

**THE ENCOUNTER OF THE BATAK PEOPLE
WITH RHEINISCHE MISSIONS-GESELLSCHAFT
IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION (1861-1940)**

a historical-theological inquiry

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad tot doctor
aan de Universiteit Utrecht
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, Prof.Dr. H.O. Voorma
in gevolge het besluit van het College van Decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op donderdag 15 juni 2000 des voormiddags te 10.30 uur

door

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geboren op 22 januari 1952 te Sibolga, Indonesia

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PART ONE

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P R E F A C E

The role and contribution of the church as pioneered by European mission boards in the advancement of the schooling of the Bataks, especially the Christians, is common knowledge. But were the mission bodies the only agents? What and how extensive was the role of the Bataks themselves? Then too, what was the extent of the Dutch Indies colonial government's role in Batak education, particularly when addressing the educational progress of the Bataks in the pre-independence period of Indonesian people?

This writing will try to relate the history of education in the form of schooling among the Christian Bataks based on the hypothesis that their educational advancement was the result of the encounter between the Bataks and the mission boards, and to a certain degree because of the involvement of the colonial government. The mission board chosen as the partner in the encounter with the Bataks was the Rhenish mission (*Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft*, RMG), a German mission board whose personnel worked in the Batak area and surroundings from 1861-1940.

With this hypothesis as our starting point, this writing attempts to describe the foundation, motivation, goal and content of the schooling which was conducted by the RMG during the time of its presence there. In addition, we shall note the RMG's educational views, and the place and function of education in the whole system of its ministry. From another perspective, we shall indicate the factors which motivated the Bataks to enthusiastically welcome that educational ministry. We shall also consider the role of Bataks themselves in the encounter, their motives and objectives for having the schools along with noting their traditional system of education.

In order to obtain a complete picture, it was necessary to utilize the results of various scientific disciplines. Even so, the main focus of this study was placed on theology, especially church history and missiology.

This dissertation would not have been completed without the stimulation, guidance and criticisms

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of several scholars in the field of Church History and Missiology: Prof. Dr. J.A.B. Jongeneel and Prof. Dr. F. Ukur as promoters, and Dr. Th. van den End as copromotor. In addition, I mention Prof. Dr. L. Schreiner, Prof. Dr. M.R. Spindler, Dr. Chr. de Jonge, and Dr. J.R. Hutauruk. To all of them, he expresses his deepest and most heartfelt gratitude. He also wishes to thank all research librarians in libraries and archives both in Indonesia and abroad who graciously placed their facilities at his disposal, especially: the Library and Archives of the United Evangelical Mission (VEM, read: RMG) in Wuppertal, Germany, the Library and Archives of the Hendrik Kraemer Institute in Oegstgeest, the Netherlands, the Library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, KITLV) in Leiden, the General Government Archives (*Algemeen Rijksarchief*, ARA) in The Hague, the Library of the Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, the Libraries of the Theological Seminaries (*Sekolah Tinggi Teologi*) in Jakarta and in Pematang Siantar, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*) in Jakarta, the Library of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (*PDIN-Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*, LIPI) in Jakarta, and the Center for Documentation and Research of Batak Culture (*Pusat Dokumentasi dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Batak*), Nommensen University.

While confessing the author's very limited proficiency in English, he has to express his gratitude to Prof.Dr. Robert R. Boehlke, his professor during his undergraduate study in Jakarta Theological Seminary, who willingly spent his very precious time to translate this dissertation from Indonesian.

This writing has actually been published by E.J. Brill (Leiden) in 1994 under the title, *Mission Schools in Batakland (Indonesia), 1861-1940*. Basically the text of this dissertation is just the same with that book, except some minor modification as well as typing and redactional correction. The author expressed his gratitude to the publisher for the permission given to use and to modify that book to be this dissertation.

Finally, expressions of thanks go out to the rector of *Universiteit Utrecht*, Prof.Dr. H.O. Voorma, to the dean of Faculty of Theology (*Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid*), Prof. Dr. H.J.

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Tieleman, to the Director of *Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica (IIMO)*, Prof.Dr. Anton Houtepen, who opened the opportunity for the defence of this dissertation in this distinguished university. Also to all persons who contributed their special knowledge through interviews, and to all those who have shared in providing facilities, moral and financial support for the completion of this writing, especially to Global Ministries of the Uniting Churches in the Netherlands (read: *Raad voor de Zending der Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*) and to Eukumindo (*Eukumenische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Indonesie*).

As is the case with all human work, this writing has not escaped from its share of shortcomings. While awaiting criticisms, corrections, and suggestions, the author hopes that this writing may provide the basis for further discussion and research on this and related topics. He particularly hopes that this writing may make a small contribution towards understanding the Batak Church and Society both in the past and present.

Jakarta/Utrecht, February 2000

Jan S. Aritonang

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AMS	Algemeene Middelbare School [General Middle School]
AMZ	<i>Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift</i> [General Mission Journal]
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief, [General Government Archive]
ASB	Algemeen Schoolbeheer [General School Administration]
ASR	Algemeene Subsidieregeling [General Subsidy Regulation]
BM	Batakmission
BMG	Basler Missions Gesellschaft [Basel Mission Society]
BNZ	Batak Nias Zending [Batak-Nias Mission]
<i>Der Bote</i>	<i>Der Bote am Toba See</i> [The Lake Toba Messenger]
BRMG	<i>Berichte der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft</i> [Reports of the Rhenish Mission Society]
CRO	Commissie voor het Rechtsverkeer in Oorlogstijd [Wartime Legal Affairs Commission]
DOE	Department van Onderwijs en Eeredienst [Department of Education and Religion]
DOEN	Department van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid [Department of Education, Religion and Industry]
ELS	Europeesche Lagere School [European Elementary School]
EM	<i>Die Evangelischen Missionen</i>
EML	<i>Evangelische Missionslehre</i> [Protestant Missiology]
EMM	<i>Evangelisches Missions-Magazin</i>
EMZ	<i>Evangelische Missionszeitschrift</i>
HBS	Hoogere Burger School [Sr. High School]
HIS	Hollandsch-Inlandsche School [Elementary School Conducted in Dutch]

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HKB	Hatopan Kristen Batak [Batak Christian Federation]
HKBP	Huria Kristen Batak Protestan [Batak Protestant Christian Church]
HKI	Huria Kristen Indonesia [Indonesian Christian Church]
HTS	Hoogere Theologische School [Higher Theological School]
IMC	International Missionary Council
<i>IRM</i>	<i>International Review of Missions</i>
<i>JB</i>	<i>Jahresbericht der RMG</i> [RMG Annual Report]
<i>JV-ZCt</i>	<i>Jaarverslag van het Zendingsconsulaat</i> [Annual Report of the Mission Consulate]
<i>KMF</i>	<i>Der Kleine Missionsfreund</i> [The Little Friend of Missions]
<i>MB</i>	<i>Missionsblatt</i> [Mission Paper]
<i>MNZG</i>	<i>Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap</i> [Bulletin of the Netherlands Missionary Society]
MPPK	Majelis Pusat Pendidikan Kristen [Central Board of Christian Education]
MULO	Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs [Dutch Language Secondary School]
MvK	Minister van Kolonien
<i>NAMZ</i>	<i>Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift</i> [New General Missions Journal]
NHM	Nederlandsche Handel-maatschappij [Dutch Trading Company]
NIAS	Nederlandsch-Indische Artsen School [Dutch Indies Doctors' School]
NSV	Nommensen Schoolvereeniging [Nommensen School Association]
OSVIA	Opleidingsschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren [School for the Training of Indigenous Government Officials]
PMB	Pardonganon Mission Batak [Batak Mission Association]
PSK	Perhimpunan Sekolah-sekolah Kristen [Christian School Association]
RBHG	Rheinische-Bornesische-Handels-Gesellschaft [Rhenish-Borneo Trading Company]
RMG	Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft [Rhenish Mission Society]

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RZ	<i>De Rijnsche Zending</i> [The Rhenish Mission]
SD	Sekolah Dasar [Elementary School]
SFR	Soemba-Flores Regeling [Sumba-Flores Regulation]
STOVIA	School tot Opleiding voor Inlandsche Artsen [School for the Training of Indigenous Physicians]
VEM	Vereinigde Evangelische Mission [United Evangelical Mission]
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie [Dutch East Indies Company]
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
ZB	Zendingsbureau [Oegstgeest Mission Department]
ZC	Zendingsconsul [Mission Consul]
ZCt	Zendingsconsulaat [Mission Consulate]
ZNB	Zendingsnoodbestuur [Emergency Mission Board]

INTRODUCTION

As a result of the initiative of various mission boards, the involvement of the church in the field of education or schooling has been part of the Indonesian scene practically speaking, since the onset of the church's presence from early part of the 19th century. The personnel of the mission boards were present in particular social, cultural, political, economic and religious contexts peculiar to their time. These were not only different from the contexts of their church and country of origin, but had their own distinctive complex variations in Indonesia as well.

Like it or not, the mission personnel were challenged to interact with these different and complicated contexts. For purposes of this study, such interaction will be called *encounters*. Each encounter could have had different results, harmonization or also conflict. In any case, one thing was certain, dialogue occurred in the encounter which in turn issued in something new or in change both to the mission personnel themselves and to the individuals and also to the community encountered in the course of their ministry of mission as well.

The Batak tribe was one of the many tribal groups in Indonesia experiencing this encounter; the main partners to the encounter were German personnel from the Rhenish Mission Board (*Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft*, RMG) who had organized educational opportunities since the beginning of their presence in the Batakland.

Before we analyze details related to the two parties of the encounter and the content of the encounter itself, we need to sketch the social and political situation of the Bataks at the time of the encounter and the beginning of the work of the mission boards in this region.

The Batak people who dwelled in the area around Lake Toba for thousands of years form one tribal group made up of several members: Toba, Mandailing-Angkola, Simalungan, Karo and Pakpak.¹ Each of these has its own distinctive characteristics, such as language or dialect, tribal law

¹ Researchers are not all in agreement as to the division of the Batak tribe. Some hold that the Gayo-Alas group in southeast

and social structure, yet they also share similarities as well, such as clan traditions, patterns related to the basis of the family, i.e. *dalihan na tolu*, and belief systems which formed a unity with all aspects of life.²

Aceh form one group; others say that the Pardembanan Batak who live in the Asahan-Labuhanbatu area are a separate tribe; others separate the Mandailing from the Angkolan and even the Sipirok from Angkolan. However this writer will use the classification mentioned in the text, but with primary emphasis upon the *Toba Batak*.

² A rather extensive analysis of *Habatahon* (tribal law, social-political structure along with various aspects of Batak culture) will be made in Chapter II in connection with the Batak traditional educational system.

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Traditionally, their region of residence was known as *Tano Batak* (Batak Land) but it was not identical with the residency of Tapanuli and the Bataklands District (*afdeeling Bataklanden*), the administrative region established by the Dutch Colonial government³, but goes beyond them.

Although the Batak society, especially in the hinterlands, lived in relative isolation until the beginning of the 19th century, others lived in coastal areas or were on borders with other tribes, and these had contact with the outside world, including the western world, for quite some time.⁴

Intensive contact with the West began in the 19th century with the coming of missionaries and representatives of the colonial government.

As far as can be determined, the first western missionaries to the Bataks were R. Burton and N. Ward from the English Baptist Board who came in 1824. In addition, there were various relationships begun due to the effort and policy of Lieutenant Governor Raffles, an officer of the English colonial power which continued to exercise authority in Sumatra at that time. In 1834, H. Lyman and S. Munson from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions came to the Batak area. Their presence cannot be divorced from the effort of the Dutch military which began to occupy the southern part of the Batak region in the 1830s and which encouraged the coming of missionaries. Not long after Lyman and Munson were martyred, the same board sent J. Ennis as their successor.

Even though they were not successful in gaining converts from the Bataks, and did not found schools (but there was a plan to that effect), yet their efforts were not entirely in vain. Their travel notes, tracts and translations of parts of the Bible were of great value for those who followed.⁵

After 1857, several missionaries either came on their boards initiative or in cooperation

³ The Dutch colonial government established the Tapanuli residency in 1842 as a part of the Sumatran West Coast Province. After 1906, the Tapanuli residency became an autonomous region divided originally in to two areas: (1) the Batakland District which included Dairi, Samosir, Barus, Toba Habinsaran, Toba Hasundutan and Silindung, and (2) the Padang Sidempuan District involving Angkola, Sipirok, Padanglawas, Natal and Mandailing. See M. Joustra: *De Residenten van Tapanoeli*, in *Neerlandia* no. 6, June 1917, p. 117 and L. Castles, *The Political Life of a Sumatran Residency: Tapanuli 1915-1940*, (1972), pp. viif.

⁴ Paul B. Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul, The Development of National Batak Churches in North Sumatra*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, (1970), pp. 16-18, and W.B. Sidjabat, *Ahu Si Singamangaraja*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan (1982), pp. 31-58. Both books portray contacts of the Bataks with neighboring societies and kingdoms as well as with influences from other parts of Asia and also from the West before the arrival of missionaries.

⁵ L. Schreiner, "The Church in Northern Sumatera: A Look at Its Past and Future" in W. J. Danker (ed.), *The Future of the Christian World* (1971), p. 66.

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with the Dutch East Indies government. Among those who could be mentioned are G. van Asselt and W.F. Betz, who were sent from a mission group from the small Dutch city of Ermelo and worked in the Sipirok area and surroundings, that is, the area controlled by the Dutch. In addition to evangelization, they founded schools also. After several of the missionaries joined the Rhenish mission on October 7, 1861, management of the schools was placed under the RMG also.

In addition to the missionaries, a linguist, H.N. van der Tuuk, was sent by the Dutch Bible Society. He conducted research among the Bataks for eight years (1849-1857), especially in and around the Barus area. He succeeded in writing about the Batak language, its system of script and literature, composed a Batak-Dutch dictionary, Batak grammar, translated parts of the Bible, and made a collection of folk stories and documents written in the Batak script.⁶

After 1840, the Dutch Indies colonial government itself through its local officials initiated the organizing of elementary schools in the areas it controlled.⁷

In 1861, personnel from the Rhenish mission came to work in the midst of this Batak community which had had intensive contacts with the outside and had come to be acquainted with a western style of education.⁸ But RMG missionaries, especially Nommensen, realized quickly that their efforts would not bear fruit if they worked only among the coastal Bataks, or those living in areas dominated by Dutch authority, because a large percentage of them were Muslims. Accordingly, they decided to work in the interior, in the heart of the Batakland which the colonial government had called an area of independence (*onafhankelijk gebied*). This heartland was relatively unaffected by outside influences so that the missionaries were able to encounter Batak society in its original shape and expression, including its educational approach.

When the RMG missionaries initiated their work in Batakland, they possessed certain understandings and general ideas already about education and matters connected with it which had

⁶ Although Van der Tuuk was not a missionary, but rather a humanistic linguist, nevertheless his works helped RMG missionaries very much later, including organizing of their schools, especially during the earliest years. In fact, several missionaries learned the Batak language from him; see *BRMG* 1861, p. 10; 1882, p. 69. See also Chapter II and IV below. Guillaume, a missionary, in his essay *Regierung und Mission* [Government and Mission] (1908), p. 2, acknowledged Van der Tuuk as one of the pioneering missionaries to the Bataks.

⁷ I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* [A History of Education in the Netherlands Indies] (1938), p. 239.

⁸ The RMG had worked in Kalimantan (Borneo) from 1835-1859, before coming to the Batak area.

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been communicated to them in their seminary preparation especially in Barmen. Based upon the understandings and ideas received, they set out to fashion a strategy and program of education.

Arriving at their field of ministry, i.e. Batakland, the missionaries encountered Batak society with its own social, political, cultural, religious and educational systems. They did not come rapidly to an accurate comprehension of the Bataks' system of education along with the philosophy which formed its foundation. Therefore, the RMG missionaries began to apply the ideas and presuppositions brought from Germany. But through the process of encounter lasting some time, and learning from others, both missionaries and non-missionaries, they gradually came to a truer understanding of the Batak systems mentioned. Based upon this new understanding, they set about to compose a new approach and policy for their work, including education. But they did not discard their original thinking in its entirety; some parts were maintained, in fact strengthened, until they ended their work among the Bataks.

But the effects of the encounter were not one-sided. For their part, the Bataks, too, experienced changes as a result of meeting with the missionaries. On the one hand, they became more consciously aware of what they had and needed to defend; on the other hand they realized that there were elements in their system which could no longer be supported. The Bataks saw that much of what the missionaries brought and offered were more beneficial and more fully answered their needs. But not all ideas and practices brought by the missionaries were acceptable. They were adept at demonstrating an attitude of rejection and opposition for whatever failed to fit into their way of life.

Accordingly through the actual teaching or the organizing of mission schools among the Bataks, interaction and dialogue occurred between the missionaries and the Bataks; this process did not always result in adaptation and adjustment, but rather clashes. What is clear, however, is that each side learned from the other member of the encounter and was enriched through the process involved.

In order to present a complete picture of the encounter, this writing is divided into three major

sections.

Part One presents an overview of the context and background of the encounter including a general description of each party involved. This part is divided into three chapters: Chapter One summarizes the history of education in Indonesia. Its purpose is to show the degree that missionary education in Indonesia in general and the educational system of the RMG in Batakland in particular were not only connected with but were dependent upon the Dutch Indies colonial government's system of education. Chapter Two gives a brief description of Batak society before and during the coming of the missionaries, with emphasis upon its traditional educational system. This chapter will help us see which aspects and elements of the Bataks' traditional educational system could be maintained in the RMG educational system or on the contrary rejected, and the reasons for either action on the part of the mission personnel. Chapter Three sketches the details of the educational philosophy which they held and developed, before and after working among the Bataks, and how that philosophy was bequeathed to them before they arrived in Batakland. In addition, we shall attempt to show what other actors played a part in building and enriching the educational philosophy and policy of the missionaries. All this should help us gain an understanding of the educational effort, philosophy and policy developed by the RMG in Batakland. At the same time, this should assist in seeing whether there were any influences and contributions from the RMG-Batak encounter which confirmed the RMG educational philosophy in its homeland.

Part Two analyzes the educational efforts of the RMG during the time of its work among the Bataks, i.e. from 1861 to 1940, and also shows the twists and turns of the process of encounter with Batak society. This time-frame is sufficiently long to be divided into three periods or sections based upon characteristics and themes prominent in each period. But it must be emphasized that these divisions are not absolute, because what happened or was related to one period was not really unique to it and therefore could be separated or differentiated from the period before or the one which followed. Structuring this history according to time periods is meant to help discern issues which were prominent in each period, but at the same time the whole period of time from 1861-

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1940 must be seen as an historical unity from beginning to end.

The first period (1861-1882) to be analyzed in Chapter Four was a time of pioneering and of foundation-laying for the educational system and network. At this time the Rhenish missionaries did not have a clear and firm philosophy of education. The second period (1883-1914) studied in Chapter Five attains the high-water mark of educational development both quantitatively and qualitatively: the number of schools and pupils affected increased, and the philosophy of education became more stable after a time of intense struggle on the part of missionaries to develop an educational system fitted to the needs of Batak society. The third period (1915-1940) discussed in Chapter Six describes the crisis which engulfed the Rhenish mission in general and its educational ministry in particular due to overwhelming problems and developments within as well as outside the Batak area. This second part concludes with an *Epilogue* in Chapter Seven which presents a brief explanation why the Rhenish mission was forced to end its activities among the Bataks with its impact upon the entire educational effort and network of schools which had been built up for almost 80 years.

This writing ends with *Part Three* comprising an evaluation, conclusion and reflection on the process of encounter with its collateral complex of problems. Chapter Eight summarizes various impacts of the Rhenish mission's educational work, especially on the Batak people, and also shows the fruit of the educational ministry for both parties, formerly and presently as well.

Finally, several technical notes need to be made to make it easier for the reader to understand and evaluate this rather lengthy writing.

1. As reflecting the rifle, there must be information and data presented in a balanced form from the side of the mission boards, especially the Rhenish mission, and also from the Bataks. But information from the latter is very limited, whether in the form of written documents or through interviews with older informants. However, sources from the mission boards are extensive and preserved in an orderly fashion in the mission files. Added to these are writings by westerners as well as those found in the colonial government archives. Accordingly, the portion of information

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and data from the mission boards and westerners are much more extensive. Even so, we assume that the information and data attributed to Bataks themselves as set forth in western writings are true. At a minimum, in western writings we can infer what was said by Bataks even though we must interpret their remarks beforehand.

2. This writing may be characterized as descriptive and analytical, rather than interpretive. The choice of this methodology for reporting the history described is based on the awareness that this book is but the result of a beginning study of the theme embodied in its title. Therefore, this book should be considered an introduction to a deeper study of the issues summarized here. Nevertheless, we have tried to present quantitative and informative data in balance with matters qualitative and analytical so that we do not just know the 'what' and 'how' of the subject studied, but also why something happened and what were the results for the development of subsequent history.

3. To simplify terminology and in harmony with usage by the Rhenish mission itself, we shall henceforth use the term Batakmission rather than "RMG in Batakland". This change is in harmony with historical development later because it is used to include the Batak Church after it had become independent following the third period of our study. Hopefully, this development will be noted when we see the usage of the term in this study.

CHAPTER ONE

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDONESIA FROM ABOUT 1800 TO 1940

Given the variety and complexity found generally in Indonesia, the educational situation in the Indonesian archipelago has been characterized for quite some time as exhibiting great variety as well, both institutionally and operationally. But as evident in the title of this writing and the delimitation expressed in the Introduction, the summary given in this chapter will be limited to the history of education provided by Protestant missionaries and the Dutch colonial government for indigenous people. The history of education as organized by others, Islam, Roman Catholic missionaries, the Chinese community, and non-confessional groups may be seen in other publications.¹

Even though the main emphasis in this writing is the educational opportunity organized by missionaries, nevertheless we must summarize the story of the colonial government's involvement in education first of all, since chronologically education sponsored by the Indies government preceded that of the mission boards, with the latter tending to follow the system or pattern of education carried out by the government. Only after indicating that type of education will we summarize mission education so that we can determine the extent to which mission education

¹ For the history of Islamic education in Indonesia, see for example Mahmud Junus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* [A History of Islamic Education in Indonesia], 1960. As far as the author is aware there is no book specifically devoted to the history of Roman Catholic education in Indonesia. Information about Catholic education is found in various places in the five volume work on the history of the Catholic church in Indonesia as edited by M.P.M. Muskens Pr. (ed.) *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* [A History of the Indonesian Catholic Church], 1974. Data about schools specifically for Chinese children and other non-Europeans are to be found in many books, for example, Brugmans, *Geschiedenis*. For the category of private schools, that is both those operated by nationals and by religiously neutral bodies, the most prominent were those operated by the Taman Siswa. For its history see Ki Hajar Dewantara (ed.) *Taman*

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formally followed the governmental education or schooling which was western in its pattern, and also the extent to which mission education differed conceptually from that of the government or on the contrary reproduced the same approach. Only after that shall we be able to see the areas of relationship between the two.

A. The Dutch Colonial Government's Policy and Practice of Education

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During the period of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), the educational effort was rather minuscule. Whatever happened was done by the VOC in cooperation with the state church in agreement with the principle regnant at that time of the oneness between church and school, the unity between church and state. However, with the exception of the area of the Moluccas, in general the pupils were Dutch and Indo (children of Dutch and Indonesian parents), or non-Indonesian Asians. It must be remembered that during the VOC period, there really was no thought given to provide education for indigenous children. Later when the Dutch Indies colonial government was formed and began to exercise authority, it continued to maintain the VOC schools, but at the same time began to promulgate ideas for educating indigenous children and to make plans for their implementation.²

In this connection, a beginning step was taken by Governor General Daendels who assumed office in 1807. In 1808, he directed several regents in Java to organize schools for indigenous children with a curriculum which included Javanese culture and religion so that the children would grow up to become good Javanese. He also initiated the opening of several vocational schools. This idea grew, it seems, out of the enthusiasm generated by the Enlightenment. As a result of its influence in the Netherlands, people began to hear the slogan, "national education" or "universal education".³

England, which exercised temporary authority (in all of the Dutch East Indies from 1811-1816, and in Sumatra until 1825) through Lieutenant Governor General Thomas Stamford Raffles, also exhibited the enthusiasm of the Enlightenment. But his attention was directed more towards

² The Indonesian word, *bumiputra*, literally means *son of the earth*, a term of honour and respect. A near equivalent would be native were it not for the negative connotations which the word has acquired, i.e. suggesting a status lower than that of Europeans. Therefore since the persons to be schooled are non-Dutch, non-Indo and non-Chinese, indigenous will be used in the main as the word for *bumiputra*, if no specific ethnic group is intended.

³ Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 56ff; H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country* (1974), pp. 25f.

the study of the people (society) and region (including language) in the whole archipelago rather than towards schooling.⁴

After authority was returned to the Dutch colonial government, a series of ideas and policies were initiated to open educational opportunities again for the enjoyment of indigenous children. These included the organization of two types of schools: one using western language (*Europeesche scholen*) both at the elementary and secondary levels, and the other using the regional language (*inlandsche scholen*) limited to the elementary level. Indigenous children from the upper classes were permitted to attend the European school.⁵

Parallel with the thinking of Daendels, the school system limited to indigenous children included cultural and religious elements of the peoples involved. To attain this purpose, Muslim leaders along with the schools which they had operated for quite some time (i.e. the *langgar* for reciting the Koran and the *pesantren* for broader religious education) received attention and were invited to cooperate in raising the quality of education for Indonesian children. In a similar way, there were village schools located in several places in

⁴ The humanitarian spirit of the Enlightenment also prompted Raffles to initiate evangelization through English missionaries including evangelization of the Bataks; see Schreiner, "The Church in Northern Sumatra", *art.cit.*, p. 58.

⁵ Basically both categories were intended to differentiate the origins of the pupils even though the education was western

Java, but not based specifically upon religious principles.

This educational effort was coordinated by a commission (*Hoofd-commissie voor Onderwijs*) formed by the government in the 1820s. But apparently this idea was not well-received by the operators of schools for Indonesian children. Perhaps their lack of support was related to the presence of persons on the commission from mission boards and the Dutch Bible Society. In addition, the government itself was not really serious, because it was obvious that raising the standard for the education of Indonesians as inspired by the humanitarian Enlightenment was defeated by the economic importance of the *cultuurstelsel* program.⁶ As a result, until the end of the first half of the last century there was no firm educational system encompassing the whole Dutch East Indies, although here and there ideas and policies

for both.

⁶ H.J.H. Hartgerink, *De Staten Generaal en het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië, 1848-1918* [Parliament and

were formulated for the education of Indonesian children.

Meanwhile in the year 1842, the *Delftsche Academie* was founded in Delft, The Netherlands, as the centre for Indology and the place for the education of candidates for service in the Dutch East Indies government. It was also hoped that afterwards these would initiate improvements for education in the Indies.⁷

After 1848, thanks to their efforts, the Indies government itself became more serious about offering educational opportunities to Indonesians, instead of handing schooling over to others, including missionaries. This endeavour was parallel to the *Gouvernements-cultures* program, or as it was more familiarly known *cultuurstelsel*, which needed the services of educated Indonesians.

Thus after 1848, there were various new decisions to expand school opportunities for Indonesians, including organizing of teacher-training facilities.⁸ However, by and large, the decisions were based more upon the needs of the

Popular Education in the Netherlands Indies], 1942.

⁷ E.A.H. Dumasy, "Van Goeroe tot Schoolmeester" [From Teacher to School Master] in R.N.J. Kamerlink (ed), *Indonesië toen en nu* [Indonesia Then and Now], 1980, p. 152. According to G. van Asselt, *Achttien Jaren onder de Bataks* [Eighteen Years Among the Bataks], 1950, pp. 60f, part of the Dutch East Indies government officials in Tapanuli since the 1850s were alumni of the academy. Their attention given to evangelistic efforts was minimal.

⁸ Teacher training schools founded as a result of this decision were located in Solo (1851), Fort de Kock/Bukittinggi (1856) and Bandung (1866).

government than the needs of the indigenous society.

The new policy taken in 1863 by Fransen van de Putte, the Minister for Colonies, encouraged the mobilization of government funds for education without requiring the financial support of the indigenous community, and was a reflection of the politics of liberal education. Here it was evident that the government sponsored education was no longer directed towards the production of governmental employees, but was directed towards the aim of developing indigenous communities. This liberal conception of education was first promulgated by Thorbecke, the Dutch prime minister in 1849-1853 and 1862-1866. He emphasized that "It is our task, our responsibility, to enlighten the East Indies through liberal education".⁹

As a result of this new policy, the total number of schools increased rapidly, especially in Java. Administrative organization was also undertaken with more seriousness, for example the office of inspector for indigenous education was established, and after January 1, 1867 a

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Department of Education, Religion and Industry (*Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid*), was also formed.

However, the more important development occurred during the 1870s and was characterized by the promulgation of a whole new series of regulations.¹⁰ In these regulations were included the following: (a) Standardization of all East Indies elementary schools; (b) Utilization of the regional language or Malay as the medium of instruction; (c) Prohibition of religious instruction for Indonesians studying in government schools (both for elementary schools as well as teacher-training schools) and also in private schools subsidized by the government during curriculum hours. In other words the government followed a policy of neutrality in religious matters; (d) Mandatory payment of tuition as an indication of participation by the local community. All of these indicated the increasing liberal influence in the educational policy of the Indies government, as made clear by Brugmans:

Liberalism, with its strong rationalistic bent, followed the slogan "knowledge is power". Because it was evident that Europe had become great thanks to Western knowledge, there was no need in principle to raise objections to the spread of knowledge in indigenous societies. Emphasis on Dutch elements in education formed the clearest indication of this view.¹¹

Since the establishment of the above-mentioned regulations, government schools increased rapidly at first, especially so after special schools were founded for the children of nobility (*Hoofdenscholen*).¹² But after the beginning of the 1880s there was a marked slowing down in the rate of developing new government schools.¹³

Afterwards the government itself acknowledged that the educational policy founded on liberalism did not result in the advance of education judged either by total numbers involved, or in terms of quality for

⁹ Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 237f.

¹⁰ *Staatsblad* 1871 no. 104 (= *Koninklijk Besluit* 3 Mei 1871): *Staatsblad* 1872 no. 99 and *Staatsblad* 1874 no. 99.

¹¹ Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 193f.

¹² Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 57; P. Post, *Het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* [Popular Education in the Netherlands Indies], 1932, p. 14.

¹³ See the statistics of Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 33f; cf. statistics *infra*, pp. 29-30.

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both the elementary and teacher training schools.

The policy was not effective because it tended to emphasize quantity of subjects, meaning new ones were introduced and many teachers from the Netherlands were brought to the Indies, with the result that a large part of the content was irrelevant to the situation, condition, and needs of the community and therefore considered a waste of time and effort. When the school for children of nobility opened, the government had begun to question the relevance of the subject matter. That was why it was determined that in the school for the children of nobility a variety of subjects would be taught, although for the ordinary elementary school children it would be sufficient to teach them to read, write and calculate. But apparently this step too did not help the situation very much because after the 1880s the government experienced a financial crisis which meant a reduction of the number of schools, including teacher training schools.

Realizing the ineffectiveness of the 1870's policy, in 1884, the Dutch East Indies government commissioned Verkerk Pistorius, a government official, to undertake a comparative study in India and Srilanka. In his report and evaluation, he concluded that the main cause of the failure of the government policy was caused by an educational concept which was too western, especially as it reflected the western concern for neutrality in religious matters. In addition, the report concluded that the positive results of mission schools happened just because of their articulated religious principles and character. Furthermore, their approach was simplified more in harmony with characteristic and condition of the society itself. In brief, Pistorius evaluated the series of the 1870 policies as a great mistake; therefore it was necessary to formulate new regulations.

In 1888, the Dutch Protestant political party won the election. As a result, L.W.C. Keuchenius, who was well known as a supporter of missions, was appointed Colonial Affairs Minister.¹⁴ As an official with responsibilities for educational affairs touching on Indonesians, Keuchenius developed a new form of subsidization without departing totally from the principle of neutrality. His idea has been called "positive neutrality"; in it he gave an opportunity for all forms of private education, including Islamic, to obtain subsidies, provided that the education given was socially useful and fulfilled

¹⁴ Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 201-207. With reference to Pistorius, Hartgerink (*op.cit.*, p. 68) makes this interesting observation: "*Hij was een man, die veel voor de zending en zendingsonderwijs voelde*" [He was a man who had great feeling for the mission enterprise and mission education]. Pistorius, too, is often mentioned in the Rhenish-Batak mission documents from the latter part of the 1880s, because he was involved in efforts to obtain state subsidies for schools of the Batak

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certain technical conditions set by the government.

Thanks to this new initiative, the decade of the 1890s saw the promulgation of a series of new regulations.¹⁵ Their content included the following considerations: (a) schools founded on religious principles could obtain subsidies; (b) elementary schools for Indonesians were of two types: *Schools of the First Class* (for children of prominent members of society) and *Schools of the Second Class* (for children of ordinary members of society); (c) Indonesian children would have the opportunity to attend elementary schools for Europeans (*ELS*). With these new regulations, the dualistic pattern of schooling was intensified, i.e. one Western (European education) and one Indonesian (indigenous education).¹⁶

Although the preamble of the regulations emphasized that the advance of education was primarily, and especially the province of the government, nevertheless the role of the private sector, both as individuals and organizations, was also recognized. More than that, private education was valued as an integral part of the whole system of the Dutch East Indies education. In actuality, as a result of the new regulations, just the private sector developed most markedly, especially missionary education, thanks to the allocation of subsidies. In evaluating this new policy for subsidies, Kroeskamp writes:

The new subsidy policy opened the way to a fruitful interaction and collaboration between public and private education, whereby despite all kinds of friction a greater radiation and a richer variety was achieved in the overall education and training facilities of the population.¹⁷

Viewed from the government's perspective, these series of new initiatives did not issue in significant advances, especially in the numerical sense. This was due largely to the fact that *Schools of the First Class*,

mission. Cf. *infra*, Chapter V.

¹⁵ Among others, *Staatsblad* 1890 no. 224; *Staatsblad* 1893 no. 125 (= *Koninklijk Besluit* 28 September 1892) and *Staatsblad* 1895 no. 146.

¹⁶ The classification of elementary schools according to the already mentioned *Staatsblad* 1895 no. 146 above, was especially valid for government schools and was intended to overcome the low quality of instruction in the schools (cf. Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 457). Actually this classification resulted in a trichotomy for elementary education: *ELS*, *Schools of the First Class*, and *Schools of the Second Class*.

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which were the government's responsibility, required the expenditure of a large amount of funds to such a degree that it was impossible to cause a significant increase in the number of schools. This failure invited criticism from various observers and politicians in the Netherlands, including Abraham Kuyper, leader of the Anti-Revolutionary bloc i.e., at that time the Protestant party in the Netherlands.¹⁸

During the years of transition to the 20th century, a new political concept was born, usually known as "Ethical Policy", which was paired with the concept of a "policy of association" under the slogan of "education, irrigation, and emigration". Leaders involved were from the Liberal Party and included C.Th. van Deventer, C. Snouck Hurgronje, and from the field of education, J.H. Abendanon in particular. In the main, this concept was close to the reasoning of Kuyper, namely since for years the Dutch increased their wealth through exploitation of the indigenous peoples of the Indies causing the latter to become increasingly poorer, now the Dutch had an obligation to them. The time had come for endeavouring to repay this debt in as large an amount as possible in the form of improving the general welfare of the indigenous people of the Indies.¹⁹ In essence, the "Ethical Policy" not only involved social and economic responsibilities, but ethical and moral ones as well. But according to Van Niel, "in the Netherlands the vital issues of the Ethical Colonial Policy seemed to be less concerned with humanitarian and moral principles ... than with

¹⁷ Kroeskamp, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

¹⁸ Concerning the career of A. Kuyper, see for example A.J. Rasker, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk vanaf 1795* [The Netherlands Reformed Church Since 1795], ²1986, pp. 171 and 209-212. In his addresses on November 20 and 24, 1896, Kuyper stated that compared with British India, the Dutch East Indies had been left far behind, an embarrassing situation. He also called attention to the fact that a comparison of educational expenditures for the pupils of the European and Indonesian schools indicated a marked imbalance in favour of the former: an annual *f* 150 per pupil of the European schools (ELS) and *f* 20 for the Indonesian, and for those in private schools a mere *f* 1 per pupil per year. Therefore, according to Kuyper, it would be wiser to subsidize private schools as extensively as possible, including those of the Christian missions; Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 84ff.

¹⁹ Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 290ff. But according to R. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (1984), pp. 33f, "education", the main key to this concept, though quickly adopted by the Dutch government, actually was placed lowest in

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financial arrangements between motherland [Dutch] and colony [Dutch Indies].²⁰

One key step for embodying the ideals of the ethical policy was providing the most extensive opportunities to Indonesian pupils to profit from modern western education so they could develop as persons, and in turn develop their land and peoples. Furthermore, if possible, a large number would be sent to study in the Netherlands.²¹ This meant that western education and science would be related as much as possible to the life and culture of the Indonesians. (Therefore this was called the policy of association, especially by Snouck Hurgronje.) But what was really intended was westernization, moreover a kind of spiritual annexation (*geestelijke annexatie*) of Indonesian society.²²

In a large measure for a few of the elite of that period, i.e., the children of Javanese aristocracy (*priyayi*), this policy fulfilled their taste for solidifying or actually preserving their status. This was largely the case in the opening of the *OSVIA* (School for Training Indigenous Government Officials) especially for their children, and represented an upgrading of the School for the Children of Nobility (*Hoofdenscholen*) which had been abolished in 1900. But because the association theory policy was an unsatisfactory means of embodying the ideals of the ethical policy, i.e. increasing the availability of education as much as possible for Indonesian pupils, there was need for a more precise educational policy without departing from the government's ethical

its concerns.

²⁰ Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

²¹ The influence of the Ethical Policy in the field of education has been analyzed by Brugmans in a whole chapter; *op.cit.*, pp. 289-334. The sending of these pupils to the Netherlands began in 1900. These later formed the *Indische Vereeniging* (1908); Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

²² This is Snouck Hurgronje's own term as quoted by Brugmans (*op.cit.*, p. 209) from Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam* (1911), p. 85. Hartgerink described the ethical policy and association policy as nothing more than "a hidden form of imperialism" (*op.cit.*, p. 100). But apart from the economical motive of its supporters, many educational institutions were founded in the Dutch Indies based on the ethical spirit and succeeded in developing a new elite, that is to say bureaucrats and intellectuals, many of whom became prime movers at later day; Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 46ff and 66.

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principles.

During the years 1905-1907, this new policy was enunciated by several officials from both the Dutch government and the colonial government of the Indies.²³ The most important element of the new policy as included in the *Staatsblad 1906, no. 241 and 242* consisted of the organizing of schools in all the villages, especially on the island of Java. According to the new regulations, the village was responsible for erecting and furnishing the school building, while the Indies government or regional government's treasury would pay the teachers' salaries according to the prevailing standard for village employees. In other words, the government moved towards a policy of decentralization and the cultivation of community participation.²⁴

Because the main objective for village schools involved little more than the abolition of illiteracy, it was considered sufficient to teach the children reading, writing and arithmetic. This limited objective could be attained in three years.

Initially, this policy resulted in a rapid increase in the number of schools. But later on more and more it was felt that many villages were unable to bear the cost of this ambitious government project, although a large number were forced to undertake it as *prentah aloes*, 'subtle command'. It was apparent also that these village schools were not appropriate to village culture, so that eventually there were some people who viewed their responsibility for village schools as God's curse.²⁵ Van Deventer himself considered them to be *onnozele dorpschooltjes* (silly village

²³ Among those involved were D. Fock, Minister van Koloniën (MvK) (1905-1908), J.B. van Heutsz, Governor General (1904-1909), and J.G. Post, Director Department of Education, Religion and Industry (1905-1908). Earlier too, Abendanon had proposed the same idea (1900-1904), but without positive results because it was considered too advanced for the time. The new policy was not free from the influence of political developments in the Dutch Indies, i.e., the annexation of the entire archipelago, cf. Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 100ff.

²⁴ This village school policy was inspired also by the success of some of the regions in operating their own schools, although admittedly on a simple level, for example South Tapanuli (Sumatra) and Minahasa (North Sulawesi) to name just two; Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 310.

²⁵ Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 70 and 178.

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schools). Therefore he suggested that they be raised to the status of Second Class with a five-year period of study.²⁶

These latter continued, but under a new name, *Standaardschool*.²⁷ In a parallel move, the study period of Schools of the First Class was lengthened to six years, and Dutch became part of the curriculum. Furthermore, after 1914, there was a further evolution in the latter based on a series of new policies. Now the period of study became seven years and its name changed to HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School* or Dutch School for Indigenous People). As a result, a trichotomy of elementary education was firmly established: village schools, main schools (Standard Schools) and HIS. The first two school types were placed in the category of indigenous education (*Inlandsch Onderwijs*). In a parallel manner, too, teacher training schools reflected this division, i.e. *Kweekschool* for HIS teachers, *Normaalschool* for Standard school teachers, and *Normaalleergang* for village school teachers with the time of study four, three and two years respectively.

After this policy was in place for several years, the government realized that the balance between village and standard schools and HIS was too weak, and on the other hand talented graduates of village schools had no opportunity for further schooling. Therefore in 1915, the government began the *Vervolgschool*, Middle School (literally, sequel or continuation school), to receive graduates from the village schools who wished to continue their education. This new school was considered comparable to the Standard schools whose students were being prepared for

²⁶ Brugmans, *loc. cit.*; cf. Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 115. But Post (*op.cit.*, p. 6) notes another cause of the failure of the village schools, i.e. people were smitten by the attraction of western education.

²⁷ Even though Schools of the Second Class (which later became the *Standaardschool*) were classified as schools for indigenous children, yet according to Van Niel (*op.cit.*, 69f), the education received was very 'westernized' so that in comparison with the village schools, it was no longer in harmony with the needs and pattern of village life, a reality which resulted in tragedy later. "These schools raised in the pupils an appetite for success and advancement in the Western dominated colonial realm, but did not supply either the diploma or the prerequisites for satisfying this hunger. The graduates of these schools formed a large part of the dissatisfied group of semi-

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vocations in agriculture and economics, for example. After 1921, 'secondary' schools for girls were established also.²⁸

What was the situation faced by graduates of the *Standaardschool* and *Vervolgschool* who wished to further their schooling? In the beginning this possibility was never given any thought by the government, since the senior highschools presently operating, that is *Gymnasium*, HBS (*Hoogere Burger School*, Highschool for Dutch young people, a 5 year course of study), OSVIA, STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding voor inlandsche Artsen*, Training School for Indonesian Physicians) and several other courses were open only to graduates of elementary schools following the European design, i.e. ELS and Schools of the First Class or HIS. But because of the heightened desire of parents for further schooling for their children, especially after the emergence of increased national consciousness and various nationalist movements, and because officials were very conscious of the embarrassing situation which arose because there was no further opportunity for continued schooling for *Standaardschool* graduates (see footnote 27), the government created a school which bridged the gap between schools for Indonesian children and the senior high school. This new school was named *Schakelschool* (Connecting School) and was operational after 1921. Dutch was the medium of instruction. Therefore, in theory, opportunities for study at both the senior highschool level and higher education were opened to Indonesian students. Furthermore, in response to increased pressures from the Indonesian community, the government opened several new senior highschools, specifically MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, Further Extension of Primary Education) as a 3 year course²⁹, which was directed towards graduates of Schools of the First Class and the *Schakelschool*, and AMS (*Algemeene Middelbare School*, General Secondary

intellectuals in Indonesian society" (p. 70).

²⁸ R.L. Djajadiningrat, *From Illiteracy to University* (1942), pp. 20f; cf. Chapter Six B.2.

²⁹ Actually MULO was in existence since 1902, but as a 3-year course it had its beginning in 1914. Later Ki Hadjar Dewantara through his *Taman Siswa* movement opened a MULO for indigenous young people using Javanese rather than Dutch as the medium of instruction, which accepted graduates of the

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School) for graduates of MULO. Graduates of the AMS were considered at the same level as the HBS, and therefore were accepted for matriculation at institutions of higher education.

The latter came into being only after 1920 because of social pressure on the government, for example, the Technical College in Bandung (opened in 1920), College of Law (Batavia, 1924), College of Medicine (Batavia, 1927), College of Literature (Batavia, 1940) and College of Agriculture (Bogor, 1940).³⁰

In addition to the schools mentioned above, there were also various vocational schools at both junior highschool and senior highschool levels, western and indigenous in design. There were general and vocational schools for girls also (including the well-known "Kartini-school"), which embodied one of Kartini's dreams. Most of the vocational schools for girls were founded after the 1900s at the initiative of MvK Fock as inspired by the ethical policy discussed above. Some were founded on the basis of private experiments, including those of the Mission boards.³¹

In order to make it easier to visualize the various schools of the period both government and mission sponsored, and also to see the total numbers of students involved, the reader is invited to examine the tables found at the conclusion of this chapter.

Noting the numbers and kinds of schools which were government sponsored or subsidized, after the decade of 1910 the government found itself trapped again by an old problem, an insufficiency of funds. To solve this problem, it put in place a series of new regulations, among others, a decentralization for financing and administering the schools, an increase of school tuition and a decrease in subsidization. The latter was set forth in *the Algemeene Subsidie Regeling* of

Vervolgschool; Djajadiningrat, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

³⁰ Especially with reference to medical education, there had been a School for Javanese Doctors since 1851, which was upgraded to STOVIA in 1902, also a NIAS (in Surabaya in 1913), but neither was at the level of higher education. See Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 325.

³¹ Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 299; Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 55; J. van Baal in the introduction to Kroeskamp's work (*op.cit.*, p. 3) in which it is stated that the first technical school for indigenous young people was begun by missionary personnel, i.e. in Mojowarno (1893) and Narumonda (1900).

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1924 (General Regulations for Subsidies), abbreviated as ASR 1924. In addition, during the Depression of 1929, the government was forced to reduce the total number of schools and even abolish most of the *Standaard* schools.

The reduction of subsidies through the *ASR 1924* triggered a strong reaction from the private sector which for so long had been a friend and partner of the government (for the reaction of Mission boards see section C below). Actually, the reduction of the educational subsidy was but one side of a general effort by the government to economize in all fields, including the economizing expenditure of funds for personnel by reducing new hirings. But it was just during this period that there was an increase in a desire for a western education (in order to enter government service or to become a bureaucracy). As a result there were varied reactions from Indonesians and criticisms of the economizing policy.

One form of reaction coloured by nationalism was the founding of various private schools which the government subsequently stamped as '*wildenscholen* (non-accredited or unauthorized)' because they did not fulfil government standards with reference to qualifications of personnel, especially teachers, and curriculum. However, not all private schools founded after the 1920s were labelled 'unauthorized'. In addition to Protestant and Catholic mission schools receiving recognition and subsidies were those sponsored by the Muhammadiyah movement. However, the Taman Siswa schools founded in 1922 by Ki Hadjar Dewantara (original name Soewardi Soerjaningrat) were originally considered unauthorized but gradually they became recognized even though the schools rejected all government subsidies. Furthermore, MULO using Javanese founded in 1939 as a Taman Siswa idea was praised by the government in 1940 as exemplary for its contribution to the educational system. Unfortunately, it never had an opportunity to provide concrete evidence of its achievement because the authority of the Dutch East Indies government ended at the beginning of 1942. From the perspective of quality, government schools, especially those organized along western lines: ELS, HIS, MULO, HBS, AMS, and vocational schools such as OSVIA, STOVIA and NIAS, produced a new 'functional elite'. Some of those belonging to this

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new elite became bureaucrats in the colonial government apparatus, others were self-employed professionals. Of those elite few, only a minority involved themselves in various nationalist movements emerging after 1900. Most of those involved in the budding nationalist movements were either 'semi-intellectuals' or those with a lower standard of schooling, including those disgruntled because they failed to obtain placement within the bureaucracy.³²

Viewed from the side of quantity as concluded by various observers³³ and also supported by statistical data (p. 29f below), the reality was sobering. A comparison between the percentage of pupils of school age and those actually enjoying the opportunity for schooling even up to 1940 was indeed shocking, less than 10%. The situation was even worse if the comparison were to include the relationship between highschool and college age persons in the general population and those actually able to attend those schools. Therefore, it is proper to inquire as to the seriousness of the Indies government to advance the educational opportunity for Indonesians. This can be said in spite of the promulgation of numerous educational policies and decisions throughout the Dutch's extensive period of exercising sovereignty, and also in spite of the Indies government's claim after 1900 that it had always endeavoured to advance the cause of Indonesians based on an ethical policy.³⁴

³² The impact of the government's western oriented and shaped educational policy with all of its strengths and weaknesses is indicated by Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 50, 50f, 66, 163ff and 240f. Cf. his conclusion about the impact of the policy on Schools of the Second Class quoted in footnote 27 above.

³³ For example see M. Vastenhouw, *Sejarah Pendidikan Indonesia* [History of Indonesian Education] (1977), pp. 26f1, which also shows the percentage imbalance enjoying education among Indonesian, western and non-Indonesian Asian children.

³⁴ Historians and those studying educational problems of the Dutch East Indies colonial government who were its supporters, of course were not ready to accept these criticisms without argumentation. They attempted to indicate the merits or positive aspects accomplished by the Indies government and at the same pointed to errors by Indonesians themselves. For example, see I.J. Brugmans, "Onderwijs-politiek" [Educational Politics] in H. Baudet (ed.) *Balans van Beleid* (1961), pp. 153-169. In any case, according to G.W. Jones in "Religion and Education in Indonesia"

B. Educational Efforts of Mission Boards

In general, mission-centred educational effort in Indonesia (Dutch Indies) began concurrently with the evangelistic activities of the mission boards. This was the case because missionaries from the time of their theological education were instructed to open schools as soon as possible in the mission field. For this purpose they were given instruction in educational theory and practice.³⁵

The actual point of beginning mission schooling differed in each area, because the time of arrival of missionaries and the places of ministry of the various mission boards differed as well. For example, in the Moluccas, the NZG had an educational program since 1815, this was followed in Timor in 1819, and 1827 in Minahasa.³⁶ After that, the Rhenish mission (RMG) founded schools in Kalimantan in 1835, and among the Bataks in 1861, and later in Nias and other islands along the west coast of Sumatera.³⁷ The NZG was active in Java also since 1851 having succeeded in obtaining permission from the Dutch East Indies government.³⁸ Other mission boards worked in

(in *Indonesia* no. 22, Oct. 1976, p. 38) the Dutch were very tardy in showing any interest in advocating a relatively balanced education in Indonesia, and in this respect Indonesia was left far behind in comparison to India.

³⁵ For RMG education and instruction, see *infra*, Chapter Three, B.

³⁶ With reference to the pioneering missionaries including in education for the three areas, see for example I. H. Enklaar, *Joseph Kam, Rasul Maluku* [Apostle to the Moluccas] (1980); Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita 1* (1980), pp. 162ff, 170ff and 183f; Kroeskamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65 and 11-116, especially.

³⁷ For details about the encounter of the Dayak tribe with the RMG, including the field of education, see F. Ukur, *Tantang-Djawab Suku Dajak* [Challenge-Response of the Dayak Tribe], 1971, especially pp. 85-94 and 199ff.

³⁸ Actually evangelistic activities had gone on in Java before as undertaken by various individuals including groups of Indonesians formed by those individuals, for example, Emde, Coolen, Pak Dasimah, Paulus Tosari, to name a few, but they did not undertake education because this was only done by the government. Even before these, beginning in 1820, there was a mission organization founded by a Protestant congregation in Java, i.e. *Het Samenwerkende Javaansche Zendingsgenootschap* [Cooperating Javanese Mission Society], which worked cooperatively with the Dutch Bible Society and the Indies

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various other places in the archipelago, primarily the time frame towards the end of the 19th century.

As already touched on at the beginning of the previous section, before missionaries came to Indonesia there were already several Protestant congregations and parish schools in various port cities in Java and in eastern Indonesia.³⁹ After missionaries arrived, in addition to founding new congregations and schools, there were those who - at the behest of the government - gave continued care and supervision to the parish schools already in existence. They were prompted to do so not only because they had seen the pitiful condition of the congregations and schools but also, as Kroeskamp has written, because they believed that one of the purposes of their being in Indonesia included the educational ministry was "to restore the old Christian communities to their former glory".⁴⁰

In general, from the beginning of their work in Indonesia, missionaries opened schools because they thought this to be an effective means for spreading the Gospel. Therefore it is not surprising that the principal subjects taught comprised elements of Christian teaching: Bible stories, catechism, prayer, hymns and so on, and as much as possible, the other subjects supported the proclamation of the Gospel and planting of the seeds of Christian faith. This was in harmony with Lutheran and Reformed principles: education and instruction. Initially, schools were religiously

government. But its activities were directed more towards the study of the Javanese language, and the development of reading material (including for schools) in regional languages, because these groups did not have permission to found schools themselves, although among them there were those who had a mature view for the carrying out of education for Indonesians (especially J.F.C. Gericke). See Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-39; cf. with Brugmaus, *op.cit.*, pp. 89f, and C.W. Nortier, *Tumbuh, Dewasa, Bertanggungjawab* [Growing Towards Responsible Maturity] (1981), pp. 37ff.

³⁹ With reference to congregations and Christian schools in the pre-missionary era (before the 19th century), in addition to general church history sources see also Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-24. His distinctive emphasis is upon the unity of church, school and state.

⁴⁰ Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 450. Cf. the idea of the *Corpus Christianum* below, Chapter Nine.

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oriented, being viewed as nurseries of the Christian faith. Accordingly, if pupils were taught to read and write, this was to the end that they could read the Scriptures, and afterwards to be able to write down the passages to be memorized.⁴¹

In the normal course of development, the mission boards defined other objectives as well, for example, adult Christian education, community education and improving the welfare of society, conserving and development of indigenous culture, etc. These changes necessitated new courses and adaptation of methods to achieve the new objectives. Furthermore, where necessary, special schools were begun.⁴² Nevertheless, the first objective was never totally lost, even though it was no longer of first priority. In other words, it was hoped that through selected educational means and activities the various objectives could be attained concurrently.

Because the school formed an integral part of evangelism with objectives as just stated, the main target of mission education was the indigenous people, those from tribal religions, designated *heathen* by mission personnel, but also those from other religions including Islam. But in reality because of various reasons (among others, the tight restrictions by the colonial government against mission endeavours among people embracing one of the world religions: Islam and Hinduism), the most significant educational results, quantitatively speaking, were achieved in tribal religious communities. Therefore, the largest numbers of mission school pupils (as well as adult members of congregations) came from tribal religions.

Although the primary goal of mission education was the evangelization of the pupils, not all pupils became Christians. As a result the rate or level of increase among mission school pupils was significantly higher than the numerical growth of the Christian community. But mission boards were not too disappointed with this fact; on the contrary, in general there was rejoicing and a

⁴¹ W. Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (1954), pp. 187f, based on Luther's letter "To Mayors and Aldermen in all The Cities of Germany" (1524).

⁴² For example, Roskott in Ambon, included the subject of agriculture/farming in his teachers' school (Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 69f1), whereas in Mojowarno, the NZG founded its first

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renewed commitment to found schools even though they were faced with many difficulties. (These shall be enumerated in detail in chapters four through six). This indicates that the objective of mission education was not solely the christianizing of its pupils, and evangelization is not identical with christianization. At the same time, mission education must be seen from its contribution towards education in Indonesia also, remembering that outside of Java and Bali, the greatest numbers received their education from mission schools.

In limiting ourselves to the matter of quantity only, and also only to elementary schools for Indonesians, where mission personnel were most active, we can see, through the table of statistics below, in particular the outer regions (outside of Java and Madura), at the end of the 19th century, that in the main there was an approximate balance in pupil numbers and schools operated by mission personnel and by the Dutch Indies government. Moreover, especially in Tapanuli from 1880 until 1940, the total number of mission schools (especially RMG) and their pupils were always far higher than those of the government.⁴³

Table of Statistics 1

A comparison of total schools and Indonesian pupils outside Java and Madura⁴⁴

Year	Mission		Government	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1871	135	9,144	182	11,993

vocational school for Indonesians in 1893.

⁴³ The total number of mission schools in Tapanuli far exceeded those of the government because this was part of the colonial policy since the end of the 19th century. (Cf. *infra*, Chapter Five, A.3.)

⁴⁴ According to the research of S.T. van Bemmelen, *Enkele aspecten van het Onderwijs aan Indonesische Meisjes 1900-1940* [Some aspects of Education Among Indonesian Girls 1900-1940] (Master Thesis 1982), pp. 9f, until 1900, the total number of private schools and their pupils (the majority were Protestant or Catholic mission schools) in all of the Indies were one-third of the total, and the percentage of the population in school outside of Java and Madura was much larger than for those two islands.

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the rapid growth of mission schools. But it was not the only one, nor even the most important one. Especially so since the subsidy raised many difficult problems for mission boards, as we shall see later in section C. In several places the cancellation of subsidies caused the mission schools to develop more rapidly.⁴⁵

If so, what was the main supporting factor for the growth of mission schools? From the results of various studies about mission education in several areas of Indonesia, and from an analysis of the Rhenish mission's educational ministry in the Batak land which will be found in Chapter Four and in successive chapters, it can be mentioned here that the main factor was the unity of church and school. Because the growing church was the people's church, in the expression "unity of church and school" there is found the understanding that the people gave their total support to the mission schools because they felt that the schools were theirs in a very personal way.

One dimension of the principle of church and school unity was the dual function of the teacher (in fact at the beginning this was true of the missionary himself): the congregational teacher or lay evangelist was also the teacher in the school. To train indigenous teachers who were able to exercise those dual functions, the mission strategy prioritized founding of teacher training schools or seminaries which in their development became the backbone and 'main kitchen' for the mission system of education. Viewed in a general way, this was the reason why the mission-founded teacher training schools for Indonesians preceded those of the colonial government.⁴⁶ These missionary teachers played a major role in the development of church, congregation, and the school even though the compensation received was much smaller than received by colleagues teaching in government schools, and even though their assignment was much more demanding.

The types of schools operated by mission boards, except for those specialized ones for

⁴⁵ For example in the Moluccas; see Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁶ In the Moluccas a mission school for teacher training was founded in 1835 at Barn Merah, while in Minahasa at Tanawangko in 1851. Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 66 and 146ff. For the Batak area see Chapter Four below.

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educating candidates for church vocations, in general were similar to those of the Indies government. This was due to several factors: (a) Both mission boards and government shared the same educational traditions and views towards schooling, i.e. western education, so that their schools in the main were carbon copies of those found in the West; (b) After 1890 when the government promulgated regulations governing the payment of subsidies to privately operated schools, mission schools had to fulfil various conditions in order to receive the subsidy, for example type of education, system of classes/promotions, curriculum, organizational pattern and structure, etc.; (c) The government determined conditions or qualifications to be met by graduates who wished to continue their schooling or find employment related to their level of education. Thus mission schools were pressed to provide a quality of education which would permit their graduates to have the same opportunities for employment as those of government schools.

The organizing of mission schools of the same types as those of the government was not done, however, only to fulfil governmental regulations, but also especially to fulfil demands of the community deeply drawn to a western style education (read: schooling which utilized the Dutch language as the medium of instruction). This was the reason the mission boards operated HIS and MULO schools since 1910. It was evident also that the mission schools with their western orientation were not in the least inferior to those of the government. The reasons why Batak parents were so attracted to western education will be analyzed in Chapters Four to Six, using the RMG Batakmission schools as an example.

C. Relationships between the Mission and Government in the Field of Education

From the analysis above we have seen that although government and mission each went its own way in education at the beginning, gradually mission schools were no longer able to conduct schooling outside the general educational system of the Indies because of government policies and regulations which involved education in the whole archipelago. In this section, we shall discuss the educational relationships between mission and government through the following areas: (1)

financial relationships; (2) organizational relationship; and (3) relationships of views towards education.

1. Financial Relationships

Up until 1870, the operation of mission schools already in existence was paid by mission funds, with supplementary support from the community where the school was operating. After 1871, government policies and regulations permitted private schools to receive a subsidy, including those founded by mission boards. But the principle of government neutrality manifested in the forbidding of the teaching of religion in schools receiving the subsidy caused the mission leadership to reject the offer. From their perspective, such a policy was not only in conflict with the missions' own goals and principles, but also with the basic religious characteristic of Indonesian society. Mission leadership evaluated the policy as lacking concern for the distinctive characteristics and needs of the community, since it was a direct borrowing from Dutch liberal educational views and policies.⁴⁷ Therefore, up until the decade of the 1880s, mission boards operated their schools consistently without any subsidy. Nevertheless school development continued to be rapid. (cf. Statistical Table 1 above.)

The new policies and regulations of the government in the 1890s (above p. 16) were warmly welcomed in mission circles in general because these no longer forbade religious instruction, and support of schools was already placing mission finances under great stress as a result of the expanding of the field of mission and the founding of more schools. The new claims could be balanced neither by the mission itself nor by the Batak communities. However, the mission boards believed that the Netherlands as a Christian nation ought to undergird their ministry in its colony.

⁴⁷ This was the criticism of N. Graafland, a missionary active in Minahasa, as quoted by Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 289. The problem of the government's neutrality in education and the forbidding of religious instruction in schools receiving subsidies arose again in the 1910 and 1920 decades, resulting in a sharp debate between mission leadership and the Indies government.

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We do not know exactly the size of the government subsidy given to the Batak mission by the Indies government between 1890 and 1940 but it must have been substantial in view of the number of schools receiving government assistance⁴⁸, even though of course the amount was small in comparison to total outlay by the government for its schools.⁴⁹

But the payment of subsidies did not continue without difficulty during the period mentioned above. As already indicated, in 1924, the Indies government promulgated new regulations governing subsidies. For the Batak mission this meant a substantial reduction and a consequent heavy burden for its financial resources. Actually the 1924 regulation governing subsidies (ASR) did not reduce the total subsidy to be received by each school, but it contained stringent requirements to be met in order to receive the subsidy. These were impossible for many mission schools to fulfil so they were unable to receive financial subsidies from the government any longer. Therefore, what was cut was the total amount of monies which the mission schools could claim. Mission leadership reacted sharply to the ASR 1924. It accused the Indies government of wanting to weaken the progress of the indigenous people. However, the problem of subsidies will be analyzed more carefully in Chapter Five and those related to the educational efforts among the Bataks.

2. Organizational Relationships

In a way reminiscent of financial support for schools, in the beginning the Batak mission had little to do with the government in relationship to its school organization. But with the publication of the school regulations of 1872, and those which followed, specifying a uniformity of elementary schools for the whole Indies, the mission leadership would have had to adjust its pattern of

⁴⁸ Between 1914-1924, for the RMG Batak Mission schools alone, the Indies government paid an annual subsidy on the average of £ 150,000. For a detailed explanation, see Chapter Five A.3 and Six A.3 & 4.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Kuyper's address, notation no. 18. According to Vastenhouw (*op. cit.*, p. 160), the imbalance of support remained valid until 1940.

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organization to that of the Indies government. However, because mission boards rejected subsidies, their policies were not affected by the new regulations. Furthermore, at that time many mission schools were in areas not fully under the control of the colonial government, and therefore the enforcement of educational regulations was limited as well, so that in effect the government was unable to reach all the schools in the archipelago. Therefore, until 1890, mission schools did not follow the school organizational pattern and supervision set by the colonial government. Even so, and even though mission schools provided no more than the basics, yet in many places these were preferred by the local communities over those of the government.

Acceptance of financial subsidies after 1890, with the various related attached conditions, caused the mission leadership to adjust its school organization to the government's pattern. Furthermore, the government had sufficient school inspectors in its employ to supervise operations of those private schools accepting a subsidy. The adjustment or harmonization of private school organization included the matter of school buildings, learning resources, curriculum, school administration, teacher qualification, standardization of examinations, and harmonization of numbers of classes and ways of passing from one to the other.

Not infrequently the conditions and administrative-organizational requirements as specified in the governmental regulations were not fulfilled by the mission schools because of limitations of personnel and funds, and because of the general limited conditions found in the outer areas where the mission boards had most of their schools. As a result, the government school inspectors' reports were frequently negative.⁵⁰ As a consequence government officials felt constrained to put out a new series of regulations which in the main specified that the mission elementary schools were only at the same level as the government's lowest elementary schools, i.e. the three-year Village School, and the mission's teacher training seminaries' graduates were only at the same

⁵⁰ See for example, *Nota van de adjunct-inspecteur Inlandsch Onderwijs* [Note from the Adjunct Inspector for Indigenous Education], Van der Veen, to the Director of Education and Religion, Medan November 9, 1914.

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level as the graduates of the *Normaalleergang*, i.e. the two-year School for Teachers whose graduates were only certified to teach in the Village School.⁵¹

Of course, the mission leadership was not about to accept this evaluation and decision of the Indies government without protest. There followed a prolonged argumentation between the two parties. Within the subsequent debate, there emerged a difference in views of education also. This subject will be taken up now.

3. Relationships of Educational Views

As already stated, both the governmental leaders and mission policy makers shared similar roots and positions in the traditions of western education. But the two parties were not of one mind in terms of content, method and objectives of education (cf. Chapter Three A). Of course it is true that the main motive and objective of mission education was religious. Thus its primary educational content was centred on knowledge and values which emphasized the forming and development of 'Christian' character. But concerning character formation, the mission - in comparison with the government - gave increased attention and appreciation to cultural elements and values found in the community, and it endeavoured to adjust its education to the situation, condition and need of the community.⁵²

Contrariwise, government education was viewed by mission personnel as too intellectual and a copy of western education to too great an extent or a too quick an adaptation of it. Government education totally failed to pay attention to the values, situation, conditions and needs of the community. As a result, it was not rooted in the soil of community life. Such an evaluation was

⁵¹ Among others, the *Soemba-Flores Regeling* [Sumba-Flores Regulation] (Staatsblad 1913 no. 309) and the plan of the Tapanuli regulation for 1917 (cf. Chapter Six A.3.).

⁵² See the address of H. Kraemer, "Het onderwijs als middel tot volksopbouw" [Instruction as A Means for Building a People], to the Dutch Indies Congress on Education, September 21-24, 1931; also his writing, "Het Volksonderwijs en de Crisis" [Popular Education and the Current Crisis] in *Koloniale Studiën*, April 1933, pp. 113-143.

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stated by mission leadership in reaction to the colonial government's liberal educational view in the 1870s and towards the educational view based on the ethical policy in place since about 1900. In fact, this evaluation was expressed more strongly again in the 1930s when there occurred a series of debates between mission and government personnel about which educational philosophy and policy was most appropriate for the Dutch Indies. At the same time, the colonial government published a series of educational policies and regulations based upon the concept of a centralization of administration and organization in order to make all schools in the Indies uniform in approach and of the same status in quality of instruction. The Batak mission for its part argued that the government policies "were not sufficiently responsive to the science of education and instruction", in that they did not consider the level of development and distinctive needs of each area which differed from one another.⁵³

In contrast to the government, mission leaders did not follow a centrally based and uniform policy of education because they realized that conditions and needs in each area were varied. To adopt a policy of uniformity of organization, administration and method would nullify each area's distinctiveness and stultify creativity. For the Batak mission, the achievement of its objective was most important, that is "to teach the pupils so that they might become whole persons in society".⁵⁴ Fortunately, eventually the government heeded the mission view of education and agreed to experiment with its new approach to education.⁵⁵

Another element which further distinguished mission from government education was that the government's policy tended to entrench the feudalistic structure of society by providing schools especially for the children of the nobility and kings (chieftains), whereas as a matter of principle

⁵³ H. Kraemer, "Het Volksonderwijs en de Crisis", p. 116. With reference to the Batak mission see Chapters Five and Six below.

⁵⁴ The formulation of J. Kruyt as quoted by Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending* [Acting and Thinking in the Service of the Mission], 1981, p. 515.

⁵⁵ For example, the experiment of I.S. Kijne in Wandamen, Irian Jaya, and T. van Dijk and his Lewa school in Sumba; see

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the mission approach viewed all persons as having the same status with the same claim and opportunity to enjoy an education. Admittedly, mission schools were founded for children of nobility too, but this was only a matter of strategy to win the whole community for the Gospel and was not to further strengthen feudalism.⁵⁶

Table of Growth of Schools in the West Indies 1800-1940

Adapted with permission from Van Bemmelen: *Enkele Aspecten* p. 180

Year	Elementary School Indonesian	Secondary School Indonesian	Elementary Western	Second. & Higher Western
1816	Government School		ELS	
1851		Java Doctor's Sch. & Teacher's School		
1859				Gymn. Willem III
1864				Klein Ambtenaars- examen HBS
1870				
1880	Girl's School			
1893	Divided 1 st /2 nd Class School	Exam for the Grad. to Teacher's Train.		
1900				OSVIA
1902	District School			STOVIA
1903				MULO Course
1906	Village School			
1908			HCS	
1909				Management School
1911				Technical School
1914	1 st School abolished			MULO School

Van Randwijck, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

⁵⁶ Cf. Chapter Five, the case of the School for Children of the Nobility in Narumonda.

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	School	School	School		school	School	
1899		92,128 ¹		1,381	439 ²	99,948	
1904		148,138		3,387	677	152,202	
		37,348,000					
(1905)							
1909	43,317	240,269		4,016		845	
	288.843						
1914	281,451	313,308		20,286	4,163	2,551	
	621,759						
1919	359,835	355,842 ³		29,286	5,915	3,426	
	754,286	48,299,684					
(1920)							
1924	685,222	412,756		53,467	5,200	312	3,220
	1,160,177						
1930	1,085,520	78,016	310,049 ⁴	56,902	4,113	4,038	2,878
	1,541,516	59,138,067					
(1930)							
1935	1,507,931	185,332	78,950	62,356	4,800	4,559	3,591
	1,847,519						
1939	1,826,906	266,393	9,470	69,502	5,236	5,458	4,313
	2,187,278						

¹ Until 1909 the total in the School 2nd Class column included both 1st and 2nd Class schools.

² These figures were for the year 1877. Figures for 1899 were not included in the "Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs 1900-1904", the sources for these statistics.

³ For the years 1919 and 1924, the total number of pupils of the Vervolgschool and Standaardschool (= 2nd Class School) were combined.

⁴ After 1930, the total number of Standaardschool pupil declined because the total number of schools continued to be reduced due to the 1929 Depression.

CHAPTER TWO

TRADITIONAL BATAK EDUCATION

Until the Rhenish Mission came to the Bataklands in 1861, the Bataks had no experience with the tightly structured western or modern education of today, i.e. with the exception of a few places in its southern part under Dutch authority.¹ But this does not mean that the Bataks had no educational and instructional activities at all. Just as was the general case with other tribal groups, the Bataks too had traditional/informal educational institutions and activities. Distinctive *values, knowledge and skills* were handed on from one generation to another. We will trace this process in outline fashion here.

A. An Overview of Traditional Batak Society

In order to simplify our task of tracing traditional Batak education, first of all we shall present an overview of the structure of life in Batak society.²

For thousands of years the Batak forefathers dwelled in the region around Lake Toba. They

¹Brugmans (*Geschiedenis* [History], p. 229) notes that in the Mandailing area after 1843, there were several village schools (*sekolah negorij*) run by local citizens at the initiative and support of local Dutch officials. M.O. Parlindungan, *Tuanku Rao* (1964), pp. 391f, mentions a *Sikola Agong* [Noble School [which according to him was organized by the Dutch controller in Kotanopan in 1838. Although the schools quality was very elementary, they followed a western pattern since they were founded by Dutch colonial officials. E.S. Harahap, *Perihal Suku Bangsa Batak* [Tribal Batak Matters] (1960), p. 64, notes that there were schools in the Batak area before the coming of the Dutch. These taught reading, writing, singing, etc., but this statement lacks historical proof and is confused with *hadatuon*, an exclusive instructional institution (*infra*, section E).

²This subject has been studied extensively by both western and Indonesian scholars. The study published most recently was done by Sitor Situmorang, *Toba Na Sae*, Jakarta 1993. Much of our analysis has utilized his work.

founded a small close-knit village called a *huta*. In the beginning this was at Sianjur Mula-mula, in the Sagala-Limbong valley at the foot of the legendary Pusukbuhit on the west side of Lake Toba.³ From there they spread out to the whole area which we know as the Batakland.⁴

³There are many opinions and hypotheses concerning the origin of the Bataks and their coming to the Lake Toba region; cf. below note number 55. The Batak people themselves have their own myth about their origins, and stories which explain their presence, which in turn gave rise to the designation of their *tarombo*, genealogy, of their margas. Situmorang (*Toba Na Sae*, pp. 17-21) summarizes the various hypotheses and at the same time explains the relationships to the Bataks' short-cut effort of cosmogonic-myth making relative to the history of their presence around Lake Toba.

⁴ S. Situmorang, *op. cit.*, pp. 25f. Beginning in the 20th century, there has been extensive migration from the Batak homeland; cf. C.E. Cunningham, *The Postwar Migration of the Toba Bataks to East Sumatra* (1959), pp. 37ff.

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The increase in the number of hutas was based primarily upon the need for agricultural land and places to erect dwellings. Because the old village with its distinctive form and structure could not be enlarged, the increase in population required the opening of new farm land and the building of additional villages. Founding new villages was initiated by special people called *sipungka huta* (village founders) or *sisuan bulu* (literally, the planter of bamboo, since the latter formed a rampart around the village). Generally, the founder of the new village became the *raja huta* (village king, or chief). Therefore, the *raja huta* was considered *primus inter pares* (the first among equals). He was not the sole and highest authority as is customarily known in the government and order of feudalistic society. Leadership in the huta was collective with the chieftain sharing territorial and governing leadership with a certain number of *pangituai ni huta* (elders or prominent people in the community).⁵

In subsequent developments, the increased numbers of Bataks felt the need to relate themselves with clans, i.e. to have *marga*.⁶ The *marga* formed a closely connected fellowship of persons who considered themselves *sabutuha* (literally: womb companions) or of the same blood based on genealogical structure and a specific line of descent.⁷ In referring to the creation myth and the

⁵ Situmorang, *op. cit.*, p. 169f.

⁶ According to Situmorang (*ibid.*, pp. 39f and 56f) the need and tradition of *marga* organization emerged gradually. It occurred without compulsion, and was largely in place from about the 13th century. This conclusion is based on a calculation of generations (*sundut*) which for each are known to go back 20 or so generations. But before the 13th century, which Situmorang calls "pre-generational period", the genealogical principle was already developing which acknowledged a common descent acted as a unity, within and without, opening and dominating a particular region.

⁷There is no need to debate whether people of each *marga* actually are descendants from a single progenitor. *Margas* are not absolutely related to tracing a line of biological descent. According to W.K.H. Ypes, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en het grondrecht der Toba-en Dairi-Bataks* [Contribution towards the Knowledge of Genealogical Relationships of the Indigenous Legal Communities and the Basic Law of the Toba and Dairi Bataks] (1932), pp. 9ff, there are six possible channels or processes of

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origins of the Bataks, each person was able to see in the origin of each marga his/her own position within both the marga and the whole Batak society. This myth itself involved both religious practice and liturgical dimensions, so that - as Schreiner said -each marga formed "worship communities through which their members from time to time strengthen their unity one with another and fellowship ties with the progenitors through eating cultic meals together." ⁸

However, in addition to the social-genealogical and religious-cultic dimensions, there was also the territorial one: each marga, at least during former times, possessed and was bound to a specific territory (*huta* or an area more extensive than the village) and on the other hand each territory formed a valid area for that particular marga. Of course, there was no village which was dwelled in by but just one marga, especially so because of the exogamous marriage principle (which requires the man to marry a woman from another clan). For each village or wider area, there was a main clan, i.e. the marga of the founding father, *sipungka huta*, or *sisuan bulu*, already mentioned. The secondary marga in the village is the *marga boru*, i.e. the marga of the man who marries a daughter from the founding father's clan, but he remains a full member of the primary marga in agreement with the structure of *dalihan na tolu*.⁹ In addition, there is the *paisolat* or *parripe* (guest) marga whose members must be subservient to the primary marga.¹⁰

forming margas: (1) the genealogical line, the one most common; (2) the most exceptional: (a) by way of adoption; (b) birth outside of marriage; (= adultery) where the marga receives the child as its own; (c) through specific events or ceremonies; (d) through dispersal outside of the home area (*bona pasogit*), where the marga membership multiplies markedly, or a marga which is assimilated into another; and (e) through a violation of the principle of exogamy, i.e. marrying within the same marga, so that a new marga is begun.

⁸ L. Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium* [Adat and Gospel] (1972), pp. 119-122.

⁹Dalihan Natolu (literally: the three hearth-stones) is the three functional groups which form the Batak society, i.e. dongan sabutuha (marga companions), hula-hula (bride-giver marga, or daughter giving group for marriage), and boru (bride-taker marga, or daughter receiving group for marriage).

¹⁰ S. Situmorang, in *op. cit.*, p. 48, 169ff; and in

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Each village led by the village chief (lit. *raja* = king) and with the elders (*pangituai*), comprise an area with full sovereignty. "In the institution of the huta there is the guarantee of full citizenship with clear rights and responsibilities based on the principle of inter-linkage which integrates the genealogical with the territorial principle. The village chief as leader exercises management over various social and economic matters according to the wisdom of the policy of discussion to reach a consensus, nevertheless in the final analysis he has the authority to make decisions on his own responsibility based on stipulations of the adat."¹¹

However, each village was not totally separated from others. Many needs required contact and a network of cooperation between villages, both those which involved adat ceremonies more extensive than the village, and also those related to economic matters (including regulating and dividing *golat*, plots of land), and matters involving maintenance of security. For those purposes, the villages located near each other formed a federation. At the most elementary level, there is the *horja* which deals with incidental and ceremonial matters.¹² The *bius* is at a higher and more permanent level, and forms an association of villages and margas which are in proximity both territorially and in terms of family relationships.

The Batak adat law recognizes two categories of leadership or office at the level of huta, horja, and bius. At the huta level, the leader deals with secular problems, whereas the horja has a leader who manages the fulfilment of religious laws. In other words, there are secular and religious officials. The latter category is most clearly known at the bius level. With reference to the secular affairs officials, Sitor Situmorang makes the following explanation:

The highest authority for the bius rests in a council whose membership is filled by marga members with one representative from each marga. Thus, the total membership varies from

"Assosiasi Klan Batak Toba di Jakarta: Bukan Marga tapi Lahir dari Tradisi Bermarga" [Toba Batak Clan Associations in Jakarta: Not Margas but Born Out of the Marga Tradition], in *Prisma* (Indonesian edition), no. 6, 1983, pp. 81-88.

¹¹ S. Situmorang, *Toba Na Sae*, p. 170.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 47 and 80.

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buis to buis. Together, they become a forum for discussion which is able to act also as a governing body both "internally and externally", becoming a symbol of its regional sovereignty. In order to emphasize the governing dimension of the council, the members are usually called buis chiefs, a term which indicates complexity.

As a council they have authority over the horjas which sent them there as the representatives of each marga. The buis council has responsibility for security, execution of laws, for guaranteeing the integrity of regional borders, for justice, and for handling the most important infrastructures for the economy, such as irrigation and the markets (*onan*).

In the operation of the buis council, there is one person who acts as the main leader, chairing the meetings, and representing the sovereignty of the buis both within its area and beyond. This official is known by various names depending upon the area involved: *Raja Junjungan* (in Silindung), *Raja Doli* (in Samosir), and so on. The other members of the buis council are called *raja partahi*. As members of the 'cabinet', each of these is responsible for specific matters.

The horjas which are under the buis are governed by a meeting of the marga which is made up of elders, but the meeting status is informal and *ad hoc*... The authority of the meeting of the marga is subservient to that of the buis.

Governing day to day affairs is accomplished by the village chiefs, the heads of village government. Their numbers would be in the teens in the horja, and in the tens in the buis. The village chiefs form a category of secular officials at the lowest level who guarantee the operation of government matters of most concern to each citizen... The institution of the huta and the village chief are identical. Each's status and authority is inherited and without termination, and is held by a person in a direct line of descent with the founder of the village, thus making this the only stable element in the governmental structure of the buis.¹³

Thanks to the division of work for the *buis*, *horja* and *huta*, there are persons or secular affairs officials who are "professional" in each's field: the controller of the water channels (*bondar*), the supervisor of the market (*onan*) responsible for the enforcement of market laws (including those related to the standardization of weights and measurements and the collection of taxes (*bongbong*), and as we shall see in the next section, a teacher of the community (*raja patik*) in his capacity as legal advisor.

The religious affairs officials who functioned in religious ceremonies especially at the buis level were called *raja-raja parbaringin*. In harmony with the belief system of the ancient Bataks which was integrated into the ways of seeking a livelihood, especially agriculture, there were a series of rites throughout the Batak calendar year (cf. below), led by the *parbaringin* chieftains. Situmorang explains their function as follows:

These parbaringin were religious leaders (*pendeta*) who throughout the year prepared and led

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80f, 155f, 160.

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various kinds of rituals for each stage of rice cultivation. Because they were called chiefs also (*raja*), this was a clear indication that their responsibilities were considered government related. Even though the relationship was not directly part of tribal government, nevertheless the function itself was utterly essential.

Throughout almost the whole year of twelve months, there were a host of sacred rituals, great and small, related to rice cultivation directed towards the guaranteeing of a bountiful harvest and were practised by each family or the whole community as a collective All of these took place under the supervision of the parbaringin as spiritual leaders who were guided by the *pustaha* (a manual of ritual and dates) which determined the schedule and procedures for carrying out the various ceremonies

The calendar for celebrations illustrated the scope and extent of the parbaringins' function within the *bius*. In addition to the religious dimensions of their responsibilities, in essence they were involved in the progress of the whole agricultural enterprise also, making sure of the coordination and synchronization of the demands of the seasons and ecological situation. As religious leaders, their personal lives were bound up with the disciplines of "holy personhood". In their religious activities and personal life, the parbaringin formed a class, more exactly, an exemplary 'caste', being moral and spiritual leaders for other persons.

Theirs was an especially tight organization. It was permanent, characterized by a clear division of leadership functions among the members The parbaringin organization and offices within it were filled by candidates or representatives from the *bius* clans The office of parbaringin itself was hereditary, that is the office of each parbaringin would be passed on to his eldest son

As the main authority for the "agricultural calendar", their functions bridged the gap between worldly and supernatural authority also 'Hidden' behind the secular structure, the parbaringin, through their organization, were the guarantors of the integrity and identity of the *bius*, and the chosen leaders to maintain cultural continuity (agriculture) and the esthetical-religious order of rituals with dance and sacred music performances.¹⁴

In the basic structure of traditional Batak society as described above, the Bataks were involved in educational activities. The foundation of their traditional societal structure and educational system was the *Adat*, as will be explained briefly in the next section.

B. Adat as A System Comprehending All Areas of Life

Several times in the analysis above, there has been occasion to mention the term "adat": adat law, adat chief, etc. What does adat mean? For Bataks, as also for many other tribal groups, adat is not merely certain customary usages or social regulations, but rather something which comprehends the whole dimension of life: physical and spiritual, present and future, interpersonal relations and relationships with the creator, *Mulajadi, Sang Pencipta*, the maintenance of harmony between the self as a micro-cosmos and also with the whole universe, the macro-cosmos.

To help us understand the Batak adat as a totality, we shall quote from L. Schreiner who obtained his insights from western specialists in religion and ethnology and also from Batak leaders themselves:

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 168, 178.

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Adat is the concrete form of the total character of tribal religions. It involves, infuses and determines the life of the tribe or ancient peoples in a host of ways. The adat connects the visible living with the invisible dead. Adat is the social order of the village as a community under law, as a community of producers, and as a religious fellowship. As a social order of divine origin with a threefold manifestation, i.e. myth, ritual and genealogical groups, the adat cares for and maintains both the life of law and economics, as well as the vitality of the individual and corporate life. Adat originates in myth, but its power is rooted in natural law with a goal of eternal harmony between the macro and micro cosmos Adat has a normative character because it has a foundation in myth which forms the way the ancient people understood their world. Thus it is the external side and the casuistic elaboration of myth in the communal life and its implementation in all areas of life. And myth is the way people express their experiences in the world, their way of knowing the world and their power over that world. Therefore, in the final analysis, adat may be defined as the *epitome* of the closed world of ancient peoples with its total character.¹⁵

If we adapt Schreiner's conclusion to the Batak adat, then we are able to see that the totality of the adat reflects both the Bataks' world view (*Weltanschauung*) and their view towards life.¹⁶ As well as their ideals for becoming genuine and perfect human beings both individually, and communally.

In the practice of daily life, the adat is manifested in a series of rituals¹⁷ and regulations¹⁸. Each ritual is

¹⁵ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 275. A similar type of understanding is evident among younger missionaries of the Rhenish Batak Mission, among others, Ed. Müller; for example see his writing in the *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* [Rhenish Mission News] 1930, especially p. 363.

¹⁶ J. Winkler in his article, "Die Weltanschauung der heidnischen Batak", in the magazine, *Deutsche Wacht*, Batavia, April 1919, pp. 195-210, explains that the Batak world view arose out of their daily experiences and spiritual needs. But in a view similar to Rhenish missionaries in general, he too drew the conclusion that the Batak world view in essence was rooted in *animism*.

¹⁷ There are many types of rites. In addition to those related to the agricultural calendar which was attended to by the *parbaringin* already mentioned, there were also a series of "rites of passage", i.e. birth, the young, marriage and death, and those involving various other activities in life.

¹⁸ The Bataks have various terms to express "regulations": *Patik*, *uhum*, *ruhut*, and occasionally *adat* also, whose understanding is felt to be overlapping, so that it is difficult to find a comparable word in English with the same precise meaning for each term. Observers have compiled classifications and inventories of the regulations which differ. This is the case because in the past all types of regulations were oral and based on the Batak conviction that just the spiritual power, *sahala*, of a regulation was embodied in its oral form (cf. below note 46) so that there are many variations of meaning according to place and situation of their usage.

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an institutionalization of the adat based upon detailed regulations. The adat as institutionalized in ritual becomes in turn both the educational organization and 'curriculum' for the community members who claim it for their own, practice it or follow its teachings.

Thus at the time of practising or following the ritual or adat ceremony, the individual is both experiencing education through the communication and acceptance of values, knowledge and skills, and at the same time caring for and maintaining the adat itself. In other words, during the carrying out of an adat ceremony, the educational process is going on in the form of "community education" and concurrently there is "education in action". Within the adat, the teaching-learning process can be seen in its intense and concrete form.

We are unable to divide the activities involved in the carrying out of the adat rituals in terms of the three mentioned educational categories, i.e. values, knowledge and skills, because all three are experienced in each type of adat activity.

Let us take the *wedding ceremony* as an example. In following the progress of this ritual, a Batak learns or is taught the religious, moral and social *values* of marriage, i.e. marriage as something sacred in harmony with the myth of Batak origins, marriage is something maintaining the existence of the marga and the continuation of the generations, and marriage is a change of social status from childhood to adulthood, and marriage is an event for the whole community and not merely something personal for the two marriage partners. The Batak learns or is taught various kinds of *knowledge* about the order and arrangements for carrying out the wedding ceremony, the steps which must be followed, the way to carry out each step, conditions which must be fulfilled, and the various instrumentalities which must be readied, etc. The marriage adat also practices or is trained in the *skills* of taking part in a series of steps of the ceremony, beginning with those most elementary to those which are most difficult and sophisticated requiring the highest skills.

Although, as indicated, we cannot describe each educational element in detail, we can mention various examples in each category as we shall describe in the next section. Again it must be stressed that the process of communicating all elements included in the three educational categories occur in the framework of the adat as total system comprehending all sides and dimensions of the life of the Bataks.

C. Family and Social Education

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As a tribe which highly prizes its collectivity expressed in the fellowship of *marga, huta, horja and bius*, each individual Batak and family is never an autonomous or independent unit. The existence, ideals, and activities of each person and family are not only parts of the wider community, they are determined by it. Thus family education done by parents with their children is a part of community education, both in terms of philosophy and content, but also in its process. Even so, within the framework of making observations about the Batak traditional education, we must discuss it under two different types while at the same time see that their mutual relationship are very close.

1. *Family Education and Value of the Child*

Anakkonhi do na ummarga di au

Anakkonhi do hasangapon di au

*Anakkonhi do hamoraon di au.*¹⁹

Thus we have the words of a song by Nahum Situmorang: *Anakkonhi do hasangapon di au*. According to certain Bataks²⁰, the words represent the essence of the Batak understanding of the value of children, and at the same time it points to a primary motivation to teach or endeavour to teach children as much as possible. On the other hand, there are those who hold that the ideas of the song are modern expressions, and

¹⁹ Translation: "My child is most valuable to me; my child is my honor; my child is my riches". Each line of the quotation forms the final line of each verse which was preceded by expressions which portrayed the struggles and sacrifices of the parents to make possible the highest education for their children to achieve. See Nahum Situmorang, *Nahum Songs* (1971), Vol. 1, pp. 31ff.

²⁰ For example, Liberty Manik; in conversation with this writer September 9, 1985.

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therefore do not represent an original Batak view.²¹ Regardless of which view is correct, there is no question but that Bataks place a very high value on children, and this high value is connected closely with three clusters of Bataks' highest ideals: *hamoraon* (wealth) *hagabeon* (fecundity), and *hasangapon* (honor or glory).²² Basically all three rest upon the deepest yearning for power (*songti; sangti; hasongtion*).

After dwelling on the Bataks' religious philosophy and view of life, Parkin concludes that power is their principal interest or yearning. Life is a struggle for power and also a struggle against powers, both ordinary or normal power, and also its paranormal expression. Symbolic ornamentation of their houses and so forth are expressions of power or forces on which they rely to protect their lives. Furthermore, religious ceremonies which are characterized by magic, in essence are attempts to obtain 'divine' power. The openness of Bataks to influences and contributions from the outside, both Hindu and Christian (and modern knowledge too, author), is motivated basically by the desire to obtain power and to strengthen it afterwards.²³

The value of the child together with the Bataks' cluster of ideals are related closely to the Batak family structure and community which we have discussed. As we have seen, the Batak community considers itself to have originated from a noble ancestor, *si Raja Batak* who grouped them into clans (*marga*). Each *marga* possesses and is bound to a certain territory, i.e. village (*huta*) whose beginning was pioneered by a certain individual, the *sisuan bulu* or *sipungka huta*

²¹ Interview with S. Situmorang, December 14, 1985.

²² Van Asselt, *Achtien Jaren* [Eighteen Years], p. 86, relates his conversation with chieftains in Sarulla during the first year of his presence there (1857). One of them, Amani Holing, stressed that the Batak goal of life was wealth, honor or respect, glory and a long life.

²³ H. Parkin, *The Extent and Areas of Indian/Hindu Influence on the Ideas and Development of Toba-Batak Religion and Its Implications for the Christianization of the Toba-Batak People of North Sumatra* (D.Th. Dissertation, Serampore, 1975, p. 440; then published under the title *Batak Fruit of Hindu Thought*, 1987). Cf. P. Pedersen, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul* (1975), p. 25, "It was the power, the promise of power, which first attracted the Batak to Christianity."

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who later became the village chief (*raja huta*).²⁴

To found and develop a new village naturally requires the contribution of many committed people; it cannot be done merely by one founder and a coterie of fellow members (*dongan tubu*) of his marga. For such a significant venture, people hope for many children (*hagabeon*), not only boys as carriers of the hereditary line of the marga, but also girls. The latter are needed because girls will marry into another marga due to the exogamous marriage principle. The wife along with husband and children are assured of a right to live in the new village or settlement as *marga boru* and have a claim to a share of the arable marga land (*golat*). The more children including the marga boru, the greater amount of arable land which may be tilled by the residents of the huta made up of the principal marga (*marga raja*), the marga boru and the incoming marga (*paisolat* or *parripe*). This means that each marga as a totality and also individual members increase in wealth in children, wealth in land, and wealth in production. Therefore there is attained the goal of *hamoraon* (wealth). This increased wealth in turn gives the village members *hasangapon* (respect and honor).

The marga which has achieved fecundity, wealth and honor, obtains power also, not only physical and natural power, but power which is spiritual and supranatural as well. In so doing, the zenith of its hope has been attained. Situmorang describes it this way:

²⁴Each territory, i.e. the huta along with tillable land, in a formal sense is the property of the marga. After receiving a land allotment, each core family or individual has the right of working the part so allocated and enjoying its productivity, meaning that each member of the marga might become wealthy. But he does not have the right to sell his allotment to another person unless he intends to leave the village; but if he does so it must be a sale to a member of the marga. In fact for the traditional Batak, land is not a commodity of commerce, but rather an inheritance to be handed on to the next generation so that the conservation of land ownership and village by each marga may be maintained. Cf. S. Situmorang, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50; and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 32ff.

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Without having control over land, the marga and its members will be no more than a collection of unreal individuals, scattered about like so much sand without the opportunity to periodically celebrate their togetherness as a mystical body which praises/worships its founding father, offering up its sacrifice to him, and obtaining a blessing from the world of the ancestors, and at the same time guarantees and increases the glory of the revered ancestor who lives there eternally in spirit form (*tondi*) The spirit of the marga ancestor who was an important figure during his lifetime lives not only eternally but may receive a multiplication of the power of his (*sahala*), provided that his descendants faithfully and regularly take part in rituals of offerings to it. An increase in the *sahala* power of the primary ancestor will automatically guarantee and increase the success of his descendants, and so on.

The idea of the ancestor's *tondi* (spirit) and the *sahala* power which is held by the ancestors, embodied in the marga, forms the core for the Batak's view of life The marga as a mystical body represents the *tondi-power* mentioned. Important people in the marga, those who are honored as elders are viewed as a standing for the *tondi-sahala* which exercises its mandate from the founding ancestor.²⁵

In brief, the *sahala* power from the founding ancestor flows to the marga in its totality, and also to individual members of it who have many children, are wealthy, and respected, both in the present life and in the future.

A view of life such as this gives rise to the expression *lulu anak lulu tano* (to want children or to defend children is the same as seeking and defending a plot of land). Thus, the more children people have, the more the wealth of the marga is guaranteed, and the more honor and power is guaranteed for the marga also, including its individual members.²⁶

Here too, we see a dialectical relationship between the individual member of the marga and the marga as a fellowship or community. Even though the emotional centre of Batak ideals is the marga, nevertheless the rights and importance of the individual are not neglected. Each individual of the marga is given the opportunity for self-development. This opens up the possibility for the occurrence of internal competition among its members, besides fostering intense inter-marga competition for the taking of tillable land.²⁷ Competition within the marga, a fact of life ever since the appearance of the first *sisuan bulu* or *sipungka huta*, prompts each person or core family to work as hard and as tenacious as possible. In

²⁵ S. Situmorang, *op. cit.*, pp. 79f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

²⁷ On this subject Situmorang as well as others have said: "The politics of obtaining control of land gives rise to competition and dynamics of relationships between margas, but competition is not less intense among individuals of the same marga who compete 'to carry out the marga's message'"; *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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the process of being involved in this hard work and competition, parents plant the main Batak ideals in the minds and hearts of their children, as well as the effort necessary to attain them. This effort and process in turn forms a certain type of character in the Bataks: the enjoyment of hard work, willingness to sacrifice to attain goals, and determination to succeed.²⁸ In short, each parent endeavours to implant in his/her children²⁹ religious and moral values, as well as the work ethic mentioned, in addition to various kinds of knowledge and skills.

However, competition within the marga is not so intense as to neglect or sacrifice its own solidarity. This is the case because each individual is very conscious of his or her part within the marga and aware too that the marga is the foundation for his or her development as a person. Therefore, marga members feel a sense of responsibility to maintain and advance the village and marga as a community, so that together they may embody the main ideals mentioned, and become superior to other villages and margas in all fields.

Inter-marga competition itself does not cancel cooperation between them, especially in matters related to the *horja* or *bius* which are multi-marga in essence. This cooperation is embodied in various group activities in the fields of agriculture, security, and religious affairs, etc., which are integrated into the structure of a total adat system. However, in reality competition between margas not infrequently issues in hostility and conflict between them. Such hostility and conflict may become values which are handed on in the process of family as well as social education.

Education within the family happened from the time of the child's birth. Of course the education taking place within the family was not the formal type occurring in the school, an

²⁸ A.B. Sinaga, *The Toba-Batak High God* (1981), pp. 23f.

²⁹ Values and work ethic, including good manners, behaviour and various kinds of regulations which require discipline and obedience, usually are communicated through oral literature (*torsa-torsa* or folklore, for example or key words and proverbs, *huling-hulingan* or puzzles, games, etc.); see among others, A.A. Sitompul, *Weisheitliche Mahnsprüche und prophetische Mahnrede im Alten Testament* [Wisdom Admonitory Expressions and Prophetical Hortatory Sayings in the Old Testament] (dissertation 1967), pp. 31ff, and J. Warneck in *Der Bote*, October 1901, p. 220.

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institution not known by the Bataks before the coming of the western colonial power and the Christian mission. But this did not mean that parents did not teach their children as was assumed earlier.³⁰ Concerning its content, perhaps Loeb was correct when he said that "formerly the Batak children were mainly taught to imitate their parents".³¹ But "imitate" has an extensive meaning here, because it involves following the religious, moral and social values of both the parents and the wider community, plus assuming their knowledge and skills. In addition they imitated their parents' character and general characteristics, both those which were positive as well as negative.³² All of this required discipline and obedience, matters which were emphasized by the Rhenish mission educational system later.

Generally, boys imitated their fathers who tended to be active outside the house, whereas the girls imitated their mothers in helping with the household work and in the rice fields, and sometimes helping sell produce in the market. After puberty, the daughters' relationships with their fathers tended to become more distant. In summary, Batak children, both boys and girls, from the earliest were taught to work hard. In parallel with the need for children's help to increase the land under cultivation in order to increase wealth which would then be their inheritance later. In sum, children were viewed as a most highly valued human investment also.

But the value of children ought not to be understood solely from the economic perspective, that is, as workers, but also from the side of the Batak philosophy of life: the child must surpass

³⁰ For example, A. Bruch, *Der Batak, wie er liebt und lebt* [The Batak, How He Loves and Lives] (1895), p. 17; also W. Gericke, "Einiges aus dem Leben und Treiben der Batakschen Jugend" [Something about the Life and Activities of Batak Youth], in *Der Kleine Missionsfreund*, no. 3, 1918, p. 20.

³¹ E.M. Loeb, *Sumatra, Its History and People* (1935), p. 66.

³² Indeed there is a Batak proverb: *ndang dao tubis sian bonana*, which means that the characteristic and character of a child do not differ greatly from the parent. But E. Pasaribu in his unpublished autobiography, p. 8, says that Bataks do not want their children to experience difficulties or become victims of parental error. Because of that the parent is ready to improve himself for the sake of a better future for his

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the parent.³³ Furthermore, the child is both a source of honor (*hasangap-on*) and a means to perpetuate life, i.e. a preservation of the *tondi* or spirit of the parent, even though the body itself is no longer in existence. For that reason, each Batak person endeavours to have children, especially boys as the means for the continuation of the family line, in any way possible including polygamy.³⁴ For the sake of the children, the parent is ready to sacrifice everything for them.

For outside observers, including those from the Rhenish mission, the Batak parents' treatment of their children, especially boys, was felt to be excessive because they were not ready to take disciplinary action against their children even though they were doing wrong. According to some observers, if the parents disciplined their children, they worried that the child's *tondi* might leave its body (*tarmali tonidi*), a matter which could be tantamount to causing the child's death.³⁵ Because the parent had insufficient courage to discipline the child, the consequence were a rude child who was ready to treat the parent in any way he or she saw fit.³⁶ But other observers also noted that if

children.

³³ The philosophy of *hamajuon* just began to be significant for Bataks after the beginning of the 20th century (see Chapter Six A.1.). But the desire to advance, even though this may be expressed differently, is rooted in the Bataks themselves, and forms one of the motivating factors to receive new elements from the outside, if these are viewed superior to what has been had beforehand, and can be useful in helping them attain their ideals.

³⁴ For Bataks, barrenness is disaster, even though not the greatest one. The man who is impotent is called *na so halak*, not a male, or *na so hasea*, incapable. M.H. Nasoetion, *De Plaats van de vrouw in de Bataksche Maatschappij* [The Place of Women in Batak Society] (dissertation 1943), p. 56; J.C. Vergouwen, *The Social Organization and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra* (1964), p. 49.

³⁵ Thus the view of J. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak* (1909), p. 11. According to him, such a conviction or anxiety forms one reflection of animistic belief.

³⁶ G. Warneck, *Nacht und Morgen auf Sumatra* [Night and Morning in Sumatra] (1872), p. 38, calls Batak children tyrannical towards their parents: cf. J. Warneck in *AMZ*, 1902, p. 313. Andar Lumbantobing in his article, "Christian Education in the Batak Church", in *Lutheran World* II, Autumn 1955, pp.

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the child's rudeness reached excessive proportions so the parent lost control of his anger, the child could be disciplined harshly, an action termed barbaric and inhuman.³⁷ Such an overly harsh judgment might fall upon an adult daughter who refused to marry the young man chosen by the parents, and the judgment might become even more severe if she eloped with a person of her own choice.

Basically each Batak child was taught to respect and obey its parents. According to ancient Batak belief, such honor and obedience became the guarantee that the sacred power (*sahala*)³⁸ of the parent would be transferred to his children while the parent was still alive, and particularly so after the parent was deceased.³⁹ But in reality, there were many Batak children who were obstinate and rude, rebellious and insubordinate toward their parents, meaning that the observation of the Rhenish missionaries was not altogether in error.⁴⁰ Nevertheless according to some Batak parents, obstinacy, and other negative actions, do not have their root cause in parents' fear that if they act angrily towards him or her, the child's tondi will flee, but rather because such behaviour is a general characteristic of the younger generation among all tribes and nationalities, i.e. a defiant

291-296, is of the same opinion as Warneck about father and child when he writes, "The child does not obey the order of the parent, but the parent will do everything desired by the child."

³⁷ A. van Ophuysen, "Der Lebenslauf einer batakschen Frau" [The Career of a Batak Wife] in *MB*, 1911, pp. 53ff.

³⁸ Sinaga, *op. cit.*, p. 233, defines *sahala* as "power of the soul and its authority which is seen as a living and effective power in real manifestation".

³⁹ *Sahala* in its relationship to honoring parents has its source in the *Si Boru Deak Parujar* myth, the myth about the mother of *Si Raja Batak*. This mother guarantees material and spiritual well-being for descendants who honor her, through channelling her *sahala* to them.

⁴⁰ In translating the Fifth Commandment, Johannsen as an Old Testament translator uses the word *ingkon* (must), a word which is not used in other parts of the Law. On the one hand it seems that he intended to strengthen a basic attitude of Bataks, i.e. to honor and obey parents, and on the other hand to struggle against the arbitrariness of children towards their parents as witnessed by the missionaries.

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attitude, ready to rebel against all parental restraints. What is more, within Batak society, although the child is loved greatly, it has no clearly defined role. It is merely an object of adat, education, etc., and only becomes a subject when an adult, specifically when married.

It cannot be denied that as a result of a patrilineal pattern of society, Bataks valued sons higher than daughters. But in daily life the responsibilities and work of women were much greater, including the education of the family. Although after the son had become older he was closer to his father, yet during his early years he was nurtured primarily by his mother.

In terms of this reality, people had a right to the opinion that this condition was proof of the exploitation of women; their work and responsibilities were greater than the men's, but it was just the men who enjoyed most of the fruits of women's efforts. Yet in this case, it needs to be remembered that according to ancient Batak belief as reflected in the *Si Boru Deak Parujar* myth, for example, the position of women was very high and they were greatly respected.⁴¹ And each Batak including those who live in the present regardless of his or her educational achievement, definitely acknowledges the role of each's mother education. This was in no way the mere result of the natural instinct of a mother, but it was more than that: Batak society gave specific means and provisions to its women so that they might bear such great responsibility and carry out their various functions including that of teaching their children.

2. Community Education

⁴¹ The high position of women based on the myth of *Si Boru Deak Parujar* has been analyzed thoroughly by Nasoetion, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-20. In a further development, respect for women is directed to the *hula-hula* as the clan side which gives the wife. In the Batak belief system which forms the foundation for respecting the *hula-hula* there is noted a justification something like this: *Debata Mulajadi na Bolon* as the giver of the wife, *Si Boru Deak Parujar* to *Si Raja Ihat Manisia*, father of *Raja Batak*, is more honored than *Si Boru Deak Parujar* herself. In other words the position of *Debata Mulajadi na Bolon* is about the same as the *hula-hula* in the *dalihan na tolu* structure.

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According to the myth and oral tradition of the Bataks, each person was obligated to know and practice *Sisia-sia Na Lima* (a five-fold teaching): *Mardebata* (belief in God), *Martutur* (treasuring kinship relationships), *Marpatik* (carrying out regulations), *Maruhum* (respect for law), and *Maradat* (highly valuing the adat).⁴² Fundamentally, it can be said that Maradat comprehends the other four in itself.

Basically those responsible for teaching *Sisia-sia Na Lima* to children, i.e. the non-married, were the parents of each child, or in a general way each adult married member of the community. But Batak society also knew of a "professional", the *Raja Patik* who had the role of imparting the five teachings to the community.

In the myth of *Si Raja Batak* (the Batak Patriarch) - having many versions and variations because there has been neither canonization nor standardization - it is said that he had two sons: *Guru Tatea Bulan* (also called *Raja Ilontungon*) and *Raja Isumbaon*. Through *Si Boru Deak Parujar* (mother of *Si Raja Batak*) and *Si Raja Batak*, *Debata Mulajadi Na Bolon* (The High Creator God, the highest deity in the Batak religion) bequeathed the *Pustaka Agong* to *Guru Tatea Bulan*. This was a book, with pages made of bark, containing *hadatuon*, *habeguon*, *parmonsahon* and *pangaliluon* (shamanism, courageous power, art of self-defense, and the science of deceit). However, to *Raja Isumbaon*, he bequeathed *Pustaka Tumbaga Holing* containing *Sisia-sia Na Lima* (the five-fold teaching above). (Another version of the latter has a different content: *harajaon*, *parumaon*, *partiga-tigaon* and *paningaon*, i.e. kingdom, legislation, agriculture, trade, and handicraft skill.) If the *Pustaka Agong* is always found in written form because its content is a 'science' demanding precision (see below), then *Pustaka Tumbaga Holing* is preserved only in oral form because its further development is not known and therefore apparently lost.⁴³

Several decades ago, there was a Batak figure, Nahum Tampubolon, who used the title *Raja Patik*, so that afterwards he became known as *Raja Patik Tampubolon*, because he succeeded in composing a book entitled *Pustaka Tumbaga Holing* (1964) which he claimed contained all the *Habatahon* (Batak system). The purpose of the writing was to prove that *Habatahon* was a system based on a 'holy' or religious Book.⁴⁴

⁴² According to S. Situmorang, *op. cit.*, p. 161f, the *parbaringin* are most obligated to practice the Five Laws. But as indicated, not they but the *Raja Patik* is to teach these extensively to the members of the community.

⁴³ Cf. W. M. Hoetagaloeng, *Poestaha taringot toe Tarombo ni Bangso Batak* [Book regarding the genealogical line of the Batak] (1926), p. 28, and M. H. Nasoetion, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 173f. On pp. 164-213, Schreiner painstakingly analyzes the figure of *Raja Patik Tampubolon* together with his work. At the same time Situmorang himself in a conversation on December 14, 1985 evaluates *Tampubolon* as a most prominent Batak ideologue and as a traditional Batak educator

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In his daily life, Raja Patik spoke or taught in places where many people gathered, such as in the *toguan* or *partungkoan*⁴⁵, the market (*onan*), etc. But for official forums he appeared at the sessions of the *bius* because he was one of its members and because of his knowledge of regulations and details of life at the *bius* level, even though this knowledge was not codified in written form.⁴⁶

Although in practice sometimes there was a Raja Patik who held the office of *raja huta* and *raja bius* also, but fundamentally the office of *Raja Patik* was consultative rather than formal, having a certain structure and dealing with regional matters, such as was the case with the offices of village and regional chiefs just mentioned. If he did not hold an office dealing with local or regional affairs, then his suggestions or teachings were not required to be accepted by the *bius*. Even so, he was a guide for moral and social matters and was acknowledged to be a 'walking encyclopedia'. So much was the case that he was respected greatly by all layers of society and was the one to inquire about all details of adat law and order. Therefore, he was properly an educator of society because he communicated values, and moral and social knowledge.

Thus the *Raja Patik*, sometimes called the adat chief, was one of three main officials in the structure of Batak society, along with the *raja* (*raja bius* and *raja huta*) and *the parbaringin*. The *raja* or chief was concerned with political matters, the *Raja Patik* with matters moral and social, and the *parbaringin* with religious issues, although in practice all of these functions tended to

who is a remnant from the past for this century. He takes off from the clash of traditional Batak values with modern ones including Christian, but yet attempts to conserve *Habatahon* and make it into a viable belief by infusing it with modern values.

⁴⁵ This place is generally used for holding the sessions of the *bius* government; Situmorang *op. cit.*, p. 160f. Cf. Sitompul, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Cf. the conclusion of Parkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 438f that for traditional Batak society, knowledge and oral expressions contain more sacred power (*sahala*) than knowledge and written expressions.

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overlap. Each of the three officials were educators in own realm. But it was the Raja Patik who most directly carried on the function of education due to the character of his office and expertise. In this way he communicated most directly with the broader community.

What about the *datu*? What is his function in the structural life of Batak society? This topic will be addressed especially in section E.

D. Several Kinds of Knowledge and Technical and Practical Skills

In section C, we have just seen two tracks of education operating in the structure of traditional Batak society. We have also looked at religious, moral and social values which were all involved in the totality of the adat, and also at the officials who had a role in communicating the values and knowledge contained in the offices represented.

Along with all the above and closely related to it was the Bataks' need for various kinds of knowledge and skills for carrying out the demands of their daily lives. Although many observers hold that lives of the Batak 'patriarchs' were relatively remote since the time when they first arrived and took up residence in the lake Toba area, nevertheless the reality was different. Over a time frame of thousands of years, the patriarchs through their community have managed to maintain and develop a goodly amount of knowledge and skills in the people who followed their leadership. The fruits can be seen in various kinds of material products which have been evaluated by outside sources, including the Rhenish mission, as showing high quality and artistic taste. Material products, such as buildings, working tools, and varied equipment for the maintenance of the common ventures of life, have been fashioned obviously by people expert in their fields, and in turn these have handed on their expertise to the next generation through specific types of education, instruction or training.

We shall neither discuss all types of professions or fields of expertise nor knowledge and skills which Bataks possess. It will be sufficient to mention several examples which indicate that Bataks have a material cultural product of high quality in addition to social, moral and religious cultural

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forms which were outlined in a former section. It will be suggested as well how the related knowledge and skills are handed on through the process of education.

1. The Batak House

In a way parallel to the complexity of tribes grouped into the sub-tribes of the Batak people, the architectural forms and models for the Batak house are varied as well. But whatever example is noted, all observers agree that the Batak house possesses a high quality style of architecture and construction,⁴⁷ although from the side of its healthfulness, admittedly perhaps it does not fulfil modern hygienic conditions. We shall not belabour a discussion of the construction details of a Batak house, the ceremonies conducted during its building, and the technical details of its architecture. What we want to stress here is only that building such a house demands knowledge and considerable technical skills related to geometry, knowledge of materials and construction, etc. These are possessed by the architect or master carpenter, *pande ruma* or *panumpang ruma*. The mastery of the needed knowledge and skills from a theoretical perspective is not as sophisticated as is evident in the modern knowledge of construction, but it should be remembered that the Bataks had a system of numbers and arithmetic at that time, call it traditional mathematics if you will, which was adapted to the needs of constructing houses, villages, and various equipment needed for daily life. They learned that knowledge, and in turn taught it, through a process of apprenticeship since there were no formal institutes of technology.

Usually the *pande ruma* was accompanied by other experts, such as the carver of the intricate designs (*panggorga*), and the painter. These not only mastered the aesthetic of ornamentation and painting but they had to be religious experts as well because the three colours used, red, white and

⁴⁷ See for example J. Warneck: "Das Bataksche Haus", in *BRMG*, 1937, pp. 337ff, which evaluates the Batak house as a work of art and product of skilled hands, and also as an object which has special social and religious value. Cf. Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 21ff and J. Hasibuan: *Art et Culture, Seni budaya Batak* (1985), p. 271.

black, applied to each ornament had symbolic significance.⁴⁸

2. Village (*huta*)

The original Batak village consisted of from ten to twenty houses only, which were surrounded by a rampart (*parik*) which functioned as a barricade especially against enemy attacks. In areas with many large stones, these were piled up to form the rampart, with secret spaces covered with layers of soil. Bamboo with thorns were planted on its crest. The technique of transporting those large stones is reminiscent of the transportation of stones for building the pyramids, i.e. a process of either pushing or dragging, and not through the use of the wheel since the latter was a still unknown technology for the Bataks. At a special place in the fence, a *harbangan* (gate) was built which could be shut and opened.

Each village had a large yard used for many functions: a place for celebrations (*horja*), a place to dry the rice bundles, playground, etc. The building of the yard needed special techniques and processes for levelling and treating the soil so that it would be smooth and not be given over to mud during rains; its material was a mixture of soil and sand which reminds us of the technology for making a gravel tennis court. The building of the complete village with its rampart and yard was undertaken by a number of skilled people. Regrettably, a large number of the original villages are now damaged, or worse extinct.

3. Boats (*solu*)

Originally, because the Bataks only lived around lake Toba and the island of Samosir in its midst, the proa (canoe) was the most important vehicle.⁴⁹ The proa were of various types and

⁴⁸ The symbolic significance of the three colours *bonang manalu* (three kinds of thread) has been explained in Ph. O.L. Tobing, *The Structure of the Toba-Batak Belief in the High God* (1963), p. 79.

⁴⁹ It is interesting that the *solu* never had a sail so its

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dimensions,⁵⁰ but all of them were made from logs. The type of tree which fulfilled the requirements for a proa were seldom found on the shore of lake Toba, so the logs had to be sought far away in the forest. The tasks of selecting and felling the tree, shaping it into a rough form of the proa, dragging it to the lake shore, were carried out by a skilled craftsman we may call the builder of a rough proa. The proa itself was dragged to the lake using the same techniques for dragging stones for the village protective fence. On its arrival at the lake, the final touches were worked by another expert craftsman we may call the finisher of the proa. He was aided by an apprentice and a team of carvers to carve its ornamentation.

4. Building Rice Terraces (parumaon)

Among the Batak tribes, the Toba Bataks are the ones most adept in the practice of wet-rice culture. The work of fashioning terraced rice fields beyond the village, engaging in dry rice culture and cultivating other field crops are not simple tasks because the area is hilly. To form terraces up to the base of the mountain and to channel water to each terrace requires a sophisticated system of irrigation. Building of the water channels is carried out by an expert using the gravity feed system under the coordination of the *raja bondar* who is the architect, manager and initiator of the giant irrigation system.

Among the numerous water channel systems built by Bataks before an acquaintance with western irrigation technology, the one most attractive to observers was found in Meat, a steep chain of hills near Balige. According to Sitor Situmorang's research, the irrigation system there was built in the 19th century before either the mission personnel or the colonial government had extended its reach to that area.⁵¹ Cunningham sketched the geographical

power of locomotion has its source only in human oar-power. Can this fact be mentioned as one proof of Batak backwardness in the field of technology of water transportation during the past, in addition to backwardness in the technology of land transportation which never knew the wheel?

⁵⁰ Among others, *Solu Bolon*, *Solu Lansaran*, *Solu Parsuribolon* and *Solu Parsada-sadaan*.

⁵¹ Interview with Sitor Situmorang, December 14, 1985.

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situation of the *Meat* region along with the terraced fields and irrigation system used, but stressed its limitations of potential and isolation more than the excellence of the system and the prosperity which it produced.⁵² But, as a matter of fact, most of the farmers there moved to the Simalungun Batak area and other eastern regions in Sumatra later, where they built and developed a rice culture system guided by the technology brought from their original home area.

5. Weaving

For Bataks, traditional clothing and details of weaving are not merely technical and esthetic matters (manner of weaving and the variety of ways of preparing the yarn), but they are also related to religious matters. This is true because each design and motif of the fabric, especially for the *ulos*, have very profound symbolic significance. Therefore, each expert weaver (*partonun*) must understand the significance of the symbol she weaves into the cloth.

S.A. Niessen has made a thorough study of the significance of the motifs found in Batak clothing and has come to the following conclusion:

... The theme of time is depicted variously by the *ulos*, in the structure of its round warp, some of its decorative features, and in its social role... Fertility comes into focus as the motor of time as the *ulos*, whether as the bride, rice land, textiles or any gift at all bestowed by the wife-givers on the wife-takers at crucial moments in the life-cycle, transfer life-generating powers. Kinship structures are depicted temporally by the social role of the textiles, in the repetition of generations, the repetition of 3-generational *dalihan na tolu* cycles, and the faintly-evident continuity of the female descent line. The temporal aspects of *ulos* structure are also enmeshed with the themes of the rice cycle, astronomical and seasonal time, and the symbolism of the buffalo as it is led around the slaughter-pole tracing the passage of *Naga*

⁵² Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.

Padoha, the regulator of yearly time.⁵³

6. *Equipment for daily living*

The Bataks knew how to make a variety of equipment needed in daily living such as household furniture and utensils, fanning tools, weapons, decoration, etc. These were made out of metal, wood, rattan, horns, etc. J.H. Meerwaldt and his students compiled a catalogue of objects found in a typical Batak home as these were collected by missionaries. The lists and classification made were as follows:⁵⁴

1. Jewelry: bracelets, rings, necklaces, earrings of various shapes, forms and names as fashioned out of gold or silver.
2. Weapons: *panguras* (a kind of rifle), *sitenggar* (a type of pistol), *hampil* or *salepang* (box made from buffalo skin for bullets), *porpanggalahan* (flint for igniting the powder), plus various types of swords and knives.
3. Musical instruments: flute, *tulila* (type of small trumpet), *hasapi* (a two-stringed kecap, small 'cello'), *saga-saga* (a kind of harmonica), *tanggetang* (a small ukulele), *ogung* (gong) which includes *oloan*, *doal* and *panggora*, one set of percussion instruments (*gordang*, *tataganing* and *odap*), *hombung* (pieces of metal tuned differently stored in a chest), *sarune* (a reed instrument), etc.
4. Farming equipment: *gair-gair* or *hudali* (a three-pronged rake), *ansuan* (digging stick), *ninggala* (plow), *auga* (yoke), *sisir* or *rogo* (rake), *sasabi* (scythe), *guris* (hoe), etc.
5. Kitchen utensils: *dagu* (a rice spoon used especially for festivals), *sonduk* (spoon), *seak* (cup), *hudon* (cooking pot), *poting* (bamboo water container), *anduri* (winnowing basket), *hombur-hombur* (round, closed rattan basket), *sapa* (bamboo snack container), *panutuan* (stone for grinding spices), *parburian* or *ramboan* (wash basin), *parsisiraan* (salt container), *tabu-tabu* (gourd water container), etc.
6. Storage containers: made out of rattan, bamboo, etc.: *panuhuan*, *hadangan*, *hajut*, *sanihe*, *ragian*, *harpe*, *angkut-angkut*, *singkup*, etc.
7. Weaving equipment: *pipisan*, *sorha*, *anian*, *erdeng-erdeng* or *hulhulan*, *iran*,

⁵³ Sandra Ann Niessen, *Motifs of Life in Toba Batak Texts and Textiles* (dissertation, 1985), p. 272.

⁵⁴ J.H. Meerwaldt, "Catalogus van de voorwerpen der Zending-Batak-Kist" [Catalog of a Batakmission Chest], (unpublished manuscript in the archives of the ZB Oegstgeest, K. 52/D. 19).

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pangungasan, pamapan, pagabe, pamungung, hatulungan, baliga, balobas, turak, hasoli, parsosaan, songka, lili, paniratan, tipak, etc.

8. Smoking and betel nut equipment: *tulpang* (pipe), *hajut, panutuan demban, parhapuran, salapa, gansip, etc.*

9. Accessories for festivals: *tunggal panaluan, pustaha, porhalaan, pamuhu, tanduk, sisungarsungar, etc.*

10. Various other kinds of utensils, equipment and tools.⁵⁵

All the tools and equipment above were made by people skilled and knowledgeable based on such 'sciences' as metallurgy, geometry, etc. most of which were mastered orally until they became second nature. These persons along with other 'professionals' already mentioned learned and taught their knowledge and skills through traditional and informal education obtained within the family or wider society.

Especially in the building of the village, rice fields and proas, the specialists in those fields generally cooperated with the *raja patik*, with the *malim* (priest as a member of the *parbaringin*) and where necessary with the *datu*, the religious leader/healer. Because, in keeping with the totalistic character of Batak adat as described above, such working together involved both the social and legal side (the *raja patik*'s area of expertise) as well as the religious-magical side (the *malim*'s and *datu*'s area of expertise).

On the basis of the kinds of values, knowledge and skills (also professions), which were known and possessed by the Bataks as described above and also the transferring these through the process of traditional education, we see that traditional Batak education was comprehensive. This means that Batak education included in itself the three main categories identified by modern educational science, i.e., *values* (the *affective* domain comprising esthetic, social, moral and

⁵⁵ In the work of Jamaluddin Hasibuan (*op. cit.*) there is found a photograph of several tools listed in Meerwaldt's catalog. (Only the paintings done by Meerwaldt's students in the Narumonda Seminary are found in that catalog.) In addition, in Hasibuan's work there are found the names and pictures of numerous objects or tools which are not found in Meerwaldt's catalog, such as objects related to pleasure and games (p. 286), for example Batak chess (*marusir*) which involves difficult mathematical principles, so it is a valuable means for training the intelligence of Bataks.

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religious aspects), *knowledge* (the *cognitive* domain), and *skills* (the *psychomotor* domain).

A question arises in this connection: from where did the Bataks receive their values, knowledge and skills? Are all of these the creative works and original property of the Bataks? If the answer were based on a literal understanding of the Batak myth such as the *Pustaka Agong* and *Pustaka Tumbaga Holing* referred to earlier, then the answer would be positive. Yes, all of the above were bequeathed through the patriarchs to the Bataks by the gods utilizing irrational means. However, based on the generally received modern ethnological theories, we are able to say that all of the values, knowledge and skills, or at a minimum their kernels or basic principles, were brought by the founding fathers to the Batak area from their place of origin.⁵⁶ Or the fathers obtained them from contact with other people especially those with a Hindu background, after they began to dwell in the region later known as Batakland (*tano Batak*).

Although admittedly the influence on the Bataks from India and Hinduism is clear, yet that does not mean that the values, knowledge and skills which the Bataks have were taken over *en masse*, or were the result of other outside influences. The Batak community which for thousands of years resided in the area about Lake Toba used their local genius and developed the heritage brought by their forefathers from their place of origin by joining these with elements received from the 'outside', then they fashioned all three of those sources into a valid possession. In other words,

⁵⁶ With reference to the origin of the honored Batak progenitors and the time of their arrival in Sumatra and journey to the shores of Lake Toba, there are various hypotheses with similarities and differences here and there. For example, M.O. Parlindungan (*Tuanku Rao*, pp. 19-28) concludes that the Batak tribe belong to the Proto-Malay who came in three waves from the mountainous area on the Burma-Thailand border and have resided in the Batak area for the past 3000 years plus or minus. On the other hand E. St. Harahap (*op. cit.*, p. 10) concludes that the Bataks originated from the Aryan race of India. At the same time, Parkin holds that the Bataks came from Greater India (*op. cit.*, p. 12). But all agree about the major influence of India/Hinduism on various sides of Batak life, religious, cultural, moral, social and economic, including various kinds of equipment and tools. Some of the influence was brought with them when they came to their part of Sumatra, and other dimensions of Indian influence became absorbed after they were living in the Batak land.

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through a process of their own unique development in their new place, the Bataks grew towards their own autonomy succeeding in building their own system of values, knowledge and skills, and at the same time formed their own special identity as a people or ethnic group.

The readiness of the Bataks to absorb outside influences as well as to profit from these in making them their own and in developing their own identity proves that the Bataks were not totally introverted or closed to influences and contributions from without, as supposed by many people⁵⁷, especially so if there were influences or contributions which were deemed profitable for their community.

Talking about the "local genius" of the Batak along with their openness and flexibility towards outside influences and new ideas or practices, Parkin has written:

There is an intrinsic flexibility in *adat* which recognizes the validity of changing and different circumstances The Toba Batak has always welcomed the new ideas of a congenial nature; the Batak local genius has adopted them to Batak culture and at the same time the Batak has adapted himself to the new circumstances.⁵⁸

In connection with influence from India he has also concluded:

Indianization was not a simple importation and acceptance of Hindu-Buddhism concepts, but rather a reworking and reforming of those concepts through the creative power of the local genius.⁵⁹

In brief, based upon openness and flexibility to outside influences and based upon the ability to rework them all as well in order to become their own, Bataks have succeeded in defending their batakness and at the same time 'batakized' their surroundings. This open and flexible attitude together with their ability to rework outer influences so that the result became their possession,

⁵⁷ This was the judgment of H. Kraemer, *From Mission Field to Independent Church* (1958), p. 44. While W.B. Sidjabat, *Ahu Si Singamangaraja*, pp. 31-43, presents various proofs which negate that general impression.

⁵⁸ Parkin, *op. cit.*.. pp. 17f.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

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played an important role later in the encounter of Bataks with the Rhenish mission and Dutch colonial power, both of which brought new values, knowledge and skills. The process of receiving and redoing new elements from outside were comprehended in the process of traditional Batak education characterized by its social informality and its learning by doing, because those experts whom we have mentioned were included in the circle of developers of the local genius.

E. Datu and Hadatuon Professional and Specialized Knowledge

In addition to the professions and knowledge previously analyzed, all of whom had a clear place and important role in the framework of the Batak traditional education system, there is yet one more professional class with its specialized knowledge, i.e. the *datu* and his *hadatuon*. Admittedly, this profession with its specialized knowledge did not have a direct place in the order of traditional Batak education which was characterized by its openness and socializing role. This is the case since the *datu* did not function as a teacher of the broader community as was the case with the *Raja Patik*. In addition, his process of communicating his knowledge was esoteric and therefore hidden to the uninitiated. Even so as we shall see later, the *datu's* role was indeed impressive in contributing towards the building up of the knowledge of traditional Batak education, as well as in the expression of modern education in Batakland which came with the Christian mission and the colonial government.

Many observers hold that the *datu* functions as a priest in Batak religion rituals.⁶⁰ This opinion is not totally correct, because as we have seen the person carrying out priestly functions at adat ceremonies (within it there are religious elements as part of the totalistic essence of the adat) at the

⁶⁰ J. Warneck in *Toba Batak-Deutsches Wörterbuch* [A Batak-German Dictionary] (edited anew by R. Roolvink, 1977), p. 56, translates or defines *datu* with *Zauber-priester, Zauberer, Wahrsager, Arzt* (Spell-priest, Magician, Soothsayer, Doctor), but on p. 28 he also calls the *parbaringin* as a *Priester*. Cf. Pedersen, *Batak Blood*, p. 31, "The *datu* functioned as a priest".

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bius level was the *parbaringin*, whereas for adat ceremonies at the village or *huta* level, the *suhut* (i.e. the *marga* undertook these itself through a person or persons appointed specially for this service).⁶¹ The *datu* functioned only in those religious rites which contained elements of magic requiring the expressing of *tabas* (*mantera*; magic formula) in making contact with or communicating with supernatural forces. In other words, the *datu* was the ritual specialist with reference to magical matters, and was not a priest or 'pastor' in the general sense, since he accompanied the *parbaringin* only as needed. In the magical ceremonies, *mantera* - not *tonggo* (prayers) - were spoken. Along with the *mantera*, there were sacrificial offerings made to the supernatural powers. Therefore, if the *datu* are called priests, then it is only in the special meaning which we have given.

Situmorang distinguishes between the *parbaringin* and the *pendeta raja*⁶² and the *datu*:

Based on an understanding of *hamalimon* (priesthood), the *parbaringin* and the *pendeta raja* maintained a distance from the practice of magic as it was carried out among the people and implemented by the magician (*datu*). The *parbaringin* and *pendeta raja* did not worship spirits of any kind, but offered prayers to Mulajadi, or to *sombaon* (spirit of the founding father who had the highest position along with gods, author) as an aspect of Mulajadi

Moreover, the *parbaringin* and *pendeta raja* were not involved in shamanistic practices such as exorcising evil spirits which had taken up residence in the body of an individual. Neither did they 'practice' medicine or tell fortunes as did the *datu*.⁶³

⁶¹ Situmorang, *op. cit.*, p. 110ff, calls the leader of *huta*-level ceremonies, "lay pastor", but the *parbaringin* is named a "professional pastor".

⁶² *Pendeta Raja* (priest-king) is an institution or office which began to be known in the 16th century, and the one most widely known was the institution and dynasty of Si Singamangaraja. This institution was higher than the *bius*, and did not interfere with the *bius* government. Since the *bius* was its or his locale of operation, it was the ceremonial capital for rituals undertaken by the *bius* group. The *pendeta raja* was not only respected, but he also functioned as the leader of *bius* ceremonies, and was assisted by the *parbaringin* organization. The *pendeta raja* had a higher spiritual status than the *parbaringin*, but was never called *parbaringin*. The *pendeta raja* accepted more rigid rules for daily living than those followed by *parbaringin*; Situmorang, *op. cit.*, pp. 117ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 161f.

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In the framework of carrying on their work, the *datu* used the 'sciences' and paraphernalia and a variety of concoctions and manner of treatment and magical acts, as well as astrology, climatology and calendrical calculations. The 'sciences' were written in the *Pustaka*, a collection of writings written on tree bark sheets folded many times and kept in a chest ornamented with special symbols, or written on pieces of bamboo sheets tied together.

According to Winkler⁶⁴, there were three categories of *Pustaka* based on the purpose of their usage:

1. 'Science/knowledge' for the care of life (*die Kunst, das Leben zu erhalten*; Protective Magic), which includes diagnosis, therapy, medicinal mixes which have magical properties, amulet, *parmanisan* (love charms), etc.
2. 'Science/knowledge' for destroying life (*die Kunst, das Leben zu vernichten*; Destructive Magic), which encompasses the 'art' of making poison, the art of controlling or utilizing the power of certain spirits, calling the *pangulubalang*⁶⁵, and the art of making *dorma* (magical formulas for causing a person to fall in love).
3. 'Science/knowledge' of predicting (*die Kunst der Sagerei*; Divination) which involves oracles (word of gods) which explains the wishes of the spirit called, commands from gods and spirits of the ancestors, and an almanac or calendrical system (*porhalaan*), and astrology to determine auspicious days and months to accomplish certain actions or goals.

All of these were developed through magical rites in an effort to communicate with supranatural forces, i.e. spirits of the ancestors, spirits in nature (*paringan*) and evil spirits.

Bartlett⁶⁶ who did special research on datuism among the Pardembanan Batak (most of whom originated from the Toba Bataks) who now reside in the Asahan and Labuhan Batu region, found out that in *datu* circles there were variations of terminology, of understanding of the terms, medical concoctions, paraphernalia, and other differences of technique. (The variations are understandable in view of the fact that these Bataks came from different Batak tribes.) Even so, the main content of the *Pustaka* used by each *datu* includes Winkler's three categories.

⁶⁴ J. Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen* [The Toba Bataks of Sumatra In Sickness and In Health] (1925), pp. 79-224; summarized in Parkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 165ff.

⁶⁵ Ph.O.L. Tobing (*op. cit.*, p. 182) explains that *Pangulubalang* is the spirit of a male child who was kidnapped from an enemy area and killed; the body of the victim was made into *pupuk*, a magical powder, which was buried in a certain place or put into some container.

⁶⁶ H.H. Bartlett, *The Labours of Datoe*, Part I (1930) and Part II (1931). Other writings of his were collected under the same title (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, no. 5, 1973).

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How is the 'science of datuism' learned and mastered by the datu, and how do they in turn teach all this to other people? As we touched upon above, the teaching-learning process involved in the science of datuism was esoteric and specialized, as special as the 'science' itself. The person teaching must be the datu himself; that is why frequently the datu has the title of teacher as well (remember Guru Tatea Bulan, inheritor of the Pustaka Agong, who according to the Batak myth was the first datu as teacher). The process of handing on this science to the next person to become the datu involves a series of unique ceremonies, and in the teaching-learning process there is but one teacher and one student.

Supposing that a person not a *datu* would want to have his child become one, he would invite a datu who had the reputation of being very able.⁶⁷ Generally, the mentioned desire would have been stimulated by a special dream so that in the teaching-learning process there would be a coming together between 'science' and inspiration. The child would ask the datu in a special ceremony for permission to become his student. At the ceremony, the candidate would *manulangi* (literally: put food in the mouth) both the datu and the parents with *dengke natinutung* (roasted fish or meat), as a sign of his readiness to be his student. In addition, at the ceremony, the datu would receive a 'tuition' down payment in the form of sword, spear, an ulos and several coins. Officially, the instruction has begun. Usually the datu will move in with the parents of the student, sometimes with his whole family, and the parents will be expected to pay for all the board and room expenses.

The first step is to learn to read and write. For this purpose the datu takes the student to a clump of bamboo in order for him to look for *bulu suraton* (special bamboo used for writing material purposes). Before cutting the bamboo, they must make an offering to the spirit of the datu's deceased teacher (because generally he will have already died), the spirit of the ancestors, and the spirits of other deceased, and to the five gods⁶⁸, along with the 'resident' nature spirits: *Boraspati ni tano* and *Boru Saniang Naga*⁶⁹. After the bamboo has been taken from the clump, the reading and writing lesson

⁶⁷ There is a difference in class and expertise among the various *datu*: *datu bolon*, *datu metmet* or *datu kissil*, moreover there are false *datu* (cf. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 135). In addition, there are differences of specialization, such as for battles, medical treatment, etc., even though each has mastered the same 'datu science'.

⁶⁸ Winkler does not name these five *dewata*, but perhaps what he intended was the three-fold manifestation of *Debata Mulajadi na Bolon*, i.e. *Batara Guru*, *Soripada* (= *Balasori*) and *Mangala Bulan* (= *Balabulan*), to be added also *Debata Idup* and *Sibasana na Bolon* (= *Silaon na Bolon*). For information about the function of each, among other authors, see A.B. Sinaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-78.

⁶⁹ These two residents in nature are placed also in the category of gods by Sinaga (*ibid.*, p. 71).

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begins. The first step is learning the nineteen consonants of the Batak alphabet in sequence, to be followed by learning to read the vowel signs. This preliminary process called *morhamisaraan* may take quite a while until the student is able to read and write (called *manongon ribut*). The datu then dictates his science and the student writes the content down on bamboo strips, or animal skins, until he has built up his own *pustaka* with its special signs for reading, or codes which only he can understand.

The process of this knowledge transfer does not take place rapidly because it is difficult for the student to absorb or digest this high 'science' and to write it down exactly. This is the case because the student's own *tondi* (spirit) is not yet strong or cleansed. In order for the *tondi* to become strong (*asa jora tondina*) enough to receive the lessons, the datu takes the student to a river, gives him a handful of uncooked rice and submerges the student seven times until all the rice has been swallowed. This ceremony is called *marsipatorus*. Afterwards, the datu makes an offering to the gods and ancestors, requesting strength for the student to continue his study. Then he is returned to his home to continue his instruction.

If afterwards it is obvious that the student still finds it difficult to learn the lessons, the datu undertakes another approach to heal the 'ignorance' of the student; he is taken to the top of the mountain believed to be the place where the spirits of the ancestors worship. There the datu explains the nature of the student's *hangan* (hindrance) in front of a container filled beforehand with various magical charms and spells. Afterwards, the container is suspended on a branch of a bamboo so the wind will carry away the student's lack of aptitude. Then both return to the village where the datu informs the parents that various presents need to be given to him if the student wants to continue the lessons and achieve positive results. If after all this it is obvious that the student is yet unable to master the datu's 'science', then he gives up and ends the effort to teach.

For the talented student, the learning process progresses without hindrance, generally after the *marsipatorus* ceremony. The datu teaches all of his 'science' to the candidate. As long as the instruction goes on, the datu continues to make new demands and conditions for continuation, which not infrequently includes expensive items such as a cow, buffalo, and gold jewelry. When the instruction is considered completed and the student has passed, a graduation ceremony is held. On this occasion, the student again feeds the datu, and the latter *mamasu-masu* (blesses) the student. With this blessing of the datu-teacher, the student has become officially a datu and may 'open his practice' while further developing his own 'science'.

Noting the extensiveness of material conditions for becoming a student of datuism, generally this opportunity is open only to children of the village chief because only he tends to be wealthy. Moreover, it is often the case that it is the village chief who desires that one of his children will become a datu. But there are cases where the material conditions demanded are not overly heavy, for example if the teacher himself is a father, or if there is a good relationship between the *datu* and the student or his parents.

We shall not discuss the 'ins and outs' of the *datu's* practice involving the three categories of 'science' mentioned above, because this is outside the scope of our analysis. What we want to see, however, through the teaching-learning process of becoming a datu, is that Bataks, even if only a few, are familiar with a certain learning process. And that they found in the person of the datu a combination of the offices of teacher and preacher (or perhaps, to be more precise: teacher-priest), which is also to be found later in the missionary teachers.

Of course, the educational process, or the teaching-learning process of the hadatuon is not really

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included in the traditional Batak educational system which is social and open. Too, the *datu's Pustaka* has no significance for daily life, both because the language is strange and difficult to be understood by society, and its content is not wanted by many people, in fact not infrequently it gives rise to fear.⁷⁰ The *datu* figure himself is not popular in society, because the latter evaluates the *datu* as not a desirable person because of his magical 'science' (especially the type classified as "destructive magic" or "black magic").

Even so, we need to discuss some of the details of datuism because of its contribution towards the conservation of the treasury of Batak knowledge. Until now whenever we used the word *hadatuon* 'science', we have always used quotation mark signs. It may be asked legitimately whether such 'science' as possessed and taught by the *datu* later may be called *science* according to conventional (read Western) understanding, i.e. characterized as being rational, empirical and open for investigation. Generally, observers are of the opinion that if measured by the criteria of modern, read Western, science, then the *datu's* 'science' along with magical knowledge in the whole world, can not be categorized as a science.⁷¹

But with reference to the matter of content or concerning certain elements within the datuistic system, there is much to be considered positive, even scientific, according to this writer. Those elements have had a role in traditional Batak education which dealt with socialization as well with the educational efforts later by

⁷⁰ Sinaga, *op. cit.*, p. 19; cf. M. Singarimbun, *Kinship, Descent and Alliance among the Karo-Batak* (1975), p. 5.

⁷¹ The Rhenish missionaries in general held to that opinion and evaluation, and they considered the *datu* as the main pillar of "heathenism". (Cf. Chapter Four concerning the teaching of *Medizin* [medicine] in the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* and the Seminary and the medical ministry of the missionaries and the native teacher, in the framework of throwing light on the medical treatment of the *datu*). Later there were several Rhenish missionaries who saw positive elements in "datuism". Winkler was one. His writings have been quoted many times in this dissertation; but that only touched on certain elements of it and was not related to its essence or characteristic. Cf. N. Siahaan, *Sedjarah Kebudajaan Batak* [History of Batak Culture] (1964) p. 121. In fact later, there were Batak Christians including pastors who became *datus*. But as far as this author knows, they accomplished their role as *datu* by utilizing just certain elements from datuism, such as medical ingredients, calculation of seasons, etc., but the roots were no longer in the ancient faith. Concerning pastors who doubled as *datu*, see for example, S.R. Siregar, *Adat, Islam and Christianity in a Batak Homeland* (1981), pp. 51ff, who discusses the case of Pastor Kondar (Siregar).

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the Christian mission and colonial government. This matter will be taken up in succeeding chapters. Here we shall discuss a few of those positive elements.

1. Language and Script

As we have touched on in our explanation of the *Si Raja Batak* myth, only the *Pustaka Agong* containing datuism was given and preserved in written form. Indeed in reality until the coming of western researchers, only the datu and their students had mastered the Batak alphabet so that as Winkler has said, "the entire Batak literature is the work of the *datu* and their students".⁷²

When H.N. van der Tuuk was in Batakland from 1851-1857 to investigate Batak language and script, particularly in the Barus area and environs, he asked those whom he met to write down examples of Batak script, grammar, folk stories including myths, prayers, etc. It was obvious that only the datu and their students were able to fulfil his request. In other words, thanks to *the datu*, Van der Tuuk along with succeeding researchers in the Batak language were able to succeed in obtaining documents in the Batak language using ancient Batak script. Later, this was utilized by missionaries in support of their work, including the ministry of education.⁷³

Basically, Batak script consists of 19 characters (*inang ni surat*). But these can be increased to become 126 in total. In the *pustaka*, datu wrote codes and varied types of punctuation, and the way of writing each differed from the other, in order to guard the secrecy of their 'science'. Hence, these writings are difficult for others to read. Furthermore, the datu used or made up various terms and a style of writing which were generally not found in the language of daily life. But in his works, Van der Tuuk succeeded in composing a standard grammar and script based on his studying the documents which he received from the datu.⁷⁴ Afterwards, Van der Tuuk's writings became a guide for missionaries preparing literature for school and

⁷² Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak*, p. 76. Cf. J. Warneck, "Die Entstehung einer christlichen Literatur bei dem Batakvolk" [Origins of a Christian Literature among the Batak People] in *BRMG* 1905, p. 542, and J. Neumann, "Der Bataksche Goeroe" [The Batak Teacher], in *MNZG* 1910, p. 10.

⁷³ There were also missionaries such as G. van Asselt who studied the language of the *datu*; see G. van Asselt, *Aus den Anfängen der Batak-Mission* [Beginnings of the Batak Mission], vol. I (1911), p. 21. For the usefulness of Van der Tuuk's writings for the Mission, see Chapter Four B. 2(b) below.

⁷⁴ Among the works of Van der Tuuk are: *Dutch-Batak Dictionary*, *Batak Grammar*, a translation of a few parts of the Bible into the Batak language, and various pieces of Batak literature.

congregation, even as they tried to improve upon his achievement.

Several elements from the content of the pustaha, such as the calendrical system, instrument for indicating points of the compass, are found in school books, written by missionaries. Similarly, various elements of Batak literature which were transmitted through the oral approach originally, such as folk stories, proverbs, puzzles (*huling-hulingan*) were written into school text books later, thanks to the help of the *datu*.

In other words, documents in the language and script preserved by the *datu*, or written down by their help, have become material for research and a significant contribution to science and education. The ability of the *datu* to preserve and communicate oral literature through their verbal teachings, ought to be valued highly in the opinion of some missionaries.⁷⁵

2. Systems Concerning an Almanac, Calendar and Astrology

To utilize the third category of the 'science' of the *datu*, according to Winkler's classification mentioned above, the *datu* used various tools giving content to the Batak calendrical system based on calculations of the movement and positions of objects in space.

We shall not investigate how the *datu* utilized those tools, and we shall not discuss how accurate their calculations were. We want to see elements within them which were known and used more or less by the Bataks in their daily lives and taught to the wider community as well as the family:

division of night and day: There were several points for indicating time:

About 5 A.M.: *buha-buha ijuk*; 6 A.M.: *binsar*; 7 A.M.: *tarbakta*; 8 A.M.: *tarbakta raja*; 11 A.M.: *humarahos*; noon: *hos ni ari*; 1 P.M.: *guling mata ni ari*; and so on.

division of month into thirty days, each with its own name:

artia, suma, anggara, muda, boraspati, singkora, samisara, antian ni aek, suma ni mangadop, anggara sampulu, muda ni mangadop, boraspati ni tangkop, singkora purnama, samisara purnama, tula, suma ni holom, anggara ni holom, muda ni holom, boraspati ni holom, singkora mora turun, samisara mora turun, antian ni angga, suma ni mate, anggara na begu, muda di mate, boraspati ni gok, singkora duduk, samisara bulan mate, hurung, ringkar.

division of year into twelve months:

First through tenth month: *Sipaha Sada* through *Sipaha Sampulu*; eleventh month: *Li*; twelfth: *Hurung*; with the addition of the thirteenth month (*bulan lobi-lobi*) once every five or six years.

the twelve parts of the zodiac (Pormesa), based on position and movement of the heavenly bodies.

As mentioned above, the names of days and months of the *Porhalaan* (calendar) were also used in the

⁷⁵ Neumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-18.

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school books written by the missionaries.

3. *Compass Point Indicator: desa na ualu and bindu matoga*

Desa na ualu points to the eight directions of the wind: *purba, anggoni, dangsina, nariti, pastima, manabia, utara* and *irisanna*. *Bindu Matoga* points to the stars which live in or have authority over each compass direction. These two directional instruments were equipped with various symbolic objects using three specific colours: red, white and black (see above note no. 48). The names of the eight directions of the compass were also written into the school textbooks by the missionaries, and used also in translating the Bible and other literature.

4. *Materials for Traditional Divination*

Divination utilized various plants, animals and other material from nature which the *datu* processed and utilized in his own distinctive ways. In line with the characteristics and goal of hadatuon 'science', the divination was used by the *datu* for bringing to life, healing, or also destroying.

We need not debate the occurrence of traditional divination in healing people from sickness or in the maintenance of health, since this is an effort found throughout the world, and not only among the Bataks. It is clear that elements of divination were known and used by the general community in its daily living and afterwards handed on to the following generation, even though the actual usage may have differed from that of the *datu*. Although, basically the *datu's* 'science' was his own secret, yet there were those who explained traditional divination and the details of treatment to the public so that each person could utilize them for his or her own need.

After making this rapid overview of some of the details of datuism, we can conclude that the *datu* was a person with varied functions: he was a priest (with a special meaning) physician, astrologist, teacher (again with a special meaning of the term) and author, or at the very least a preserver of traditional writings. He was a person both feared and hated, and at the same time one needed and sought after.

Although, he did not have a significant role in the traditional Batak system of education, nevertheless

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his 'science' made a major contribution not only to the life of the ancient Batak society, i.e., before it encountered the Western world, but also to the scientific and missionary communities as well. It could be said also that until the missionary period, the *datu* was the possessor of *sahala parbinotoan* (authoritative power based on knowledge). Just the desire to obtain the *datu's sahala parbinotoan* was one of the motivations for becoming a teacher during the period of missionary dominance and also to set aside the supremacy of the *datu* in daily life.⁷⁶

F. Conclusion

From the general observations above, we have seen that before becoming acquainted with the system of modern western education, the Bataks had a traditional system of education. This system involved: (1) a *curricular scope*, i.e. values (religious, moral, social, economic, political and cultural), knowledge and multi-faceted skills; (2) *places for education to occur*, i.e. activities of daily life, and various ceremonies for the fulfilment of comprehensive adat demands both as this impacted on the family and in the wider society beginning with the village (*huta*) to the regional association of villages (*bius*); (3) *educational processes*, i.e. the handing on of values, knowledge and skills from those having *sahala* to family members and community so that in essence education involved the informal but continuous on-going flow of *sahala* throughout life; (4) *educators*, i.e. parents and professionals considered to be possessors of *sahala*; (5) *educational objectives*, i.e. the attainment of the main Batak ideals and life philosophy: wealth, many children and honor which were rooted and channelled through a fundamental desire or yearning: to possess, defend, strengthen and increase power (*sahala*).

The developing of this traditional system of education was supported by a culture which had reached a high level of attainment. Although many of its elements were brought by the Batak progenitors from their place of origin, or taken over from Sumatran areas outside of the Batak sphere, nevertheless the key to its

⁷⁶ Andar Lumbantobing, *Das Amt in der Batakkirche* [Offices in the Batak Church] (Bonn inaugural dissertation), pp. 117ff; E. Nyhus, "The Encounter of Christianity and Animism among the Toba-Bataks of North Sumatra", in the *South East Asia Journal of Theology*, no. 2-3, October 1968, pp. 33-52. Cf. below Chapter Four.

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development must be found in the Batak "local genius" itself, i.e. the creativity and ability to utilize all three sources and develop them to become their legitimate possession.

As is found to be the case generally with ancient peoples, Batak culture too was part and parcel of its religion. In other words, as *homo religiosus*, Bataks did not separate their religious activities from such secular ones as working, learning, socializing, etc. Later this basic characteristic became a support for the reception of the values, knowledge and skills brought by the Rhenish missionaries, because the RMG too melded all of these into a Christian religious order and spirit.

The pattern of the Batak political-social order supported its traditional education, and was democratic, or at least characterized by its collectiveness, especially among the Toba Bataks. Each person had the same right and opportunity for his or her self-development. Even though Batak society had chieftains and prominent community leaders, these did not become a feudal class enjoying excessive privileges. The values, knowledge and skills of the Batak community were possessed together and each person had the right to learn them. Although an individual or a marga might have more knowledge, or skills in certain fields than another person or marga, nevertheless this was the result of serious study, effort and self-development within an open and competitive context.

If so, why then were the Bataks willing to receive new values, knowledge and skills which were brought either by the missionaries or others from outside its own community? There were several interlocking reasons which we shall look at in the chapters to come. Yet there is one reason which we have discovered already in our analysis in this chapter: the Batak openness to receive new elements which were perceived as profitable in their pursuit of ideals and goals for their own lives. Whether those ideals and life objectives which motivated the Bataks to learn were compatible with the objectives of the RMG effort in education is another problem. Just that issue is one of the important questions undertaken in this study in order to understand the details and significance of the encounter of the Bataks with the Rhenish mission in the educational field.

CHAPTER THREE

RMG'S VIEW OF EDUCATION

The Rhenish Mission (RMG) was founded in Barmen, Germany on September 23, 1828 as a merger of several mission bodies. As was the case with other mission groups as well, the RMG was a product of the spirit of Pietism joined with the English revivalistic and evangelistic movements. In addition, there were several other theological and philosophical currents which influenced and coloured the views of RMG personnel, including their views on education.

In this chapter first of all we shall discuss the educational views and practices of selected teachers from the RMG seminary who tended to be involved in the leadership of the RMG as well, together with the theological and missiological thought which undergirded their educational ideas. Along with that, we shall endeavour to see the degree to which the views of certain leaders in German Reformation, theology and philosophy of education impacted upon the RMG seminary teachers and how these educators in turn communicated those ideas to their students. Further we shall examine other factors which played a part in supporting the development of the RMG's educational views and practices.

Hopefully, based on this brief observation we shall obtain a clarification of the question why the RMG carried out its educational ministry in the Batakland from the beginning of its witness there, the character and design of the educational ideas which they brought with them and then developed further among the Bataks. As we shall see later, their views were not always the same from period to period, rather they continued to develop; moreover there were differences of opinions among the missionaries themselves which meant that the RMG's educational effort developed and became coloured by those different ideas.

Even though we mention the RMG's educational views, and the influence of various kinds of educational thought and philosophy which were influential, nevertheless it can be said that when the RMG began its educational work in the Batak area it did not as yet have a clear idea of

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education. Views held by the Barmen seminary teachers could not be validated as a matter of course on the mission field where the situation and needs differed so greatly from those in Europe. RMG missionaries in the Batakland built their educational views and systems within the process of carrying out their educational ministries. Even so, various educational philosophies and ideas of the leaders had been and continued to be disseminated among the missionaries in Batakland. We shall try to identify those views when we discuss the RMG/Batakmission educators in section A of this chapter and in Chapters Four to Six afterwards.

A. The Barmen Seminary

1. Views of Its Teachers

As is usually the case with Christian missions, including the RMG, their seminaries formed their heart and soul. Among the more than 100 missionaries who were sent to the Batakland, almost all of them were educated at Barmen, either entirely or for part of their training.¹

Guided by the approach of Schreiner², our analysis will focus on several teachers of the Barmen seminary, while at the same time relating their ideas to its development and the period of each teacher's ministry. In this way, we shall see the development of their educational views within the RMG during the period of our analysis. Within it, we shall see differences in the teachers'

¹ According to the list of the RMG, 163 missionaries were sent to the Batak area during the term specified in our research (1861-1940) in addition to doctors and women evangelists. But among these were also tens of Dutch teachers, most of whom were sent directly to the Batakmission (especially during the third period, Chapter Six) without going through Barmen, while a small number such as Chr. Leipoldt who later became a teacher in the School for Catechists at Parau Sorat, and J.H. Meerwaldt who became a teacher in the Pansur Napitu and Narumonda Seminary, obtained orientation or supplemental training at the Barmen Seminary. In addition, there was another class of missionaries who did not take courses at Barmen, namely those who were graduates of theological faculties.

² L. Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium* (1972), pp. 33-85: Theology of the Spiritual Fathers and the Teachers in the RMG Seminary.

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views which will be evident in the approaches taken later by those whom they taught and sent to the Batak area.

(a) J.H. Richter (1799-1846)

Richter taught at the Barmen seminary from 1827-1846, and also served as the first inspector for the RMG.³ Therefore, none of his students became Batak missionaries. Even so, he was one of those laying Barmen's theological foundations. His theological and educational views were rooted in the Pietism of Francke (1663-1727) and Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Thus, the core of his instruction was a basic knowledge and understanding of the Bible, and its teaching of salvation.

This core was embodied in the seminary's three-year curriculum consisting of the following courses: "An Introduction to Biblical Knowledge", "History of the Kingdom of God", "Christian Faith and Life", "History of the Christian Church", "Geography", "Physics", "English" and "Dutch", "Pedagogy", and "Public Speaking". In brief, theological knowledge was supplemented with general knowledge, but all were studied in the light of a literal understanding of the Bible.

Outside of the lecture hours which were scheduled three days per week, the students were required to work beyond the seminary campus, or to be involved in working with their hands within the seminary in order to fulfil their daily needs or for personal discipline. They had to teach in elementary schools and for that purpose they studied pedagogy. As a matter of fact, before Richter taught at Barmen, he had been a teacher of education at Halle, and strongly emphasized its importance for the missionary. After Richter's time, in short, missionary candidates were prepared to become teachers in the mission field.

For Richter, all educational activity at the seminary, in fact the whole effort of the Christian Mission, was for the purpose of building up the Kingdom of God. He understood the history of the

³ The highest daily leadership of the RMG was called the Inspector. In the beginning there was but one inspector, but after the work of the RMG developed further, there were two inspectors: the First Inspector (*Erster Inspektor*) and the Second Inspector (*Zweiter Inspektor*).

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world within this context. This understanding of history infused with Pietism would be developed further by others, notably Von Rohden, Fabri and Warneck.

(b) J. C. Wallmann (1811-1865)

Wallmann served as a teacher at the seminary and was also the RMG inspector from 1848-1857. Even though only two of the Batak missionaries (Nommensen and Johannsen) had the opportunity to be his students, nevertheless his influence both as a theologian and pastor (*Seelsorger*) continued to be felt by succeeding missionary generations. Moreover, he is considered to be the one who laid the cornerstone of RMG theology⁴, one characterized as "a theology of redemption originating out of the revival movement"⁵ which emphasized the needs of persons for redemption, repentance and salvation.

Holding such a theological view, he understood the religions of indigenous communities to be evangelized as proof of the darkness of paganism, and the Gospel as the light which overcomes that darkness through conversion of the practitioners of paganism. Although such a view reflected the general tenor of his age, nevertheless in distinction from general views of his time, Wallmann never idolized Western civilization or identified it with Christianity. As an almost pure pietist, he did not rely upon the trappings of Western civilization to support the spreading of the Gospel. This was why he hoped that his students would "be filled with enough patience to seek conversion free from any tendency to Europeanize non-Christian persons."⁶

As a pietist and Lutheran conservative, Wallmann was faced with the fact that many churchmen of the Rhineland church followed theological liberalism or were influenced by it. Even

⁴ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵ Ed. Kriele, *Die Rheinische Mission in der Heimat* [The Rhenish Mission at Home] (1928), p. 110.

⁶ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Wallmann's understanding is referred to also in O. Marcks, *Die Neue Zeit in unserer Missionsarbeit auf Sumatera* [The New Age for our Missionwork in Sumatera] (1919), pp. 31f.

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so, he never considered separating the mission from the church. On the contrary, he was emphatic in stressing the unity of both, so that each missionary would have his basic relationship in the church without questioning the church's theological convictions.⁷ This of course was in accord with the ecumenical atmosphere and design which the Barmen seminary had fostered since its founding. Therefore, it did not put much emphasis upon theoretical differences, but instead stressed practical and useful teachings for all churches and congregations. In this way, too, each missionary was related to the church; he was confirmed and commissioned for that ministry by a congregation or church before departing for the mission field.

The period of Wallmann's ministry at the Barmen seminary could be stamped as 'spartan' because he had so many positions to fill which mused him to combine discipline and order with an atmosphere of family life in the seminary. This same combination continued after the period of his ministry, and echoes of it were felt in the seminaries of the Batakmission later.

During the time of Wallmann's ministry, Hebrew, Greek and Latin began to be studied to the end that the students would be able to read the Bible and theological books in their original languages, and also so that they could translate the Bible into the languages of the people they were evangelizing. But apparently the amount of language study was insufficient because its purpose was not attained. Only during the period of Fabri's leadership later would the hours devoted to classical languages be increased and the students' abilities heightened in their usage.

(c) *G.L. von Rohden (1817-1889)*⁸

Von Rohden had the longest service as teacher in the Barmen seminary (1846-1889) which meant that he shared teaching duties with nearly all the seminary teachers mentioned here; then too

⁷ Kriele, *op. cit.*, p. 114, and Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The view of the unity between mission and church was also prominent in the views of Fabri and Gustav Warneck (see below).

⁸ Most of this section has been summarized from Kriele, *op. cit.*, pp. 182ff, Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-82, and G. Menzel, *Die Rheinische Mission* (1978), pp. 209-213.

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the majority of the Batakmission missionaries of the last century were also his students. Throughout the extensive period of his Barmen ministry, Von Rohden almost never stepped outside the seminary itself, a fact which earned him the title of "Home Secretary of the RMG". As a result, his personal impact on his students was impressive, although Fabri's theological influence will be seen to have been greater. The characters of these two teachers were very different, yet their personal differences tended to be mutually complementary resulting in a positive impact upon their students.

Von Rohden taught almost all courses beginning in the *Vorschule*, founded in 1858, the one-year matriculation or preparatory section before students began their actual seminary studies. However, his main specialty was history which included geography, ethnography, and the history of religions. His view of history was characteristically pietistic and was expressed most clearly in his *opus magnum: Leitfaden der Weltgeschichte* (An Introduction to World History), 1859.⁹ With the Book of Revelation understood literally as his point of departure, he endeavoured to explain history from the creation to the Second Coming of Christ. For him, world history and church history were of one piece and illustrated the history of the Kingdom of God. When he discussed the significance of the Reformation, he pointed to it as the special function of the German people who took over the function of Israel in the history of salvation: "The German people were elected long before as the protector and maintainer of the divine treasury of grace".¹⁰ In short, von Rohden was a follower of German national-Protestantism in a way similar to that of Fabri and Warneck, a position rooted in the Romanticism taught by J.C. Herder (1744-1803).

⁹ Von Rohden intended this book to be used primarily in the upper class of the *Protestant Gymnasium and Realschule* (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 211), but it was also used in the Barmen Seminary. Nevertheless it is unclear why the work of J.C. Andre: *Weltgeschichte* rather than this book was translated by P.H. Johannsen for use in the seminary at Pansur Napitu; see the bibliography in R. Wegner (ed.), *Rheinische Missionsarbeit 1828-1903* (1903), p. 276.

¹⁰ Von Rohden, *Leitfaden*, p. 3.

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Reminiscent of Wallmann's approach, Von Rohden strongly emphasized discipline and orderliness without losing the sense of being part of a family, even though he tended to be paternalistic. We have seen such an understanding of discipline in German educators in earlier times who filled the educational treasury and who shared in forming the consciousness of German educators up to the 19th century. In turn, thought such as that and the influence of the Barmen seminary of Rohden's period were greatly felt in the Pansur Napitu seminary in northern Sumatra under the teaching of P.H. Johannsen (see Chapter Four), a former student of Wallmann and Von Rohden. With reference to the relationship between evangelization and civilization, Rohden stressed that although missionaries participated as a civilizing force, nevertheless this had to be grounded in obedience to the Lord. It must be remembered that it is faith which makes the Gospel triumph over pagan (*Heiden*) society rather than culture or civilization.¹¹

(d) F.G.K.E. Fabri (1824-1891)

Fabri began his ministry as RMG inspector and seminary teacher in 1857. Although the amount of time which could be budgeted for teaching in the seminary was relatively meagre because of his involvement beyond the campus, even so, his writings, the steps which he outlined for the renewal of the seminary, and his appearances beyond the RMG resulted in his being a very important figure in its history, especially in the Netherlands. These outside activities caused him to be dubbed the RMG's "Minister of Foreign Affairs".

(i) Fabri's Theological Views¹²

Basically, Fabri was a thorough-going pietist, since he emphasized personal piety and a literal

¹¹ BRMG 1887, p. 304 and 1888, p. 300.

¹² We are mentioning only that part of Fabri's theological view which is related to his view of education. For a complete analysis of Fabri's theology see W. R. Schmidt, *Mission, Kirche und Reich Gottes bei Friedrich Fabri*, Wuppertal-Barmen Verlag Rheinischen Mission, 1965.

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understanding of the Bible. These principles of pietism were combined with theosophy¹³ which issued in a special understanding of history, mankind or ethnic groups, and the Christian Mission.

As a follower and contributor to a theology of the Kingdom of God (*Reichstheologie*) Fabri saw three kinds of kingdoms: the Kingdom of God, world kingdoms, and the devil's kingdom. World history was looked upon as the arena for the struggle between the God's Kingdom and the devil's. Because in the final analysis, the Kingdom of God is the victor, world history is concurrently the revelation of the history of salvation. At the same time, two forces are struggling in each individual since each is a part of those two kingdoms. One of them is the *sensus communis*, the organ of revelation found in each person which directs him towards the Kingdom of God or salvation, and the second is sin which drives him towards the kingdom of the devil, or destruction.

He explained 'heathenism' from this perspective.¹⁴ Although humankind fell into sin, it continued to have a consciousness of God and the world. But through the Tower of Babel event (Genesis 11), that consciousness was destroyed and humankind experienced degeneration. This caused the concurrent emergence of various polytheistic and pagan people.

This disaster was total, which meant that it comprehended all human ethical-intellectual and physical sides. Paganism began with the separation of people and languages; the period of monotheism was replaced by a time of paganism. Therefore, pagans are those people whose consciousness of God has been lost.¹⁵

But by God's decision, the destiny of all the people scattered due to the Babel event, i.e. Noah's descendants, was not the same. Japheth's descendants became the Europeans (white race) and received God's blessing in the form of recovery of God's knowledge through Christianity and a high civilization. But Ham's descendants are the dark-skinned people who remain in the same kind

¹³ Oetinger, the pioneer in theosophy, also calls it *philosophia sacra*, which is more or less a mixture of philosophy and theology.

¹⁴ F. Fabri, *Die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission* [The Origin of Heathenism and the Task of the Mission to the Heathen], 1859.

¹⁵ Schmidt's summary *op. cit.*, p. 102 of Fabri's *Die Entstehung*, pp. 24-31, and 58.

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of darkness as their skin colour.¹⁶ But these latter had not totally lost their *sensus communis*; even though very dim, a small trace of it still remained to form a preparation for the gospel (*preparatio evangelica*) for them.¹⁷

Therefore the *mission task* is to communicate the Gospel from the white race, including Germanic peoples, to the dark-skinned pagans, and at the same time to spread a higher civilization. Because evangelism must run parallel with civilization, white-skinned western people who are already Christian with a high civilization become the bearers of civilization for the whole of humankind; if others wish to advance, they must follow the lead of the white race.¹⁸

When all people have heard the Gospel (Matt. 24:14), the Kingdom of God will be evident and will coincide with the Return of Christ. This is the case because even though the Kingdom of God has been present in world history since the Tower of Babel event, it continues to be something invisible, internal or intellectual, and exists only in spirit within human consciousness. Therefore, all visible institutions including church and states calling themselves Christian are not yet pure embodiments of the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, these institutions must endeavour to evangelize pagan people in a most serious manner, in order for history to reach its glorious goal most rapidly when the Kingdom of God will be clear in all of its fullness. Because the visible church is not the fullest embodiment of the Kingdom of God, the genuine church is not identical with one people or nation, but rather it is a collection of elected individuals who have gone through

¹⁶ A similar understanding circulated in the Netherlands at the end of the 1850s as well; for example see Multatuli, who in his famous novel *Max Havelaar* (1860) puts it into the mouth of the reverend Wawelaar.

¹⁷ Fabri, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 3841 and 100; cf. J.C. Hoekendijk, *Kerk en Volk in de duitse Zendingwetenschap* [Church and People in German Mission Thought] (1948), pp. 54f.

¹⁸ Fabri, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Cf. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita* [This Wonderful Work; translated from *Di Wonderlijke Werk*], I, pp. 12f. According to Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Fabri's view of the *sensus communis* and *preparatio evangelica* was very influential among the missionaries of the Batak Mission.

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a personal conversion. Therefore, the conversion hoped for from pagans as the fruit of evangelization is not a mass experience but rather a conversion of individuals. Various peoples have lost the power of original life needed to obtain salvation together and to build a church which involves all ethnic groups in it. In other words, for Fabri, mass Christianization is rebellion against the progress of the history of the Kingdom of God. Its consequence for mission education is that education is but a means or method to bring pupils to personal conversion.

Although Fabri was not optimistic and satisfied with the visible church, yet with Wallmann, he stressed the unity of the mission and church, "the mission must be an ecclesiastical institution and mission work is one of the tasks of the church."¹⁹

(ii) Relationship Between Mission and Colonialism

Fabri has been dubbed "The Father of German Colonialism" because he pressured the German government under the leadership of Chancellor Bismarck to engage in colonialism too. This was evident especially through his work of 1879, *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (Does Germany Need Colonies?). Such urging was based upon an understanding of the Kingdom of God as advanced above. As a matter of fact, the German government did embark on colonialization beginning during the 1880s.

As indicated in the previous section, Fabri saw the Christian mission as a carrier of the Gospel as well as western civilization. Evangelization must go hand in hand with civilizing because the Gospel has been united with the culture of western people since the Middle Ages and has achieved a superior religious culture in harmony with the essence of the Gospel as "... a cultural principle which must be possessed by all people".²⁰ Furthermore, a *sensus communis* present among pagan people causes them to receive both the Gospel and western civilization. In order for the mission effort to be more productive, the German government as the government of a Christian nation has

¹⁹ Expressed by Fabri at the RMG festival 1884, found in *BRMG* 1884, p. 263.

²⁰ Fabri, *Die Entstehung*, p. 101.

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an obligation to support the Christian mission. In accomplishing colonialization, the German government together with mission institutions engages in evangelization and civilizing. The theory of cooperation between government and mission is called "Engagement", and forms an indication of Divine Providence.²¹

Fabri's theory of engagement was proposed in relation to German colonization in Africa. But thought about the necessity for colonial governments to support the Christian mission long preceded his proposal, and it involved the Dutch Indies, especially after the murder of several RMG missionaries in Kalimantan in 1859. In his address in Utrecht in 1865²², he criticized the Dutch Indies government because it did not give support and freedom to the mission, specifically the RMG. For him, the kind of support most expected from the government was moral rather than financial, and freedom of movement and protection for mission personnel.

In a way parallel to government support, according to Fabri, the mission ought to receive support from commercial bodies, both giving sympathetic support to the mission work, and also endeavouring to uplift the socio-economic life of the society being evangelized, although the latter aspect was secondary.²³ Even so, for Fabri the colonial government, commercial institutions and

²¹ Cf. Fabri's essay at the 6th Continental Mission Conference, 1884, "Die Bedeutung geordneter politischer Zustände für die Mission" [The Meaning of Disciplined Political Conditions for Mission], in *EMM* 1884, p. 304: "Europe's continuing cultural triumph is also the beginning of the Christianization of the nations."

²² F. Fabri, "Rede am 25 April 1865 in der General-Versammlung der Utrechtschen Missionsgesellschaft" [April 25, 1865 Address before the General Assembly of the Utrecht Mission Society], in *BRMG* 1865, pp. 295-303.

²³ Later, the RMG founded the *Rheinische Handelsmission* in 1869, and pioneered the *Missions-Handels-Aktien-Gesellschaft* [Mission Trading Company] in 1870. See *BRMG* 1891, p. 263. However, later on a substantial part of this business network became bankrupt, and this was an unspoken reason why Fabri resigned from the RMG in 1884. Even so, this network was maintained until the 20th century and played a role in the financial support of the first and second period of the Batak Mission; see Chapter Four, B.3.

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effort towards civilizing are but means to achieve the main goal, i.e. the communication of the Gospel and the conversion of individuals.

(iii) *Education of Indigenous Persons for Employment: Erziehung zur Arbeit*²⁴

This subject was advanced by Fabri in connection with Germany's colonial effort, particularly in Africa. In his writings espousing ideas about the German colonizing project²⁵, he stressed that one program to be undertaken jointly between missionaries and the government was that of educating the indigenous society to be able to work, especially with reference to the various projects and firms connected with the German colonies. He saw this program as part of a German cultural and humanistic responsibility. Raising the cultural level through education would also raise the economic condition of indigenous society.

The educational task must be shared according to its specific dimensions. The government and entrepreneurs should handle external education, *aussere Erziehung*, such as the communication of knowledge and skills, whereas the mission would deal with internal upbuilding, *innere Umbildung*, i.e. building up of the inner person through character education and the communication of religious and moral values.

Apparently Fabri's view invited a great amount of criticism, for example that in practice it would hardly be possible to distinguish between education for work and forced labour, *Zwangsarbeit*. Along this same line, critics admonished that as spiritual and religious educators missionaries did not need to involve themselves in political and commercial affairs. It would be sufficient for them to undertake direct evangelization.

In any case, Fabri had tried to place the educational effort in the context of cooperative

²⁴ This section is a summary of two of K.J. Bade's writings, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit* (1975), pp. 257-267 and "Zwischen Mission und Kolonialbewegung" in K.J. Bade, *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission* (1982), pp. 103-112.

²⁵ *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (1879) and *Koloniale Aufgaben* (1885).

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cultural ventures with various elements in German society even though all of them were merely tools to achieve a more noble end, the repentance of individuals and the embodiment of the Kingdom of God.

(iv) *The Renewal of the Seminary Curriculum*

In 1858, barely a year after Fabri took office in the RMG, he announced sweeping changes in the seminary curriculum. First of all, he established a *Vorschule* (a preparatory class) of one year to provide a stronger basis in general knowledge and language including the Biblical languages, so that the total length of study became four years.²⁶ Proficiency in Biblical languages was demanded of the students so that as missionaries later they would be able to translate the Bible into the language of the people they were evangelizing. At the same time general knowledge was elevated in importance which meant increasing the total class hours. In brief, Fabri endeavoured to make the seminary more academic because he believed that scholarly study was a tool for increased ability in the spiritual realm.

But he seems to have limited the validity of the scholarly dimension to non-Biblical subjects which were intended to enable the students just to communicate Biblical content itself. His slogan was, "Education with and through the Bible". As an authentic pietist, Fabri rejected textual criticism of the Bible (cf. Von Rohden), and he was reluctant to give too great a place to dogmatics as a source of teaching; for him the Bible was sufficient.

In addition to improving the quality of the curriculum, Fabri also emphasized increasing the total student body. He saw that both the content of the curriculum and the number of students must be oriented towards the mission field. In addition to improved ability of the missionaries, there must be sufficient numbers of them so that they would be roughly proportional to the population of the society to be evangelized. Just a handful of missionaries in the midst of hundreds of millions of people, especially if missionary work were based on individual conversions, would not achieve

²⁶ After 1871 the *Vorschule* study period was 2 years and the

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much of significance. Therefore, during the time of his leadership, the seminary capacity was greatly increased. Of course, this had an immediate impact on the seminary finances, and became one of the primary causes for the financial difficulties, actually deficit spending, which continued to be experienced during the years he presided over the seminary.

(e) Gustav Warneck (1834-1910)

Actually G. Warneck served as teacher in the Barmen seminary for just a few years (1871-1874), but he was also an RMG inspector.²⁷ As a consequence of health problems, he was compelled to limit his speaking and to devote his energy to writing. As he worked from behind his writing desk, his ideas caused him to be called the architect of young churches.²⁸ And one of the young churches to feel his leadership and receive his special attention was the Batak church.²⁹

Seminary 4 years, or a total period of 6 years.

²⁷ The presence of G. Warneck in the RMG was the result of a series of efforts to recruit several theologians to its staff, something already begun with Fabri in 1857 and Schreiber in 1866, because the RMG felt the need to raise the quality of its work and ideas. Even so, in general, those theologians came from pietistic circles, especially from Halle, whereas those from universities where the influence of theological liberalism was stronger, generally found it difficult to adjust themselves to the Mission leadership's views which were rooted in pietism. Cf. for example Ed. Kriele, "Professor D. Dr. G. Warneck zum Gedächtnis" [In Memory of Professor D. Dr. G. Warneck] in *BRMG* 1911, pp. 25ff.

²⁸ Ed. Kriele, *Die Rheinische Mission*, p. 245; P. Beyerhaus, *Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem* [Autonomy of the Younger Churches As A Mission Problem] (1956), p. 78.

²⁹ The attention of G. Warneck towards the Batak Mission was evident since the publication of his *Nacht und Morgen auf Sumatra* [Night and Morning in Sumatra] (1872). This was to be seen as well in his various articles and editorial views found in the *AMZ* journal which he pioneered in publishing in 1874. But his attention was most clear in his main work, *Evangelische Missionslehre* [Protestant Missiology] (3 volumes, 5 books; 1892-1903). O.G. Myklebust in his book, *The Study of Mission in Theological Education*, 1955, p. 289, wrote that he considered this to be the first book on missiology and one without peer up

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In connection with our main topic, three matters were stressed while Warneck was a teacher in the Barmen seminary. First of all, he emphasized the importance of the science of education. As a student at the university of Halle he had already realized that pedagogy was closely related to missiology.³⁰ Secondly, he saw the study of missionary practice as a separate field within theology, i.e. missiology, which was closely related to all branches of theology and needed the support of a number of non-theological sciences such as anthropology, the science of religions, etc. Thirdly, he supported the unity between the ministry of mission, church, and school because of his understanding that God, church and mission are educators and that in essence evangelization is an effort to teach. But before we take up Warneck's educational position in detail, we must consider his theological and missiological views.

(i) *Warneck's Theology*³¹

Warneck, too, belongs to the circle of neo-pietist and biblicists, as was the case with most of the theologians of his time. Therefore, he rejected liberal and rationalistic theology, although a line of rationalistic thought is sufficiently clear within his theology. Even though there are various strands within pietism, nevertheless there are characteristics held in common such as a literal and conservative exegesis of the Bible, and a dualistic understanding of reality (Warneck endeavoured

the 1950s. G. Warneck personally presented a copy of his magnum opus to his son, Johannes Warneck who served as a missionary among the Bataks beginning in 1893. In Myklebust's book, the Batakmission and the Batak Church are seen as a *Leitbild* (model) of the RMG's success in giving form to Warneck's views and ideas.

³⁰ Kriele, *op. cit.*, p. 243; J. Dürr, *Sendende und werdende Kirche in der Missionstheologie Gustav Warnecks* [The Sending and the Becoming Church in the Mission Theology of Gustav Warneck] (1947), p. 22.

³¹ In the main, this section gives the essence of S.I. Teinonen, *Gustav Warneck In Varhaisen Lahetisteorian Teologiset Perusteet* (1959), pp. 238-258, (which contains the English summary, "The Theological Basis of Gustav Warneck's Early Theory of Missions"). Teinonen tries to reconstruct the foundation of Warneck's theology based upon his works up until 1883.

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to bridge the gap between the two sides; see below).

The basis of his theological view was *life*. We meet with various key terms in his writings (nature, natural law, laws of growth, fruit, seed, sprout, energy, organism, mature, etc.) all of which are centred in life. Warneck saw Christianity as that life which penetrates human orders and fills human fellowship with its spirit. Religion is one form of life; Christianity differs from other religions because it has life, whereas other religions do not. The Gospel is a form of divine life and Christ is the principle of new life which radiates to all forms of life. Salvation means the entrance of the life of God into the life of persons, creating new life. Having knowledge about God means having eternal life.

Only Christians who are alive, in distinction from nominal Christians, have knowledge of God which equals life eternal. Even so, among followers of paganism and of non-Christian religions, there is a remnant of "general religion" which contains the *logos spermatikos* (cf. the *sensus communis* of Fabri). In other words, non-Christians are not totally dead spiritually since a spark of life is found in them, although not of sufficient power to attain life eternal. For this purpose, the Gospel has come to complete their knowledge so they might receive eternal life.

On the basis of this understanding of *life*, Warneck explained the significance of *nature and history*. Reality is divided into two realms, the realm of nature and of the realm of "grace" (*spirit*). Issues of history, humankind and the world are comprehended under the first realm, whereas under the second are grouped issues of salvation, church, Kingdom of God, and other spiritual matters. Although "nature" in itself is unsatisfactory as a means to obtain eternal life, nevertheless it is not totally evil or negative, provided that it is used to serve grace or spiritual ends. Therefore, within processes occurring through "the laws of growth" or "laws of gradual development" such as in the metaphor of the mustard seed, "nature" obtains perfection which permits it to enter into the realm of the spirit. In a parallel way, "history" consists of two kinds: world history and the history of the Kingdom of God. However, the two need not be opposed to one another because world history moves towards the Kingdom of God and serves it. World

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history is a precondition for the history of the Kingdom of God; contrariwise, the history of the Kingdom of God is the fulfilment of world history.

Warneck tried to explain *humankind* and *world* while remaining within a dualistic thought structure, yet he attempts to bridge the distance the two poles. Humankind is divided into two groups: those within the realm of salvation, i.e. "Christians who are alive", and those who are outside of this realm. Those of the second group who only have natural spirituality or general religion are able to enter into the first realm provided that they become Christians who are alive. There they experience "being born again" and receive "grace" or spirit. But there is no need for this new experience to negate the element of "nature" which was possessed before, rather it completes it. A similar situation is found with the world. Although the world has been damaged by sin, God still guides it towards true development, for example through the ordered way of the state because governmental authority has its origin in God. Other elements or institutions too, including western civilization, are used by God to prepare a way for His Kingdom. In other words, all of them are ministers of the realm of the "spirit".

The *church* is understood in two ways also: there is the true church made up of Christians who are alive, who truly have received salvation. These are the ones called "the church of the saints", the church of believers. But this church is not totally outside the peoples' church or national church, or even the fellowship of nominal Christians, but rather within all of these, as a kind of tower of a great cathedral (*Dom*). In other words, it is an *ecclesiola in ecclesiae*.³² This *ecclesiola* is a reflection of the ideal church of the New Testament and does not necessarily negate folk church systems, either in Europe or on the mission field. Consistent with the law of gradual development which is valid for the church also, at the parousia the church will reach perfection and then the Kingdom of God will be manifest in its fullness; at that time there will be no longer any

³² G. Warneck rejected Fabri's and his followers' idea of a congregation of the elect (*Auswahlgemeinde*) which was separated from the people's church. See Warneck's *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen* [A Summary of the History of Protestant Missions] (1882).

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place for *ecclesiola in ecclesiae*. For this reason, too, in evangelizing pagan societies, the mission institution must originate within the church.

(ii) *Warneck's Missiological View*

In essence, evangelization is a spiritual task to channel the life of the church or of genuine Christians to the pagan world. This is accomplished in stages: sending of mission-aries, instructing indigenous workers, and finally, Christianizing the entire ethnic group. The mission actor or subject is the church, because in principle the church must be a missionary community. But because this fulfilment cannot be expected from a folk church or national church in the western sense, the one doing this must be the core of the church (*ecclesiola*) within the folk or national church. In contrast, the objects of mission include all nations³³ in harmony with the message of the Bible, for example Matthew 28:19 and Romans 11:25ff.

The nations must be Christianized within their organic structures; their distinctive characteristics (*Volkstum*), for example adat and social structures, must not be lost or destroyed because the *logos spermatikos* found within them forms the point of contact with that genuine life found in the Gospel. Nevertheless, it must be realized that all the nations cannot be Christianized at one time, but on the contrary it occurs only gradually beginning with individuals, families, and finally the whole ethnic group. For this reason, the idea of the conversion of the individual may be joined with and carried on along with the Christianizing of a whole people (*Volkschristianisierung*). These two approaches were not in mutual opposition as assumed by their separated defenders, rather they stood side by side and were also joined together.

The task of mission (*Missionsaufgabe*) is the Christianizing of all the nations (*Volkschristianisierung*), whereas the ultimate goal is the formation of a self-sufficient people's church. This

³³ Warneck followed the categorization of peoples which was common at that period, i.e. as uncivilized (*Naturvölker*) and as highly cultured people (*Kulturvölker*) but who do not have genuine life; see his *Evangelische Missionslehre* (EML) III/I, pp. 57ff.

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self-sufficiency does not only entail fulfilling "the Three-Self"³⁴, but more than that, because it has the meaning of Christian influence penetrating into and dominating the whole life of a people. When this has been embodied into the whole world, then the parousia will happen, consistent with Matthew 24:14.³⁵

With reference to the means and methods of doing mission, there is direct and indirect development as Warneck explains in a manner parallel to that of the development of the Kingdom of God. Indirect development or expansion is supported by indirect means, such as political, economic and other 'natural' means, but direct development is supported by direct methods: verbal proclamation using purely spiritual means, especially baptism and instructing. With all this we arrive at the next subject.

(iii) *Warneck's Educational Views*

Warneck discussed the place and function of education within the framework of Matthew 28:19, especially the term *didaskontes*, "Go teach".³⁶ For him, this term was not exactly identical with *schulmeistern*, to teach or to be a teacher in a school. Although the mission functions as "the mother of the school", and in agreement with the Reformation principle as the "educator of nations" (*die Lehrerin der Völker*)³⁷, this did not mean that just as soon as missionaries arrived on the field, they involved themselves immediately in the task of providing schools. Instead, based on

³⁴ Warneck had many contacts with the proponents of the Three-Self theory, i.e. Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson, and learned from them. But his understanding of the deepest significance of church independence differed from them. This has been explained by Beyerhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff.

³⁵ This text became the motto of the magazine, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (AMZ) which was initiated by Warneck.

³⁶ G. Warneck, "Der Missionsbefehl" [The Great Commission] in *AMZ* 1874, pp. 377-392.

³⁷ G. Warneck, "Reformation und Heidenmission" in *AMZ* 1883, especially p. 439. Here Warneck labels Mission as "the Daughter of the Reformation".

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the Great Commission, the first step must be the direct proclamation of the Gospel, followed by baptism, and only afterwards would they teach those already baptized. Schools would be provided especially for children who had been baptized.

But this does not mean that the educational ministry is unimportant or that it must be separated from evangelization; on the contrary both are intimately related to each other. In his writings since 1879, Warneck stressed:

Schooling activity is an important result from the working structure of the Christian mission, and is a significant condition of mission methodology. Indeed, missionaries must place the Bible in the hands of those converted but in order for these to understand the Bible, missionaries must teach them to read and to understand the meaning of the content of the Bible first of all At the present we cannot imagine mission work without teaching in schools or school baptisms.³⁸

In his writing, *Mission in der Schule* and his principal work, *Evangelische Missionslehre* Warneck expounded the vital function of schooling in a more systematic and basic way within the framework of fulfilling the mission task, i.e. the Christianization of a people. In his *Mission in der Schule*, he firmly stressed:

Mission and school have always stood side by side in a very close cooperative relationship. Of course we can mention the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19 as the basic command for the Christian school and at the same time a commission to baptize. "Make disciples of all nations, baptizing and teaching them." With this one commission, our Lord Jesus Christ in an incomparable way integrates three Christian institutions: Mission, Baptism and School. All three are most directly significant for the whole religious, moral and spiritual development of humankind.

As to the *means* through which the Holy Founder of the Christian Mission wanted to make all people His disciples, He determined very explicitly these to be *baptism and teaching*. Of course, the teaching task is already comprehended in the proclamation of the Gospel itself and in the founding of the church and in provision for its care. Even though Jesus did not bring the school into being suddenly in the form it has at the present day, yet we can say with full confidence that the Christian Mission which He called to be the teacher of the nations has become the Mother of the School In all places where our missionaries have carried on evangelization, there too they founded schools with a specific understanding, i.e. as the teacher of the nations. Without the schools, there would be no mission at the present time, or at the very least there would be no Protestant mission. The Protestant mission placed the Bible in the hands of persons coming from paganism to the Christian faith; the missionaries definitely wanted the Bible to be read, and this meant that they had to found schools In this

³⁸ G. Warneck, *Die Gegenseitigen Beziehungen der modernen Mission und Cultur*, 1879, (English edition: *Modern Mission and Culture*, trans. Th. Smith, 1883), pp. 133f.

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way young pagans had to be brought under the influence of the Gospel, which meant teaching them in religious, moral and spiritual matters, something which could only occur through the mission schools.³⁹

In *EML* he stressed that schooling, especially elementary schools, formed the main supporting structure for the formation of the people's church:

Christian schools are the practical continuation of the baptism of children. Although the home is the guarantee of Christian education, yet that guarantee is not carried out sufficiently in most homes. Therefore the Christian mission must endeavour to carry out such teaching. There will always be difficulties if the founding of institutions for instruction is postponed because of hindrances which have not been overcome. But that in itself is not the main consideration for the church to carry out its responsibility to baptized children, namely making Christian mission schools available to them. No, these schools are especially meant as a net cast out to the young members of society. The young who are moving towards adulthood are the future of a people, and as such are the seedbed for future harvest.

Education of the community (*Volksbildung*) is impossible without elementary schools. As is the case in the present, without Christian schools Christian character will not be attained, so without these schools too there will be no christianizing of society (*Volkschristianisierung*).

If the mission wishes to establish christianization which issues in the maturation of the life of the community, then it must begin with the schools. This is intended also so that Christians who have come out of paganism will stand out gradually in their spiritual leadership in the community because of their behaviour and superior education.⁴⁰

Although in principle, Warneck held that the school was the subsequent step after baptism of the child, yet he did not shut the door entirely for unbaptized children to enjoy education in mission schools. For these latter, schooling was a means of preparation toward the goal of conversion and baptism. What is more, Warneck was not in agreement with hurried or pressured conversion:

The Christian mission is a work of patience and the planting of many seeds for the future. Direct conversion is not the main goal of mission schools Those schools must prepare children for conversion and if that is accomplished, then there will be abundant proofs of its reality, even though preparation for conversion through the schools is difficult to be enumerated statistically.⁴¹

In other words, he was stressing that mission schools were not means for proselytizing.

Along with the principle that evangelization may not negate or damage distinctive

³⁹ G. Warneck, *Mission in der Schule*, pp. 1ff.

⁴⁰ *EML* III/1, pp. 274f; III/2, p. 134; III/2, p. 143.

⁴¹ *EML* III/2, p. 156.

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characteristics of a people (*Volkstum*), Warneck opposed conducting mission-school teaching in a foreign language; instead he stressed the use of the regional language as the language of instruction. Because the main objective of teaching in the elementary schools was to enable students to read the Bible, the principal subjects were reading and writing. Even so, 'secular' subjects were also essential, for example arithmetic, general history, geography, etc. These subjects were significant as support for communicating spiritual knowledge, as well as for character education of the pupils and the society from which the pupils originated.

In addition to academic subjects, Warneck emphasized the necessity of learning to work with hands. Such an emphasis was congruent with both his understanding of elements of "nature" as servants of the "spiritual" realm and his understanding of culture as something positive, which could be a support for evangelization provided that it became infused with the Gospel beforehand. For Warneck, the Gospel and Christendom were most authentic, fundamental and inspirational cultural factors. Furthermore, the Christian mission of the present day was a cultural force as well.

Nevertheless, Warneck was conscious also that within culture both Eastern and Western, there were many elements opposed to the Gospel, especially so if a culture had deteriorated in meaning to such an extent that it was no more than another name for civilization. The latter meant material and intellectual culture which were no longer pure and able to exert an influence towards the ennobling of persons and bringing happiness to them. This was the reason why he disagreed with the view that mission-schooling could be mere duplication of western education, which in his view was already too materialistic and intellectual. Such copying could be no more than a caricature of culture (*Kulturkarikaturen*).

Through closely linking the communication of the Gospel with the development of culture within the educational enterprise, the goal of the mission would be attained more quickly, i.e. the forming of a self-sustaining church.

In this connection, mission interests were most closely linked with cultural ones. For a cultural education of society to be significant, primary effort would need to be directed towards enabling indigenous Christians to become independent and self-supporting in the

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shortest possible time.⁴²

In addition to general education for the whole society, especially children and young people, one of the preconditions for forming a self-sustaining folk church was education for national church workers, whom it was hoped would become church leaders of good character. He stressed the imperative of educating indigenous personnel for the church:

Without quality indigenous pastors of mature Christian character fashioned by missionary educators in terms of general knowledge and theology received from the treasury of older Christendom, one cannot imagine a self-sustaining church made up of former pagans.⁴³

In terms of teaching indigenous personnel, Warneck held that they must not be uprooted from their life in society (*Volksleben*). Furthermore, by remaining a part of society, it was hoped that these persons would endeavour to uplift it (*Volkshebung*) towards becoming autonomous.

Although Warneck stressed the imperative of organizing educated indigenous leaders for a self-sustaining folk church, he was also quick to point out that this would not occur within a short period of time. The process of attaining "religious, moral and spiritual maturity" of the indigenous leaders, as well as the whole folk church, would take a long time because of their weak racial character. Such character could only be strengthened and made mature in harmony with the laws of gradual development. Therefore, before the indigenous pastors reached maturity, they could not hold leadership in the church which in the meantime must be held by western missionaries. If this did not occur, then the folk church would not only never arrive at self-sufficiency, it would actually face the danger of retrogression.

Several interconnected reasons caused Warneck to arrive at that position. First of all, as we have seen earlier, his understanding of reality was based on his view of "the law of gradual development", which was valid as well for the church and church workers on the mission field. Secondly, he saw the missionary sending church and the becoming church (mission field church) not only in a subject-object or mother-daughter relationship, but also a teacher-pupil relationship. It

⁴² Warneck, *Modern Mission*, p. 151.

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was the character of the latter which was dominant in his *EML*:

Warneck's whole *Missionslehre* ... was dominated by his thought about education. That prominent work (*kat' exochen*) was a missionary and ecclesiastical book on the science of education. For him, the New Testament was a teacher in education (*Lehrmeisterin der Erziehung*), and church history and mission history were divine pedagogues, in the same way that Warneck himself was "A Teacher of the Church to Do Mission".⁴⁴

Thirdly, Warneck thoroughly absorbed the spirit of German Protestant nationalism and idealism; along with other German national-idealists (comp. Fichte, Schelling, and others) this caused him to see the German people as possessing a superiority in race, culture and religion in comparison with 'pagan' people. Warneck's above view of autonomy for an indigenous church and Christian community, including factors supporting autonomy, caused some critics to doubt whether he in fact seriously desired a mature and self-sufficient folk church as a fruit of missionary endeavour, or whether on the contrary he wanted to defend western paternalism through the Christian mission. Dürr levels such a criticism:

In matters needed to guarantee church autonomy, Warneck was more sceptical and anxious compared to others, because he ... was too firmly convinced that indigenous personnel were "not yet sufficiently mature" to bear the heavy responsibility of auto-nomy. The basis of this view was centred in his position on "racial inferiority". Indigenous Christians, most of whom resided in the tropics, did not have that authentic quality of character which must be present for the growth and leadership of a healthy church.⁴⁵

As we have touched on above, Warneck's theological, missiological and educational views, especially as articulated in his main work, were directed towards the Batakmission, which of course was his model. Not infrequently, his views were echoed on the Batak field (see Chapter Five in particular). In connection with this fact, the question arises: Were Warneck's views the theoretical-conceptual underpinning for the missionaries in Batakland, especially with reference to education, or were they the crystallization and systematization of the practical experience of missionaries there? Or on the other hand, was there a mutual relationship between Warneck's

⁴³ *EML* III/3, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Dürr, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 232f.

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views and those of the missionaries serving the Bataks? If so, this would mean that Warneck fashioned his ideas based on field experience, and later his views were picked up again on the field to become guides for the missionaries.

In his writings, Warneck acknowledged that his views were based upon the views of persons who lived and worked prior to him. With reference to the schools as a main teaching tool for the formation of Christian life and character, he pointed to Luther and Francke.⁴⁶ In terms of the unity of church, society and school, he pointed to J.H. Pestalozzi (1746-1827).⁴⁷ Concerning his rather romantic understanding of non-European people, various writers conclude that Warneck was greatly influenced by Herder, the philosopher of romanticism.⁴⁸ In any case, without Warneck pointing explicitly to them, we yet sense their influence or hear echoes of other thinkers or currents of thought in his views, for example Comenius' use of the mother tongue of the elementary school child, and the view of German nationalists and idealists concerning national education and the superiority of European races, especially the German race.

But in addition, as Warneck acknowledged in his foreword to his *EML*, his thought was the result of a reworking of and a reflecting on mission field practice, since for him theory and practice were interknit and must proceed together. The theory of mission must be built on the basis of field practice, and on the other hand, field practice should be guided by mission theory. At the same time, J. Warneck, the son of G. Warneck, noted that since the publication of his father's missiological works, missionary preparation at the Barmen seminary improved, specifically in the sense that candidates became more equipped in missiological theory and skills, including the

⁴⁶ *EML* 111/2, p. 138.

⁴⁷ G. Warneck, "Pflanzung und Pflege des Missionslebens in Gemeinde und Schule" [Establishment and Maintenance of the Life of Mission in Congregation and School] in *AMZ* 1887, pp. 390ff.

⁴⁸ For example, J. Eggert, "Missionsschule und sozialer Wandel in Ostafrika" [Mission School and Social Change in East Africa] (1970), p. 43, and G. Rosenkrantz, *Die christliche Mission* (1977), p. 231.

experience of teaching in schools.⁴⁹

If all this is the case, then we may conclude for the moment that the thought and work of Warneck reflected the encounter between the Christian Mission, including the RMG, and the realities of the field, including the Batakland. For example, the mission board sent out its missionaries with the idea of working for individual conversion, but it became evident that this idea was incompatible with the spiritual character and social structure of the people encountered on the field. Therefore, the missionaries turned away from this idea and reported the change to their mission headquarters. As a result, after reflecting on that experience, mission leaders such as G. Warneck developed a new theory as found for example in his *EML*. This problem will be looked at again in Chapter Five C.1.

This approach was also the case in the function of schooling with relationship to conversion and baptism. As a matter of principle, at the beginning Warneck stressed that schooling must follow baptism, but because sometimes the field situation required just the reverse, he opened the possibility for the school to admit those who were not yet baptized. Therefore, the school could function as a means to prepare pupils for baptism. In other words, within Warneck himself or his views there was development and flexibility congruent with the development and demands of both his own country and the mission field. Nevertheless, there were certain principles to which he held tenaciously: the Christian mission was an educator, and basically all of its activities were educational. In his thought and work, education (*Erziehung*) was a sacred word.

(f) A. Schreiber (1839-1903)

Schreiber succeeded G. Warneck at Barmen in 1874. From 1867-1873, he was a missionary and chairperson, *praeses*, of the Batakmission and instructor in the school for teachers of the catechism at Parausorat (see Chapter Four; a pioneering seminary was opened there in 1868). He

⁴⁹ J. Warneck, *Werfet eure Netze aus!* (an autobiography), 1938, p. 67.

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was the first RMG missionary who was a university graduate in theology, and later became the first inspector or director of the RMG to come from the mission field.

As with other RMG personnel in general, and other mission bodies too, Schreiber was taught in educational institutions strongly coloured by pietism and revivalistic theology (*Erweckungstheologie*).⁵⁰ In basic agreement with both schools, Schreiber saw 'heathenism' as a *preparatio evangelica*. Along with Warneck, he strongly emphasized the christianization of a whole people, the formation of an autonomous folk church, and the education of indigenous workers as an absolute precondition towards that objective.

But with reference to the place and role of indigenous personnel in church leadership, Schreiber differed somewhat from Warneck. For the latter, the leadership of the church should not be given too quickly to indigenous persons, rather there must be a sufficient waiting period for them to demonstrate their maturity. In contrast, Schreiber emphasized that church leadership should be handed over in stages as quickly as possible to indigenous workers.⁵¹ To be sure, he shared Warneck's view that 'pagans' were made up of both 'primitive' and 'civilized' tribes.⁵² With special reference to 'primitives', he was of the opinion that "they are indeed our brothers and sisters, but they are still children who must be taught".⁵³ Even so, he firmly upheld the rights of

⁵⁰ Schreiber studied in Halle, under the guidance of Tholuck, among others, a prominent pietist at that time, and in Erlangen, a university which strongly stressed "character education" which was identical with "being enthusiastic, pious, joyful and free". A.W. Schreiber, *Tole! Vorwärts!* (Biography of A. Schreiber, 1939), pp. 14ff.

⁵¹ His view was influenced rather extensively by the theory of mission as developed in England and America during his time of study in England, 1864-1865, especially the Three-Self theory of Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. He often referred to this theory in his writings (cf. Warneck, above, footnote 34).

⁵² A. Schreiber, *Cultur und Mission in ihrem Einfluss auf die Naturvölker* [Culture and Mission in their Influence on Primitive People] (1882), pp. 1ff.

⁵³ Quoted by A.W. Schreiber (*op. cit.*, p. 79) from a lecture by A. Schreiber at the First German Colonial Congress, 1902.

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indigenous people, including the right to leadership in their church. On the basis of that view of Schreiber, Schreiner concluded that although Schreiber, too, was a German Christian who embraced nationalism and idealism, he did not promulgate those views as extensively as Fabri and Warneck. From the earliest time of his career, he stressed the necessity of adapting the Three-Self Principle to the mission field in order for a folk church to be formed as quickly as possible.⁵⁴ The difference between Schreiber and Warneck will be reflected again among the missionaries of the Batak mission.

Schreiber differed also from other German mission leaders of his time with reference to the relationship between the Christian mission and colonialism. If there were many among the mission (Fabri, for example) who urged the development of close relationships between the mission and the colonial government, there was also a Schreiber who emphasized that mission work must be separated from colonialization, although he did not reject totally any kind of cooperation between the mission and the colonial government, including in education.

Mission and colonization may not exist together ... Mission and colonization must be clearly separated from each other because each's point of departure and objectives are completely different.⁵⁵

In this connection, Schreiber criticized colonial authorities who brought western civilization into the midst of indigenous societies, without accompanying these activities with evangelization. According to Schreiber, "If primitive people have too close a contact with our civilization without at the same time being influenced by the Christian mission, their societies will collapse."⁵⁶ In this vein also, he criticized the attitude and view of certain westerners who thoroughly denigrated

⁵⁴ Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium*, p. 79. According to Schreiber, the Three-Self theory with slight variations was not entirely new to the RMG. (Author's note: This principle was proposed by Wallman in 1849 but was not quickly validated on the field.)

⁵⁵ A. Schreiber, *Mission und Kolonisation* (1885), p. 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10; cf. Schreiber, *Cultur und Mission*, pp. 11ff and 17.

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primitive culture and in turn took steps to destroy it through bringing in western culture and civilization. However, along with Warneck, he did not completely reject the communication of western culture, but that did not mean destroying primitive culture. Instead, the latter must be elevated, respected and purified. This was the reason Schreiber stressed the mission function so emphatically as a force of control over against colonization, including commerce, in order to guarantee the rights of primitive society and to protect its culture.

On the basis of Schreiber's observations of the school reality in various colonies, including the Dutch Indies, he acknowledged that mission schools provided much support for concerns of the colonial government. But on the other hand, the colonial government very often failed to support the mission in its schooling effort, which was a part of evangelization. Instead the colonial government founded its own schools in competition with those of the mission, adopted a position of religious neutrality and did not require payment of school tuition. However, just this latter, that is, tuition payment was required in the interest of moving the indigenous church, such as the Batak folk church, towards self-sufficiency.

According to Schreiber, even though the government subsidized mission schools, that did not mean this was done for the sake of the mission, but rather for the sake of the government itself as a way of fulfilling its task of providing schools for the people of colonized countries. Furthermore, Schreiber perceived the danger behind the subsidies to the freedom of the mission from the very beginning. Therefore, he emphasized that "the mission ought not seek direct support from the side of any colonial government whatsoever."⁵⁷ What was important for him was not material support but rather "friendly and benevolent appreciation".⁵⁸

One side of education to which Schreiber gave much attention was education for girls.⁵⁹ Here

⁵⁷ Schreiber, *Mission und Kolonisation*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ See, for example, A. Schreiber, "Die Arbeit an den heidnischen Frauen und Mädchen" [Work among pagan women and girls], in *AMZ* 1891, pp. 277-287.

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he acknowledged having learned from English and American mission boards, and specifically from Alexander Duff.⁶⁰ Beginning in the 1880s, Schreiber called for women teachers (*Schwester*) to propagate support for the education of gifts, and afterwards he was able to send a number of them to the German mission field. The impact of this step on Batak women will be seen in the chapters which follow.

2. Barmen Seminary Entrance Requirements

The theological and educational views of the Barmen seminary teachers just discussed played a great part in defining entrance requirements comprising the intellectual, psychological and spiritual qualifications to be met by student applicants. Here we shall just discuss those requirements which were directly related to educational activities of the RMG through Barmen's missionary graduates on the mission field later.

The first requirement was contained in the 1866 "General Requirements for Acceptance into the Barmen Mission House" (*Allgemeine Vorbedingungen zur Aufnahme in das Missionshaus zu Barmen*) and specified spiritual suitability (*geistliche Eignung*) of the applicant. This first one remained unchanged until the 1930 edition:

The first and absolute requirement for acceptance into the seminary (mission-house) is native intelligence which is renewed by faith and love of Christ, and praiseworthy behaviour which is indicative of such spiritual renewal.

⁶⁰ In his paper presented at the Continental Mission Conference of 1880, "*Was können wir von den Amerikanern und Engländern für Theorie und Praxis der Missionsarbeit lernen?*" [What can we learn from the Americans and English for the Theory and Praxis of Mission work?], Schreiber stressed that there were at least three matters to be learned from them: (1) They nurture indigenous people more thoroughly; (2) Especially in America, they distinguish between cultural and mission work, and do not see Mission as a cultural force; (3) For quite some time, they have involved physicians and women missionaries in the work of mission. Particularly with reference to the latter, they are in no way inferior to male missionaries, according to Schreiber; moreover they are more capable in certain kinds of work especially in nurturing and teaching women.

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There is no need for us to discuss how or by what criteria the seminary teachers and RMG leadership determined that a candidate had experienced "spiritual renewal". What we can see is that this entrance requirement carried the stamp of pietism which reigned in the whole history of the Barmen seminary up to the 1930s, and was of the same cut of cloth as "the biblical-pietistic robe worn by the RMG until the present".⁶¹

The second requirement involved the candidate's intellectual qualification (*geistige Eignung*). The 1866 edition specified that the candidate must possess intellectual capability (*geistige Begabung*), even though it was not until the 1907 edition that the candidate must have been graduated from the elementary school (*Volksschule*) at a minimum. In addition, he must have had certain experiences and skills, such as needed for a manual labourer, teacher, merchant, etc., unless he had had higher schooling than the elementary, such as general highschool (*Realschule*), Latin highschool (*Gymnasium*), vocational highschool (*Aufbau-schule*). This requirement was linked to the age limitation for candidates, i.e. 18-25 years. Through specifying such an age limitation, it was hoped that the candidate had broad experience or skills beyond the primary school, or that he had more extensive schooling and had satisfactory mental maturity.

Candidates who had only been graduated from the elementary school were required to enrol in the *Vorschule*, whereas for those holding a higher diploma and who had survived the selection process were admitted directly into the seminary proper (the 1858 curriculum was three years, four years for the 1873 curriculum).

The entrance requirement specified in the 1926 edition included both the seminary curriculum and the related learning process.⁶² On the basis of all of this, we see that each seminary graduate

⁶¹ The conclusion of Hoffmann in *BRMG* 1939, p. 239.

⁶² The 1926 curriculum lists in detail the subjects to be taught: A. *Vorschule*: Biblical Knowledge, Catechism, History, Mathematics, Physics, Geography, Bookkeeping, Church Music, German, English, Greek and Hebrew languages; 29 hours total per week. B. *Seminary*: Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, Church History, History of the Kingdom of God, Old and New Testament Theology, Missiology, Foreign Languages (including

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possessed abilities which involved theological, missiological and educational subjects in addition to certain skills and experiences. As will become apparent later, all of these were put into practice on the field.

The 1910 edition included the necessary mental or psychological attitude of the candidate both before and during the time of his study:

During the time of their residence in the seminary, the students must show evidence of character and ability which would permit them to be entrusted later with the responsibility-filled office of missionary. This will be indicated through the entirety of their appearance, their behaviour, their alertness and their diligence, all above reproach.

The requirements found in the 1926 and 1930 editions showed development as follows:

During the time of their residence in the seminary, the students must show evidence of character and ability which would permit them to be entrusted later with the responsibility-filled office of missionary. This will be indicated through the entirety of their appearance both within and beyond the complex, through pious intelligence, moral seriousness and impeccable behaviour, alertness, faithfulness, industriousness, and obedience.

In the 1930 edition there was appended the words: "There will be guidance also towards serious self-examination for all persons who choose the missionary vocation." Thus each candidate was asked to examine himself whether he were truly called to proclaim the Gospel, whether he demonstrated love and obedience to Christ, whether he had truly experienced conversion and been born again, and to what extent he had provided himself with the spiritual knowledge necessary for undertaking his holy office.

The spiritual and intellectual capabilities required needed to be demonstrated not only while in the seminary but especially on the field later. And in turn, the missionaries would demand the same qualities in their Batak seminary students later.

3. Instruction of Missionaries

The RMG equipped each seminary graduate with a body of instruction related to the work he would be doing as a missionary on the mission field. Here we shall limit ourselves to the

Malay for those going to the Dutch Indies), German Literature

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instruction related to educational matters.

Section 1 of the edition of "General Directions of 1869" dealt with Mission Objectives. After outlining the biblical foundations there followed what the missionary had to do to attain those objectives:

You ought to have the opportunity to communicate practical matters to the indigenous people through various means, and perhaps your European science, skills and equipment will be more readily welcomed than the Word of the Cross itself; but be careful so that all those capabilities are used to please the Lord, rather than to please people, whereas the Lord and His concerns are neglected.

In Section 2, "General Directions", each missionary was instructed to undertake evangelization as a primary task, regardless of his function or office in the field later, including that of a school teacher. In addition, this article included directions to the missionary about how to effect good relationships with the headmen as quickly as possible, and also how to avoid involving themselves in activities which would clearly hinder the proclamation of the Gospel, such as engaging in commercial ventures and participating in inter-tribal wars.

Section 3, "The Lord's Congregation in the midst of Paganism", stressed that one step towards the formation of the church within 'pagan' society was to undertake schooling, especially for baptized children:

One important task for building a congregation of the Lord among pagans is to carry on schooling and catechizing. It has not been without purpose that you have been prepared to be teachers of religion. Collect several children as soon as possible to teach them in their language to read, write and to do arithmetic. But most importantly teach them the principle truths of the Gospel. Go seek these children with all friendliness and filled with love to come to you; your first Christian instruction should be the telling of the Lord's story and His parables. In a similar way also, you should carry out instruction of adults, beginning with the catechism. Preach to them; your message ought to be brief based upon a text from the Bible which is very dear and expresses the central point of the Gospel. Seek out several children as rapidly as possible too in order to teach them to become your assistants and co-workers. Matthew 9:37-38.

The 1900 edition, one more practical in its composition and editing, stressed that all activities of missionaries must be directed towards one target, "winning souls for the Lord". Therefore, as

and German Seminar.

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indicated in the 1869 edition also, they must not engage in activities (such as business and industry) other than the proclamation of the Gospel, unless a conference of missionaries specified a special ministry, such as serving as a teacher in the seminary, or other tasks which were deemed helpful to advance the cause of evangelism, and in agreement with the desires of the congregation concerned. Apparently, collateral official duties given by the government and mission, such as school inspector, translator, government commissioner and commissioner in commercial bodies working in a cooperative relationship with the mission, were not viewed as "special tasks" and therefore were not in conflict with the principal objective listed above. This brings to mind the number of RMG persons, led by Fabri, who viewed national and colonial government, and commercial bodies cooperating with the mission as supporters of evangelism. Because the school was a main means of support for evangelism and building up of the congregation, the 1900 edition specified that:

Each missionary must be energetic in his endeavour to found a school which would be available at his station and the surrounding territory so that baptized children especially would not grow up without Christian instruction. At each regional mission conference, the missionaries must commission one or more of their number to organize education for indigenous teachers or assistant pastors, or to lead a seminary, so that missionary colleagues might be given the opportunity to undertake literary work, the organizing and translating of useful books.

The same directive touched too on the status of buildings erected in the field by the mission, including school buildings:

Houses which were built with the aid of funds from the mission treasury remain property of the mission corporation. In all places, church and school buildings ought to be made available by each congregation, including their repairs and maintenance. Those buildings continue to remain property of the congregations.

We must pay attention to this matter, because many problems about the status of school buildings were to surface later on, both before and after 1940 (see Chapter Six and Seven).

In the same directive, there were regulations for the disciplined life of missionaries, and sanctions for their violation, such as those who demonstrated "a fondness for conflict, who were disobedient, and lazy". The directive also stressed that the missionaries' daily activities and behaviour, such as related to morality, manners and style of work, etc., must support and reflect

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the presence of the Kingdom of God. It was hoped that all of these would be models for church members, school pupils and indigenous workers.

It is important to note, in addition, that the special directive of about 1920 to the Ephorus of the Batakmission confirmed that "the whole matter of schooling was under the supervision and leadership of the Ephorus". This directive was given because "the RMG's main emphasis was placed on the maintenance of schools for indigenous people". There, too, was spelled out the task and responsibilities of the Ephorus in the field of schooling at all levels, including government relations, which were connected with educational policies, either directly or through mission representatives.

B. RMG Relationships with Various Mission-Oriented Bodies in the West

In addition to the views and policies of the Barmen seminary teachers just presented, there were other factors which influenced the views and actions of missionaries to the Bataks, particularly in the field of education. One of these which we consider very important was the relationship of the RMG to various bodies or personnel in their own countries, i.e. the western world. This relationship provided input and support for the RMG's theological-missiological and pedagogical ideas, and financial support for personnel and literature. Among the various interlocking networks of relationships with the RMG, we shall choose two important items: relationships with various Dutch mission circles, and relationships with other mission bodies through participating in various international mission conferences.

1. Relationships with Various Dutch Circles

Because the Batak area was a part of the Dutch East Indies, it was natural for the RMG to connect with many Dutch institutions and persons in the interest of achieving success in its work. At the same time, many within the Dutch circles were sympathetic to the RMG and gave their support to it since its personnel had dedicated themselves so tirelessly "to our colony, the Dutch

East Indies".⁶³

As a matter of fact, relationships between Barmen and the Dutch had begun even before 1826, two years before the founding of the Barmen Seminary, and long before it began work in the Indies, i.e. when several Barmen graduates had been sent to the Netherlands in order to be commissioned by the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) to service in the Indies. At the time of Fabri's administration (beginning in 1857) relationships with various Dutch mission boards, and RMG friends in the Netherlands (churches, individuals, and non-mission organizations) were steadily increased along with the dissemination of Fabri's theological views there. The beginning presence of the RMG in the Batakland as well cannot be separated from the relationships of the RMG, with its friends in the Netherlands, particularly through Fabri. This was also the case with RMG missionaries, especially those who would become teachers in the various educational institutions which had been organized by the Batakmission. Before they went to the Batak area, many of them had obtained their education in the Netherlands, first of all, or supplemented their education there. In fact, many RMG missionaries, too, were recruited from among the Dutch themselves (see Chapter Five and Six).

In order to inform the Dutch community about the work of the RMG in the Dutch East Indies, it began to publish a magazine in Dutch in 1883, *De Rijnsche Zending*. Moreover, in 1884, there was founded the *Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Belangen van bet Rijnsche Zending Genootschap te Barmen* (Union for the Furthering of Concerns of the Rhenish Mission Society in Barmen) which endeavoured to stimulate support (especially funds) for the RMG work in the Dutch East Indies. The formation of this body cannot be separated from A. Schreiber's boundless energy manifested during the time of his leadership in establishing relationships with friends of the RMG in the Netherlands. After the *Samenwerkende Zendingcorporaties* (SZC, Cooperating Mission

⁶³ This phrase is commonly found in the documents of the Dutch missions and colonial government. See, for example, in *RZ* 1870, pp. 6ff and in the letter of the board of *SZC* to Rev. P. Groote (the editor of *RZ*) in *ZB*'s file, no. K.71/D.3.

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Societies) was formed in Oegstgeest (1905), the *Zendingsconsulaat* (Mission Consulate) in the Dutch Indies was founded (1906) to represent the various mission boards' interests with the colonial government. The *Zendingsconsulaat* was a great help to the RMG in managing its concerns in the Indies. Furthermore, a special body was formed within the SZC in 1917 with the objective of helping the RMG overcome the shortage of funds for its work in the Dutch Indies: *Steuncomite voor de Rijnsche Zending in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (The Support Committee for the Rhenish Mission in the Dutch East Indies).

The main force behind the institutions in the Netherlands supporting the RMG was J.W. Gunning. In addition to holding the office of director in the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) and one of the leaders of the SZC, he was entrusted by the RMG with the task of looking after its interests in the Netherlands. Gunning's role, along with other mission leaders in the Netherlands, was not only connected with the task of overcoming the RMG's financial difficulties, but also with contributing his views to undergird mission work in general, and the work of the RMG in particular, including its work in education. As we shall see in Chapter Six, the RMG was frequently involved in conflict with the Dutch government over its policies which the RMG considered prejudicial to its mission work. In this situation Gunning along with his colleagues gave support to the RMG in conceptualizing its policies, even though sometimes there was a difference of opinion between himself and RMG officials in Barmen.

In addition to mission organizations or those affiliated with mission societies, there were also non-missionary or non-religious institutions which supported the RMG work among the Bataks, either directly or indirectly. One of these was *Het Bataksche Instituut* based in Leiden specializing in "Batakology", founded by several former missionaries and colonial government officials. It published tens of books or brochures on the details of the Batak people and society. In addition, its leaders wrote articles for various magazines about the Bataks, either under their own names or the name of the institute itself. Its directors were also engaged in the Netherlands in promoting the work of the Batakmission. Moreover, it was involved in helping the RMG overcome its financial

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difficulties during the first two decades of the 20th century, because its leaders believed that the RMG rendered praiseworthy service in doing research among the Bataks, caring for and advancing their social and cultural life.

Another non-mission organization was *Het Indische Genootschap* (The Indies Society), i.e. an association of former Dutch Indies colonial officials. In various ways, this institution called upon the Dutch government to initiate good relationships with mission circles, including the RMG, and to increase financial support for the work of the Batakmission, especially in the field of education. The basis of its appeal to the government rested on the consideration that the mission greatly helped the government advance conditions in the Batak area. The relationship of the RMG with various groups in the Netherlands was multi-faceted, and included the Dutch government. This makes it impossible for us to discuss the RMG apart from the context of Dutch mission thought and activities. At the same time, views developed by the RMG, obtained a place in Dutch mission circles. The success of the RMG/ Batakmission, including its achievement in education, was written up in mission literature and was praised as an excellent example to be emulated. In brief, the history of the RMG in the Dutch Indies is a part of the history of the work of Dutch mission organizations, and very much the history of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia as well.

2. Relationships with Other Mission Bodies through Conferences

In addition to forming a network of relationships with Dutch mission organizations, the RMG reached out to mission bodies within and outside of Germany. In a concrete way, these relationships were evident in the various conferences which took place during the second half of the last century. These conferences became a forum for exchanging ideas and presenting papers by mission representatives and other conference participants and through discussions which analyzed the issues presented in the papers. Those conferences provided new input for the RMG to be reworked and utilized to accomplish its mission tasks, and at the same time to present its own mission views. Here we shall discuss just a few of those conferences related to the RMG

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educational views and efforts, together with some of the content of papers presented.

(a) Series of Continental European Conferences

This series of conferences were always held in Bremen and began in 1866 at the initiative of Fabri. Participants were delegates from German mission bodies and other mission bodies on the continent of Europe, but the presenters of papers were generally from German mission societies.

Here we shall present a summary of several papers prepared by persons outside of the RMG but related to the problem of education in order to show the contribution of their thought to the RMG. Views from the RMG which were presented at those conferences have been reflected in our discussion of the views of RMG figures in section A, i.e. Fabri, Warneck and Schreiber.

(i) E. Reichel: Establishing a National, Autonomous Church as the Goal of Protestant Mission Efforts (1872)

In agreement with Fabri, Reichel saw the main objective of the Protestant Mission as "to bring pagans to a personal confession of the truth". But after each person was baptized, that objective must be followed immediately by another, i.e. gathering of the converted into congregations, bringing the congregations to self-sufficiency and forming them into a national church. For Reichel, self-sufficiency involved "autonomy in finances and stewardship". To reach self-sufficiency, mission personnel must initiate training of indigenous church leaders from the very beginning.

Reichel's ideas about striving for a self-sufficient church and training of indigenous church leaders were not something new to Christian mission thought. But his joining the idea of individual conversion with the formation of a national church reminds us of Warneck's merging of the two strategies in his *Evangelische Missionslehre* later, an idea which was influential in the Batak mission.

(ii) C.H.C. Plath: Preserving National Elements through the Christian Mission

First of all, Plath's paper summarized the role or contribution of certain ethnic groups

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(Jewish, Greek, Roman and German) toward the spreading of the Gospel and the development of Christianity without losing each group's individual nationality and distinctive culture. Moreover, after cleansing by the Gospel the cultures of ethnic groups made significant contributions to Christianity, toward the support of the formation of "Christian Culture".

Therefore, when non-Christian people were evangelized, each ethnic group's distinctive characteristics in culture, language, etc., must not be lost or damaged, but rather cleansed and ennobled by the Gospel which became united with that particular Christian culture. Consciousness of this necessity must be planted beforehand in the mission seminary students. There they must be taught to become "the best teachers or instructors" (*die besten Lehr-meister*) for the non-Christian people, which meant that they were to endeavour to join their culture with the culture of the indigenous people in order to attain a richer Christian culture. Of course, there would be sin within the "national configuration" (*Nationalgestaltung*) of ethnic groups, but just this aspect must be made clean by the missionaries through applying the Gospel and Christian culture to it.

In tracing Plath's way of thought, we are reminded of Hoekendijk's analysis and conclusion that Plath was a communicator of *Kulturpropaganda*. Plath saw that evangelistic activities were not only a part of the history of the Kingdom of God, but also a part of the history of culture, because the Gospel merged into the culture of ethnic groups. Therefore, the Gospel and culture must be communicated together to non-Christians. In evangelism's relationship to colonization, the former must go hand in hand with the latter (cf. Fabfi!), because colonization was a means for communicating culture as well. Because the mission functions as a teacher of the nations (cf. Warneck), in a parallel way, the Gospel and culture needed to be taught together in order to form a new religiosity and culture in the midst of the people being evangelized. In other words "culture propaganda" means folk education as well.

According to Hoekendijk, Plath's view was characterized by *cultuur-optimisme* and was

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influential in German mission circles until 1914.⁶⁴ Certainly, the RMG, and especially the Batakmission, could not be exceptions. As shall be seen in Chapter Five, echoes of Plath's view which was rooted basically in German idealism and nationalism, would be heard in missionary circles of the Batakmission as those missionaries wrestled with the relationship between the Christian mission and culture, including education.⁶⁵ In fact, J. Warneck, one the most important figures in the Batakmission, acknowledged that Plath's view was very influential on his own thought.⁶⁶

(iii) *L. Hesse: The School in the Mission Structure (1884)*

In choosing the mission educational venture in India as the context for his analysis (including education accomplished by Duff), Hesse investigated the subject of missionary education from the standpoint of this principle: the Christian mission is a function of the church. Therefore, the goal of the mission is "to plant the church in the whole world and bring non-Christian people into it, not to convert individuals, but to found the church". Because of this, whatever was done by the church in the country of the missionary's origin must also be done by missionaries on the field. Because the sending church was engaged in schooling, the mission institution must be engaged in educational work as well as a method and principal means to attain the goal mentioned above. Certainly the specific goals of church and mission would differ because the parish school in Europe had the goal of nurturing the faith of children already baptized, whereas mission schools were the means to proclaim the Gospel for the purpose of conversion. This was true even though pupils in mission schools did not reach the point of being baptized, nevertheless they had been penetrated by

⁶⁴ Hoekendijk, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ Echoes of Plath's views were certainly felt in D. Oehler's article, "Mission und Kultur" in *EMM* 1908, pp. 49-57, even though Oehler, too, was critical of Plath. At the suggestion of the RMG Central Committee, this article became a main reference for E. Wagner's use in his paper delivered at the missionary conference of the Batakmission, 1909. See Chapter Five C.1. below.

⁶⁶ J. Warneck: *Werfet*, p. 59.

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the Gospel at the very least (cf. G. Warneck).

With reference to the specific objective of the mission school, it was not necessary for the pupils to be directed to conversion, and missionaries should not be polemical towards the pupils' original religion. These should not be thought of as pagan, Hindu, Muslim children, etc., but rather as human beings. According to Hesse, this view was in harmony with the principle motivation of Christian missions, i.e. to communicate the love of God and persons, rather than to engage in proselyting.

In terms of the motive and objective of mission education, mission schools should teach not only knowledge about heaven, but also about the world. This would not mean grafting the system of Western education (which is rooted in Western culture) *in toto* on to the indigenous culture, or using western education to wipe it out. In sum, mission schools must bring spiritual and physical blessings to the society being taught, but there was no necessity to do this rapidly.

Hesse's paper received much opposition, especially from persons holding to the idea of individual conversion. Critics mentioned many examples of the failure of various mission schools to christianize and bring pupils into the church because from the beginning of those missionaries' educational ministry, they had stressed the communication of Christian values without putting a major thrust on formal conversion. Debate about Hesse's paper indicated differences within the missionary community itself about the function and goal of mission education. For a part of the missionary community, including part of the RMG, Hesse's thought was something very new, perhaps even foreign and non-evangelical in the sense of treating the communities being evangelized as simply people without consideration of their original religious beliefs. That idea was totally at variance with the spirit of pietism which had dominated mission circles at the time, yet, as we shall see, it became an alternative to be weighed by the RMG during the final decades of their work in the Batakland.

(iv) *Schüller: How May Mission Schools Find a Place for Secular Matters in the Structure of their Education?*

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In agreement with the approach of mission leaders in general, Schüller emphasized that increasing worldly progress and "education for worldly work" (*Erziehung zum indischen Beruf*) was not the main objective of mission schools. First of all and primarily, mission schools were the means for religious education, with fostering secular progress but a secondary goal.

Even so, mission schools did not forbid *in toto* the teaching of knowledge and expertise needed to attain progress in ordinary life. Indeed, in essence, the school embodied a purpose in that direction already:

Mission schools should teach pupils to view, pay attention to and to express themselves, build up spiritual abilities, teach obedience, orderliness, accuracy, cleanliness, raise their vision of life, etc.⁶⁷

In other words, even though upgrading progress in secular matters was a supplemental objective, nevertheless if the pupils in mission schools studied their lessons as they should, then this would automatically teach and prepare them to work diligently to fulfil the needs of daily life.

Schüller realized that there were two dangers which might arise if mission schools "educated for secular work". In the first place, the 'pagan' society would centre only on the external benefit to be obtained through mission schools, rather than upon the spiritual or evangelical values which were emphasized there. Secondly, the pupils would be estranged to a certain extent from their surroundings, because they would have entered into a context which was European-centred. This introduced them to necessities of life which were still considered luxuries by their own society. However, neither danger must be considered a reason for the mission not to engage in education. On the contrary, the Christian Mission must make every effort to overcome those dangers. Even though the mission schools did not succeed in converting many pupils, missionaries should not be too disappointed because they had fulfilled a part of their responsibility already; they had taught the students to work diligently and honestly in non-church affairs (cf. with Hesse!).

We note a development of understanding in the above cases about the function and objective of

⁶⁷ AMZ 1889 Appendix, p. 9.

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mission schools. Initially, they were held to be merely conversion tools. Later, mission schools were considered means for planting Christian values and equipping persons for life and work, although admittedly, these functions and goals continued to play more secondary roles. We shall note a similar type of development later in the Batakmission field.

(b) Other Mission Conferences

RMG representatives participated in international mission conferences beyond the European continent as well. It was represented by A. Schreiber at both the London Conference of 1888, and the New York Conference of 1900. Various aspects of mission development and problems growing out of mission involvement in education were discussed at both conferences. Schreiber himself neither talked about those problems, nor did he take part in sections which had discussed them. Therefore, we can not conclude in any explicit and detailed way just what contribution and impact was made by the ideas developed at both conferences on the RMG understanding of the educational mission. Even so, in a general way and along with what had been proposed by Schreiber in his writings which we have discussed above, it can be said that various benefits had been drawn by European mission groups, including the RMG, from their contact with British and American mission circles, such as emphasis upon autonomous churches and education of girls. In terms of the latter, Schreiber approached several English mission leaders about obtaining women evangelists (*Schwester*).

At the *World Missionary Conference* in Edinburgh, 1910, the RMG was represented by J. Warneck. In the section which studied the topic, "Special Missionary Preparation", it was concluded that each missionary needed to be equipped with knowledge in five areas: History of Evangelism, World Religions, Sociology, the Science of Education, and Languages. With special reference to education, the delegates concluded that all missionaries were educators. It was hoped that they would communicate new ideas and endeavour to lay the foundations for a new design to tap the intelligence of the pupils. In their statement too, readers were reminded that not all missionaries had a natural talent as teachers. Therefore they must study educational science which

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included psychology, in order to function as educators.

In discussing the significance of the science of education for mission work, J. Warneck contributed the following thought:

Pedagogy is one important side of missionary education. How unfortunate it will be if we do not devote much effort in education through the missionaries. We do not ask of them to know merely the history of education, regardless of how important that is, but rather we ask for a more profound understanding of psychology in its relationship to pedagogy. Missionaries are educators in the true sense of the word. All of their work is educational. A fundamental introduction to the science of education will help the missionary on the field avoid many diversions and disappointments.⁶⁸

From this statement we can sense the strong influence of the thought of his father, Gustav Warneck, and perhaps Plath also, on J. Warneck himself.

The International Missionary Conference of 1928 in Jerusalem discussed various aspects of mission education. The conference was attended by G. K. Simon as a representative of the RMG. He had been missionary to the Bataks. But Simon did not participate in the section which studied this topic, nor did he discuss it. Because the year 1928 was near to the end of the RMG's work among the Bataks, and because mission education was not a prominent topic of the conference, we can assume that the conference itself did not give any new input for the RMG's educational effort.

This was also the case for the IMC's meeting in Tambaram, 1938. Although this conference discussed various problems of mission education, especially in relationship to its main issues, i.e. relations between religions, and between followers of various religions, and the formation of a self-sustaining church in the mission field, yet it too did not give any new input for RMG education among the Bataks. Just the reverse, at this conference the Batak church itself was pointed to as a model of an independent church as the fruit of mission endeavour, one which in a large part was a result of its educational ministry.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *The Report of the World Missionary Conference (1910); "Report of Commission V", p. 174.*

⁶⁹ *The Tambaram Series, vol. H (The Growing Church), pp. 132-135 and vol. V (The Economic Basis of the Church), pp. 415-458.*

C. Conclusion

After viewing the theological, missiological and pedagogical views of RMG figures and other mission bodies on and beyond the European continent, we conclude that in carrying out its educational effort among the Bataks, the RMG did not begin without any relationship to other views, movements and thinkers. As we shall see in the next chapter, the RMG or Batakmission did not begin its educational ministry only after having previously developed an educational view and an orderly and sophisticated educational system; on the contrary, the educational work was begun and developed while organizing schools and teaching children. Or to borrow Jongeling's expression, practice preceded reflection.⁷⁰ In the writings of teachers in the Barmen seminary as well as in reports from missionaries working among the Bataks, we did not encounter many explicit references to the writings or views of German educators except to those of Luther and various pietists. But from the Barmen seminary teachers' writings and expressed views, we hear echoes of the ideas of the great educators mentioned, whether in agreement or disagreement with them, because their views had become part of public discourse. Or it can be said also that the role of those educators was that of sharing in the formation of a general consciousness with reference to German education up to the end of the 19th century, although that influence differed for each person, including RMG leaders.

In terms of the dominant theological foundation or background, or principal influence on the RMG, it can be concluded that there were three major theologies: Lutheran, pietistic and revivalist. This type of theology was gathered from various theological and philosophical currents present in the Germany of the 19th century, such as Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, the theology of the Kingdom of God, the philosophy of German idealism and nationalism, theosophy and romanticism.⁷¹ The mixture of those various theological and philosophical currents resulted in a

⁷⁰ M.C. Jongeling, *Het Zendingsconsulaat* (1966), p. 86.

⁷¹ L. Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-85, summarizes the influence of various currents and theologians and philosophers

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feeling of religious, cultural, and Christian superiority so that the German people were certain that their religion, nation, culture and civilization were superior to those possessed by indigenous societies which German missionaries hoped to evangelize. Even though there was a critical attitude towards European culture, nevertheless, to the degree that various sides of German culture had been infused by the Gospel, evangelization of indigenous societies must go hand in hand with the enculturation of German civilization. Within this structure of understanding, and an understanding of history as the evolutionary development of the Kingdom of God, the RMG agreed and therefore endeavoured to cooperate with the colonial government which was viewed as having been placed there as a servant of that Kingdom of God.

In consequence, such a theological and philosophical understanding played a role in the RMG's evangelism and educational program. RMG missionaries came from a 'Christian nation' to evangelize 'pagan people' with the objective of Christianizing and forming them into a folk church. The idea or method of seeking conversion of individuals shifted to the idea of Christianizing a whole people. Education, too, was the evangelistic means or method for winning a whole people or society for Christendom, and to *build up* their spirituality and civilization in order for them to gradually approach (although never come to equal it) the level of spirituality and civilization of the German people, in particular, and the European in general. Education was the vehicle for communicating what "I" have (religious and cultural values, knowledge and skills) to my "fellow men", although "I" remain the subject, and my "fellow men" remain the object of this educational process.

Thus, various motivations can be seen which prompted the RMG to engage in education: the motivation of being obedient to God's commission, the motivation of pity for pagan people who remained in darkness, as well as cultural and humanistic motivation. The degree and kind of motivation found in each RMG worker, whether in the home country or on the mission field,

on RMG personnel.

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would differ according to the different degrees of influence from various theological, philosophical and educational understandings on each of them. But in general those various motivations were found in each RMG worker.

To speak specifically about the motivation of obedience, this would have been obedience to God earlier, later this developed to become obedience to God and to leaders, or to the sponsoring organization. The attitude of obedience to leaders and to the mission organization was planted in each missionary candidate while studying in the Barmen seminary. A similar type of obedience was demanded of the Bataks later, i.e. seminary students, indigenous church workers, and from all the new Christians. Maintenance of discipline by the RMG workers within the framework of character formation (a slogan expressed repeatedly by the German educators whom we discussed) was intended as obedience to sets of regulations and ordered life. It was also intended to issue in the forming of persons who were copies of revered persons within the RMG, especially those from the Barmen seminary, and those from without the RMG, especially pietists and revivalists. Of course, more than all of these, the person to be imitated was Christ Himself, in harmony with one of pietism's own slogans, *imitatio Christi*.

The motivation of pity was closely linked with the feeling of Westerners' sense of cultural superiority, a sense which did not negate entirely an appreciation for the cultural and personal heritage, or distinctive characteristics of indigenous persons. But of course, the Western spiritual, cultural, and scientific heritage was valued much higher. Appreciation for persons in the 'mission' lands tended to increase with evangelism and education taking place on the field, a fact reflected in the RMG leaders later.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE PIONEERING PERIOD: 1861-1882

A. The Beginning of the Encounter

1. First Steps

On October 7, 1861, two RMG missionaries, Klammer and Betz, who had served in Kalimantan before, and two missionaries, Van Asselt and Heine, from the Dutch community of Ermelo, gathered in *Sipirok* to initiate the RMG work in the Batak area. (Henceforth this will be called the *Batakmission*.) Along with oral evangelization, one of the first steps decided upon was to undertake a ministry of schooling which involved an opening of new schools and a continuation of the ones begun by the Ermelo missionaries earlier. For the most part, the schools were located in an area under Dutch control, i.e. *Sipirok* and its surroundings, in contrast to "free areas" (*onafhankelijk gebied*), i.e. beyond Dutch control.¹

Nommensen arrived in Sumatra in May, 1862 and began his work, including the opening of schools in the port city of Barus which had been brought under Dutch control before. However, most of its residents were Muslims, and many of the others were non-Bataks. He undertook this work even though it violated his earlier intention to work in the interior among the Bataks who still maintained their tribal religion. He was soon convinced that Barus was not an appropriate place to establish an evangelistic base. Therefore, he determined to begin work in the interior in the area of Rambe, but the Indies government refused to grant permission on the grounds of security and his own safety because this region was still 'free'. As a result, at the end of 1862, he left Barus in order to join Klammer in *Sipirok*.

¹ The Dutch began to occupy the southern part of the Batak region during the 1830s, as a result of the Padri War (sparked by Islamic purists). Although the Dutch had formed the Tapanuli residency in 1842 (see Introduction, footnote 3), nevertheless only the southern region of the Bataks and a few places on Sumatra's west coast had been effectively under their control until the 1860s.

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For the moment, Nommensen helped Klammer teach in the Baringin school. As was the case with colleagues who had preceded him, Nommensen, too, taught *Biblical stories and hymn singing, and reading and writing*. He planned to open a school in Parausorat near Sipirok, but was hindered by the Indies government since it was already operating a school there as well as in Bungabondar, and required Sipirok children to attend those schools. Because of this further hindrance and in support of Nommensen's hopes, the Batakmission decided to have him open an evangelistic base in the *Silindung* area. The government granted permission even though Silindung was 'independent'. Work was begun there towards the end of 1863.

With Nommensen's penetration of the Silindung area, the Batakmission expanded its work to the northern part of the Batak region. As will be proposed below, there were several factors which distinguished the northern from the southern region. In both areas, missionaries established relationships with the local community and the colonial government in order to advance its evangelistic and educational ministries. Let us look at these one by one.

2. Relationships with the Batak Society

(a) The Southern Region

This area covering Sipirok, Angkola, Mandailing, Padangbolak and Natal was under Dutch control, and most of its inhabitants were Muslims.² Therefore, the target children for the mission schools were those of the Muslim community. There were varied responses by the Batak

² Islam's penetration of the Batak region in the 1820s originated from the south (the Minangkabau area) through the efforts of the Padri movement. Although its troops had entered the heartland of the Batak land, i.e. Silindung and Toba, yet it only succeeded in winning the southern Bataks to Islam. Islam had penetrated the eastern and western coastal areas several centuries earlier when it entered other parts of the island of Sumatra. A comprehensive study about the encounter of Bataks with Islam is contained in J. Pardede's dissertation: *Die Batakchristen auf Nordsumatra und ihr Verhältnis zu den Muslimen* [The Batak Christians of North Sumatra and Their Relation with Moslems], 1975.

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community to the educational efforts of the Batakmission. If prominent people or headmen were not fanatical Muslims, and if the missionaries developed a relationship of friendship with them, then the headmen and their family members would agree to the opening of a mission school and would send their children to it. This was experienced by Klammer in Sipirok, for example.³ But a large number of the Muslim community members were not attracted to the mission school, even if they did not want to actually reject it out of hand. Their main reason was that most of the lessons were tainted by the Gospel; this was not strange because, of course, the Batakmission opened schools as a means to support the spreading of the Gospel. These communities would prefer to have their children attend government schools, if these were available at their villages. Their reasons were related to the fact that even though the government schools did not teach Islam (see Chapter One, A) in harmony with its principle of religious neutrality, nevertheless most teachers were Muslims and taught their faith as an extra-curricular subject.⁴ If there were Muslim families who did send their children to mission schools, this was merely done so that they could obtain the general knowledge which would aid them in becoming government employees later. At the same

³ Klammer's first baptisms came from within the circle of his pupils, but these did not include the chieftains' children; *BRMG* 1865, pp. 150ff.

⁴ These teachers confessing Islam were graduates of the government teachers' school in Bukit Tinggi (opened in 1856) and in Tano Bato (opened in 1862). The *Tano Bato Teachers' School* (located near Panyabungan in the Mandailing area) was the first of its kind among the Bataks. Its pioneer was *Willem Iskander Nasution* (1840-1876), a graduate of a teachers' school in the Netherlands. His biography, role, and service in the development of Batak education may be found among other sources in M.O. Parlindungan, *Tuanku Rao*, pp. 391-403 (this book must be read with care; author); B.H. Harahap, *Peranan Willem Iskander* (Medan, Centre for Batak Culture Research and Documentation, Nommensen HKBP University, 1986); Daoed Yoesoef, "Si Bulus-bulus Si Rumbuk-rumbuk", in the daily newspaper, *Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta, May 14-16, 1986. According to mission sources, Willem Iskander became a teacher and leader of that school thanks to the recommendation of Mission circles (see, among others, *BRMG* 1863, p. 260 and 1868, p. 52; *MB*, May 1867).

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time, they rejected the Gospel taught.⁵

In short, the educational ministry of the Batakmission in the southern region met with little success if viewed quantitatively even though missionaries had used various approaches to interest residents, especially their headmen. This was the case as well in the western coastal areas, such as Barus. If their efforts obtained positive results, these were centred by and large among those of the lowest social level, i.e. the former *hatoban* (slaves).⁶ For these, mission education and acceptance of its new religion improved their social status.

At least part of the rejectionist attitude on the part of a large segment of the Islamic Batak community was a result of the missionaries' negative evaluation of Islam itself, which they brought with them from their days in the Barmen seminary.⁷ That attitude became confirmed after they

⁵ Later, such families withdrew their children because of those school regulations which required all students to take part in Christian lessons and religious activities. For example, see the case of Simanosor and Simangumban in *BRMG* 1890, pp. 19ff, and 1891, p. 376.

⁶ Literally, *Hatoban* means slave. There were various reasons why a person might become a slave, such as a result of being defeated in battle, or losing in gambling. For details of the *hatoban*, see W.B. Sidja-bat, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-98; H. Guillaume, "Regierung und Mission" [Government and Mission], 1908, pp. 28ff. Among the first pupils to be redeemed from slavery by Batakmission missionaries were *Djaogot* (who was sent to the Netherlands but died there in 1862); *Samuel Siregar* (who had an opportunity to study in Ermelo and Barmen, and later became a mission teacher and employee of the Dutch in Batakland); *Johannes Hutapea* (who became a teacher and evangelist); *Johannes Pasaribu* and *Ernst Pasaribu* (both became pastors). See also *KMF* 1890, pp. 163-170; *Der Bote* no. 9/1987, pp. 53-58; G. van Asselt, *Achttien Jaren*, pp. 28ff; *Idem*, *Johannes Hutapea* (1902); J.H. Meerwaldt, *Johannes Pasaribu* (1898); *Idem*, *Pidari*, pp. 1-197 and 165-236.

⁷ In Chapter Three we have indicated the Barmen seminary teachers' theology which stressed the superiority of Christianity over all other religions. The seminary's curriculum through the end of the 19th century included a course entitled, "Apologetics-Polemics", however in the curriculum of the early 20th century, that course was substituted by one called "Religious Knowledge". However, its content continued to emphasize the superiority of the Christian religion. The same course title appeared in the curriculum for the teachers' and pastors' school at Pansur Napitu.

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arrived in the Batakland because of the grim description received about the Paderi movement's efforts to islamize the Bataks.⁸ In the writings from RMG circles, both from missionaries on the field and also from the Barmen seminary leaders, Islam was always portrayed negatively, i.e., as an enemy of the Gospel, as a false teaching, as holding to a Satanic doctrine, and hence to be opposed. They communicated a similarly negative attitude and evaluation to the Batak community (including those members who had become Muslims) through oral evangelism (sermons, conversations, etc.) and through tracts and books which they distributed, and through the schools. In fact, the educational effort, along with health ministries, was seen as an effective means to overcome Islam.⁹

The missionaries' negative evaluation and attitude toward Islam, its teachings and sometimes towards Muslims themselves, gave rise to a violent reaction on the part of the Batak Islamic community. Not only that, but it stimulated among them a determination and enthusiasm to counterbalance mission activities by carrying out their own *dakwah* (missionary obligation to non-Muslims) to the heart of the Batak area in Silindung and Toba, an initiative which had been undertaken by the Paderi movement before. From the period of the movement's fading and the coming of the missionaries about 1840-1860, the desire to fulfil the *dakwah* was not particularly evident since there was no competition with other religions. But as soon as mission personnel became aggressive, there arose a consciousness among Muslims to defend themselves and also to

⁸ The coming of the Padri (Bataks call them *Pidari* or *Bonjo*) to islamize the Batak was described both by mission circles and northern Bataks as an event filled with violence and cruelty causing rettable trauma for the larger community. See, for example, C.W. Heine, "Allerlei zur Geschichte und Religion der Batak", [Various Elements of the History and Religion of the Bataks] in *BRMG* 1865, pp. 69-82; Schreiber's annual address (August 10, 1882) in *BRMG* 1882, particularly, p. 281; Guru K. Hutagalung, "Barita ni Bonjol" in *Immanuel*, October 26, 1919 and November 1, 1920; Parlindungan, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-268.

⁹ See for example, Irle's paper at the synodal conference in Sipoholon May 17-19, 1892 (summarized in *BRMG*, 1892, pp. 360-367); compare with Pardede, *op. cit.*, pp. 131ff.

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deepen their faith.¹⁰ This resurgence of commitment to the dakwah gave rise to anxiety on the part of the Batakmission. In fact, the latter accused the Indies government of supporting the Islamic side through state schools, through the appointment of Muslim employees and their placement in regional offices.

In addition to the religious factor why the southern Bataks rejected the presence of the missionaries, we may assume a sociological factor as well. In comparison with the North, the South was more solidified with its social stratification composed of nobility, ordinary people and slaves. At the same time, the Batakmission endeavoured to wipe out the practice of slavery by redeeming and educating the slaves, and through asking the government to promulgate regulations forbidding the practice of slavery, an effort which was bound to invite an unfavourable reaction from the nobility.

(b) The Northern Region

During the first years of the Batakmission, the whole northern area¹¹ was classified as 'free' or 'independent' and its inhabitants still practised their tribal religion. After Nommensen opened his evangelistic post in a village of the Silindung valley, the Batakmission gradually but surely centred its work among these northern Bataks. The missionaries realized that the hope and opportunity to win them for the Gospel was more extensive and open there. Therefore, their approach to local communities, especially to village headmen, was more sympathetic, although they could utilize intimidation as well if the situation warranted such action.¹² Even though the missionaries stamped

¹⁰ Pardede, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-136.

¹¹ The northern area intended here included Silindung, Humbang and a small part of Toba. Samosir, Simalungun, Karo and Pakpak were not included because at this period they had not as yet been reached by the Batakmission.

¹² For example, when several chieftains and local residents tried to obstruct Nommensen's work in Silindung, he showed his letter of permission from the Dutch Indies' Governor General to work there, *BRMG* 1865, p. 198.

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the tribal religion as "darkness" (*Finsternis*) or "folly" (*Thorheit*) and their rites as accursed devil-worship (*fluchwürdiger Teufelsdienst*), nevertheless they did not criticize its adherents in a hostile manner. More accurately, the missionaries viewed them as "unfortunate Bataks" who ought to be pitied and loved.¹³

The missionaries arrived in the northern area at the most advantageous moment. Just then, the Batak tribal religious community was in a state of disintegration and decline. This happened as a result of the Paderi incursions from the south several decades before and because of prolonged inter-marga quarrels, even armed skirmishes. The re-entrance of Islam into the area during the decade of the 1860s rekindled feelings of the horror and anxiety which they had experienced during the incursions by the Paderi troops earlier. The Batak adat system, including its beliefs and culture, were viewed as unable to stem their community's decline. This caused its members to view the Christianity brought by the missionaries as a more attractive alternative to their old religious system, one which they increasingly found unable to defend.¹⁴ Moreover, the Bataks quickly perceived that the ministries offered and carded out by the missionaries could be useful to them, such as mediating peaceful solutions to the inter-marga and inter-huta quarrels, providing health-care services, building of various physical facilities for the village, and carrying on education which could open up opportunities for them in obtaining advancement and upgrading in various ventures of living. In addition, they saw rather quickly too that the missionaries appreciated many elements and values of their society and culture, such as patterns for the ordering of their village structures (the latter would be utilized for founding schools and congregations), language and script, and various elements of their adat.

¹³ See Van Asselt's evaluation in *MB*, September 1865, and Heine in *BRMG* 1865, p. 370.

¹⁴ Cf. A.B. Sinaga's conclusion in his *The Toba-Batak High God*, p. 30: "... The Batak people saw and see in Christianity a real answer to the religious, cultural, and human aspirations. Christianity liberated them from their old-fashioned isolationism and from the plague of demonic disaster."

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Each time the missionaries planned to open a new evangelistic post or station, including a new school, their first step was to foster good relationships with the village headmen. This was related to the Indies government's condition for granting permission to enter and work in an independent region. But the effort to effect those good relationships with them was not based just upon a precondition set by the government, but rather upon the realization that their key position would determine whether the missionaries' effort, including education, would or would not bear fruit. Even though the Batak society, especially the Toba Batak, knew neither a feudalistic nor a monarchical social order, nevertheless the headmen (both *raja huta* and *raja bius*; see Chapter Two) were very influential figures. It was true too, that the slogan *cuius regio eius religio* (who heads the region determines its religion) was not entirely valid in Batak society. Whether the headmen were viewed collectively or individual-ly, nevertheless their attitude and response to the presence and activities of the missionaries significantly determined the attitude and response of the Batak community.

J. Warneck portrayed the position of the headmen as follows:

They truly were the effective authority in the country. Without their permission, neither foreign missionaries nor indigenous evangelists would be allowed to dwell there. And even if on many occasions they gave no more than outward assistance, for example presenting a plot on which to erect a church or school building, or prompting their people to attend church, or requesting missionaries to be sent to their region, yet their cooperation was most essential. Through it, a door was opened for the Gospel.¹⁵

The most popular example of chieftains with a favourable attitude toward the Batak-mission was **Raja Pontas Lumbantobing**. According to the missionaries, he was the most intelligent Batak figure and the one with a vision to see far ahead.¹⁶ Not only those in mission and government

¹⁵ J. Warneck, "Eingeborene Helfer in der Batakmission" [Indigenous Helpers in the Batakmission], in *EM*, May 1897, p. 10. Cf. J.N. Bieger, "Hoe de Batakkers hunne Scholen en Kerken bouwen" [How the Bataks Build their Schools and Their Churches], in *RZ* 1917, pp. 28f, which portrays the role of the chieftains and *pangituai* (elders of the community) in founding schools and carrying out education.

¹⁶ Information about chief Pontas' positive welcome and services to the Christian mission has been disseminated in

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circles appreciated and praised him; Bataks themselves viewed him with pride, especially those of succeeding generations.

J. Silitonga noted the role of Raja Pontas in the coming of the Gospel to Sipahutar in 1885, as well as to other locations, with these words: "Raja Pontas suggested or encouraged the Sipahutar community to receive the missionaries, Gospel and Indies government." And according to Silitonga, Silindung was secure because Raja Pontas submitted to the Dutch at the urging of Nommensen.¹⁷

Meanwhile M.O. Parlindungan, even though his writings were controversial and were not supported by RMG data, greatly appreciated Raja Pontas' service to the Bataks' advancement, especially in the field of education. This was evident in his writing:

Following in the footsteps of Raja Pontas, people of Toba and Silindung became Christians. He encouraged those already Christian to become elders. ... Children of elders had priority in entering the many mission schools founded by German pastors.. As an indirect program for the abolition of illiteracy and for the advancement of region and people, Raja Pontas Lumbantobing never ceased pushing Silindung residents to become elders (*sintua-sintua*) so that their children could be sent to school

Raja Pontas Lumbantobing was of the opinion that northern Bataks must adjust them-selves to the modern world. This meant that: (a) they must attend school, (b) must embrace a monotheistic faith. His convictions were very influential Raja Pontas Lumbantobing was the premier benefactor of the northern Bataks. He was the one urging them to attend school and embrace monotheism. Each northern Christian Batak who is able to read and write owes thanks to Raja Pontas Lumbantobing for this opportunity.¹⁸

In addition to Raja Pontas, RMG circles noted several other headmen who gave a positive welcome to the missionaries and their endeavours in the field of education. For example, Ompu Hatobung of Pansur Napitu gave a good welcome to Johannsen to work in his area; others were Kali Bonar, the very influential chief in the Sigompulon Pahae area, and Ompu Batu Tahan in Balige who gave his letter of trust (*Surat Haposan*) to missionaries to work and open schools there.

various parts of the RMG printed media beginning in 1864 (*BRMG* 1864, p. 49; and in *MB*, August 1867, among others; in *MB* 1900 may be found J.H. Meerwaldt's "Raja Pontas Lumbantobing" which gives his biography and offers a word "in Memoriam" at his death on February 18, 1900.

¹⁷ J. Silitonga, *Harararat ni Haradjaon ni Debata toe Loeat Sipahoetar* (1931), pp. 5ff.

¹⁸ Parlindungan, *op. cit.*, pp. 483 and 637f. Apart from the meagreness of the historical data support-ing the information in this work or the inaccuracies found in it concerning Raja Pontas, nevertheless Parlindungan's evaluation of Raja Pontas may be used as one example of how he was evaluated by Bataks themselves at a later date.

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In order to maintain good relations with this headman, the missionaries established later a forum for meetings between the headmen and themselves.

Of course at the first encounter, there were many headmen and citizens who rejected the presence of missionaries. There were varied reasons for this, such as the suspicion and anxiety that their presence and teaching would disturb and damage the social, cultural and religious traditions which had become the flesh and blood of the community.¹⁹ But the reason most frequently advanced for the rejection was that the missionaries were tools of the Dutch government and that their schools merely represented a strategy to lift out their children to become Dutch soldiers later. Apparently an anti-colonial feeling had already spread to the northern Batak region at that time. The people were worried that the Dutch presence would rob them of their freedom similar to what had happened to their brothers in the southern area since the end of the 1830s.²⁰

After the missionaries succeeded in convincing the Batak people that they were not Dutch accomplices, in a relatively short time the attitude of rejection changed to a warm welcome. In fact, at times this welcome was extraordinarily enthusiastic. Especially in Silindung, leaders competed in requesting that missionaries be placed in their villages and that schools be opened quickly to teach their children.²¹

¹⁹ This type of reaction had been expressed in 1824 by a community leader (who just happened to be the grandfather of Raja Pontas) to Burton and Ward. Apparently his grandfather felt that the missionaries' expressions denigrated the Batak adat and religion. Therefore, his community would not accept their message. See J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre Batakmission* (1925), p. 12. A similar reaction often greeted the missionaries until the 1890s.

²⁰ Read the expression noted by Van Asselt of a resident of Pangaribuan in *BRMG*, 1871, p. 216. The reasons why the Dutch took control of the Batak area, and why the Batak society rejected them have been circulated in various versions which are not in agreement with each other. See Sidjabat, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-154, for a detailed analysis of this issue.

²¹ In the background of such a request, not infrequently lays a goal of increasing the prestige of the village because the householder or the chief who hosted the missionary felt himself more prestigious than others. This feeling sometimes issued in

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A positive welcome on the part of the community was prompted by the missionaries' sympathetic style of approach. Particularly at the beginning of the encounter, the missionaries approached the Bataks graciously and humbly. Sometimes, though, this approach was augmented by the bringing of gifts which gave rise to unhealthy motivations for attending school, i.e. to obtain food, clothing and a better material life (*hangoluan*). As a result, the people were disappointed if such desires were not fulfilled. If the missionaries saw that the desire to obtain material benefits was the main motivation, generally they did not fulfil those desires. This matter will be discussed in a later analysis.

3. Relationships with the Dutch Indies Government

(a) Competition

To begin work in each location in the Batak area, whether in regions already under the Indies government authority or those still free from it, both the Batakmission missionaries and Batak workers had to obtain permission from the Indies government beforehand.²² Generally such a letter

inter-village conflict. Behind the request for a missionary, there could be found the thought also that the missionary possessed *sahala* (spiritual power, see Chapter Two), and it was hoped that such spiritual power would radiate to those around him (see for example, Johannsen's thought in *Immanuel*, December 1893). Because the Batakmission was unable to fulfil all such requests, it sent a Batak teacher after such local personnel became available. But the placing of a local teacher did not always satisfy the desires of the community, because his presence did not raise the prestige of the village or meet its more subjective needs.

²² Such permission was given based upon Art. 123 of the "Government Regulation (*Regeeringsreglement*, RR), i.e. a regulation which was intended to bring greater order to the placing of missionaries whether Protestant or Catholic so there would not be a *dubbele zending*, an overlapping and competition between them in one particular place. Permission to work in a "free area" required the agreement of the local headmen. In part, this policy was intended to avoid a recurrence of the situation in Borneo (Kalimantan) in 1859, which in the view of the RMG occurred because of a lack of protection of the missionaries by the colonial government (cf. Fabri's evaluation

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included permission to operate a school. But there were occasions when the latter had to be requested again from the local government official, particularly so if a government school was already in that place.

On the one hand, the granting of such a license gives the impression that there was cooperation between the government and the Batakmission since the beginning. But on the other hand, it also implied competition, especially in the field of education. During the earliest years of the Batakmission, particularly in Sipirok, the government only granted a license for a mission school if no government school was present as yet. If the government opened a school later on, the Batakmission was invited to close the one it operated. Furthermore, a local official established regulations for compulsory school attendance for the residents in the school's area. This meant that its children, including those attending the mission school, would be channelled to the government school. Especially if the local community were Islamic, its people preferred to send their children to the government school because the school was of a higher quality and its teachers were Muslims.

Occasionally, competition of this type became the reason for certain missionaries to move to a different place, as happened with Nommensen. But the general policy followed by the Batakmission was to maintain its schools even though they would have to be in competition with the local government's schools. The Batakmission worked tirelessly in making approaches to the government so that it would not hinder its school ministry or cause difficulties for its development. But in reality, competition continued here and there up until the following period.

As a way of meeting the competition, and in addition to making overtures to the government, the Batakmission endeavoured to raise the quality of its schools, such as by sending its best students to be taught in the government's teacher training school in Tano Bato²³ and by operating

of this case, Chapter Three).

²³ See, note 4 of this chapter. Klammer, for example, sent several students to this school. But in reality several apostatized, returning to Islam which meant they would no longer

its own facilities for teacher education which begun in 1868, as we shall see later.

(b) Support

In the field of education, as well as in other fields, the relationship between the Batak-mission and the government was not entirely coloured by competition; there was also mutual support to the advantage of both, especially in the northern Batak area where competition had not yet developed at this period. In reality, it was the Batakmission which had entered that area before the government. Even though the Dutch gradually exercised control over this area, the government never founded schools there until the first decade of the 20th century; the matter of schooling was handed over completely to the Batakmission. In addition, the Batakmission agreed with the policy of annexation (or *pacification* as viewed by the Dutch) which was launched by the Indies government in the northern area beginning towards the end of the 1860s. The Batakmission viewed the government's action as support for developing their efforts, including the field of education. These were channelled to the attainment of one goal: the christianization of the Bataks who still embraced the tribal religion.

According to the Batakmission, annexation of the Batakland would reduce conflicts between *margas* and create an atmosphere of calm, a situation which would greatly help develop all fields of their efforts and activities. Given the presence of the authority of the Dutch Indies government there, the Batakmission hoped that their personnel could work shoulder to shoulder with the government people to build up the community in ail sectors of its life. We have met with this pattern of thought among RMG figures in their homeland (see Chapter Three); they saw the colonial government as a supporter of the Christian Mission through bearing the white man's burden together, or at least they wanted this to happen.

become teachers in the Batakmission. According to one missionary who did not mention his name (in *MB*, May 1867), this occurred because the learning context was dominated by Islam throughout the three or four year period of study. This was one of the reasons why the Batakmission decided to provide its own education for teacher candidates.

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Cooperation between the Batakmission and the Indies government in the area of the northern Bataks began with Governor Generai Arriens' visit to Silindung (which was still independent) from December 1868 until January 1869. At that time the missionaries had revealed their support for pacification, "for the sake of creating an orderly administration upholding truth and justice (*Recht und Gerechtigkeit*), together with wiping out savage behaviour such as cannibalism, warfare, etc."²⁴ In fact missionary Johannsen considered Arriens to be "truly a representative of God to bring happiness to Silindung".²⁵

After that, the government installed a controller in Silindung and annexation or pacification increased in intensity. The hope of the Batakmission that its efforts would advance rapidly continued to bear fruit. In commenting upon the annexation which proceeded smoothly after 1878, Nommensen said: "It was hoped that in the next decade, all of Silindung would have been christianized".²⁶

Like it or not, the policy of annexation prompted opposition on that part of the Batak community led by **Si Singamangaraja XII** to such an extent that armed conflict could not be avoided. In that situation, the missionaries attempted to maintain an intermediate position, such as operating as mediators and translators in discussions between the Dutch forces and Si Singamangaraja's party. But from his point of view, the impression remained that the missionaries tended to favour the Dutch side. His people saw that the missionaries were always protected by the Dutch, and that for their part, the missionaries provided certain facilities, such as school buildings to be used by the Dutch troops as their headquarters. The impression of the missionaries abetting the Dutch cause was strengthened due to Nommensen, in particular, and the Batakmission in general, having received expressions of appreciation from the Indies government because of the help given during the process of annexing the Batakland. In addition to expressions of appreciation,

²⁴ Heine's report in *BRMG* 1869, p. 300, and 1871, pp. 142ff.

²⁵ Johannsen in *Immanuel*, February 1894.

²⁶ *BRMG* 1878, p. 381; *JB*, 1886, p. 30 and 1887, pp. 31ff.

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the Batakmission received compensation for all losses experienced, such as to its church and school buildings, and missionary dwell-ings which had been burned during the war between the Dutch and Si Singamangaraja XII. What was the basis, motivation and goal for the Batakmission in supporting annexation? We shall discuss this whole matter later, while calling to mind the RMG views about the relation-ship between the Batakmission and the colonial government as discussed in Chapter Three.

(c) Batakmission Attitude towards Government Subsidies

At this period, the Batakmission was not receiving financial support from the colonial government to help defray the cost of operating its mission schools. From time to time, to be sure, the colonial government had given support for constructing school buildings as well as for general educational needs, but this was mostly of an incidental character. This irregular situation prevailed because there had been no regulations or government policy concerning the giving of subsidies to private religious schools until 1890 (cf. Chapter One). Secondly, the RMG was not only unenthusiastic about receiving government assistance for carrying on its educational ministry, it was actually averse to the whole concept. At a meeting of the RMG General Council in Barmen in February 1862, the matter of the advisability of accept-ing help for its schools in the Batak area was discussed. Among other matters it was decided that "the government's offer of partial support for the schools must be weighed very carefully so that the government would not have the opportunity to interfere in school matters."²⁷

Such an attitude governed the RMG because it saw a basic difference of principle and objective between itself and the government. State education must be based on neutrality, meaning that there could be no religious instruction in the schools, but mission-sponsored education clearly

²⁷ *Protokollbuch der Deputation*, February 1862, in the archives VEM A/a.6. Even so, it ought to be noted that in Kalimantan before, i.e. in 1849, RMG missionaries' wages were subsidized by the government because the funds sent from Barmen were insufficient. See P.M. Franken-van Driel, *Regeering en Zending in Nederlandsch Indië* (1923), pp. 119ff.

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had a religious base. The objective of the government was to produce workers for itself or its enterprises, whereas first and foremost the objective of the Batakmission was for its pupils to know and receive the Gospel. As we have seen and shall see again, this difference of principle and goal of education between government and mission resulted in continuous competition and tension. The Batakmission was able to defend its policy of rejecting government subsidies for education up until the beginning of the 1880s because it did not want to rely upon government help and did not want any government interference in mission education. The Batakmission was able to maintain such an attitude because the number of missionaries and local teachers who needed to receive salaries was comparatively small. For their support, the Mission was able to rely upon European resources with supplemental funds raised by Batak congregations which were beginning to grow. But after 1880, the Batakmission began to experience difficulties. The mission field began to expand rapidly with the opening of evangelistic posts and stations in the Toba area, for example in Balige and surroundings, and with schools rapidly increasing in numbers also in tandem with the growth of congregations.

At the same time, the number of Batak teachers increased markedly with students being graduated from the seminary at Pansur Napitu and Depok (see section C below). In comparison with the needs, the total number of teachers was still insufficient, but in terms of the financial ability of the RMG, the outlay was beyond its resources even with the receipt of funds from its friends in the Netherlands, and of contributions from Batak congregations.²⁸

Faced with this critical situation, the Batakmission felt itself compelled to turn to the Indies government. In reviewing the development of the Christian mission in the Dutch Indies in 1882, the RMG inspector, A. Schreiber turned his attention to "the Government Report of 1881"

²⁸ In 1880, there were just 28 teachers, 10 of whom were helping full-time in congregations. In 1883, the total of full-time teachers increased to 43; in addition there were a number of teachers' aides and volunteer evangelists, but there were just 13 congregations sufficiently able to give financial support to teachers. Cf. Section E, Statistics, and *JB* 1883, pp. 34 and 37.

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("Regeeringsverslag 1881"). Among other matters, it contained the government policy which permitted Christian teachers to serve congregations during a time when neither pastor nor other church workers were available, and to teach the Christian religion in the government's elementary schools provided that there were Christian families in that particular location. Even though the policy as promulgated was intended for just a few places in Java, Schreiber hoped that it might be validated in Sumatra so that the RMG/Batakmission might obtain some help in the recruitment of teachers and the payment of their salaries afterwards. He realized the consequence of this policy, i.e., that the Indies government would open schools in places where the Batakmission had operated schools for years, such as at Silindung and Toba. Nevertheless, he hoped that were this policy applied to Sumatra, it would not give rise to competition between mission and government schools as had occurred in the area of Sipirok and environs.²⁹ However, up until the end of the pioneering period, the 1881 regulation had not been applied in the Batak area, so the Batakmission was unable to receive government help in terms of both personnel and funds. But the desire for financial assistance was already present and would be fulfilled in the next period.

B. School Development

We shall observe in general the development of the Batakmission schools during this first period, i.e. the types of schools, equipment, financial matters related to schooling and carrying out of its functions.

1. Types of Schools

(a) Elementary Schools

As we saw above, each time the Batakmission entered a new area, the mission founded an elementary school which doubled as a preaching post. This formed an application of the principle

²⁹ *BRMG*, 1882, pp. 180f and 217.

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of the unity of church and school. In general, the school building was very temporary in design and construction, and served as a place of worship as well. During the pioneering period, most of the pupils were children of non-Christian families. Because the school was a means for evangelism, it was hoped that if not all of them, at least some of them would become Christians. But the missionaries were very conscious that this was a very temporary situation, at least in the northern area where most inhabitants were still 'pagans'. For later times when there were many Christian families and a congregation, then the Batakmission would emphasize teaching children of Christians. This stipulation was outlined in the first *Gemeindeordnung* (Regulation for Congregations) of 1866:

The school is not founded for the children of 'pagans'; only baptized children may attend school. This is the case because most children of 'pagans' must help with family work, and others do not have the diligence to attend, so that in the end the results will not amount to anything.³⁰

In brief, this regulation was grounded in the difficulty in attracting non-Christian children and keeping them in school afterwards. But within it, there was implied the beginning of a new understanding by the missionaries about the significance and purpose of the schools. The schools were not just a means for evangelism, but for nurturing children in the congregation as well. We shall look further at this issue in a subsequent analysis. In general, elementary school pupils were children or teenagers, but sometimes they were adults, even with families. Just these latter had greater interest in learning. In many places, the school would not always be held in the forenoon or afternoon because the children would have to help their parents. Therefore, the school was conducted in the evening.

Consistent with the Batakmission policy of founding a congregation in a pattern parallel with the founding of a village, i.e., a congregation in each village, a school would be placed in each

³⁰ This description was given by Nommensen in *BRMG* 1867, p. 173. The original text of "The 1866 Congregation Regulation" is no longer available; cf. J.R. Hutauruk, *Die Batakkirche van ihrer Unabhangigkeit (1889-1942)* [The Batak Church before Its Independence] (Dissertation 1980), p. 113.

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village to the extent possible also, because school and village formed a unity. Not infrequently there were but a few people in each village. Therefore *Kirchenordnung* (The Church Order) of 1881 contained a more rational stipulation:

A school would be established in each village where there were at least 50 Christian families, or in a combination of several villages with a total of 50 Christian families.³¹

However, in practice, especially in the more isolated places, many schools were opened where there were fewer than 50 Christian families, and with fewer than 25 pupils. This situation caused difficulties when it came to fulfilling conditions for receiving state subsidies later (see Chapter Five and Six).

Up until the end of this first period, there were many elementary schools which were not divided into classes. Even the time for the beginning of each new school year and the admission of new students had not been set as yet; new students were admitted at any time. The critical standard for determining whether a person would be graduated was not the length of time he was in school, but rather his ability to master the lessons, both general basic knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, and several others³², but especially religious knowledge: Bible stories, catechism and hymns. In addition, the personal condition of the student played a role for his time of graduation as well, for example evidence of conversion, a confession of faith and a readiness to be baptized. This situation prevailed because each school had been founded as a means for evangelization and for planting of congregations. Therefore, it could be said that the school proceeded parallel with catechizing; graduation from the elementary school went hand in hand with baptism and

³¹ As quoted from the text of "The Synod, Church and Congregation Regulations for the Evangelical Mission-Church in the Batak Area of Sumatra" (Chapter 9) which J.R. Hutauruk translated from the German text in *Benih yang Berbuah* [The Seed Which Bore Fruit] (1984), pp. 151-169, especially p. 158. With reference to the congregation's pattern of parallelism with that of the village and marga, see Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium*, pp, 119ff.

³² Geography, History, Science which were integrated into the texts of the reading book; see Section B.2.b of this chapter.

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confirmation.

The Batakmission was unable to establish hard and fast rules for the required length of time for a student to be in school before being graduated because at this pioneering period, most students did not attend on a regular basis, especially so in the northern area still considered independent or unoccupied by the Dutch. The missionaries saw that the social and political status of the independent communities stamped their inhabitants' character and behaviour as well. These lived more freely and were able to do whatever they wished. As a result, it was difficult for them to have their lives managed and regulated, including time for worship and school attendance.

To train the pupils to attend regularly and to plant a sense of school discipline, the missionaries relied initially upon oral persuasion. They visited the homes of the villagers faithfully, and tried to persuade parents to permit their children to attend school regularly,³³ to invite children for walks on Sunday³⁴ or to give presents to those who were faithful in attendance.³⁵ But after the school was established, the missionaries were ready to take more stringent means: collecting fines for truancy, admonishing parents who did not send their children to school and Sunday worship, Holy Communion, etc.

During the early years of the mission school, all the elementary school pupils were boys; not until 1873 were there girls in school. This early school was held in the evening and with a catechetical curriculum, although general knowledge was taught also. Education designed especially

³³ This approach was used, too, in the lessons for preparation for baptism. Parents who were to be baptized, or who had children to be baptized, were asked to send their children to school (*BRMG* 1874, pp. 197f). This appeal continues to be heard in the baptismal liturgy of the present day Batak churches.

³⁴ *JB* 1864, p. 36. This method undergirded the function of the school as the subject for evangelization; see Section B.4 of this chapter.

³⁵ *BRMG*, 1874, p. 176. At times, the giving of awards to pupils and to their parents gave rise to unhealthy motivations (see above).

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for girls began in 1874. However, their total numbers were small throughout this period. In order to increase the number of girl students, the Batakmission urged church members to send their daughters to school. But this initiative did not help significantly. According to Schreiber, the reason that there were so few women students was that women occupied a lower position than men in Batak society. They were relied upon as the main work force in the home, but were not given the same opportunity as men to advance through education.³⁶

(b) Education Especially for Girls/Women

Noting the limited opportunity given women to study in school, but also that Batak women had great need for knowledge and skills too, the Batakmission began to provide education especially for women in the 1870s by utilizing the wives of missionaries as teachers.³⁷ In addition to skills of home making such as sewing, matters pertaining to good health, cleanliness, neatness and ways of teaching children, the girls were taught general knowledge such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and religious studies.

Education especially for women increased rapidly during the following period as a result of the coming of women missionaries (*Schwester*, see Chapter Five).

(c) Trade Schools

The first permanent trade school was opened during the year 1900 in Narumonda (see Chapter Five). But there had been training for trades from time to time since 1874 based on special needs of the Batakmission. At that time, the missionary Simoneit trained several young men for a few months to become builders for the construction of church buildings.

³⁶ A. Schreiber, "Die Arbeit an den heidnischen Frauen und Mädchen" [Work Among the Pagan Wives and Girls] in *AMZ* 1891, especially p. 281.

³⁷ The first step was taken by Mrs. Leipoldt, a former teacher in Germany, when she opened an elementary school in Parausorat especially for girls (*JB* 1874, p. 13), and was followed by opening of sewing schools for women (*JB* 1878, p. 35).

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As we shall see later, skills in building construction were taught as a special course to students at the teacher-training seminary because as teachers they would need to know how to construct school buildings where they would be working. Their teacher was Raja Benjamin who had been a student of Simoneit in Narumonda before.

(d) School for Church Elders

For the most part, persons prominent in the village were chosen and appointed as elders by missionaries without being provided with special education beforehand. Each was prepared for this office with minimal training in his home congregation whenever a missionary arrived to carry on his regular service. The standards for being chosen were neither their knowledge nor their natural intelligence, but rather their demonstrated moral and spiritual strengths, and their status as community leaders.

But because they were expected to be able to preach, meaning they must be able to read the Bible, and to fulfil other tasks including guidance of the school system, the elders themselves felt the need for basic general knowledge. Therefore, in several congregations, elder candidates requested that they be 'schooled'. This happened, for example, in Pangari-buan in 1882 where a number of headmen who had been nominated to become elders asked missionary Staudte to give instruction to them in reading and writing both the Batak and Latin scripts, in Biblical knowledge and in hymn singing. Therefore, a school for elders was held there for several months. In subsequent years, the same type of school was conducted in other congregations. All of this was in keeping with the Batakmission's effort to advance the abilities of all Batak workers in the church. (See Chapter Five, D.)

2. Equipment for Learning

(a) Buildings and Equipment

As touched on above, during the earliest years the school buildings doubled as places for

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worship and were in a pitiable state. This was the case, too, with school furniture. The number of benches was so limited that pupils had to sit squeezed together. Sometimes there were no desks. In fact, in some schools there were no benches at all which meant students had to sit on the floor. Tools for learning, such as blackboards, chalk and visual aids, were in short supply as well. These drastically limited facilities prevailed in many places, even to the end of the first period of the Batakmission.

First of all, the limitations of physical facilities was caused by the inadequate financial resources of the RMG to meet the needs of its efforts in various countries³⁸, even though it received financial support and sometimes actual equipment from its friends in the Netherlands. The second cause for the barrenness of school facilities was the low state of congregations' ability to be self-supporting, meaning that most congregations were unable to bear the total responsibility for their material needs, even though the Batakmission had encouraged them to that end since the 1870s. This situation was felt more acutely when the evangelistic field grew rapidly and new schools were begun in areas which were very weak economically. The third cause was related to the lack of understanding of the value of schools on the part of the general community and even of church members, so that many were not motivated to try to cover the school needs and tuition. Later, an understanding about the usefulness of schools increased and became a factor in raising support for improving the physical quality of the schools.

The sad state of the physical condition of the schools was seen by Meerwaldt as one of the causes for the low quality of the mission school graduates when he evaluated the whole Batakmission ministry in education in 1883 while reflecting about ways to improve it, and especially when he undertook a comprehensive evaluation of it in 1892 (see Chapter Five). The low state of buildings and physical facilities of the mission schools became a factor too in 1893 when the government evaluated them prior to granting subsidies. Priority was given for school building

³⁸ Beginning in the 1860s, each annual report from the RMG always mentioned the condition of the RMG treasury, a report

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construction and for providing learning tools.

With relationship to the problem of physical school equipment, it is interesting to note that before missionaries were able to bring in bells from Europe for the needs of school and church, Batak gongs were used.³⁹ But Nommensen stressed that the use of such traditional instruments were only temporary.⁴⁰ We may presume that Nommensen wrote in that way because he had seen the intimate relationship evident between the gong and Batak traditional religious rites which had been called 'pagan'. If so, then it would not be proper to use them in church and school. The attitude of the Batakmission towards the whole gamut of the Batak traditional cultural system will be discussed in the next chapter.

(b) School Books, and General Literature

At the beginning of the Batakmission's involvement in schooling, there were no text books in the Batak script and language. Literature available using the Batak language and script or about the Batak language and script was very limited in quantity; in fact it existed only in the work of Van der Tuuk (see above in the Introduction and Chapter Two, E.1.). In order to provide lessons in school, the missionaries were forced to rely upon foreign language books which they had brought from their own countries. Each missionary then reworked them for use in his congregation or station.

The missionaries realized this deficiency. In their conference held at Sipirok on October 12, 1862, they decided (1) to request the RMG leadership in Barmen to look for Batak literature in the Netherlands to be reproduced and sent to them; (2) to seek permission from the Indies government to translate its Malay text books into Batak because the government had not as yet published books

which continued to show a deficit.

³⁹ Actually what is meant is the *ogung* (gong, one percussion instrument forming a part of a set of traditional Batak musical instruments called a *gondang*).

⁴⁰ BRMG 1867, p. 169.

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in the Batak language. Based on that decision, beginning in 1863 the missionaries were busy translating textbooks into the Angkola Batak language, both those brought from Europe and those obtained from the Indies government. The latter was very supportive of this effort, since it had previously suggested that translations be made available in the Toba Batak language as well.

This suggestion was finally taken up seriously at the Missionary Conference held at Sipirok in January 1867 after the arrival of A. Schreiber. This conference discussed more than just the matter of which language and dialect should be used; it also investigated which books needed to be made available and in which script the books should be printed, in Latin or Batak, or in both. The literature issue was considered in the larger and more significant framework of adult Christian education (*Gemeindebildung*). The missionaries were more conscious of the fact that the school not only functioned evangelistically, i.e. drawing pupils who were not yet Christian into the Christian faith, but also educationally by nurturing children, parents and family members (from the same village and clan) who were already Christians. This action was congruent with developments and tendencies apparent especially in the northern region.

In any case, the missionaries continued to emphasize the function of the school as a means for nurturing the Christian life. Therefore, religious books must receive top priority. The conference decided that the books would be published in both the Angkola and Toba dialects and also in the both the Latin and Batak scripts. The missionaries considered that supplying literature in the Batak script was very important as a means to purify and preserve the Batak cultural heritage.⁴¹

Although religious literature (Bible, catechism, and hymns) received priority, this did not mean that general knowledge textbooks were unnecessary. The missionaries were eager to make these books available too, but they also realized that European books focused on Europe were not

⁴¹ Schreiber in *BRMG* 1867, pp. 162f, "In welchen Sprachen predigen unsere Missionare?" [In Which Language Do Our Missionaries Preach?] (*BRMG* 1884, pp. 169f in which he emphasizes the importance of using the Batak script in church literature and schools of the Batakmission. Cf. too, J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, p. 102 and Idem, "75 Jahre Batakmission" in *NAMZ* 1936, p. 89; and also G. Warneck's view, Chapter Three.

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always appropriate for meeting the school needs of the Bataks. Therefore in the 1870s, in addition to translating books, the missionaries started to write textbooks which they felt were more consistent with the needs of the Batak society. Knowledge possessed by the Bataks before the arrival of the Batakmission was included in them (comp. Chapter Two): for example (1) compass and calendaric systems, (2) elements of literature such as: proverbs (*umpama*), puzzles (*huling-hulingan*), folk tales (*torsa-torsa*), and (3) ways and tools for farming, hunting, and for being an artisan.⁴²

The Batakmission sought government help for producing and paying the cost of publishing the textbooks. Some of the published books' support approved by the government were used in its schools.⁴³ But the government did not always fulfil or agree to such requests, especially if the books were those written by the missionaries themselves, and not translations of books in Malay already published by the government. The usual reason given was that books written by the missionaries were not included in the catalog of textbooks used in government schools, and therefore did not fulfil the standards which had been established. That being the case, the Batakmission itself was required to arrange and pay for the publications of its own books. Sometimes this had to be done in Germany.

The *Bible*, which formed the main textbook for all kinds and levels of schools, was translated in stages.⁴⁴ The translation of the New Testament into the Angkolan Batak dialect was begun in

⁴² See for example, G. van Asselt, *Buku Parsiadjaran ni angka Anak Sikola di Hata Angkola* (1876); I.L. Nommensen, *Tobasch Spelboekje* [Batak Spelling Booklet] (Batavia, 1877); Ph. Chr. Schütz, *Buku Siseon ni angka anak Sikola di Hata Angkola* (no year given); A. Schreiber, *Duabolas Turi-turian* [Twelve Stories From Long Ago].

⁴³ For example, the works of Nommensen and Schreiber already mentioned. Later, Van Asselt's and Schütz' books, though published in Germany, were used in government schools.

⁴⁴ According to G. Radjagukguk, *Culture and Gospel* (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, 1981), p. 202; the RMG made efforts to make a new and complete translation of the Bible as a replacement of Van der Tuuk's trans-lation which could no longer

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1869 by Schreiber with the help of his students in the Parausorat Catechetical School⁴⁵, while the translation into the Toba Batak dialect was finished by Nommensen in 1876.⁴⁶ Both translations were printed in Germany using the Batak script and with help from the English Bible Society. The New Testament and Psalms were printed in the Latin script in 1885, again with help from the same Society. The translation of the Old Testament was begun in the 1870s by Johannsen with the help of his students at the Pansur Napitu seminary (especially Josua Hutabarat). In 1884 he tested his translation with participants at a pastors' school, and finally completed it in 1891. Printing was done in Barmen in 1893.⁴⁷

Hymns, which were very important in the schools, were translated from the beginning of the Batakmission.⁴⁸ All of them were either translations or adaptations of European church hymns.⁴⁹ A

be justified, among other reasons because he was a humanist and not a Christian (cf. J.L. Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers Voetspoor I*, In the Footsteps of Leijdecker], 1974, p. 146).

⁴⁵ *BRMG* 1870, p. 78. Because Schreiber returned to Germany before the translation was completed, it had to be finished there.

⁴⁶ Nommensen's translation was revised by O. Marcks with the help of J. Warneck during the first decade of this century; J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, p. 210. Later, Meerwaldt improved this revision.

⁴⁷ Radjagukguk (*loc. cit.*) evaluates Johannsen's translation, which has yet to be revised, with these words, "It is not easy to read, it is rigid and not fluent, and sounds strange to the Batak." Meerwaldt, before, had made a note of a number of errors in the translation; regrettably he never gave a detailed analysis and place of the errors.

⁴⁸ In connection with the teaching of singing in the schools, many missionaries noted that Batak children enjoyed this subject, but they were difficult to teach because they rarely sang before the coming of the missionaries (see, for example, Betz in *MB* February 1863, Klammer in *MB* December 1863, and Johannsen in *BRMG* 1866, p. 276). In other words, according to them, it was the missionaries who developed the Batak interest in singing and raised their ability to sing. But that opinion is debatable, especially because they described the Bataks as very musical later (see for example, *JB* 1885, p. 33).

⁴⁹ J. Warneck, "Die Entstehung einer christlicher Literatur bei dem Batakvolk" [The Origin of a Christian Literature Among

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revision of the whole collection was undertaken by Meerwaldt for the Toba Batak edition,⁵⁰ and by Schütz for the one in Angkola Batak.

In addition to translating and publishing the Bible, hymns and textbooks, the missionaries were busy to provide readings for adult members of the congregation. One of the most popular books was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was reprinted repeatedly within a short time. Besides translating works, the missionaries wrote reading books for congregational members, for example Johannsen's *Sipaingot sian holong ni roha* (Advice Based on Love).

In it he advised parents to cooperate with teachers and church in teaching their children. He explained that the missionaries' and parents' educational goal was planting the seeds of obedience, righteousness, industriousness, self-control, neatness, cleanliness and politeness in the hearts of their children. The involvement of parents or family in the process of school education was in harmony with the RMG principle, "pupils must continue to be united with their families".⁵¹ In that way, they remained rooted in their environment.

Providing literature for both the needs of school and congregation involved not only such technical matters as skills in translating, writing books, printing and paying for their publication, etc., but also the introduction of Bataks to a way of thinking which the Batakmission workers considered to be Christian. With reference to this, J. Warneck wrote:

Christianity brought a new world of thought to the Batak people, one which penetrated into the entirety of their life and culture The school was the principal means for its communication. This was the case because the young people who attended school were interested in obtaining

the Batak People] in *BRMG* 1905, especially p. 87. This policy was based on the idea that original Batak musik remained tainted by paganism, and its artistic quality was inadequate (for a further analysis of this subject, see Chapter Five, D.l.c.).

⁵⁰ Later, the hymn book (*Buku Ende*) was revised and Meerwaldt's editing has been revised and completed by Quentmeyer (see E. Quentmeyer, "Das Gesangbuch der Batakkirche", in *BRMG* 1941, pp. 52-56).

⁵¹ E. Mundle, "Schulen und eingeboren Gehilfen" [Schools and Indigenous Helpers] in R. Wegner, *Rheinische Missionsarbeit 1828-1903* (1903), pp. 52-56.

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something new and reworking it independently for themselves The schools taught Christian people to think. The missionaries were involved in indirect teaching of their Christian pupils and those whom they wanted to become Christian through day by day conversations and the whole influence of their personal lives, but their most important teaching was through education for baptism (*Taufunterricht*), through the village schools and the training of indigenous workers.

As soon as the missionaries had finished laying a foundation, i.e. had succeeded in attracting pupils to the mission schools, it became rapidly apparent that literature was a prime requirement to meet the needs of their students. A people in the process of advancement must have books; through them the missionaries were meeting the people's growing spiritual needs.⁵²

Whether providing literature and other educational activities also involved an effort to bring two different worlds of thought to an encounter, remains to be answered in later chapters, and especially the final one.

3. Financing the Schools

In harmony with the principle of the unity of congregation and school, financial support for the schools at this period was not yet separated from the congregation. During the initial years of the Batakmission, the entire cost of the schools was born by the mission treasury. But beginning in the 1870s, the Batakmission began a policy of cultivating congregational self-support based upon two reasons: (1) the RMG financial resources were very limited, and continually experienced a deficit; (2) the Batakmission wished to have growth on the part of the Batak Christians in feeling that the schools and congregations were theirs.

At a conference held on April 25, 1873, the missionaries decided that one long term project of the Batakmission was to teach the congregations to become responsible for all their needs: to construct church and school buildings, to provide for their equipment and to help their workers. As a first step towards helping the congregations to be self-supporting and self-governing, the Batakmission linked its nurturing program with *Culturarbeit*, an initiative which required pioneering work beforehand.

⁵² J. Warneck, "Die Entstehung", pp. 53ff.

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The *Culturarbeit* program was an effort, to encourage the planting of commercial crops such as coffee, rubber, etc. which could become export commodities. In the beginning, this program was tried as a way of obtaining funds to support its work. The RMG formed trading companies to support its financial needs, as we have indicated in Chapter Three. In 1863, the missionaries requested that their Barmen headquarters open a commercial network in Sumatra's west coast ports: Padang, Sibolga and Barus. The Indies government gave its support to this idea and promised to help its implementation.

In order for this program to proceed smoothly, in 1870 the Batakmission formed a Agricultural Commission which was entrusted with the task of (a) cooperating with the trading companies and government, and (b) providing capital for congregations ready to plant the commercial crops mentioned, and to collect their production for export afterwards. It was hoped that with this program, the Batakmission itself would receive an increase of funds, and that the congregations would obtain working capital for increasing production in order to become self-supporting.⁵³

As to later developments, some of the missionaries felt that the *Culturarbeit* was not the best way to teach congregations to be self-supporting and self-governing.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the company which was allied with the Batakmission was disbanded in 1884 due to bankruptcy.⁵⁵

Although this commercial venture was not continued, the policy of providing working capital

⁵³ This program reminds us of the *Cultuurstelsel* which the Dutch Indies government operated in Java during the years 1830-1870, although in distraction to the government, the Batakmission did not force the congregations to plant certain crops.

⁵⁴ "Minutes of the Synodical Conference of July 23-30, 1882". At this conference there was a debate about the *Culturarbeit*. The missionaries who were opposed to this program stressed that the effort to bring about self-governing/self-supporting congregations did not need to be related to the planting of specific commercial crops, because there was already a spirit of independence within congregations which ought to be given the freedom to find its way in self-support.

⁵⁵ That is, the *Missions-Handels-Aktien-Gesellschaft* (see Chapter Three about Fabri's idea and effort in this regard). But another trading company which was a partner with the RMG when the latter worked in Kalimantan, i.e. *Rheinisch-Bornesische Handels-Verein* which included the *Fa. Hennemann & Co.*, continued in business. In 1898, this firm opened places of business at several places in the Batak area, and became one of the financial backers of the Batakmission; see Chapter Six, A.4.

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to congregations was continued, but without connecting the loans to the planting of particular commercial crops. The Batakmission obtained funds for this purpose from friends in the Netherlands to be loaned to the congregations for a term of step five years. The results were encouraging; in a brief period of time many congregations became self-supporting.⁵⁶ Because rice-growing was the major means for gaining a livelihood for most church members, the movement towards self-sufficiency for school and congregational needs was built around this culture as well; each harvest the rice was collected to pay those needs. Monthly tuition payments in cash were maintained in just a few places.

As acknowledged by RMG leaders themselves, it was not difficult to teach the Batak society, especially the Christian community, to be responsible for church and school affairs because the willingness and habit of giving had already been planted in them by their adat and tribal religion. Most importantly, once the Bataks were convinced of the usefulness of the institutions of church and school for their own lives, they felt themselves to be owners of what they founded and paid for. On the basis of this understanding, the Batakmission did not follow a policy of centralization in terms of supporting funds and providing physical facilities; it entrusted this responsibility to each congregation. This policy of decentralization invited competition on the part of congregations. Congregations which were in a parallel relationship to clans and villages liked this competition because the competitive spirit between margas had long formed a part of their way of life (see Chapter Three).

Here and there of course, competition gave rise to negative excesses such as rivalry, jealousy, even quarrels between margas and villages. But in general, missionaries and indigenous workers

⁵⁶ Up to 1889, there were 41 congregations which were financially self-supporting so that two-thirds of teachers' salaries totalling f 15,000 per year were borne by the congregations. A. Schreiber, "Die finanzielle Selbständigkeit unserer Batta-gemeinden", in *BRMG* 1890, p. 36.

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were able to control the situation so that competition could be directed towards healthy purposes. Sometimes quarrels could actually be blessings in disguise, because they spurred initiatives on the part of church members to open and operate schools. But later decentralization was abandoned for certain purposes, such as payment of teachers' salaries, in favour of centralization in order to promote the development of schools in economically weak areas (see Chapter Six, A.4.).

Although the Batakmission endeavoured to nurture congregations towards self-sufficiency, nevertheless it must be noted that most congregations, especially 'daughter' congregations were not yet able to be self-supporting. In emergencies congregations were able to pay for the construction of church and school buildings, especially if this were a pre-condition for obtaining the services of a teacher. But most congregations were unable to pay the full support of a teacher even though the teacher's salary was less than that paid a government school teacher, so the Batakmission had to try to supplement the salary from other sources. The inability of the congregations to pay for the school's full support was due to their membership being often small in numbers and having an inadequate income, and the absence of a money economy in Batak society. As a result, gold and silver coins were turned into jewelry rather than used as payment for valid obligations.

Thanks to the hard work of missionaries in nurturing congregations towards self-sufficiency, and thanks too to the seriousness and hard work of the congregations themselves later, the total number of self-supporting congregations continued to rise. It would not be too much to say that up to the 1890s, almost all school buildings and equipment were the result of the congregation and local community's own effort, and thus the buildings became their possessions. Nevertheless, the congregations continued to be unable to pay the full cost of operating schools so a government subsidy was needed.

4. Collateral School Functions

(a) Health and Medical Ministries

As a result of epidemics of infectious diseases such as cholera, in several places missionaries, aided by teachers and pupils, undertook health ministries, such as nursing the sick, distributing medicines, and offering counselling. Seeing how frequently these epidemics broke out, missionaries began to see that health ministries were one of their biggest activities. These included struggling against the treatment of the tribal healer's (*datu*) treatments which missionaries considered erroneous both from the standpoint of medical science and the Christian faith. For that reason, in the Pansur Napitu seminary, and before that in the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* (see C.1. below) the students were given medical studies in order for them to be able provide some health services in their place of work.

(b) Ministries of Reconciliation

Even though this occurred infrequently, there actually were schools which were founded as a result of quarrels. But in most cases, schools became reconcilers of inter-village conflicts, such as that which took place between Balige and Laguboti. To reconcile the two clans, the missionaries organized a celebration in Balige with its content being provided by pupils from the two villages. The headmen and residents of the two villages were invited to attend. After seeing that their own children were able to work together in a harmonious atmosphere, they agreed to have peace.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ This "peace-feast" was celebrated on January 1, 1886; see *BRMG* 1886, p. 120.

(c) Locales for Evangelism

Even though the *Gemeindeordnung* of 1866 stressed that the school was meant for children of Christians (congregations), nevertheless in reality, the schools were never closed to 'pagan' and Islamic children. Thus, these persons, too, became the focus for evangelization. But children were not just targets or objects of evangelism, rather they themselves became subjects who brought the Gospel to their families and those about them, both as individual students and with others.⁵⁸ Rather frequently, parents received the Gospel and became Christians after hearing its teaching from their children.

Sometimes the evangelistic function took place indirectly. For example, while still elementary school students, Markus Siregar and friends were invited by a local missionary to fell a tree because it was thought to be occupied by spirits and had been used before as a place of idol (*sambaon*) worship. In other places, teachers mobilized their pupils to build a church building. The involvement of school children in such activities tended to play a role in introducing the new faith in each one's family and to help bring about its spread. In this sense, the school accomplished a double goal: the pupils received the Gospel and were aided in deepening the way of living it out, and their families and non-family members received the Gospel through them. This achievement was congruent with the RMG's principle of the inter-connectedness of school pupils and families.

C. Education of Indigenous Workers, especially Teachers

⁵⁸ For example, Klammer made it a habit of taking his school children on walks around the village on Sunday; this activity attracted many inhabitants to hear the Gospel. *JB* 1864, p. 61 and *BRMG* 1865, p. 150.

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During the beginning years of the schooling ministry, the European missionaries became the teachers of the schools which they founded. In several places, especially at stations just opened, this situation continued up to the 1880s because there were as yet very few Bataks who were teachers. But at the same time, missionaries appointed several of their best students from the very beginning to become their aides (*Schulgehilfen*) for school-teaching.

But the missionaries quickly realized that such a way of obtaining teachers was unsatisfactory, both in maintaining the quality of the school (especially where it was in competition with a government school) and in supporting the activities of the missionaries in general. Because of that, a special institution for the teaching of teacher candidates was needed. From the Batakmission's earliest days of ministry, it held that the educational ministry was an integral part of its whole effort among the Bataks, including the goal of christianizing them. Therefore, making teachers available must go hand in hand with providing evangelists and other workers for congregations. In other words, the school teacher must function as an evangelist, and as a worker in the congregation.⁵⁹

The idea of establishing a teacher-training institution had been broached by Nommensen in 1862⁶⁰, but it was only brought to fruition after the arrival of A. Schreiber in Sipirok in 1866. As a theologian and graduate from a university theological school, Schreiber was sent by the RMG to become the leader of the Batakmission and at the same time to be a teacher in the Catechetical

⁵⁹ Later, Meerwaldt gave the Biblical foundation for this dual function of the teacher, 2 Timothy 2:2 (see Meerwaldt's address at the "Barmer Festwoche", in *MB* 1896, p. 75).

⁶⁰ See Nommensen's report on Barus, 1862 in *BRMG* 1863, p. 136. That idea was stressed by Nommensen again after he had worked in Silindung in a letter published in *MB* October 1865.

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School to be founded to help nurture Batak adults. This school was a first step to be followed by others.

1. The Parausorat Catechetical School

This school started in April 1868. The first five students had already been baptized and were chosen as the best graduates from the elementary schools.⁶¹ The length of the course at Parausorat had been set for two years. Schreiber was the main teacher, helped by two missionaries, Klammer and Schütz, who were working there. In 1870, Chr. Leipoldt became a fulltime teacher. His coming coincided with the reception of the second class of students.

The following subjects were studied: (1) knowledge, exegesis and history of the Bible, (2) catechism, (3) Indies and world geography, (4) history, including the ancient people whose history was related to that of Israel, church history and Islam's struggle with Christianity, and modern history which described the "development of European people's position in exercising authority over the world", (5) arithmetic, (6) singing, and (7) natural science. With the coming of Leipoldt,

⁶¹ These five were: Ephraim, Thomas, Paulus, Johannes and Markus. Choosing them reflected the principle of selection (*Sichtung*), which continued to be defended by the Batakmission in its efforts to supply Batak workers. The main criteria for selection was intelligence and good character as evaluated by the missionary. But sometimes a different criterion was applied, i.e., the social status of the pupil as the child of a headman. This type of weighing had been used at this Catechetical School. While the five mentioned students had been studying several months, the school received a new student, Willem Dja Muda, the son of Sutan Baginda, the headman of Baringin who was a non-Christian, in the hope that Dja Muda would evangelize his family and village later (*BRMG* 1870, p. 67; cf. *MB* April 1869). But later, the missionaries were disappointed because Dja Muda, who was baptized in 1876, switched to Islam after he became a village headman; moreover he became a fierce opponent of the Batakmission (Castles, *op. cit.*, pp. 27f.).

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the Malay language was taught, and strangely enough German as well!

Both Latin and Batak scripts were used in reading and writing because both had been mastered since the students were in the elementary school. Nevertheless, the catechetical school encountered one of the elementary school's main problems: the difficulty of obtaining textbooks. Therefore, as an emergency measure, Schreiber and Leipoldt laboured energetically to translate European books for the students use while supplementing these with knowledge which would fulfil the needs of students for their work in their own people later.

The Batakmission's evaluation of the students, and especially that of Schreiber and Leipoldt, was very positive; these had great hopes that the school's graduates "would prove to be very useful in supporting us in the proclamation of the Gospel".⁶² An even more positive evaluation of the graduates was made after their placement in congregations to work alongside the missionaries. The first five graduates were given high praise, "they have accomplished their valuable ministries in utilizing their considerable talents".⁶³ In general, the following graduating classes were given a similar high evaluation⁶⁴, although there were a few who were not praised, due to the fact that they had resigned their teaching positions.⁶⁵

⁶² Schreiber in *BRMG* 1871, p. 53.

⁶³ As described by the RMG based on Schreiber and Leipoldt's report, in *JB* 1871, p. 39.

⁶⁴ During the nine years of the school's operation (1868-1877), three classes were graduated, totalling 27 persons; nine of whom became pastors, and one a famous blind evangelist, Bartimeus. J. Warneck in *Der Bote* 1905, pp. 308f.

⁶⁵ Paulus and Kilian, for example, resigned from teaching because they thought £ 15.00 per month was inadequate, and that amount had to be received from the congregation as though they were beggars. Kilian even described the teacher's work as "being a kind of slave" (*BRMG* 1877, pp. 336f and 365).

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After 1875, there were also some graduates who, with the concurrence of their super-vising missionaries⁶⁶, changed their vocation to that of government service. This loss issued in mixed feelings on the part of the missionaries. On the one hand, they regretted their departure because they were mindful that educated Batakmission personnel were in such short supply and the needs of the field so extensive, but on the other hand the missionaries were pleased to know that there would be Christians in the government. Besides that, some of the graduates in government service continued to be active in evangelization.

It is interesting to note, too, that in the summary of the development of this catechetical school, the RMG pointed to the mission conference held in Bremen in 1872 which had dealt with the theme, "Nurturing a self-supporting church as the ultimate goal of Protestant Missions" (see Chapter Three, B.2.a.). This meant that the RMG had anticipated the theme of this conference when it began the Parausorat catechetical school, i.e. the school was founded as a means for nurturing local Christians within the framework of forming an indigenous church which would be self-supporting and self-governing. As we shall see in our discussion of the seminaries at Pansur Napitu, Sipoholon and Narumonda, the importance of implementing the goal of education for indigenous church workers continued to be maintained; moreover it continued to develop.

Because the centre of the Batakmission's activities increasingly shifted to the northern area after the 1870s, where the people used the Toba Batak language, in 1877 the Batakmission decided to move the school to Pansur Napitu. However, the decision was not implemented until 1879. Although more and more of the Parausorat students were Toba Batak, nevertheless the Angkola

⁶⁶ Ephraim (Harahap) for example, became an employee in the attorney general's office. In fact, from 1885-1910, he was the chief prosecutor for the Tapanuli Residency. Many of his descendants became prominent persons, for example, Amir Syarifuddin, Todung Sutan Gunung Mulia, F.J. Nainggolan, and Gindo Siregar; Castles, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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Batak language continued to be used as a medium of instruction. Such a situation only complicated matters for the Toba Bataks and contributed to the move.⁶⁷

2. The Pansur Napitu Seminary

The expansion of the Batakmission's working area to the northern part of the Batak area resulted in a critical need for more indigenous personnel, a need which could not be filled by the catechetical school in Parausorat because of the language problem. In addition, the distance from the Toba to the Angkola region was too far to be travelled by Toba students because road and transportation means were unsatisfactory.

Before the Pansur Napitu seminary could be opened as a replacement for the one in Parusorat, an emergency step had to be taken for the sake of training Toba Batak students, namely the founding of a *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* (literally: "a walking school") in Silindung in 1874. The three missionaries in the area - Nommensen, Johannsen and Mohri - chose 20 of the best elementary school graduates and taught them in turn.

The 'institution' they were founding was called "a walking school" because there was no permanent place for the students to study. They had to move from one missionary to another. On Mondays and Tuesdays they studied with Nommensen in Saitnihuta (*Huta Dame*, "peace village"), Wednesdays in Pansur Napitu with Johannsen, and Fridays with Mohri in Sipoho-lon. On the other

⁶⁷ In this connection, it is interesting to note the evaluation of Johannsen that the Angkolan Batak dialect had become "malayized" ("*vermalaisiert*") at the same time the Batakmission was endeavouring to maintain the purity of the Batak language.

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days the students did their homework or helped each's home congregation.

The courses studied were almost identical to the ones in Parausorat: Nommensen taught homiletics, Biblical background, history, natural science, medicine⁶⁸, and German (?!)⁶⁹; Johannsen taught Biblical knowledge, geography, world history, church history, arithmetic and the catechism; Mohri taught Islamic history, dogmatics, the Malay language, and music. The period of study was two years. Tuition was paid by the parents. They also provided for the students' food, clothing, and school needs. This policy was part of the program to make the congregation self-supporting.

The teachers were pleased to see the seriousness and achievement of their students, but they realized that their learning situation could not be defended for any length of time. This was the reason why the missionary conference held in June 1877 decided to found a catechet-ical school at Pansur Napitu (later it was called a seminary), and at the same time move the one at Parausorat to it.

When the Pansur Napitu Seminary opened with 15 students, there was neither a school building nor dormitory. Teaching took place on Johannsen's veranda; in the beginning he was the only teacher. At the same time he was serving his congregation and its branches. The first class studied two years under these emergency conditions using the same curriculum as that of the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* earlier. 13 students finished the course; the other two had died, most likely because of the emergency conditions under which they had lived.

⁶⁸ According to Nommensen, the course on medicine was given to overcome the danger of the *datu's* treatment (*BRMG* 1874. p. 205).

⁶⁹ These punctuation marks were added by the *BRMG* editor. It seems he was rather surprised that German should be taught in that school (however, it was given before as well in

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In 1879, Johannsen placed three of the students in the government school in Padang Sidempuan. They were placed there to obtain advanced study in order to be qualified for teaching in government schools. They were graduated from the school during the same year and received the highest grades.⁷⁰ The other ten students were examined and were graduated at the August 1879 Missionary Conference. Afterwards, they were placed as teachers in various congregations.

Even though Johannsen was pleased and happy with the achievements of his students, nevertheless along with the other missionaries, he knew that the school could not continue under such emergency conditions. Therefore, in 1879, several remedial steps were taken. In addition to increasing the number of teachers, a house for the teacher and a dormitory for the students were erected on the same location where people had once worshipped a pagan spirit (*sombaon*). The church building became the classroom.

In 1879, Johannsen also realized that two years was too brief a period of time for study; instead, the course of study should be raised to four years. But because of limitations in various fields, his idea only came to fruition with the entering class of 1881, but by then Johannsen had already returned to the Depok seminary (see "excursus" below).

In order to fulfil the need for evangelists who were not tied to work in either school or congregation, a course for evangelists was begun in 1880. This was located in the Pansur Napitu seminary, but was discontinued within a short time because the need for it was less basic.

Along with Schreiber and his colleagues at Parausorat earlier, Johannsen, too, quickly

Parausorat). German did not enter into the curriculum at the Pansur Napitu Seminary (see Chapter Five, D.I.c.).

⁷⁰ The Teachers' School at Padang Sidempuan was founded as a replacement of the Tano Bato Teachers' School closed in 1874.

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experienced difficulties because of a lack of textbooks. To overcome this lack, he set aside time each day for the preparation of books, most of which were translations or adaptations of those written by Europeans. This was in addition to teaching and serving a congregation. Johannsen worked diligently on the task of preparing study materials for both seminary and congregation; not infrequently this caused him to complain that the burden was too heavy. This feeling was heightened by the fact that he was frequently ill, and that even though he had requested help from his brother missionaries, they were not prepared to come to his aid.

The facilities of the seminary were of such an emergency nature that admission of students had to be limited, even though parental interest was high in wanting their sons to study there. Parents had to pay tuition and room and board costs, in a way similar to that required of them for the *Sikola Mardalan-dalan* earlier. Not only that, but the cost of constructing the buildings in 1879 was paid for by the parents of the 39 students of the second entering class. The burden of this financial support did not reduce parental interest to have their children attend the school even though this meant that the new facilities built before were no longer able to provide for all the students. In 1881, the third class was received, but the second class would not be graduated until 1883 resulting in total student body of 70 persons, even though the maximum capacity was 46.

The over-extension of facilities happened because of high community interest and the fact that no entrance examination was used. The seminary received all students sent by the congregations after screening by the local missionary. This situation gave rise to many problems such as the students studying and living under sub-standard conditions, an insufficiency of learning helps, including books, plus the inability of just two teachers to teach so many students. Later, when Johannsen was transferred to Depok, there was just one teacher, Bonn. As a result, the quality of instruction was very low and the results of the final examination for the graduating classes of 1883 and 1885 were very disappointing.

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The Batakmission realized that the regrettably low quality of instruction could not be attributed to the fault of the students, but instead to the Batakmission itself. Therefore, in 1883, the seminary did not receive a new class; this allowed the teachers to devise a new educational system in addition to increasing learning facilities.

Why did the community which was so eager to send its children to this seminary be so willing to allow them to study under such deplorable conditions? We do not have any primary information from the Batak communities, but we do have teachers' reports which help us see several reasons.

In the first place, society's interest and appreciation for education kept rising rapidly. Its members were no longer satisfied to have their children to be graduated just from the elementary school; no alternative highschool existed in all of the northern area except this seminary (the second was not begun until the 1900s; see Chapter Five).

Secondly, and closely connected with the first reason, the Batak community saw that the seminary education opened opportunities for their children to become teachers, or governmental employees, positions much more prestigious to them than those involving unskilled labour, such as agricultural work. It was this reason which prompted parents to work hard and save in order to pay the school costs for their children. This was especially the case for parents who came from a line of chieftains where the motivation to obtain honour loomed high, even though their children were neither interested in attending school nor had any aptitude for it.

In missionary writings and reports during subsequent years even up to the close of the work of the Batakmission, we frequently read notations about society's motivation such as reported in the previous paragraph. This gave rise to difficult problems for the Batakmission such as clashes and contradictions between the educational motivation and the objective of the Batakmission on the one

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hand, and the Batak society on the other. We will come back to this problem when we analyze the issue of progress or advancement, *Hamajuon*, in Chapter Six.

The third reason bears some relationship to the second. Up until this point, Batak society had perceived that the *datu* or traditional religious leader possessed *sahala* knowledge (see Chapter Two). But now it began to think of his *sahala* as having moved to the teacher and church workers, in general. We have seen the significance of possessing *sahala* in whatever field for the pre-mission Batak community; now by having this *sahala* knowledge through the church, Bataks would increasingly be able to attain their noblest ideals, with possessing power as the highest of those ideals (see Chapter Two, C.1.).

Fourthly, the Batak community was very pleased to have its children taught entirely by missionaries because their faith in the missionaries was extremely high, especially on the part of those already Christian. They were certain that under the tutelage of the missionaries, their children would become truly 'human'. This faith on the part of the Batak community continued to grow due to the close relationships developed with the parents of students, especially those relationships begun by Johannsen. Each time parents brought supplies for their children, Johannsen took the opportunity to talk with them about their children, about the Gospel, and about the parents' lives themselves. Usually, these conversations were ended with prayer, and such a situation impressed itself deeply upon the parents.⁷¹ Of course, this experience was shared with others so that the interest and trust of the community continued to expand.

The community's trust never flagged even though their children were subjected to strict discipline. On the contrary, just because of the strict discipline, the community was happy about

⁷¹ Johannsen used this conversational opportunity to bring parents to confess their sin, and to discipline errant children in front of their parents (*MB* 1880, p. 71 and *BRMG* 1882, p. 41).

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having its children attend the seminary, especially so if parents felt unable to teach their children whom they considered unruly.⁷² Of course, it was true that in the interest of developing a Christian character, teaching discipline always formed one of the main characteristics of the Batakmission seminary. Therefore, the missionaries hoped that the graduates of its seminary would not only possess intellectual ability but also a 'Christian' character, or mental-spiritual maturity based on criteria which had already been established, for example, obedience⁷³, piety, politeness, industry, honesty, humility, ability to be in control of one's emotions, and independence,⁷⁴ and to have shown forth evidences of repentance and the new birth. These criteria remind us of the ones applied in the Barmen seminary which were based on the theology and ethics of pietism and revivalism (see Chapter Three).

This kind of education for discipline involved two sides: (a) the use of time: the course of study demanded much of the students because of the number of subjects taken and the home and hand work which had to be completed; and (b) implementation of regulations with reference to study, dormitory life, worship and the forbidding of marriage during the four years at the seminary.

⁷² Later on, Meerwaldt criticized the idea held by parents or community that the seminary was a place for teaching naughty children.

⁷³ This characteristic of *obedience* was strongly emphasized by the German educators of the 16th-19th centuries (see Chapter Two, A.), but the Batakmission embraced it as obedience to the Lord and to the teacher. This application gives the impression that the demand for obedience was rigid and without reservation.

⁷⁴ According to Schreiber, "Welche sind die Ziele der evangelischen Mission?" [What Are the Goals of the Evangelical Mission?], *BRMG* 1888, pp. 13-23, the independence which was needed within the framework of establishing self-supporting and self-governing congregations refers especially to inner self-governing, i.e. a personal understanding of faith expressed in one's own language and pattern of thought, and this is what was taught to the Pansur Napitu seminary students.

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The actual details of the teaching of discipline and related problems and the subsequent development of education at the seminary and steps towards improvement begun in 1883 will be discussed in the next chapter.

Excursus: Seminary at Depok

This seminary, some 30 km. south of Jakarta, was opened in 1878 with the RMG's involvement from its planning stage. The Batakmission sent a number of its elementary school graduates there beginning in 1879, with 67 persons having been graduated by the time the seminary closed in 1926.⁷⁵ According to Johannsen and Hennemann⁷⁶, for the most part, the Batak students had done well while there. This judgment was supported by the competency shown when they returned to the Batak region and began their ministries, according to the Batakmission missionaries as well as in the judgment of Bataks themselves later.⁷⁷

In Johannsen's position as leader of the Pansur Napitu seminary as touched on above, he undertook a comparative study in 1881 of the Pansur Napitu and Depok seminaries. He saw several

⁷⁵ Th. Müller-Krüger, *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia* [A History of the Church in Indonesia], 1966, p. 205. Most of the Bataks were sent during the first 20 years of this seminary's life; after the end of the 1890s, the sending of the Batak students was gradually stopped, and finally ended for certain reasons (see Chapter Five, D.I.a.).

⁷⁶ J.Ph. Hennemann was an RMG missionary in Kalimantan and was the director of the Depok Seminary from 1878-1905.

⁷⁷ According to Harahap, *op. cit.*, p. 70, "from the beginning the Depok teachers were preferred in the Batak area because of their fluency in Indonesian, and also because their experience and viewpoint beyond Tapanuli was extensive".

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positive elements in Depok which could be adapted to the school in Pansur Napitu. The most important one was the four-year period of study and the curriculum which contained many courses on general knowledge. These were among those aspects which influenced Johannsen and colleagues in revising the Pansur Napitu seminary curriculum in 1882 (see Chapter Five).

Although the Batakmission documents do not explicitly reveal the reasons which prompted it to send its Batak students to Depok, nevertheless several reasons can be mentioned, based on facts from the Batak field and information obtained later: (1) In line with the rapid development and expansion of the Batakmission's work, it needed many more indigenous workers. But their number could not be fulfilled by the Batak seminary. (2) The Batakmission could economize on 'the production costs' of indigenous personnel because the Depok seminary was supported by a Depok board in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it was subsidized by the Indies government; in effect then, the Batakmission did not have to pay for the cost of sending its students there.⁷⁸ (3) The RMG/Batakmission wanted to cooperate with the Dutch mission boards and learn about its system of education for "Indonesians", especially its pedagogy which tended to be used by the government schools as well.

D. The Role of Bataks in Developing the Educational Ministry

After we have observed the effort of the Batakmission in preparing a number of Batak

⁷⁸ The government subsidy (in addition to funds from the supporting bodies mentioned) did not only involve funds for food, clothing, books, etc., but also travel expenses for the student from and to his place of origin; J. Warneck in *Der Bote* April 1897, p. 64.

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nationals, especially elders and teachers, we will investigate their role in supporting the development of education in the Batak area during this period.

1. Elders

The elders of course did not teach in regular classrooms even though some of them had been involved in the school for elders. But their roles were very pronounced in determining the growth or contraction of schooling in each's village or congregation. This matter can not be separated from the background of their appointment as elders. Most of those appointed during this early period were, either village headmen or clan and village council members (*pangituai*) or from both groups. From the outset, they had a role in determining whether a school was needed or not in their villages. They, too, took part in the effort made for the placement of a missionary or teacher in each's village, and therefore pioneered in readying means for the operation of a school, i.e. a school building, its furniture, and a residence for the teacher. After the school was in operation, they accompanied the teacher in calling in the villagers' homes, appealed to them to send their children to school. In fact, there were elders who went to the school each day to check on attendance and the neatness of the children.

Section 6 and 8 of the *Kirchenordnung* of 1881 set out the task of elder, their meetings and the clarification of their roles in the field of education:

The elders have the task of finding funds for the poor, the church and school ; they must be present in examining candidates for confirmation, baptism, and the school children Meetings of elders must take care so that the responsibilities entrusted to the congregation are fulfilled in meeting the expenses of having a teacher, evangelist and Batak pastor, as well as

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for constructing and maintaining church and school buildings.⁷⁹

In short, based on the principle of the unity of church and school, the elders had a major role in the development of Batakmission schooling, especially in providing basic education in the villages. This was why the Batakmission personnel never ceased in their endeavour of raising elders' abilities, in part through meetings between themselves and the latter.

2. Teacher

In line with the Batakmission ideals of winning the whole Batak community for Christianity and founding a self-supporting folk church, the teachers were expected to be evangelists and educators for clan and tribe. In accomplishing this purpose, children of village headmen and council members received priority in becoming seminary students, and most of them did not disappoint that hope. The same goal played a part also in the policy of teacher placement. If the situation permitted, or if a specific need arose, for example the lack of a teacher in the village, or an insufficient number of teachers, then to the extent possible, the Batakmission would place a teacher who had come from that village, or a member of the *marga* of most its residents. In

⁷⁹ *Benih Yang Berbuah*, pp. 157f. In 1888, Mohri wrote up a more detailed proposal about the scope of an elder's responsibilities, but in the main, the part touching on the school was not different from the Church Order of 1881 above. It is interesting that the analysis of the elder's tasks was linked with his suggestion that elders be freed from forced labour, a suggestion which was approved by the government later; *JB* 1888, p. 39 and *BRMG* 1889, p. 43. After the approval of this suggestion, the issue of freedom from forced labour (and freedom from taxation) became one of the strongest motivations for people to want to become elders. The formulation of the Church Order of 1881, together with Mohri's version of the elder's responsibilities continues to be heard in the description of the elder's task still included in the liturgy for the ordination of elders in the Batak Churches of the present day.

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general, this was congruent with the desires of the community that the teacher to be placed in their village would be one of its sons, or be one of their marga.⁸⁰ In line with looking at the teachers' role in the development of the educational effort of the Batakmission, there are two aspects which need to be held up for scrutiny.

(a) Daily Activities

Because the teacher had to do double duty in congregation and school, they were the busiest people in their area. From morning until afternoon, they taught in the school; late afternoon they prepared people for baptism and taught the catechism, and in the evening they called upon members of the congregation, including school children or led evangelistic worship services. Each day they had to fill out a daily work report as the basis for filing a monthly and annual report later. At least once a month, they had to attend a meeting of pre-paration (or *sermon* as it is now called by the Batak churches) at the home of a missionary. And if possible he had to lead an elders' meeting or assist the missionary in it.⁸¹

In the midst of all the time and energy expended in bearing the loads mentioned, the teacher still needed to 'steal' time to work his rice field and garden, usually a plot provided by the

⁸⁰ It is true that during the earlier years, there were villages which preferred to ask for a mission-ary while rejecting a Batak teacher (see note 21), but that happened because that teacher in question was neither from that marga (clan) nor from that village.

⁸¹ The description of the teacher's responsibility was first given in a detailed and written form in the Church Order of 1881, Chapter 11 (see *Benih Yang Berbuah*, p. 158). Especially with reference to the school, the description was given in a more detailed fashion in "the Order of 1898 for the Work of the Teacher in the School" (see Chapter Five).

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congregation, because the salary provided by the congregation was insufficient for his livelihood.⁸² Moreover, not infrequently he was called upon to help the missionary with various tasks.⁸³ The teacher's continuous involvement in the village and work load were increasingly felt to be burdensome because in many congregations there was but one teacher, even though there were sufficient numbers of pupils for more than one class. In spite of all that, they were still expected to be model figures in morals, in the family, in fact in all aspects of life.

Without having the work load balanced by satisfactory material remuneration several teachers felt themselves forced to neglect their work for the sake of meeting the needs of their household, and yet the missionaries accused them of being lazy. In fact, there were teachers who not only neglected their responsibilities; they left the whole teaching profession.

Earlier we saw the case of Paulus and Kilian who left the teaching profession because they felt their salaries were insufficient (see note 65). In addition to them, there were others as well. But the most striking case of this period was that of Samuel Siregar. He was a former slave who had been redeemed, taught and baptized by Van Asselt in 1864 (see note 6). Later he became an evangelist. During the years 1870-73, he was in Europe to study with Rev. Witteveen in Ermelo, and in the *Vorschule* of the Barmen seminary. He even had an affair with a German girl. After 1874, he became a teacher in Silindung. Even though he was no more capable than other teachers, according to missionaries, his facility in foreign languages made him arrogant. In 1883, he changed profession becoming a government employee in order to obtain a larger salary, in Warneck's judgment. In 1884, he married into the family of Si Singamangaraja XII. He gave as his reason his hope to serve as a mediator between this noted chieftain, and the Batakmission and Dutch Indies government. But according to Warneck, he failed to accomplish that function. He concluded that Samuel Siregar was a prototype of an indigenous worker who was taught in a foreign country and removed from his roots. Based upon the experience with Siregar, Warneck was persuaded that it was unnecessary to educate indigenous candidates for church work in a foreign country because such an experience did not

⁸² According to the wage scale for teachers as specified by the Batakmission, the wage ranged from £ 10 to £15 per month, and frequently even that amount was not paid by the congregation.

⁸³ Several of them helped the missionaries prepare literature: Markus Siregar helped Van Asselt, Jonathan, Johannes and Josua aided Nommensen, for example. But there were also those who helped with household work; see for example Gr. Lukas' diary in Parsambilan, 1908-1909.

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cause them to become more reliable workers upon their return.⁸⁴

In addition to those who resigned because of insufficient salary, there were teachers, too, who received an unsatisfactory evaluation from both the missionaries and the community without leaving their profession. But cases such as Paulus, Kilian and Siregar, as well as a negative evaluation of some teachers' teaching proficiency were small in number compared with the numbers of those receiving positive marks for their teaching abilities.

In reports or writings of missionaries and the RMG leadership, there are found praises and expressions of appreciation about the seriousness, faithfulness and abilities of the teachers. They were called the main pillars for the development of congregation and school, the spearheads for founding congregation and school, the spiritual and moral guides of the community, and other similar expressions of praise. In Warneck's opinion⁸⁵ the teachers' role was as follows:

The work of the Batakmission could not have taken place without the support of its national workers, especially so in view of its rapid advance from year to year with the opening of new places of ministry; there was an incontestable need for workers from among those who had been won to Christ.

One only needs to think about ministry to so many congregations, including hundreds of school children and church members of branch congregations, who needed catechetical instruction for baptism and confirmation, and others who needed pastoral care and worship leadership on Sundays. Even though missionaries realized that all these services were assigned to them, nevertheless they did not have sufficient strength to carry them out unless the Lord raised up sufficient numbers of workers from the midst of the nationals themselves for the purpose of ministry.

The dedication of just these indigenous workers had accomplished very much, and praise must be given to God for this. They must make do with salaries far below those paid by the

⁸⁴ J. Warneck, "Samuel Siregar", in *Der Bote* January 1897, pp. 53-58; cf. J. Warneck, "Eingeboren Helfer ...", in *EM* May, 1897, p. 10; *JB* 1874, p. 15; 1875, p. 19; 1878, p. 40; *BRMG* 1889, p. 24; *MB* 1889, p. 57. Samuel's own explanation why he married a relative of Si Singamangaraja was set forth in his letter of July 12, 1885 which was attached to "the General Synod's Minutes, July 20-27, 1885".

⁸⁵ J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, p. 193, and p. 203.

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government to its young people with an education similar to that of the Batak church workers.

(b) On The-Job-Training/Nurturing

Even though the Batakmission gave high marks for its national teachers' praiseworthy efficiency and achievement, nevertheless there was a felt necessity to continually improve their abilities and the quality of their work. This was the case in spite of the fact that the education which the teachers had received at the seminary in terms of knowledge, skills and training in discipline had achieved good results, according to the missionaries. At the same time, the Batakmission was aware that the quality of its schools was far from satisfactory. Therefore, in order to improve the skills and seriousness of the teachers so that their role in developing the congregation and school might be raised, the Batakmission initiated several steps towards that end.

(i) Meetings for Preparation

In almost every station (*huria sabungan*; mother congregation; place of missionary's residence), each missionary organized a regular meeting with the teachers of each resort.⁸⁶ Their frequency depended upon the conditions and distinctive needs of each. The meeting included Bible study (especially the Biblical texts for the succeeding days and weeks), study of the school lessons, and discussion about problems which had arisen in congregation and school. It would be ended by directions or instructions from the missionary.

(ii) Conferences

A conference especially for teachers was held for the first time at Parausorat in 1878.⁸⁷ The

⁸⁶ Officially the term *resort* began to be used in the Church Order of 1881 and means "the mother congregation with its branch congregations (*huria pagaran*)".

⁸⁷ Because of the difficult conditions and limited facilities, the frequency of conferences for teachers was not fixed. But beginning in 1886, an effort was made to hold a conference each year in a different location. In 1881, in addition to conferences for teachers, a synodal conference was held for teachers, elders and headmen, but in general the

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conference was always led by a missionary and with a program which included sermons and lectures by missionaries. Beginning in 1886, the conference also included papers by the national teachers on topics given by the missionaries.⁸⁸ At the conference, too, each teacher was given an opportunity to report on his work, problems related to their work and life, along with requests related to both matters.⁸⁹

In addition, the teachers' conference was used by the Ephorus to communicate admonitions and advice related to errors of the teachers, and regulations connected with the work of teaching, including those which regulated their relationships with the Batakmission, i.e. the Ephorus. For example, at the teachers' conference at Sibolga in 1886, Ephorus Nom-mensen delivered admonitions which reached even to aspects of their lives considered most personal, i.e. the sexual activities of the teachers:

There are several teachers who have intercourse not only once each night but even twice, so that, as spoken by the apostle they besmire their honour because they do not let themselves be led by the Spirit of God, but instead follow the desires of the flesh and are controlled by the reins of the devil.

speakers at this conference were only missionaries. Not until 1893 were the voices of elders heard.

⁸⁸ At the teachers' conference in Sibolga in 1886, for example, three teachers prepared papers for discussion: (1) Kilian: "*Ngolu Parsaripeon di Halak Kristen*" (Christian Family Life) which analyzed why children must be taught from birth to marriage, and the characteristics of this Christian education in comparison with education in other religions; (2) Philippus: "*Songon Diama Sahalak Raja Kristen gabe Tiruan di angka raja na marugamo Sipelebegu dohot Silom*" (How a Christian Headman May Be an Example to Headmen Who Embrace Tribal Religion or Islam); (3) Elias: "*Pilippi 1:21, Eksegese dohot Panghonaanna*" (Philippians 1:21, Exegesis and Its Application). The custom of presenting papers such as these was maintained in succeeding conferences, even beyond them. For the latter, the writing was part of a contest. Teachers were asked to prepare papers on various topics. (See Chapter Five, cf. J. Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, pp. 199f.)

⁸⁹ According to R. Wegner (*BRMG* 1899, p. 138) the pattern for these teachers' conferences was identical to that of teachers' conferences in Germany.

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In order to avoid such a situation and at the same time improve the results of the teachers, Nommensen delivered the following regulation and suggestion:

If it so happens that the teacher is not occupied with school or congregation, it is recommended that he be working for himself, either in the garden, or other kind of work, or restudy his seminary books. The main thing is that he should be working in his garden or outside his house each morning and late afternoon. In that way, he will not be thinking so much about women, and thus become a good role model for those around him.

In addition to the Ephorus' regulations and advice above, the teachers' conference also specified several others, for example:

(1) Teachers may not attend tribal religious rites (*Götzenfest*); (2) Teachers may not take part in games of self-defense (Batak: *marmonsak*) which are dangerous according to Batak understanding, and are related to datuism; in contrast, they should do physical exercises and involve themselves in other physical activities; (3) Teachers may no longer pick their teeth.

The examples of regulations specified (we assume that the writers were missionaries) reflected the attitude and selective evaluation by the Batakmission at that time towards Batak culture. This selective attitude in turn was planted in the minds of the national teachers, and in fact in the minds of Batak Christian lay persons. J. Warneck's conclusion about the significance of this teachers' conference was given as follows:

This conference raised a healthy class consciousness (*Standesbewusstsein*) and also much stimulation Although among the teachers, there could still be found parts of the regulations which they did not consider useful. ... Yet in general they were ready to acknowledge their value.⁹⁰

In subsequent chapters, we shall investigate the continued effort of the Batakmission to

⁹⁰ J. Warneck, "Die Entwicklung der Batakmission im letzten Jahrzehnt (1886-1896)" [The Development of the Batakmission during the Last Decade (1886-1896)] in *AMZ* 1898, p. 148; cf. J.

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improve the general skills of the teachers and national workers in terms of up-grading their role in the development of church and school system.

E. Statistics

The following table indicates the quantitative growth of congregations and schools, 1867-1882 (Main= Main congregation; Miss. = Missionaries; Elem.= Elementary; HS= High School).

Year	Congregation Members		Miss.	Batak Workers		School		Students
	-----		-----	-----		-----		-----
	Main	Branch	Men	Teacher	Elder	Elem.	HS	
1867	7	115	7	-		7		120
1868	7	728	7	-		7	1	161
1870	10	1.071	10	5		10	1	
1871	10	1.250	10	5		15	1	
1875	11	2.056	11	13		15	2	265
1877	11	2.156	12	20		24	2	837
1879	11	3.402	11			31	1	995

Warneck, *Sechzig Jahre*, p. 199.

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1880	11	26		16	28 64	37	1	1.132
1881	13	34	5.988	15				1
1882	14	43	7.586	16	38 125 57		1	

CHAPTER FIVE
THE HIGHPOINT OF DEVELOPMENT: 1883-1914

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

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

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

A. Factors Contributing to Reform

1. *Expansion of the Working Area*

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

During the first half of the decade of the 1880s, the Toba area continued to be shaken by a series of battles between the forces of Si Singamangaraja and the Dutch colonial government so that the situation was far from being secure and quiet. Even so, during that same decade, a relatively short period of time, the Batakmission succeeded in winning the hearts of the local communities; this meant it was able to found its stations and branches in strategic locations having a denser population. Furthermore, Nommensen resided in the same area after being appointed as the Ephorus by the RMG the same year as the establishment of the Church Order of 1881.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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mission offered four reasons why it considered so:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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in its East Coast Province of Sumatra⁶, whereas at this time the Batakmission's work was limited to Sumatra's West Coast. To work in Simalungun meant entering an entirely new area and which in turn formed the beginning of the Batakmission's entrance in to other eastern areas of Sumatra, i.e. the Karo Batak area and that of Deli Serdang. "Thanks be to the government for opening a way for a door to be opened for the Batakmission; thanks be to God for opening the mission's work, even though this was through the government."⁷

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

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

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

⁷ Guillaume, *op. cit*, p. 26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

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

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

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

Together with the entrance into the Simalungun area, the Batakmission began its ministry to the **Karo** Batak in 1903 in cooperation with the NZG, which had been there since 1890.¹³ Supported by local residents, the Batakmission quickly founded schools in the villages where it began its work. But some of the schools were torched by "malevolent hands", an action which was painful for the villagers. The reason for the burnings was not clear, but there was a presumption that it was related to the suspicions and negative feelings on the part of some persons towards the missionaries whom they considered to be henchmen of the Dutch.¹⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

themselves to become teachers, in order for the people not to feel the domination of the Christian Toba Bataks too deeply.¹⁸

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

2. An Increase in European Personnel

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

(a) Pastors of Congregations (Gemeindemissionare)

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

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

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

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

(b) Teachers

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

(c) Women Evangelists (Schwester/Sisters)

The first woman evangelist was Hester Needham from England, who arrived in the Batak field in 1890²²; 34 other women followed her afterwards during this second period. Although the major emphasis of their work was in service (diakonia) which did not include education, according to the RMG's purview, nevertheless these women were given the task of establishing elementary schools especially for girls, and teaching there afterwards. Those with special skills were asked to teach in specialized schools, school for weavers, and a school (or course) for nursing and midwifery. Their

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

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

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

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

(d) Doctors

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

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

3. Government Subsidy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For example, just for the Sipoholon seminary, the government gave a subsidy in 1901 in the amount of f 12,000.00 for the construction of a new building, and in 1906 an annual operations grant of f 500.00, which was raised to f 5,000 in 1909.

For the Narumonda seminary, the subsidy began in 1908 amounting to from f 3,000.00 to f 4,000.00 per year and was ear-marked especially for the salary of two European teachers based on a 1906 letter of authorization.

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

fulfilled the conditions for receiving the subsidy.

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

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

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

The latter's appreciation for the colonial government's school support was indicated in various ways within the classroom, such as by celebrating the Netherland's Queen's birth-day³⁰ and the liberation of the Dutch from the French (in 1813)³¹, by hanging a portrait of the queen in the classroom, and by teaching the Dutch national anthem (Wilhelmus).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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the work of the Batakmission was very much greater.³⁵

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

4. The Batak Community's Desire for Education

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

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

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

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

³⁶ Government schools included those in Medan, Sibolga and

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

The request of the community for a regular elementary school with a Batak teacher, generally was rather easy to fulfil; but the Batakmission had to be very cautious about trying to fulfil the request for a school using Malay and Dutch. On the one hand, after seeing the challenges faced from the Adventists, Catholics and Methodists who were entering the Batak area and opening schools³⁸, and after seeing the risk to Christian Batak children of being snared by Islam when

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

more detailed way in the following section.

B. Development in Numbers and Kinds of Schools

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

1. Elementary School

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

(a) Basic or Regular Elementary Schools

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

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

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

(b) Elementary School for Girls

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

(c) Elementary School for Chiefs' Children

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

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

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

(d) Dutch Language Elementary School

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

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

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

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

2. Vocational Secondary Schools

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

(a) Seminary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) Nurse and Midwifery Course

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

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

(d) Agricultural School

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

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

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

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

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

(e) Weaving and Crocheting School

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

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

the RMG because of the war.

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

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

C. Consolidation of Views

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

1. Theological and Missiological Views

Not long after the Batakmission began its work in Silindung, about the end of the 1860s, the thought and realization began to emerge that efforts should not be made to win the Bataks to Christianity one by one but rather as a group. The missionaries began to realize that it would be impossible to separate the individual from group relationships through the village and marga

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

The shift from individual conversions (*Einzelbekehrung*) to the christianization of a whole people (*Volkschristianisierung*) increased in strength from about the end of the decade of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s. Then the term *Christianisierung des Batakvolkes* (the christianization of the Batak people) began to appear with increasing frequency in the Batak-mission reports. According to J. Warneck, this shift took place without problems, but the two methods should not be placed in opposition to one another, because the mass evangelization was in harmony with the needs, situation and condition of Batak society.⁴⁵ Within the scope of extending and intensifying the Batakmission's efforts in all fields during this period, including education, the method or view of christianizing a whole people became increasingly dominant, even though here and there, individual conversions continued to be sought.⁴⁶ The application of people conversions was found in the practice of mass baptisms, especially in Silindung and Toba. But not all the Batakmission's personnel agreed with people's conversions. There were those who criticized it because they were convinced that such a practice would only result in a shallow type of Christianity. We may presume that the tendency to maintain a conservative pietism lay behind the criticism. As we saw in Fabri's view (Chapter Three), pietism was a most influential theological and missiological conviction in the RMG which preferred an approach issuing in the conversion of

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

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

individuals.

Steinsieck for example, in his paper presented at the 1895 Missionary Conference of the Batakmission, stressed most explicitly that the quantitative growth through mass baptism had an extraordinarily worrisome down side. Those who were baptized that way would be Christians who knew nothing at all about the Christian faith; they would be like the blind leading the blind. Furthermore, this practice was in opposition to the spirit of Pietism which was the spiritual foundation of the RMG/Batakmission.⁴⁷

In a paper presented in this connection at the conference of 1913, 18 years later, Link criticized the tendency in teachers' education to pursue this desire for quantity too. In his opinion, the teacher seminaries sacrificed the quality of its graduates in pursuing the target of obtaining more teachers to balance the numerical growth of congregations and schools.⁴⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In this connection, Spiecker emphasized that even though at that time most of the cost of education was borne by the Indies government, nevertheless it was hoped that in the future all the school costs would be paid for by the congregations so that the schools would be their very own indeed (*Gemeindeschulen*). Therefore, he wrote:

If we wish to achieve autonomy for the Batak church in terms of finances, then we must strive to utilize all means which we can mobilize to raise the social and economic standard of Batak society. This may be realized through the influence of the Christian faith (which has the character of raising up and perfecting the condition of human life), through steadfastly and faithfully providing schooling, and through establishing vocational schools with special

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

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education in order for students to become skilled workers.⁵⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Johannsen-Dhünn, a member of the RMG delegation which visited the Batak area in 1902, stressed that such an understanding was in line with the RMG principle: "Where the mission causes 'pagans' to become Christians, first of all, there too it causes them to become genuine human beings, and where the mission plants the Kingdom of God in the midst of persons, there it also plants genuine culture." In order to be convincing about the truth of that principle with reference to the Batak people, he quoted a statement made toward the end of 1897 by P.H. Johannsen, a Batakmission missionary: "Should a Batak who lived in former times rise from his grave, he would no longer find the same Silindung he knew before." Furthermore, according to Johannsen, the school system was one of the cultural factors which the Batakmission developed most successfully in the Batak area.⁵⁴

According to W. Spiecker, the same principle was also followed by Protestant mission bodies in general, even though their main emphasis was still placed on religious education. He said that within German mission circles from about the 1870s, enthusiasm for improving the socio-economic side of culture was aroused at the same time as the development of German colonialism giving the impression that socio-economic or cultural activities were stressed more than evangelism through verbal witness. But as a consequence of the German failure in World War I, German mission bodies again realized that efforts in the social, economic and cultural fields were no more than auxiliary activities, whereas the main task was to win 'pagan people' for the Gospel through proclamation and education.⁵⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bring about the christianization of a whole people.⁶³

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

2. Views of Pedagogy and Method

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

⁶³ Mundle, *op. cit.*, pp. 127f.

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

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

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educational view developed in Pietism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Reforming the System of Educating and Nurturing of Teachers

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

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

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

1. Renewal of the Teacher Seminary Education

(a) Rebuilding the Learning Facilities and Increasing Its Capacity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁵ *JB* 1901, p. 43.

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

As already touched upon, the Narumonda seminary formed a transition from the School for the Children of Headmen, which had been forced to close because it did not attain its objective. In addition, the Sipoholon seminary was unable to fulfil the needs and desires of the community. But there was another reason not less important, namely to assuage the feelings of the Toba people because the Sipoholon seminary had been dominated by sons from Silindung.

The process of opening the Narumonda seminary was no simple matter. Missionaries in Silindung, especially the Sipoholon teachers, J. Warneck and Bielefeld, carried on a lengthy debate with the Toba area missionaries, particularly Meerwaldt, who had been appointed a teacher there. The debate persisted, even after the second seminary was opened in 1907.

The Sipoholon staff did not agree that the School for the Children of Headmen be closed, because then the people would demand that the government open a similar school, and should that happen, there would be a danger and loss for the Batakmission.⁷⁶ Furthermore, they did not support the opening of the second seminary because the latter would give rise to a dualism and unhealthy competition, and a lack of uniform standards and quality of teacher education originating in a difference of teaching methods between the Germans and the Dutch. What is more, a bare minimum of instructors would be available for the new seminary.

But Meerwaldt rejected the criticisms of the Sipoholon group, especially the issue of dualism in teacher education. He charged that the main critic behind the Sipoholon people was Warneck, an arrogant missionary who did not appreciate the wishes of the Toba people, and would not admit the reality that there were different backgrounds among the teachers of the Batakmission even before the Narumonda seminary was begun. Meerwaldt acknowledged that there were differences between the methods of the Germans used at Sipoholon and the methods of the Dutch used at Narumonda. But as a Dutch teacher, he held that the German methods were not appropriate for meeting the needs and conditions in the Batak area, for example their use of German letters in the writing and reading courses. Meerwaldt also criticized the RMG leadership, which he thought favoured the Sipoholon group inviting the danger of a split in the brotherhood (*Brüderkreis*) of the Batakmission.

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

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

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

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

At the suggestion of J. Warneck, the Batakmission Conference of 1897 decided not to send anymore of its young people to Depok because they became alienated from their Batakland. But the following year (1898), the conference decided to send students there again, because the Pansur Napitu seminary was unable to receive all of those seeking admission. A note was added that priority would be given to children of families with more limited resources.

At the Conference of 1900, it was again decided not to send students to Depok because the Sipoholon seminary would be built soon and with a greater capacity than Pansur Napitu. But the 1908 Conference again decided to send students to Depok, with the qualification that these would be "only students who were talented and financially poor".

Once again, in 1913 the Conference decided not send students to Depok any more. In fact, it called those students home who were already studying there with the reason that "the Depok seminary was under Roman Catholic influence".

As a consequence of this continually changing policy, the number of Batak graduates of Depok continued to decrease until there were none after 1920.⁷⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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the quality and image of the teachers. There were many qualified teachers who took a dim view of their colleagues who were interns, so that on occasion quarrels developed among them⁷⁸ and at the same time, the number of interns who could have their status and skills improved were too few, remembering that their numbers increased each year. In any case, the interns were properly figured in as members of the teaching corps, which the Batakmission boasted of as being the pillar of its educational effort, in fact the pillar of all of its activities.

(b) Improving or Reforming Elementary Education

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) Reform of the Curriculum and Teaching Methods

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

Year 1	Catechism	3 hours
	Biblical History/New Testament	3 hours

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

⁸⁵ Warneck in *MB*, May 1898, p. 35.

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

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

Total: 28 hours

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

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

⁸⁶ Actually, the RMG leaders themselves did not entirely reject the teaching of foreign languages in the Pansur Napitu seminary. In 1889 Schreiber, for example, opened its possibility again so that students could read foreign language books, recalling that there was a shortage of books in Batak and Malay. Nevertheless, he preferred to encourage making reading material available in the local language (*BRMG* 1889, p. 218). In this connection, J. Warneck, a teacher at the Pansur Napitu seminary since 1896, stressed that the study of German or Dutch was not included in the curriculum in order to avoid alienating students from their surroundings; this was also related to the negative impact of sending students to study in a foreign country; J. Warneck, "Eingeborene Helfer" in *EM*, May 1897, p. 12; cf. the Samuel Siregar case, Chapter Four.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 1902 curriculum for the Sipoholon seminary was as follows:

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

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

Total: 39 hours

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

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

Total: 40 hours

In comparing this curriculum with the one in use in 1882 at Pansur Napitu, we note the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Reforming Seminary Entrance Conditions and Procedures

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, Grivel, the government's inspector for education, saw that the age limitation for entering seminary was too high and was one of the causes resulting in the low quality for both candidates and the students of the Batakmission seminaries because they had stopped the activity of studying for too long a period of time. Therefore, he suggested that the age limitation be lowered to 13 or 15 years of age, as was the case in government schools for training teachers. Furthermore, while supporting the existence of the laboratory school¹⁰⁰, Grivel presented two other alternatives to support or to enhance the quality of the seminaries: (1) operate the elementary school for 7 years, i.e. by following the model of Schools of the First Class (which later became *HIS*; author); and (2) organize secondary schools (*Fortbil-dungsschule*) for elementary school graduates, and from the pool of secondary school graduates make a selection of candidates for the seminaries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

His counter-proposal included:

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

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

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

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

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

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

(e) Enhancing the Cultivation of Discipline

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For example, expressions of disappointment burst from Bielefeld in connection with a writing assignment he had given. For an essay entitled, "If I became wealthy" he asked the Sipoholon students to express their dreams as honestly as possible. After reading their writings, he was saddened to conclude that in their inmost beings, most of their hopes were connected with or directed towards money, women, clothes, prestige; in short, they were yet or already very self-centred and materialistic. Facing this reality, Bielefeld almost felt that he had totally failed to cultivate character which was good and Christian, according to his conception.

Disappointment in another form was experienced by Meerwaldt at the Narumonda seminary. At the beginning of a student conflict which resulted in some of them being punished, some students wrote an unsigned letter, in fact some withdrew from the seminary. Even though later on, those involved were permitted to resume their studies, nevertheless Meerwaldt saw the case as an indicator of the growth of rebelliousness which formed a negative impact on them from the spirit of the modern age.

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

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

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

(f) Encouraging the Writing of Literature

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But these differences of opinion did not reach the point of weakening the missionaries' enthusiasm and cooperation in producing a varied literature and other publications¹⁰⁴ even though their efforts did not succeed in meeting all the needs for both school textbooks, and general literature. The Batakmission's realization of the importance of literature for aiding the development of the quality of education motivated the activists to continue writing, and they were even more industrious after the government had warned the Batakmission about the small number of textbooks in its schools and their low quality. Strangely enough, sometimes the warnings were accompanied with a contribution of books with the intent to have the quality of the Batakmission s schools, especially teacher training schools, be equal to those of the government. But the Batakmission leaders were not necessarily happy with the gift of books because their content did not always agree with their view of education, or support its application.

The next step taken by the seminary teachers to encourage the availability of literature was through the publication of the magazine, *Immanuel*, beginning on January 1, 1890.¹⁰⁵ Even though

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Enhancing the Role and Ability of the Teacher

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

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

¹⁰⁶ *JB* 1890, p. 31.

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

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

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

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

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

But it was not only the missionaries who were dissatisfied; the Batak teachers themselves were dissatisfied, and their dissatisfaction increased from time to time. Their dissatisfaction centred upon several matters, for example: (1) Their low incomes, especially for those teachers whose salaries were not increased by government subsidy due to their schools having failed to fulfil the conditions set by the government¹⁰⁷; (2) The low status of teachers' aides or interns who were also part of the Batakmission's cadre of teachers; (3) Their low position *vis-à-vis* the European missionaries and the improper treatment which they received from their 'masters'.

Some teachers felt their treatment by the 'Lord Pastor' (*Tuan Pandita; Dominee*) was inappropriate, and there were some who expressed their displeasure in their writings. Guru Lukas, for example, noted in his diary that he was often unable to teach in school because he had to assist his 'master' do domestic work such as shopping, or being ordered by the missionary to help a government official calculate the amount of taxes. At the same time Guru Herman Ritonga frankly wrote that he often felt sick at heart during teachers' meetings because of a missionary's expressions or attitude which demeaned the Batak teachers, although he acknowledged that this was rooted in mutual misunderstanding.

But there were teachers who took action beyond words and became involved in actual physical clashes with missionaries. Guru Kleophas Lumbantobing, for example, struck the head of G. Betz because he felt humiliated. Meerwaldt called this event "sad news".

Here we note A.C. Kruyt's experience and observation during his visit to the Batak region in 1905 regarding the case of a physical altercation between an unnamed Batak teacher and a missionary named Lett. According to Kruyt, Ephorus Nommensen sided with the teacher and did not fulfil the demands of other missionaries that the teacher be discharged. (Cf. the case of a conflict between the missionary Bonn and Ompu Timbang in Balige in 1885.) Nommensen's attitude resulted in his being derided by many missionaries, especially because he was not a Prussian as were most of them.¹⁰⁸

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

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

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

(a) Re-examination (Wiederholungsexamen)

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

(b) Examination of Abilities (Befähigungsexamen)

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

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

(c) Periodic In-Service Training

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Writing Contests with Prizes (Preisarbeiten)

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

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

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

These and other works were used by J. Warneck in his work, *Die Religion der Batak*, see p. 23). Regrettably sometimes

(e) Pastors' Courses

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

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

Teachers who have worked in the congregation for several years and have demonstrated their ability to serve in the field of evangelization ... may be appointed evangelists by the Ephorus with the concurrence of the Synod Conference.

The evangelists who had served several years successfully and their knowledge continued to develop, would be able to become candidates for seminary education in order to become pastors (...).¹¹³

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁴ Fabri, in *ibid.*, p. 154.

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

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

¹¹⁵ Meerwaldt, "Nationalgehilfen", p. 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²² Meerwaldt's letter, August 26, 1889.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Meerwaldt's letter June 4, 1889.

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

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

Pastor Johannes Siregar, for example, in his letter to Inspector Schreiber expressed very sharply the bitterness of his heart towards his fellow Batak Christians and the missionaries, whom he considered as a cause for the lack of appreciation of the Batak Christian community for their own church workers:

If we Bataks feel ashamed of those of our numbers who have become pastors because they are poor, having neither needle nor cloth, not being able to dispense various gifts, and because there is no money to scatter about, or to build a large house or a beautiful church building for the congregation, as can be done by white-skinned pastors, why then should we have been made Batak pastors? We would have remained content with the office of teacher assigned to us. As a result the office of pastor would not have heaped shame and difficulties upon us. You pick us over and handle us as if we were just so many yams in the market.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, in Pastor Ernst Pasaribu's autobiography, he frequently related instances of conflict between himself and certain missionaries (Lett, Wagner, *et al.*) both when he was still a teacher and also when he had become a pastor, and also conflicts with some of his fellow church workers. He also mentioned that the missionaries enjoyed formula-ting new regulations

¹²⁵ Letter of Johannes Siregar, March 30, 1900.

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

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

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

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

E. Statistics

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

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

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

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 highschool 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 RBHG 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 RBHG 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

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
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

CHAPTER SEVEN
EPILOGUE: 1940-1980

Internment May 10, 1940

In 1939, World War II broke out in Europe. Its impact was not immediately evident in the Dutch Indies in general and in the Batak area in particular, because at that time the Netherlands was still neutral and was not as yet involved in the abyss of battle. Until the beginning of 1940, the European workers of the Batakmission were able to continue their work without incident even though the public and the Batak church members who followed these world developments closely began to be anxious. Moreover, the Batakmission along with the HKBP were still able to hold the General Synod meeting at the beginning of 1940 in order to revise several articles of the Church Order of 1930 within the framework of strengthening the HKBP's independence.

This situation could not continue for long without serious hindrances. On the early morning of May 10, 1940, German forces occupied the Netherlands. On that same day, the Dutch colonial government interned all German citizens resident in the Indies, including the Batakmission's German workers, as a retaliatory response. We shall not discuss the details and more specific reasons for the internment because these matters are not related to the main topic of our research. What is definite is that practically speaking, after having continued for almost 80 years in the Batak area the RMG/Batakmission's work there had come to a close.

ZNB and BNZ

After internment, there remained just three Batakmission missionaries, De Kleine, Rijkhoek and Karelse (all from the Netherlands) and a number of Dutch teachers who operated Dutch schools independently from the Mission (see Chapter Six, A.5.), but the trio was unable to continue the work of the Batakmission by themselves. Therefore, they sought help from the *Zendingsconsulaat* in Batavia requesting that a number of Dutch missionaries be sent to continue or

to take over the work of the Batakmission. While waiting for assistance and further developments, De Kleine was appointed acting *Voorzitter* (chairperson and not Ephorus) of the HKBP).¹

¹ The appointment of De Kleine was made at the oral direction of Ephorus Verwiebe in the presence of local Dutch colonial officials. The use of the term *Voorzitter* as a substitute for Ephorus was done deliberately. In addition to following the pattern of organization in the Dutch Church, it was also intended to wipe out all traces or heritage of the German Church or its Mission in the HKBP. Afterwards, the indigenous HKBP workers used that term, in fact they wished to go much further, namely to remove the hymns of German origin from the *Buku Ende HKBP*, the HKBP hymn book (see B.S.G. Gramberg, "The Batak Church in Fiery Trials" (a working paper), p. 2.

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After May 10, 1940, the Dutch government formed the *Commissie voor het Rechtsverkeer in Oorlogstijd* (CRO, Wartime Legal Affairs Commission) to manage affairs arising in the Dutch Indies as a result of World War II. The Commission directed the *Zendingsconsulaat* to assume the administration of activities and property of mission bodies which were members of the Oegstgeest group, namely those clustered in the *SZC* and also of other bodies, including the RMG. In order to carry out this assignment, the *Zendingsconsulaat* formed a special organization, the *Zendingsnoodbestuur* (ZNB, Emergency Mission Board). To manage or take-over the work and property of the RMG in the Batak area and Nias, the ZNB formed the *Batak-Nias Zending* (BNZ).²

Within a relatively brief period of time, the BNZ was present and at work in the Batak-land through a number of Dutch missionaries, teachers and doctors recruited from mission fields in Java and Bali. Particularly in the field of schooling, the BNZ was charged with the responsibility of administering 450 subsidized schools (*Volksscholen* and *Vervolgscholen*) and their teachers. For that purpose it formed a special body, *Algemeen Schoolbeheer* (ASB, General School Administration). Later, the BNZ took over the Sipoholon seminary and the Laguboti Trade School, too, based on the same reason, namely both received government subsidies and were property of the RMG/Batakmission. The Dutch schools (*HIS*, *MULO* and *Schakelschool*) were not taken over or made an issue because these were administered autonomously by the two school associations which were under the supervision of Dutch teachers so they were not considered as Dutch enemies. The approximately 200 *Volksscholen* and *Vervolgscholen* which were not subsidized were not claimed by the BNZ because it was known that these were the property of the HKBP congregations and were therefore HKBP concerns. The BNZ knew that the HKBP was a legal body or possessed

² The ZNB was formed after the May 10, 1940 event and began to function actively in July 1940, whereas the BNZ was formed officially on September 27, 1940 and was acknowledged legally by the colonial government through its decision of April 17, 1941, but it had functioned de facto since the end of May, 1940. See *Zendingsconsuls di Hindia Belanda, Hoeria Dohot Zending di Tano Batak* (1941), pp. 17ff., and *Verslag van het ZNB, May 10, 1940-March 8, 1942*, pp. 9 and 53.

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corporate status, so theoretically the BNZ had no intention of interfering in its organization or its ownership rights to non-subsidized schools unless asked to do so by the HKBP.

But the BNZ did not acknowledge the HKBP as the valid heir of all the RMG's work and property, including the subsidized schools. It also considered that if the subsidized schools were handed over to the HKBP, the latter would be unable to administer such a large number of schools without the government's or Mission Consulate's help through the ZNB/BNZ. The most fundamental reason for the BNZ's attitude towards the HKBP and its negative evaluation was that the BNZ was not ready to recognize the HKBP as an autonomous church organization "one-hundred per cent free".³ This argument was based on tensions between the RMG/ Batakmission and a number of indigenous church workers who were advocates of autonomy but who continued to work in the HKBP because the RMG itself had not as yet recognized the full autonomy of the HKBP.

The HKBP Reaction

Of course, the HKBP was not ready to accept the presence, attitude, evaluation and action of the BNZ along with the Dutch mission institutions which were standing behind it. Those who had long desired the full independence of the HKBP were very pleased about the May 10, 1940 event because as a result the RMG was as good as dead in their opinion and they were freed from its control. Their spontaneous response to it was expressed by the Batak words, *Nunga mate amanta Kongsu Barmen* [Our Barmen/RMG Association father has died].⁴ They hurriedly prepared a **Special Synod meeting** to proclaim their independence and full autonomy from the RMG. This was held on July 10-11, 1940. There they not only proclaimed their independence from the RMG,

³ A group in the HKBP seeking full independence caused this slogan to be heard at the July 1940 Special Synod.

⁴ See the report of a Dutch pastor/missionary of the BNZ (whom the RMG assumed to be B.W.G. Gramberg), "De grote Synode van de Batakkerk July 10-11, 1940".

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but also from all guardianship or Mission 'imperialism', including that of the BNZ. In other words, the Synod became the vehicle and opportunity to express the nationality and autonomy of the HKBP, in fact of the Batak community in general, and to declare its rejection of all foreign interference and domination. That was the reason why the Synod rejected De Kleine's leadership, or the leadership of any other Dutch missionary, and instead elected a Batak leader, namely pastor Kassianus Sirait as *Voorzitter* (chairperson) and Archelaus Nainggolan, a teacher, as *Secretaris-Penningmeester* (secretary-treasurer). They only requested that the missionaries become colleagues or assistants to the Batak pastors.⁵

At the same time, the Synod rejected the presence of the BNZ chaired by Karelse and the BNZ's claim to the subsidized Batakmission schools. Moreover, some synod participants whom the BNZ and RMG personnel called "a radical group", laid HKBP claim to all RMG/ Batakmission property because they considered the HKBP to be the RMG's valid heir. They requested that the colonial government hand over the subsidized schools to the HKBP in agreement with the Batakmission's decision of 1936. If the government was not ready to do this, then it would be more desirable for the government to take them over or to administer them itself rather than to give them to the BNZ.

But the BNZ felt it had the authority from the Mission Consulate and the government, and also that it had responsibility for the future of the Batakmission Christian schools. Therefore it could not accept the HKPB attitude. On the one hand the BNZ saw that the subsidized schools were basically government property which had been entrusted to the Batakmission for administration; therefore the HKBP had no right to them. On the other hand, the BNZ did not want the

⁵ K. Sirait, "Pangiboelan ni Bericht ni HKBP doeng 10 Mei 1940 - November 1941" [A Summary of HKBP Reports from May 10 1940 - November 1941], which was read at the HKBP General Synod Meeting of November 11-26, 1942; cf. J. Sihombing, *Sedjarah ni HKBP* [History of the HKBP], 1961, pp. 92ff. Sirait was narrowly elected over De Kleine by a voice vote and this fact was seen by the RMG as an indication that there were still many Mission supporters in the HKBP or those who aimed to have the Mission continue working in the Batak area.

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government to take over all the schools because that would result in the loss of the schools' Christian character. According to the BNZ's observation, the government did not wish to transfer the schools to the HKBP because it did not think that the Batak church was capable of administering them and because the government itself wanted to take over the schools. In view of all that, the BNZ requested that the government act consistently with its decision made through the CRO to hand over the schools to it as the one holding the mandate of the Mission Consulate and the ZNB in the Batak area.

The difference of opinion between the HKBP on the one side, and the BNZ, ZNB and Mission Consulate on the other side gave rise to long drawn-out tensions and misunderstandings. These misunderstandings became more complicated because the government itself lacked consistency in its decisions through the CRO mentioned above.

Colonial Government Actions

In order to understand the school system problems, we need to take a backward glance for a moment. As touched on in the previous chapter, at the HKBP 1936 Synod Meeting, the Batakmission, which also formed the leadership of the HKBP, took the decision to transfer all its subsidized Batak language schools to the HKBP. The Batakmission requested the colonial government's concurrence in this matter through its Department of Education and Religion (*DOE*), and its Director, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino had given his agreement in principle. But the decision was not realized at once because there were various administrative technical problems to be solved. In contrast, P.J.A. Idenburg, who succeeded De Kat Angelino as DOE Director, did not agree to continue the original program, namely transferring the schools to the HKBP. He proposed a new idea in which the schools would become *openbare scholen met christelijke grondslag* (public schools with Christian foundations) to be administered by a new foundation or special educational body which would have representation from both the government and Mission on its board. It would appear that Idenburg's thought was not something different from his idea to reform the

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whole educational system in the Dutch Indies. In his opinion that system was excessively western-oriented up until 1940, and at the same time it failed to encompass the needs of Indonesians, but continued to receive insufficient government support.

But the regional government (as *Binnenlands Bestuur's* apparatus) and the Batakmission along with the HKBP expressed objections to Idenburg's ideas as touching the Batakmission's subsidized schools. We can assume the reason for the regional government's rejection, namely the principle of religious neutrality which all government schools had followed thus far. If Christianity would be made the basis for some of the schools, this would bring about a great deal of confusion. However, the reason for the Batakmission and HKBP's rejection of Idenburg's proposal was the same as formerly: schools were important for the Church and Mission as a means for evangelism and the nurture of Christian character. In addition, it would be an impossibility for the government's schools to be based on Christianity.

Even though there were objections, Idenburg continued to defend the idea of effecting a fundamental *omzetting* or *conversie* (basic change or conversion) of the status of the schools. Therefore, in 1939, he promulgated guidelines for implementing the conversion. In it he outlined that all government elementary schools and subsidized private ones in the Batak region which until then had been administered by separate organizations (local governments, Protestant missions, especially the Batakmission, Roman Catholic mission, etc.) would hence-forth be administered by one educational body and would be subsidized by the government. As a result, there would no longer be competition among the various educational agencies.

This program had not been implemented before internment occurred on May 10, 1940. But the new DOE Director, P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, who succeeded Idenburg on May 15, 1940, defended its spirit and guide for implementation. Shortly after Djajadiningrat's appointment, he sent a telegram to the Inspector for Indigenous Education directing that all Batakmission schools become government schools. In subsequent developments, the government, meaning the DOE, worked hard to implement "Idenburg's directive" in order for the quality of the Mission's schools

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to be at the same level as those of the government.

The BNZ strongly objected to this attitude and decision of the government because in its view, that would only confuse the task entrusted to it to administer the former Batakmission schools. The BNZ appealed repeatedly to the government not to pursue the conversion idea, but instead to fully entrust the schools to it and grant freedom to the ZNB through the BNZ to continue to maintain the status of the schools as mission schools having a Christian character, and not as government schools.

After these different opinions between the HKBP, ZNB/BNZ and the government continued to be at crossed-purposes for a sufficiently long period of time, at last the parties were able to come to an agreement that the subsidized schools would continue to be administered by the BNZ and those not subsidized would continue to be administered by the HKBP. In other words, there was a return to the *status quo*. Thus while neither side was totally satisfied, the schools continued to maintain their Christian character, even though they had to be subjected to government regulations.

But, and this was the result of further agreement, the *status quo* would not be allowed to continue for a long time. The HKBP and BNZ must each form an independent association or Christian education body to administer respective schools of each so that these would be freed later from any ties with either Mission or Church.

For the BNZ, the agreement corresponded with its opinion that the school must be separated from the Church so that each school teacher would not need to do double duty as pastor/preacher in his congregation. However, the BNZ understood that such a situation might persist in small churches or newly founded congregations. But this could not be maintained continuously, especially in congregations which were already established.⁶

⁶ In commenting on this in "The Batak Church", p. 4, Gramberg, one of the BNZ figures, wrote, "The school teacher is bound in duty primarily to the school. We ourselves will set the example as school supervisors to work for the upbuilding of the church."

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However, the agreement brought no cheer to the HKBP, primarily because of its resulting consequences, namely the severing of the teachers' ties of ministry to congregations by those teaching in subsidized schools. In the judgment of the HKBP leaders, since the decision was made in 1936 to transfer schools to the HKBP the teachers were no longer Mission teachers; they were rather teachers of the HKBP, meaning that they no longer served under the Mission, but were under the authority of the HKBP. But the BNZ refused to accept this line of argument, and continued to maintain its own position. As a consequence, many teachers of BNZ-administered and government-subsidized schools resigned their ministry to congregations (as had also happened earlier) a situation fraught with much difficulty for the HKBP. *Voorzitter* Sirait, expressed his thanks that not all teachers in schools administered by the BNZ left their congregational ministries, "indeed, most of them gave their whole might to lead congregations after the HKBP was truly independent".⁷

But it is not right to transfer a teacher who is doing well in the school because the church no longer appreciates him. It is unthinkable that a good teacher who can not play the organ should find it almost impossible to secure a place, simply because no church is willing to receive him. It is surely wrong that the women teachers should have difficulty in finding employment because they can not conduct church services ... Is a church really served if the teachers are compelled to work in the church under the threat of dismissal? ... The school teacher must not be freed too rapidly from the church, but in due course this must occur in an ever-increasing number of churches, although the combination of teacher-preacher will long continue in poor districts and as a relief measure for small churches. It remains, however, the task of a self-supporting church not to depend upon the school teachers, but to provide the churches with their own leaders."

⁷ Sirait, *op. cit.*, p. 6. In this connection, Hutauruk (*op. cit.*, p. 252) wrote: "*Diese Meinungsverschiedenheiten der einheitlichen Lehrer weisen auf die Schwäche der HKBP als eine unabhängige Kirche gegenüber der BNZ als neuer Mission hin.*" (This difference of opinion among indigenous teachers points to the weakness of the HKBP as an independent church in relationship to the BNZ as a new Mission.) At the same time the HKBP itself planned to form a "HKBP School Association" for administering its schools and to bring this agreement to fruition, but this plan had not yet been realized when the Japanese arrived in 1942.

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The HKBP's negative feelings towards the BNZ were not only mused by the latter's prohibition for its teachers to serve congregations, but also by the BNZ's opening of a Pastors' School in the Sipoholon seminary complex for teacher candidates from Nias, Mentawai, Karo and the Methodist Church, but not from the HKBP as formerly, and in addition, because the BNZ had expropriated the Sipoholon seminary. In 1941, the BNZ's action forced the HKBP to operate its own seminary in Balige (which was also called the *Sikola Porhanger*), but there was no opportunity to graduate any students because of the coming of the Japanese forces the following year.

The RMG Reaction

What were the reactions and comments of the RMG leaders about all the developments mentioned? First of all, it must be noted that the RMG did not receive sufficient information about developments occurring after May 10, 1940 because of the rupture of communications between Germany and the Dutch Indies. With reference to the Special Synod of July 10-11, 1940 specifically, the RMG did not receive the official minutes. What it received was just a report from a Dutch pastor or a BNZ missionary who was assumed to have been Gramberg (see note 4) and Gramberg's paper about the HKBP's developments after the internment of German missionaries. The RMG gave its reaction on the basis of those two writings. In terms of the Batak church and community's spontaneous reaction to the fate which had befallen the RMG in the Batak area, it expressed its deepest feelings of bitterness. The RMG could not understand how the HKBP could proclaim itself an independent church without regard to the RMG, without expressing even a few words of thanks for its ministry and without taking proper steps to effect the separation. Its feelings were even more bitter when it read that the "radical group" in the Special Synod had laid claim to ownership of all RMG property in the Batak area without buying it with money from the Batak Christian community, and even including schools subsidized by the government whose funds for most of the construction originated from subsidies from the colonial government to the RMG and not to the HKBP. So offended were the RMG leaders about the claim, that one of them, Dr. J.

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Winkler, a former missionary there named the synod "a Thieves' Synod" (*Räubersynode*).

The RMG did not give much comment about the actions of the Dutch colonial government to intern German churchmen; apparently that action was understandable as a consequence of the politics of Germany's involvement in World War II. But with reference to the actions taken by Dutch missionaries (De Kleine and colleagues), namely requesting assistance from the Mission Consulate to continue administering the work and property of the RMG, the latter expressed its feelings of gratitude and agreement. From the actions of De Kleine and associates, the RMG saw that although politically Germany was an enemy of the Dutch, nevertheless at the church level there was continued cooperation between the two. In fact, for the RMG, the taking over of the work and property were steps to be greatly praised to save both "from the hands of radical Christian Bataks who knew nothing about gratitude".⁸

In reading about the process of the election and the choosing of HKBP leaders at that synod, the RMG concluded that actually most HKBP members continued to want missionaries to lead their work. While asking why a graduate of the HTS was not chosen to be *Voorzitter*, the RMG expressed its hope that at a certain time, it would be able to return to work in the Batakland. Apparently, the RMG did not know that one reason why the colonial government appointed the ZNB/BNZ to take over the work of the RMG was because it did not want the RMG to ever return to the Batak area in as much as its home country was an enemy of the Dutch nation.

Although in general the RMG supported the policy of the Mission Consulate and BNZ with reference to the continued administration of its educational work in the Batakland, nevertheless there were matters to which it was not in agreement. One of these strong disagreements centred on the judgment of the BNZ that the teacher's dual function "was the weakest base of the whole mission work" and the BNZ policy which forbade school teachers receiving a subsidy to serve congregations. According to the RMG, this judgment and policy demonstrated that the BNZ did

⁸ Response of J. Winkler to the Special HKBP Synod Meeting of July 10-11, 1940.

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not understand the Batak church and its history.

The RMG also reminded the BNZ that the government never absolutely forbade the teacher's dual function, even though it had to be acknowledged that the regulations governing subsidies made it difficult for the teacher to fulfil both functions well. It was just the subsidy which opened the possibility for the RMG to expand its network of congregations and schools for almost a half century in the past; therefore its work was able to develop so rapidly. Because of that, the RMG considered that the BNZ policy did not support the work of Mission and Church. In fact, the policy caused the RMG to doubt whether the BNZ was a genuine mission board having the goal of advancing evangelism and church development, or it was merely an extension of the government's hand to administer the Mission schools in harmony with government policy. In short, in terms of the relationship between school and congregation, the RMG shared the same opinion as the HKBP that the unity of both must be defended as in former times.

We now return to the school situation of the former Batakmission. After the demise of the Batakmission in the middle of 1940 as noted above, the schools which had been under one roof, relatively speaking, came to be administered by three independent bodies: the BNZ administered subsidized schools for indigenous students, the HKBP administered non-subsidized schools for indigenous students, and the two school associations administered Dutch schools. But the situation did not continue long. In March, 1942, the Japanese forces occupied the Dutch Indies and interned all Dutch persons in the country, including the BNZ workers and the Dutch teachers in the Batakland.

Developments During and After the Japanese Occupation

During the Japanese period, all schools, including the non-subsidized ones administered by the HKBP, were forcibly taken over by the Japanese authorities to become government schools. Other institutions which had been under the care of the Mission for a long time, such as hospitals, trade school, printing establishments, were also taken over by the Japanese. With all schools required to

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be under the Japanese government, the principle of Christian education was wiped out and was substituted by the principle of moral education *a la Nippon*, such as worship of the emperor. In the eyes of the HKBP, the Japanese actions were a perversion of the message of the Bible and planted anti-Christian teachings which had the final goal of wiping out Christianity. From those who had been with the RMG, such as De Kleine who was also interned, the Japanese actions meant that "the Church would lose its influence over the youth. It would no longer be possible for the Church to teach Christian young people in a Christian way through instruction in the school".⁹

Faced with the Japanese actions, many Batak Christian teachers were not willing to teach; so too, many parents objected to sending their children to school, with consequences which can well be imagined. The government itself was not particularly interested in advancing education as evidenced by its closing of many schools (and churches) including the Sipoholon seminary, and transforming their buildings into warehouses, military barracks, etc. In brief, the coming of the Japanese ended the life of mission education in the Batakland, and education in general experienced drastic decline. Of course, here and there were some rather positive images of the behaviour and policies of a small part of the Japanese government apparatus toward schools and teachers¹⁰, but viewed as a whole picture, the field of education in the Batak area was very discouraging during the Japanese occupation.

During the physical revolution (1945-1949), the HKBP, meaning Ephorus J. Sihombing, investigated the possibility of recovering the status and activities of those schools remaining. Working with the *Majelis Pusat Pendidikan Kristen* (MPPK, Central Council of Christian Schools) in Jakarta, he persistently pressured the government to return all former mission schools, including Dutch schools and those taken over by the Japanese to the HKBP. At the same time in a letter

⁹ H. de Kleine in *JB* 1951/1952, p. 20.

¹⁰ K. Sidjabat, for example, related that although in general the Japanese authorities had no interest at all in schooling, nevertheless there were Japanese individuals who were very respectful of teachers; especially those who were Christians greatly honoured the Church and its ministers; see his *Mamulus Galumbang ni Lima Zaman*, unpublished autobiography in stencilled form, Tomok, 1977, pp. 71-77.

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dated October 1, 1948, the RMG itself had specified that all its holdings in Sumatra, including schools built with government subsidies, should be turned over to the HKBP. Apparently, that decision was taken when the RMG could see that there would be no further opportunity for it to return and work in Sumatra in the same position as formerly.¹¹

But until the 1950s, the HKBP's struggles and the RMG's decision above did not achieve the desired results.

In Müller-Krüger's report of his attendance at the HKBP's Synod Meeting in 1952 as an RMG delegate, he indicated that just eight of the 356 subsidized *Volksschool* of the former Batakmission had been returned to the HKBP. At the end of the Japanese period, the remaining 348 had their status changed to that of government schools and continued to be in the hands of the Republic of Indonesia. He also noted that in addition to those eight People's Schools, the HKBP administered 97 non-subsidized schools i.e. those which remained of some 200 Village Schools from pre-internment times, and also several junior and senior high schools in addition to the special schools for the educating of candidates for the office of pastor.¹²

This writer has not been successful in obtaining data and information about the subsequent effort and success of the HKBP from the 1950s to the present in acquiring the former Batakmission schools from the Indonesian government (if there is such data), i.e. those schools which had been previously transferred to the HKBP from the RMG.¹³ Perhaps the HKBP had given some of them as a gift to the Indonesian government. In any case, it is known for certain that some of the former

¹¹ Müller-Krüger in *JB* 1948, p. 23 noted the effort of two Dutch former Batakmission missionaries, De Kleine and Bos, to ascertain the possibility of the RMG's working again in the Batak area after the Japanese surrender. But they saw that the anti-European feeling and attitude within the Batak community was so extensive that they concluded: "the entrance to the Batakland proper is closed as yet".

¹² Cf. *Jubileumsjahr 125 (1828-1953) RMG* (1953, a leaflet congratulating the RMG and expressing the HKBP's appreciation for the RMG's work), p. 6: Of the 548 schools appropriated by the Japanese, there were still 455 which had not been returned to the HKBP after the revolution was ended.

¹³ At the writer's visit to the HKBP's central office in Pearaja, August 23, 1986, the staff of HKBP's Department of Schools was unable to inform how many former Batakmission schools the Indonesian government had returned, and how many continued to be administered by the government.

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Batakmission schools continue to be administered by the Indonesian government as this writer saw for himself when he did field research during August and September 1986.¹⁴ In addition, there were many which have just disappeared and others, such as the Narumonda seminary, whose grounds have been used by institutions other than the HKBP.

But it must also be noted that between the 1950s and 1980s, the HKBP had succeeded in constructing many new schools from the kindergarten to the university.¹⁵ For that purpose, the HKBP obtained major support and funds from its own congregations and in addition received a significant amount of assistance and funds from the RMG after the HKBP's 1950 Synod agreed to the restoration of a cooperative relationship between itself and the RMG.

From a cursory look at the data about the development of the HKBP's educational ministry since independence, we may get the impression that the HKBP has endeavoured to maintain the development of its educational or school work. But it is unclear whether the HKBP intends to restore the 'glory' of the Batakmission's former educational work, and the extent to which it wishes to build its educational system on the strong foundation laid by the Batakmission earlier.

¹⁴ For example, the former Laguboti Trade School (*Ambachtschool*) continues to be a state technical school; the former Sigompulon HIS has now become a state senior highschool (SMA), and the former HIS at Narumonda has become the *Karya* Junior Highschool, a private school, and the grounds of several others are being used for state elementary schools.

¹⁵ According to the "List of the Names of the HKBP Schools" in *the Almanak HKBP 1987*, pp. 251-256, schools under the aegis of the HKBP's Department of Schools are as follows: 8 kindergarten, 54 elementary schools, 46 junior high schools, 13 senior high schools and 2 vocational schools. In addition there are also institutions for the educating of church workers: The Higher Theological College at Pematang Siantar, Church Teachers' School at Sipoholon, the *Sikola Bijbelvrouw* at Laguboti, the Deaconess School at Balige and the Pastors' School at Sipoholon; there are also the Nommensen Universities in Medan and Pematang Siantar.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE IMPACT OF THE BATAKMISSION'S EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVOUR

In Chapters IV through VII, we have looked in a sporadic and fragmentary way at the impact of the RMG's (= Batakmission's) educational endeavour in the Batakland and at various aspects of the Batak church and society. In this chapter, we shall analyze, summarize and conclude systematically the Batakmission's impact on five fields while noting criticism and comments about it from various circles. The five fields chosen are: (1) the field of the church and the spiritual life of its members; (2) the socio-economic field; (3) politics; (4) culture; and (5) education.

Before we begin our analysis, we must emphasize again that the RMG/Batakmission's educational endeavour did not stand alone but rather formed an integral part of its entire ministry. Therefore, the impact of its educational endeavour on the five fields mentioned must be seen also as the impact of the Batakmission's total ministry. In other words, the educational endeavour is just one approach to highlight the impact of the Batakmission's endeavour on each of the fields listed above.

It must also be noted at this first stage that it will not be easy to accurately detect the impact of the Batakmission's educational endeavour on the above fields because its impact can not always be measured through quantitative criteria, especially so when we discuss impacts which are qualitative. It happens frequently that the impact will only be seen later through a process of interaction and correlation with other fields of endeavour, or with other factors which played a role in the Batakland, and which can only be seen some time after the educational effort had occurred, namely after the Batakmission's existence had come to an end. This matter will become clear in the analysis to follow.

A. In the Field of the Church and Spiritual Life of Its Members

The Batakmission maintained the principle of the unity of church and school from the very

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beginning of its ministry. This unity was not only one of organization, but also of spirit. This meant that knowledge and values in the school would be the same as those communicated in the church so that there would be no bifurcation or confusion in the mind of the pupil. In order to more clearly see the impact of the Batakmission's educational endeavour on the Church as an organization and on the spiritual life of its members, we shall observe both of these from several sides.

1. Increase in the Numbers of Church Members

The RMG/Batakmission did not compile statistics about the number of its school pupils who were not Christian when they entered but who became Christian while in school or after having been graduated. Supposing that such data were available, we could not yet conclude that the schooling was the only factor which caused them to become Christians or church members. It may be that there were other factors which played a role such as the influence from the environment or from associations beyond the school with community members who were already Christians or from the influence of parents who had already received Christianity outside of the school system (which later involved all family members in harmony with the collectivist character of accepting Christianity), etc.

We have also seen, especially in the non-Muslim North, that school pupils who were not Christians generally became Christians later and thus became members of the church. In fact, many of these functioned as evangelists to their families and tended to have a role in bringing the family members, including parents, to Christianity and the church (cf. Chapter Four, B.4.).

With the shifting from an evangelistic strategy of individual conversions (*Einzelbekehrung*) to a strategy of christianization of a whole group of people (*Volkschristianisierung*) which gradually began in the 1870s, there resulted an increase in church members through direct verbal evangelization which was much greater than their increase through the school, but there was always an increase in church membership through the school, especially in areas where the people were

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not attracted to mass christianization, as for example the Simalungun people (cf. Chapter Five, A.1.). It must also be remembered that the impact of the educational endeavour on the increase in the number of church members often happened indirectly. This occurred where pupils or graduates of Batakmission schools, in harmony with their function and role as evangelists, drew people from outside of their schools into the church. Therefore, we cannot make light of the increase in church members through the school, either directly or indirectly. At the same time we are able to see a close correlation and mutuality between the church and school even if viewed quantitatively.

Particularly in the area of the South, where most pupils of the Batakmission schools (whose numbers were much larger than the numbers of pupils in the colonial government s or private non-mission schools) were from Muslim families, not very many of these became Christians. Of course the Batakmission did not compel pupils to become Christian. Nevertheless, remembering that the schools were considered vehicles for evangelization, the Batakmission felt that it had not been successful if students who had been given Christian instruction and education did not become Christians. This was one of the reasons why the Batakmission did not work as diligently as possible to promote education in this area. On the basis of this reality, Van Randwijck concluded that in the Batak region, as also in other mission fields, the mission schools declined if in a formal way proselytism were made the principal goal of its educational effort.¹ Of course, this conclusion was both a criticism of mission education in general and of the Batakmission schooling in particular.

2. Character and Spiritual Nurture of Lay Persons

The adoption of the strategy of *Volkschristianisierung* caused the Batakmission's educational endeavour to become the means for nurturing and deepening the character and spirituality of lay persons who had just become Christians. This was the case because the Batakmission did not want

¹ S.C. Graaf van Randwijck, as quoted in *The Life of the Church* (Tambaram Series, vol. IV), the chapter "Christian Education", pp. 144 and 151.

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to have Christianity of the Bataks be characterized only by numbers or by a certain shallowness. It wanted them to have a deep understanding of the Gospel or of the Christianity just received and embodied in their lives so that this Gospel would result in the renewal of life begun with the renewal of their character and behaviour.

This desire or ideal should be attained through the ministry and process of education. Of course, the process of education in its broadest terms occurred in each of the Batakmission's activities just as Gustav Warneck had defined it, "mission is an educational activity", but in its special and formal sense, education occurred through the ministry of schooling. This was an expression of the principle and characteristic of mission schools, namely that schools were institutions for nurturing (*opvoeding*), and not merely for instruction (*opleiding*).

In the first place, the method used by the Batakmission to attain this objective was to give over a large part of the curriculum to religious subjects even though this put it on a collision course with the government. Secondly, the Batakmission applied the nurturing of discipline, character and spirituality to all types and levels of its schools, and particularly in those schools which had dormitories. Through the process of nurture and strict discipline, the Batakmission hoped that its schools' graduates would become lay persons and church workers who had high Christian, mental and spiritual qualities, and who would communicate these to lay persons and community members in general. It is not easy to measure the results of nurture through the schools in the lives of lay persons, especially those who were products of the Batakmission schools. Even so, there are several indicators which show forth a positive impact of this nurture in their lives or on the Batak Christian community, such as:

(a) Change in Character and Behaviour

At the beginning of the Batakmission's work, the missionaries appraised the Bataks as lazy, slovenly, rude, having no appreciation of time, quarrelsome, liars, arrogant, etc. But after experiencing education and nurture in the schools as well as in congregations, the missionaries' appraisal of the Bataks gradually became more positive. They particularly rated the pupils and

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graduates of their schools as evidencing a new character and behaviour. They were now industrious, clean, orderly, appreciated time, were peaceful, polite, etc. Similar evaluations and observations were advanced by Bataks themselves who were also products of the Batakmission.²

(b) A Marked Enthusiasm for Evangelizing and for Forming New Congregations

There were only a small number of the graduates of Batakmission schools, i.e. graduates of seminaries and other institutions for training church workers, who became professional servants of the church.³ But these were very enthusiastic and played a large role in spreading the Gospel to the surrounding non-Christian communities and in forming new congregations. This reality was seen most clearly in the regions to which Bataks had emigrated, both in their new 'colonies'⁴ and also in the cities. In a similar vein, there were many graduates of regular Batakmission schools and its Dutch schools who became leaders in the Batak Church's congregations both within the Batak region itself and in the emigrants' areas.

But the Batakmission did not always succeed in removing the negative character or characteristics of the Bataks, both after they became Christian and while they were nurtured and conditioned in the schools. Materialism and the headlong pursuit of position were among the most prominent negative characteristics noted by the missionaries. In fact, in their view, these characteristics became even more prominent in those Bataks who had enjoyed education, even those who were seminary graduates. Furthermore, after the colonial government provided an opportunity for them to become civil servants and after modern culture had made inroads in the Batak area offering various products for consumption, many of those educated became averse to doing work

² A.L.Th. Hasibuan in *Immanuel*, April 15, 1928, and E. Simorangkir in *Immanuel*, November 24, 1929.

³ The Batakmission placed *elders* in the category of lay persons rather than in the category of professional church workers.

⁴ Merle Davis (in *The Economic Basis*, pp. 195ff and 445ff) used this term for the new settlements opened by the Toba Batak emigrants.

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with their hands and became followers of the western life style, a fact which the missionaries described as a cultural caricature (Kulturkarikatur).⁵

Facing this reality, the missionaries did not just give up; they worked tirelessly in calling the community and lay persons to put aside those actions, and following up on that call, they increased their efforts to wipe out those characteristics through the educational system of the mission schools. Through all of this, they also tried to plant a new work ethic in the school pupils and laypersons, namely that the objective of the school and work was not to obtain a position and possessions but rather to labour for sake of the whole church and society. This effort was based on the Batakmission's conviction that "Christianity glorifies work"⁶ - a conviction which was related to the view bequeathed by Fabri, "Education to Work" (*Erziehung zur Arbeit*, see Chapter Three, A.1.d.iii.).

The Batakmission realized that the Batak people's materialistic characteristics and their mad seeking after position were not separated from their philosophy of life held before the coming of the mission. It also recognized that those characteristics were supported by others which were not evaluated negatively, such as a high eagerness to learn, ambition to progress, a sense of togetherness and solidarity, and an openness for and curiosity about new things. The mission also acknowledged that all those characteristics were supported by the Bataks' native intelligence and intellectual abilities: a strong memory capacity, a rapid comprehension of lessons, an enjoyment of arithmetic, etc. But the Batakmission desired that all of these positive qualities subject themselves first of all of the Gospel. In other words, the Batak-mission desired that as a first step, the Bataks should attain mental, moral and spiritual advancement and maturity, and only after that should they obtain intellectual and socio-economic advancement. Even though the Batakmission's objective was

⁵ See Chapter Six, A.1.; and W. Freytag, *Die junge Christenheit im Umbruch des Ostens* [Young Christendom in the midst of the Radical Change of the Orient], 1938, p. 83.

⁶ J. Warneck, "75 Jahre Batakmission" in *NAMZ* 1936, p. 89.

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to bring about Batak advancement in all fields, nevertheless the first and most important advancements were in the mental, moral and spiritual fields.

As we have seen, the Batakmission's criteria for measuring the progress and the upgrading of the Bataks had their sources in theological, philosophical and educational beliefs which were coloured by western superiority in all matters. The Batakmission wished to substitute the negative Batak values, character and characteristics with the values which it had brought, and at the same time to purify, enhance and heighten the quality of traditional values to the extent they were viewed positively.

The Batakmission wanted to accomplish a purification of the positive traditional values by freeing them from their roots and context in the old Batak religion, and making them subservient to and cohering to western Christian values. In reality, the melding or cohering was not always successful with the result that there was often a double standard for the Batak Christian, including those who were educated, especially in moral matters, namely there was a Christian moral standard alongside a traditional Batak one.

With reference to this double moral standard, the dormitory system in some schools did not escape criticism from certain observers even though it was always praised by Batakmission personnel as being very successful for the nurturing of the character and spirituality of its pupils. Although the Batakmission worked so that its educational system, including its dormitories, would not cause the students to be alienated from their surroundings, nevertheless Fischer, for example, saw that the dormitories caused the students to be isolated to a certain extent from their context, or to feel themselves to be superior to those students who did not live in the dormitory.⁷ But after they left the dormitory, the moral standard which they thought was higher could no longer be maintained; they too were influenced to follow the traditional Batak moral standards.

⁷ H.Th. Fischer, *Zending en Volksleven* [Mission and the Life of a People] (1932), p. 187, Cf. Marinus Hutabarat in *Immanuel*, July 1, and 15, 1916.

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Even though here and there, negative excesses were found in the Batakmission's system of nurturing character and spirituality, nevertheless those cases rarely occurred, and when they did occur, they certainly were beyond the wishes of the mission. Apart from the matter whether observers agreed or disagreed with the mental, moral and spiritual character which the Batakmission attempted to plant within its pupils and lay persons it nurtured, it can not be denied that the Batakmission schools made a significant contribution towards nurturing Batak church members' mentality, morality and spirituality. Therefore, the Batakmission schools can be said to have fulfilled their function as a means for nurturing church members according to the ideal image which had been determined.

3. Providing Church Workers

During the period of the Batakmission's ministry, most of both the professional or fulltime Batak church workers and the volunteer workers were products of the Batakmission's educational endeavour. There is no need either to make mention again of the great role played by the Batak church workers in building the Batak Church, or the Batakmission's appreciation and praise of them. In brief, in looking at the contribution of all of them as viewed from the importance of church development, the Batakmission through its educational effort and institutions succeeded in producing persons needed by the rapidly developing Batak Church.

Especially the ability and commitment of teachers in the schools has been held up as the main determinant for bringing about the unity of church and school, and at the same time as the main key for the rapid development of these two institutions. This was the reason why the Batakmission worked to maintain the dual function of the teacher up until the very last period of its ministry, even though the government criticized the practice and some teachers objected to such a policy. This was also the reason why the Batakmission conducted its nurturing program in continuity with enhancing the skills and loyalties of the teachers, even though the government using different criteria always ranked most of the Batakmission's teachers incapable of accomplishing their

functions in the schools.

The success of teachers and pastors in carrying out their functions as constituting the pillar and spearhead of the Batak church's development was undergirded by the Batak Christian community's appreciation of them. First of all, that appreciation was based on their high educational level as viewed by the Batakland's standard of the time which gave teachers a high social status in the community. More than that, the community with its background in tribal religion, viewed the church workers as possessors of *the sahala* which was formerly held by the datu⁸ or traditional religion's healer and leader.

As we have seen in previous chapters, one of the important questions which arises in connection with education and the provision of indigenous church personnel is the extent to which the Batakmission succeeded in educating them to be independent workers in harmony with the Batakmission's own ideals. We have seen that on the one hand the indigenous church workers wanted to be given the trust to lead and make decisions in the Batak church to prove that they were able to be ministers independently, while on the other hand the Batakmission never completely acquiesced in their request to be entrusted with leadership while offering the reason that they were not yet spiritually mature. If it were true that the Batak church workers were not yet mature and capable of leading the Batak church after the Batakmission had educated and nurtured them for more than a half-century, then there is no other conclusion than that the Batakmission did not succeed -- even if we do not want to say, failed -- in educating them. Furthermore, we recall J. Dürr's question and criticism about whether the Batakmission truly wanted an independent church in the field of ministry and leadership (see Chapter Three, A.1.e.iii.). Pastor Marbun, a figure in

⁸ Cf. E. Nyhus, "The Encounter of Christianity and Animism among the Toba Bataks of North Sumatra" in *The South East Asia Journal of Theology*, no. 2-3, October-November 1969, p. 46; and A.C. Viner, "The Changing Batak" in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 52/2 no. 236, December 1971, especially p. 104: "By the missionaries sahala was transferred from the chiefs, elders and hula-hula to the church and its extensions."

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the HKBP's independence movement also made a similar charge. According to him the RMG had failed pedagogically to teach Bataks to become church workers whose ability and quality of spirituality was at the same level and of the same kind as that of the missionaries.⁹

Even if we wish to conclude that the Batakmission was unsuccessful qualitatively in educating indigenous workers in order for them to be independent, the cause would not be in the educational system itself, and likewise not in the inability of the indigenous church workers, but rather in the basic paternalistic and patriarchal character of the missionaries. As western Christians who had an older tradition of Christianity, they continued to try to maintain their superiority over the Batak workers, the fruit of their own teaching. The missionaries did not want to have persons whom they taught reach the same level as themselves and to take over the leadership of the Church as long as they were in the Batak area. It was assumed by the Batakmission missionaries that the Batak Church with so many members, with a field of ministry and activities so extensive, would be unable to maintain it all if they departed.

That assumption was obviously invalid as proved by the achievement of the indigenous church leaders in cooperation with the lay persons of the Batak church to maintain its existence during the dreadful period from the missionaries' internment on May 10, 1940 until the period beginning with Indonesia's independence. Even if the Batak Church of the post-mission era were unable to maintain all fields of work left by the Batakmission, including its schools, in a large part this was caused by factors beyond its control, such as pressures from the Dutch colonial government and Japanese authorities, and to a greater or less extent by the policies of the Indonesian government (see Chapter Seven).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the Batakmission's quantitative effort to teach indigenous church workers largely succeeded, especially if we also include the significant number of volunteers in our calculations, most of whom were products of the regular Batakmission schools.

⁹ H. Marbun, in an interview August 18, 1986.

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But qualitatively, the Batakmission itself gave the impression that its educational efforts were not completely successful. The lack of success could be placed primarily in the way the Batakmission evaluated the indigenous workers in contrast to the potential possessed by these workers themselves. It is clear that the indigenous workers had proved the quality of their abilities and their commitment to carrying on the work of the church. It was just the lack of full opportunity given to them to prove their effective quality.

4. Autonomy in Financial Affairs

We have seen that practically speaking from the beginning of the Batak-mission's ministries, it had planted and nurtured a consciousness in its congregations to be both self-governing and self-supporting, and encouraged the development of both in its effort to form a self-supporting Batak Church. It was not difficult for the Batak people to be invited to give or pay for something which they deemed beneficial to themselves, and which would belong to them because the willingness to do so had already been planted in them by their *adat*.

It must be acknowledged that total financial self-support had never been attained by the Batak Church during the time of the Batakmission because the people's income was not large in comparison with the amount of money needed to pay for the extensive work of the mission. Therefore, the Batakmission requested contributions from its supporters and subsidization from the colonial government to pay for part of the budget for its schools. A large number of congregations also gained indirectly from the government subsidy, namely those congregations served by teachers whose salaries were subsidized. Thus congregations did not need to pay the full salaries for their teachers; it was only necessary for them to provide housing, a plot of land to be cultivated by each teacher and an annual gift of produce from field and forest. An exception to this pattern occurred in congregations whose schools' and teachers' support were not subsidized. These then had to bear the full costs of their teachers and school operations, supplemented by funds from the Batak church's central treasury.

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But if all the funds collected by the Batak church, including produce of field and forest (rice, construction materials, etc.) for support of teachers, school and church buildings, and other physical needs were calculated, the government subsidy plus the contributions from the Batakmission supporters would definitely amount to but a small portion of the total funds expended by the Batak church for its own and its school needs. At the same time, the amount of funds sent to the Batak church from the central treasury of the RMG in Barmen, especially after World War I, were practically insignificant except for the funding needs of its European personnel.¹⁰ In fact, just the reverse was true; at certain periods the Batak Church collected funds to be sent to the RMG treasury which was experiencing a financial crisis. In brief, most of the total church expenditures, including its related activities, came from Batak church members. Moreover, there were certain fields of activities which were supported entirely by the Batak church, namely evangelization as coordinated by the Batakmission (*Pardonganon Mission Batak*). From the financial statistical data prepared for each annual report of the RMG, we see that the amount of money given by congregations increased annually, not to mention the monetary value of the natural produce given.

Even though there is no detailed and accurate data which illustrate the amount of funds coming from congregations enjoying the Batakmissions' schools, nevertheless there are at least two indicators of the large share which the schools had in enabling the Batak church to be self-supporting. In the first place, there is the data from the RMG's annual report which shows the total number of church members who had attended schools of the Batakmission. From this data it may be concluded that the majority of church members had enjoyed the schooling provided by the Batakmission. Secondly, the Batakmission schools equipped their students with practical abilities and skills which helped them earn a livelihood and to increase their incomes. (See section B.2. of this chapter).

¹⁰ J. Merle Davis, *New Buildings on Old Foundations* (1945), p. 150: "The (Batak) churches cannot strictly be called self-supporting, but they have been fully independent of mission financial aid."

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From this we are able to assume that the Batakmission's effort in raising the social and economic standard of the church members through its school system in combination with its nurturing effort in continuity with training them to be responsible for financial self-support played a major role in increasing the total amount of funds collected by the church for supporting its fields of ministry.

This assumption is strengthened by facts previously noted, such as: (1) the contributions of Bataks who were educated for the Batakmission, (2) the contribution of the Laguboti Trade School for building physical facilities, and for giving to the church treasury through the integrated efforts of its workshop, carpentry section and its printing department, and (3) the contributions of educated Bataks, especially emigrants for the development of physical facilities such as church and school buildings in their home villages.

Much more significant than the mere giving of funds was the church members' realization of their responsibility in paying for their own needs, a realization planted by the Batak-mission through education in its schools, and coming to fruition after the people finished their schooling and were found to be active in various sectors of church ministry.

Based upon the above facts and assumptions, we conclude that the Batakmission's educational endeavour made a significant contribution towards the formation of an autonomous Batak Church, especially in the field of finances. In this matter, we agree with Kraemer's conclusion that from the beginning of its work, the Batakmission had been successful in teaching the Bataks to achieve that quality and level of financial independence which were incomparably higher than that found among Christians in other mission fields.¹¹

To be sure, total financial independence had not been attained by the close of the Batakmission's work. But in later developments, we saw the ability of the Batak churches, especially those of the HKBP to pay for their own church and ministries, even though here and there they

¹¹ Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church*, p. 50.

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have continued to receive funds from abroad for special projects. The raising of the ability to be financially self-supporting during this post-mission period had certainly been due to the support given by members who were products of the Batakmission schools.

After we have traced the impact of the Batakmission on the development of the Batak church's various fields, we see that most of its impact has been positive even though there were excesses here and there which invited criticism. On that basis, we reject the conclusion or the evaluation made by those in certain mission or "Church Growth" circles who declared that mission education was not of much value in terms of fostering church development.

Roland Allen, a prominent figure from "Church Growth" circles, made the generalization from his experience and observations in China that the educational effort was neither an effective means nor method for bringing about indigenous church growth. According to him, mission education was "an alien western education" which "was not able to be understood by the indigenous community" and "was separated from indigenous life". As a result, according to Allen, the endeavour of mission education did not succeed in forming a genuinely indigenous church because the church workers produced by such an education carried on their ministries and leadership according to western styles. What was worse, the mission schools also taught with the hope that these non-Christians would become Christians later even though in reality this did not happen. Therefore, the mission schools taught far more non-Christians than Christians. Furthermore, a friend of Allen continued, mission schools tended to teach more of secular sciences than knowledge of the Gospel, and those sciences were frequently irrelevant because they had originated in western civilization.¹²

Maybe that Allen's and associates' evaluation and conclusion were accurate for mission education in China, or for some other places. However, they may not be considered valid in general, and on the average for all mission education, particularly so in the Batak area. The real situation there gives convincing evidence that the Batakmission's education had made a significant contribution towards the growth of the Batak church and, as we have shown in our earlier analysis, Allen's cause for anxiety did not happen to any degree in the Batakland.

B. In the Social and Economic Fields

¹² R. Allen, *Education in the Native Church* (1925), p. 12ff; and "Education and the Missionary Task" (authored by an unnamed Mission Secretary) in *Discussion on Missionary Education* (1931), p. 7ff.

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Batakmission missionaries frequently stressed that the main goal of their coming had been to proclaim the Gospel as the foundation for a new spirituality for the Bataks, and to found an autonomous Batak church. The educational ministry was carried out in the interests of that objective. But the missionaries also realized that on the one hand, the effort to embody that objective had to be supported by progress and renewal of the Bataks' social and economic life, and on the other hand the renewal of their spiritual life must show forth real results in all aspects of their lives, including the social and economic sphere. It was for this reason that from the beginning of their ministry, the missionaries tried seriously to advance the social and economic standard of living for the Batak people being evangelized. The reality demonstrated that the Batakmission achieved reasonable success in this field.

In this section, we shall look at the impact of the Batakmission's endeavour, particularly in the field of education, on several aspects of the social-economic life of the Batak people, especially those who were Christian.

1. Raising Their Social Status

In essence, due to the *adat's* stress that each Batak person was "a descendent of a king" the Batak society did not have a fixed and institutionalized social stratification. But for various reasons and in certain situations, in reality there were three groups in society even though these were not permanent, namely the chiefs (*rajas*) or leaders of society, the ordinary citizens, and the slaves (*hatoban*). The Batakmission opened an opportunity for each group to attend its schools. It was this policy which was in contrast to that of the colonial government because up until the beginning of this century, the Indies government gave priority to the upper class.¹³

It was also true to a certain extent that the Batakmission gave special treatment to the children

¹³ Cf. Cunningham, *The Postwar Migration*, p. 37; and A.A. Sitompul, "Tradition and Modernization Among the Batak" in *Berita Kajian Sumatra* [Sumatran Research News] vol. IV, No. 2, May 1975, p. 23.

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of the chiefs also in harmony with its strategy of winning all Bataks to the Gospel through winning their chiefs on the basis of the slogan *cuius religio eius religio*. This was seen in the priority given to children of chiefs to enter seminary and the Dutch schools, and even the establishment of the Children of Chiefs' School in Narumonda (which lasted only a short time). But the Batakmission also gave opportunity to talented children of ordinary citizens to continue their education after being graduated from elementary schools. In addition, the Batakmission gave much attention to the slaves.¹⁴ Many of these succeeded in advancing and becoming teachers, pastors, or members of other professions. In this way, the Batakmission along with the government endeavoured to wipe out slavery, and to raise the social status of the former slaves.

Of course, not all teachers and pastors originated from the slave group, in fact most of them came from the chiefs' families or from ordinary citizens. Regardless from which class persons had come, however, after they became teachers or pastors, they obtained a higher social status. This was also the case for members of other professions who had been products of the Batakmission. In other words, education gave a new status to people who had been able to enjoy it, and educated people formed a new social group, the middle class, to borrow a modern term.

This new social class did not immediately displace or negate the position of the chiefs or "traditional aristocrats"¹⁵ in social institutions, including the church. But at the very least these new groups were of the same level as the traditional aristocrats. If up until that point the aristocratic groups were the ones possessing *sahala* in its most powerful form, afterwards it was obtained by

¹⁴ Generally, former slaves resided in the homes of missionaries and were given education according to the *anak piara* system. This system was practised in almost all mission fields and it was here for the first time that education as nurture took place. In later developments, this system was no longer maintained; the former slaves attended the regular schools opened by the mission for the general public. But the spirit or principle of this view was maintained in all Batakmission schools. See Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ff; cf. Chapter Four, A.2.

¹⁵ Zanen (*Voorwaarden voor maatschappelijke ontwikkeling*, p. 124) used this term for the chief or leader in Batak society.

those who had had an education.¹⁶

Even though educated persons have emerged as a group or as a new social class in society, it is not necessary for us to imagine clashes occurring between this group and that of the traditional aristocrats, because part of the former originated in the latter; in fact most of the graduates of the Dutch schools originated from the aristocratic class. What had happened was an overlapping between the two groups, even though the overlapping was not precise. Thus the Batakmission's educational ministry, and also schooling provided by other sources, did not result in the total destruction of the former Batak social structure. Or to use a sociological term, mission education in the Batakland did not result in extensive or obvious social mobility, i.e. the drastic reshuffling of a person's social status from the lowest to the highest.¹⁷ Although there were those who experienced a conspicuous raising of their social status, only a few of these were former slaves.¹⁸ What happened in general was a narrowing of the borders between social groups present before, and concurrently the forming of new social groups which had originated from the former three traditional classes.

Although groups having an education formed new social entities, nevertheless it must be noted that their numbers were very small. The reason for this was that only those persons who had been graduated from Dutch schools and high schools could be called the educated class, and their total was less than 5% of all the graduates of Batakmission schools. It was just this small group which had the greatest opportunity to obtain positions or work which raised their social status.

¹⁶ Cf. Nyhus, *op. cit.*, p. 39: "Education offered not only a means of gaining security but also of increasing ones *sahala* by the power and the honour that would accrue."

¹⁷ Van Bemmelen, "Female Education", p. 7.

¹⁸ In certain places, such as in Sipirok and Angkola, even to the present, the status of a former slave or his descendents continues to make his position in society lower, especially in adat activities, even though his education is high.

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This fact made the Batak community realize that just an elementary level education (*Volksschool, Sekolah Desa*) was not satisfactory for opening opportunities to achieve a higher social status. At the same time they saw that the Batakmission was unable to increase the number and capacity of its high schools and Dutch schools. This was the reason why there was great unrest in the Batak community at the beginning of this century. Its members demanded that the Batakmission drastically increase the numbers of its high schools and Dutch schools. However, since the Batakmission was unable to provide as many as they demanded, they took the initiative to send their children outside the Batakland to obtain further schooling, or they founded schools which they thought would support the fulfilment of their desires to obtain employment and success in order to raise their future social and economic status.

We can conclude therefore, that viewed quantitatively and in comparison with the total numbers of graduates from the Batakmission schools, not many of them experienced an enhancement of their social status. But indirectly, the Batakmission prepared the way for many Batak Christians to obtain a high social status through the schooling track because those who continued their schooling beyond the Batakland or in local private indigenous high schools tended to be graduates of the Batakmission's elementary schools. In other words, the Batakmission shared in their advancement by equipping them with the basic knowledge which would enable them to initiate communication with the outside world both in the matter of continuing their schooling and also in obtaining employment. The latter in turn gave them a more satisfactory social status. Through obtaining a new social status and forming a new social class, this educated group prepared the way for the formation of modern social organizations in the Batakland, organizations which were a mixture between the old pattern of social organization and the new, that is, the kind known through communication with the world outside the Batak homeland.¹⁹

¹⁹ This mixture or merging, was seen for example in the organization of the *huta* or village. The *huta* continued to form part of the territory of the *marga*, but gradually it no longer was an autonomous social unit led by the chief as a traditional

2. Increasing Economic Prosperity

It must be stressed that education was not the sole track for the Batak people to achieve an improvement in their economic prosperity. The Batakmission, too, was not the sole institution which endeavoured to increase economic prosperity or which opened an opportunity in that direction. The colonial government organized the transportation and communication infrastructure (especially highways) even though it used the people's labour, created a relatively calm political situation since 1907, increased health services and agricultural information (including from the Batakmission), opened private foreign-owned plantations and enterprises, and made various other efforts. These initiatives by the government and the Batakmission were supporting factors for increasing the income and economic prosperity of the Batak society.²⁰

Even so, the Batakmission's educational endeavour, one which almost had a monopoly over all the school systems in the Batak area at that time, was an important factor, if not the most important one, in increasing the social and economic prosperity of the Batak community, especially the Batak Christian community.

The Batakmission schools, even though most were only at the elementary level, made the Batak society become one of the most literate tribal groups in the whole of the Dutch Indies (modern Indonesia), and in turn opened an opportunity for Bataks to obtain employment outside of the traditional type. The new kind of work which they obtained, certainly provided earnings which were more satisfactory. Even though only small numbers of the elementary school graduates were

leader, but began to be merged with other *hutas* to form a *negri* which was headed by a person appointed by the government, and this person must have had an education. Cf. Viner, *op. cit.*, p. 109 and Vergouwen, *op. cit.*, p. 3. The merger of the former pattern and spirit with that of the new is strongly felt in *Hatopan Kristen Batak* (cf. Chapter Six, A.2.).

²⁰ Cf. K.J. Pelzer, "The Western Impact on East Sumatra and North Tapanuli", in *The Journal of South Asian History*, vol. 2, no. 2, July 1961, pp. 69ff; and Th. Müller-Krüger, *Der Protestantismus in Indonesien* (1968), p. 262.

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able to continue on to higher schools and to have an important position afterwards, nevertheless having the capital of knowledge and skills obtained while in the elementary schools helped them in developing themselves for various kinds of daily work. This was due to the elementary schools' curricula including a certain amount of practical knowledge and skills which were intended to help the students earn a livelihood later. In short, as Pelzer wrote, the greatest contribution of the Batakmission's elementary schools was to cause society to change gradually from one which was agrarian to one which was bureaucratic, commercial and made up of skilled artisans.²¹

For the graduates of high schools and vocational schools, the increase in economic prosperity, in addition to the enhancement of social status, was something which almost definitely occurred. Except in a few cases²², they generally obtained work which brought them satisfactory earnings. Moreover, those who were able to enter the colonial government's civil service, including teachers in government schools, received salaries which were higher than those who were not civil servants. Teachers in mission schools and pastors, too, obtained larger earnings than the average income of the public, even though their salaries were not as large as those received by government servants. Furthermore, these received various fringe benefits, such as having priority for their children to enrol in regular Batakmission high schools and vocational schools. This was also the situation for graduates of the Trade School, most of whom obtained work in private firms, or became entrepreneurs themselves; their incomes too were much, much larger than that of the unskilled labourer.

This increase in economic well-being was enjoyed much more by the Batakmission graduates who worked outside of the Batakland. In general, they did not find it difficult to obtain employment with satisfactory incomes. This was the case because both the colonial government and

²¹ Pelzer, *art. cit.*, p. 71. Cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

²² For example, the reduction in the number of schools receiving a subsidy resulted in some teachers losing their place of employment, and the unemployment of some graduates of Dutch schools during the Depression (see Chapter Six).

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western entrepreneurs wanted to employ them because in comparison with other tribal groups, Bataks were considered to be more tenacious, intelligent, capable, more quickly able to adapt themselves to new circumstances, and ready to work hard.

Seeing the great opportunities opened to high school (both Dutch and the regular kind) graduates for obtaining a higher social status and for enjoying greater economic welfare, Batak parents were eager to send their children to schools both in the Batak area as well as outside it. They became increasingly aware that the school was a most effective avenue and vehicle for giving form to their ideals, namely to become wealthy, respected and to have power. For this reason, they looked upon the Batakmission policy which limited the number of its high schools and Dutch schools as but a half-hearted attempt to advance the interests of the Batak people, and the Batakmission's effort to hinder their intentions to emigrate as an obstacle for fulfilling their desires to fully advance themselves in the social and economic fields.²³ This desire which had been largely thwarted during the mission era became almost uncontrollable after World War II; as if a flood tide, the Bataks flowed to other districts of Sumatra, and to other islands including Java in order to obtain arable land, to seek work, as well as to obtain an education as advanced as possible (see Chapter Six, A.1.).

If we view the success of the Batakmission from the perspective of the desire of the Batak people to seek education in order to raise their economic well-being, then we may conclude that its effort in the field of education was very limited. However, if we view the Batakmission's achievement in economic improvement from the side of its basic reason for coming to the Batak area, namely to christianize the Batak people and to found a church, then it is only natural that raising their social status and income was but a secondary goal. In any case, it must be acknowledged that the Batakmission succeeded in increasing the Bataks' consciousness about the

²³ In fact, Castles, *op. cit.*, p. 73, saw that this limiting was the reason why so few Batak Christians at that time succeeded in becoming professionals with higher education, for example, doctors, engineers, lawyers, and high government

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importance of education as a means for enhancing their economic well-being, particularly so for the Bataks of the northern region. Even though there were Bataks who charged that the missionaries were hindrances to their ambition for advancement, nevertheless it is clear that it was just the Batakmission which began the transition of the Batak people from being a cold society (i.e one lacking communication with the outside world) to being a hot society.²⁴

3. Enhancing the Status and Role of Women

Observers from the disciplines of sociology and anthropology may engage in lengthy debate about whether the status of Batak women was very high or very low during the pre-mission time. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that up to the period of the coming of missionaries, in comparison with men, women's opportunities for obtaining education and advancement were very limited.

We have seen that from the beginning of the Batakmission's presence in the Batak area, it had given much attention to raising the status and role of women through the avenue of education, and the effort to conscientize society to accept the reality that women had the right to schooling and to achieve advancement. Thanks to this effort, the number of women in Batakmission schools, including its Dutch schools, increased from period to period. In a similar way and parallel with the rapid increase in the number of women missionaries (*Schwestern*) as members of the Batakmission, schools especially for girls/women increased rapidly. As a result, the Batak region, along with other mission areas, occupied the highest place in the whole of the Dutch Indies in terms of the number and percentage of women in schools and those who were literate (even if we do not wish to call this having an education).²⁵

officials.

²⁴ This term used by Viner, *op. cit.*, p. 109, who had borrowed the term from the sociologist Levi-Strauss.

²⁵ A. Limburg, *De School in het Zendingswerk* (no publisher or year listed), p. 23.

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It is also of interest to highlight the research of Van Bemmelen (Chapter Six, B.2.). Although the consciousness of the Batak community about the importance of sending its daughters to school continued to increase, even to the highest possibility available (with reference to the standards and opportunities of the time), nevertheless the goal was not so that women would obtain economic autonomy as female workers, but rather to open opportunities for women themselves and their families to raise their social status through marriage with men of higher position and social status.

The Batakmission itself did not expend much energy in making the women whom it taught become workers who had economic independence. The *Meisjeskopschool* which it operated in several places was not intended to produce women who were financially independent, but who would be model Christian women or wives in faith, piety, morality, industry, cleanliness and health. This was also the case with the women graduates of the Dutch schools, high schools and vocational schools. They were not taught to be financially independent even though the opportunity was opened in that direction, and their abilities were significant as this was expressed by Batakmission workers in their praises and appreciation of the work and abilities of the women whom they had taught.

It was not just in the field of 'secular' work that the Batakmission lacked interest in teaching women to be equipped for financial gain or in providing them with such opportunities, but also in the structural ministries of the Batak church. During the whole period of the Batakmission's work, not a single woman was ever appointed elder, teacher/preacher in the congregation, evangelist, and of course never as a pastor, even though the missionaries never ceased praising the piety, faithfulness and depth of the Batak Christian women's understanding of the Christian faith.

To be sure, as late as 1907 there were a number of Batak women who served in the cadre of Batakmission teachers with their numbers increasing markedly after their completion of the special course for teachers at the Laguboti *Meisjesschool* and the School for Teachers at Padangpanjang. However, not one of them ever held the dual function as teacher in the school and preacher in the

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congregation.²⁶ The *Bijbelvrouw* (see Chapter Six, B.2.) too, never held any office in the congregations' structural organization; they only accomplished functions limited to women and children.

Why did the Batakmission demonstrate such an attitude and policy? We may assume that the reason for this would be found in its tendency to adjust itself to the pattern of thinking and understanding of the people, namely that women did not need to have independence to live and work for themselves, and in any case women's status was held to be lower than that of men. Even if this assumption were correct, the more fundamental cause would be found in the European traditions of church and society, or at least in the traditions of the missionaries themselves. Up until the beginnings of this century (and certain areas, even to the present) there has been no full emancipation of women in European church and society. In the RMG itself, for example, both in Germany and in the Batak area, there was no church office held by women.

Even so, it must be acknowledged and concluded that within certain limits, the Batak-mission tried hard to elevate the status, level and role of Batak Christian women. Without the effort of the Batakmission, especially in the field of education, it could not be imagined that at the end of the Batakmission's work, most Christian Batak women would be literate. At a minimum, the Batakmission had opened and prepared a way for the Batak Christian women to develop their potential during the post-mission era. In other words, the progress of Christian Batak women at the present can not be separated from the effort begun by the Batakmission in the previous period.

C. In the Field of Politics

The Batakmission workers stressed many times that they did not want to be political or be involved in political matters; their goal in coming to the Batakland was neither to plant nor to support a particular political power, but rather to proclaim the Gospel. This emphasis was

²⁶ Cf. Gramberg's criticism of this situation, Chapter Seven.

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expressed in connection with the emergence of various political movements and forces in the Batakland. But that declaration indicated that as products of their age, they had a particular political view, especially the one inherited from Fabri.

In their relationship with the Dutch colonial government, indeed the missionaries often manifested a critical attitude. In fact they were particularly courageous in opposing government policies which they thought militated against concerns of the Batak community as well as the mission, actions which caused them to be frequently disliked by the government. But in harmony with the political views which they upheld, they often supported the actions and policies of the government, for example the annexation of the Batakland.

The political convictions or understandings which they followed played a role and an influence in their educational efforts. On the other hand, the same understanding brought about a reaction from the Batak community which they were teaching. We shall look at these one by one.

1. Providing Civil Service Employees

The application of the Dutch colonial administrative system to the Batak region brought about a need for low level indigenous civil servants. Initially, this need was fulfilled by the government schools in South Tapanuli. But the Batakmission protested against this policy. In order to fulfil the needs in the area of its own work, the Batakmission urged the government to recruit employees from among the Batak Christians who were products of its schools. The government fulfilled this request later, especially after it had signed an agreement granting monopoly rights to the Batakmission for schooling in the northern region of the Batakland. This caused the mission to be willing to have some of its teachers become government employees not only in the field of education but in other fields as well. This was also one of the reasons which prompted the Batakmission to found the school in Narumonda for the Children of Chiefs, namely so that there would be civil service candidates who were Christian in faith and character. Even though this objective was not attained so the school had to be closed, nevertheless almost all civil servants in the Batak

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area were graduates of the Batakmission schools, particularly so after it opened schools in the Dutch language.

While children were in the Batakmission schools, it planted loyalty in their hearts and minds to the colonial government and the Dutch nation. In fact the missionaries spoke of this as patriotism. To a certain extent this effort was successful; in fact so much so that the colonial government praised the seriousness and loyalty of its employees, most of whom were products of the Batakmission schools. In the magazine *Immanuel*, not infrequently articles appeared which were written by Batak bureaucrats and teachers receiving a government subsidy and containing expressions of gratitude and support for the colonial government. In fact, a significant number of these persons imitated the Dutch officials' way of life and pattern of thought.

In short, these indigenous employees, together with the missionaries, justified colonialism in the Batak area in particular, and in the Dutch Indies in general, because of the thought and conviction that colonialism had brought benefits to the Batak society and region. These were the same ones who opposed the emergence of the nationalist movement in the Batakland. Whether this thought and conviction were based on a deep understanding of the essence of colonialism or only on the practical gains which the writers enjoyed, and whether this conviction could be defended responsibility from the side of theology are other issues altogether.

2. The Rise of Nationalism

Obviously not all products of the Batakmission schools were supporters of colonialism. In fact, the principal members of the nationalist movement, especially the HKB, were graduates of its schools or at the very least had attended them for a certain period.

Observers do not deny that a large part of the influence and stimulation for nationalism originated outside the Batak area, namely from the understanding of nationalism and its movement which had grown in Java and East Asia in general. But they also noted that the national spirit and consciousness (or more accurately, regional spirit and consciousness) which grew in the hearts of

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some of the Bataks were just the feelings which had been produced by the educational processes experienced in the Batakmission schools.

After having observed the growth of the spirit of nationalism and its movement in the Batak area, Ed. Müller, for example, came to the conclusion that the self-consciousness of the Bataks as a people was raised by the content of the lessons or the educational system of the Batakmission. On the basis of the principle of "caring for and developing the distinctive characteristics or cultural heritage (*Volkstum*) of the Bataks to the extent these were valued positively", the Batakmission provided a very important place in its curriculum for the Batak heritage. In fact through this approach, the Batakmission tried to purify, preserve and develop the Batak culture. This effort caused the Batak society to not only appreciate its culture, but to increasingly appreciate it as a valued heritage with the result that the people's identity as Bataks became more and more clear and firm. Therefore in facing the power and superiority of Westerners, there grew the strong resolve in Bataks themselves that "We are able to be just like them."²⁷

This self-consciousness as a people became mixed later with the nationalism coming from outside which gave rise to an anti-colonial or an anti-foreign authority sentiment. This in turn became crystallized in the nationalistic, anti-colonial movements and organizations. This consciousness grew especially in the souls of educated persons, a large number of whom were products of the Batakmission schools. With reference to this fact, it can be said that obviously the Batakmission itself had no intention of planting such a political consciousness in its students and never dreamed about stimulating an anti-colonial sentiment and attitude. As a product of its age, it would have been impossible for the Batakmission to have prompted an anti-colonial and anti-foreign spirit in its pupils. But just this reality has happened many times in history; values planted through certain processes may become a boomerang which returns to attack their sower.

In any case, the Bataks ought to thank the Batakmission because whether directly or indirectly,

²⁷ Ed. Müller, "Strömungen im Batakvolk und die Mission", in *BRMG* 1930, particularly p. 339; and Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

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through its educational effort it shared in planting or, at the least strengthening a political consciousness in them, namely a people's and national consciousness whether as an independent people, or as a part of a more extensive national group.²⁸

D. In the Field of Culture

Starting from the two-sided RMG/Batakmission understanding of culture, the missionaries classified Batak cultural elements into three categories: those positive, those neutral and those negative. Those elements deemed positive were used to support its goal. Those neutral elements could be used by the Batakmission for supporting its program while remaining vigilant to the possibility that their influence could be mixed in with elements considered negative. Those elements viewed as negative, namely those related closely with the traditional tribal faith (heathenism) were firmly rejected; all church workers and members, including school pupils, were forbidden to follow their practices or possess their objects.

Of course, this categorization did not take place automatically nor was it always able to be firmly maintained, nor was a common view always attained. For example, in traditional Batak music there were elements which were firmly rejected by the Batakmission, such as the *gondang* which was presented along with a dance (*tortor*), because they were clearly deemed to cause the

²⁸ According to Castles, *op. cit.*, pp. 181ff and 199, the pre-mission Bataks had already possessed a "primitive ethnocentric superiority" and this became strengthened by the missionaries after the Bataks became Christians until there were Bataks who called themselves God's chosen people just as Israel had been. When the Bataks left their area, they were mocked as members of an uncivilized tribe, cannibals, etc., which made them feel inferior. But gradually, after their numbers in dispersion increased, and more of them occupied important positions thanks to the education they had received, the feeling of superiority returned, in fact it became chauvinistic. Later this became a problem within their own circles, whether Bataks were a nation (Batak) or a part of a larger nation (Indonesia). There were some who opted for the first and others for the second, and also others who choose both, "Yes, we are Bataks, but yea, we are Indonesians".

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reemergence of the old beliefs. But there were also elements of Batak music which did not issue in a consistent and uniform attitude and evaluation on the part of the missionaries, for example towards various instruments, rhythms and poetic expressions (see Meerwaldt's and Bielefeld's differences, Chapter Five, D.1.).

Nevertheless, it is evident that the Batakmission workers were selective in their attitude towards Batak culture by utilizing a standard for selection brought from Germany. At the same time, this indicated that the Batakmission had a tendency to look upon Batak culture as a collection of elements which could be classified, but it failed to see the culture as a unity or as a comprehensive system or totality. From the beginning of the Batakmission there had been critics of this understanding and evaluation. Fischer, a Dutch ethnologist who visited the Bataklands about 1930, held to the opinion that the Batakmission was frequently dishonest in its attitude and evaluation of culture. On the one hand, certain elements were evaluated negatively because these were considered 'pagan' and in fact the mission tried to destroy them, while on the other hand it was unwilling to realize and acknowledge that there were elements in western culture which had long been considered Christian, but which in fact had originated in the pagan world.²⁹

In point of concrete fact, the Batak culture could not be classified. Therefore, the categorization which the Batakmission had made started from an assumption which did not agree with reality. Ethnologically, this approach was in error and it could not be defended theologically. Even so, it much be acknowledged that through the Batakmission's educational system and activities and in its other ministries, it had endeavoured to care for and had rendered great service in developing a number of elements of Batak culture from those deemed positive and neutral.

The bringing of a certain amount of knowledge and skills originating from the Batak culture into the school curriculum and by recording it in various kinds of literature (including literature which had been worked up through contests and writing assignments for teachers and pastors)

²⁹ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 144 ff.

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continued to be well-maintained until the conclusion of the Batakmission's work. More importantly, the Batak community was aroused and stimulated to do research, to deepen and to appreciate various heritages received from its ancestors. For this reason, elements of Batak culture have been preserved even though western culture has made strong inroads into the Batakland since the beginning of this century causing a number of Bataks to be ensnared by a western pattern of life.

Although the Batakmission endeavoured to maintain and develop various elements of traditional Batak culture, obviously this did not mean that it rejected modern western culture. In fact for a large number of Bataks, the Batakmission was the first agent for introducing them to modern western culture. But towards it, the Batakmission also exercised a selective attitude. Those elements in it which it considered positive were permitted entrance into Batak society and were introduced through its educational effort. Thus the Batakmission tried to bring together all cultural elements which it deemed positive, those originating in traditional Batak culture as well as those from the modern West. Just this combination of the two kinds of culture caused the Batak community to advance more strongly and become cultured.

In essence, through the Batakmission's categorization, selection and combination of cultural elements accomplished also through its educational effort, it tried to tear down the basic structure of traditional Batak culture rooted in a belief system judged to be 'pagan' and at the same time it sought to construct a new foundation rooted in Christianity. In other words, taking a leaf from G. Warneck's view concerning culture, the Batakmission tried to construct a Christian Batak culture based on those Batak and Western cultural elements evaluated as positive.

Until the end of the Batakmission's period of ministry, it continued to be busy constructing that new culture, one which it never finished. This effort was inherited by the post-mission Batak church, including the Batakmission's selective way of understanding and evaluating, and its criteria for that selection. The influence of the Batakmission's way of thinking and its view of culture continues to be dominant in the Batak church up to the present day. Of course, we have a right to

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inquire whether there is such a thing as a Christian culture. This problem has been much debated by missiologists and theologians.³⁰ If one were to ask the Batakmission if this were possible, the answer would be definite, "Yes, of course". It was that conviction which motivated the Batakmission to create a cultural structure which was said to have been based on Christian principles. Whether this conviction were true or not, the Batakmission succeeded in maintaining and developing the elements of traditional Batak culture and bequeathing this view of culture to the Batak church through its educational as well as other ministries.

Nevertheless, we must ask whether the Batakmission succeeded in eradicating those values or elements which it had stamped as pagan . Even though it had worked tirelessly to stamp out or to convince the Bataks that those elements which it had identified as 'negative' were indeed a danger to their Christian faith, it is obvious that many of those could not be eliminated. To be sure most of the material elements have been put aside, but values characterized as abstract, such as the spirit, attitude and view of life followed by Bataks, continue to exhibit those influences and infusions identified as 'pagan' by the Batakmission. At the same time, this provides proof that the holistic Batak culture cannot be so summarily categorized and its religious foundation can not be substituted easily by another.

E. In the Field of Education

Especially if viewed quantitatively, many people would quickly say that in general the Batakmission's contribution towards developing the field of education was very great, especially in the Batakland. Modern authors from government circles who write the history of education in North Sumatra have expressed their general appreciation for the commendable service and

³⁰ See for example H. R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (1951), especially p. 30ff, concerning E. Troeltsch's view of Christian culture; cf. Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium*, pp. 135-151, which analyzes the Batakmission's effort to compose specifications for a Christian *adat*.

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contribution made by the Batakmission's educational endeavour.³¹ But such a general expression of appreciation or statement is insufficient as proof of the Batakmission's educational effort for the development of the field of education in the Batakland or in North Sumatra, or for that matter in Indonesia itself. Indeed, we do not have any pretension or ambition to examine it so extensively. What we are able to accomplish is just to look at the contribution or impact of the Batakmission's educational endeavour as a system of education developed by a mission and Church in Indonesia, even though while accomplishing this, we are also able to note from time to time its contribution and impact on the field of education in Sumatra and in Indonesia in general.

The main question which we posit here is to what extent the system of education developed by the Batakmission for almost 80 years obtained a place in, or made a contribution to the system of education developed by the Christian mission in the past and in the church of this modern day in Indonesia? Before we answer that question, let us note the quantitative contribution of the Batakmission.

At the end of the Batakmission's period of ministry, 90 percent of the Batak community was literate, and most of those persons were products of the Batakmission's schools. This was able to occur because practically speaking a mission school was to be found in each village, even in the most remote places, although the physical condition of most of those schools was in a very poor state. In the decade of the 1930s, among the various mission fields in Indonesia, the Batakland or the Tapanuli area was the one occupying the topmost place in comparison with the number of inhabitants who were Christian and the number of school pupils.³²

³¹ Masykuri and Sutrisno Kutoyo (ed.), *Sejarah Pendidikan di Daerah Sumatera Utara* [The History of Education in the Region of North Sumatra], 1910, pp. 13, 36, and 39, for example, which declared that "... education in the North Sumatra region was begun by Christian religious workers" and "if we wish to talk about education in North Sumatra, we must also discuss the schooling conducted by Christian missions ... particularly that which was conducted by the RMG".

³² See, for example, J. Rauws, *The Netherlands Indies* (1935), pp. 159ff (Appendix III: General Statistics).

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One can see then that quantitatively, the Batakmission made an impressive contribution to the campaign to wipe out illiteracy and towards the development of the minds of the people in that area.

More than that, the Batakmission had brought about a very marked interest in schooling on the part of the Batak society, a matter which continued to be maintained until the post-mission period, in fact up to the present. From the national statistics, we see that from year to year, North Sumatra occupied a top place among the provinces outside of Java in the percentage of inhabitants who attended school from the elementary school to the university.³³ Supposing that we were able to obtain data about the number of Bataks who attended school or continued their schooling outside of North Sumatra, we assume that the percentage level would be higher yet. Therefore, it will not be too far afield when it is said that "after the island of Java, North Sumatra was the region which experienced the most rapid progress in education"³⁴, and in this connection, "the service of the Christian mission bodies was meritorious in achieving the raising of the educational level of the inhabitants in this area, both in formal as well as in informal education".³⁵

The achievement of the Batakmission in operating so many schools and producing so many educated members of Batak society (at least who were literate) was not because of the sufficiency of support in effort and funds received. We have seen how throughout the period of the Batakmission's work, it was continually experiencing difficulties, in fact crises in both areas. Therefore, Graves' statement is not accurate when he said that in the environment of the 'pagan Bataks', namely in the Batakland or Tapanuli, the advance in education was due primarily to the

³³ See, for example *Statistik Indonesia 1984* (1985), p. 60 (Table 3.1.3: Inhabitants according to province or island) in combination with pp. 156-171 (Table 4.1.2 through 4.1.12: the number of schools, teachers and pupils in the elementary schools through higher education, according to provinces).

³⁴ Masykuri and Kutoyo, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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government's support in effort, funds and policy.³⁶ The success of the Batakmission must be placed especially on the motivation and the views of its personnel supported by the desire and motivation of the Batak community (even though there was often a collision between the views of the two parties).

We shall now make an inventory of several important matters in the Batakmission's educational system whose influence has tended to be echoed in the effort to compose a system of Christian schooling in Indonesia, in fact it may find echoes in the effort to shape a national educational system while continuing to be aware that we do not have all the accurate tools and measurements to detect and to identify the degree of influence of the Batakmission in them.

1. As the heir of the educational views of the reformers, especially Luther, the Batak-mission strongly emphasized that education was the right of each member of society, that therefore schools must be made available to the extent possible, and must be opened to all its groups. In other words, the Batakmission participated in proclaiming that education built on Christian principles meant education for all persons.

But this view was not separated from the first goal of the Batakmission's educational ministry, namely to support the formation of a strong and independent people's church where each member must be able to read the Bible and other Christian literature. It was just this issue which Kraemer saw as the point of weakness in the Batakmission's education:

The honest missionary concern for the spiritual welfare of the people was placed in too narrow a framework. The missionaries resented the breakdown of the country's geographical isolation, because they wished to perpetuate its spiritual isolation in order to be able to continue unhampered the Christian education of the Bataks according to their own insight. ... They have regarded the Batak people too exclusively as material for the realization of missionary aims (in themselves excellent). Missions were at stake and not the Batak people. They were interested in education as a missionary instrument and not as an instrument or nucleus of power for the education and elevation of the people Missions were too

³⁶ E.E. Graves, *The Ever-Victorious Buffalo: How the Minangkabau of Indonesia Solved Their "Colonial Question"* (1971), p. 8. This statement is related to the conclusion that in the Minangkabau area, in distinction from Tapanuli, the advancement of education occurred primarily because of the efforts of the indigenous community.

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exclusively possessed of the desire to raise a strong Christian community and a strong Church, and did not sufficiently desire to build up a strong Christian people.³⁷

In other words, within the strength of the Batakmission's total educational view, there was a weakness in its educational view and system.

2. The Batakmission tried to involve the whole community in accomplishing education. It wished to bring about a growth in the realization that education was the responsibility of the whole community, both in readying its physical means and operating its finances (including facilities and teacher support) and in encouraging an enthusiasm for learning and for supervising the learning process for children. In short, the Batakmission endeavoured to utilize and to develop the principle of "community education" which was embraced by the pre-mission Batak community. Involvement of the whole community in turn brought about an intense desire and an enthusiasm for learning and to send its children to school until its slogan "Learn! Learn!" formed a daily shorthand symbol of the Batak community's thirst for knowledge, especially from the beginning of this century.³⁸

Certainly, the Batakmission's educational effort and view were not the only factors which played a role in bringing about growth in great enthusiasm and desire for schooling. The personal potential in each Batak individual as well as social, economic and political developments in the Batakland had a role as well, especially so since the beginning of this century. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that at the very least, the Batakmission was the first agency which stimulated the desire for learning, which cultivated the positive potential in each person and was the agency which introduced the Bataks to the "modern world" with all of the value which this promised. The Batakmission's effort joined with other factors mentioned above brought about an extraordinary fanaticism in Batak parents to send their children to school even if this meant bearing

³⁷ Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff. If Kraemer's criticism were true, that would mean that the Batakmission would not have been faithful to the *Volkschristianisierung* view of G. Warneck which stressed just the formation of a strong and independent Christian community.

³⁸ Verwiebe, *Tole!*, p. 36.

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whatever sacrifice was required for that purpose. Cunningham and Castles saw this reality as "a dramatic story in modern Indonesia".³⁹

3. The Batakmission tried to find a place for "local content"⁴⁰ in its educational endeavour, namely knowledge and practical examples from daily life and then integrating them into the knowledge brought from the West. With this method, the pupils did not feel alienated from their daily environment and did not feel that the knowledge taught, including the Christian religion, was something foreign to them. As a result, their interest in learning became motivated while at the same time they came to increasingly appreciate their cultural heritage and homeland. This method also caused them to quickly perceive the value of the knowledge studied for activities related to earning a livelihood or in accomplishing their daily work.

In Chapter Three, we saw that the integration method had been propagated by European educators earlier. The missionaries had studied this method in their seminary, in fact several of them had experienced it in institutions for teacher education. Even though this method was not original to the Batakmission or Christian Missions in general, we may assume that among the various institutions which brought the western educational model and which operated schools out of this model, missionary personnel were the first to have used it in Indonesia. Moreover, if we remember the criticism from missionary circles about the character and content of the Indies colonial government's education as being too theoretical and intellectual, then our assumption is given increased strength.

³⁹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 69; and Castles, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁰ This expression was used by Indonesia's Minister of Education and Culture, Fuad Hasan in the sense of "various distinctive matters or regional characteristics, namely various skills and traditional craft-work, and also various regional cultural manifestations, such as language, regional writing, legends, and customary regulations" ("*Muatan Lokal Kurikulum SD Akrabkan Anak-Lingkungan*", [Local Content in the Elementary School Curriculum Making Friends between the Children and the Environment], in *Kompas* (daily newspaper), July 14, 1987, p. 1).

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4. The Batakmission strongly emphasized the inclusion of religious lessons and activities in the curriculum of its schools. Its objective was not merely to attract the interest of the pupils in accepting Christianity in a formal way through baptism because as a matter of fact most of its pupils had already been baptized, but rather in order to form Christian character in harmony with the Batakmission's understanding of Christian character, namely piety, honesty, industry, diligence, orderliness, discipline, having a preference for peace, etc. In other words, for the Batakmission, education was not just a matter of communicating knowledge and skills, but also, and primarily, the planting of moral and spiritual values in the pupils within the framework of character formation (*Charakterbildung*). Admittedly, there were persons who did not agree with this objective and the methods used to attain it, but that is another issue, which will not be discussed here.

5. The Batakmission succeeded in bringing about growth in the Batak Christians' interest in becoming teachers. The stringent selection process and system of teacher education strongly emphasized a high degree of discipline. In general, this resulted in Batakmission teachers being quality persons, in fact the best of the Batak sons. This evaluation in turn gave them a high and respected social status causing many Bataks to view the teaching profession as an ideal calling. The Batak people's appreciation and respect for "teachers of the community" (*Raja Patik*, for example, Chapter Two) during the pre-mission period was redirected to the teachers of the Batakmission as persons who had higher and more perfect power and sacred knowledge (*sahala parbinotoan*). As a result, beginning with the Batakmission era until the following period, Batak interest in becoming teachers remained very high. This is the reason why we continue to meet many Batak teachers in almost the entire archipelago.

This fact has of course invited criticism, namely that the Batakmission was so enthusiastic about planting, encouraging and bringing about an understanding in the community about the high status and value of the teaching office that Bataks centred their ideals and goals on becoming teachers while at the same time showing a lack of appreciation and interest in other professions and intellectual categories. The critics saw this as one of the main reasons why

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only a few Bataks became doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc., during the mission period.⁴¹ However, we can not fully accept that criticism. First of all, the schools of higher education which educated the professionals and the granting of masters' degrees were not available until the 1920s (cf. Chapter One), and therefore such criticism is an anachronism. Secondly, before the arrival of the Batakmission, Bataks already had great respect for the teaching profession. Thirdly, the Batakmission also developed highschoools for the development of skills other than teaching, such as the Trade School, but at first it was just the Bataks themselves who lacked interest in learning other skills. Fourthly, the Batakmission operated a number of schools using the Dutch language which opened opportunities for Batak young people to continue their education at a higher level even though this effort began at the instigation of the community and only became encouraged after 1910. Even so, we do agree that the Batakmission greatly emphasized the teaching profession, and this action very much influenced the interest and the value system embraced by the community.

After looking at the impact and contribution of the Batakmission's educational effort for the field of education and other fields in the Batak church and society as well as in wider areas, may we conclude that the Batakmission's system of education agreed with the situation, condition and needs of the community, particularly in the Batakland? Parallel to that, did the Batakmission's educational system provide the most appropriate alternative to supersede the educational system of traditional Batak society?

As we have already noted, many persons from mission circles, the government and the Batak society itself advanced various criticisms both during and after the time of the Batakmission's work. There is no need for us to repeat those here. If we share those criticisms, then we must conclude that the Batakmission's system of education had many flaws related to goal, content, method, organization, quality of teachers, quality of physical facilities and equipment, etc.

Nevertheless we must firmly state here that we do not evaluate the Batakmission's effort or system of education through making general statements; we must see its effort from various sides and fields. We must also remember that the Batakmission's system of education was not something static or established. As we have seen throughout this analysis, the Batakmission was continually trying to develop as well as to correct its educational system after listening to criticisms and

⁴¹ This was the criticism of Simatupang and Panggabean, members of the church council of the Bandung congregation of the Indonesian Christian Protestant Church (GKPI) in Bandung in a discussion held on August 17, 1987 (Indonesia's Independence Day).

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suggestions both from without and within and after learning from the development and progress in the field of education from the wider environment, even though particular principles were firmly maintained.

An evaluation of the success or failure of the Batakmission's educational system ought not be based just on the situation, condition and needs of the community, but also on the goals which the Batakmission itself had defined. Viewed from the perspective of the goals which the Batakmission had specified, as noted in section A of this chapter, the Batakmission's educational endeavour resulted in positive impacts on the Batak church and society. In other words, seen from the goals which it had defined, and from various positive results from its educational work, most of that educational system was in harmony with the needs of the Batak church and society. If we or other critics do not agree with the Batakmission's educational goals, then that becomes another issue.

Certainly there were failures to achieve all of its goals, namely the Batakmission did not fully achieve the formation of an autonomous Batak church, especially in the matter of autonomy in ministry and leaders. We have already put forth our analysis and criticisms with reference to this matter, and this will be completed in Chapter Nine. In the meantime, we are able to say that with all of its shortcomings, the Batakmission achieved much in advancing education particularly in the Batakland, and in Indonesia in general.

CHAPTER NINE
REFLECTIONS

Along with the majority of other mission bodies, the RMG too carried out a program of schooling from the beginning of its presence and ministry in the field, including the Batak area. It did so because it viewed schooling as an integral part of its evangelistic mission to win indigenous peoples to the Christian faith, or at a minimum it perceived a school ministry as the most effective support for evangelism.

In order to justify and provide a Biblical foundation for the whole of its ministry, in general the RMG pointed to a number of Biblical texts. To justify biblically its educational ministry in particular, the texts generally chosen were Matthew 28:19 and 2 Timothy 3:16f.

Without denying or minimizing the truth of those references, we must ask whether such a manner of justification and grounding is sufficient and can be defended theologically. Modern mission authorities realize and stress that "proof-text" references such as those are no longer satisfactory. Evangelism and other ministries integral to it must be justified and based on the whole Biblical message. This is the case, because essentially the Bible is a missionary book; both the Old and New Testaments direct all believers to proclaim the universal *shalom* (well-being, peace) which God has prepared for and carried out for all people.¹ Even though only Matthew 28:19 contains the Great Commission explicitly, nevertheless implicitly the same message is found in the whole Bible.²

Therefore, what we must do now is not discuss which texts are most appropriate for providing a Biblical basis for evangelism and education, but instead to consider the significance of

¹ See for example, J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology* (1978), pp. 89ff which also refers to H. W. Gensichen, *Glaube für die Welt* [Faith for the World] (1971), and J. Blauw, *The Missionary Nature of the Church* (1962), pp. 15ff.

² Verkuyl, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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evangelism itself in the light of the Biblical message, as well as the place of schooling within the framework of evangelism. Afterwards on that basis, we shall try to throw light on the extent the mission motivation for an educational ministry can be justified theologically.

As has been indicated in the analysis given previously, the RMG's understanding of the meaning and objective of evangelism developed from period to period, and such development was seen clearly in field practice (here, read: Batak region). Initially, evangelism meant the communication of the truth of the Gospel, according to the version followed by the RMG, to indigenous people in order for them to repent by leaving their old faith and way of life and receiving and believing the Gospel as the truth and foundation for a new personal and collective life. Later on the meaning and goal of evangelism developed to become a means for christianizing a whole people (*Volkschristianisierung*) and forming an independent Christian church and community. According to this objective, it was not just individuals who needed to be christianized, but rather all aspects and fields of their lives, including their culture. This was to be accomplished by selecting and absorbing cultural elements and values viewed as positive and then combining these with cultural elements and values from the West to the extent these were already 'christianized'. The result would be a new Christian culture.

It was within this framework of understanding that the RMG carried out its educational ministry. The RMG's point of departure was Gustav Warneck's thesis that the mission was the educator of peoples and the mother of the school, and that fundamentally all mission effort was educational. The RMG operated its schools on the basis of Warneck's thought by maintaining that the schools were the key support for its ministry of verbal evangelism in order to attain the goal of christianizing a whole people. Even though in subsequent developments, the goal and function of its schooling included Christian character formation, raising the socio-economic status and level of the people, nevertheless the Batakmission continued to maintain that the main function and goal of operating schools was to support verbal evangelism. The attainment of such a goal as the aforementioned Christian character formation was viewed as the next step or logical consequence of

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attaining the goal of evangelism, namely the christianization of a whole people and the formation of an independent Christian church and society.

Such an understanding was not only followed by the RMG, but also by many other continental mission bodies, especially those based in Germany, who shared in considering Warneck as one of their "spiritual fathers". In fact according to some observers, Warneck's views continued to be influential at the 1928 IMC Conference in Jerusalem.³ But after the 1930s, various criticisms were advanced against his views and understandings.

The first criticism involved the understanding that the schooling ministry was an instrument for evangelism (*Missionsmittel*), in fact to be expressed more narrowly as the christianization of peoples. For example, the Commission on Re-Thinking Missions's report of 1932 stressed that if the Church or mission wished to continue its schooling ministry, the time had passed for using this as an evangelistic or proselytizing means.⁴ Sounding a similar note, the 1938 IMC Conference at Tambaran emphasized that the schooling ministry was not merely instrument for evangelism; the educational ministry itself was a ministry of evangelism.⁵

The second criticism is more complex and emerged after World War II. It was directed against the idea of *Volkschristianisierung* and its implementation through schooling. According to J. C. Hoekendijk, the position of christianization and church formation originated from a theological

³ J.H. Kane, *Understanding Christian Mission* (1978), p. 176.

⁴ W.E. Hocking (ed), *Re-Thinking Missions* (1932), pp. 68f. "The time has come to set the educational and other philanthropic aspects of mission work free from organized responsibility to the work of conscious and direct evangelization. We must be willing to give largely without any preaching: to cooperate with non-christian agencies for social improvement; and to foster the initiative of the Orient in defining the way in which we shall be invited to help."

⁵ "The Life of the Church" (The *Tambaram Series*, vol. IV, pp. 55, 61 & 65): Christian education in the full sense includes evangelism. Christian education should be seen more clearly for what it is, an integral part of the whole great enterprise of the church's witness. ... Evangelism must be educational and education must be evangelistic."

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understanding and arrogance which were dominant in the West at that time, especially the understanding of theologians which was centred in Schleiermacher and Troeltsch (Warneck was one of those theologians). They thought that there was such a reality as a Christian community (and one which could be brought into being), a Christian culture and everything with a Christian label centred in the Christian Church. Such an understanding was nothing less than an effort to reclaim the view of a *Corpus Christianum* which originated in the Middle Ages and which was neglected by the Reformers. In order to vivify and rebuild this dream of the past, those theologians and leaders in mission circles following their lead, were willing to permit many means such as cooperating with colonial authorities and sifting indigenous cultures to be combined with Western culture which was assumed to be infused with Christianity, in order to produce a Christian culture for the sake of maintaining the supremacy of Church and Christianity over all aspects of human life.⁶

Criticism of that goal of evangelism and the theological view which undergirded it was also accompanied by a criticism of its motivation. Hoekendijk, Van den Berg and Verkuyl were of the opinion that those theologians' and mission figures' main motivation for initiating such a totalitarian view and goal was strongly culturally anthropocentric. In Germany, especially, this motivation could not be separated from the spirit of Protestant nationalism which arose during the 19th century.⁷ In turn, this motivation issued in an attitude of superiority and paternalism.

According to critics, such a view and goal together with the attitude which these brought about were impossible to defend at the present because the peoples who had been colonial objects were now free. Furthermore, such motivation and goal could not be defended theologically either because its promoters and followers misunderstood the significance of evangelism in the light of

⁶ J.C. Hoekendijk, "A Call to Evangelism" in *IRM* 1950, pp. 164f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166; Van den Berg, *Constrained*, pp. 169ff; and Verkuyl, *op. cit.*, p. 192ff.

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their erroneous understanding of the Kingdom of God. They identified the Kingdom of God with the Church or with Christianity and considered that the task of Christians was to embody that Kingdom through evangelism, and other efforts and instruments for its support. In such an understanding, the institution of the Church and other institutions labelled Christian (the Christian state, Christian culture, Christian schooling) were basically imitations of Western models and became the centre and ultimate goal of evangelism.⁸

In order to correct this view, motivation and goal of evangelism, Hoekendijk emphasized that the main goal of evangelism is making the presence of *shalom* visible. The first person undertaking evangelism was the Christ (Messiah) Himself; we are then invited to participate in making visible the presence of this messianic shalom. The latter is much more than just personal salvation or the founding of Christian churches, Christian institutions and Christian society. Shalom means peace, wholeness, fellowship, harmony and justice, without requiring the affixation of "Church" or "Christian" to it. Therefore, the idea of shalom contains a **comprehensive richness**.⁹

In forming this shalom, Hoekendijk continues, evangelism must be seen as a comprehensive ministry and effort which comprehends *marturia*, *koinonia* and *diakonia* within it. Therefore, all those ministries integrated into evangelism must be undertaken within the framework of such a comprehensive evangelism.

This author shares Hoekendijk's opinion that evangelism must be comprehensive. If so, then schooling which is an integral part of it must not be seen merely as an instrument for Christianization or merely as a social-philanthropic effort separated from evangelism. At the same

⁸ Concerning this matter, Verkuyl (*op. cit.*, p. 194), wrote: "Christianization of people can never become the ultimate goal of mission, for when such attempts are viewed from the perspective of the coming of the Kingdom of God, they are seen for what they really are a complete and total compromise. Moreover, as the world becomes ever more pluralistic, we ought not to strive for domination but rather follow Him who washed His disciples' feet and took the way of the cross. Our goal is not some secularized theocracy but rather Christocracy."

⁹ Hoekendijk, *op. cit.*, pp. 167f.

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time he agrees with Van den Berg, Neill and Verkuyl that in continuing its comprehensive evangelistic ministry (including education/schooling), the church must correct its too anthropocentric motives and goals, including those which are cultural, compassionate, ecclesiastical and imperialistic. The reason being that those motives and goals would cause the church to become ensnared into a superior and totalitarian attitude, as well as into the erroneous thought that the success of the evangelistic commission were determined by humans alone, and whatever it accomplished by the church is definitely correct.¹⁰

But this author does not fully agree with Hoekendijk's understanding of the church when he emphasizes the church as an event (*Ereignis*) and does not sufficiently appreciate it as an institution (*Anstalt*). Certainly in itself the church is not the end goal of evangelism. The church is an *instrument* of the Kingdom of God for inviting persons to enter that Kingdom. Furthermore, the church (*ecclesia*) must be determined by and reflect the Kingdom (*basileia*). But without the institution of the church, the ministry of evangelism would lose its basis of clear responsibility.¹¹ To criticize the view which excessively glorifies the church must not mean to negate its importance. Here the author also agrees with the RMG which determined "the formation of an independent Batak church" as one goal of its evangelistic and educational ministries, and "the unity of church and school" as one principle of its educational endeavour.

What is important is for the church to be self-critical and realize that it is only an instrument to give form to shalom and the Kingdom of God and will disappear at the apogee of the process. But while waiting for that event, the church as an institution as a fellowship of the children of the Kingdom of God must participate in the *missio Dei*, namely the work of God in opposition to each human sickness, including ignorance, poverty and oppression. The church may accomplish this

¹⁰ Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-205; Verkuyl, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-172; Stephen Neill, *Call to Mission* (1970), pp. 15-19 and 40.

¹¹ Cf. Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

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through its educational/school ministry as an integral part of a comprehensive evangelism.¹² In order for the church to have the framework of understanding for a comprehensive evangelism and education, it must continually listen to the Biblical message anew so that it does not become captive to an understanding whether one evolutionary or dualistic in character.¹³

Hoekendijk's and other missiologists' criticisms, views and suggestions may be utilized for bringing more clarity to our analysis of several aspects of the RMG/Batakmission's educational endeavour. Without denying or minimizing the greatness of the positive impact of its educational ministry on various fields of the life of the church and Batak community (see Chapter Eight), we must also call attention to its basic shortcomings, if not actual errors, in its education, moreove in the whole of its work.

As a child of its times, the RMG/Batakmission was very convinced that everything possessed in the West was the best; it was much better than whatever was possessed by Batak society. It was just this conviction which form the basis for each of its *motives, goals, attitudes* and *policies*, including their embodiment in the field of education.

Its *evangelistic motive* was based on the conviction or assumption that the Gospel (or more accurately, Christian doctrine according to the way RMG/Batakmission understood them) was more correct than the teaching of the Batak tribal religion. The *motive of compassion* was based on the assumption that Christian Western people were within the circle of light and salvation prepared by God, whereas 'pagan' peoples (including Bataks) remain within the context of darkness so that they should properly be freed from darkness and misfortune. The *cultural motive* was based on the assumption that part of Western culture or civilization was already infused and purified by

¹² Cf. Verkuyl, *op. cit.*, pp. 201ff, Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 59ff and Blauw, *op. cit.*, pp. 119f.

¹³ Cf. J.H. Boer, *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context* (1979), pp. 485f, who views Warneck and colleagues as followers of an evolutionary understanding and the Church Growth people as followers of a dualistic understanding.

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Christianity so that it was able to be called Christian culture which was very much higher in quality and value than the Batak culture.

One of the Batakmission's evangelistic goals, the founding of an independent Batak church, was essentially of a church which was a clone of the Western church. Even though there were elements with distinctive characteristics such as the office of parish teacher (*guru huria*) who doubled as teacher in the parish school, and the pattern of organizing a congregation in parallel with the *marga* and *huta*, nevertheless the most important elements imitated the Western church model: its doctrines, organizational structure, leadership, style of ministry and order.

Furthermore, the above motives and goals determined Batakmission's attitude and judgement toward anything possessed by the Bataks. The categorization and selective attitude towards Batak culture was based on criteria for evaluation brought from the West. It categorized cultural elements and values as positive if these were not deemed in opposition to the "Christian culture" considered to be Western. This, too, was the norm received for choosing and evaluating seminary candidates and indigenous church workers; the criteria for selecting and evaluating their mental, moral, spiritual and intellectual qualities were those used in the West and had been employed for choosing the missionaries earlier. This was the main reason why the Batakmission stated again and again that the Batak church workers had not yet fulfilled the standard of quality which it had specified for becoming leaders in an independent church. Based on that criteria and standard too, its missionaries continued to maintain a superior and paternalistic attitude, because they felt that they had fulfilled that standard so they had a right to feel superior; thus they could be the nurturing fathers for the indigenous persons who had not yet met that norm.

It was this superior and paternalistic attitude which caused the Batakmission to treat the Bataks as objects of its educational system without giving much opportunity to them to experience the role of subjects. It was this attitude also which in turn brought about the emergence of ambivalence, in fact contradiction in its education: on the one hand the Batakmission's goal was to teach Bataks to become independent in all fields, whereas on the other hand it stubbornly evaluated the products of

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its education as not yet able to be independent. This was the reason why many observers and critics judged that if evaluated from the perspective of independence, the Batakmission did not succeed in its educational endeavour, or at the very least did not really try to bring about independence, even though this was the objective which the mission itself had specified. This could be seen, for example, in its reluctance to hand over the church leadership to the Bataks, whereas the reality had proved that when the RMG left the Batak region, the Batak workers demonstrated that they were able to lead the Batak church independently.

The criteria which the missionaries brought from the West were also used to evaluate the Bataks' motive for attending school. The Batakmission was never tired of stamping the Bataks as materialistic and therefore evaluated their reasons for obtaining schooling as 'worldly', for seeking wealth and position. All of these were in opposition to the 'spiritual' values which Batakmission personnel were deemed to possess.

That kind of evaluation was based on a dualistic understanding of reality, at least a layered reality: there was the spiritual level which was in opposition or at least higher than the worldly; there was the sacred and the profane. In contrast, traditional Batak religion knew nothing about such differences; material things (possession), office, honour and power, all of this had religious value. It is true that the highest ideals of Bataks were to become wealthy, have many descendants, receive honour and power. But in essence, all of these were truly religious as taught by the tribal religion. According to that ancient teaching, it was only in that way the Bataks attained the perfection of life here and in the other world, the world of the spirits, and also reached divine status. The *sahala* of knowledge which could be obtained through the school beginning with the mission period was perceived by the Bataks as the most effective support for realizing their very religious ideals.

Here we are faced with a fundamental question: does the Bible and Christian doctrine support the Batakmission's dualistic understanding of reality as indicated above? Of course, we must acknowledge that the Christian doctrine we have inherited from the mission and which continues to

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be dominant in Indonesian church circles, very easily prompts us to have the same view as the Batakmission that the ancient Batak religious views were in opposition to the teaching of the Bible. On the basis of that mission inheritance we find it very ordinary to hear teachings about two worlds, two kingdoms, two characters, two powers, and so on where the one is opposed by the other - so that we are conditioned to categorize reality as secular (worldly) and spiritual. Thus we share in considering wealth, position and honour as worldly matters. But the Bible does not always judge those matters so negatively. Especially in the Old Testament we see a positive evaluation of material things and also of position, provided that all of these can be justified in the sense that they were obtained honestly, correctly and were used to glorify God and to serve ones co-members of the human race.

Certainly this does not mean that we must offer a positive evaluation of everything taught by the old Batak religion, including the motive for learning rooted within it. The Gospel is a power for tearing down and renewing every value and teaching of this world. The old Batak religion, too, must be confronted with the truth of the Gospel in order to be "judged" about the degree to which its teachings may be defended under the criticism and light of the Gospel. This too is the case with all the Batak ideals and views of life. But the truth of the Gospel itself is not identical with its understanding by the RMG or with doctrines inherited from the RMG or other mission boards. Therefore within the framework of examining ancient Batak tribal religion and Bataks motive for learning, we must continually try to read and understand the Bible anew in the midst of our own struggles, in addition to trying to understand more deeply and seriously the religious views of the ancient Bataks which formed the basis of their motive for learning.

In our previous analysis, we have looked at the comprehensiveness of the view of messianic shalom. Even though this interpretation was developed by Western theologians, we may actualize it in our own context. Messianic shalom and comprehensive evangelism based upon it knows nothing about differences between subjects and objects in the human environment (including between those who have and teach the Gospel and those who are evangelized and taught). God is the subject, and

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we are invited to become participants. Within messianic shalom too, there is no dualism between the spiritual and the physical, or stratification of superior and inferior with reference to such identities as race, people, and culture (to name three). Such an understanding of shalom is able to be a sturdier foundation for evaluating the motives and goals of each party involved in the effort and world of evangelization and school education.

In our attempt to look critically at the Batak motivation for schooling, we have examined the latter from the perspective of religion, but we may and must also examine it from the perspective of science. As we have seen, one of the Bataks' motives for attending schools was the desire to obtain knowledge or to have power. Based on that we are able to understand why Bataks were disinterested and unconcerned about pure science. Not many Bataks adhered to the slogan "science for science's sake", and then went on to deepen and develop scientific knowledge through intensive research. Science was only an instrument and schools were only a means to obtain material things and position (and at its zenith, power); once these had been obtained, then the enthusiasm and determination to deepen science diminished.

But we are able to see that in RMG circles itself, enthusiasm for science was not particularly great. Science was only an instrument for attaining religious goals. In other words, the RMG itself was not a follower of the slogan "science for science's sake", so it in turn did not make any serious effort to plant this enthusiasm in the Bataks taught by its missionaries.

We are certainly aware of the danger inherent in the slogan "science for science's sake" if it were followed to an extreme, because it could be made the argument for doing and permitting everything in the name of the development of science. Of course, science of itself is not an objective. But making science to be just an instrument whether as a personal or short-term target would endanger science itself. It would experience stagnation and endanger its possessors and users (cf. the pre-missionary experience of the Bataks, Chapter Two).

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Up until the present, the churches and Christian schooling bodies in Indonesia have been

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energetic in operating and developing formal education or schooling. Some of the institutions operating Christian schools are continuations of pre-Independence times, including those inherited from mission boards, but others are those founded during the period after Independence. Those institutions individually and cooperatively, especially through the *Majelis Pusat Pendidikan Kristen* (MPPK, The Central Board of Christian Education [read: Schools]) and *Perhimpunan Sekolah-sekolah Kristen* (PSK, Association of Christian Schools) have defined the principles and goals of their schooling. In those educational principles and goals can be seen the special features and characteristics of Christian schooling in Indonesia, but at the same time their system of schooling is a part of the national educational system.¹⁴

Those two characteristics must neither be placed in opposition nor made to be identical. This means that the distinctive characteristics, goals and functions of Christian schooling do not require the Christian educational institutions to develop their own school system unrelated and different from the national educational system (in fact this would not be permitted by the Indonesian government). But with those aforementioned distinctive characteristics, goals and functions, the Christian institutions for schooling are able to guard the distance between themselves and the government, so that they as a unity and in concert with the Indonesian churches might exercise a critical and prophetic function. The experience of the Batakmission in particular and all mission boards in general taught us through their relationships with the Dutch East Indies Colonial government how important it is in building a Christian school system to guard its distance from the government and in accomplishing its critical and prophetic function. Just in this way, there is opened a wide opportunity for the Christian educational institutions in Indonesia to make a distinctive and concrete contribution towards the development of a national system of education.

The Indonesian *Constitution of 1945*, (Section 31, Article 2) specifies that "the government

¹⁴ Especially with reference to the hope, motivation, objective and function of Christian schooling as formulated by the MPPK, see Soetjipto Wirowidjojo (ed), *Identitas Pendidikan Kristen di Indonesia* [The Identity of Christian Schooling in Indonesia]

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will endeavour to effect a system of national instruction regulated by statutes". But until the present, the government through its Broad Guidelines of the Nation (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*, GBHN), continues to give opportunity to private educational institutions to conduct education or operate schools based on the pattern of national education while coloured by the distinctive characteristics of the institutions concerned. On the basis of this determination, an opportunity has been opened to Christian educational institutions in Indonesia to not merely pay attention to their own distinctiveness but it is permitted to contribute those characteristics towards the building of a national educational system.

The contribution which can be given is not merely operational, namely to participate in operating schools according to the educational pattern and structure already specified by the government, even though that is important. What is much more significant is its conceptual contribution: ideas, views and definitions about the foundation, motivation, objective and content of education. The idea of *comprehensive shalom* discussed earlier could become the basic view and point of departure for Christian educational institutions in Indonesia for making a clear and distinctive contribution. Thus, those institutions as part of the Church of Indonesia have been able to fulfil a missionary function (in parallel with its critical and prophetic function) in the field of education.

Within the framework of maintaining and developing the distinctive features and identity of Christian education in Indonesia, and within the scope of offering a conceptual contribution, the Indonesian church and Christian educational institutions are able to probe their valuable heritage from the past mission education, to develop it further and utilize it without closing their eyes to its limitations and errors as mentioned. With special reference to the context of the Batakmission, in Chapter Eight we mentioned a number of positive impacts and contributions of the Batakmission's educational endeavour towards the world of mission education but also to those in contexts broader

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at that time and in the present as well. We may summarize and point them out once again to express our high appreciation:

First of all, its principle that education is the right of each citizen (cf. the *Constitution of 1945*, Section 31, Article 1) and then the mission worked energetically to actualize that principle. *Secondly*, the effort and success in supporting the potential of society to its greatest extent and making education to be a responsibility of the community itself. *Thirdly*, there was the effort to accommodate as much local content as possible within the schools' curriculum and in its whole educational system (i.e. to the degree the local content was viewed positively). *Fourthly*, Christian education was promoted as the foundation for character formation which was emphasized as one of the goals of its education. *Fifthly*, the Batak-mission should be congratulated for stressing the intellectual capability of its candidates in its selection process for their admission to its teacher education institutions, and for the strictness of its educational process in order to produce teachers who had high mental, spiritual, intellectual qualities and a deep dedication. This fifth contribution ought to be maintained and developed apart from the appropriateness of the criteria and attitude of the Batakmission in specifying and putting them into effect.

In addition to those five contributions, there are at least two more which are appropriate to receive as an inheritance from the educational system of the RMG/Batakmission in particular and from mission institutions in general, and to be developed further:

(1) *A Developmental Strategy*: With all of the Batakmission's limitations, especially in personnel and finances, it developed a network of schools (and congregations) with a clear strategy of its work. This strategy of development took several aspects into consideration: geographic (extent of the region), personnel (the availability of teachers and supervisors), and social (the potential for involvement and successful support). With such a strategy there were no schools dropped because of being placed in the wrong location or because they were not needed by the community) and there were no teachers who became unemployed because there were no excessive numbers of persons who had been prepared to be teachers.

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(2) *Professionalism*: The Batakmission managed its educational ministry as well as other types in a most serious and professional manner. Thus, each of its workers was required to be diligent and capable of carrying out his work assignment. Each decision or change of policy was weighed intelligently and with care in order that it not result in loss to the community, or become closed to renewal. This professional characteristic and attitude was supported by high discipline, in working, action and thinking. In turn that discipline and professionalism were spread to its students even though on a limited scale and level (because of the limited number of mission school graduates who attained a high profession; such as teacher in higher education or high official). Nevertheless, discipline and professionalism do not depend upon the kind and level of profession; both of these are more a matter of attitude or character planted and nurtured through education and personal instruction.

The elements and values originating from the system of mission education above mentioned would still need to be added and embellished if we were to investigate the educational ministry conducted by mission bodies other than the RMG both in Indonesia and also in other countries. Certainly at the first stage, all of this would need to be adapted and developed by the church and Christian educational bodies in their own context, and only then could these become a contribution to a wider context, including the development of a national system of education. In brief, learning from the educational ministries of mission bodies in the past, both their limitations and their errors, the Church and Christian educational institutions in Indonesia would be able to do even more, both in developing their own educational endeavours and in developing a national system of education in Indonesia.

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Immanuel 1890-1940

Missionsblatt (MB)

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He was ordained as a pastor in *Gereja Kristen Protestan Indonesia* (GKPI; Christian Protestant Church in Indonesia) on May 8, 1977, and while serving as "evangelist pastor" he finished his *Magister Theologiae (M.Th.)* in 1980 from the same seminary, under the supervision of Dr. Thomas van den End.

After serving as "resort pastor" (consists of ten local congregations) in 1980-1984, he continued his study in 1984-1987 by joining the Doctor of Theology program of the South East Asia Graduate School of Theology (SEAGST) in cooperation with the Faculty of Theology of the University of Leiden (among others under the supervision of Prof.Dr. M.R. Spindler). During that period he made a *quellen studium* in a number of libraries and archives in Germany and the Netherlands, a.o. in the library and archive of the *Vereinigste Evangeli-sche Mission* Wuppertal, the library and archive of the *Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk/Hendrik Kraemer Instituut* Oegstgeest, the library of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Leiden, and the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* Den Haag.

From 1988 up to now he teaches Church History in his *almamater*, STT Jakarta, while also entrusted several administrative tasks (Dean of Academic Affairs, 1988-1995; President/ Rector, 1995-1999; and Director of Graduate Studies, from January 2000), besides continuing his pastoral service in GKPI.

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