after the government granted subsidies to them.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ For example, the call stated that the superiority of the Batakmission/HKBP schools was in their use of the Batak language, especially in singing, so this would highlight their Batak identity which was not found in the RCM schools according to the Batakmission.

⁸⁹ According to Fäh, *op. cit.*, pp. 27ff, in the See of Medan (which included the Batakland) there were just 50 schools in

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Of course the RCM was not willing to accept the Batakmission's accusations that its mission was siphoning off Batak Protestants nurtured by the Batakmission (and later HKBP) through promises and gentle persuasions. According to the RCM, its presence and its schools were in the Batak area for the most part because of pressure from the Batak community itself after the Batak Protestants had become acquainted with it in areas outside of the Batak region, such as in Batavia. This pressure increased after a number of young Batak missionaries completed their studies in the Roman Catholic seminary in Netherlands, were ordained and then quickly deployed in the Batakland. In any case, afterwards the RCM acknowledged that "in the current situation [meaning, competition between Batakmission and the Roman Catholic Church, auth.] no ecumenical seed was visible".⁹⁰

Why did the Batakmission have such an antipathy towards the Roman Catholic Church, even to the point of perceiving it as a "great enemy"⁹¹ one much greater and more serious than from any of the other sects or denominations? The Batakmission took that attitude not only because of the Roman Catholics overwhelming strength in personnel, funds and organization which permitted it to make such rapid inroads into the Batak area, but because from the time of their seminary days the German missionaries had the idea planted in them that the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of the Protestants.

The German Protestant church's (especially its Lutheran side) antipathy and negative evaluation of the Roman Catholic church evident until the beginning of the twentieth century was brought to the Batak area. This was clearly seen in the Batakmission missionaries as they dealt with the coming of the RCM to the Batak area, as well as in the whole Dutch Indies.⁹² As a result, the

1937, in 1941 the numbers had increased to 208 and were found in all areas of the Batak region.

⁹⁰ Fäh, op. cit., p. 26.

⁹¹ This term was found among other places in *JB* 1932/33, p. 33.

⁹² See the two papers read at the 1931 Batakmission Conference:

same idea became planted in the Batak churches, especially in the HKBP.⁹³

In brief, the Batakmission's negative attitude towards the Roman Catholic church was not merely due to its anxiety that its position of supremacy and monopoly in the Batak area would be eroded, but it was also the result of its inherited theological understanding, whether or not that understanding was appropriate and relevant for its present time.

B. The Batakmission's School Development in the Midst of Crisis

No doubt the crisis which resulted from a series of problems made it impossible for the Batakmission to maintain its educational ministry at the same rate of development which it had attained in the two previous periods. Nevertheless, in general the numbers and kinds of its schools and numbers of students increased during this third period as well.

To obtain a detailed picture, we shall present the Batakmission's school development according to each type. We shall also look at factors supporting development, especially the support given by the Batak Christian community, and the development of the Batakmission's attitude or theological view, to complete the analysis made in the previous sections.

1. The Regular Elementary School

The inroads of modern culture followed by new subsidy regulations requiring the consolidation of small schools and the down-grading of most elementary schools to become three-year Village Schools caused a deterioration in both the numbers and quality of the Batakmission's regular elementary schools. But in those areas which had not been opened recently by the

(1) R. Schneider, "Katholische Propaganda in Sumatra und ihre Gefahren für die Batakmission" [Catholic Propaganda in Sumatra and its Danger for the Batakmission] and (2) C. Gabriel, "Wo und wie arbeitet die römische Mission in Niederländisch-Indien?" [Where and how does the Roman Mission work in the Netherlands-Indies?].

⁹³ In the *Konfessi HKBP 1951*, the Roman Catholic Church continues to be placed in the sect category.

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Batakmission, such as the Simalungun and Pakpak interiors, and also in the areas to which emigrants had gone, in fact even in the interiors of areas long opened to the Gospel such as Silindung, Humbang, Toba and Samosir, the regular elementary schools continued to attract the interest of the public. In general, the percentage of gifts in those schools continued to increase.

To be sure, in various places the impact of modern culture and the resurgence of 'traditional paganism' caused a number of church members and general public to become indifferent to Christianity. But for most Bataks in fact it continued to grow stronger. Because lay people were more motivated to want to read the Bible and Christian literature, they were also motivated to learn to read and write. This was followed naturally by an eagerness to take steps to open new schools for their children, as well as to begin literacy courses for adults. In fact, in Dairi the public saw the school as a blessing for them long captive to poverty as a result of drug usage; for them "the school not only brought education, but also civilization, and opened a way for many hearts to receive the Gospel".⁹⁴

This welcome reality was an antidote to the bitter pill which the Batakmission had to swallow from both the *hamajuon* spirit-possessed community and from the government, but it also formed a motive for maintaining its educational ministry. The Batakmission and the RMG saw that "in spite of it all, many blessings came from the Christian schools, thus these formed an important branch of the Batak Church".⁹⁵

2. Schools for Girls and General Women's Education

It would not be too much to say that it was just during this period beset by so many pro-blems that girls' education received its greatest advance both quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition to the continued increase of the percentage of girls in regular elementary schools, and a significant increase in opportunity for gifts to become HIS and MULO students, the number and quality of

⁹⁴ *JB* 1937/38, p. 36.

⁹⁵ *JB* 1937/38, p. 37.

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Girls Schools also increased rapidly, especially beginning in the mid-1920s. But the most prominent ones of them all were in Paeraja, Balige (given the name *Prinses Juliana Meisjesschool*, the Princess Juliana School for Girls), Laguboti, Ambarita, Simorangkir, Butar, Pematang Siantar, and Simsim. In these places, all the girls attended the Girls' School which meant that only boys attended the regular elementary schools (therefore, these were called Schools for Boys or *jongens volks- en vervolgschool*).⁹⁶

Some of these Girls' Schools, namely in Balige and Laguboti, were upgraded to become *Meisjeskopschool* (*Huishoudschool, Haushaltungsschule*), a four or six-year Home Economics School for Girls, whereas the other five became *Inlandse Meisjes Standaard (Vervolg) School*, namely in Simorangkir, Ambarita, Butar, Pematang Siantar and Simsim. Each of those schools was equipped with a dormitory.

Among those girls' schools (*Meisjeskopschool*), there were differences in design and educational emphasis. For example, the *Meisjeskopschool* in Balige was opened in 1925 as a 6 year school and emphasized intellectual instruction, meaning that more theoretical knowledge was taught, including the Malay and Dutch languages, with the objective that the graduates would become clerks or teachers. This school was intended to be at the same level as the government's *Meisjeskopschool* or *Meisjesstandaardschool* so that not too many young Batak women would emigrate from the Batak area. In addition to the teaching staff of German women missionaries (*Schwester*), there were also Batak women teachers who had been graduated from the Women's Normal School (*Meisjesnormaalschool*) in Padangpanjang, West Sumatra, which also stressed intellectual instruction. A significant amount of religious and moral education was given in the dormitory to balance tendencies in the direction of intellectualism. At the same time, the Laguboti Girls' School (*Meisjeskopschool*) was designed as a course of just 4 years and concentrated mostly on practical knowledge or hand skills: household knowledge such as nursing the sick, weaving (to continue or to include the weaving school opened there). This type of education was given to prepare girls to become skilled Christian mothers who would be models in cleanliness, orderliness and piety. But among them were some who were prepared to become teachers' aides in the *Meisjesschool*, most of whom were daughters of pastors and Batak teachers. These were given additional instruction such as offered in the seminary.

⁹⁶ An example of the ratio between the Girls' School and the Boys' School in 1926:

Pearaja:	334	465
Balige:	639	1,118
Laguboti:	513	969
Ambarita:	815	1,238
Simorangkir:	518	581

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In addition to those gifts' schools, there were also three-year Nurses' and Midwives' Schools in Tarutung and Balige. Candidates had to be graduates of the *Meisjeskopschool*. There was also a Sewing School in Barus, leprosarium at the Hutasaalem, especially for the education of women suffering from leprosy (and also for male lepers), and training in practical skills for blind women at Hephata (in addition to training especially for blind males). Furthermore, adding to the *Meisjesstandaardschool* which the government began in the larger cities of Medan, Sibolga and Pematang Siantar during the beginning of the 1920s, it opened a two-year Course for Women Teachers (*Meisjesnormaalleergang*) in Tarutung in 1928.

Perhaps the most important part in the development of education for girls during this period was the founding of the *Sekolah Bijbelvrouw* (school for women evangelists), especially so if viewed from the spiritual nurture of women.

The organization of this school had been pioneered since the opening of the *Frauen Bibelkursus* in 1930 at Laguboti. In 1934, this course was upgraded to become *Sekolah Bijbelvrouw* initially at Narumonda under the guidance of Sister Elfrieda Harder. At first adult women were also accepted as students⁹⁷, but afterwards applicants were limited to just girls. In 1937, as a strategy of consolidation this school was moved to Laguboti at the same time as the movement of the Laguboti *Meisjeskopschool* to Balige, and is still functioning as such.

The *Bijbelvrouw* school's service was very important for the instruction of Batak Christian women, especially married women. In addition to teaching in the Sunday School, its graduates were placed in congregations to assist pastors and teachers with the specific responsibility of nurturing the spiritual life of women and their households.⁹⁸

Having just noted the rapid development in the number of girl students in general schools

⁹⁷ In *Immanuel*, April 29, 1934, Harder broke down the category of student candidates who could be received in schools called *Sikola Ina-ina* (School for Married Women), namely *Ina na mabalu* (widows), *Ina na dibolongkon* (wives who were cast out or abandoned by their husbands) and *Namarbaju na so adong dope rohana muli* (girls who had not wanted to marry yet).

⁹⁸ For details of this *Sekolah Bijbelvrouw*, see P. Sibarani (ed.), *Hobas tu nasa ulaon na denggan 50 Taon Sikola Bibelvrouw HKBP: 1934-1984 dan 30 Taon Departemen Ina HKBP: 1954-1984* (1984).

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(regular elementary schools, HIS and MULO), and also the number of schools designed especially for girls and the number of girl students in those schools, what were the factors which brought this about? First of all, we must note that all this development did not take place without any reference at all to the *hamajuon* spirit. Until the beginning of the 1920s, as had been observed by a number of Bataks, the *Hamajuon* movement had merely touched boys. Therefore, these observers made an appeal for the up-grading of girls' education, and for parents to give an opportunity for their daughters to attend school so that they might be at the same educational level as their sons. Ed. Müller considered that the mushrooming of girls' schools was one of the positive impacts of criticism addressed to the Batakmission because it had been viewed by the Batak community as lacking interest in providing a Dutch as well as a high-school education for girls.⁹⁹

Actually this criticism was not entirely correct because, as we have seen already, the Batakmission's had given great attention to the education of girls during its first period. According to the Batakmission, the main hindrance to the advancement of girls was based in the Batak society itself which until this period had thought that girls did not need to attend school. In any case, that kind of thinking was fading during this third period of the Batak-mission. At the same time, even though the Batakmission had a great desire to open as many schools for girls as possible, the mission fully acknowledged that because of its limited funds and resources it was unable to fulfil the Batak community's awareness of the importance of education for its daughters and its aspiration to have this implemented.

Because the schools provided by the Batakmission and those operated by other private agencies and the government were insufficient to satisfy the aspirations of Batak girls to attend school and to seek advancement, beginning in 1910 their numbers seeking school outside the Batak area continued to increase. Many attended the Nurses and Midwives' School in Medan, the HIS and

⁹⁹ Ed. Müller, in *BRMG* 1931, p. 343.

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MULO in Medan and Batavia, and the Teachers' School for Women in Padangpanjang.¹⁰⁰

Did the desire for advancement (*Hamajuon*) form the only motive for going to school, even to the point of leaving their homeland? If that were true, in what sense should advancement be understood? In 1917, a Batak observer had noted that one of the goals of parents for sending their daughters, to school was in order for them to marry persons with important positions and for them to obtain a larger dowry (*boli*).¹⁰¹ If such a motivation may be classified as *hamajuon*, then it would be meant as a desire to share in its aura, or to enhance the socio-economic status of the husband. The ones having increased prestige would not only be the wives, but also their families and relatives.

This observation is strengthened by Van Bemmelen. According to her, the Batak women continued schooling beyond lower education, not in order to achieve economic freedom as self-supporting women,¹⁰² even though such an opportunity in that direction was rather broad (especially for graduates of HIS, MULO and Teachers School), but rather for them to obtain

¹⁰⁰ For the students in Medan and Batavia, the Batakmission/HKBP tried to obtain housing, funds for school needs, and spiritual nurture (*Immanuel*, June 18, 1933). The Girls' School in Padangpanjang had received Batak girls since 1919, but the school only admitted a maximum of 5 Christian girls per year, see S.T. Van Bemmelen, "Female Education and Changing Patterns of Partnerchoice in Colonial North-Tapanuli: Tradition the Loser?" (unpublished paper, 1986), p. 2ff.

¹⁰¹ I. Nainggolan, in *Immanuel*, May 20, 1917.

¹⁰² According to Van Bemmelen (*op. cit.*, p. 4), the background for this view was found in the Batak adat which considers it improper for a woman to be employed outside her house. But Van Bemmelen continues by saying that this adat view is in opposition to the reality which has been in operation for a long time, meaning that the woman has been the pillar of the household through working in the rice fields or trading in the market. Warneck (*Madju*, p. 320) also noted the reluctance on the part of Batak society to permit Batak women to work outside the home. In general, women teachers stopped teaching after they had a family.

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marriage partners at their same level of education or one higher.¹⁰³ We shall look at this matter further in the next section.

3. Dutch Schools

In order to add to the one HIS already in operation since the second period, namely the HIS in Sigompulon, during this third period, the Batakmission opened seven new HIS: Narumonda (1919), Medan (1929), Pematang Siantar (1932), Sibolga (1934), Padang Sidempuan (1935), Simsim (1937) and Sipirok (1938). In addition, it opened a MULO in Tarutung (1927)¹⁰⁴ and several *Schakelschools*, for example in Simorangkir (1931), Pematang Siantar (1931) and Pematang Raya (1932).

The Narumonda HIS was opened in the complex of the Narumonda seminary after it was closed in 1919. The organization of this HIS did not happen without regard to the disappointment of the Toba community as a result of the entrance examination for the Sigompulon (Tarutung) HIS the year before when just one candidate from the Toba region was accepted, all the others were from Silindung. At that time, the Toba people were stirred up with the spirit of *hamajuon* and anti-European nationalism as initiated by the HKB; they became angry when just one of their students had been accepted. In order to allay their disappointment and at the same time to deal with the danger posed by the 'religionless' government *Standaardschool*, the Batakmission agreed to found this HIS while yet maintaining the same entrance requirements as at Sigompulon, namely that the only children accepted were

¹⁰³ In reality, according to Van Bemmelen (*op. cit.*, p. 4ff), just women graduates of HIS, MULO and the Teachers' School were the ones having difficulty finding mates, especially of the same or higher educational level than themselves. The most popular women were graduates of the *Meisjeskopschool*. Even so, Van Bemmelen notes that in Batak society there was still the thought that women who had a Dutch school education would succeed in find a partner with the same level of education, although this might take longer. Van Bemmelen continues (*op. cit.*, pp. 9ff and 14.) that the government itself indirectly stimulated marriage between those who had both received a Dutch education by trying to strengthen the ties with margas which supported the colonial government, something called "marga politics".

¹⁰⁴ The idea of organizing a MULO was broached in 1922, not long after the government had confirmed the organizing of this school (see Chapter One). The government, in this case resident Ypes, initially wanted the MULO to be founded in Sibolga and be neutral in the matter of religion, in order to take care of students from the South. (*Nota van Overgave*, "Note of Transfer of Authority", Ypes, June 17, 1926.)

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from wealthy families who could loan f 200 to the Batakmission, or children of government officials, pastors and teachers. In its subsequent development, the Narumonda school became a strong competitor for the Sigompulon HIS; moreover these two schools became the largest of the eight HIS sponsored by the Batakmission. One indication of the two schools' superiority used in publicity to attract students was the number of their graduates who were accepted by the MULO in Tarutung and other places. At the same time, the HIS in Pematang Siantar, which had been begun by the Simalungun School Association, had been planned by the Batakmission earlier as a HIS for girls. But the government did not agree and countered by suggesting that this type be opened in the Toba Batak region; it would be sufficient to found just a *Meisjes-kopschool* for Pematang Siantar. In actual fact, a HIS for boys was founded. In addition, three other schools were founded in the same complex: a *Meisjesstandaard/vervolg-school*, *Schakelschool* and a *Normaalschool*.

These schools were categorized as higher schools (*höhere Schulen*) and each was equipped with a dormitory; in fact the Sigompulon HIS had had a dormitory for girls since 1921. It was the presence of dormitories which gave a higher value to the Batakmission's HIS over those of the government. This was the case not only because of the residence provided but also because the dormitories became a place for nurturing Christian character and discipline. Parents also preferred to have their children live in a dormitory even though the charges were high, especially so after the government ceased paying a subsidy for dormitories at the beginning of the 1930s. It was just because of the high cost for providing HIS education plus the dormitory which caused the Batakmission to stipulate that children of the wealthy would be given priority.

Even though the numbers of Dutch schools continued to increase and the cost of schooling remained high, nevertheless the people's interest continued to be great, but without finding an outlet. When the time came to receive new students for the Dutch schools, the numbers who failed to gain entrance were much more numerous than those who were accepted. Sometimes there were parents who were so determined to have their children accepted that they were not above trying bribery. If after that, their children were not accepted, they became very disappointed, so much so that many no longer attended worship and even threatened to become Muslims. A few others founded private Dutch schools.

We may quickly assume what the Batakmission's view would be after seeing this reality of the people's motivation for sending their children to Dutch schools. As was the case in the previous

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period, so during this period also, parental motivation was viewed as governed by socio-economic considerations, namely the desire for their children to obtain a high position or to become employees of companies so they could enjoy the products of modern culture. This in turn flowed into the desire to become wealthy, to be respected and to have power. For the sake of giving body to those desires, there were many parents of limited means who were willing to do anything for the sake of obtaining a Dutch education for their children. They were ready to suffer (eat very little, etc.) and sell their possessions. If all this were still insufficient, the parents asked assistance from relatives; including those from the wife's side (namely, her *hula-hula* or child's uncle) with repayment as we might guess: later the son concerned would have to marry the daughter of the uncle who had paid for his schooling.¹⁰⁵

Such motivation was viewed increasingly as unhealthy by both some missionaries and Bataks themselves. These saw that such motivation was not accompanied by or supported by a desire to seek or to deepen knowledge, but rather merely to seek position and wealth without it being balanced in any way by an interest and thirst for the Gospel or spiritual matters. Furthermore, such shallow motivation caused a loss of interest among the young to cultivate land and become masters of their own destiny.

Not all missionaries always found fault with the enthusiasm for schooling such as just indicated. Sometimes there were missionaries who indicated their amazement at the Bataks' enthusiasm for learning and thirst for higher education which was available both in their own area

¹⁰⁵ J. Meerwaldt, "De HIS in Tapanoeli", in *De Christelijke Onderwijzer* [The Christian Educator], May 23, 1930. The tendency to support the male's in-laws (*sonduk hela*) is directed towards the matrilineal and uxori-local patterns, according to Sonti Simangunsong (in an unpublished paper, "The Uxoril Responsibility in the Urban Toba Batak Society", Medan, IKIP, undated), continues to be known, moreover it has become more evident now even though the pattern is not a main alternative; if so this would denigrate the status of the husband in the eyes of his wife's family, and that too would be in opposition to the conviction that all Bataks are descended from a king.

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and also outside the Batak region. In this vein, Van Bemmelen deemed that this motivation and desire had its background in the poverty of the Batak area itself. Parents realized that satisfactory education was a passport out of poverty for their children and as a guarantee for them to obtain a decent livelihood. In other words, there was a shift in the pattern of social life, from one agriculturally oriented to one administration-oriented.¹⁰⁶

The Batakmission's judgment that the people's motivation for sending their children to Dutch schools was unhealthy caused it to be unenthusiastic about operating Dutch schools at the beginning of this third period. But then the mission quickly realized that if it operated its own Dutch schools, this would result in having Batak government employees who had a basic grounding in Christianity. This would be much more advantageous for the development of Christianity in the Batak area than if Batak young people were educated in religionless government schools. This realization became strengthened after the Batakmission saw that most of the graduates of their Dutch schools continued to maintain their Christian faith and character, and became pioneers in international cooperative Christian youth relationships as initiated by J.R. Mott when he visited the Batak region in 1925. In fact, many of the graduates became leaders in Christian communities to which they had emigrated.

But viewed in a different light, the Batakmission was very concerned about seeing that so many of their Dutch school graduates became unemployed during the Depression of the 1920s and especially the 1930s, because the colonial government limited and in fact reduced the number of its employees. This meant that the anxiety which it had voiced earlier had now been confirmed to a great extent, namely that the excessive 'production' of its schools would result in contributing to the unemployment of 'half-educated' persons.

4. Trade Schools

¹⁰⁶ Van Bemmelen, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

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The Laguboti trade school which we touched on in the last chapter experienced a setback after Pohlig, its founder and first leader, returned to Europe. His successor, Von Eigen (who had worked beside Pohlig as an instructor since 1913), was not a teacher who had mastered the theory of technical knowledge. He was just a competent workman; this meant that his instruction was centred on practical skills without satisfactory supporting theory. From the perspective of the government, the school was not much more than a workshop or a furniture factory.

In order for the school to continue receiving a subsidy, in 1919 the government directed that a revision be made of the curriculum so that its quality would be at the same level as the government's technical school (*Ambachtschool*). This stipulation could not be realized until 1921, shortly after Leithauser, its new teacher, arrived from Germany. For the new curriculum, the period of study was 4 years; 2 years in the technical school (general workmanship) which emphasized the mastery of theory comparable to that given at the government's technical school, and 2 years more for continuing education (*Fortbildung*) in the workshop for motors and metalworking, carpentry and furniture-making, and the printshop and bindery.

It may be of interest to note that knowledge and skills of traditional Batak architecture were also included in the new curriculum, especially Batak houses, complete with the art of wood carving according to the Batak ornamentation. This traditional architecture was linked with that of the West, for example using windows and larger doors in order to increase the circulation of air and to facilitate the entrance of sunlight. Here we note once again how the Batakmission had such a positive attitude and evaluation of those aspects of Batak culture which it felt to be value-neutral, such as language, dress, etc.

Even though the curriculum of the Trade School had been reformed and the number of teachers and specialists had been increased so that the quality of its education became increasingly higher, nevertheless the interest of the Batak people in it remained low, and in fact their interest deteriorated during the 1920s. This situation was directly related to the work ethic followed by Bataks since the opportunity was opened for them to become employees of the colonial

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administration; they appreciated the profession of office work, "white collar jobs" more than that of being artisan-workmen. In contrast, this school and its graduates came to be more appreciated and praised by the government, plantation companies and industry, especially so after the reform of its curriculum. After the 1920s not a single one of its graduates became unemployed or had difficulty finding employment. In fact companies, especially in East Sumatra, competed in offering positions with relatively high wages even during the time of the Depression which struck the Dutch Indies in the 1930s, a time when many graduates of Dutch schools were without work.

Although the people's interest in this school deteriorated, nevertheless the Batakmission never lowered its standards for receiving new students. Whenever announcement was made about receiving new students, it was always stressed that only the most able Batak boys would be accepted. At the same time, the mission emphasized that the goal of the school was not to turn out workers with high position and honour. Behind this emphasis, a gentle criticism of Batak society's obsessive pursuit of position and honour was implied.

At first, this emphasis was not given much attention by the public which continued to be more infatuated with Dutch schools. But after the impact of the Depression became more critical, the mission's criticism became more effective, and parents came in larger numbers to enrol their sons in this school. As a result, the school had to be more selective in accepting students and to increase the school's capacity. In turn, the number of its graduates increased rapidly with most of them working in East Sumatra.¹⁰⁷

Even though most of the graduates moved from the Batak area, nevertheless the school's usefulness in the physical development of the Batakland was sufficiently great, especially in its workshops where the students produced a variety of products before they emigrated.¹⁰⁸ And as

¹⁰⁷ Until 1932, its graduates had reached the number of 539, several of whom were from Sangir (*Immanuel*, July 3, 1932).

¹⁰⁸ In addition to making various kinds of furniture and metal equipment, the workshop connected with the school also took on the construction of school, church, hospital, hotel, and

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touched on before, the products and services which the students produced shared in alleviating some of the Batakmission's financial crisis.

In the meantime the Trade School in Sidikalang continued to operate successfully. As with the one in Laguboti, the Sidikalang school also received a subsidy, even though the latter ceased operation temporarily from 1916-1918 because the government evaluated it as not meeting its standards. Even though the subsidy was reinstated in 1919, the reputation and popularity of Sidikalang was not comparable to that enjoyed by the one in Laguboti. As a result, the Sidikalang school did not receive notice in the Batakmission publications.

5. The Education and Nurture of Church Workers

As a result of the reduction of the subsidy in 1919, the Narumonda seminary had to be closed. Students who were still there were transferred to the seminary at Sipoholon, with its building being used by the HIS which was opened in it the same year. The Sipoholon seminary was not able to receive a new class of students in 1922 and 1932 because it did not receive a government subsidy. The reduction or temporary stopping of the subsidy was closely connected with the government's evaluation that the quality of the graduates of the two schools was lower than that of the graduates of the government teachers' school, a judgment expressed frequently since 1907.¹⁰⁹ In addition, following the principle of religious neutrality the government was not willing to fund education for church workers. Therefore, after just the Sipoholon seminary remained open, the government only granted subsidies for the first two years of the students' education which were considered to be at

residence buildings in various parts of the Batak area (*BRMG*, 1923, p. 55).

¹⁰⁹ Actually, government officials not all and not always gave an unflattering evaluation of the Batak-mission seminary. For example, one *controleur* (the official in charge of a District) who visited the Sipoholon seminary during the beginning of the 1920s, expressed his amazement and concluded that the seminary was impressive in three ways: calmness, cleanliness and providing a good learning process (*BRMG* 1924, p. 24).

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the same level as its *Normaalleergang*, whereas the other two years were considered to be theological education as preparation for service in the congregations and therefore their cost would have to be paid for by the Batakmission itself.

Along with the reduction of subsidies for the seminary, the government also became more stringent in the giving of subsidies to teachers; those subsidized would be only those teachers whose abilities and discipline along with their schools' condition and quality had fulfilled the conditions for receiving subsidies, conditions which from time to time became more strict. As a result, most of the teachers who were still receiving subsidies were no longer able to set aside time and energy for serving their respective congregations. For the sake of the government subsidy, many teachers tended to limit their work to being teachers and gave up their work in congregations. Or in other words, many were no longer willing to fulfil their dual functions. This situation caused the Batakmission to feel that the activities of its school system and the teaching function within it threatened the attainment of its twin main goals, namely evangelism and congregational nurture.

Even so, the Batakmission became more determined to maintain the existence of the Sipoholon seminary and would not hand it over to the government. It appealed to its teachers to continue to fulfil their dual task, even though it never forbade them to opt for being just teachers. The Batakmission was firmly determined to preserve its seminary because it viewed the school as "the main centre for spiritual culture in the Batakland" and "the main centre for the intellectual work of the mission".¹¹⁰ The Batakmission also saw that its people's interest in the seminary remained high in the midst of the raging currents of modern culture penetrating Batak life and notwithstanding the community's great attraction to Dutch schools as well as to the government's and non-mission high schools located both within and without the Batak area. In the eyes of community residents and the

¹¹⁰ *BRMG* 1924, p. 22. Ephorus Verwiebe in his paper given at the IMC Conference at Tambaram, 1938, "The Batak Church in Sumatra" (*Tambaram Series*, vol II, especially pp. 133f) even said: "This work of 800 teachers is a very necessary and effective one."

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Batak Church, for the moment the seminary at Sipoholon even was the *Universiteit di Tano Batak*.¹¹¹

In spite of the government's pressure on the Sipoholon seminary, the Batakmission in cooperation with the local School Association was able to open a new school at Pematang Siantar for the training of teachers (*Normaalleergang*) as a means for overcoming the lack of teachers in the Simalungun area and in the area of East Sumatra where pockets of emigrants were found. In order for its graduates to have the ability to serve congregations, those students who had such an interest would be given the opportunity to continue their studies for two more years in the field of theology at the Sipoholon seminary.

As another approach to deal with the shortage of congregational pastors, particularly in congregations which had lost their subsidized schools or whose teachers did not have school employment, or Batak congregations without schools in places beyond the Batak area, in 1920 the Batakmission opened a Congregational Helpers School (*Gemeindehelferschule*) with a three-month period of study, initially at Narumonda, but it became part of the Sipoholon seminary after 1922. In general, the students already had families and came from both those who were elders and teachers' aides, and regular members of the congregation. Apparently, this school did not operate regularly and was considered unsatisfactory. Therefore, as a means for solidifying "pastoral autonomy" an idea emerged in 1930 for the Batakmission to operate a three-year course to teach congregational teachers having satisfactory abilities to be full-time pastors.¹¹² But apparently this idea never came to fruition because there is no further mention in the documents from the

¹¹¹ J. Matondang in *Immanuel*, March 20, 1938. This expression was meant to quiet voices which began to be heard after 1918. These expressed a desire to have a university or a school of higher education in the Batak region.

¹¹² E. Pichler, "Die Batak Kirche auf Sumatra", in *BRMG* 1930, especially p. 270.

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following years of either the idea itself or its realization.¹¹³

Even though that idea did not become embodied in a program, in the latter part of the 1930s, a Course for Workers in the Congregation (sometimes this was called a Course for Evangelists) was operated in Pangaribuan and Ambarita at about the same level as the School for Helpers in the Congregation already mentioned. Its objective was to prepare workers in congregations located in more remote areas and in places where Bataks had emigrated. There were so many interested in this course that their numbers had to be limited and a selection made. They came from various places in the Batak area and in general were already fathers, in fact some were grandfathers. They had to pay the tuition themselves, yet their morale was very high, and this remained so after they began to serve congregations. Apparently the Batakmission had to be realistic about the limitations of their abilities in taking up a policy of offering such a short course and postponing its intention to open a higher quality school for the training of fulltime church workers.

A two-year Course for Pastors (*Kursus Pandita*) had been in operation for several years to meet the needs as projected by the Batakmission. Beginning in 1921, participants in the course requested that the depth and quality of the curriculum be raised, including placing in it opportunities for studying Dutch. In fact at the 1922 Batak Pastors Conference in Balige, some suggested that their education should be at the same level as that of the European pastors so their status would also be at the same level at the European pastors or missionaries. Of course, this request was not made apart from the spirit of autonomy and nationalism.

At first, the Batakmission, especially Ephorus Warneck, deemed that the request was so ironic as to be laughable, because there was the assumption that the Batak pastors did not as yet have that

¹¹³ Not until 1941 and as a result of the crisis which occurred (see Chapter Seven) and as a result of pressing needs did the HKBP operate a *Sikola Porhanger* (School for Teachers or Leaders in the Congregation) on an emergency basis. In the 1950s, the Sipoholon seminary specialized in teaching Teachers in the Congregation (*Guru Huria*) so that its graduates would no longer have a dual function in school and church, and this school continues to the present. Cf. A. Lumbantobing, *Das Amt*, p. 75.

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satisfactory firmness of character for becoming leaders of the church and to be at the same level as the European missionaries, to say nothing of being able to replace the latter. At the same time, the RMG considered the request to be an expression of a desire to have more of western culture. But in 1924, the request to study Dutch was granted because it was acknowledged that there was a minimum amount of theological literature in either Batak or Malay, as well as any other kind of scientific literature. Beginning at that time too, thought was given to increasing pastors' education to four years with its candidates being unmarried and graduates of MULO (even though at that time, the MULO was no more than an idea and was not opened until 1927 at Tarutung). A slight amount of thought was being given to sending candidates to Europe with the specification that the candidates would be those selected at the Batakmission's initiative and not by the initiative of the candidates themselves or of other mission bodies.¹¹⁴ But this idea never took shape in the Batakland up until the end of this third period.

But a reformation of the curriculum for the education of pastors was begun in 1926. In the proposal for its reformation, it was stated that the length of the course would be 4-5 years, with an additional one year internship (*Probezeit, vikariat*). The candidates must be graduates of the HIS, who had also studied 4 years in the teachers' seminary and who had served as a teachers for a minimum of 3 years. An exception to the requirement to have been a graduate of the HIS could be given to a teacher who was considered to be exceptionally capable. In actuality, the length of study

¹¹⁴ There had once been a Batak youth, H.T. Lumbantobing (son of Pastor Paulus Lumbantobing), a former clerk in the office of the Barus controller who was taken by him to the Netherlands without the knowledge of either his family or church, but later (1924) he was abandoned there. Ephorus Warneck requested the help of the Oegstgeest Mission Board to arrange if possible for him to attend a school for pastors or to obtain work, and at the same time Warneck expressed the hope that this would not be repeated. At the initiative of a Dutch pastor in Batavia, another Batak youth by the name of Abidan was sent to the Netherlands in order to study theology (the place was not mentioned). With reference to Abidan, Warneck stressed that he had never been received as pastor in the Batak Church (Warneck's letter to SZC/ZB in Oestgeest, July 14, 1924).

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became shortened to 3 years and the school was called the Pastors' School (*Sikola Pandita*), but all the conditions mentioned above remained in force.

While the 3 year *Sikola Pandita* at Sipoholon was functioning well, the idea of implementing pastors' education at the higher education level was brought to the fore again in 1930. This was done in connection with the development within the body of the Batak Church itself, namely the establishment of the new Church Order which theoretically gave an independent status to the Batak Church (HKBP). Seeing that a similar idea had arisen in other churches of the Dutch Indies, and in giving heed to the suggestion of Kraemer who had visited the Batak area that same year, the HKBP was of one mind in giving form to the thought of establishing a higher school for theological education in cooperation with other churches. This idea became realized with the founding of the *Hoogere Theologische School* (HTS) at Buitenzorg (Bogor) in August, 1934.¹¹⁵

Preparation to that end had been begun in 1931 and involved the raising of funds, the appointment of professors, and the selection of student candidates.¹¹⁶ With special reference to the matter of finances, the HKBP Great Synod in 1932 decided on the formation of a Theological Education School Fund (*Studiefonds Theologische School*). Its board would be made up of the Ephorus and members of the HKBP's Central Committee (*Parhalado Pusat*) which represented the Church's five districts. The *Studiefonds* board was given the responsibility of raising f 5,000 at the first stage (it succeeded) and then f 3,000 per year for the HTS, outside of the regular monthly budget for students sent by the HKBP.

Even though the Depression continued, the lay persons were very enthusiastic about collecting

¹¹⁵ For the details of the opening of the HTS and its development, see the articles in the *Sekolah Ting-gi Theologia Jakarta's Fiftieth Anniversary Book, Tabah Melangkah* (1984). (STTJ is a continuation of HTS.)

¹¹⁶ The first professor for theological subjects at HTS was Dr. Th. Müller-Krüger, a Batakmission missionary, and the first students from the HKBP were P.T. Sarumpaet, T. Sihombing, and K. Sitompul.

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to meet the fund's goal. They were motivated by an intense desire to have their own leaders as quickly as possible and at the same quality level as the European pastors.¹¹⁷ With the founding of the HTS, the Batakmission and the HKBP discontinued their intention to send their talented candidates to Europe. Moreover after they saw that this school was a nursery for planting the seed of ecumenism, and a place for developing a theology relevant to the needs of the Dutch Indies and each church's own region (as reflected in the curriculum which gave a place for the languages of the regions) the Batak and mission leaders no longer harboured anxieties that the graduates of this school would be uprooted from the soil where their roots had been growing.

While various educational programs for church worker candidates were taking place, programs for the in-service training of pastors continued smoothly. These programs were intended to upgrade the abilities of those serving congregations and (especially for teachers) for those teaching in the schools, as well as to maintain the quality of their characters and morals, without these being eroded by the materialistic currents of modern culture.

Among the Batak church workers themselves, there was an effort to nurture one another and to struggle together for the improvement of their situation (salaries and status) through a series of conferences and also through the printed media of *Immanuel* and *Siadjipanoetoeri*.

Particularly for teachers who wished to continue in their profession as mission teachers, the *Hamajuon* movement became one of the motivating factors for forming an association which had as one of its goals to struggle against their social-economic conditions so that their salaries and status would be more comparable to that of teachers in government schools. Initially, in 1918, this association took the name, *Kongsi Guru-guru Mission di Tano Batak* ("The Mission Teachers' Association in the Batakland"). Later, the members changed the name to: *Sarikat Goeroe Zending* (Mission Teachers Association) to counter-act the *Sarikat Islam*; but in 1919 they choose a name which continued to the end of this third period, namely *Parsahataan Goeroe Kristen Batak* (PGKB; "The Fellowship of Batak Christian Teachers").

¹¹⁷ In *Immanuel*, April 18, 1933, an unnamed writer on behalf of all members of the HKBP expresses his hope that the candidates whom the HKBP sent to the HTS would become capable leaders filled with the Holy Spirit. The hope and aspiration expressed must not be seen apart from the reality that until the 1930s, there were still two titles for pastors: *tuan pandita* or *dominee* (for European pastors) and *pandita Batak* (Batak pastor), which implied a difference in status.

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From the time of the PGKB's founding in 1919, it published *Siadjipanoetoeri* as a means of communication. Initially its editor was J. Meerwaldt (a son of J.H. Meerwaldt, who was a teacher at the Narumonda seminary beginning in 1915, but later he moved to the HIS in Narumonda and afterwards to the Sipoholon seminary). But he resigned a year later in 1920 because he felt that most of the teachers' writings were too political, of the same tone as the HKB's, and were not directed towards the advancement of education. However, the Batakmission leaders did not fully concur with his wishes, and he continued to remain a member of the editorial board. After that, the board's leadership was in the hands of Batak teachers. There were also Batak teachers who were not in agreement with the content of the bulletin, i.e. they did not support the independence movement. They thought that the contents "bared too much of itself", namely the difficult life of the teachers rather than holding up ministry in congregation and school.

In addition to nurturing congregational workers, the Batakmission also gave attention to the nurturing students as part of a program to hinder the negative impact of modern culture, and also to stimulate the intellectual side of the Christian youth. For this purpose and in cooperation with the German and Dutch YMCAs, in 1916 the Batakmission brought in Dr. E. Verwiebe as a specialist in young people's affairs (in 1936-1940 he became Ephorus). Thanks to this effort, a Batak Christian youth and student organization affiliated with the YMCA was formed in both the Batak area and in places where young people had moved. Each year during the long vacation this organization held a meeting in the Batak area period for the purpose of nurturing the young people in the Gospel. Moreover, in 1934, the group organized its own schools.¹¹⁸ For the Batakmission, the nurturing of students and youth was an integral part of its whole educational ministry and the meetings which it organized were viewed as most effective for "education for thinking ecclesiastically".¹¹⁹ This program went on in parallel with programs announced in 1921 for special age groups such as men, women, young women and men, and children, but it became really operational about the middle of the 1930s. From this we see that the Batakmission's educational ministry was not only conducted through schools, but also through various programs of nurture in

¹¹⁸ This youth and student organization was closely connected with the WSCF (World Student Christian Federation) led by J.R. Mott, and it published a bulletin entitled, *Surat Parsaoran* [Circular Letter]. The cost of the meetings was born in part from the Batak Mission treasury.

¹¹⁹ *BRMG* 1933, p. 205.

congregations and through age-groups.

C. Table and Statistics

(see next pages)

Kinds of Schools Operated by the RMG/Batakmission

Name of School	Opening	Length of Study	Subsidy	Leadership	Remarks
A. Elementary					
Batak language	1861	3-6 years	Some after 1893	Initially missionary later Batak teacher	- Attended morning and evening - At first incl. Catechism - Became <i>Volksschool</i> in 1915
Girls' school	1890	3 years	-----	Sisters	After 1920s some raised to <i>Meisjesvervolgschool</i>
Children of Chiefs	1900	5-6 years	Yes	Missionary	Cancelled in 1907; some became a seminary others <i>Vervolgschool</i> or Elementary School
Laboratory School	1904	5 years	Yes	Missionary	In 1920s became <i>Vervolgschool</i>
Dutch School (Became <i>HIS</i> in 1914)	1910	6-7 years	Yes	Dutch teachers	1 st in Tarutung (1910) 8 th in Sipirok (1938)
Vervolgschool	1917	3 years	Yes	Batak teachers	Continuation of 3-year <i>Volksschool</i>
B. School for Teacher and Christian Worker					
Catachetical School (Parausorat)	1868	2 years	No	Missionary	Closed 1877, moved to Pansur Napitu
<i>Sikola Mardalan-dalan</i>	1874	2 years	No	Missionary	Forerunner of seminary at Pansur Napitu
Seminary Pansur Napitu	1877	2 years	No	Missionary	Closed 1901, moved to Sipoholon
Seminary Sipoholon	1901	4 yrs after 1881 4 years	Yes	Missionary	In 1924 subsidy just for first 2 years
Seminary Narumonda	1907	4 years	Yes	Missionary	Ex School for Children of Chiefs
Pastors' Course	1884	1 -3 years	No	Missionary	Teachers and School in the same location as the seminary
Evangelist Course	1880	Several months	No	Missionary	Various places
Elders' Course	1880s	-----	No	Missionary	-----
Aide in congregation	1922	-----	No	Missionary	To overcome lack of church workers
Bijbelvrouw	1934	2-3 years	No	Sisters	Began 1930, as <i>Frauenbibel</i> course

C. Second. Education / Vocational Education

Vocational School	1900	2-4 years	Yes	Missionary	Began in 1874 as and expert practice in carpentry
Nurse School	1905	1-3 years	Yes	Doctors	Yoked with medical and Sister ministry
Agricultural School	1913	2 years	Yes	Agricultural Expert	Closed 1915 without explanation
Meisjeskopsch.	1920s	4-6 years	Yes	Sisters	Continuation of Girl's School
<i>MULO</i>	1927	4 years	Yes	Dutch teachers	Continuation of <i>HIS</i> teachers &
<i>Schakelsch.</i>					
<i>Schakelschool</i>	1930	2 years	Yes	Dutch teachers	Continuation of teachers <i>Vervolgschool</i>
<i>Normaalleergang</i>	1930	2 years	Some	Dutch teachers	Preparing school teachers
Weavingschool	1913	Various	Some	Sisters	Some of those linked to <i>Meisjeskopschool</i>
Sewingschool	1927	Several Months	No	Missionaries' wives	Incidental

Quantitative Development of Congregations and Schools 1918-1938

Due to World War I there are no statistics for the period 1914-1917; due to World War II, no statistics for the period 1939-1940
Elementary School includes *HIS*, *Schakelschool* and *Vervolgschool*

Year	Congregation		Members	Western Workers			Indigenous Workers			School	Pupils		High---	Total		
	Main	Branch		Pastor	Lay M.	Lay F.	Pastor	Evang.	Teacher		Elders	Element. High			Boys	Girls
1918	40	465	185.731	53	7	11	43	19	788	2.241	520	4	-	-	26.796	
1919	40	465	190.312	50	6	11	48	21	837	2.253	520	4	22.664	4.301	255	27.220

Fout! Bladwijzer niet gedefinieerd.

1920	40	486	194.338	49	9	15	43	18	793	2.240	509	4	21.200	3.429	242	24.871
1921	32	502	196.706	37	9	10	36	13	822	2.176	510	5	22.355	3.640	367	26.362
1923	32	492	210.416	32	9	10	44	15	757	2.302	486	5	21.495	5.288	487	27.270
1924	32	498	216.589	30	9	10	39	21	637	2.237	433	5	19.314	5.161	734	25.209
1925	26	497	223.069	28	10	10	48	19	652	2.182	414	5	19.175	5.708	765	25.648
1926	25	504	228.677	30	12	11	46	22	662	2.209	427	5	21.352	6.340	-	-
1927	25	482	243.199	27	4	9	46	28	680	2.285	430	6	22.148	6.734	886	29.768
1928	25	490	254.871	33	17	12	47	32	713	2.282	443	6	22.895	7.032	890	30.817
1929	25	537	273.076	33	20	15	50	22	-	2.413	462	6	24.443	7.298	894	32.635
1930	25	540	292.754	23	17	10	48	25	743	2.292	462	6	26.819	8.733	697	36.249
1931	29	618	313.086	28	21	15	57	20	920	2.624	524	5	29.730	10.074	873	40.677
1932	27	636	329.972	28	19	19	58	21	954	2.728	524	5	31.603	11.493	904	44.000
1933	27	636	343.013	29	19	18	53	30	894	2.816	512	5	30.290	11.729	-	-
1934	27	636	356.615	30	17	20	51	31	914	2.940	561	5	29.650	12.169	-	-
1935	27	636	368.535	25	16	17	55	10	953	3.011	576	5	28.629	12.693	-	-
1936	27	636	381.687	26	18	17	52	12	961	3.142	585	5	29.927	13.257	-	-
1937	28	-	398.821	26	21	24	52	19	1.067	3.267	584	5	33.604	16.497	-	-
1938	29	729	416.206	27	20	23	54	12	1.110	3.403	646	5	36.181	18.300	-	-

summarized from the statistical data in *JB* 1915-1940