EMBODIED ENCOUNTERS
Colonial Governmentality and Missionary Practices in Java and South Dutch New-Guinea, 1856-1942

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ELS</td>
<td>Europese Lagere School</td>
<td>European Elementary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDNSC</td>
<td>Filiae Dominae Nostrae a Sacro Corde</td>
<td>Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIC</td>
<td>Fratres Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis</td>
<td>Brothers of Maastricht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBS</td>
<td>Hogere Burgerschool</td>
<td>Higher Civic School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCS</td>
<td>Hollands-Chinese School</td>
<td>Dutch-Chinese School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIK</td>
<td>Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool</td>
<td>Dutch Native teacher training school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIS</td>
<td>Hollands Inlandse School</td>
<td>Dutch Native School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMM</td>
<td>KomMissieMemoires</td>
<td>Commission Mission Memoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNIL</td>
<td>Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger</td>
<td>Royal Netherlands East Indies Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC</td>
<td>Missionnaires du Sacré Coeur</td>
<td>Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULO</td>
<td>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs</td>
<td>More Extensive Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Sorores de Poenitentia ac Charitate Christiana Tertii Ordinis Sancti Francisci</td>
<td>Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>Regerings Reglement</td>
<td>Colonial constitution of the Dutch East Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Societas Iesu</td>
<td>Jesuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STOVIA</td>
<td>School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen</td>
<td>School for training native doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie</td>
<td>Dutch East India Company</td>
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Acknowledgements

Before embarking on this project I had not visited Indonesia, nor had any personal or professional ambition to do so. The conclusion of my doctoral research finds me altogether captivated by this beautiful country, and eager to return and renew the friendships I have gained in recent years. The topic of my research and the richness of sources held by the Catholic mission archives have never failed to intrigue me, and continue to inspire my plans for future research.

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Chapter one

Introduction

In 1856, Catholic missionaries from Dutch orders and congregations began arriving in the Dutch colonies of the East Indies. In the coming century, thousands of priests, brothers, and sisters would join them in leaving the Netherlands aiming to advance the spiritual and material welfare of peoples in the Dutch East Indies.¹ The ‘grand mission hour’ of Dutch Catholicism — covering the first four decades of the twentieth century — saw over two thousand Catholic missionaries working in the colony.² The Dutch East Indies were by far the most popular destination for Catholic missionaries.³ Here, they worked in a social, economic, and political context involving highly unequal social relationships between colonisers and colonised. These missionaries assumed their posts with no or little language training, cultural instruction, or practical preparation for a colonial society based in a tropical climate. This raises questions about how these ill-prepared missionaries encountered and communicated with the populations they sought to spiritually ‘uplift’. Upon closer inspection, further questions emerge about the nature and practices of interactions conducted in the mission field: Who encountered whom precisely; where did the encounters happen; and what was exchanged or transformed during their course? As Tony Ballantyne has shown, it is through the conceptual lens of encounter that entanglements between mission and empire, implicating diverse strata of colonising and colonised subjects, become visible.⁴

Seeking answers to apparently straightforward questions relating to encounters, this thesis aims to show that the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies was much more than just the religious project of evangelising and converting...

¹ In 1936 there were 418 European priests, 353 European brothers and 1388 European sisters in the Dutch East Indies. See: statistics in Jaarboek of de katholieke missie in Nederlands-Indië by Centraal Missie Bureau.
Indigenous peoples. In fact, it was a colonial cultural project that was deeply entangled in colonial power structures of coercion and control.5

This research, informed by postcolonial theory and theories of gender, places a strong emphasis on the cultural project of colonialism. Analysis is concerned with the details, materiality, and the specific practices of historic subjects in global processes such as colonialism. In line with this scholarly tradition, this thesis acknowledges that colonial power was not restricted to the state, elite politics, military control, and economic exploitation, but extended to the multiple ways in which the Dutch imposed effective management and control over its colonised subjects.6 This assertion aligns with scholarship on modern colonial governmentality7, which has examined the ways in which ‘colonial power was organised as an activity designed to produce effects of rule’.8

In my view, Dutch Christian missions should not be exempt from studies on colonial governmentality. As I show in this thesis, they provided the colonial administration with extensive knowledge about the culture and lands of its subjects, needed for the management of colonial populations. Furthermore, I show that Catholic missionaries in the Dutch East Indies participated in the ‘civilising mission’, whereby advancing the spiritual and material welfare implied converting people as well as realising wider social and cultural transformations. They not only tried to convert people’s beliefs, but also alter modes of daily life, transform family life and gender patterns, sexual regulations, domestic spaces, and corporeal regimes.

Anglophone scholarship has brought mission history and imperial history into dialogue, placing issues of religion at the centre of efforts to understand British colonial rule and the history of the British Empire.9 Scholars have studied

5 I derive the term colonial project from Nicholas Thomas. By colonial project Thomas means ‘a socially transformative endeavour that is localised, politicised and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them. Whereby a project [is] neither a strictly discursive entity nor an exclusively practical one’. Nicholas Thomas, Colonialism’s Culture. Anthropology, Travel and Government (Cambridge: Princeton University Press, 1994), 105-106.


the entangled relationships between missions, colonialism and empire, and defined missionaries as ‘actors on the colonial stage’, in the words of Peter Sherlock.¹⁰ In contrast to the Anglophone historiography, historians of Dutch colonial history, including those within the new imperial history tradition, have paid little attention to religion and the Christian missions. As I will discuss more elaborately in this introduction, the role of Christian missions in the Dutch colonial past has hardly been acknowledged and the connections between missionary activity and colonialism in the Dutch colonies has never been systematically and thoroughly problematised or researched in Dutch colonial history. Colonial historians have hitherto neglected rich Dutch missionary sources and archives. This thesis will, however, highlight the importance of including religion and using missionary sources within Dutch colonial scholarship.

This research is guided by the central question: “How were missionary practices entangled with colonial governmentality in Java and Dutch New Guinea, between 1856-1942?” As this question indicates, I will be placing practices of the Catholic mission within the theoretical framework of colonial governmentality. Many of these practices were, as I will show, directed at transforming and managing social behaviours on a mass-scale, which should bring improvements to the welfare and educational outcomes of colonised populations, a ‘modern’ form of colonial governmentality as defined by David Scott.¹¹ Henceforward, in this thesis I will be arguing that missionaries’ genuine commitment to advancing the spiritual and material welfare of the peoples in the Dutch East Indies notwithstanding, Catholic missionaries in the Dutch East Indies participated in what historian Karen Vallgårda has termed ‘the cultural labour that undergirded colonial rule.’¹²

The central question of this thesis is explored in four case studies, arranged geographically and in a chronological order. The first two case studies engage with a Java-centric historiographical tradition. This is counterbalanced by the latter case studies concerning Dutch New Guinea, the historiographically neglected stepchild of the Dutch East Indies, so to speak. This concentration on several distinct temporal and spatial contexts enables me to illustrate the specific historical and local complexities of encounters and wider colonial projects, with which the Catholic mission was entangled. The case studies, each taking a particular episode of the missionary encounter as its point of departure, show that missionaries’ concern with the regulation and transformation of daily lives extended from those of Indigenous peoples to their European counterparts in the colony. Moreover,

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together they reveal the variety of ways in which missionary practices were directed at the creation and management of governable colonial subjects.

**Christian missions and colonialism**

During the past three decades, Anglophone scholars have studied encounters between Christian missionaries and Indigenous peoples in former European colonies. According to Tony Ballantyne, it was because of the wave of ethnographic and post-colonial studies on missions that ‘religion shifted to the very centre of understandings of British colonialism’. However, as Hilary Carey signalled in *Empires of Religion*, if a new imperial religious history is emerging—one which shares the vision of the importance of religion to understanding the imperial past— ‘it remains both patchy and lacking in consensus and it is not easy to summarize neatly.’ One of the key debates in this new imperial religious history concerns the relationships between imperialism and colonialism on the one hand, and Christian missions on the other.

In research on missions, colonialism, and imperialism, the question of whether ‘missionaries [were] primary agents of an imperial project that brought change and crisis, modernity, and destruction into the lives of Indigenous peoples across the globe’ has been asked by many different scholars at different times. Disagreements on whether and to what extent missionaries were a ‘type’ of coloniser derives from the fact that relationships between Christian missions, colonialism, and empire were neither historically nor geographically consistent. The volume *Missions and Empire* (2005) edited by Norman Etherington, for example, clearly shows the undefined nature of individual missionaries’ relationship to empire. Dana L. Robert reaches a similar conclusion in *Converting Colonialism* (2008), namely, that not all missionaries in all times and places supported colonialism. On the other hand, disagreements about the extent to which foreign Christian missionaries can be understood as colonial agents seems very much grounded in scholars’ understandings and notions of colonialism and mission.

Traditional colonial (or old imperial) historians, as well as mission historians, have often operated with a narrow notion of colonialism, defining conquest, and power in military, political, and economic terms. With this concept of colonialism

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in mind, they emphasised the a-political, altruistic, and religious nature of the Christian mission and its representatives. In addition, as Jeffrey Cox points out, mission historians have put the history of Christianity or God’s providential work at the centre of their story. In doing so, they crafted a ‘providentialist master narrative’ of Christian expansion. This account ‘encompasses the foundational narratives of missionary history along with the newer mission studies narratives that are much more critical of past missionary practice’. While these latter studies as well as recent scholarly studies of indigenisation stress non-western agency, in placing the history of Christianity and Christian expansion at the centre of the story, this ‘master narrative’ obscures missionary involvement in colonial rule.

Christian missions in general, and individual missionaries in particular, may or may not have been political and/or critical in their views on colonial domination, policies, and practices in specific historical and geographical colonial contexts. Their aims and motivations were at times even substantially distinct from other parties involved in the imperial enterprise. However, anthropologists, post-colonial scholars, and feminist scholars working on the history of missions and interested in missionaries’ cultural, social, or ‘civilising’ activities in colonial contexts have shown that missionary culture was clearly part of colonialism’s culture, as well as that Christian missions and missionary activities were part of European colonial structures of domination. These scholars have in opposition to traditional colonial historians and mission historians operated with a broader notion of colonialism, thereby acknowledging colonialism as a cultural project of control and including the subtle aspects and cultural mechanisms of colonialism in their analysis. With this broader notion and assessed on a broad historical canvas, missionaries appear as key players in the diverse cultural projects of colonialism.

Nowadays there is a large body of Anglophone scholarship which have critically examined the relationships between missions and colonialism based on a range of concerns and approaches, and explored the complexities of missionary encounters and practices in colonial contexts. In 2017, historian Claire McLisky opted for the label ‘Christian colonial missions’ to capture the entanglements of Christian missions’ activities with colonial structures and culture.

20 Thomas, Colonialism’s Culture.
The pioneering series *Of Revelation and Revolution* (1991, 1997) by anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff can be considered as the study which brought the history of Christian missions to colonial scholars—a history that was formerly the preserve of church and mission historians. The Comaroffs made a fundamental contribution to the debate on Christian missions and colonialism, and nowadays many studies, including this thesis, still engage with their work. The Comaroffs offered a critical analysis of missionaries and the effect of their activities on colonial cultures, as they studied encounters between Nonconformist missionaries and the Southern Tswana, in the 1820-1920 period. They argued that the Christian missions were not only a religious project but also a cultural colonial project in which civilisation, according to the western model, went hand in hand with the practice of the Christian mission. The central theme in the work by the Comaroffs, that of mission’s contributions to cultural projects of colonialism and their implicit or explicit connection to colonial governments was also explored in earlier works by T.O. Beidelman and Johannes Fabian. These studies on Protestant missions, encounters, and colonialism in Africa are foundational to my thinking about the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies, having brought about a rethinking of the complex historical dynamics behind the encounters Christian missions instigated in colonised communities.

Jeffrey Cox’s *Imperial Fault Lines* (2002) and Tony Ballantyne’s *Entanglements of Empire* (2014) also represent important contributions to my thinking about the relationships between Christian missions and empire. Cox typified missionaries in India as active institution-builders who occupied an important position in the unfolding of colonial modernity. Missionaries established all kinds of institutions embedded in imperial control, including schools and hospitals, through which they wielded a great deal of influence in transforming lives and local culture. One of the strengths of *Imperial Fault Lines* is that Cox closely examined encounters, practices, relations, and lived experiences within the mission field. In doing so, he traced unequal power relations and ‘imperial fault lines’, or what Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper termed the ‘tensions of empire’ in the mission field. As such, he illuminated the significant roles of certain subaltern actors and the

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more marginal missionary workers—Indian bible women and catechists, non-elites, non-Christians, and British women workers—who were often discounted in missionary histories. Like Cox, Tony Ballantyne’s *Entanglements of Empire* also explored encounters ‘on the ground’. Using a micro-historical approach, Ballantyne studied intimate meetings between British missionaries and Māori on the ‘edge’ of the Empire, and thoroughly demonstrated that the fashioning and management of bodies lay at the core of the missionary project.\(^{27}\)

In examining the complex relationship between missions and colonialism in the British imperial context, scholars have also explored related issues of gender. Since the plea voiced in *Women and Mission* (1993), feminist and post-colonial scholars have taken up the task to ‘reclaim women’s presence’ and write missionary women and missionaries’ wives into mission and colonial history.\(^{28}\) Gender as an analytical category has opened up a new range of approaches to the history of Christian colonial missions. In the edited volume *Missions and Empire* (2005), Peter Sherlock and Patricia Grimshaw have given an introduction to the historiography, different themes and theoretical approaches of missions, women, and gender.\(^{29}\) There is a particularly large body of scholarship which has analysed the complex dynamics of gender, race, and culture in missions within the context of British imperial expansion and colonialism.\(^{30}\) This scholarship illustrates the complexity of missionary roles, experiences, and intimate relations while drawing attention to the gendered nature of missionary work.

The work of Patricia Grimshaw has prominently shaped my thinking on the subject of gender and Christian colonial missions. She has demonstrated missionaries’ involvement in the ‘domestication of empire’, in which women missionaries took up the white women’s burden of ‘emancipating’ local women. Furthermore, she highlighted that missionaries were dedicated to performing, promoting, and teaching ‘civilisation’, western and Christian notions, ideals and norms concerning masculinity and femininity, family, motherhood, marriage, hygiene, domesticity, and respectability.\(^{31}\) Missionaries considered the fashioning of a western-style of

\(^{27}\) Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*.


domesticity essential to the process of civilising and ‘winning’ converts, which is also shown in the edited volume *Divine Domesticities* by Hyaeewol Choi and Margaret Jolly.\textsuperscript{32} This ‘domestication’ was primarily aimed at girls, thereby creating pious house mothers. The most effective means of instilling western models of gender, family, and domesticity lay in institutional and non-institutional forms of education.\textsuperscript{33}

Schools and education formed a central part to the ‘civilising mission’ in former colonies. Its histories are important to understand the management of difference, central to colonial rule. The role of the Christian missions in colonial education has featured in several Anglophone publications on missions and empire, and will also be central in my thesis. Felicity Jensz has given an overview of the debates and research directions as well as the major themes emerging from the literature in ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the Nineteenth-century British Empire’.\textsuperscript{34} She stressed that almost all missionary groups were involved in establishing a variety of forms of institutionalised schooling in the colonial world.\textsuperscript{35} This was also true for the Dutch East Indies, where institutions such as orphanages, nursery schools, day schools, residential schools, and seminaries were embedded within colonial structures. The fact that missionaries’ and colonial administrators’ concerns intersected in the crucial field of education has been demonstrated by both Peter van de Veer and David Maxwell.\textsuperscript{36} In the words of Maxwell:

> It was precisely in the modernizing project of education (and healthcare) that mission and colonialism came closest together [...] Missionaries helped provide a crucial legitimizing ideology of development to the colonial state, receiving in return much-needed subsidies. Thus, despite their increasing democratic sensibilities, missionaries became a pillar of colonial rule.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{32} Hyaeewol Choi and Margaret Jolly (eds.), *Divine Domesticities. Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014).


\textsuperscript{35} Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 8.


Schools were not only nurseries of the church: education within and outside the school also provided a means by which missionaries’ ‘civilising’ activities could effectively transform people’s lives along a western line. As such, colonial education provided or organised by missionaries was, as Catherine Hall has convincingly argued, pivotal in creating colonial subjects amenable to western colonial rule.

Missionary civilising activities, including those within the field of colonial education, were predicated upon the assumption that it would transform children and ultimately society. Recently, scholars have paid greater attention to the mission’s main targets: children and youth. Scholars of colonialism have already shown that projects of ‘civilising’ the children of ‘heathen’ and ‘barbaric’ peoples were undergirded by the assumption that children were more malleable, changeable, and educable than their adult counterparts. Moreover, children could be instrumental to the success of the mission by spreading civilisation and conversion among adults and indigenous society at large. Hence, the control of Indigenous children and youth—encompassing their labour, leisure time, sexuality, and education—became crucial to any colonial modernising agenda.

Studies into this colonial strategy of ‘civilising’ children have inspired historians to explore child removal and separation practices under both settler and extraction colonial regimes. Barry Patton, Christine Choo, Sarah de Leeuw and Margaret Jacobs, for example, have shown that racist policies in the former settler colonies of Canada and Australia allowed for the removal of Indigenous and mixed-descent children from their mothers and families as a means of ‘civilising’ them. These so-called ‘stolen children’ were placed in boarding schools, ‘orphanages,’ or...

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vocational training institutions run by the missions. These aimed to remove children from the ‘corrupting’ influence of their communities and inculcate new norms and values. Acculturated into particular ways of knowing and being, these non-Europeans received an ‘upbringing’ steeped in colonial discipline, far removed from the ways of the communities they eventually returned to.\textsuperscript{42} Historians Christina Elizabeth Firpo and Emmanuelle Saada have shown that practices of child separation and removal were also extant in the French colonies. These practices were directed at poor European and Eurasian children, who blurred the racialised dividing lines between coloniser and colonised, and threatened to downgrade the prestige of Europeanness if allowed to fall into poverty and vice.\textsuperscript{43} Separation and re-education were required to uphold the status of an ethnic category these children shared with their colonisers. As such these separation practices were an inherent part of ‘civilising projects’, central to the management of difference to uphold colonial rule. That these child separation policies and practices reached further than the British and French empires is demonstrated in the forthcoming special issue titled ‘Child Separation. (Post)Colonial Policies and Practices in the Netherlands and Belgium’ of the \textit{BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review}. This issue concentrates on child separation policies and practices in the former Belgian and Dutch colonies, whereby a variety of micro historical case studies explore the physical separation and discursive distancing of children by Christian missionaries.\textsuperscript{44}

Missionaries’ humanitarian interventions and cultural activities, described as forms of cultural imperialism, have been complicated by studies focussing on indigenous agency. Their authors have shown that people resisted, adapted, ignored, embraced, and negotiated the missionary message.\textsuperscript{45} Furthermore, as Jeffrey Cox contended, ‘the British missionary enterprise was multiracial and

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multinational from the first.\textsuperscript{46} Several historians have included ‘other’, mostly ‘local’ or Indigenous missionaries in their studies, explaining their role in encounters. Studies by Felicity Jensz, John Barker, and Peggy Brock, for example, drew attention to the fact that missionaries worked closely with local agents or Indigenous missionary workers. Missionaries and scholars alike have referred to these actors by many titles: native evangelists, local preachers or teachers, Bible women, catechists or, in the Dutch East Indies, goeroes (teachers and catechists), but they were rarely called missionaries.\textsuperscript{47} Brock, for example, has analysed first-hand accounts of new Christians and Indigenous evangelists to come to a better understanding of their role in the process of religious change, their understandings of Christianity, and their role in the spread of Christianity in the British Empire.\textsuperscript{48} Studies by Felicity Jensz and John Barker among others, emphasise the importance of local school teachers employed by Christian missionaries in religious and cultural change.\textsuperscript{49} These studies foregrounding local missionary agents were of particular interest to my thinking, as they indicated that encounters in the mission were not only hierarchical but also gradual, with some relationships characterised by degrees of mutual dependence.

**Christian missions in Dutch colonial history**

In contrast to the Anglophone colonial historiography, religion generally—and the Christian missions specifically—are not yet part of Dutch colonial historiography. Scholarship on Dutch colonial culture, colonial modernity and the impact of the Ethical Policy has barely included the Christian missions’ social, medical and educative work, and their involvement with wider cultural projects of colonial control.\textsuperscript{50} Yet, the influence of new imperial history and its methods is visible in

\textsuperscript{46} Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 16.
\textsuperscript{50} Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (eds.), *Domesticating the Empire. Race, Gender and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998); Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State. Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000).
recent scholarship. Historians of the Dutch colonies show a growing interest in the cultural project of colonialism, giving considerable attention to a variety of experiences and perspectives. They have also drawn from theories of gender and sexuality while growing increasingly sensitive to the agency of local people in the colonies. As Francis Gouda observed: ‘historians now more often portray the nature and meaning of European colonial mastery as resulting from both negotiation and conflict between European administrators, merchants, and settlers on the one side and Indigenous actors on the other side.’ However, as Anglophone historiography has abundantly shown, these themes are worthy of exploration where rich sources of Protestant and Catholic missions are available.

The few studies which have explored relationships between Christian missionary work and colonialism in the Dutch East Indies are worth noting. First, anthropologists Rita S. Kipp, Albert Schrauwers and historian Joost Coté have written valuable studies of Protestant missions and the imperial origins of their humanitarian interventions. Kipp wrote about the Karonese peoples (North Sumatra) in the edited volume Domestication of Empire, laying bare the convoluted relationship between colonial capitalism and the Protestant mission, as well as missionary efforts to promote western gender roles among Karo women. Like Kipp, Schrauwers applied an ethnographic approach, combining archival research and fieldwork, in studying Christian Protestant missions in the Dutch East Indies. He analysed church-state relations and the involvement of Protestant missionaries in the religious, economic, and cultural transformation of the To Pamona people in the Poso Regency in Central Sulawesi. Historian Joost Coté also wrote on the Protestant missions based in Central Sulawesi during the first decades of the twentieth century. Coté demonstrated that the Protestant mission of the Netherlands Missionary Society played an important part in the ‘pacification’ and ‘modernisation’ of the ‘Outer Islands’ while contributing to the creation of new political identities.

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In addition to these studies, the PhD project undertaken by Dutch historian Iris Busschers takes inspiration from the Anglophone debates on missions and empire in placing Dutch missionaries on the colonial stage. Her project Christian colonial projects: Moral Communities, Economies of ‘Care’ and Anxieties in Dutch Reformed Missions in Colonial Indonesia, c. 1900-1942 shows how Protestant missionary practices enacted an (ostensibly a-political) Christian humanitarianism through colonially embedded small- and large-scale interventions and circuits in the Netherlands, East Java, and North Dutch New Guinea. She pays particular attention to how tensions and anxieties in and between religious and political projects facilitated and impacted Dutch colonial self-understanding and the forms that the subjugation of non-western cultured in the Dutch East Indies took.\textsuperscript{56}

Finally, for their contribution to the field of Christian missions in the Dutch East Indies, the studies by theologians Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink are also worth mentioning. Aritonang, a Batak protestant minister and professor of church history wrote his dissertation on the influence of protestant missionary education of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft in Batakland, North Sumatra.\textsuperscript{57} Aritonang presented a theological treatise on the encounter between Bataks and Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft in the field of education and showed the mutuality inherent and unintended consequences and outcomes of the encounter. To study this encounter, Aritonang gave a detailed historical analysis of education in Batakland, including the Dutch colonial system of education, the education offered by these German protestant missionaries as well as Batak traditional education. Whereas Aritonang’s study concerns the Protestant church history of Indonesia, Karel Steenbrink focused on the Catholic history of Indonesia with the series Catholics in Indonesia.\textsuperscript{58} This valuable series gives much detailed information about the development of the local church and Catholic community in the Dutch East Indies. Steenbrink provides an encyclopaedic account of Catholic missionary activities throughout the whole archipelago and showed the process of closer cooperation in social and educational affairs between state and church. Nevertheless, a critical examination of the relationship between the Catholic mission and colonialism is not offered.

\textsuperscript{56} Iris Busschers, Christian Colonial Projects: Moral Communities, Economies of ‘Care’ and Anxieties in Dutch Reformed Missions in Colonial Indonesia, c. 1900—1942 (ongoing PhD project at the University of Groningen). I urge everyone, to take notice of the work of Iris Busschers, because it is not only inspiring and intellectually challenging but beautifully written as well.


While Dutch Christian missions are presumed to have been marginal in Dutch colonial history, religion’s function as a marker of difference has not yet received much attention either. A key issue within Dutch colonial history writing has been colonial governance and its relation to taxonomies of identity in the Dutch East Indies such as race, gender, and sexuality—a subject for which Ann Stoler’s studies have been pivotal. Evaluating the prevalence of markers of difference in the Dutch East Indies—especially with regard to race and class—has been a matter of extensive debate between colonial historians. Including religion and Christian missionaries in an analysis of these taxonomies of identity is important, however. Religion was, as Tony Ballantyne phrased it: ‘a crucial domain through which cultural difference was articulated, ordered, and managed under colonial rule’. This was also true in the Dutch East Indies. Anthropologist Albert Schrauwers revealed already how a Dutch discourse on religion, described by social scientists as ‘pillarisation’, was exported to the Dutch colony. He further ascertained that the ‘pillarisation’ of Indies society was based on a mixture of religious (Catholic, Protestant) and ethnic differentiation. It was in this context that ‘religious’ connections with ethnic aspects determined the socio-cultural segmentation in the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, Bart Luttikhuis has pointed out that whether or not one was Christian frequently (but not always) played a role in determining whether someone was deemed suitable for ‘European’ juridical status in the Dutch East Indies. Luttikhuis also argued that religion lost its salience in the late colonial period when other ‘markers of modernity’ became more relevant to the colonial taxonomy. He, however, neglected the fact that ‘modern’ colonial culture was intrinsically intertwined with both Christianity and missionary culture. As I show throughout this thesis, Catholic missionaries were deeply involved with the civilising mission. This was especially so during the late-colonial period when they took up the task of ‘civilising’ and modernising Indonesians and Indonesian society by fostering a social structure and providing western-style education—particularly in the so-called ‘Outer Provinces’. I also show that Catholic missionaries provided a Christian education to many European children in their schools and


61 Pillarisation (verzuiling) was an entrenched feature of Dutch political culture and civil society, whereby Dutch (civil) society consisted of distinct pillars (or interest groups); Protestants or Catholics and of either liberal urban elites or progressive social democrats.


orphanages, thereby naturalising and interiorising European-colonial ‘civilisation’. Religion and Christian missionaries thus cannot be omitted from an analysis of studying colonial governmentality and the issues and construction of difference.

**Colonial governmentality**

This thesis is inspired by and is situated in what has broadly been termed new imperial history, which privileges cultural approaches of colonial history. Colonialism was, as mentioned above, besides a process of military, economic, and political domination, also a cultural project introducing new measures of power, superiority, and control. As Ann Laura Stoler argued, culture ‘was harnessed to do more specific political work; not only to mark difference but to rationalize the hierarchies of privilege and profit, to consolidate the labour regimes of expanding capitalism, to provide the psychological scaffolding for the exploitative structures of colonial rule.’ Moreover, in relation to this broader notion of colonialism and of central importance to my research into the entanglements of the Catholic missions’ activities and colonial rule in the Dutch East Indies is colonial governmentality. This is a concept introduced by David Scott in his eponymous essay in which he elaborated upon the political rationalities of colonial power —called governmentality by Foucault.

In 1995 David Scott published his famous essay ‘Colonial Governmentality’. He argued, on the basis of Foucault’s distinction between the purpose of government and the purpose of sovereignty, that a ‘modern’ form of colonial governmentality replaced the old mercantile colonialism or colonial sovereignty in the nineteenth century. This was at a point in time when colonial society became the project and target of colonial rule, seeing power ‘now directed at the conditions of social life rather than the producers of social wealth, in which power was now to operate in such a way as to produce not so much extractive-effects on colonial bodies as governing-effects on colonial conduct.’ Government is hereby understood in a broad sense, namely the procedures and actions conducted in order to manage subjects and shape their conduct and it includes the interventions of the state, colonial administrations, and international bodies such as the Catholic mission. Scott explained that this new form of conceptualising and exercising power in colonial societies represented a distinct shift from exploitative structures of

64 Howe, ‘Introduction. New Imperial Histories’.
colonial rule to ‘civilising colonial politics’. This meant that the purpose of
government became securing the ‘welfare’ of a population —improving health,
wealth, and educational outcomes. Based on Scott, Tania Lia argued that ‘government
operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs’.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the structure of colonial
power become dependent on ‘the systematic redefinition and transformation of
the terrain on which the life of the colonised was lived’ in the Dutch East Indies. This
meant that the Dutch became more heavily involved in the lives of the
population (in some parts of the colony) and that colonial rule came to include
providing welfare and orderly rule in the colony. In existing historiography, this
change is linked to the advent of a ‘modern’ or ‘late’ colonial state instigated and
supported by the ‘Ethical Policy’ —the colonial ‘welfare’ policy in the Indies in the
late colonial period, comparable to the French mission civilisatrice and the British
white man’s burden. This policy changed the nature of Dutch colonial rule from
extorting and profiteering from colonial subjects to ‘improving’ and ‘uplifting’
them. According to Robert Cribb, the Ethical Policy was initially linked to the
principle of association, envisaging an assimilation of the Indonesian elite,
especially the Javanese. This ‘civilising mission’ in the Indies had its origins in
a sense of moral obligation, but turned to a ‘duty’ of bringing modernity, or
‘civilisation’, to the Indigenous peoples during the twentieth century. From the
1920s onwards, the policy was thus increasingly framed in terms of a ‘welfare
mission and the ‘salvation’ of Indonesians. An increase in the number of Catholic
missionaries working in the field of education and healthcare, together with the
spectacular growth of Catholic social organisations in the Dutch East Indies
indicates how these were connected with the political and power shift.

In this modern form of colonial governmentality, the management and collective
improvement of welfare for colonised populations was linked in paradoxical ways
with imperial exploitation, pacification and the use of violence. Elsbeth Locher-
Scholten has already signalled the tensions produced by these aims, for which she
used the term ‘colonial paradox’: good intentions comingled with violent discipline,

68 Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’.
70 Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’. 205.
71 Robert Cribb, ‘Development Policy in the Early 20th century (Indonesia)’, in: Jan-Paul Dirkse, Frans
Hüsken, Mario Rutten, Development and Social Welfare: Indonesia’s Experiences Under the New Order
(Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993) 225-245; Robert Cribb (ed.), The Late Colonial State in Asia. Political and
Economic Foundations of the Netherlands Indies, 1880-1942 (Leiden 1994). 8. See also: Susie Protschky,
‘Camera Ethica. Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia’, in: Susie
Protschky, Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia (Amsterdam: Amsterdam
72 Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2.
tutelage with emancipation, and the spreading of western morals and values with attempts to preserve indigenous traditions.\textsuperscript{73} With this paradox in mind, Locher-Scholten defined the Ethical Policy as ‘a policy aimed at acquiring de facto political control of the entire Indonesian archipelago and the development of both country and people under Dutch leadership and after western example’\textsuperscript{74}

Most studies on colonial rule that engage with the concept of colonial governmentality focus on the control and the regulation of conduct of the colonised peoples through transformations to indigenous ways of life.\textsuperscript{75} Nicholas Thomas, for example, has shown in Colonialism’s Culture (1994) that conversion was an important aspect of modern colonial governmentality; which was not ‘just a matter of religious change, but of wider social transformation’.\textsuperscript{76} The desired changes were anchored to a realm described by anthropologist Peter Pels as ‘family and gender patterning; corporeal regimes like clothing, dances, and initiation; and agricultural and domestic objects and spaces.’\textsuperscript{77} Ann Laura Stoler has convincingly argued that the regulation of the intimate, the domestic, and the corporal were important elements in the making of colonial subjects and the creation of colonial hierarchies; these tender microcosms were crucial domains for the colonial politics of civilisation and thus essential to colonial rule in the Dutch East Indies.\textsuperscript{78} In addition to Stoler’s insights on colonial governance in the Dutch East Indies, Geertje Mak argued that colonial governance was carried out through a politics ‘from generation to generation’, indicating that children and youth are crucial in and to colonial projects. Children, as Mak argued, were the easiest to access, and the most malleable and therefore targeted by Dutch colonial policies and practices that aimed for the transformation of colonial conduct.\textsuperscript{79}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{76} Thomas, Colonialism’s Culture, 126.
\bibitem{77} Pels, ‘The Anthropology of Colonialism’, 172.
\bibitem{79} Geertje Mak, Huishouden in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea. Geschiedenis van geslacht op geslacht (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2017).
\end{thebibliography}
Tony Bennett, Ben Dibley and Rodney Harrison have argued that: ‘(...)arguments about governmentality have a broader orientation: that of the respects in which knowledge practices provide means of acting on populations and individuals.’

Colonial knowledge was thus fundamental to colonial subjection. Hence, scholars looking into colonial governmentality have also focused on population sciences and colonial knowledge practices designed to ‘know’ and regulate the populations. Bernard Cohn has demonstrated how knowledge was integral to colonial conquest and rule, while Christopher Bayly argued that to gather this knowledge, rulers relied on indigenous intelligence networks. In addition, gathering knowledge for colonial governance required access to people for which a certain level of control was needed. In chapter four and five, I touch briefly on missionary contributions to colonial knowledge gathering practices enabling stricter management of the population: collecting and providing linguistic, statistical, and ethnographical information to both government bodies and audiences in the Netherlands. The focus of my thesis, however, is on the management of subjects and the regulation of conduct of colonial populations; be they ‘poor whites’ and Indo-Europeans in Java, the Marind-anim in South Dutch New Guinea, or Javanese elites in Central-Java.

Missionary practices

The theoretical framework of colonial governmentality prompts us to understand how missionaries encountered the people they worked with and how they were able to transform lives and societies in the Dutch East Indies. These, ‘how’ questions direct the scholar’s focus to the ‘techniques and practices, rationalities and forms of knowledge, and identities and agencies by which governing operates.’ In their work, Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller have argued for closer attention to the practices of governance, for ‘it was only because of the work of [...] small figures, with their own aspirations as well as those foisted on them, together with their little instruments, that rule could actually occur’. In this thesis, I look at the work of “small figures”, in the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies. I interrogate who

83 Geertje Mak, Huishouden.
85 Rose and Miller, Governing the Present, 6.
they are, what they did in the mission field and how they did it. This close scrutiny of missionary labours contributes to a fuller picture of colonial governance, guided by scholarship on Christian missions as practice.\textsuperscript{86} I have studied these missionary practices through the lens I have come to call ‘embodied encounters’. While alerting us to the material, corporeal and spatial dimensions of the colonial encounter, this approach emphasises the entanglement of multiple actors, social and institutional spaces. The heuristic framework of ‘embodied encounters’ requires some further explanation, especially regarding the interrelated concepts of local intermediaries and spaces of transformation.

**Embodied encounters**

Johannes Fabian argued in ‘You Meet and You Talk’ that cultural encounters take place between people, or more accurately, bodies.\textsuperscript{87} Fabian’s work was an important source of inspiration in my approach to encounters as face-to-face and physical meetings, and to study missionary practices ‘on the ground’ through the lens of embodied encounters; the meeting of bodies. Studying encounters in such a way ‘throws light on practices of daily life and experience that are otherwise obscured’, as Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton noted in *Bodies in Contact*.\textsuperscript{88} It also shows that Christian colonial missions were fundamentally corporeal, material and tactile, as anthropologist Peter Pels has argued.\textsuperscript{89} Moreover, Tony Ballantyne and Jeffrey Cox have both pointed out that straightforward dualisms implied by the meeting of two previously separated peoples do not exist. They emphasised how peoples were constituted in and by their relations to each other in terms of mutuality and interrelating practices; a reality emphasised by approaching encounters as the meetings of human bodies, rather than the meeting of nations, peoples, or cultures. Ballantyne and Cox also argued that reciprocal processes in face-to-face encounters underpinned the transformation of respective cultures. Ballantyne used the metaphor of ‘entanglement’ to emphasise the mutually constitutive and transformative potential of relationships between actors that reshaped cultural formations.\textsuperscript{90} Cox, on the other hand, underscored the usefulness of Mary


\textsuperscript{88} Ballantyne and Burton, *Bodies in Contact*.

\textsuperscript{89} Pels, *A Politics of Presence*, 7.

\textsuperscript{90} Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*. 
Louise Pratt’s idea of ‘contact zones’. He writes that in such a contact zone, ‘mutual interaction, mutual recognition and mutual re-constitution of the western take place, rather than a one-way street of domination on the one hand or indigenous appropriation on the other.’ Furthermore, as Cox elsewhere highlights, by focussing on the meeting of bodies in real contact zones, the presence of multiple actors become visible. With this lens we can observe the interaction of male clerical heroes, obscure male missionary builders of institutions, missionary wives, unmarried women missionaries, ordained non-western Christians, far more un-ordained non-western men, and non-western women in large numbers, according to Cox. Moreover, one can observe agents who act as intermediaries, as I will argue in the next section.

Using embodied encounters as a lens to study missionary practices also draws attention to bodies. In his work *Entanglements of Empire*, Tony Ballantyne analysed daily interactions between missionaries and Māori, Indigenous New Zealanders. He demonstrated that missions, especially mission stations, were spaces in which people came into close contact, whereby physical bodies were not only the medium of interaction but also significant sites of cross-cultural reflection and intervention. Ballantyne argued that it was the brush of bodies —physical encounters— on the mission stations that gave rise to the moral questions occupying a central place in missionary efforts to refashion and discipline bodies. Attention to bodies can thus reveal the ‘flesh and bone of empire’, as bodies were in multiple ways ‘the most intimate colony [...] to be subjected to colonial disciplines’. Attention to bodies in face-to-face meetings allows the exploration of ways in which bodies and conventions closely connected with the body were altered, regulated and disciplined as a means of their civilising mission by Catholic missionaries.

Among others, Peggy Brock, Richard Eves, and Kathryn Rountree have demonstrated that Christian missionaries intended to regulate bodies and complete these bodily transformations in accordance with western norms. That these missionary aspirations were played out upon small bodies, that is, those of children, was insightfully shown by Karen Vallgårda, the editors of *Empire, Education and Indigenous Childhoods*, and the contributions in the forthcoming *BMGN* special issue.

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92 Cox, ‘Global Christianity in the Contact Zone’, 37.
94 Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*.
'Save the Children? Child Separations in (Post)Colonial Policies and Practices.'\textsuperscript{97} The mechanisms of colonial regulation and transformation, applied by Catholic missionaries to the bodies of colonial subjects, can be fruitfully explored through scholarship on colonial governmentality. As Ann Stoler has argued, the disciplining of bodies and the management of intimate relations comprised the ‘microphysics of colonial rule’.\textsuperscript{98}

My thesis is indebted to the aforementioned scholars and builds upon their work in conceptualising historical encounters. I do so by exploring bodily management and alterations to bodies as vehicles of colonial governmentality, together with the practicalities and materialities of the encounter. While acknowledging spatiality and the plurality of actors from different backgrounds, I remain alert to interdependence, interrelatedness, and the hierarchical differences characteristic of encounters. Henceforward, I have come to use two additional concepts to refine my hermeneutic framework of embodied encounters, namely: local intermediaries and spaces of transformation.

**Local intermediaries**

Peggy Brock has emphasised that ‘if, as some assert, the missionary movement was part of a larger imperial project of cultural colonialism, it is important to recognize that the foot soldiers of the advance were the indigenous preachers’.\textsuperscript{99} The role of these non-western agents is highlighted by Brock in the recent full-length historical study *Indigenous Evangelists and Questions of Authority in the British Empire, 1750-1940*.\textsuperscript{100} Moreover, Felicity Jensz, Richard Hölz, Hugh Morrison, and Jan Hüsgen have argued that schools and education were an integral aspect of the colonial missionary project. Here non-European teachers not only outnumbered their European counterparts but played a vital role in effecting religious and social change; refashioning pupils’ comportment and appearances to conform with western expectations.\textsuperscript{101}


\textsuperscript{98} Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, 7.


\textsuperscript{100} Brock, Etherington, Griffiths and Van Gent, *Indigenous Evangelists*.

Catholic notions of ‘missionary’ and ‘mission’ have expanded in recent decades, from the ‘converting’ activity of ordained priests to encompass the contributions of brothers and sisters working in education and healthcare. However, Dutch Catholic missions continue to be seen as a western enterprise; consequently, indigenous contributions are often overlooked. By studying missionary practices through the lens of embodied encounters I will demonstrate however, that European-born priests, sisters and brothers were not the only agents to interact with missionised peoples. In fact, they were joined by a wide cast of Indonesian priests, sisters, brothers, catechists and teachers. They were, to use the terms proposed by Brock and Jensz, the ‘foot soldiers’ in a larger project of cultural colonialism; highly valued for their knowledge, skills, networks, and abilities as mediators.

Scholars in the humanities and the social sciences have used a multitude of terms to describe agents who served as a mediating ‘third party’ in cultural encounters; brokers, middlemen, intermediaries and go-betweens among them. Recently the concept of intermediaries has received renewed attention from Felix Driver and other historians, who have sought to uncover the ‘hidden histories’ of

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103 Brock, ‘New Christians as Evangelists’, 132; Jensz, ‘Non-European Teachers’.

exploration and cross-cultural encounters. Moreover, Simon Schaffer has recognised that non-western intermediaries have played a crucial role in ‘making sustained encounters and interactions across different cultures possible’, and have been recognised in histories of religious contact and conversion. Yet, in studies of mission history, the concept of intermediaries and brokers has mainly been deployed to describe European men, thus obscuring the involvement of non-western, ‘indigenous’ or ‘local’ intermediaries in the mission project.

To highlight and study the non-western actors and their contributions, I use the concept of local intermediaries in this thesis. ‘Local’ is used to indicate the non-western background of these mediating agents. While this concept has proved useful to reveal ‘hidden histories’ of the mission, I will demonstrate that the ‘local’ element of local intermediaries and the presumed ‘localness’ or ‘indigeneity’ of these non-western actors is complicated by missionary practices in Dutch New Guinea.

**Spaces of transformation**

Fabian’s, Ballantyne’s, Pels’ and Cox’s work were important sources of inspiration in applying the lens of embodied encounters to the study of missionary practices. Thereby considering the practical aspects of bodies in encounters, as well as their management. This conceptual lens directed me to look closely at the sites where these encounters took place, and in which missionaries tried to transform lives and beliefs through the management of indigenous bodies. Driving this research, therefore, were exacting questions about the tangible spaces in which subjects were created; where bodies not only met but were subject to management and transformation.

Historians of empire have frequently adhered to Marie Louise Pratt’s concept of contact zones when framing the colonial encounter. For Pratt, these were both imagined and real spaces, where cultures and people came together under

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asymmetrical power relations. Jeffrey Cox has reminded us thereby that the majority of these face-to-face encounters involving western missionaries took place within institutional settings such as orphanages, schools, and hospitals. By investigating concrete, material circumstances of such institutional sites, Jane Lydon has pointed out that western missionaries attempted to create an idealised didactic landscape to create order among the Indigenous peoples. She saw these missionary institutions, particularly the Aboriginal mission stations and reserve settlements in Victoria, Australia, as a disciplinary apparatus. These landscapes centred upon embodied and spatial practices and were designed in such a way that it taught residents to live as (colonial) subjects of Christianity and civilisation. Another site where Indigenous peoples were taught to live as (colonial) subjects of Christianity and civilisation was the mission school. Felicity Jensz examined three distinct but interconnected ‘spaces’ of missionary schooling, encompassing physical, cultural and didactic realms. Each of these spaces represented a site or aspect of missionary schooling upon which a variety of competing ideologies and expectations needed to be negotiated. Jensz showed that regarding the physical space, that mission schools were best established in such a way that they were isolated from potentially disruptive elements of society. It was within the physical space of the school that children were literally removed from kin and society to limit their ‘corrupting’ influence. Furthermore, it was in this physical space where children had to be cleaned, clothed, and educated under the regimes of western schooling. As such, they were instructed with the objective they would be transformed into civilised Christians. Like physical spaces, the cultural and didactic aspects of missionary schooling articulated notions of the ‘proper’ place for non-Europeans in colonial society, according to Jensz.

These scholars drew attention to the spatial organisation of encounters, the material circumstances of missionary institutional sites and the workings of

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109 Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*.


certain spaces. During my research, I observed that institutional missionary sites such as the mission stations, boarding schools and model villages were not only symbolic manifestations of modernity and civilisation, but also represented one of the few technologies available to missionaries who were working to transform colonial subjects and to bring about broader social transformations. It were tangible spaces in which Indigenous peoples, particularly children, were subjected to a process of civilisation. These ‘civilising’ forces worked dialectically with physical and social removal, culturally distancing and ultimately detaching children from customary ways of life. In particular, the South Dutch New Guinea missionaries’ quest to remake Marind culture depended on the construction of transformative physical spaces in order to civilise and reshape Marind social arrangements. Based outside the physical and cultural space of Marind villages, these spaces of transformation enhanced missionary authority to such a degree that the influence of socialisation, peers, and family instilled in indigenous spaces could be eroded. Then management and remaking of bodies extended to educating children and finally, to their ‘civilisation’ and conversion. To conceptualise the transformative nature of these ‘meeting sites’—missionary institutions—, I developed the notion of ‘spaces of transformation’: tangible new culturally encoded spaces through which missionaries contested indigenous practices, reordered behaviours, instilled new domesticities and bodily regimes. In short: spaces in which colonialism was embedded and embodied.

Tony Ballantyne and Jane Lydon have shown in their research that missionary institutions were, however, never ‘closed cultural sites’ nor exemplary sites of European civilisation, but rather were culturally mixed spaces whose boundaries and meanings were always open to contestation. Mission fences did not create ‘a self-contained cultural space in opposition to the Māori world that surrounded them’, Ballantyne stated. Hence, the cultural change the missionaries were actually able to implement was limited, and change often driven by Māori themselves. Jane Lydon emphasised that Aboriginal residents of the mission stations in Victoria adopted strategies of mobility and evasion to resist the spatial discipline missionaries sought to impose. In this thesis, I also show that the transformative effect of missionary institutions upon residents and pupils cannot be confidently assumed.

114 Lydon, ‘Fantastic Dreaming’.
Research questions

In this thesis, I explore the interactions between Christian missions and colonialism, by which I will bring the fields of Dutch Catholic mission history and Dutch colonial history together. I consider missionaries as actors in the colonial project, which cannot be separated from other cultural, social, political and economic transformations affecting indigenous societies during the colonial period. Bringing Catholic missionaries from Dutch orders and congregations to the colonial stage, this thesis will grant them a more central role in the history of the Dutch East Indies than they have hitherto been afforded.

The aim of this thesis is to show that the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies was a colonial cultural project deeply entangled in colonial power structures of coercion and control. Moreover, with the heuristic framework of embodied encounters, I will foreground the diversity, complexity, and sometimes bizarreness of Dutch colonial projects and examine varieties of missionary practices that differed depending on spatial and temporal specificities.

The four thematic case studies featured in this thesis explore different aspects of the relationships between mission and colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. All cases hold a broader relevance to the central question of this thesis:

How are missionary practices entangled with colonial governmentality in Java and Dutch New Guinea between 1856 and 1942?

This question is explored with the heuristic framework of embodied encounters, bringing forth the following sub-questions, which underlie the entire thesis:

How, where and under which circumstances did these embodied encounters take place?
Who had contact with who, precisely—which people were involved in these embodied encounters?
In what ways were bodies and conventions closely connected with the body transformed and disciplined?
Archives and sources

This thesis is primarily based on missionary documents held in the private archives of Dutch Catholic missionary orders and congregations, located both in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Moreover, I consulted missionary periodicals: the missionary magazines of the Jesuits (Sint Claverbond), the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Annalen van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart and Almanak van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart), as well as the more general missionary periodicals (Jaarboek Katholieke missie in Nederlands-Indië and Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift). In some chapters, missionary sources are complemented by other sources, such as newspaper articles and government reports held in the Dutch National Archives, located in The Hague. For example, the memorandums of succession (memories van overgave) which the Assistant-Resident of South Dutch New Guinea wrote to his successors, feature in chapters four and five. Appendix 1 provides an overview of the archives and periodicals consulted per case study.

I selected archives pertaining to specific missionary orders and congregations working in the geographical areas relevant to each case study, notably, the Jesuits (Societas Iesu, SJ), the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen, and the Brothers of Maastricht (Fratres Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis, FIC) for the two case studies situated in Java (chapters two and three). For the two remaining case studies, situated in South Dutch New Guinea (chapters four and five), I made extensive use of the archives of Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Missionnaires du Sacré Coeur - MSC). The digital research guide covering all Protestant and Catholic missions was a very helpful tool to locate relevant archives based in the Netherlands. In addition to written sources housed in these archives, I made use of oral history interviews with Jesuits, Brothers FIC and Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen, collected through the project Commission Mission Memoirs (KomMissieMemoires, KMM) in the late 1970s. The interviews held in KMM’s archive can be accessed at the Catholic Documentation Centre in Nijmegen.

The orders and congregations central to this thesis do not only have archives in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia. I located these myself in 2011 during my

115 See for more information on Dutch Protestant and Catholic mission archives Ton Kappelhof’s paper in the 11th annual of Dutch Foundation of archival publication: Kappelhof, ‘Archives of Dutch Christian missionary Organisations’.

116 For an overview on the Dutch Catholic missionaries and their mission fields, see: J.Th.W. Willemsen, Nederlandse missionarissen en hun missiegebeiden.


118 Nijmegen, Katholiek Documentatie Centrum (KDC), archive KomMissieMemoires (hereafter KMM).
exploratory fieldwork trip, enabled by the financial contribution of the Catharine van Tussenbroek Fonds. Most notable among these are the archives of the Jesuits, Brothers FIC and the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen, all located at their respective provincial houses in Semarang. Although these archives held interesting sources, levels of preservation were varied, and no inventory was available for any of the collections. To a lesser extent, I also made use of the sources located in the Jesuit library in Yogyakarta (Kolsani). This library holds many Dutch missionary publications; prospectuses for major residential schools, school magazines, and also Javanese and Malay mission magazines that are unavailable in the Netherlands. Furthermore, I made extensive use of the documents held in the Archdiocesan archive of Batavia (Jakarta). The original archive, located in Jakarta, has been made available to researchers in microfiche form. Since these microfiches were very difficult to decipher, I also consulted the original archive in Jakarta.

The majority of the missionary sources were produced in Indonesia, including mission diaries, letters, photos, and reports. Some reports and letters were sent to the Netherlands, received by the missionaries’ superiors, or their family and friends. Other sources were circulated locally, some of which are held in Indonesian archives in the present day. It is difficult to grasp how much of the ‘locally circulated’ materials have actually been kept or survived the war years. During the Pacific War, many properties belonging to the Catholic mission were seized or used as internment camps by Japanese forces, leading to the accidental loss, sometimes the intentional destruction of these materials.

Beyond unpublished missionary sources, I also made use of missionary publications. Some missionary letters were reworked for publication—apparent in red markings adorning some original letters, signalling corrections or omissions—, while others authored their writings for direct publication in Dutch missionary magazines, circulated in the Netherlands, and for Catholic newspapers in the Dutch East Indies (such as the Java Post). Magazines and other materials produced by European missionaries were often ‘propagandist in nature’. The texts published in missionary magazines (with accompanying photographs) and letters sent back to congregations or superiors in the Netherlands frequently described the need for more funds and workers for particular projects or activities. The operation of schools and the welfare of children were emphasised to secure the support of the Dutch Catholic public for the mission, which in itself is a subject worthy of further exploration. Writers of these propagandistic texts sought to boost public support for missionary endeavours, to ensure funding, embolden potential missionaries, and to fashion a community supportive of missionary interest.

‘Missionary texts constitute a distinct genre of missionary discourse, a genre that has unmistakable, though ambivalent, relationships with imperial discourses as a whole’, Anna Johnston has noted.\textsuperscript{120} Theorists, archivists, anthropologists and historians have written extensively about how to read and interpret colonial archives, albeit with less attention to missionary archives.\textsuperscript{121} To understand how missionary practices relate to colonial governmentality, gathering knowledge about the organisation of the Catholic mission, its relation to the Netherlands, Rome, and Batavia, as well as the internal organisation of each order and congregation was a necessity. Insight into the values, motives, and prior experience missionaries possessed was also important in determining the nature of their practices in the field and serves to complicate the overarching ‘master narratives’ promoted by the mission and colonialism at large. I have also looked into colonial culture and policy-making; legislative provisions for colonial education, for example, are crucial to understand the nature and social positioning of educational missionary initiatives in central Java. Not in the least, I had to deepen my knowledge of the culture and social practices of those subject to missionary attention. To understand the transformative effects of missionary practices in Marind society, for example, I have drawn heavily on detailed ethnographic studies of Marind culture.

Seeking to critically engage with missionary sources, I took particular inspiration from Tony Ballantyne’s emphasis on bodies in contact.\textsuperscript{122} In \textit{Entanglements of Empire}, Ballantyne argued that missionaries’ aim to change the material and cosmological order of indigenous life raised crucial questions about the body and its meaning. ‘Struggles over the materiality of the body, over its physicality, over its most basic operations in time and space, and its centrality to the experience of new models of work, faith, and cosmology’ are at the heart of colonial entanglements.\textsuperscript{123} These are precisely the kind of struggles I encountered in the archive of the Dutch MSC and Dutch Jesuits. In reading missionary sources, I have also taken my cue from imperial historians Kim Wagner and Ricardo Roque, who point out that such texts

\textsuperscript{120} Johnston, \textit{Missionary Writing}, 202.


\textsuperscript{122} Ballantyne and Burton (eds.), \textit{Bodies in Contact}; Tony Ballantyne, \textit{Webs of Empire. Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past} (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014); Ballantyne, \textit{Entanglements of Empire}.

\textsuperscript{123} Ballantyne, \textit{Entanglements of Empire}, 9.
were products of missionary interactions, engagements, encounters, and entanglements with specific individuals, events, and places.124

With this in mind, I have read and interpreted missionary sources and narratives by thoroughly searching for and carefully examining practices, actions, and traces concerning bodies— their materiality, and encounters or exchanges between them. This allowed me to show throughout this thesis that missionaries were highly dependent on local intermediaries, and that peoples’ motivations for engaging with missionaries should not be overlooked, or at least raised where possible. As a final note, I have made use, albeit only for the last two chapters, of the qualitative data analysis program atlas.ti to better understand the enormous amount of different textual sources available. By coding these texts, focussing on encounters and local intermediaries, I was able to determine the nature of the relationships between the different actors involved and the conditions in which they met.

Outline of the thesis: four case studies

This thesis consists of four distinct but intertwined case studies linked to the central research question of this thesis; the last three of these have been reworked and published as peer-reviewed journal articles.125 I selected two extremely different colonial contexts — Java and South Dutch New Guinea for my case studies. The politics of each location and era produced substantial differences in the execution of missionary activity and, most importantly, the manner in which missionaries, their proselytising, and their potential converts were represented in textual sources. In terms of the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman Catholic Church, both regions represented missions under the supervision of the Roman organization that directed ecclesiastical matters overseas, the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. This organization entrusted the daily organization of Java to the Dutch Jesuits, and that of Dutch New Guinea to the Dutch Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. Moreover, Java was the political, administrative, and economic

124 Ballantyne, Entanglements of Empire, 14-15; Roque and Wagner (eds.), Engaging Colonial Knowledge.
centre of the colony, where the first Dutch missionaries (and a majority of their successors) worked among European and Javanese populations. South Dutch New Guinea, on the other hand, was one of the last parts of the archipelago to be formally brought under administrative ‘control’. It was also the first area formally separated from the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia, which until 1902, consisted of the whole archipelago, under Dutch Jesuit management.

The case studies are organised geographically and chronologically, whereby each case study takes as its point of departure a particular episode of missionary encounter, situated in a particular part of the Dutch colony. The first two case studies concentrate in Java during, focussing on the period 1859-1900 when evangelisation and pastoral care were confined to the European population and the period 1900-1942 when the work of the Dutch missionaries among the Javanese commenced. The two remaining case studies concentrate on South Dutch New Guinea, focussing on the initial phase of settlement (1905-1921) and in later phases of dual colonialism, the latter centring on the creation of model villages (1920-1942).

Examining embodied encounters revealed that it was not ‘Natives’ but Europeans who were the sole ‘target’ group of Java’s Catholic missionaries up until the turn of the twentieth century. Hence, the first case study, chapter two of this thesis, ‘Civilising Europeans’, focuses on this particular form of missionary encounter. Beyond challenging the dominant idea that missionary work in former colonies was performed on Indigenous peoples, this chapter understands religion as a central domain through which difference was ordered and managed under colonial rule. It engages with the questions on the issue of difference — class, race, and religion— and social hierarchies in the Dutch East Indies. In this chapter, I demonstrate that religion, specifically Christianity, was an important criterion in the construction of a distinct legal category for ‘European’ residents of the colony, and thereby constituted a marker of Europeanness during the nineteenth century. Missionaries were thus central agents in upholding European religious and cultural standards and assisted in solidifying the boundaries of European membership. While Europeans of all social classes were subjected to a policy of Christianisation or Europeanisation, those belonging to lower echelons of the European community in Java, the (Indo-)European paupers, came under particularly intense missionary scrutiny. I show that missionary concerns with ‘the pauper problem’ saw much activity directed towards ‘uplifting’ poor whites and children of mixed ancestry.

Chapter three of this thesis, ‘Fashioning a Javanese Catholic elite’ presents a second case study situated during the introduction of the Ethical Policy, circa 1900. This time, the Dutch Jesuits together with the Franciscan Sisters from Heythuysen, first began missionising among Java’s Indigenous population. The central focus of this chapter is the education of Javanese boys and girls, delivered
by Dutch Catholic missionaries in the institutes of Muntilan and Mendut. Pupils from Javanese elite groups receiving their education there were specifically trained to become local intermediaries, equipped with the skills and values to proselytise among the lower standing Javanese with the aim of bringing ‘civilisation’ to them. Special attention is given to gender, as instilling ‘proper’ gender roles was an important aspect of the girls’ fashioning as intermediaries. This chapter will contribute to a better understanding of the gendered and class dynamics underpinning the Dutch colonial project and the mission in particular.

The twentieth century brought many organisational changes to the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies. Starting in 1902, the vicariate of the whole Dutch East Indies was divided into three (1910); six (1920); ten (1930), and finally fifteen ecclesiastical regions. With the first ecclesiastical division in 1902, the Dutch missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Missionnaires du Sacré Coeur - MSC) were assigned to the newly established ecclesiastical region of South Dutch New Guinea, including the Moluccas. This geographical region is the focus of the last two case studies, featured respectively chapters four and five.

Chapter four’s case study, ‘Spaces of transformation’, analyses embodied encounters with the Marind-anim during the first fifteen years of missionary presence in South Dutch New Guinea. Marind-anim’s headhunting activities over the colonial border in British territory brought about the establishment of a government and mission post in Merauke, the most distant frontier of the Dutch colony, at the beginning of the twentieth century. In this chapter, I will show that missionary activities and objectives went well beyond converting the Indigenous peoples. Indeed, the colonial administration and Catholic mission were united in the aim of ‘pacifying’ the area’s inhabitants. More specifically, I will focus on how the Catholic mission was implicated in the colonial practice of governing via the ‘civilising mission’. I examine the ways in which the mission sought to ‘civilise’ Marind-anim and transform the social order under which they lived. This project concentrated on the management, control, and remaking of Marind bodies and bodily practices; a project only feasible in what I have come to call ‘spaces of transformation’. In these transformative spaces, the mission’s boarding schools and model villages specifically, missionaries wielded enough authority to rival the influence of socialisation, peers, and family upon the development of their young charges.

Chapter five, entitled ‘Local intermediaries?’, presents my final case study, continuing the previous chapter’s chronology and geographical focus in twentieth-century South Dutch New Guinea. Beginning in 1921, when the first Keiese teacher families arrived in Merauke, my analysis follows their work in primary schools newly installed in the model kampongs. The collaboration between Dutch MSC missionaries and the administration in ‘pacifying’ the area’s and Papuans intensified from
that point onwards. Both were deeply involved in the implementation of a large resettlement programme involving model kampongs (model villages) and village schools throughout the region. While only a few Dutch missionaries and administrators at the top of the colonial stratum were involved in the project’s ideological conception, the work of hundreds of Catholic goeroes (teachers) recruited by MSC missionaries from the Kei and Tanimbar Islands in southeast Maluku were crucial to its success. As this chapter will demonstrate, these goeroe families were actually carrying out ‘pacification’ policies and they were instrumental in the governance of Dutch New Guinea on an everyday basis. In undertaking this colonial project, Dutch colonial administrators and missionaries effectively set up a dual colonial structure in South Dutch New Guinea. Chapter five explores this dualistic structure of colonial rule by analysing the roles of Catholic goeroes from the Kei and Tanimbar Islands, ultimately reconsidering the present understandings of these ‘local’ intermediaries and their work in colonial contexts.

A note on language, spelling, and quotes
Indonesian names are written in multiple variations of spelling, both in original sources and contemporary work. Throughout this thesis, I have tried to use the contemporary spelling of Indonesian names. Concerning geographical names, this thesis uses primarily the English version of geographical names which often, though not always, complies with their Indonesian spelling. For readability and clarity, I use the term the Dutch East Indies when referring to the region under Dutch colonial control.

Where possible I try to refer to Indigenous peoples living in the Dutch East Indies by their regional or tribal affiliations, such as Javanese, Marind-anim, and Kei islanders. When making broader statements applying to the whole archipelago or its inhabitants, I sometimes use ‘Indigenous people’ to describe the plurality of diverse communities in what is now the Indonesian archipelago, or Papuans, when concerning the inhabitants of what was then Dutch New Guinea, and also ‘Indonesians’, ‘Indonesia’, or ‘Indonesian archipelago’, anachronistically. I use the term ‘Native’ as a literal translation for the word Inlands(ch) or Inlander regarding, or when I want to emphasise one’s legal/juridical status.

The problematic nature of certain terms, such as ‘pacify’ and ‘civilise’, is indicated by quotation marks throughout this thesis, signalling brief references to complex matters. Indeed, the practices underwriting these terms reveal the ambiguities of the colonial project, whereby genuine good intentions and Christian justifications went hand-in-hand with intrusive measures and harsh disciplines in seeking to change Indigenous culture. As a final point, original Dutch quotations are translated, and all translations are mine.
Java
Chapter two

Civilising Europeans: Dutch Catholic missionaries in Java during the late nineteenth century

Introduction

‘When I was in Holland, I thought as a citizen of that country, and I thought we would be in Java to convert all Javanese to Christianity’, wrote Joannes Palinckx SJ to his provincial Ludovicus van Gullick SJ in 1862. With his departure from the Netherlands to the mission field in the Dutch East Indies, Palinckx, and many other missionaries after him, held specific ideas about the work they were to undertake in the colony. They imagined this work would include at least some contact with Indigenous peoples. After a years’ work alongside Father Palinckx in Surabaya—one of the largest cities in Java—Marinus van den Elzen SJ noted this was not at all the case: ‘we find ourselves to be exclusively in a Dutch environment, and we hardly work under the unadulterated Indigenous peoples or Javanese.’

The ideal of a missionary apostolate working among Indigenous and heathen populations in far-off lands was cherished by many Dutch Catholic missionaries upon their departure. It is also a dominant trope in the historiography of the Catholic mission. However, the realities of the mission field in the Dutch East Indies were rather different in the nineteenth century. Catholic missionaries maintained their distance from the Javanese souls they were purportedly there to save, their early involvement (1808-1900) instead primarily concerned those people

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126 Joannes Palinckx SJ to provincial A. Henriët SJ, 26-10-1862, Nijmegen, Archive of the Netherlands Jesuit Province (hereafter ANJP), I-23. (NB. This archive has been re-located to the Katholiek Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum (KADOC) in Leuven.)

127 Marinus van den Elzen SJ to Leopold Aloys Wilde SJ (substitute-secretary in Rome), 20-12-1860, ANJP, 1719.

128 Jan Roes already noticed a discrepancy between the romanticised (self) image of the mission and the missionary and the mission practice (Jan Roes, Het groote missieuur, 41-42.). Other discrepancies between mission ideal and mission practice are discussed in: José Eijt, Hester Genefaas, Peter Nissen (eds.), Gaan voor God. Ideaal en praktijk van missie in historisch perspectief (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998).

129 Although not part of this chapter, the archival documents strongly indicate that during the twentieth century, right until the Pacific war, most of the Catholic missionaries in Java worked among people legally classified as ‘European’.
legally classified as ‘Europeans’.\textsuperscript{130} The mission’s statistics of 1899 reveal that out of the 80,000, there were 23,356 Catholics with European legal status settled in the colony, 7,266 of whom were military personnel.\textsuperscript{131}

This discrepancy between missionary ideal and practice invites deeper questions about the missionaries’ seemingly exclusive commitment to the European community in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I will ask what the work of the missionaries of Dutch orders and congregations entailed, and look closely at the social and economic qualities of their beneficiaries. Exploring particularly the case of the Dutch Jesuits in Java, I will argue that religion was an important marker of difference in the colony, rendering the work of promoting and attesting to religious adherence a matter of great social and legal importance. Moreover, I argue that Catholic missionaries’ activities in late-nineteenth-century Java contributed to defining and safeguarding colonial privilege and its boundaries.

This chapter contributes to recent debates about colonial governmentality, particularly those concerned with issues such as the construction of difference, the relationship between categories of ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’, and the production of colonial hierarchies. Colonialism took as its basis the fundamentally unstable—and unequal—categories of coloniser and colonised. In the Foucauldian sense, this binary model powerfully underwrote governmentality throughout the empires by legitimising material and legal differences between residents of the colony, or ‘population groups’ (in Dutch \textit{landaard}), and the policies applied to them. The nineteenth-century witnessed the emergence of ‘modern’ colonial governmentality in the Dutch East Indies, whereby social organisation became the target of colonial rule, marking a shift from the overtly exploitative practices of past regimes to the benevolent tones of ‘civilising colonial politics’.\textsuperscript{132} It was through what Partha Chatterjee has described the rule of difference, that colonial rule was justified and that the civilising projects and modern forms of disciplinary power were rationalised.\textsuperscript{133} As Indigenous populations were ‘civilised’ and ‘uplifted’, boundaries between coloniser and colonised had to be guarded closely in the interests of maintaining colonial rule.\textsuperscript{134} Accordingly, ‘colonisers’, or bearers of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} From the letters and reports of the Dutch Jesuit priests it becomes clear that they occasionally also gave catechism to Indigenous women who lived together (concubinage) or were married to Catholic ‘European’ civilians and soldiers. Furthermore, catechism was given to those soldiers and their families from Manado and the Maluku Islands stationed in Java who were already Catholics or had become Catholic.
\item \textsuperscript{131} ‘Beknopt overzicht van de dienstverrichtingen der Eerw. Missionarissen in het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, Dienstjaar 1900, Sint Claverbond (1900)76-77.
\item \textsuperscript{132} Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’, 193 & 201.
\item \textsuperscript{134} I use the term ‘Native’ as a literal translation for the Dutch words ‘Inlands’ or ‘Inlander’, indicating one’s legal status.
\end{itemize}
the privileged ‘European’ legal status, were as much a focus for governance as their ‘colonised’ Indigenous counterparts.

Ann Laura Stoler has compellingly demonstrated machinations of colonial governance among ‘European’ populations in her work on the Dutch East Indies. Examining poor ‘whites’ (white paupers) and ‘mixed bloods’ (Indo-Europeans or Indische kinderen) in the twentieth century, she highlighted the centrality of colonial governmentality to supporting the rule of difference. Stoler argued that the existence of these paupers ‘threatened’ to disrupt the racial and economic hierarchies upon which colonial rule rested. Hence, the pauper problem, also known as the ‘Indo-question’ (Indo-vraagstuk), became part of the colonial state’s responsibility. To maintain the boundaries of colonial hierarchies, the late colonial state became deeply invested in managing European homes, educating ‘European’ children, and, when they grew to maturity, regulating their sexual moralities and marrying behaviours. These micro-policies of the private and the intimate were, according to Stoler, believed crucial for social order and political stability, and thus to colonial rule. They were strategic sites of colonial governance.\(^\text{135}\)

A significant part of Dutch colonial historiography deals with the differences which suffused colonial culture and formed the bedrock of colonial rule. Different scholars have looked into the character of social hierarchies structured by conflicting taxonomies of race, class and gender, attentive to the outcomes of social inclusion and exclusion in the Dutch East Indies.\(^\text{136}\) Remarkably, however, religion as a marker and manifestation of difference has not received much attention, leading to a wider neglect of the Catholic mission’s role in naturalising and interiorising European-colonial ‘civilisation’. This chapter will address this issue by drawing attention to religion as an important criterion in the construction of European as a legal category, and the broader status of Christianity as a marker of Europeanness during the nineteenth century.

In this chapter, I deploy various missionary sources, such as reports and letters in the archives of the Jesuits (Societas Iesu, SJ) and the Archdiocese of Batavia.\(^\text{137}\) I also consult missionary texts, letters, and articles published in newspapers and missionary periodicals. This chapter begins with an overview of the Catholic mission in Java, outlining missionaries’ work among the ‘Europeans’ in the colony. A broad survey of the European community in the Dutch East Indies then addresses the significance of Christianity as a criterion of legal and social classification in

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\(^{136}\) Protschky, ‘Race, Class, and Gender’.

\(^{137}\) Nijmegen, Archive of the Netherlands Jesuit Province (NJJP) NB. Currently this archive has been re-located to the Katholiek Documentatie-en Onderzoekscentrum (KADOC) in Leuven; Jakarta, Archive of the Archdiocese of Batavia/Jakarta (hereafter AJAK.).
the colony. Demonstrating this, I make use of one particularly fascinating case, namely that of the West African soldiers who were recruited in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) between 1831 and 1872 for the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger* - KNIL). In the final section of this chapter, I make clear that Christianity served as a marker of Europeanness in service of colonial rule, rendering Catholic missionaries as central agents in promoting high standards of European religious practice. Religion bled easily into the embodiment of western frameworks for culture, class, and gender, contributing overall to the solidification of boundaries designating membership to the ‘European’ community in the Dutch colony. While missionaries aimed to include ‘Europeans’ of all social classes in their policies of Christianisation, people belonging to the lower echelons of the ‘European’ population group, the Indo-Europeans and poor whites, came under particular scrutiny. Therefore, this last section examines the case of missionaries’ concern with pauperism, together with their involvement in ‘civilising’ ‘European’ paupers.

**Catholic missionaries in Java**

In 1807, the newly appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Herman Willem Daendels, sanctioned public celebrations of the Catholic faith and invited Catholic priests to enter the colony to improve the spiritual welfare of resident Catholics. Daendels’ invitation came after a period of two centuries, during which the Dutch East India Company (VOC) held jurisdiction of the East Indies (1602-1799). In this era, Calvinism as a form of Christianity was tolerated and even instrumentalised by the VOC. Catholicism, however, was suppressed and Catholic

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138 Protestant Christianity in the Dutch East Indies was represented by both the colonial state church (Protestantsé Kerk in Nederlands-Indië, often called Indische Kerk or abbreviated as IK) – which was there for the fulfilment of the religious needs of the existing European and Indigenous Protestants – and the various Dutch and non-Dutch protestant mission organisations and their resulting Christian communities. Dutch Protestant missions included an array of organisations, including church-bound organisations such as the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken), and societies such as The Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging (UZV), the Nederlandsch Zendelingenootschap (NZG) and the Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging (NZV). These latter three all associated with the Dutch Reformed Church (Hervormd). International mission societies, such as the Basler Mission and the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft were also active in parts of Dutch East Indies. From 1900 onwards Anglo-American missions from various denominations as the Methodists, Adventists, and Pentecostals also became active in the Dutch East Indies. (Jan S. Aritonang and Karel A. Steenbrink (eds), *A history of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 138-145.)

clergy prohibited from missionising in the East Indies. Upon the opening of the new Catholic mission field, Batavia’s first diocesan Catholic priests, Jacobus Nelissen and Lambertus Prinsen, arrived in 1808. The territory of the Dutch East Indies was then organised as an Apostolic Prefecture, becoming an Apostolic Vicariate in 1842.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, only a handful of diocesan priests served the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies. They worked in the major cities Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya (Java) and Padang (Sumatra), occasionally visiting scattered members of their flock in other areas. In 1847, Apostolic Vicar Petrus Maria Vrancken arrived in the colony after a tumultuous period, which saw the church leader Apostolic Vicar Grooff dismissed and all priests withdrawn due to a conflict of jurisdiction with Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Jan Jacob Rochussen (1844-1847). From Vrancken’s appointment onwards, the Catholic Church enjoyed a steady growth in the Dutch East Indies, which, according to theologian Karel Steenbrink, paralleled the Islamic revival, and echoed similar successes enjoyed by rival Protestant missions in the region.

Vrancken had set out to attract a Dutch clerical order to take up the responsibility for the mission in the Dutch East Indies, initially favouring the Jesuits (Societas Iesu, SJ). He envisioned that the Jesuits could work among the Indigenous peoples in the colony, especially in the so-called Outer Provinces or Outer Islands (buiten gewesten), while diocesan priests would lead the ‘European’ flock in Java. However, generous state funding for clergy ministering to European parishes moved the Dutch provincial superior, Ludovicus van Gulick, to claim a parish in Java which served ‘European’ Catholics. After negotiations, Vrancken was inclined to appoint the parish in Surabaya to the Dutch Jesuits. Providing ‘Europeans’ with pastoral care was manifestly lucrative, as the first Dutch Jesuit priest in the Dutch East Indies, Father Van den Elzen, noted with satisfaction:

So one has to admit that it is faring well under the government. Where in the world does a government provide Catholic missionaries with such an income and regards them and treats them as high officials?

140 Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 1, 11-25; Aritonang and Steenbrink, A History of Christianity in Indonesia, 644.
142 Apostolic Vicar Petrus Maria Vrancken to provincial Ludovicus van Gulick SJ, 10-11-1856; 13-03-1856, ANJP 1716.
144 Mgr. Vrancken to provincial Ludovicus van Gulick SJ, 10-11-1856, ANJP 1716.
145 Marinus van den Elzen SJ to provincial A. Henriët SJ, 03-12-1859, ANJP 1718.
The colonial authorities, however, fixed a maximum number of salaried priests, restricting funding to securing pastoral care for ‘European’ Catholics only in the mid-1850s. Initially, seven positions for second-class priests (the most common position) were budgeted, but this number increased to twenty-two in 1890. These priests received a government salary of 4,200 guilders annually—an amount open to annual increases to an overall limit of 9,000 guilders. In addition to wages, allowances for accommodation and travel expenses were provided by the colonial administration. In 1892 this regulation was slightly modified by including salaries attributable to missionaries who gave pastoral care to ‘Native’ Catholics, for example, those on Flores. However, priests working among Indigenous Catholics received a third-grade salary of 1,800 guilders per year, far lower than their colleagues ministering to ‘Europeans’.

While the colonial authorities limited the number of salaried priests, the Apostolic Vicar was allowed to send as many Catholic priests to the Dutch East Indies as he deemed necessary, provided the priests obtained a permit (radikaal) to serve as a religious minister in the Dutch East Indies. These priests were referred to as priests who were allowed entrance without burdening public funds (buiten bezwaar van den lande). To finance these priests, allowances (traktementen) attributed to the other Dutch Jesuits were deposited in a central fund—the arca missionis from which every Jesuit priest received personal allowances. As such, the allowances given by the state provided all Jesuits working in the Dutch East Indies with a sound financial basis. While the late 1920s saw attempts to fiscally separate church and state, these moves did not gain traction. Admittedly, the percentage of government contributions allotted for pastoral care decreased during the twentieth century, but regulations governing the funding of Catholic clergy (and guaranteeing pastoral service for Europeans) remained in place throughout the whole colonial period.

In 1859, after the required permits (radikaal) from the colonial administration were obtained, the first Jesuit priests, Joannes Palinckx SJ and Marinus van den Elzen SJ, arrived in the Dutch East Indies. They, together with a few diocesan priests, worked under the ecclesiastical leadership of the Apostolic Vicar of Batavia

146 Regeling traktementen, ANJP, 1713.
147 Regeling traktementen, ANJP, 1713.
148 In 1900 the Jesuits in Java received: one first rank allowance of fl. 6000 and eleven second rank allowances of fl. 4200. For the outer Islands, the Jesuits received three second rank allowances of fl. 4200, and ten third rank allowances of fl. 1800 for their work among the Indigenous Catholics. In addition, there were four allowances available for Native teachers (inheemse hulpleraren bij de RK gemeenten) of fl. 300. (HTK 1899-1900, Bijl. 4, nr.18, Hoofdstuk II-V Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indië voor 1900, 20-23).
2.1 Map of The Dutch East Indies with the major mission stations around 1900.

© ANJP Photo archive of the St. Claverbond
chapter two

—a position first held by Mgr. Vrancken, and later Mgr. Adamus Carolus Claessens SJ. In 1883 Mgr. Claessens resigned and was replaced by the first Jesuit to become a bishop in the Indies, Walterus Staal SJ.\footnote{Vriens, ‘De onderhandelingen’.

Eventually, the Dutch province of the Society of Jesus was entrusted with the administration of the whole vicariate by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. The centre of the Jesuit mission was located in Java.\footnote{The Jesuits also set up several new parishes were in the so-called Outer Provinces: Padang (1835) and Medan (1884), Sumatra; Singkawang (1885), Borneo; Makassar (1893), Celebes/Sulawesi; Sungaiselan (1853), Bangka. Parishes serving Indigenous Catholics were: Larantuka (1860) Maumere (1874) Sika (1883), Flores; Atapupu (1893), Timor; Singkawang (1885), Borneo; Langgur (1888), Kei Islands.

Antonius van Aernsbergen SJ, Chronologisch overzicht van de werkzaamheid der Jezuieten in de missie van N.O.-I. 1859-1934 (Bandoeng: A.C. Nix, 1934), 96.} Here twelve parishes served by fifty priests and thirteen brothers of the Dutch Province of the Jesuits were established by the turn of the century (see Figure 2.1). By this time all diocesan priests had been replaced by Jesuit clergy. From 1902 onwards, the enormous vicariate of the Dutch East Indies was gradually divided into smaller areas by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith overseen by other clerical orders, leaving the Jesuits to work in West and Central Java only.\footnote{Antonius van Aernsbergen SJ, Chronologisch overzicht van de werkzaamheid der Jezuieten in de missie van N.O.-I. 1859-1934 (Bandoeng: A.C. Nix, 1934), 96.}

The Dutch priests working in the Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth century were responsible for the spiritual welfare of Catholic civilians, as well as that of Catholic soldiers enlisted in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army. The larger towns and cities where garrisons were quartered or military training centres located—Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Ambarawa, and Magelang—could be characterised as garrison pastorates. A vivid illustration of one such garrison pastorate was provided by missionary priest Johannes van der Hagen SJ, who was stationed in Ambarawa from 1862-1868:

Between a Javanese population of one and a half million souls, plus a few thousand Chinese and maybe three thousand so-called Protestants, my scattered Catholic flock counts around 1600 to 1700 souls. Most of them are soldiers, \textit{ex omni genere natione} [of all peoples and nations, MD], who live in the garrison in Ambarawa, more precisely in Fort Willem I [Benteng Pendem, Ambarawa], Salatiga, Solo, Klatten, Patjitan and Ngawi. [...] Fort William I accommodates the largest military prison for the whole of the Dutch East Indies. All who are sentenced by the court-martial for the imprisonment of ten years are sent here to make clothes and shoes for the army. They number generally around 300, of whom are 70 to 80 Catholic, 100 Protestant and the remaining are Javanese. Every fourth Sunday of the month I go there and perform the holy service for my flock [...]. In addition, I also serve my parish in the penalty battalion in Klatten where incorrigible drunks and people alike are drilled until they
show steadfast proof of reform. Your Reverence, you see that I have all sweet boys under my paternal care.\textsuperscript{153}

In these military parishes, priests visited soldiers in their barracks, military hospitals, and prisons. Furthermore, priests also attended to women and children cohabiting with soldiers in the barracks. In the mission’s statistics and clerical correspondence alike, these women and children were labelled as civilians.\textsuperscript{154}

Priests left their urban garrison parishes regularly to visit Catholic soldiers stationed at military outposts in the Outer Islands.\textsuperscript{155} Adamus Carolus Claessens SJ, priest of Batavia and later Apostolic Vicar of Batavia, for example, visited the mostly Belgian soldiers in Banka, Billiton and Riau-archipelago in 1849.\textsuperscript{156} Joannes Palinckx SJ also undertook such a work trip to Borneo in 1861 to visit the soldiers stationed at several bentengs (wooden forts) in the hinterland of Bandjarmasin. Once there, he joined the army as an informal army chaplain on the military expedition from 27 September until 4 November 1861.\textsuperscript{157} Some priests were appointed by the colonial administration as expeditie-aalmoezeniers (army-expedition chaplains), though this happened mostly on an ad-hoc basis. The period 1873-1908 saw many military expeditions take place to unite the archipelago under Dutch rule. Twelve Jesuits and one diocesan priest served as army chaplains during these violent military expeditions.\textsuperscript{158} Frans Voogel SJ and Henricus Verbraak SJ were both honoured with the Knighthood of the Order of the Dutch Lion after their service as army chaplains during military campaigns in Lombok (6 July until 18 November 1894) and Aceh (1873 till 1907).\textsuperscript{159}

Jesuit (and the few diocesan) missionary priests shared their work in the Dutch East Indies with religious brothers and sisters from several Dutch Catholic orders and congregations. Because the colonial government did not consider brothers and sisters church personnel, they did not need to obtain a permit (radikaal). During the nineteenth century, these brothers and sisters all worked in the field of

\textsuperscript{153} Johannes van der Hagen SJ to Leopold Aloys Wilde SJ (substitute-secretary in Rome) SJ, Ambarawa 02-09-1863, ANJP 1725.
\textsuperscript{154} Van der Hagen SJ to Wilde SJ, 26-01-1865, ANJP 1725.
\textsuperscript{155} Gerard Vriens, ‘De jezuïeten en het Nederlandsch Indisch leger I t/m XIV’, Sint Claverbond (1936,1937,1938).
\textsuperscript{156} Gerard Vriens, Honderd jaar jezuïetennmissie in Indonesië (Yogyakarta, 1990 –UNPUBLISHED), 232.
\textsuperscript{157} Joannes Palinckx SJ to superior, Verslag van een tocht door de binnenlanden van Borneo, 17-11-1861, ANJP I 341a; A copy can also be found in Henk Smeets, Paters in de Oost. Brieven uit Indië 1859-1883 (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).
\textsuperscript{159} Stukken betreffende Lombok expeditie, AJAK 180; Eerekruis van pater Voogel, ANJP, I39; F. Van Hoek, De soldatenpastoor Henricus Verbraak SJ Aalmoezenier van het Ned-Ind. leger te Atjeh (Amsterdam: R.K. Bockcentrade, 1924).
education. In 1900, approximately 130 Catholic sisters and 30 Catholic brothers provided education to about 3000 European children of different social classes, Catholics and Protestants, in the major cities of Batavia, Buitenzorg, Semarang, Surabaya and Malang in Java.\textsuperscript{160}

The first sisters to arrive in Java hailed from the Ursuline order, based in Sittard, in 1856. Renowned for providing high-quality education in the Netherlands, the Ursuline Sisters were invited by Apostolic Vicar Vrancken to establish a first-class European primary school (ELS, Europese Lagere School) for girls in Batavia, named Noordwijk/ Groot Klooster. The distinct part of the name—European—indicated the primary target group of their teaching efforts. The curriculum of European primary schools followed that of Dutch primary schools in the Netherlands. While Noordwijk was a Catholic school, it was open to girls of all denominations. Many Protestant girls were accepted, and on occasion, they outnumbered the Catholic girls.\textsuperscript{161}

Noordwijk was established at a crucial moment in the region’s history, when a significant increase in the numbers of men, women and children migrating from Europe fuelled the rise of a new colonising elite. Mostly consisting of European civil servants and their families, this wealthy migrant class quickly set about expanding cultural life in the colony; building libraries, establishing music societies, drama clubs, and sororities.\textsuperscript{162} Concomitantly, the Ursuline sisters offered their boarding school Noordwijk as an elite facility, befitting the aspirations of colonial families. Their daughters’ education, like domestic life, work, and leisure more broadly, would echo collective efforts to transplant European identity and community from the homeland to a colonial setting.

Second-class schools for European girls were established in the cities of Batavia, Surabaya, Malang and Semarang by the Ursuline sisters as well as by the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen (1870)—the second sister congregation to arrive in the Dutch East Indies, named after their oldest and main convent in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{163} The Brothers of Saint Aloysius, commonly called Brothers of Oudenbosch, came to Surabaya in 1862 where they established their first second-class schools for European boys. Later they also established schools in Batavia, Semarang, Bandung and Madiun.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{160} ‘Beknopt overzicht van de dienstverrichtingen der Eerw. Missionarissen in het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, Dienstjaar 1900’, Sint Claverbond (1900) 76-77.
\textsuperscript{161} Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 1, 33.
\textsuperscript{162} Caroline Driehuizen, Koloniale collecties, Nederlands aanzien: de Europese elite van Nederlands-Indië belicht door haar verzamelingen, 1811-1957. PhD dissertation (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2012).
\textsuperscript{163} In the Kei Islands and in Mendut in Java, the Franciscan sisters of Heythuysen also established primary schools for girls from the Indigenous elites.
\textsuperscript{164} Broeder Christoforus, Tussen windvaan en koepel: Vertelsels over de Congregatie van Saint Louis, Oudenbosch, 1840 1 Maart 1940 (Den Haag 1940) 124-125;128-130.
Like the first-class schools, their second-class counterparts were attended by both Catholic and Protestant pupils. However, they offered a more limited curriculum and charged much lower school fees. If granted the official status of a ‘poor-relief’ school, fees were abolished altogether, with subsidies provided by the colonial administration, and the schools’ local parish covering operational costs. This differentiation, made on the basis of curriculum content and tuition fees, resulted in a visible segregation between European pupils and their families based on wealth, class, and social status.\textsuperscript{165} Generally, first-class schools were attended by children of wealthy European families, while second class schools received pupils from the middle and lower strata of European society in the Indies; the majority of them being children of mixed descent.\textsuperscript{166}

Besides the first- and second-class status of European primary schools, the brothers and sisters became more widely involved in the care of children, as they were in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{167} In the Dutch East Indies, these private child welfare institutions (often state-funded) were managed by Dutch missionary priests and laypeople, with sisters and brothers from several Dutch orders and congregations charged with their daily operation. These institutions were generally referred to as ‘orphanages’. The first Catholic orphanage (Gedangan) was established by the local church council of Semarang in 1808. For half a century, Gedangan was the only Catholic child welfare institute, seeing children from elsewhere in Java placed with Catholic foster families. In 1855, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul (\textit{Vincentius vereeniging}), a philanthropic organisation specialising in ‘orphan’ care, was established in Batavia under the initiative of the Jesuits. During the nineteenth-century, they formed several additional institutions (\textit{weeshuizen} or \textit{gestichten}) dispensing care to poor and ‘neglected’ children of European legal status.\textsuperscript{168}

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\textsuperscript{165} Luttikhuis, \textit{Negotiating Modernity}, specifically ‘Chapter 3 The Indisch Dream: ‘Western’ Education for the Indonesian Middle Classes’.
\textsuperscript{168} Laurentius Teepe OFM, ’Het Vincentiuswerk te Batavia’, \textit{Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift} (1936) 332 338.
\end{flushleft}
Europeans in the Dutch East Indies

In the Dutch East Indies a dual, and later plural, legal system classified the colony’s residents among distinct ‘population groups’, or in Dutch *landaard*.\(^{169}\) This arrangement was not exceptional; legal stratification was a common characteristic for most, if not all, modern colonial systems. The origins of this legal framework can be traced back to the VOC period, when the classifications of ‘Christian’ and ‘non-Christian’ were first applied to the population of the Dutch East Indies. Judicial categories were further refined in 1847. In 1854, the General Regulation on Legislative Principals incorporated in the *Regeringsreglement* (RR - constitution of the Dutch East Indies) under article 109RR, classified all inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies in two groups: ‘Europeans’ or ‘Natives’.\(^{170}\) Different legal frameworks applied to these groups. Those classed as European or equivalent enjoyed more robust rights and privileges: they were not obliged to undertake compulsory labour services (*herendiensten*), and children with European status were entitled to better quality education. Cementing inequalities between privileged ‘European’ and marginalised ‘Native’ residents of the Dutch East Indies, such legal distinctions were both crucial and contested features of colonial society.

In the Dutch East Indies, people of mixed ancestry (commonly referred to as Indo-Europeans or Eurasians) were not classified as a distinct legal category during the nineteenth century. Depending on a variety of factors, they held either of the two legal statuses. Children born of mixed-race unions —or, better said, the offspring of parents who held a different legal status— inherited their fathers’ European legal status if a formal marriage had taken place.\(^{171}\) Children born out of wedlock (*natuur kinderen*), in concubinage, could only obtain European legal status if recognised or adopted by a ‘European’ man.\(^{172}\) If legally acknowledged by a ‘European’ father, article 354 of the Dutch Indies Civic Code annulled any custodial claims of Indigenous mothers and article 284 (3) stipulated that all civil

\(^{169}\) In 1906 the whole legal system was reformed, and the extra category of ‘Foreign Oriental’ was added, and with it Indo-Chinese could also obtain this legal status. See for legal classification of the colonial population: N.S. Efthymiou, *Recht en rechtspraak in Nederlands-Indië* (Nijmegen: Wolf Productions, 2013) chapter 3; Giok Kiuaw Nio Liem, *De rechtspositie der Chinezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1848-1942. PhD dissertation (Leiden: Leiden University, 2009); Luttikhuis, *Negotiating Modernity*.


\(^{171}\) In 1897 a law on Dutch Nationality was passed, and children of fathers with Dutch citizenship took on this Dutch citizenship as well.

law relations between the child and its ‘Native’ mother should be severed.\textsuperscript{173} Mothers of mixed-race offspring retained custody by default, only if no ‘European’ man laid claim to them, in which case they retained the legal classification of ‘Native’.

The European community in the Dutch East Indies comprised of both permanent (local-born) and temporary (migrant) residents. Indo-Europeans made up the largest component of the permanent and local-born ‘European’ residents. The European community was further differentiated by factors such as class, ethnicity, and nationality.\textsuperscript{174} Moreover, having European legal status did not signify that its bearer was ‘white’, ‘Dutch’, or even from Europe. Historian Bart Luttikhuis demonstrated in his thesis \textit{Negotiating Modernity: Europeanness in Late Colonial Indonesia, 1910-1942} that the European legal category was flexible in practice and subject to changing definitions. In the Dutch East Indies, different criteria were employed, many emphasising the embodiment of cultural characteristics, to determine an individual’s appropriate legal status. This meant that immigrants with no origins in ‘geographical Europe’, but possessing ties to America, Australia, Japan, Russia, and Turkey were given European legal status. In addition, people with ‘Native’ legal status could request to be ‘equated’ with ‘Europeans’ if certain criteria of ‘Europeanness’ were met. When this request was granted, at the discretion of the Governor-General, the applicant gained the legal status of a European.\textsuperscript{175} Furthermore, individual legal status could be altered by marriage, especially after the 1898 law on mixed marriages, which made the transfer of legal status from husbands to wives possible.\textsuperscript{176}

During the VOC period, religious adherence was the primary criterion by which legal status was conferred.\textsuperscript{177} Gradually, racial considerations came to overtake those of religion, as different scholars have shown.\textsuperscript{178} However, religion never lost it salience as a marker and manifestation of difference, I argue. In the following two sections, I will demonstrate that religion was and remained an

\textsuperscript{173} In 1927 with the introduction of the so-called burgerlijke kinderwet (Civil children’s law) article 354 determining the custody of these children was removed from the Civic Code, as it was become redundant with lid 3 of article 284.


\textsuperscript{177} Van Mastenbroek, \textit{De historische ontwikkeling}, 10.

\textsuperscript{178} Protschky, ‘Race, Class, and Gender’.
important criterion defining the legal and social status of all residents in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century. By presenting the case of the West African soldiers in the next section, I will emphasise that Catholic missionaries operated as gatekeepers of colonial privilege. In the last section before the conclusion, I show that through projects seeking to ‘civilise’ ‘Europeans’, missionaries guarded and upheld colonial privilege and its boundaries thereby supporting the rule of difference—a central pillar of colonial governance.

Gatekeepers of colonial privilege: the case of the West African soldiers

As touched upon above, in the nineteenth century, Catholic soldiers enlisted in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army comprised an important part of the Jesuits’ flock. Their numbers amounted roughly to 7500 from year to year, making up one-third of all ‘European’ Catholics in the colony. As the colonial army had an international character, Catholic soldiers might originate from France, Belgium, Germany, or the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana).

The Dutch colony army recruited around 3000 African soldiers in the Gold Coast between 1831 and 1872. Ineke van Kessel’s research on these African recruits showed that they were incorporated into the European contingent of the army, to ward off appearances of illegal slave trading. While ostensibly being a group of non-white immigrants with no origin in geographical Europe, the colonial administration considered these African men and their families eligible for European legal status, and its attendant privileges. To obtain them, soldiers had to provide a soerat sorani (baptism letter) proving they had become Christians. In the Catholic Church, only ordained priests had the authority to perform the rite of baptism; first of the seven sacraments. Hence, the missionary priests in the Dutch East Indies played an important role in verifying an individual’s religious adherence and providing proof that religious initiation had been undertaken.

Some West African soldiers had already been baptised as Catholics before their arrival in Java; during recruitment or while training in Elmina. Others became Catholics during their service in the colonial army. The first solemn baptism of

179 ‘Beknopt overzicht van de dienstverrichtingen der Eerw. Missionarissen in het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, Dienstjaar 1900, Sint Claverbond (1900) 76-77.
African converts in Java took place on 23 July 1836 in Batavia. Apostolic Prefect Johannes Scholten, who previously served as an army chaplain during the Java war, had given daily catechism lessons to the African soldiers in the military barracks in Batavia.\(^{183}\) After this event, many more African soldiers and their children presented for baptism in different parishes, as is attested by baptism records and annual parish overviews. Jozef Lijnen and Julius Keijzer, both parish priests in Semarang, for example, mentioned the Indo-Africans among their flock in Semarang.\(^{184}\) Purworejo was, however, the centre of the Indo-African community. Here, large barracks were built after the Java War in 1830 and three African troops of the KNIL stationed there. After service, many African veterans and their families settled in one particular quarter of Purworejo, which became the African kampong, also known as Delmina. This kampong was visited regularly by the priest stationed at the parish in Yogyakarta.\(^{185}\)

The confession and documentation of faith not only determined the legal status of these Africans soldiers, but could extend to their families. Many African soldiers began (like the majority of common soldiers of the KNIL) liaisons with Indigenous or Indo-European women; co-habiting in the barracks (tangsi) and eventually producing children.\(^{186}\) Lower-ranking officers could not turn their relationships with Indigenous women into marriages due to regulations enforced in the Dutch East Indies. These women, even if they had converted to Christianity, were consequently ineligible for 'European' status during the nineteenth century.\(^{187}\) Nevertheless, legitimised children (after their father’s ‘equation’) of African Christian soldiers were acknowledged as ‘European’, whereas illegitimate children, together with ‘heathen’ Africans and their offspring, were categorised as ‘Natives’.\(^{188}\) While legitimate children were constitutionally entitled to a superior education in the European school system, children of non-Christian Africans were not.\(^{189}\) Jacobus Hoevenaars, the parish priest of Yogyakarta, visited the sixteen Indo-African Catholic families living in the quarter Delmina in Purworejo in 1898, and reported


\(^{184}\) Stukken betreffende Semarang. III, 1861-1864, AJAK 253; Julius Keizer SJ, ‘Semarang’, *Sint Claverbond* (1889) 5.


\(^{186}\) Hoevenaars, ‘Poerworedjo’.


\(^{188}\) See Article 109 of the Regeringsreglement. The Regeringsreglement became law in 1855 as a result of constitutional revision in the Netherlands in 1848. From this the legal concepts “European” and “Inlander” were created that were the basis of the dual legal structure of the Dutch East Indies.

\(^{189}\) Luttikhuis, ‘Beyond Race’
that because the members of his small flock held the European legal status, their children were entitled to attend European schools. Accordingly, he noted that ‘the Javanese call them Blanda (Wolanda) itam, that is black Dutchmen’. The privileges of ‘European’ legal status —elevated status and social mobility— materialised even after death for these West African soldiers. Petrus Diedereren SJ, who visited Delmina, wrote that: [The] baptism letter, they keep in a bamboo tube, which can be presented when they die in order for them to be allowed to be buried at the European cemetery. Research by historian Ineke van Kessel has confirmed that these ‘black Dutchmen’ enthusiastically claimed the privileges of their European legal status.

However, not all ‘black Dutchmen’ maintained the religious observance upon which they claimed ‘European’ status, a tendency which missionaries found disappointing and vexing. Joannes Van der Hagen SJ cynically wrote in his annual report that once the baptism letter was obtained, African soldiers were of the opinion that everything was settled. Conversely, the Jesuit priests serving Catholic Indo-Africans of ‘European’ legal status expected sophisticated or ‘civilised’ behaviour from them, befitting their European and Christian standard. Jacobus Hoevenaars, who served the Indo-African community in Purworejo, lectured against the various misdemeanours which commonly undermined this standard, recording his exchange with an African convert accused of behaving badly in the missionary magazine edited and published by the Dutch Jesuits, the Sint Claverbond:

Through your Faith, have you not been put on equal footing with Europeans, and therefore must you not show by your conduct that you have a higher level of civilisation than the Javanese? You must give them an example of order and discipline, while you have given them an example of disorder. Would it therefore not be better that I provide no more baptismal letters to you from now on, so that you will no longer be equated with the Europeans, but must do road works in indentured labour just as the Javanese, and are no longer allowed to send your children to the European school?

Accordingly, the ‘black Dutchmen’ had to consistently demonstrate their worthiness as ‘Europeans’. Through their conduct and lifestyle, they had to embody a deeper Christian sensibility and a higher degree of civilisation than the Javanese.

190 Hoevenaars, ‘Poerworedjo’.
191 Diedereren SJ, ‘Dienstreizen in het kerkelijke district’.
193 Johannes van der Hagen, annual report Ambarawa 1864, AJAK 258, quoted in Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 1, 14.
194 Hoevenaars, ‘Poerworedjo’.
Hoevenaars’ account underlines the Catholic missionaries’ role as gatekeepers of colonial privilege: legal, social, and economic benefits reserved for Europeans, together with the assumptions which upheld their uneven allotment. Thus, missionaries held their converts and flocks responsible for upholding the ‘proper’ bourgeois standards corresponding to the Christian faith. Christianity was assumed to be a more-or-less verifiable marker of cultural difference, setting Christian bearers of European legal status in a privileged position apart from, and above, Indigenous Muslim or ‘heathen’ peoples. In the next section, I will demonstrate that missionaries were heavily invested in promoting the Catholic faith and Christian morality among their ‘European’ flocks, by which they worked to guard and solidify the boundaries of Europeanness. This investment is particularly evident in missionary involvement with impoverished European classes resident in the colony, as their neglect of religious observance and Christian morality threatened to undermine the prestige of European status and the very basis of colonial rule.

Solidifying boundaries: missionary concern with pauperism in Java

As a marker of difference, religion created an opposition between colonial subjects who, being ‘heathen’ or Muslim, were assumed to be culturally backwards and uncivilised, and those colonisers who were Christian and held a higher form of ‘civilisation’. The cultural similarities between Indigenous Christians and the Europeans, obtained through contact with Catholic missionaries and western (Dutch language) education, had already begun to subtly undermine distinctions between coloniser and colonised. There was, however, another potentially transgressive group, equally problematic when it came to maintaining colonial order. Namely; the growing number of people legally classified as ‘Europeans’

195 As Christianity was implicated in differentiating the legal and social status of individuals, the category of Indigenous Christians (Inlandsche Christenen) is rendered a topic of special interest due to their upward socio-cultural mobility. From missionary reports, for instance, it becomes clear that Ambonese and Minahasan Christian soldiers with the Native legal status were allowed to send their children to the Europeans schools. In the report of the Pauper commission of 1902, these Ambonese (and African) soldiers and their children were being marked as people who’d been enabled by the state to act as if they were some high flyers. They were allowed certain European privileges, such as sending their Indigenous children to European government schools instead of Native schools. In the former, students underwent an intense process of acculturation and were essentially ‘fabricated into Europeans’, according to the protestant missionary Johannes van der Steur. However, some feared the production of an educated and Europeanised Indigenous underclass would ultimately prove problematic, because in time they would desire the same legal status as Europeans. (See: Rapport der pauperisme-commissie ingesteld bij artikel 2 van het regeringsbesluit van 29 juni 1902 no 9 (Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1903); Uitkomsten der pauperisme-enquête: Algemeen verslag (Batavia 1902), 36.).
who were impoverished, neglectful in their Christian duties, and lacking in a bourgeois morality; the majority of whom were Indo-Europeans belonging to the lowest strata of colonial society.\textsuperscript{196} This group of legal Europeans caused much anxiety among Dutch Catholic missionaries and other colonial elites, because as Ann Laura Stoler already argued, they blurred the status quo of colonial difference, calling into question the criteria by which Europeans could be identified and held above others.\textsuperscript{197} In this section, I draw on the case of the Catholic mission’s involvement with the problem of pauperism in Java during the nineteenth century to demonstrate that Christianity served as a marker of Europeanness. Moreover, that missionary contributions to the careful formulation and delineation of European Christian standards solidified the boundaries of European status — securing the social foundations of colonial rule.

The pauper problem in Java became most apparent during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a period that also witnessed larger-scale transformations. In this period, children born of mixed-race unions, often in connection with the presence of troops and military barracks, added to the already swelling urban population of poor ‘Europeans’, while migration from the Netherlands worked to intensify the European character of colonial society more broadly.\textsuperscript{198} Moreover, the ideologies of civilisation and Christianisation had gained a broader and more complex application in the colony, whereby ‘Europeans’ of the lower classes — soldiers, labourers, and other members of the working poor— were targeted by different reform projects, mirroring initiatives targeting the domestic poor in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{199} Overall, colonial society in the Dutch East Indies was increasingly becoming a focus of state regulation.

Before the 1870s, when anxieties about the moral degeneration of lower-class ‘Europeans’ in the colony were on the rise, Catholic missionaries had already voiced their concerns about the moral condition of the pauper-problem. As early as in 1844, former Apostolic Prefect J. H. Scholten wrote a long letter of advice to his successor Apostolic Vicar Jacob Grooff, signalling what from the third quarter of

\textsuperscript{196} Stoler already pointed out that the term Indo-European was usually reserved for that segment of the Europeans who were considered to have turned ‘native’ (‘verindischd’) and economically poor. Historians Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben demonstrated in implicit opposition to Stoler however, that Indo-Europeans were present at all echelons of the Indische society and not necessary ‘paupers’ nor marginalised Europeans set between the European totok and Indigenous peoples. Contemporary W.H. Bogaardt, editor of the only Catholic weekly in the Dutch East Indies De Java-post: weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië (hereafter Java-post) acknowledged that the group of Indo-Europeans is not homogenous, explaining there were class and social differences (H. Bogaardt, ‘de Indo in het leger’, Java-post 5-03-1904).

\textsuperscript{197} Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal Knowledge.

\textsuperscript{198} Stoler, Carnal Knowledge, 2, 32-34, 56-57, 70-77. See also Frances Gouda, Dutch Culture Overseas, 162-166.

the nineteenth century was framed in terms such as the ‘poor white problem’ and
‘the Indo-Question’. Scholten referred to anxieties that a growing group of
impoverished ‘Europeans’, the majority of whom were of mixed origin, being
‘reduced’ to standards of living and morality more appropriate to ‘Native’ classes.
In his letter, Apostolic Prefect Scholten pronounced that counteracting the spread
of immoral customs (concubinage with ‘heathen’ women foremost among them)
and indifference to Christianity, while promoting religious duties like church
attendance and appropriate behavioural standards, were to be the formidable
tasks undertaken by the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies.

Like the Apostolic Prefect, many of the first Jesuit missionary priests working
in Java expressed concern and indignation at the poor conduct of legally classified
‘Europeans’. In private letters to their superiors in the Netherlands, they described
alcohol abuse, immoral behaviour, and the absence of religious observance. Some
particularly harsh commentators on the conduct of ‘European’ soldiers of the KNIL
were given by the Jesuit priest Joannes van der Hagen in 1863:

The European soldiers are a mishmash of all nations and largely scum (though
there are notable exceptions). [...] Every common soldier is allowed to have a
concubine inside the barracks. [...] The military officers are morally nothing
better, they live mostly in concubinage with a so-called housekeeper. Moreover,
their religion has faded away, almost gone, and most of them are freemasons.
In one word they are civilised heathens. [...] The European civilians [...] most of
them are retired or discharged soldiers, at least those living inland. Their
religion has usually suffered a lot. They encounter few clergymen, live
scattered here and there among the Javanese, through which they become
undisciplined.

The missionaries held a disapproving attitude towards soldiers’ engagement in
concubinage and prostitution, distant from the marital and reproductive ideals
upheld by Christian morality. Concubinage was however the only form of
cohabitation available to the vast majority of soldiers because of the restrictive
marriage conditions imposed by the government. While extramarital sexual
activity and cohabitation did not align with missionaries’ Christian morals, the
outcomes of interracial barracks-concubinage were also a thorn in missionaries’

200 Apostolic Prefect J. H. Scholten to Jacob Grooff, Saint Agatha, a convent in Cuyk, 10-3-1844, AJAK 88.
201 Apostolic Prefect Johannes Henricus Scholten to Jacobus Grooff, Saint Agatha, a convent in Cuyk,
10-3-1844, AJAK 88.
202 Van der Hagen SJ to Wilde SJ (substitute-secretary in Rome), Ambarawa 02-09-1863, ANJP 1725.
side. As Van der Hagen continued his letter to the substitute-secretary in Rome, Leo Wilde SJ:

Those who are born here [Indo-Europeans/Indische kinderen, MD], are for a large part the fruit of the concubinage system or have sprouted from mixed marriages. As such they have all the vices of the Europeans without possessing its good qualities. Born and raised in the midst of the spirit of the world of unbelief and bad examples, seeing or hearing little or nothing of religion, they know and appreciate very little their Catholic duties.\textsuperscript{204}

It was the racial ‘mixing’ of a European underclass, and the production of a much larger underclass in the colony, that was problematised by the Catholic missionaries. This fast-growing populace did not live up to Christian and bourgeois values, thereby endangering the very prestige of the coloniser. Because the deficient Christianity of these poor ‘Europeans’ called into question the criteria by which Europeanness was identified and held above others, this underclass threatened the boundaries upon which colonial rule rested: the supposedly civilised Christian coloniser required clear definitions against uncivilised Muslim or ‘heathen’ colonised subjects. Beyond these anxieties, for the Catholic missionaries this underclass of legal Europeans, and particularly the poor Indo-Europeans, represented one of the greatest impediments to converting Javanese people. As Father Palinckx SJ wrote this to the Dutch provincial superior A. Henriët in an ideology of cultural supremacy:

[\textit{T}]he miserable and sinless example of the majority of the Europeans; even more that of those filthy sinjos\textsuperscript{205} who unite the vices of the Javanese and that of the Europeans. It is their indifference to Christianity that controls these children of mammon, who, because of their covetousness, incite the contempt of the natives.\textsuperscript{206}

From the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the lower European classes in the colony became a concern for colonial society at large. Several citizens of Batavia were the first to have launched complaints about the growth of a poor European underclass in their city, particularly the members of the Indo-European community belonging to the lowest strata of society. Concerns were not so much for their lack of means as with the way of life the poor seemingly followed.\textsuperscript{207}

\textsuperscript{204} Van der Hagen SJ to Wilde SJ (substitute-secretary in Rome), Ambarawa 02-09-1863, ANJP 1725.
\textsuperscript{205} Sinjo (and no\textsuperscript{o}nja for girls), as used by Palinckx in the quotation, was a term used by contemporaries to designate children or young men born of a European father and Indigenous mother.
\textsuperscript{206} Joannes Palinckx SJ to provincial A. Henriët SJ, 26-10-1862, ANJP, I-23.
\textsuperscript{207} Geheime beschikking van 23 Mei 1872, AJAK 77.
When Governor-General James Loudon officially received these complaints in 1872, he established the so-called Batavia Pauper Commission to investigate morally deleterious living conditions proliferating among European inhabitants of Batavia. Missionary priest and later Apostolic Vicar of Batavia, Adamus Carolus Claessens SJ took a seat on the Batavia Pauper Commission in 1872.\(^{208}\)

Through Claessens’ work for the Pauper Commission, missionary anxieties about the amoral and irreligious conditions of the army barracks, previously expressed in private correspondence, were brought into the public domain.\(^{209}\) In the Commission’s final report it became clear that the majority of paupers were retired soldiers and Indo-Europeans whose ‘[...] education, way of life and behaviour [...] is not much better than that of the Natives’ [...]\(^{210}\) Demoralising influences in the parental home, insufficient elementary education, and above all, an absence of religious education and instruction, had contributed to this situation. In its report, the Commission argued strongly that the colonial administration should prioritise the religious needs of Batavia’s European paupers. Religion was thus considered very relevant for maintaining the boundaries of colonial hierarchy. Christianity was inextricable from perceptions of European civilisation and modernity, as opposed to colonised subjects whose ‘backwardness’ derived from ‘heathen’ beliefs or adherence to Islam.

The firm conclusions advanced by the Pauper Commission’s report led, W. Stortenbeker, to send Father Claessens SJ a written appeal for suggestions on improving the spiritual and moral welfare of poor European and Indo-Europeans communities.\(^{211}\) Claessens wrote his reply to the General Secretary after consultation with other missionary priests stationed across Java and in Padang (Sumatra). For him, it was important that all legal Europeans, but especially the ones from the lower echelons, were identifiably Christian and behaved according to Christian norms. With this, they might reaffirm their Europeanness and uphold

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208 The other men in the commission were: H.M. Andrée Wiltens, member of the Raad van Nederlands-Indie (chairman), H.I.C Hoogeveen, Resident of Batavia, J.W.H. Ader, minister in Batavia; W.W. Berckelbik, president of the Weeskamer; A.J.W. van Delsen, Chief of firma Reijnst en Vinju; R. van Goess prosecutor; E.W. King, teacher of the free Scottish Church; MR. W. H. Klein, Lawyer and prosecutor at the supreme court; J. R. Kleyn, Notaris; W. van Ommeren and W. L. van Slooten, merchants; J. W. C. van Steeden, minister of the Evangelic Church; F. J. P. Storm Vak’s Gravesande, accountant (Algemeen Ontvanger); DR. A. J. D. Steenstra Toussaint, city doctor; R. J. L. Weuhencee, teacher.

209 In 1887/1888 newspaper articles, republished in Dutch newspapers that were most probably written by army chaplain Henricus Verbraak serving in Aceh, brought missionaries’ discomforts and complaints regarding the moral decline of the colonial army to the Netherlands. See: ‘Een poging tot verbetering van den zedelijken en godsdienstige toestand der militairen in N. Indie’, Sumatra-courant: nieuws en advertentieblad 09-10-1887.

210 W. Stortenbeker to Apostolic Vicar, 11-04-1873, AJAK 77; Rapport der pauperisme-commissie, 1902; Uitkomsten der pauperisme-enquête: Algemeen verslag (Batavia 1902), deel V, p. 34.

211 W. Stortenbeker to Apostolic Vicar, 11-04-1873, AJAK 77.
their distinction from colonised Muslim and ‘heathen’ subjects. In his reply, Claessens emphasised therefore that the colonial administration should enforce Sunday rest, and reintroduce previously abolished measures for compulsory church attendance among soldiers. According to missionary reports, conditions in the barracks made it practically impossible to live as a decent Catholic, but compulsory attendance of Sunday services had previously ensured a degree of regular church involvement, nurturing soldiers’ awareness of their Catholic duties. Following the example of the Netherlands, compulsory church-attendance was abolished by the army commander of the KNIL in 1872, after which Jesuit priests serving the garrisons observed a rapid decline of church attendance. Their letters chronicle the moral decay that followed, growing more noticeable to religious observers over the years.\(^212\) As missionary priest Franciscus de Bruyn SJ, wrote:

> [...] now the compulsory attendance of the Sunday service is abolished, I work more in the military hospital where folks come in who had not listened to a decent word since a long time. Instead of preaching for a few hundred soldiers as before, nowadays one sees twenty-five men during the Holy Service, who have to endure the grossest mockery of their comrades and especially of their officers. It is sad.\(^213\)

Advice to enforce Sunday rest and reintroduce compulsory church attendance with the church parade to the General Secretary was a repetition of what Claessens had already suggested in the annual report of the Catholic mission, written for the minister of Colonial Affairs in 1871. It was published the following year in a Colonial Report presented to the Dutch Parliament:

> [I]n a society as the Indisch society, where a Christian minority stands against a numerous unchristian majority [...] part Muslims, part heathens, and where so little is found that reminds of Sunday, the church parade —the military procession of drum and music— preceded a true glory of the Lord’s day. Even if there had been no other use to it, then this public church attendance which honoured the Sunday, they should not have abolished that parade.\(^214\)

The suggested measures thus provided a means to morally uplift soldiers and the wider Indo-European population, while signifying a deeper resonance between understandings of Europeanness and Christian faith. These factors were of

\(^{212}\) Mgr. Vrancken to Governor General James Loudon, 10-01-1873, AJAK 65.

\(^{213}\) Fransiscus de Bruyn to provincial, 23-01-1873, ANJP, I 37.

\(^{214}\) Algemeen verslag van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, dienende tot bijdrage voor het Koloniaal verslag voor het jaar 1872, AJAK 65.
singular importance to the symbolic social cohesion which defined the European community against colonised others.

In addition to Sunday rest and compulsory church attendance for soldiers, Claessens also emphasised the importance of removing unmarried women from military barracks. The practice of barrack-concubinage was seen by him and other missionaries as the main source of pauperism; an extensive, though not exclusive, source of Indo-European children, the anak tangsi (barrack children). This view was shared by contemporary colonial elites. The removal of reproductive dangers would thus be a preventive measure for pauperism in the future, according to Claessens. While there was a public morality debate between 1887 and 1890, it was only two decades later, from 1913 onwards, that barrack concubinage was gradually abolished. As historian Petra Groen argued, it was only then, that those advancing the state’s interests in a military capacity had increasingly to embody the ideals of respectability and Christian morality as well. Henceforward, the colonial government sought to align military culture with the level of civilisation and Christianity befitting representatives of the state.

The anak tangsi, barrack children, were born of mixed racial (and legal) unions, disadvantaged from birth due to the low social status of their parents and the living conditions in which they received their upbringing. These children were considered by the missionaries to be morally ‘neglected’, because of the lack of religious education and instruction, and above all, demoralising influences in the home and Indigenous society, particularly that of Islam. A newspaper article most probably written by missionary priest and army chaplain Henricus Verbraak SJ, and published in the Sumatra courant of 9 October 1888, argued:

The children of the soldiers are often neglected. When the father dies, the children are on the street. The Government is not concerned about them. All the orphanages are full of soldiers’ children, and there are still hundreds left, who grow up in the barracks or the kampongs as prey for the vice. When after twelve years of service, a soldier has earned his pension, he will almost always leave the housekeeper [njai/concubine, MD] and children neglected when he returns to Europe.

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215 The report on pauperism stated that concubinage in the army was the main reason for poverty among Europeans born in the colony (Rapport der pauperisme-commissie, 1902: Uitkomsten der pauperisme-enquete: Algemeen verslag [Batavia 1902],39.


217 ‘Een poging tot verbetering van den zedelijken en godsdienstige toestand der militairen in N.Indië’, Sumatra courant, 9-10-1888.
Missionaries were not, however, concerned with the welfare of ‘Native’ Indo-European children. Only mixed-race children who had been acknowledged by a European father, and consequently bore the legal status of a ‘European’, were candidates for reform and worthy of ‘saving’. As missionary priest Gulielmus Schweiz SJ formulated in a letter, reprinted in the *Sint Claverbond*:

Thousands of children in Java and other Islands in the Dutch East Indies, who are legally recognised as Europeans, are raised poorly because they have an Indigenous or Chinese mother who does not know Christianity and has her own ideas of law and morality.\(^{218}\)

These ‘neglected’ children could potentially damage the prestige and superiority of the colonisers, and therefore had to be taught their place as Europeans in colonial society. Christian education, particularly where it related to the upbringing and socialisation of children, was paramount to this goal, a fact emphasised both in the Colonial Report and in Claessens’ reply to General Secretary Stortenbeker.\(^{219}\)

To a certain degree, the Catholic church had cared for ‘neglected’ ‘European’ children in the Dutch colony since 1808, as they were either placed with Catholic foster families or in the Catholic orphanage Gedangan in Semarang, run by laypeople and financed by the colonial administration.\(^{220}\) However, the 1860s witnessed a redoubled missionary investment in the education and upbringing of ‘European’ children. Foundations were laid for second-class primary and kindergarten schools (*fröbelscholen*) in the major cities in Java. Also, the *pupillen school* of the KNIL in Gombong where European boys followed military training and several re-education institutions (*weeshuizen* or *opvoedings- or wees*)gestichten) established by the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul (*Vincentius vereeniging*) dispensing care to poor and ‘neglected’ children with European legal status, became the target of renewed missionary support. Education and upbringing, administered in an institutional environment and in the hands of missionary brothers and sisters, were overlapping components of a transformative process. These child welfare institutions were a means to remodel ‘wayward’ European children into decent Catholics, bringing them closer to the values of the Church and consequently, the level of civilisation befitting the European community of the future. They were taught to behave as Catholics, and adopt the supporting styles of European dress, speech, play, learning, and living. The notion that children could be ‘remoulded’

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218 B.G. Schweiz, ‘Brief van pastoor B. G. Schweiz’, *Sint Claverbond* (1911) 113.
219 Adamus Carolus Claessens to General Secretary Stortenbeker 3-12-1873, AJAK 77.

These child welfare institutions — generally referred to as ‘orphanages’—admitted children of European legal status who were seldom orphans in the sense of having no living parents. Many ‘European’ ‘orphans’ in institutional care had living mothers, but Indigenous women were legally prohibited from assuming custody if their offspring was fathered and recognised by a European man.\footnote{Roeland Duco Kollewijn, ‘Het buitenecht geboren kind in het intergentiel recht’, in: Roeland Duco Kollewijn, \textit{Intergentiel recht: verzamelde opstellen over intergentiel privaatrecht} (Den Haag: Van Hoeve, 1955) 138-149. Kollewijn was professor at the Rechtshogeschool in Batavia and part of the Stuw-groep. The article was originally published in the stuw-groep magazine: \textit{De Stuw}, 2, nos 2 en 3, 15 January en 1 February 1931. The article was a plea for the abolishment of article 284 of the Dutch Indies Civic Code (1896).} Article 353 and 354 Civil Code for the East Indies stipulated that an Indigenous mother’s parental rights to custody of, and authority over, her child was forfeit upon recognition by a ‘European’ father. When the ‘European’ father who recognised the child ‘got out of sight’, the Council of Justice assumed custody, or appointed a custodian of the child, from whence they were admitted to an orphanage.\footnote{Article 354 was abolished in 1927, however, Article 284 introduced in 1896, stipulating that all children acknowledged by a ‘European’ father became legally estranged from their ‘native’ mother remained on the books (Kollewijn, ‘Het buitenecht geboren kind’, 145).} Moreover, from a missionary perspective, these children were also considered orphaned in a social (and religious) sense. Missionary priest Ludovicus Hebrans SJ emphasised that the children admitted in orphanages could not be called orphans in the fullest meaning of the word, but that ‘the impossible relationship of an Indigenous mother to her half-European children, turns these creatures whose fathers are in Holland and whose mothers cannot raise them, into helpless orphans.’\footnote{Ludovicus Hebrans, ‘Het weeshuis en het instituut der Zuster Franciscanessen te Semarang’, \textit{Sint Claverbond} (1899) 16-29, there 19.} They were deemed neglected children (\textit{verwaarloosde kinderen}), at least from a missionary perspective, for whom parental neglect consisted of bearing a child out of wedlock, without the means to provide a morally rigorous and culturally correct (Christian) upbringing. With absent fathers and incompetent mothers, these children were in need of surrogate parents.
The majority of legal ‘orphans’ and neglected children that were admitted in the various Catholic orphanages were probably children in ward (voogdij kinderen). More in-depth research is needed into the numbers of children in ward that were admitted into Catholic orphanages. Further investigation of how children were retrieved, and the strategies deployed by Indigenous mothers confronted with these colonial policies on child separation —women who, according to missionary priest Hebrans SJ, really loved their children but were prepared to separate themselves from them— would provide an illuminating case study of colonial interventions into family and social life in the Dutch East Indies.225

Conclusion: Civilising Europeans, producing difference

In this chapter I looked closely at missionaries’ seemingly exclusive commitment to the European community in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century. I showed that religion was demonstrably harnessed to do political work, and that Dutch Catholic missionaries were important agents in solidifying boundaries supporting the rule of difference—a central pillar of colonial governance.

With the case of the West African soldiers, I first demonstrated the significance of religion as an important marker in the complex legal categorisations applied to ‘Europeans’ and ‘Natives’. Moreover, I have shown that missionaries played an important role in verifying the religious status which was a necessary measure to be able to have a chance to secure the legal status of a ‘European’, by which more vigorous legal rights and privileges were obtained. This casts Catholic missionaries as gatekeepers of colonial privilege.

Indigenous Christians claiming the ‘European’ juridical status and with that European privileges made colonial authorities very nervous as they could potentially threaten the racial and cultural hierarchies central to colonial rule. The flexibility of European status was consequently a tension at the legislative heart of empire, and deserves greater scholarly attention. As complications between racial and cultural categories arose, differences between coloniser and colonised had to be constantly clarified, re-defined, and maintained. In this chapter I also showed that Catholic missionaries’ involvement with the ‘pauper problem’ contributed to the enforcement of moral and social norms rooted in Christianity as markers of Europeanness: morally upright behaviour and strict religious praxis. Moreover, I drew attention to the mission’s task of ‘civilising’ the ‘degenerate’ ‘European’

population of the Dutch East Indies. The latter was not merely undertaken for the sake of promoting Christian morality, but also to secure the prestige of ‘European’ status against and above ‘lower’ Indigenous orders. Being identifiably Christian — attending Christian services and behaving according to Christian norms— contributed to keep up the boundaries of European prestige and control, to the extent that an intergenerational approach targeting at-risk youths of European legal status was warranted and vigorously pursued. Missionary concerns with ‘the moral condition of the pauper problem’ saw much of the missionaries’ activities directed toward ‘uplifting’ poor whites, and children of mixed ancestry that were acknowledged by European men. The Dutch Catholic missionaries assumed the task of policing the moral borderlands of the European community, whereby Christianity (in this case, Catholicism) contributed to the rigorous affirmation and preservation of European prestige in colonial culture. This cultivated and cemented systems of difference; ensuring the stability of hierarchies that depended on a population of educated and prosperous ‘Europeans’ for their permanence.
Chapter three

Fashioning a Javanese Catholic elite: The boarding schools in central Java, 1900-42

Introduction

Situated near Muntilan was the boarding school of the Sisters. There, Javanese girls were trained with the same goal: to become teachers at village schools. And they were educated with the objective of setting them up with the boys from Muntilan. Once a month we had the so-called match-making days. [...] The older boys from the teacher training course in Muntilan went to Mendut to meet the girls. These casual meetings actually resulted in marriages.226

The fragment above was taken from an oral history interview with Brother Ferdinand, who worked as a missionary teacher at the mission boarding school for Javanese boys in Muntilan during the 1920s. According to theologian Karel Steenbrink, the villages of Muntilan and Mendut (situated in Central Java) boasted a larger concentration of Dutch missionaries than any other site of the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies. In these Javanese villages (indicated on the map in Figure 3.1) the Dutch Jesuits (Societas Iesu, SJ), the Brothers of the Immaculate Conception (FIC), and the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen (OSF) operated boarding schools providing western and Dutch-language education for Javanese boys and girls, established earlier in the twentieth century.227 Brother Ferdinand explained that Dutch Catholic missionaries not only trained Javanese boys and girls as teachers, but also aimed to bring about good Catholic marriages between senior pupils of the teacher training courses in Muntilan and their female counterparts attending the missions’ boarding school in Mendut. In this chapter I present my second case study to explore the entanglements of the practices of the Catholic mission to colonial governmentality. I explore the education of Javanese boys and girls, delivered by the above mentioned Dutch Catholic missionaries in the

226 Nijmegen, Katholieke Documentatie Centrum (KDC), archive KomMissieMemoires (hereafter KMM) 594, 7, J.M. Aldenhoven (Brother Ferdinand, FIC).
227 Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2, 384.
3.1 Map of Central-Java.

The location of the schools of Mendut and Muntilan are marked by the author. © J. Kleijntjens, *Atlas Der R.K. Missie in Nederlandsch Oost en West-Indië* (Maastricht 1928).
educational institutes in Muntilan and Mendut. I show thereby that the practices in these educational institutes, including the above mentioned matchmaking, were part of a larger missionary strategy which aimed to fashion and enlarge the group of local intermediaries: an educated Javanese Catholic elite to embody and lead a western-style social transformation of Javanese society.

Throughout the colonial world, missionaries were major providers of colonial education, a fact that has not gone unnoticed in Anglophone academic literature. Schools, embedded within colonial structures, provided spaces to facilitate contact with the ‘word of God’, western civilisation and western models of gender, family, and domesticity —interactions structured around the education of a new generation that would carry on their imperatives. Colonial education was, as Catherine Hall has convincingly argued, pivotal in creating colonial subjects amenable to western colonial rule. Studies by Felicity Jensz, Hugh Morrison and John Barker among others on British colonial education organised by Christian missions, have demonstrated, that non-western teachers, who outnumbered the European missionaries, played a vital role in effecting the by the missionaries desired religious and social change. They served as a mediating party and can be considered as local intermediaries. For the Dutch East Indies, historians Robert van Niel, Heather Sutherland and George McTurman Kahin have shown that Indigenous teachers —especially those of Javanese descent— were part of the colonial state’s workforce and as such had an important role in transforming their society of origin. The significance of these Javanese teachers was also manifest in the re-structuring of education services in the early years of independent Indonesia, as historian Agus Suwignyo has previously demonstrated. Colonial education provided by the Catholic mission nor the training of non-western Catholic teachers in the Dutch East Indies have been examined thoroughly, however.

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228 For an overview see: Jensz, ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-century British Empire’.
230 Hall, ‘Making Colonial Subjects’.
232 Driver and Jones, Hidden Histories of Exploration; Kennedy, The Last Blank Spaces; Konishi et al., Indigenous Intermediaries; Shellam et al., Brokers & Boundaries.
In this chapter, the educational institutes of the Catholic mission in Mendut and Muntilan serve as a case study to examine Catholic missionaries’ contribution to the creation and management of governable colonial subjects, a politico-ethical project crucial to a modern form of colonial governmentality. I will look at how Javanese pupils were carefully recruited, trained and supervised by the Dutch missionaries, to ensure they shared the missions’ goal —acting as exemplary agents of Catholicism and ‘civilisation’ and local intermediaries. Hereby I will pay special attention to the education of girls, demonstrating that the promotions of Catholic womanhood and motherhood in early life reflected missionary ambitions to introduce new domesticities and lifeways in Java, ensuring their pupils were skilled in embodying the gospel as well as transmitting it. Missionary sources such as letters, reports, journal articles and diaries offer much insight into the mechanisations of colonial education providers, and are closely examined here to illuminate the routines and practices promoted by the Muntilan and Mendut institutions, revealing the finer detail of their mission to ‘civilise’ and Christianise Javanese peoples.235

Before close scrutiny of these educational institutions can proceed, however, the activities of Catholic missionaries in the educational area bear further explanation. The first section of this chapter therefore offers some context on the colonial education system in the Dutch East Indies, and Catholic missionary efforts among the Javanese. From there my focus shifts to the boarding schools established by the missionaries in Muntilan and Mendut, discussing their establishment and the religious and moral formation of Javanese youth. This chapter concludes with an examination of the gendered socialisation of pupils, highlighting the importance of women’s education and ‘match-making’ practices in the larger project of producing Catholic families and homes.

235 These documents are kept in: Jakarta, Archive of the Archdiocese of Batavia/Jakarta (hereafter AJAK); Nijmegen, Archive of the Netherlands Jesuit Province (hereafter ANJP); Semarang, Archive of the Indonesian Jesuit Province (AIJP); Semarang, Arsip Suster Franciscan Provinsi Indonesia Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia (hereafter AOSFI). NB the archives of the Jesuits and Franciscan sisters in Indonesia do not have an inventory.
Colonial education for ‘Natives’

Colonial education in the Dutch Indies included public schools and private mission schools (bijzondere scholen) that provided western-style education, and which were recognised (if unevenly subsidised) by the state. The colonial education system in the Dutch East Indies was based on a plural principle, seeing separate schools and curricula set up for different legal population groups: ‘Europeans’, ‘Natives’ and ‘Foreign Orientals’. During the nineteenth century concerns shared by the administration and the Dutch Catholic missionaries were foremost with the education for ‘Europeans’ in the colony, as explained in the previous chapter. Converting or educating Javanese children was not part of the missionaries’ focus. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, both the colonial state and the Catholic missionaries became increasingly attentive to colonial education for the Javanese children.

The colonial administration had made some meagre investments to improve colonial education for Indigenous peoples in the late 1860’s—which was first and foremost directed to boys from the higher aristocratic elite and to Java rather than the Outer Islands— but expenditures on Indigenous education by the colonial administration rose substantially after 1890, when the colonial administration affirmed its aim to improve primary education for colonised subjects. A decade later, Queen Wilhelmina announced in her speech in 1901, that the Netherlands would thenceforth strive to improve the welfare of its subjects by (among other things) expanding educational opportunities for Indigenous peoples; humanitarian-inspired reform and expansion of primary education was underway in Java. With the advent of this Ethical Policy, at the turn of the century, major investments and changes were made in the institutional framework of Indigenous colonial education. The colonial education system that emerged from these state investments and reforms in the twentieth century was highly complex and differentiated.

In 1907, two measures concerning primary education for Indigenous peoples were put in place. First, the so-called desa-schools (village schools) were founded, offering a programme in the Malay language for children in rural areas. These

236 Besides colonial education, there were also systems of education that operated outside the control of the colonial authorities. The lion’s share of these were so-called ‘traditional’ religious schools, the Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and the mosque schools (madrasah and langgars), but also the anti-colonial Taman Siswa movement established schools. Until 1900 the only formal education available to the majority of the Javanese people was through religious (Muslim) teachers.

237 The tripartite legal division of the population was established in 1919. I leave the education for children from the legal group of ‘Foreign Orientals’, mostly Chinese, undiscussed here. For this see Ming Tien Nio Govaars-Tjia, *Hollands onderwijs in een koloniale samenleving: de Chinese ervaring in Indonesië 1900-1942*. PhD dissertation (Leiden: Leiden University, 1999).


239 Cribb, ‘Development Policy’. 
were first established in Java and later in the Outer Islands. Second, the so-called first-class schools were founded in which Dutch as the language of instruction was introduced. This Dutch language school was originally intended to attract Javanese children from the higher aristocratic elite families who could be co-opted in the state apparatus. When in 1914 the first-class school was transformed into a Hollands Inlandse school (HIS, Dutch-Native School) also Indigenous children from better-off ordinary families were admitted to this Dutch language school. The (old) higher aristocratic elite and Javanese nobility and the (new) growing group of Javanese colonial officials from better-off families formed the administrative upper classes of Java, and are collectively referred to as priyayi. The establishment of the desa-school and the HIS resulted in a growth of primary schools for Javanese peoples in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In addition to primary education, there were also ‘western schools’ offering secondary or more advanced education with Dutch as the language of instruction to Javanese children. These were organised in parallel to the situation in the Netherlands, and accessible to those pupils who received a Dutch language education: the Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO, More Extensive Primary Education), the Algemeen Middelbare School (General Secondary Education, AMS), and a range of vocational schools. Colonial primary and secondary education for children with the ‘Native’ juridical status were thus made up out a two-tier structure closely linked to the language of instruction. There were also several schools for tertiary education, for example, the school for medical training (STOVIA, School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen, School for training native doctors) and the normaal- and kweekschool for the training of teachers. The language of instruction was Dutch in these schools. It was only a small number of children who went to these ‘western schools’ with Dutch as the language of instruction, but access to these higher echelons of the colonial Indigenous education system was not restricted to the children of noble and better-off families.

The advance of colonial education for Indigenous children evidences what David Scott identified as the emergence of a modern form of colonial governmen-

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Educating Javanese children became necessary, on the one hand, because the colonial state required educated and skilled personnel for positions in the civil service. On the other hand, education was key to the process of creating colonial subjects and regulating their conduct, as Catherine Hall argued. Through education, children were fashioned ‘to become people with particular kinds of selves, disciplined to be subject to others.’ As such, colonial education was not only designed to uplift the welfare of ‘Native’ people in the colony (as the Ethical Policy promoted) but also to control their behaviour—an imperative that applied equally to the colony’s future work-force, as it did to members of its local bureaucracy and elite.

The Catholic mission and educating Javanese children

By the end of the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries became, like the colonial state, more attentive to the education of Javanese peoples. In 1889 the so-called Javanen missie commenced. That year the Superior Missionis (the regional head of the Jesuits, nominated by the Provincial Superior), Father Julius Keijzer SJ, started to give catechism lessons to a hadji (a well-respected Muslim who had been to Mecca on pilgrimage) from the Sidoardjo regency and a few other Javanese men who showed interest in the Catholic faith in Semarang. It is not known where this interest came from. Despite Keijzer’s efforts, this did not lead to any of the men converting. He and the Dutch Jesuits did not speak the Javanese language, so they could not really communicate with the Javanese who barely spoke Dutch. Notwithstanding, it led to a flourishing of Jesuit enthusiasm for the Javanese mission.

Henceforward, the Dutch Jesuits started appointing Javanen paters. These priests were allowed entrance without burdening public funds and were exempt from missionary tasks relating to the ‘Europeans’ in the colony. Unlike the priests providing pastoral care for Europeans, these Javanen paters did not receive any government salary but instead received personal allowances from the arca missionis (central fund of the Jesuits in the Indies). Because the Dutch missionaries initially did not speak the Javanese language, compelling them to communicate in Malay, Dutch, or via translators, the Javanen paters were to commit themselves to the study of Javanese culture and language—the vernacular in Central- and East-Java. The appointment of Javanen paters reflected a distinction within the mission field along

242 Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’.
244 Julius Keijzer to Guilielmus Voogel, 17-11-1889, ANJP, archive of the Provincial, 1725.
245 Keijzer to provincial Henricus van den Boogaard 16-01-1893, ANJP, archive of the Provincial, 1733.
ethnic lines of the intended missionised population. As such, the mission of the Jesuits in Java became, like the colonial education system and some of the administrative regulations, stratified along ethnic lines. Albert Schrauwers has traced a similar stratification in central Sulawesi and convincingly argued that the idea of ‘an apartheid of souls’ applied to the Dutch East Indies.247

The first Javanen pater appointed was Wilhelmus Hellings SJ. Since 1893 Hellings had worked in Kessewooi (Kasiui island- Maluku) and was transferred to Semarang at the beginning of 1895.248 Despite his best efforts, the Javanese language was too difficult for Hellings to master. Hellings advised the Superior Missionis, Father Keijzer, to appeal to Dutch provincial superior Henricus van den Boogaard SJ to appoint the young priest Ludovicus Hebrans SJ to work in the Java mission.249 Hebrans was rather suitable for this task as he was not only in perfect mental and physical health but had a flair for languages and had studied Eastern languages as a hobby. Hebrans was indeed sent from the Netherlands to Semarang in October 1895. In 1896, two more newly arrived missionaries were appointed as Javanen pater: Frans van Lith SJ and Petrus Hoevenaars SJ. Earlier that year the Dutch provincial superior of the Jesuits had already asked all novices to express their ideas of the mission in the East Indies in writing. While Hoevenaars expressed his enthusiasm, Van Lith, who would later be named ‘the father of the Javanese’, expressed in plain language that he had no calling for the mission but he was willing to make this sacrifice and obey his superiors.250 After they arrived in Semarang, their first and primary task became studying the Javanese language and culture. ‘I studied as I had never studied before in my life’, Van Lith explained later.251

Besides Javanen paters, the Jesuits appointed Javanese catechists to give catechism lessons in various villages around Semarang from 1894 onward. The ‘first’ appointed catechists were former Protestant Javanese preacher-teachers who followed the lead of the former Dutch Protestant missionary Matheus Teffer (1826-1907) and embraced Catholicism in 1894.252 These converted Javanese men spoke multiple languages and had received a teacher training from the Protestant missionaries, who —much earlier than the Catholic missionaries— had established schools and

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248 Keijzer to provincial Henricus van den Boogaard 27-12-1894, ANJP, provinciaals archief, 1733.
249 Keijzer to provincial Henricus van den Boogaard 19-02-1895, ANJP, provinciaals archief, 1733.
250 Van Lith 1-01-1896; Petrus Hoevenaars 05-01-1896; Eduardus Engbers 02-01-1896, ANJP, provinciaals archief, 1535.
251 Van Lith, ‘De geschiedenis der Katholieke Java-Missie’ [biografische schets, typoscript], ANPJ, 342, i 113 (voorheen i 29) 2.
252 The reasons for Matheus Teffer conversion are not clear, see Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia*, vol. 1, 205; G. Aben, Missie en onderwijs op Java (Leuven: Xaveriana, 1925), 18; Gerard Vriens, *Honderd jaar jezuïetenmissie*, 640-642.
courses through which they trained Javanese teachers and evangelists. One of these catechists appointed by the Catholic missionaries was Johannes Vreede. According to Keijzer, Vreede was someone who learned easily and had little difficulties in understanding the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism. Between 1894-1897, at least ten Javanese catechists were appointed, some of whom by the recommendation of Vreede. Based on the baptism records these catechists mediated the conversion of hundreds of Javanese to Catholicism, whereby they themselves acted as a Christian witness to these baptisms.

At the beginning of 1896, a few months before Van Lith and Hoevenaars arrived, Superior Missionis Julius Keijzer SJ and Javanen pater Wilhelmus Hellings SJ established two mission schools for Javanese boys in the kampongs Mlaten and Lamper in Semarang. This was a very small and fragile initiative. Most likely these schools were established in this place at this time because the Jesuits feared competition of the Protestant mission, who had already established a few schools for Javanese boys in the area. By the end of 1896, the Jesuits also founded a ‘catechist school’ in Semarang. In this school, the Jesuits trained Javanese boys as catechists-teachers. The idea was that once these pupils obtained a government teaching degree, they would be eligible for a government subsidy and could be appointed to a school. As such the Javanese trainees could replace the catechists who did not receive this training from the Catholic missionaries, specifically the converted protestants.

253 Kroeskamp, Early Schoolmasters, 418.
255 The following catechists were working in the Javanen missie in 1896/97: Andries Dwidjoatmodjo, Josaphat Dwidjotanojo and Alexander in the kampongs Lamper en Mlaten (Semarang); Johannes Vreede, Martinus Martadimedja (brother of Vreede) and Jothan in the cities Ambarawa and Bedono; Stephanius in the regency of Kudus; Josaphat Niti in the regency of Demak; Josaphat Mertodiwordjo (Martadimedja) was stationed alongside the priests Cornelius Stiphout SJ and Georgius Wuest SJ in the regency of Kedu, on the mission station of Muntilan; Andreas (Andries) Manasse was not yet formally appointed, but worked in Ambarawa (see: AIPJ. Historia missionis Javanica 1896-1904); Paul Resowiharjo was appointed by Hellings but Hellings wrote to the Apostolic Vicar Staal that this appointment should not be prolonged because he worked too slow and did not present enough people to be baptised (see: Hellings to Apostolic Vicar Walterus Jacobs Staal, 21-11-1896, 19-2-1897, AJAK, 327; Keijzer to Apostolic Vicar Staal, 23-04-1896, AJAK, 327).
256 Hellings to Apostolic Vicar Staal 25-4-1897, AJAK, 326.
257 Wilhelmus Hellings, Conspectus Stationis 1895, 3-01-1896, AJAK, 249; Hellings to Apostolic Vicar Staal 14-12-1895, AJAK, 276; L. Hebrans, ‘Kerk en school onder de Javanen’, Sint Claverbond (1897) 5-10.
258 Historia missionis Javanica 1896-1904, Van Lith July 1898, AIPJ; Hellings to Apostolic Vicar Staal, Semarang 10-12-1896, AJAK, 326.
259 Minahasan or Menado people are an ethnic group from North Sulawesi. The Jesuits wanted to missionise in this area, however, their presence here was controversial. Under regulation 177 of the Indische Staatsregeling the government had appointed this area to the Protestants. As Indonesian teachers, unlike European priests, did not need a permit to enter this area, training boys as teacher-catechist who would be employed here would be a legitimate way to missionise in this area (See: Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 1, chapter ten.)
260 Hellings to Apostolic Vicar Staal 25-4-1897, AJAK, 326.
The beginnings of the *Javanen missie* that had started from Semarang may well have been promising. Yet, the strategy of mass conversion utilising Javanese catechists ended in failure as early as 1897. Father Van Lith, who as newly appointed *Javanen pater* had settled in Muntilan, discovered that some of the Javanese catechists were fraudulent with mission money and had bribed people into baptism. According to Van Lith, Johannes Vreede was the mastermind behind the fraudulent practices. In the *Historica Javanica* Van Lith wrote that Vreede was the face of the devil and had swindled the protestant mission before. The majority of the Javanese catechists were dismissed. Furthermore, the *Javanen paters* Hebrans, Hellings, Van Lith and Petrus Hoevenaars, gathered to discuss the future of their mission work among the Javanese on 20 December 1898, in the urban centre of Magelang in Central-Java.

These *Javanen paters*, especially Van Lith, were convinced that the debacle of the *Javanen missie* was due to missionaries’ inadequate knowledge of the Javanese language and culture, revealing their insufficient training. The Jesuits’ earlier work among the Javanese was undertaken ad hoc and at the meeting in Magelang they resolved to a more structural approach. Accordingly, the *Javanen paters* concluded their meeting in Magelang with the resolution to fashion their own teacher-catechists in a boarding school for boys. To this end, they moved the missions’ catechist school from Semarang to the Kedu residency in Central-Java.

Kedu was a rural area away from the ‘European centres’—but not too isolated from the Dutch missionaries in the nearby cities of Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Magelang. Historian Felicity Jensz already observed that it was common for educational institutes of missionary societies to be established in relative isolation away from the perceived disruptions of colonial cities and settlers in the colony. Furthermore, the Resident of Kedu, Pieter Merkus Lambertus de Bruijn Prince, had experimentally set up a range of village schools from 1893 onwards. These schools offered job opportunities for the teacher-catechists trained by the missionaries.

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263 Andreas Dwidjodmodjo, Josaphat Dwidjotanojo and Andreas Manasse were not dismissed (Van Lith, *Historia missionis Javanica* 1896-1904, 11-10-1896). Andreas Dwidjodmodjo was one of the first Javanese Catholics. He was also the teacher at catechist school in Semarang. Andreas Dwidjodmodjo had two sons, Arwadi en Arijadi (baptized as Josaphat). Arwadi accompanied Hoevenaars to Mendut (AJJP, Van Lith, Map Datrar eerste chistenen en leerlingen Muntilan); Van Lith, *Historia missionis Javanica* 1896–1904, 11-10-1896, AJJP.
It might also be possible that the mission’s relocation to Kedu region was motivated by the fact that it was strategically located, being adjacent to the principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Due to government regulations, the Dutch Catholic missionaries were prohibited to missionise among the Javanese in these principalities. However, if they established themselves in Kedu, the missionaries could still target the many higher aristocratic elite families who lived in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. It were the children of these aristocratic elite families who the missionaries wanted to enrol in their boarding schools, as I will explain in the next section.

The students of the catechist-teacher school of Semarang were split up between the newly established mission stations of Muntilan and Mendut. Both were rural villages in the Kedu regency approximately 10 kilometres apart. Petrus Hoevenaars SJ settled himself alongside some students and the teacher, Andries Arwadi Dwidjoamodjo, in Mendut in July 1899. A year later, the other students and the teacher Arijadi went to Muntilan where Van Lith was stationed.268 By the request of Apostolic Vicar Edmundus Luypen, both missionaries drew up a work plan for the Javanen missie in mid-1902, in order to peruse a uniform missionary strategy. The plans looked similar, both priests wanted to expand the catechist school, a hospital, provide microcredit for farmers and establish some kind of industry. Jesuit historian Gerard Vriens pointed out, however, that Hoevenaars’ intentions for the Java mission were of a much smaller scale. Whereas Van Lith wanted to convert the whole Javanese population utilising schools and teachers, Hoevenaars envisioned a small Catholic community with its basis in Mendut.269

Awaiting a decision on which path or strategy to follow for the Java mission, both missionaries continued their work in Mendut and Muntilan. Both continued to educate the select group of Javanese boys in their respective schools and some of the pupils participated in the government exams in Yogyakarta or Magelang. Due to various minor conflicts, Hoevenaars was dismissed as Javanen pater and transferred to work among the European community in Ceribon and Batavia in 1905. As a consequence, the mission in Mendut was put on hold, and the mission strategy as it was envisioned by Van Lith was followed.270

In his plan, Frans van Lith emphasised the importance of education to children and the school as a means to success for the Catholic mission. This was a recurring ambition throughout the colonial world, schools were seen as spaces where children could be brought into contact with the ‘word of God’ and western civilisation.271 Nevertheless, to Van Lith, the school was not merely a nursery of

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268 For the names of these students see: Van Lith, Names of the first students, AIJP.
269 Vriens, Honderd jaar jezuïetenmissie in Indonesië, 668.
270 For more on the dismissal of Petrus Hoevenaars, see Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2, 208-213.
the church, but the training ground for a generation of local catechists-teachers. Van Lith wanted to foster a body of Indigenous proselytisers—local intermediaries—who could work on the civilisation and conversion of the whole Javanese population. These ideas of Van Lith were very much in line with the political-administrative perspective of fostering an Indigenous elite which would fulfil jobs in the civil service.\textsuperscript{272} The plan also echoed much of Father Joannes Palinckx advice thirty years earlier. Already in 1862, he emphasised that a mission among Javanese should first and foremost target influential persons within the Javanese population so that others, the ordinary Javanese (\textit{wong cilik}) would soon follow.\textsuperscript{273}

**Muntilan and Mendut: two Catholic boarding schools**

In accordance with his plan, Van Lith developed the short-lived catechist school into a teacher-training boarding school, anticipating a growing demand for qualified Javanese teachers due to the rapid expansion of schools providing elementary education for Javanese children. In the Muntilan boarding school, Dutch Jesuit priests would carefully manage the ‘upbringing’ of boys of the Javanese elite, emphasising Christian ‘character training’ in addition to their general and religious education. Furthermore, as Van Lith’s plan envisioned a role for religious sisters in educating Javanese girls from the higher classes, the Jesuits and the Apostolic Vicar in Batavia officially invited the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen to start a boarding school for Javanese girls in Mendut. In years leading up to 1942, Muntilan and Mendut grew into two large educational institutes, catering for large number of boys and girls from early childhood to young adulthood. However, the arrival of the Pacific World War saw all schools closed in 1942.\textsuperscript{274} In the next subsections, I will examine the establishment of both boarding schools.\textsuperscript{275}

**Muntilan**

In 1904 Frans Van Lith SJ filed a petition with the Department of Education, Religion and Industry for a so-called \textit{Normaalschool}, a school for the education of assistant teachers for \textit{desa}-schools, in Muntilan. Van Lith hoped to access government

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{272} Van Niel, \textit{The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite}.
\item \textsuperscript{273} Palinckx to provincial Augustinus Henriët, 26-10-1862, ANJP, I 37A.
\item \textsuperscript{275} Van Lith, ‘Plan en werkwijze der Java missie’, 1902, AJAK, 277; Engbers to Mother superior of the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen, 20-10-1906, AJAK 487; Jacobus Mertens to Father Provincial Isidorus Vogels, 13-12-1908, ANJP, Archive of the Provincial, 1605; Van Aernsbergen, \textit{Chronologisch overzicht}, 224.
\end{itemize}
funding for his ‘western school’ and its teacher training programme in the Dutch language.\textsuperscript{276} A few years earlier, the Director of the Department of Education, Religion and Industry, Jacques Henry Abendanon (held office, 1900 - 1905), had allocated funds for vocational and higher Dutch language education for children with the ‘Native’ legal status. Private bodies, especially the Christian missions, could apply to these funds.\textsuperscript{277} Abendanon was a fervent supporter of the reform of indigenous colonial education, which he considered a fundamental responsibility of the modern colonial state.\textsuperscript{278} While the administration had widely invested in local-language primary schools for the rural masses in Java, he desired improvements beyond basic education, namely the expansion of western Dutch language education for Javanese children. Abendanon’s humanitarian vision of a colony, promoting the assimilation of Europeans and ‘Natives’, made him a forceful advocate for missionary education.\textsuperscript{279}

In March 1905 Abendanon retired, but state subsidies for Van Lith’s boarding school for Javanese teachers in training was granted by the administrations’ department of Education, Religion and Industry that same year. The teacher training school in Muntian would receive a subsidy of five guilders per month per boarding student.\textsuperscript{280} Governor-General Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg (1909-1916)—one of the leading ideologists of the Ethical Policy—also exhibited a keen interest in the Christian missions. The granting of subsidies to the missions for education fit within his vision on the uplifting of the Indigenous peoples of the Dutch East Indies. Even though he was a protestant (gereformeerd), he did support the Jesuit educational project in central Java fully. He exchanged several letters with van Lith, and together with his wife Maria Elisabeth Duetz he visited the institutes of Mendut and Muntian on several occasions.\textsuperscript{281} The state’s recognition, support and continued funding of the school were important precursors to the institutionalisation and professionalisation of Javanese Catholic teacher-catechists in the coming decades.

\textsuperscript{276} Van Lith, Rekest school tot opleiding hulponderwijzer 17-03-1904, AJAK, 277.
\textsuperscript{278} The Protestant mission most likely also benefited from the government subsidies. In 1900 the Protestant missionary Johannes Kruyt who had trained boys as teacher-preachers in his own home (the murid system) was able probably with government funds to reopen the Protestant teacher training school in Modjowano in 1900 (See: Carl Wilhelm Nortier, \textit{Van zendingsarbeid tot zelfstandige kerk in Oost-Java} (Hoenderloo: Stichting Hoenderloo, 1939), 251-252).
\textsuperscript{280} Extract uit register der besluiten van den Gouveneur-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië N2 25, 27-03-1905, AJAK, 484.
\textsuperscript{281} Letters of Governor-General Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg to Van Lith: 02-10-1931; 10-10-1913; 11-05-1914, 17-09-1918, AIJP; Diarium Muntian 1916-1920, 1-11-1916, AIJP; Chronicle of Mendut: 16-10-1911, 1-11-1916, AOSFI.
In 1906 a second higher-level course was established in Muntilan by Van Lith and Father Jacobus Mertens SJ. This so-called *kweekschool* trained teachers for the *Hollands Inlandse School*. That same year the *Vereniging RC Kweekschool te Moentilan* was set up by the Jesuits, to give the Catholic missionary schools a juridical basis. This association managed the administration of the teacher training schools in Muntilan, and later also that of the school in Mendut and Ambarawa.\(^{282}\) In 1910, the Muntilan schools were officially named Xaverius College, with Jacobus Mertens SJ appointed as its first principal.\(^{283}\) In 1922, the Jesuits were joined by members of the Brothers of the Immaculate Conception (FIC) congregation in Muntilan, commonly called Brothers from Maastricht. They established several secondary ‘western schools’ for boys in addition to the Xaverius college, these being a *Hollands Inlandse School* (HIS), *Standard School* (*Standaard School*), Switch School (*Schakel School*), Dutch-Chinese School (*Hollands-Chinese School*, HCS), and general secondary schools (*MULO* and *AMS*).\(^{284}\)

The granting of the *effectus civilis* in 1914, that is the state recognition of the diplomas of the Xaverius college allowing for the appointment of alumni at non-confessional government schools, represented an important development.\(^{285}\) Until this official recognition alumni struggled to find employment in one of the few Catholic desa-schools. The shortage of job opportunities endured until the mid-1920’s, which saw the Canisius Foundation sponsor numerous private mission desa-schools (*bijzondere volksscholen*) in Java. In 1941, the Canisius Foundation had 267 private mission desa-schools (*bijzondere volksscholen*) as well as some HIS schools under their management, the majority situated in the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.\(^{286}\) With this institutional growth, trained Catholic teachers found ample opportunities for placement. The *effectus civilis* was also useful to the government because the four existing government teacher training schools in Java (Bandung, Ungaran, Yogyakarta and Probolinggo), could not produce a sufficient workforce of teachers to fulfil shortages created by the rapid expansion of desa-schools at such short notice.\(^{287}\)

In just three decades the small rural village of Muntilan had seen the establishment of a large educational complex with a substantial number of Catholic missionaries.

\(^{282}\) Statuten Vereniging R.C. Kweekschool te Moentilan, AJP.
\(^{283}\) Isidorus Vogels, visitation 1910-1911, ANJP, 1519.
\(^{285}\) In 1920 the missionaries also established a teacher training school (*normaalschool*) for boys and girls in Ambarawa and the already dispensed *effectus civilis* was extended to all teacher training institutes of the Catholic missionaries (Muntilan, Mendut and Ambarawa).
\(^{286}\) Notulen Vereniging Canisius, retrieved from van Romo Smith SJ manager of the ST. Canisius Stichting, June 2011; onderwijsstatistiek A.V.V. Batavia, in Centraal missie bureau, *De katholieke missie in Nederlands-Oost Indie*, Jaarboek 1941, 26-27.
and students. The teacher training school in Muntilan had started with roughly fifteen male boarding students in 1905. In 1910 there were already 115 boys and in 1920, statistics show that already about 800 pupils had received a teaching degree after their studies at the teacher training school of the Jesuits. From 1925 onward, all schools in Muntilan together had over 900 male students.

The schools in Muntilan were also served by a large number of missionaries, all resident teachers. Fully occupied in their teaching duties, they rarely engaged in missionary activities outside the compound — evangelising among villagers for example. In the 1930s there were approximately sixteen Brothers of the Immaculate Conception (FIC) and fifteen Jesuits. Scholastics, un-ordained Jesuit youths in training, assisted their senior colleagues at the teacher training schools in Muntilan. They were to gain their ‘practical experience’ in the mission field as well as in a school before continuing on to Philosophical studies in Maastricht. Van Lith who himself had gained ‘practical’ experience as a teacher in Katwijk, had already envisioned this element in his plan of 1902. The large European teaching staff was supplemented by non-missionary and non-European teachers. This diversity became increasingly common after 1927, when tightening government regulations for kweekscholen provoked a shortage of sufficiently qualified Jesuit teachers. The yearbook from 1939 mentioned some early newcomers — five non-missionary teachers including H. Ten Berge, teacher of Dutch and Geography, and D. Hadiwidjana instructing in Javanese and Malay.

The Xaverius college in Muntilan was recognised and subsidised by the state, seeing their modern scientific curriculum replicate the norms of the government in the Dutch East Indies. Additionally to the general curriculum leading to a teaching qualification, aspiring teachers in the Xaverius college could follow courses to obtain a certificate in religion (Godsdienst diploma A). The supervision of the colonial education system compelled the missionary schools to closely follow government policy and keep abreast of reforms concerning the education of teachers. Reforms of this kind were introduced in 1907, when the teaching training programmes for pupils with the Native juridical status were extended from a four

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to a six-year period. The same year saw Dutch reintroduced to the curriculum after a fourteen-year absence, and indeed, formalised as the language of instruction. Colonial authorities and missionaries envisioned mastery of the Dutch language as a crucial pillar of reform with wider implications—enabling students to participate in a modern colonial society, to conduct civil, godly lives, and potentially enter government service jobs. While Van Lith had already trained his Javanese students in Dutch, from this point forward, the language began to infiltrate realms beyond the classroom in Muntilan.

In 1927, the introduction of new governmental regulations, heralded the advent of transformation and standardization in higher-level teacher training. A team of education professionals in the Dutch East Indies, including Joannes Diderich SJ, director of the Xaverius school of that time, were assigned to draft a reorganisation plan, the so-called *kweekschool plan*. With this plan a concordance principle was set up: the schools and curricula of all teacher training schools were to be standardised, in line with Dutch teacher training schools in the Netherlands. Indigenous teachers would be trained as their European counterparts, and their diploma accredited to the standard in the Netherlands. In accordance with the administration’s plural principle, separate teacher training schools and curricula were offered for pupils of European, Chinese and Native juridical status. Henceforward, the *kweekschool* in Muntilan was gradually transformed into the *Hollands Inlandse Kweekschool* (HIK), with curriculum reforms following closely.

The establishment of the HIK in general, and specifically in Muntilan widened opportunities for Catholic children of middle- and lower-level class families to assume (government) jobs and positions previously occupied by Javanese and Indo-European elites. In the late 1930’s the teacher training school in Muntilan was transformed from a HIK to a *Centrale kweekschool voor alle landaarden* —a change likely brought about by declining pupil numbers (and consequently, government subsidies) due to the Great Depression. As of then, children with the ‘European’ or the ‘Foreign Oriental’ juridical status could also be admitted to the Xaverius college in Muntilan. ‘European’ pupils, however, were to pay higher school fees.

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293 Suwignyo, *The Breach in the Dike*, 84.
295 Advies van den Onderwijsraad inzake de reorganisatie van de opleiding van het personeel bij het westersch lager onderwijs (kweekschoolplan) (Weltevreden 1927).
298 Jos Gitsels SJ, Director of Centraal missie bureau to Director of Education and Religion, 16-01-1935 and 13-03-1935, all in AJAK 484. Interesting is that such a mixed teacher training school was not realised for public teacher training schools (see Suwignyo, *The Breach in the Dike*, 88)
299 C. van der Deijl SJ (Centraal missie bureau) to Apostolic Vicar, 27-02-1938, AJAK 484.
In 1941, the Xaverius college offered three teacher training programmes: village school teacher; HIS and standard school teacher and European teacher.  

**Mendut**

In Frans Van Lith’s work plan for the *Javanen missie*, drafted mid-1902, he had stressed that Javanese girls needed to be educated alongside their male counterparts. Van Lith drew up his plan at a time when upper-class Javanese families were questioning conservative interpretations of women’s place, which formerly situated girl’s education squarely in the domestic sphere. In 1905, Van Lith and Mertens approached the Sisters of Heythuysen regarding the care of the education of Javanese girls. The Sisters had experience with setting up and running educational institutes in the Dutch East Indies; they had established an orphanage in Semarang and several schools in Magelang and Yogyakarta for European girls, and a boarding school for Florinese girls in Larantuka (Flores), and another for Keiese girls in Langur (Kei).

Scholars generally indicate that the ‘school’ that Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904) started in 1903 —where she informally trained Javanese girls from the *priyayi* class at her house— was the first initiative in girls’ education in the Dutch East Indies. Sources in the archive of the Catholic mission, however, indicate differently. Not only had Sister Vincentia Bergervoert already operated a ‘sewing-school’ for Javanese girls in Semarang in 1896, but the widow of the Andries Dwidjoadmodjo — the teacher at the Mendut branch of the catechist school together with Father Hoevenaars— began operating a school for Javanese girls in 1898 in Mendut. Here, twelve Javanese women formed a small class, receiving lessons in needlework and batik processing at the house of the teacher. In 1904 Hoevenaars applied for funding for this school. While the outcome of his application is unknown, this particular school did not continue because Hoevenaars was dismissed as a *Javanenpater* in 1905.
In 1906, the mission superior Eduardus Engbers and Mgr. Luypen formally requested the mother superior of the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen to found a boarding school for Javanese girls in Mendut. They were offered grounds and a house on loan, a monthly allowance of 150 guilders for the support of their pupils, and 1500 guilders to cover the passage of four Sisters from the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{307} In 1908 the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen officially took charge of the education of Javanese girls in Mendut.\textsuperscript{308}

On 14 January 1908, the sisters Ernestine Boes, Florida Klaauw, Jovina van der Ven and Mother Aloysia arrived in Muntilan.\textsuperscript{309} They were welcomed by Father Fischer SJ of Mendut and several other Jesuits and the pupils from Muntilan.\textsuperscript{310} The Sisters began giving needle lessons to a few Javanese girls, and in May that year, welcomed their first two resident pupils to their quarters.\textsuperscript{311} When the four daughters of Pangéran Arion Sasraningrat (son of Paku Alam III, prince within the sultanate of Yogyakarta) began boarding with the sisters, the institute expanded rapidly, growing from thirty students in 1909 to over fifty in 1911. In its heyday of 1931, around four hundred pupils were boarding at the school.\textsuperscript{312} As student numbers increased, so did the cohort of Sisters educating them, growing up to twenty in the early 1930s.\textsuperscript{313}

In the first decades of the twentieth century, colonial education for Javanese from the elite had developed into a western-style model with Dutch as the language of instruction, but the formal coeducational schooling offered by public schools attracted mostly Javanese boys. According to Dutch colonial officials, specifically Abendanon, this paucity of female pupils was underwritten by popular ideals embodied most prominently among Javanese from the priyayi class, who remained sceptical of the need to educate girls in expensive, western-style schools. Parents were also concerned by the coeducation in public schools, which to their minds threatened to muddle customary divisions of gendered space and practice.\textsuperscript{314} In Mendut, Javanese girls initially went to the government school, which the Sisters called the \textit{buitenschool} (outside school) as it was outside their compound. It was a

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\textsuperscript{307} Engbers to Mother superior of the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen, 20-10-1906, AJAK 487.
\textsuperscript{308} Mertens to provincial Isidorus Vogels, 13-12-1908, ANJP, Archive of the Provincial, 1605; Van Aernsbergen, \textit{Chronologisch overzicht}, 224.
\textsuperscript{309} I was not able to retrieve the surname of mother Aloysia.
\textsuperscript{310} Antonius Fischer, 'Mendoet. Brief van Pastoor A. Fisscher', \textit{Sint Claverbond} (1908) 99-101.
\textsuperscript{311} Chronicle of Mendut, 11-1908 and 4-01-1909, AOSFI; NN, 'Mendoet Jubileert 1908-1933', \textit{Koloniaal missie tijdschrift} (1933) 87-89.
\textsuperscript{312} Chronicle of Mendut; NN, 'Mendoet Jubileert 1908-1933', \textit{Koloniaal missie tijdschrift} (1933) 87-89.
\textsuperscript{314} Director of Education Abendanon to Governor General, 31 October 1901, published in Van der Wal (ed.), \textit{Het onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië}, 9-12.
\end{flushleft}
school for boys and girls until 1909, when the number of young women attending grew enough for the Javanese teacher Gregorius Arwadi Dwidjaatmadja to form a separate class of 31 girls and teach them separately. From then on, Javanese girls could enjoy western education—in accordance with Catholic norms and Javanese preferences—separate from the boys. In October 1911 Sister Magdalena Oosterhout became the head of this girl’s school, and it was gradually incorporated within the boarding institute. The girls who qualified were trained for the teacher’s exam. In 1913 a new building for the girl’s school, with five separate classrooms, was constructed within the sister’s compound. That same year the first five girls took their teaching exam in Ungaran, of whom two graduated and replaced the male teacher.315

The Catholic boarding school for Javanese girls in Mendut preceded the Kartini and Van Deventer schools, established in 1913 and 1918 respectively. These were also boarding schools for Javanese girls, the latter hosting teachers in training. Conrad Theodor van Deventer and his wife Elisabeth Maria Louise Maas, founders of the Kartini Foundation and Van Deventer (boarding) schools, visited the school of the Sisters of Heythuysen in Mendut for orientation in June of 1912.316 Around the same time that the Sisters of Heythuysen began educating Javanese girls in Mendut, the Protestant organisation Comité van Bijstand voor Christelijke scholen established boarding schools for Javanese girls in the sultanate cities of Yogyakarta and Solo. While the school in Mendut was one of the first of its kind, those that followed shared its objective, namely, to transform domestic life in Java by advancing the education of Javanese girls from the priyayi.317

The teacher training course (kweekschool—which trained teachers for the Hollands-Inlandse School, HIS) for girls in Mendut was officially recognised in 1916 and subsidised in 1918. Soon, however, the colonial administration wanted the kweekschool in Mendut restructured into a normaalschool—a lower level of teacher training oriented toward training girls for desa-school. This reconstruction imposed by the administration, was probably related to the opening of a few public teacher training school for girls in Java in 1918 and 1919 to which the school in Mendut represented competition.318 This amendment ran counter to the ambitions of the Catholic missionaries, who, with the intervention of Van Lith, saw the kweekschool restructured into a teacher training institution for kindergarten level. Due to the great depression, subsidies for this so-called fröbelkweekschool were

315 Chronicle of Mendut, 27-08-1913, AOSFI.
316 Chronicle of Mendut 23 June -1912, AOSFI.
stopped in 1932. The Catholic missionaries had started, however, a lower level teacher training course (normaal school) for Javanese girls and boys in Ambarawa in 1924. From the 1920s onward the boarding school in Mendut continued to offer several elementary and secondary programmes in the Dutch language. Like the primary Hollands-Inlandse School for girls (HIS, Dutch-Native Schools), the huishoudschool (domestic training school for girls) and the Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs for girls (MULO, More Extensive Primary Education). Interestingly, the Sisters also had a kindergarten, extending their educational reach to Javanese girls of multiple age-groups and skill levels.

**Pupils from the local elites**

The establishment of the schools in Muntilan and Mendut marked the commencement of a new strategy for the Dutch Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies. Advocating the ‘educational path’, Jacobus Mertens wrote to the Dutch provincial superior Isidorus Vogels:

> Not only we, but also the Protestants and the government have come to the conclusion that Europeans have hardly any influence on the Javanese population without intermediaries. What is accomplished in the desas of Mendut and Muntilan through direct contact amounts to very little: some ancient gentlemen and several poor people whose church attendance is paid with alms. A small Christian community, two hours from here [Muntilan, MD] is administered by us through the doing of a Javanese teacher. So the idea, or rather the conviction, of the value and necessity of a substantial Catholic teacher training school gradually originated because they [the Javanese people] need good Indigenous teachers/catechists and Christian heads of the household, who, because of their class, will have some influence on the others.  

Here Mertens advised his superior of a crucial aspect of their strategy for fashioning local intermediaries in the teacher training schools. Intermediaries should be formed of pupils from a specific class background, namely the Javanese royal and upper class.

The missionaries’ pursuit of pupils from the local elites was motivated by understandings of mutuality under Javanese feudalism. Converting and civilising children of the royal and upper- Javanese classes would confer prestige and status upon the Catholic faith, spreading it’s message of ‘civilisation’ among the wong cilik (commoners), making up the bulk of Javanese society.  

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319 Mertens to provincial Isidorus Vogels, 13-12-1908, ANJP, 1605.
320 Mertens to provincial Isidorus Vogels, 13-12-1908, ANJP, 1605.
approach to reforming Javanese society was shared between the Dutch Catholic missionaries and their colleagues operating the Kartini schools, the Van Deventer schools and the Koningin Wilhelmina School.\footnote{Kamphuis, 'An Alternative Family'.} All believed their educational efforts, once installed in the higher orders, would infiltrate the lower ranks of society: daughters of priyayi class, intellectually and spiritually refined by professional Dutch women, would popularise their ‘civilised’ lifestyles among ordinary women in the desa.\footnote{Gouda, ‘Teaching Indonesian Girls in Java and Bali’, 37.}

From the outset of the school’s opening, Van Lith and Mertens promoted them in the areas around Muntilan and Mendut, as well as in the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, seeking to attract children of the higher aristocratic elite or nobility (priyagung) as well as the children from bupatis’ (aristocratic Regency head, called regent by the Dutch) and wèdanas’ (district heads) families. The sultanates were thirty and seventy kilometres away from Muntilan respectively, and home to a large number of Javanese elite families. The chronicle of Mendut shows that the first two Javanese girls were daughters of the Muntilan wèdana (district head). As mentioned above, they were joined as the first generation of Mendut students by four daughters of Pangéran Arion Sasraningrat (son of Paku Alam III, prince within the sultanate of Yogyakarta). One daughter, Frances Soekeni Sasraningrat, was even sent to the Netherlands to continue her education as a religious sister.\footnote{Chronicle of Mendut, 16-09-1913 and 14-09-1914, AOSFI; A. Fischer, ‘De missiepost te Mendut’, Sint Claverbond 24 (1912) 100; Sister Clara, ‘Mijn eeuwige professie’, Sint Claverbond, 40 (1929), 262.}

Missionaries, however, not only turned their attention to the offspring of the aristocracy but also to the larger pool of children of the better-off families who had qualified at the HIS school. Educating children from the Javanese upper classes, and their counterparts from better-off families with disposable income for school fees was also very much in line with the colonial government’s policy of indirect rule: drawing in generations of children of Javanese society’s upper echelons into the systems of governance, knowledge, and belief promoted by the regime. By the turn of the century, comprehensive western-style education in the Dutch language had become important credentials for entry into the civil service and therefore attractive to Javanese men.\footnote{Lelyveld, Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid.} Petrus van Santen SJ referred to the latter in this 1909 missive to a superior:

At the moment there is a strong trend, especially among the eminent Indigenous youth, to gain more knowledge and experience western civilisation. They strive to learn the Dutch language, as well as other new languages, as a means to come to development. That can work very well, because through this they will get the opportunity to get to know Christianity.\footnote{Petrus Van Santen to provincial Isidorus Vogels, 22-03-1909, ANJP, 1724.}
By establishing schools providing Dutch language education to Javanese peoples, the Catholic mission also responded to industry demand for well-trained Javanese personnel, and growing discontent among Javanese regarding limited schooling options for their children.

Available sources for the Catholic schools in Mendut and Muntilan seldom illuminate the motivations entertained by pupils or their parents upon enrolment. Notwithstanding, the letters of Muntilan alumni Albertus Soegijapranata, Willibrord Poerwadarminta, and Anton Soekiman reveal a shared belief in the benefits of good education and acquiring (western) knowledge, skills, and qualifications. The career opportunities these brought constituted a stepping stone on the ‘colonial ladder,’ bringing greater social status, independence, and secure employment as a teacher and government employee.\footnote{A. Soekiman, Hoe ziet de Javaansche jongen het christendom: Java vraagt zelf om lekke-apostelen (‘s-Hertogenbosch: Geert-Groote-Genootschap, 1927); Chronicle of Mendut 1908-1926, AOSFI; Joeseph Sastrawidja, memories on Van Lith 02-1925, AIJP; M. Henricia Moeryantini C.b, Levensverhaal Monseigneur Soegijapranata SJ, AIJP; Gregorius Budi Subanan, Soegija a Child of Bethlehem van Java: Biography of Mgr. Albertus Soegijapranata, the First Indonesian Bishop (Yogyakarta: Sanata Dharma University Press, 2015).}

Enthusiasm for occupational and personal growth in partnership with the colonial administration provides a convincing explanation for the growing demand for western Dutch-language education among the Javanese. The teacher training programmes in Muntilan subsequently formed a reasonable alternative to government schools in the region (Yogyakarta). Indeed, the latter had fewer openings and mandated higher school fees.\footnote{Correspondence Van Lith with the Dutch Provincial about the kweekschool in Muntilan, ANJP, I 113.}

The popularity of both schools grew in the 1920s, fuelled by recognition of the excellent Dutch language education offered. On one occasion, government officials reportedly praised the Dutch-speaking ability of girls from Mendut.\footnote{Chronicle of Mendut, AOSFI.}

Beyond the programme’s immediate success, as mentioned above the boarding school for girls in Mendut accommodated Javanese (priyayi) ideas about separate education of boys and girls, whereas competing government schools were coeducational. Whether and for what reasons parents favoured the Mendut programme over that of another rival institution espousing many of the same value remains open to further inquiry.

The establishment of missionary boarding institutions in Mendut and Muntilan met local demand for access to colonial knowledge, skills, and work opportunities. Simultaneously, their founders, together with benefactors and overseers, hoped the schools would expedite a larger programme of social transformation. The Mendut and Muntilan schools joined a multitude of religious institutions in offering a western-oriented curriculum taught by (Dutch) missionaries with European teaching certificates. The schools offered pupils entrance to knowledge of European traditions and ways of life, while capitalising upon the elite status of their alumni to financially and socially advance the mission. Their ‘return’ to
fashioning a javanese catholic elite

Javanese society as qualified and faithful Catholic educators was envisioned by the missionaries as an extension of the mission throughout colonised populations. The generations that followed would enjoy a quality of spiritual, cultural, and technical education formerly reserved for their elite instructors. However, before the transmission of western culture, knowledge and Catholicism could begin in primary schools throughout Java, local intermediaries needed to be trained for the task. This far-reaching vision, shared by missionary educators and the colonial administration, conferred tremendous importance upon the support and success of such workers.

Beyond the more formal and general training of Javanese teachers who could act as local intermediaries, the boarding schools of the Dutch Catholic missionaries were fundamentally spaces where children could be brought into contact with the ‘word of God’ and western civilisation. Historian Felicity Jensz wrote regarding mission schools in the British Empire, ‘through schooling missionaries themselves hoped to enact a transformative process from ‘heathen’ and ‘uncivilised’ native to ‘civilised’ and Christian convert’. In the next section, I will explore in finer detail the religious and moral formation of Javanese youth, arguing that educational institutes in Muntilan and Mendut were sites of ideological and corporeal transformation. The education of girls and young women at the boarding school in Mendut offers a particularly rich case study of transformative colonial education, centring around understandings of women’s proper place, her fields of material and spiritual labour. In Mendut, Javanese girls were trained in domestic skills and etiquette, with the goal of fashioning good Catholic women to foster the transformation of Javanese society.

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331 Jensz, ‘The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces’.
Moral and religious formation in the boarding schools

Initially, the teacher training course in Muntilan was housed in a small bamboo building. However, by the 1920s, the Muntilan and Mendut institutes were enclosed in two sizeable compounds, boasting all the necessities for the moral, scientific, and religious formation of the individual: classrooms, libraries, sports fields, gardens, music rooms, dormitories, and a church. Beyond the transmission of cognitive and practical skills, the comprehensive educational regime was indeed designed to convert and 'civilise' children. Knowledge of European and Catholic tradition was transmitted under strict governance extending far beyond the classroom, rendering the boarding sections of the schools (so-called *convicten* in Muntilan) key spaces in which bodies, hearts and souls of future local intermediaries were fashioned.

The boarding system offered missionaries a means to separate children from the Islamic customs of their families and communities for long periods of time: children boarding during the school year only returned home briefly for the holidays. Furthermore, the compounds of Mendut and Muntilan were enclosed, offering complete cultural immersion on one hand, and close supervision of students' movements and interactions outside the institute on the other. Pupils of the Xaverius college, for instance, were allowed to venture outside the compound, but only on the first Sunday of the month until six in the evening. Excursions took place—to the Borobudur temple, the city of Semarang— together with semi-religious retreats to Giri-Sonta, but a climate of strict discipline reigned at all times. Contact with family and community was also closely monitored. Moreover, the boarding system offered the missionaries to hold the pupils under their supervision.
and care throughout the day, providing the latter ample opportunities to cultivate particular habits of mind and body. As rector Jos van Baal reported on the status of ‘his boys’ from Xaverius college:

Keeping in mind their previous environment and upbringing back home, which is nil, compared to Dutch boys, our boys need to learn; a sense of duty, obedience as an alternative to servility, and self-conquest substituting laziness, tardiness, and vulnerability.  

Notwithstanding the missionaries’ preference for boarding pupils, also day students were admitted at some of the schools in Mendut and Muntilan, provided they came from a ‘good environment.’ In 1916 the Sisters recorded the enrolment of their first day-student, who continued to live with her family in the desa of Mendut:

The domestic circle isn’t of any harm to her. Her father, who worked in our laundry room for several years now, is very much inclined toward our Catholic religion. Every Sunday he devoutly attends the Holy Mass, and in the afternoon, after work, he receives catechism lessons.

Day students were, however, not admitted to any of the teacher training schools: government regulations dictated that all such institutions were required to offer all pupils boarding in dedicated and closely supervised quarters.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the majority of the pupils enrolled in Mendut and Muntilan were from Muslim families. Within the space of the boarding institutions, the Javanese Muslim elite children were brought in contact with the Christian God in the hope they would become followers of the Catholic church. Initially, religious education at the schools was optional due to the restrictions of government subsidies, but religious instruction was offered after school hours. By the end of the 1930s, bible and church history were officially incorporated into the curricula of the Xaverius college. Regardless of how religion was positioned in the curriculum, Catholicism pervaded daily life at the boarding institutions, inviting experiences of faith ranging from the commonplace to the profound. Pupils were obligated to attend church daily and routinely partook in Easter and Christmas celebrations, furthermore the majority underwent the rites of baptism. Moreover, a Saint Mary’s Congregation was founded at both institutes —extra-curricular student societies geared towards the internalization

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338 Jos Van Baal SJ to superior A. Van Kalken, 01-10-1929, ANJP, 1739.
339 Chronicle of Mendut 17 june 1916, AOSFI.
340 Jaarboek tevens programma Xaverius-college Moentilan 1938-1939, KOLSANI.
of religious virtue through fixed regimes of prayer, devotional practice, and charitable works.\textsuperscript{341} Published and unpublished conversion stories attest to the multi-layered influence of these lifestyles in Catholic educational institutions.\textsuperscript{342}

The majority of pupils who entered the schools as non-Catholics submitted to baptism at some point during their education. The number of baptisms of students were recorded in the baptist books and in the chronicle of the mission station or convent. The Muslim background of recently baptised children was often emphasized in their reports:

\begin{quote}
Easter Saturday, five Muslim children had the good fortune to receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{343}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
New triumph of Divine Mercy, which led fourteen chosen souls from the darkness of Islam to the glorious light of our only saving faith.\textsuperscript{344}
\end{quote}

Conversion to Catholicism did not take place through coercion and force, but by means of persuasion and enculturation. Indeed, parents were required to give their written consent before a child’s baptism could proceed.\textsuperscript{345} Sometimes parents resisted their children’s interest in the faith, but it is difficult to discern on what scale this happened. In 1912, for example, the Sisters of Heythuysen in Mendut expressed their disappointment that some girls could not receive baptism because parental consent was not forthcoming.\textsuperscript{346} In other cases, pupils were pulled from school or simply did not return after holidays in August.\textsuperscript{347} For instance, the parents of a girl named Soepia withdrew her from the Mendut school after she asked them for permission to undergo baptism.\textsuperscript{348} In other instances, an arranged marriage, a change of studies, familial obligations, or ‘parental fear’ that their child would answer a religious calling to become a nun, intervened with a girl’s education in Mendut.\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{342} A. Soekiman, \textit{Hoe ziet de Javaansche jongen het christendom}; Chronicle of Mendut 1908-1926, AOSFI; Josepeth Sastrawidja, memories on Van Lith 02-1925, AIJP; M. Henricia Moeryantini C.b, Levensverhaal Monseigneur Soegijapranata SJ, AIJP.
\textsuperscript{343} Chronicle of Mendut, 26-03-1912, AOSFI.
\textsuperscript{344} Chronicle of Mendut, 8 December 1914, AOSFI.
\textsuperscript{345} Chronicle of Mendut, 14 September 1914, 8 September 1915, 25 August 1916, 28 May 1920, AOSFI.
Both the Xaverius college and the sister school in Mendut evoked religious callings. In 1910 two out of four students who passed their exams (Darmasepoetra and Satiman) in Muntilan expressed their desire to continue studying for the priesthood, marked by the Jesuits as the beginning of a burgeoning native clergy in Java. In 1923, the first Javanese women Frances Soekeni Sasraningrat (Sister Clara Sasraningrat) and Adriana Rubijah Himawidjaya (Sister Colleta Rubijah) entered the congregation of the Franciscan Sisters a candidate for the religious life.

In the institutes in Mendut and Muntilan, pupils were implicated in a temporal regime of discipline, structured by daily, monthly, and yearly activities that contributed to character building and their moral formation. For example, in Mendut girls marched in silence with their hands clasped behind their backs while carrying out their daily routine: rising from bed, attending Mass, completing chores, eating breakfast, going to school, eating dinner, bathing, and going to bed. The moral formation was reflected in the plural structure of student reports. While one unit graded academic progress, and the other measured the ‘diligence’ (vlijt) observed in boys attending the Muntilan institution. Similarly, Javanese girls enrolled at the Mendut school received one school report on their course work, together with an institutional report (internatsrapport) evaluating their behaviour. Diligence, order, politeness, and helpfulness scored highly.

Keeping children under daily supervision and monitoring their upbringing as parents would, missionaries believed, refashion children’s identity. As I will show next, this comprehensive regime of acculturation also selectively engaged foundational aspects of Javanese culture, such as dress, language, comportment, and music —seeking to build bourgeois norms and values on familiar Javanese foundations. These Javanese-Catholic lifeways fashioned by missionaries appealed to local children and their families, while crucially, remaining distinct from the rival faith of Islam and close to European culture.

In 1916, Gulielmus Creutz Lechleitner SJ wrote: ‘Javanese are the students of our Xaverius college, and Javanese they must remain. On their Javanese sprout we need to graft the European civilisation: the Christian civilisation [...]’. At that time, missionaries downplayed Islamic influences in their field of labour by conceiving of the rival faith as a mixture of local adat (Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.)

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352 Jaarboek tevens programma Xaverius-college Moentilan 1938-1939, KOLSANI.
353 During my fieldwork in Indonesia in 2011, I spoke with several descendants from the ‘girls from Mendut’, they provided me with personal documents of their mothers. The reports here referred to are from Eugenia Soetami, 1938-1940.
Animism) and Islam, thereby designating the Javanese ‘nominal Muslims’. Explicit missionary distinctions between Islam and Javanese culture reinforced their rejection of the former and tolerance of (elements of) the latter in institutional settings.355

During the institution’s early decades, under the directorship of Mertens and Van Lith, daily life in Muntilan, including practice of the Catholic faith, was carefully interwoven with what the Jesuits referred to as ‘Javanese cultural elements.’ These included the singing of Javanese hymns in church, permitting pupils to go barefoot in the school compound, to wear the blangkon (Javanese headdress) during mass, or to sit cross-legged (instead of kneeling) during Consecration.356 Additionally, missionaries enforced a Javanese dress code in the institutes —Muntilan boys wore sarongs and blouses, Mendut girls a sarong and kabaya. The Sisters seldom went further in accommodating Javanese customs and cultural goods, as they wrote in the school diary: ‘We prefer to see our children cherishing the real Javanese adat (customs), at least where their dress and lifestyle is concerned.’357 Missionaries did not mind ‘true’ Javanese culture, they were more reticent about displays of Islamic culture and religion —a suspicion that encompassed the practices of pupils and their teachers. For instance, the Jesuits were reluctant to use the Malay language because of its close association with Islam.358 They did, however, invest in learning the Javanese language. Unlike their Jesuit counterparts serving in Muntilan, the Sisters never acquired the Javanese language. Some made several requests for instruction in Javanese, but all were declined by Mother Superior Hortense —the mission’s leader for over twenty years—believing her colleagues would do the ‘Native’ population a disservice by ‘descending’ to their level.359

The Dutch provincial superior of the Jesuits, Isidorus Vogels, observed in 1910 that pupils of Muntilan were ‘not being brought up as Europeans, but as Natives in many different ways.’360 However, a decade after Van Lith and Mertens had passed away, the Javanese character of the Xaverius-community in Muntilan waned in favour of European-style worship and norms. In 1932, J. Gitsels SJ described this transformation in the pupils at Xaverius colleges: ‘The mentality of the younger Javanese generation becomes more Europeanised with their European upbringing. That this unavoidably means a decline [of the Javanese culture, MD], can be

356 Isidorus Vogels, visitation report 1, 23-10-1910, ANJP, 1519.
357 Chronicle of Mendut, 15-11-1914, AOSFI.
358 Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2, 383.
359 Mertens to provincial Vogels 13-12-1908, 1605; Correspondence Van Lith with the Dutch Provincial about the kweekschool in Muntilan, ANJP, I-113.
360 Vogels, visitation report 1, 23-10-1910, ANJP, 1519.
strenuously denied (as the laudatores temporis acti [those who praise the past, MD] mistakenly assume). Student’s outward appearances underwent significant change: photographic evidence, together with dress codes requirements in the school yearbooks reveal that Javanese day-wear was gradually supplanted by a mix of local and European attires, including shoes. This change can be linked to a larger trend observable in the 1920’s whereby Javanese men articulated new visions of Indigenous modernity by discarding Javanese dress and accessories, including the sarong and head cloth.

An indicator of European culture’s growing influence in the schools, performances of Dutch or western musicals and plays also replaced Javanese wajang (puppet theatre play) performances. Western music gained prominence in worship and learning, as did the requisite musical instruments. J. Schouten SJ, appointed as music teacher in 1929, was tasked with promoting European ‘music’ in Muntilan. The success of the programme rested on a wholistic conception of musical training, encompassing amusement and education, together with deeper benefits of character development and discipline. As such, music fulfilled a crucial function within the framework of the civilising mission as well as within the framework of elite formation of the pupils of Muntilan. From the 1930s, the schools’ curricula included several hours of music lessons a week. Under Schouten’s supervision, the orchestra and choirs—performing western secular and devotional compositions— replaced customary Javanese music and instruments like the gamelan.

Fashioning housewives and creating catholic homes

In the introduction of this chapter, a quote from Brother Ferdinand attested to the active promotion of Catholic Javanese marriages between the pupils of Muntilan and Mendut. The centrality of the family to the mission, and its aim of creating Catholic homes, was prominent from the outset in Van Lith’ plan for the Javanen missie back in 1902. The Dutch provincial superior Isidorus Vogels SJ, visiting the Dutch East Indies in 1910-1911, ruminated upon the mission’s goal of creating Javanese Catholic families, revealing its continued importance:

361 Jos Gitsels to superior 01-11-1932, ANJP 1379.
363 Joannes Schouten to provincial Henricus Keijsers, 27-01-1930 and 14-04-1930, ANJP, 1379.
364 Ernestus van Voorst tot Voorst, ‘Oost is Oost en West is West, Sint Claverbond (1935) 140-1475.
365 KMM 594, 7, J.M. Aldenhoven (Brother Ferdinand FIC).
In order to win the people of Central Java for God, Catholic missionaries started a teacher training school to train Native teachers in an attempt to firstly educate Christian Javanese men of status and gradually increase the number of Catholic families.  

Both manuscript records and published missionary writings acknowledged the importance of Javanese women to the missionary project, and consequently, to the models of personal and academic success promoted at the boarding school for girls in Mendut. As the Jesuit missionary F. van Amstel wrote:

With their school in Mendut, the Sisters are doing immense good for the Christianisation of Java. They train and educate Javanese girls to become real Catholic mothers, who in their turn can give their children a proper Catholic upbringing. This way, the Sisters support the work of our priests in the Xaverius- College in Muntilan in an excellent manner, enabling alumni to enter a Christian marriage. Many alumni of Muntilan, who are currently happily married to a good and honest Catholic wife, would have ended up with a heathen spouse if it wasn’t for Mendut.

As future mothers, these Javanese girls would be important agents for the transmission of Catholicism and ‘civilisation’ to the coming generation. To do so, Javanese girls of the upper classes required a comprehensive education. These ideas were reminiscent of the opinions of Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904), who believed *priyayi* girls were the most important moral educators of the next generation and consequently of all Javanese people.

In addition, Dutch missionaries envisioned the girls of Mendut as future homemakers, women would serve as guardians of the Catholic faith, uniting themselves, their husbands and children under its values. Missionaries feared that the growing cadre of young teachers-catechists from Muntilan, once matriculated, would be drawn back into Islam if respectable Catholic brides could not be found for them. Hence, missionaries organised monthly meetings in which young men and women could socialise and potentially grow interested in marriage. Facilitating friendly contact between mature pupils of both schools was the first step in creating the Catholic families and homes of the future. The chronicle of

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366 Vogels, visitation report 1, 23-10-1910, ANJP, 1519.
367 F. van Amstel, ‘Meisjes van Mendut’, *Sint Claverbond*, 33 (1921) 102-105.
368 Conspectus stationis, AJAK, 275; Chronicle of Mendut 1908-1926, AOSFI; Joseph Frans Sträter, ‘Een merkwaardig Jubilé’, *Sint Claverbond*, 25 (1933) 57-58.
369 Chronicle of Mendut 1908-1926, AOSFI; Consultationes domesticate and Diarium Domus, both in AJJP.
Mendut listed the first marriage of this kind in 1913, soon to be followed by many others:

After 4.5 years, one of our older girls (Anthonia) left our school. After she graduated, she worked in our kitchen and launderette. There she learned to cook, wash, and iron. A few weeks later, she tied the knot with an alumnus of the Xaverius college in Muntilan. Currently, he is a head teacher at a first-class school in Pati.370

In the Sint Claverbond a photograph was published of the newlywed couple Theodula and Theodulus. The caption states that this Roman Catholic Javanese marriage was one of the results of united mission-labour, thereby referring to the educational efforts of the Franciscan Sisters and Jesuits.371

The colonial practice of matrimony between Javanese partners saw that these were legalised by the penghulu, chief administrator of the mosque. Frans van Lith opposed to the practice of a Muslim registering Christian marriages, consequently, he appealed to the administration and eventually became recognised by both the administration and the Apostolic Vicar as the registrar of Catholic marriages in the community.372

Toward securing the missions’ vision of Catholic families and homes in Java, the Jesuits and Franciscan Sisters strove to prevent mingling between Javanese Catholics and Javanese Muslims. For missionaries, a pupil entering a mixed marriage was tantamount to a loss of their Catholic faith. If left unchecked, Catholic-Muslim mixing could threaten the entire mission. Consequently, the Muslim wives of the pupils from the college, were offered a six-month bridal course by the Franciscan Sisters—one manifestly intended to bring about their conversion.373

The prospect was bleaker for Javanese Catholic girls: taking a Muslim husband tethered them and their children to Islam by marriage. A letter, supposedly written by a pupil from Mendut to her friend who was removed from the school by her parents, stated: ‘Mind that as a Catholic girl, you never ought to be married to a Muslim. If your father wants to force you into such a marriage, you should run away and come to Mendut.’374 Such situations, in which Catholic girls were forced to marry a Muslim, or ran away to escape such a marriage, occurred occasionally and were recorded in the Mendut chronicle.375 While the Sisters raised moral

370 Chronicle of Mendut, 20-10-1913, AOSFI.
371 Sint Claverbond, 36 (1924) 143.
372 Van Lith to Apostolic Vicar Luypen, 5/6-03-1902, 7-03-1902, 21-03-1902, AJAK, 277.
373 Jacobus Schots, ‘Onze huishoudcursus op de Maria-school’, Sint Claverbond, 40 (1928), 148; Chronicle of Mendut 1908-1926, AOSFI.
375 Chronicle of Mendut, 2-06-1911, 8-09-1911, 14-09-1914,8-09-1915,28-05-1920,30-04-1922, AOSFI.
objections to prijai customs of forced marriage, they simultaneously imposed their own vision for ‘their’ girls’ domestic future.

The Sisters drew heavily upon Christian understandings of middle-class femininity in fashioning Catholic identities for the young girls boarding at Mendut—ideas which informed the ‘didactic space’ of the mission.376 In Mendut, etiquette lessons taught respect for the elderly, how to address parents, how to serve guests, and how to appear tidy and punctual. Western feminine norms were taught together with bourgeois domesticity: the virtues of cleanliness, toil, and their practice in good hygiene, washing, ironing, needlework, cooking, and the processing of batik. In other contexts, scholars have shown that instruction in domestic skills, like needlework, were a central means of shaping moral constitution, embodying feminine respectability, and understandings of labour and care structured around the domestic sphere.377 Through this domestic training, the Franciscan Sisters intended to cultivate marriageable Catholic girls, equipped with the necessary skills for their futures as housewives and mothers. This ‘upbringing’ expounded the virtues of bourgeois domesticity, framing Catholic marriage and home life as woman’s highest purpose. Paradoxically, the same Javanese girls engaged in work outside the domestic sphere. Many Mendut pupils obtained a teaching degree or continued their studies in nursing. Other labours qualifying as ‘women’s work’ could be undertaken in a missionary hospital, or in the mission’s desa-schools for girls.378 Consequently, even an education in devout domesticity offered young Javanese women novel opportunities in the public and professional domain, exemplified by the Sisters who educated them.

The guiding principles of the girl’s missionary education closely followed western, middle-class ideals of the modern woman as wife and mother. However, student residents in Mendut were mainly upper-class Javanese girls, illuminating the interesting and sometimes contradictory ways in which class and religion played out in colonial missionary contexts—conferring prestige and modernity upon practices that might otherwise appear degrading in the eyes of the Javanese aristocracy, such as the cleaning and mending expected of a middle-class housewife in Europe.379 While the life of a humble Catholic house-wife and mother

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376 Jensz, ‘The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces.’
378 Sister Columbine, ‘Fröbelkweekschool. Eerste eindexamen’, Sint Claverbond, 37(1925) 301-303; Chronicle of Mendut, 16-02-1923, AOSFI.
379 This point deserves more careful research. Raden Kartini, who had a school for Javanese elite women herself, taught (Javanese) handicrafts such as batik herself, so certain aspects of the teaching at Mendut might have been acceptable.
seems a poor exchange for the status of Javanese aristocracy, the social positioning of these lifeways were transformed by colonisation. As formidable educated moral guardians and caretakers of the next generation, priyayi students and their wealthy sisters from the upper echelons of Javanese society were responsible for the ‘civilisation’ and education of their children, and the wider community of lower-class Javanese women. The internal and external transformations required of successful intermediaries in schooling afforded young women a public role in adulthood, whether they went on to professional life, or married and raised prosperous, god-fearing families. Girls attending Mendut were often reminded of this noble task: the importance of their role as local intermediaries in the evangelisation and ‘civilisation’ project set out by missionaries. The Sisters recorded a compelling example of this practice in Van Lith’s address to the girls of Mendut in 1919:

His Excellency pointed out the privilege of receiving a real Catholic upbringing from European teachers here in Mendut, a privilege which they should not only gratefully appreciate, but of which they also need to make use of, not only for themselves, but especially for others: their compatriots. They must once and for all break with that phlegmatic selfishness, a quality so well known to the Javanese; they should not only live for themselves or for their own ranks (with the uncivilised Javanese it is even worse as he is only concerned with outward appearances without considering the future or future generations); they should engage in community outreach, give themselves for the good of others, civilise their own compatriots.\textsuperscript{380}

However, the missionary family ideal of breadwinning and home-making, in which a family was supported by a single wage-earner, was only accessible to the Javanese middle and upper classes. Lower-class Javanese women had to balance any lessons on Catholic domesticity they took from their educated sisters with work in the fields, factories and, plantations.\textsuperscript{381}

\textsuperscript{380} Chronicle of Mendut, 09-09-1919, AOSFI.
Conclusion: A Catholic Javanese elite

This chapter examined the boarding institutes of Mendut and Muntilan as a case study of Catholic missionaries’ contribution to colonial education and the civilising mission in Java. After the administration’s implementation of the Ethical Policy in 1900, both mission and colony benefited financially and institutionally from the growing importance of Indigenous education. The Jesuits’ initiative of establishing these ‘western schools’ in Muntilan and Mendut, particularly the teacher training programmes, and thereby enlarging and fashioning a group of Javanese intermediaries were not isolated projects, however. Both the Protestant missions and the Muslim organisation Muhammadiyah operated similar educational institutions in Central-Java. How these institutions related to each other and to the wider colonial project would form a fruitful avenue of investigation for future research. Notably, the colonial administration’s enthusiastic financial support of the Catholic schools in Mendut and Muntilan, and the Muslim voices protesting against asymmetrical treatment of Christian and non-Christian institutions, reveal colonial education as a contested site of knowledge transmission deserving further exploration.\(^{382}\)

Close examination of the recruitment practices and attendance of the schools in Mendut and Muntilan, the content of their curriculum and the writings of their educators has demonstrated that missionaries concentrated their efforts upon the fashioning of local intermediaries, rather than single-handedly educating, ‘civilising,’ and converting the Javanese themselves. Missionaries, like other colonisers, expected that ‘civilisation’ of the Catholic brand would trickle-down from Javanese aristocracy elites to the lower strata of society. Missionaries envisioned that carefully fashioning faithful local intermediaries enabled them to control and indeed, accelerate this process while navigating the pitfalls of corruption and ignorance that had stymied past efforts. Following this idea, the Catholic missionaries recruited Javanese boys and girls the priyayi class for their teacher training courses and boarding educational institutes in Mendut and Muntilan. The regimes of bodily and moral discipline enforced in the boarding school were crucial to the making of colonial subjects by acculturating Javanese children into colonial ways of knowing and being, into westernised Catholic subjects that were instrumental in the Catholic mission.

Education and schooling serviced larger evangelistic goals of the Catholic mission, but were also part of government welfare measures and created a means of promoting its western cultural agenda, in which gendered distinctions were the
lynchpin. Colonial historians have long considered family, domesticity, and middle-class respectability essential elements in the engineering of colonial modernity. Missionaries contributed significantly to these processes — offering Javanese children comprehensive training in appropriate gender roles, incorporated in their respective curricula and ‘upbringing.’ Moreover, they also carefully adjudicated their pupil’s passage into adulthood by introducing them to suitable marriage partners. Missionaries in Mendut and Muntilan actively arranged Catholic Javanese marriages for their pupils, capitalising upon established Javanese custom of elder match-making while ostensibly rejecting its Islamic basis. These marriages contributed to the growth of a new colonial class structure in which both the Catholic religion and middle-class European gender models were pivotal.

Historian Robert van Niel has highlighted the instrumentality of Javanese people, educated in Dutch at ‘western schools,’ ‘in helping the colonial government function smoothly, and in permitting a constantly greater integration of westernised Indonesians into that government.’\textsuperscript{383} The Catholic missionaries tried to influence this elite development during the twentieth century in Java. In their schools they carefully fashioned Catholic peoples who became part of the new (functional) elite, that was primarily made up of Indonesians with western style education and worked as civil servants devoted to their duties. As such, the pupils trained in the schools in Mendut and Muntilan were part of a new growing westernised elite, and as such functioned as intermediaries between the European and Indigenous communities in the Dutch East Indies.

Missionaries themselves acknowledged their dependence upon the Javanese Catholic elite, especially the teacher families. While this chapter has focused on the upbringing and education of Javanese boys and girls, missionaries were concerned that the bonds of trust forged between the pupils and Jesuits in Muntilan continued to be nurtured in the future. Christmas gatherings became a focal point of the persistent personal and social bonds shared by pupils and teachers, for whom the annual pilgrimage, widely shared, ended at ‘the Bethlehem of Java’\textsuperscript{384} Retreats, especially for alumni of Mendut, were also organised from 1923 onwards. A monthly religious magazine, \textit{Poesara} (later renamed \textit{Tantama Dalem Dewi Marijah}), was also produced for alumni of Muntilan working as teachers outside the ‘Catholic’ centres in desa-schools.\textsuperscript{385} While missionaries’ careful efforts to fashion and control their elite Catholic pupils are amply documented, the particular contributions made by local teachers and their families to the colonial

\textsuperscript{383} Van Niel, \textit{The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite}, 165.
\textsuperscript{384} Transcript ‘De geschiedenis der Katholieke Java-Missie’, ANJP, I-113 E; Chronicle of Mendut 20-05-1923, AOSFI.
\textsuperscript{385} Copies of the \textit{Tantama Dalem Dewi Marijah} are kept in the library of KOLSANI.
project of the mission in adulthood remains an important subject to pursue further. In particular, a closer examination of local intermediaries—their beliefs, family lives, careers, and social worlds—may complicate understandings of the personal and collective transformations ‘trickling down’ from elite missionary education to the wider Javanese population.
South Dutch New Guinea
Chapter four

Spaces of transformation: Governing Marind-anim in South Dutch New Guinea, 1905-21

Introduction

Explicitly invited by the Assistant-Resident of South Dutch New Guinea, Johannes Alexander Kroesen, the Dutch Catholic missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Missionari Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu - MSC) established a mission station in Merauke in 1905, see Figure 4.1. Merauke was a settlement created by the Dutch colonial administration on the south coast of Dutch New Guinea in 1902. The establishment of this mission station was in part politically motivated, that is, to curtail a looming diplomatic crisis with the British over the headhunting activities of Dutch 'subjects' —Marind-anim—into the Morehead River area of British New Guinea, which as a consequence had become depopulated and desolated.

The Marind-anim people were a tribal group numbering approximately 15,000 around 1900, inhabiting a vast area stretching along the south coast and parts of the hinterland of South Dutch New Guinea. The Marind were known to the British as Tugeri and they were notorious headhunters, who carried out raids across all of their ‘tribal’ borders. Obviously, the Marind themselves were unaware that they were colonial subjects of the Dutch and that their raids eastwards had targeted

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386 Upon the establishment of the colonial presence in South Dutch New Guinea, people from the Marind-anim tribe were given various names. The colonial and missionary sources make mention of: Tugeri [knife carrying people], Kaia-Kaia [after their manner of greeting], Kanakken [which are Indigenous Melanesian inhabitants of New Caledonia]. In 1911, the MSC priest Jos van de Kolk proposed to use a more ‘scientific’ name for the inhabitants of South Dutch New Guinea, that was also used by the inhabitants themselves: Marind-anim (the Marind-people) or in Dutch Marindineezzen (Jos van de Kolk, ‘De naam der koppensnellers van Zuid N. Guinea’, Annalen (1911) 134-135.) KNIL officer Antony Jan Gooszen did not agree with this name, and he proposed to differentiate between the inhabitants of the coastal area and the inhabitants of the hinterland of South Dutch New Guinea, consequently using Doefanim for the first and Dég-anim or Timan-anim for the latter (Antony Jan Gooszen, ‘De majo-mysterien ter Nieuw-Guinea’s zuidkust’, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1914, 366-385, there 366-367). Despite Gooszen’s objection, the name Marind-anim or Marind has been commonly used by scholars. In this chapter, Marind-anim and Marind are used interchangeably, like in other contemporary scholarly work on the Marind-anim.
British subjects across a line which had been declared an international border.\textsuperscript{387} This border was roughly set at the 141st meridian, and was officially agreed upon in 1895 after some diplomatic disputes.\textsuperscript{388} The first report on these raids dates back as far as 1884, but it was only in 1891 that the Administrator of British New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor, formally lodged complaints regarding the headhunting raids for the first time.\textsuperscript{389} He urged the Dutch to take measures and restrain the Marind by establishing a government or mission post. According to MacGregor, this would support continued British attempts to civilise their subjects, which could not possibly succeed if the Dutch side was to remain in a state of disarray.\textsuperscript{390} A decade later the Dutch administration issued an edict for the prohibition of headhunting and sent soldiers to patrol the border and carry out repressive military measures to stop the headhunting raids into British territory. Simultaneously, the Catholic missionaries were invited to establish a mission post and start to ‘civilise’ the inhabitants of the area, considered Dutch subjects, with the objective of keeping them under control and putting an end to their headhunting practices. In this chapter I ask how these violent coercive ‘pacification’ and ‘softer’ attempts to ‘civilise’ Indigenous peoples by the Dutch missionaries were intrinsically entwined in the colonial practise of governing.

Since David Scott’s path-breaking exploration of Foucauldian governmentality in the colonial situation, scholarship interrogating the structures of colonial governmentality has advanced considerably.\textsuperscript{391} Foucault’s theorisations of power and control point out that governance was based on ways of knowing and categorising people—underpinned by a deeper commitment to transforming individual lives, bodies and communities. Ann Laura Stoler in particular forged new paths by arguing that the operation of colonial governance extends into intimate spheres. According to Stoler, matters of intimacy are critical sites for ‘exploring two related but often discretely understood sources of colonial control: one that works through

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Raids were also carried westwards (Frederik Hendrik Islands) and into the hinterland. For more details on headhunting practices and traditions by the Marind see: Justus M. van der Kroef, ‘Some Head-hunting Traditions of Southern New Guinea’, \textit{American Anthropologist}, 54:2-1 (1952) 221-235; Bruce M. Knauf, \textit{South Coast New Guinea Cultures. History, Comparison, Dialectic} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Jan van Baal (with the collaboration of Jan Verschuuren, MSC), \textit{Dema. Description and Analysis of Marind-anim Culture (South New Guinea)} (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1966), 676-764. N.B: Jan van Baal explains in his preface that he received large quantities of data from Verschuuren and worked in close contact with him on his book, noting that ‘Verschuuren’s name has been printed on the title-page of this book, where it belongs by right. Yet, the responsibility for the contents is mine alone.’
\item van Baal, \textit{Dema}, 969.
\item Scott, ‘Colonial Governmentality’.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
4.1 Detailed historical map of South New Guinea around Merauke-Okaba.

The detailed historical map as it is used here, is part of a larger map of the region South Dutch New Guinea. This map is currently held in the msc archive. © Sint Agatha, Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, ar-P027, 6510. The map of present-day Indonesia was created by the author via freevectormaps.com.
the requisition of bodies—those of both colonials and colonized—and a second that moulds new “structures of feeling”—new habits of heart and mind that enable those categories of difference and subject formation.” Research has thus far confirmed Stoler’s analysis that practices of colonial governance were often organised and carried out in intimate and traditional female domains, such as education, household, childrearing, nursing and caregiving. All, crucial axes in the colonial politics of civilisation. However, Stoler did not consider the role of the Dutch missionaries and the Christian missions in these practices of colonial governmentality. Dutch historiography has similarly given little attention to the Christian mission’s deep involvement in the governmental processes that were brought to bear on colonised subjects.

In this chapter, as throughout this thesis, I will demonstrate that Catholic missionaries’ activities and objectives went well beyond the religious project of converting the Indigenous population to Catholicism. By using the lens of embodied encounters, I carefully examine missionary practices, thereby considering both the practicalities of the meetings of bodies as well as bodily management. I have paid special attention to the spaces in which people came into close contact, whereby physical bodies were not only the medium of the interactions, but also significant sites for cross-cultural reflection and intervention. The so-called spaces of transformation. For this analysis, I have primarily used missionary sources kept in the archive of the Dutch MSC. This archive contains a rich—and hitherto underutilised—collection of documents and photographs, useful for any scholar of the colonial period of South Dutch New Guinea. The most relevant archival documents I have examined are mission station diaries and ethnographical notes taken by the missionaries, as well as letters they penned to their superiors and colleagues in the Netherlands. In addition, I have made use of more extensively processed missionary texts, letters, and articles from the missionaries that were edited and reworked by editors in the Netherlands for publication in newspapers and MSC-periodicals. These were intended for Catholic audiences in the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies, as well as for the missionaries’ family and friends, and they provide detailed and often vivid accounts of missionary activities. An understanding of the complex and changing Marind culture is crucial to any consideration

392 Stoler, Haunted by Empire, 2.
393 St Agatha, Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven (hereafter ENK), archive of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, AR-P027 (hereafter AR-P027)
394 The MSC periodicals: Annalen van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart (hereafter Annalen) and the Almanak van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart (hereafter Almanak); Newspapers: the Dutch Indies Roman Catholic Weekly De Java-post: weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië (hereafter Java-post) and the Dutch National Catholic newspaper De Tijd. Many of the articles and letters written by the missionaries have been published twice or more, appearing simultaneously or successively in these periodicals and newspapers. Furthermore, each of the three prominent priests (Vertenten, Van de Kolk and Geurtjens) republished some of their articles, sometimes with small modifications, as brochures or books.
of encounters in South Dutch New Guinea. For this, I have drawn heavily on works examining Marind culture: *South Coast New Guinea Cultures* by Bruce Knauft and *Dema* by Jan Van Baal.\textsuperscript{395}

This chapter addresses the first two decades of colonial and missionary presence in South Dutch New Guinea. In order to show how violent coercive ‘pacification’ and ‘softer’ attempts to ‘civilise’ Indigenous peoples are intrinsically entwined in the colonial practise of governing through the actors involved and their respective ambitions and means, I will discuss three ways of how the Catholic mission was implicated in colonial governmentality. First, the establishment of the Catholic mission and their two mission posts on the south coast, which reveals some of the missions’ entanglements and complex relationships with the Dutch colonial administration. Second, I will explore the missionaries’ activities, distinguishing between the tasks of brothers and those of priests, in order to demonstrate their diverse encounters with the Marind. Third, I will discuss how the MSC missionaries sought to ‘civilise’ and transform the Marind-anim and Marind society during the first fifteen years of permanent missionary presence in a region that was considered the outer frontier of the Dutch empire. Hereby I will highlight how the missionaries utilised a strategy involving practices of separation via boarding schools and model villages. These were what I have come to consider spaces of transformation, spaces where practices of colonial governmentality could be carried out in intimate domains. It was in and through the boarding schools at mission stations and model villages that Marind bodies were redefined, along with customs and rituals closely connected to the body as well as bodily and sexual practices.

**Encounters and entanglements**

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Dutch state mounted a systematic campaign of ‘pacification’, incorporating new islands and regions into their archipelagic empire. In 1898, as one of the last regions of the Dutch empire, Dutch New Guinea was brought under colonial rule. That year, a government post was established in North Dutch New Guinea (Manokwari) as well as in West Dutch New Guinea (Fak-Fak). European permanent presence on the mainland of West New Guinea (Dutch New Guinea) began, however, 50 years earlier. In 1855, two German Protestant missionaries deployed by the Dutch Protestant mission of the Gossner/Heldring initiative (Comité ‘De Christen Werkman als zendeling’), established themselves in Mansinam, a small island off the coast of Manokwari.\textsuperscript{396} The Protestant

\textsuperscript{395} Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures*; Van Baal, *Dema*.

\textsuperscript{396} The German minister Johannes Gossner and the Dutch minister Otto Heldring shared ideas about the mission; the latter was also involved in the revival movement in the Dutch churches called the Réveil.
missions in the Dutch East Indies were carried out by mission societies and not by the Protestant churches. In 1863 the Utrecht Mission Society (UZV) took over from the Gossner/Heldring initiative and sent an initial group of six well-trained theologians and craftsmen as Protestant missionaries to North Dutch New Guinea. Before any European contact or permanent presence, however, earlier and direct relationships based on ceremonial and material exchanges had existed between the eastern Indonesian archipelago and West Papua, as Clive Moore has shown. Yet, scholarly focus has been on the three core cultural spheres of West New Guinea: the Bird’s Head and Onin peninsulas, and the Cendrawasih regions. The region of South Dutch New Guinea has been more or less neglected by scholars, but one can assume the existence of early contacts. The Kei, Aru, and Tanimbar Islands were situated on important (Indigenous) trade routes connecting Maluku, Papua and the Pacific.

On 14 February 1902, four years after the establishment of the first government post in Dutch New Guinea, Assistant-Resident Kroesen planted the Dutch flag on the ‘empty’ banks of the Maro River. This marked the official establishment of the government post of Merauke (Ermasoe in Marind language) in South Dutch New Guinea. Following the usual settlement pattern in this region, colonial officials and military personnel were soon followed by Menadonese, Chinese, Timorese, Arab, and Klingalese merchants and traders (ruilers) and labourers, who settled in Merauke and along the coast, drawn primarily by the copra trade, and later by demand for the birds of paradise. Because Merauke served as a penal colony from the outset, Javanese and Achenese colonial criminals and prisoners of war who were convicted to forced labour also arrived in Merauke. In 1902 around 1000 foreign people were settled at the post in Merauke. This number declined to 600 when the military presence was replaced with a civil administration, whereby an

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397 Among those societies that were active, the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging (UZV), the Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap (NZG) and the Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging (NZV) were the most important ones. These societies were associated with the Dutch Reformed Church (Hervormd). The church-bound mission of the Reformed churches (Gereformeerde Kerken) in the Netherlands was also an important player. Besides these participants in the Protestant ‘mission field’, the Indische Kerk (Indies Church, IK) also played a role. This was a colonial state church that initially had to leave all the mission work to the mission societies. Only after 1924 was the Indische Kerk allowed by the colonial government to do mission work in the Dutch East Indies. This church was split up between 1934 and 1948 into four different churches. Each of the separate Protestant missions (Dutch and foreign) and the Catholic mission were appointed their own ‘mission field’ by the colonial government.


eighty-man police force (korps gewapende politiedienaren) replaced the soldiers in July 1905.\(^{401}\)

After lengthy and complicated negotiations with the Dutch colonial government, the vicar apostolic of Batavia, the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the general superiors of the MSC and the Jesuit order, and the papal nuncio as well as the Ministry of Colonies in the Netherlands, the Dutch MSC had taken over the Dutch Jesuits’ mission in the prefecture apostolic of the Moluccas and Dutch New Guinea in 1902.\(^{402}\) Upon learning about this take-over, the Assistant-Resident of South Dutch New Guinea J.A. Kroesen, issued an official invitation to the Dutch Catholic missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to establish permanent mission stations in South Dutch New Guinea. Prior to 1902, the Dutch MSC missionaries had worked in the MSC mission in the Eastern part of New Guinea—Neu Pommeren and New Britain. Because of their experience with Papuans and their good reputation among British colonial officials, Kroesen considered the Dutch MSC brothers and priests to be the ideal support to the Dutch colonial administration.\(^{403}\)

Explicitly inviting a missionary presence to start a mission station in a newly colonised region was not common practice in the Dutch East Indies. It clearly signalled the start of a close association between the colonial government and the Catholic mission in South Dutch New Guinea. A collusion of interests, that resulted in close cooperation between the Catholic missionaries and the colonial administration, was enabled by the re-orientation of the colonial project at the turn of the century. The so-called Ethical Policy.\(^{404}\) With the onset of this new policy, structures of colonial rule became characterised by ‘civilising’ colonial politics, which entailed collective regulation and improvements to the welfare of Indigenous populations. David Scott showed that these changes in colonial policy signalled what he termed a modern form of colonial governmentality. While the Ethical Policy was largely framed in terms of modernisation and humanitarian concern for Dutch colonial subjects, comparable to the French mission civilisatrice and the British ‘white man’s burden’, this went hand-in-hand with violent territorial expansion and an overall intensification of colonial interventions. According to Elsbeth Locher-Scholten it was ‘a policy aimed at acquiring de facto political control of the entire Indonesian archipelago and the development of both country and people under Dutch leadership and after western example’.\(^{405}\) This

\(^{401}\) Gouvernements besluiten in: Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1903, No 88; Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1904, No 28; Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1905 No 18.

\(^{402}\) Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2, 199.

\(^{403}\) Alexis (Jean-Baptist) Henkelman to Father Provincial Clemens Offermans, 18-11-1900, ENK-AR-P027, 133.

\(^{404}\) Steenbrink, Catholics in Indonesia, vol. 2, 5.

\(^{405}\) Locher-Scholten, Ethiek in fragmenten, 213.
was also true for South Dutch New Guinea and the MSC missionaries’ ‘civilising’ work, as I will show in this chapter.

Two basic preconditions underpinned the establishment of the Catholic mission on Dutch New Guinea’s south coast. First, a substantial number of Indigenous people were needed to serve as potential converts. Reports from the Dutch missionaries who had visited the area before suggested there were plenty of people to convert.406 Second, a safe and secure settlement location was required. Earlier attempts to establish a mission post had been short-lived because of lack of colonial and military ‘control’.407 Furthermore, during the first decade of the twentieth century, many incidents were reported in which copra merchants who established themselves outside these ‘controlled’ areas were attacked or murdered.408 Building mission stations in controlled and regularly patrolled areas, therefore, was thought to be the best way to safeguard missionaries’ presence in a region rent by frontier violence.

In the first two decades after their arrival, the MSC missionaries established two mission posts on Dutch New Guinea’s south coast. The first mission station was established in Merauke, an area that was brought under colonial control in 1902. According to Kroesen’s first reports, the Marind had allowed events to unfold on their lands peacefully and they had reacted in an inquisitive and friendly

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407 The Roman Catholics had planned a mission station in the southern part of Dutch New Guinea as early as 1891. The Jesuit missionary Carolus van der Heijden SJ Heijden—under orders of the bishop of Batavia, Adam Claessens—accompanied an expedition of the posthouder (rank of lower official in charge of an outlying station) of Patani who was to set up the government post in Selerika [Sarire], in order to discover whether the intended government station was a suitable site for a new mission among the people of the south coast of Dutch New Guinea. Although the government post in Selerika was set up in December and stocked with three months’ worth of supplies, it was abandoned after one month because of the attacks from the local population. For the Dutch Catholic mission, the absence of a government post brought plans for the mission on the south coast of Dutch New Guinea to a temporary halt. After the government established their post in Merauke, both the Dutch Jesuit priest J. Mertens and the Dutch MSC brother Alexis (Jean-Baptist), visited Merauke. It was only in July 1905, that Matthias Neyens MSC, apostolic prefect of Dutch New Guinea, came to Merauke to prepare the definite establishment of the mission post. (Van Aernsbergen, Chronologisch overzicht, 161; Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer (HTK) 1891-1892, Bijl. C, nr. V-II, Koloniaal verslag Nederlandsch (Oost)Indië 1891, 126; HTK, Koloniaal verslag 1892, 113, HTK, 1892-1893, Bijl. C, nr. V-II, Koloniaal verslag Nederlandsch (Oost) Indië 1893, 29). Carolus van der Heijden SJ, ‘Pogingen tot oprichting eener standplaats op Nieuw-Guinea onder de Papoea’s, Sint Claverbond 37 (1893) 117-125; Mertens SJ, ‘Merauke’, Sint Claverbond, 46 (1902) 3-9; Henkelman to Offermans, 10-03-1902 and 22-04-1902; Henkelman to brothers MSC in the Netherlands, 23-04-1902, all in ENK-AR-P027, 133; Neijens, ‘Brief van den Hoogerw. Pater Dr. M. Neijens’, Annalen (1905) 307-311; Neijens, ‘Brief van den Hoogerw. Pater Dr. M. Neijens’, Annalen (1905 and 1906) 374-376 & 4-7.

fashion. However, the establishment of the government post and the pacification of this area was not a straightforward process at all, involving heavy use of force and violence by the colonial occupier. Three years after this area was forcefully pacified, the MSC missionaries arrived and their mission station was built 300 metres behind a series of army barracks, in October of 1905. Assistant-Resident Kroesen obtained an allotment of land for the new mission station, supplied building materials at no cost, and convicts (kettingjongens) to assist with initial construction. The Assistant-Resident’s support prompted Father Henricus Nollen to note his gratitude in the station diary. The station in Merauke was still relatively far from the coastal villages—the first village (Navari [Mawari]) was approximately 45 minutes away on foot, so two additional small rectories were established. One rectory was set up north of Merauke across the Mayo river in Wendu in 1909 and one south of Merauke in Jobar a year later.

In 1910 the MSC missionaries established a second main mission station 60 km (15 hours) north of Merauke, in Okaba. Three years earlier, the Okaba region had been ‘pacified’ with military force, after which a police post manned by a dozen officers (Amboinese pradjoerits) was installed there. The mission station of Okaba was built on a plot of land situated between the two hamlets of Okaba and Mewi, which was re-named by the missionaries ‘Sante Paulus Mila’. A close spatial reading of the establishment and location of this mission station in Okaba, which I will pursue in a future publication, offers a perfect example of the complex and dynamic process of ‘pacification’ involving engagements and entanglements between actors like Marind, copra merchants, missionaries, police, soldiers, and representatives of the colonial administrations.

While the missionaries needed to be close enough to the colonial power’s physical and military sources to feel protected, they wanted to avoid being associated with violence. Consequently, the missionaries explicitly tried to distance and distinguish themselves from other foreigners, to show their ‘good and non-violent’ intentions in order to gain the Marind’s trust. Accordingly, mission stations were deliberately based at some distance from police posts, houses of traders, or outside the colonial settlements altogether in order to attract Marind visitors. In Okaba,


411 This vacated land had several owners, and several names; Ginoe, Sibado [sidabok], Noöti [Noh.oth] and Kabeloti. (Van de Kolk, ‘Kerk en pastorie van Okaba. Brief van Eerw. Pater Jos van de Kolk, uit Wanroy, 21 Maart 1911’, Annalen (1911) 198-200; Diary of Okaba, 1910, ENK-AR-P027, 5041).

412 Diary of Merauke, 18-08-1905, ENKAR-P027, 5790; Van de Kolk, ‘De Nieuwe missiepost op N. Guinea, brief van 11-09-1910’, Annalen (1911) 68-70, there 69; Diary of Okaba, September 1910, ENK-AR-P027, 5041.
Van de Kolk had noted an immediate increase of Marind visitors since they moved from their temporary accommodation near the police post of Okaba to the permanent mission station, built between the two hamlets of Okaba and Mewi.\textsuperscript{413} Furthermore, the missionaries preferred to go unarmed and without a police escort to Papuan villages, knowing the Marind would flee and hide if they saw people with guns entering their village. However, on several occasions, often when visiting villages for the first time, the missionaries carried a concealed gun—they owned several—or travelled with a police escort.\textsuperscript{414} The missionaries also tried to noticeably differentiate themselves from other foreigners through their outward appearance. Brothers and priests wore long beards and black cassocks and later, when relationships were fairly well-established, they also wore simple floor-length tunics, cut from fine cloth such as cotton or linen, usually coloured a light grey or white. Their clothing was meant to reflect the fact that ‘the Missiorei [sic] is not like the others’.\textsuperscript{415} That the missionaries achieved a measure of success in distinguishing themselves—including their aims and intentions—from others, is reflected by the fact that the Marind referred to the armed and potentially violent (Ambonese) copra merchants and police as \textit{poe-anim}, a Marind word which literary translates as ‘foreigners of non-Indigenous origin’, while the missionaries were referred to as \textit{tuan} (lord, boss or sir) or \textit{tuan padre} (lord or sir priest/Father).\textsuperscript{416}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{413} Van de Kolk, ‘De Nieuwe missiepost op N. Guinea, 11-09-1910’, \textit{Annalen} (1911) 68-70, there 69.
\item \textsuperscript{414} Diary of Merauke, 01-07-1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5790; Norbertus Hamers to fellow brothers, February 1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5008; Eduardus Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, September 1908, ENK-AR-P027, 5005. This letter was (partly) published in \textit{Annalen} (1909) 7-10; 22-26; Cappers, ‘De Nederlandsche Missie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea’, \textit{Katholieke missien} (1907) 39-62; Van de Kolk, ‘Brief, Okaba 30-08-1911’, \textit{Annalen} (1912) 231, 234-235.
\item \textsuperscript{415} Neijens, ‘Brief’, \textit{Annalen} (1905) 374-376, there 375. (Missiorei was the name given to Neijens when he introduced himself as a missionary).
\item \textsuperscript{416} \textit{Poe-anim} as a name soon became associated with (armed) traders and police of Ambonese, Arabic, and Chinese descent. Some authors have stated that \textit{poe-anim} referred to ‘shooting people’, see: Jan van Baal, \textit{Ontglipt verleden: tot 1947, Indisch bestuursambtenaar in vrede en oorlog}, 2 vols (Franeker:Wever, 1986), 102; 505; Henricus Geurtjens, \textit{Oost is Oost en West is West} (Brussel 1946), 91.
\end{itemize}
Different encounters: missionary priests and brothers

As previously mentioned, the first Dutch MSC priests and brothers to arrive in Dutch New Guinea were transferred from the MSC mission areas in the Eastern part of New Guinea —Neu Pommeren and New Britain. Their previous experiences there would often serve as a point of reference against which they interpreted their encounters with the Marind, both positive and negative. The two mission stations in South Dutch New Guinea, Merauke and Okaba, usually consisted of two ordained priests and one religious lay brother, living and working together in a celibate community. Occasionally, they would travel between the two mission stations, but they communicated regularly via letters and their bulletins De volksvriend and De volksmissionaris, which were initiated for internal exchange. It was not until 1928 that missionary sisters of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (Filiae Dominae Nostrae a Sacro Corde - FDNSC) came to Merauke. During the first three decades, missionary activities were thus almost exclusively a male endeavour, albeit with an internal division of labour which reflected the clerical authority relationships within the Catholic church.

It was envisioned that the main mission stations of the MSC would be self-supporting. Hence, the missionaries cultivated vegetables, reared livestock, baked their own bread, etc. In addition, produce from the farm in Merauke was sold to secure additional operating funds. Furthermore, like the MSC mission in the Bismarck Archipelago which built up a system of coconut plantations, the Dutch MSC missionaries set up a coconut plantation in Okaba in 1912. The plantation served a dual purpose: supplying the mission with much-needed income and supplying the missionaries with potential converts. Once employed by the mission, it was hoped Marind workers could be introduced to Christianity and

417 The following is a short overview of missionary personnel in South Dutch New Guinea, the names of the missionaries who had worked previously in East Papua are underscored: Brothers: M. Oomen (1905-† 1906), D. Roessel (1905-1906), N. Hamers (1905-1913), G. Verhoeven († 1907), J. Joosten (1907-1922), G. Jeanson (1907-1911), H. Van Santvoort (1910-1946). The priests: P. Braun (1905-1906), H. Nollen (1905-1910), E. Cappers (1906-1913), J. Viegen (1909-1915), J. Van der Kooy (1909-1915), J. Van de Kolk (1910-1915) P. Vertenten (1911-1923). The missionaries Van de Kolk, Vertenten and Van Santvoort all worked in Okaba until 1915. In 1915, when the station in Okaba was (temporarily) dissolved, Van de Kolk was transferred to Langgur on the Kei-islands and Vertenten and Van Santvoort to Merauke.

418 Jan Boelaars, Met de Papoea’s samen op weg, vol. 2: De baanbrekers (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1995), 17.

419 Jos Van de Kolk, Documents related to criticism against M. Neijens, ENK-AR-P027, 919.

inculcated into the ‘western’ ethic of work and discipline. With this coconut plantation, the missionaries tried to operate in a socio-economic context that was already in place, as coconut plantations and its (copra) trade were the Pacific model for colonial development. However, despite their many efforts, the missionaries working in South Dutch New Guinea experienced many financial strains.

Missionary brothers undertook work around the mission station, farm, and plantation. As their own writings testify, they were Jack(s) of all trades and masters of none. They constructed the mission stations, provided the support for the various material needs of the mission, and were responsible for traditionally feminine domestic tasks like cooking, cleaning, washing, and sewing clothes. In the Dutch East Indies in general, and especially in Merauke, it was not common for Europeans to do this kind of physical labour. So, like all Europeans in Merauke, the missionaries also employed assistants to help the brothers with their tasks. Most of these assistants originated from the Kei Islands and this manner of outsourcing labour was necessary because the missionaries and other foreigners seldom succeeded in persuading Marind men to work for them voluntarily. This ‘unwillingness’ can most likely be explained by the fact that Marind boys and men were targeted for paid coolie jobs while the gendered divisions of labour in Marind culture defined the carrying of loads as a woman’s job.

The brothers’ tasks confined them to the station, which meant they dealt with continued visits from Marind men, women and children. Men from neighbouring tribes, like the Badi-anim and Manggaterike-anim, also reportedly visited the mission station in Merauke. Brothers generally found these visits inconvenient because they took time away from overseeing construction work, farming and other manual labour. However, visitors were welcome and some even stayed overnight. While the various visitors each came for their own reasons, Brother Hamer’s letters reveal that certain western novelties, such as an accordion, a record player and a wind-up tin man were also used to ‘lure’ Marind to the mission station.

421 Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Adrianus Brocken 18-01-1911, ENKAR-P027, 142b; Diary of Okaba, January 1912, ENKAR-P027, 5041.
422 There were severe financial problems relating to an ongoing argument between Rome, The Netherlands, and Langgur/Merauke, about the policy and financial management of Prefect M. Neijens (for more information, see: Boelaars, Met Papoea’s samen op weg, 150-159).
423 Diary of Merauke, October/November 1908, ENKAR-P027, 5790; Hamers to brothers MSC 18-03-1907 and May 1907, both in ENKAR-P027, 5008.
424 Van Baal, Dema, 167.
426 Hamers to brothers MSC May 1907 and February 1909, both in ENKAR-P027, 5008; Hendrik van Santvoort to brothers MSC, March, 1911, ENKAR-P027, 5008; Jannes Joosten to brothers MSC, July 1908 and April 1910, both in ENKAR-P027, 5008; Dionysios van Roessel, ‘Brief van Eerw. Broeder Dion. van Roessel’, Annalen (1906) 99-102.
station. Still, the regular visits suggest that Marind and other Papuans took an active interest in the missionaries, their goods, and perhaps even their message of faith and ‘civilisation’.

Priests were responsible for the broad spectrum of spiritual needs among their flock, in addition to the administration, financial management, and general operations of the mission station. Furthermore, priests regularly left the confines of the station to travel to Indigenous villages to conduct ethnographic and linguistic studies. On trips that lasted multiple days or that went to unfamiliar villages, priests were always assisted and accompanied by guides with knowledge of the local situation and language. Sometimes these guides were copra merchants, like Saul, ‘a boy from Menado [Celebes] who speaks Dutch and knows the language of the Kaia-Kaia pretty well.’ He accompanied Nollen on his first visit to the villages south of Merauke. In most cases, however, Marind boys who were regular visitors, or who lived at the mission station, served as guides and assistants on these trips. Although they are often only mentioned in passing in missionary sources, it becomes clear that the missionaries relied heavily on them. In addition to their own exploration trips, priests occasionally also joined military-led exploration trips into ‘unfamiliar’ territory and tribes. The Merauke-stationed priests, Johannes van der Kooy and Jos Viegen, were especially keen on exploring. At the invitation of acting Assistant-Resident Coenen, both joined military-led expeditions into the territory of the Jei-anim, and even to the Asmat.

Priests’ regular business saw them undertake day trips —by foot or by horse, and even by bike in Okaba—to ‘familiar’ Marind villages, including the coastal villages south and north of Merauke, and those around Okaba. During these day trips, priests tried to gain knowledge, to familiarise themselves with the people, and to establish close relations with them. For this purpose, they treated illnesses, dressed wounds, and distributed contact goods like beads, mirrors, and tobacco. Through this medical practice, the missionaries also learned about Indigenous treatments and medicines, some of which they came to appreciate and use.

427 Hamers to brothers MSC. May 1907, ENK-AR-P027, 5008.
429 Diary of Merauke, 17-08-1905, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
430 Van der Kooy, ‘Brief’, Annalen 1912, 121-122; Cappers, letter to students of the seminary in Tilburg 22-02-1909, ENK-AR-P027, 5008, also (partly) published in Annalen (1909) 196-198;212-214.
431 Jos Viegen, several undated letters and notes made about the exploration journeys in 1911 and 1912, ENK-AR-P027, 5006; Viegen to Father Van Noyen 24-07-1912, ENK-AR-P027, 5006; Van der Kooy to N.N. July 1911, ENK-AR-P027 5008.
432 South of Merauke: Mawari [Navari], Boeti [Boeterika]; Jewatti [Javatti or Ewati], Sepadim, Jobber, Karnusaim [Kaukalikke], Borim [Joubikerika], Sarire [Selerika], North of Merauke: Wendoe, Biroeke, and Koembe. Around Okaba: Okaba, Mewi, Alakoe, Makalien.
These trips and activities by priests opened up the possibility to interact and talk with Marind, to gain linguistic competence and insight into the Marind’s mental and cultural life. In order to gain this colonial knowledge, priests gradually established close relations with several individuals, mostly Marind boys and men, who in time became key informants. These key informants would regularly visit the mission stations to explain Marind customs and rituals, which was not always appreciated by other Marind. An intriguing informant, though not Marind, was the Chinese merchant Baba Geong. He was the government-appointed village head of Okaba and later superintendent of the model village in Noh-Okaba. As he had taken a Marind wife, he was fluent in the Marind language and initiated in the Mayo cult. Consequently, he was a valuable insider and translator for the missionaries.

These linguistic and ethnographic activities by priests led to the documentation and study of Marind language, social organisation, and cultural life. There were no formally appointed government anthropologists, nor any governmental officers trained in anthropology during the first decades of colonial presence. Hence, the MSC priests were actually the first colonial agents to gather knowledge about South Dutch New Guinea and its inhabitants. Unlike the priests, the MSC brothers did not engage in linguistic or ethnographic research, but they did collect plants, were involved in taxidermy, and produced many photographs. Many of these photos, as well as the ethnographic artefacts collected by the priests, ended up in the mission museum of their congregation in Tilburg, the Netherlands and later in the MSC archives and other museums.

Priests active during the first two decades of the twentieth century never published complete ethnographic works. However, they did communicate the information they had gathered about Marind culture and language in internal letters and reports to their superiors and published dictionaries, (popular) books...
and articles in scientific journals. The missionaries wrote ethnographically-orientated articles for lay-oriented mission journals such as *Annalen* and *Almanak*, and journals with a mixture of academic, professional and interested readers, such as the *Java-post*. These popular writings on Marind culture became a means to create public awareness about ‘brutal’ Marind practices and to generate goodwill and legitimise their ‘civilising’ agenda and practices. It also served as a means to pressure the administration to take up their part in the ‘civilisation’ of the Marind. The most compelling were Petrus Vertenten’s articles on the looming extinction of the Marind.

Furthermore, both the Swiss scholar Paul Wirz and anthropologist Jan van Baal made use of the knowledge from, gathered and published by these missionaries. Paul Wirz travelled to Merauke to collect ethnographic artefacts and information, as well as taking large numbers of photographs in 1915. During this trip, he received much of the information on the culture and the language of the Marind from Father Vertenten, which he published in his monograph, some popular books and a few shorter articles. Jan Van Baal, who became the first Dutch anthropologist to be appointed as a civil servant and hold office as a *Controleur* (district officer) in Merauke in 1936, used ethnographic material collected by the Swiss ethnologist Paul Wirz and the missionaries to write his PhD thesis about the headhunting of the Marind-anim of New Guinea. For his

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439 During Van Baal’s time as *Controleur* (district officer) in Merauke (1936-1942), he gathered his own ethnographic material about the Marind which he included in a book about religion (*Jan van Baal, Over wegen en drijven der religie: een godsdienspsychologische studie* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeverij, 1947). After the Pacific War, Jan Van Baal became an advisor on native affairs to the government of Dutch New Guinea (1946-1953), and the governor of Dutch New Guinea (1953-1958). After he returned to the Netherlands in 1959, he accepted a position as professor of cultural anthropology at the University of Utrecht.
influential ethnography *Dema* (1966), Van Baal used his own previous collected ethnographic data, the published missionary writings in the *Almanak*, *Annalen* and *Javapost* and on top of that he received information and data from Father Jan Verschueren who worked in South Dutch New Guinea from 1931 until 1970.\(^{440}\)

I strongly think that Van Baal's *Dema* would have been an even more rich and accurate account, if he could have consulted the archival materials—the uncensored and very detailed ethnographical and linguistic notes left by among others Van de Kolk, Vertenten, Van der Kooy and Viegen.

The information the priests gathered was not only to inform their superiors and the public as mentioned above, but it also furnished accurate and practical information to colonial civil servants and the colonial administration at the time. For example, Assistant-Resident E. Kalff commissioned a report from Father Jos Viegen on the moral life, customs, and culture of the Marind in early 1911.\(^{441}\) Assistant-Resident L.M.F. Plate actively worked with the missionaries—corresponding with them about the situation, asking and following their advice, and showing a genuine interest in Marind culture for which he had requested copies of all missionary writings on Marind culture, published in the *Annalen* and *Almanak*.

In his *memories of overgave*, Plate acknowledged that he himself had not managed to study Marind language and culture as much as he would have liked, and that all he had learned came from 'the missionaries, who through their daily study of language and customs are much better informed.'\(^{443}\) The studies by the MSC priests thus accompanied the military reconnaissance and the 'pacification' of the area.\(^{444}\) Hence, the ethnographic activities and linguistic studies by the MSC priests should be seen in relation to the practices of colonial governance. Historian Francis Gouda already remarked that 'since the late nineteenth-century Dutch

\(^{440}\) See also the in memoriam of Jan Verschueren written by Jan van Baal in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 127 (1971), 490-491.

\(^{441}\) Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 19-04-1911 & 2-06-1913, ENK-AR-P027, 142.

\(^{442}\) Vertenten to Father Provincial Brocken 25-06-1916, ENK-AR-P027, 142.

\(^{443}\) L.M.F. Plate, *Memorie van Overgave van de (onder)afdeling Zuid Nieuw-Guinea*, 1915, NL-HaNA. Koloniën / Memories van Overgave, 2.10.39, 412.

colonial governance has revealed a remarkable symmetry between the desire for knowledge and the desire for power.' 445

Civilising notorious headhunters

In the previous section, I discussed the establishment of the Catholic mission in South Dutch New Guinea and elucidated how the missionaries encountered Marind. These encounters, combined with Catholic priests’ study of Marind culture, confronted the missionaries with many aspects of Marind life that contradicted their Catholic beliefs and western values. These puzzling aspects included: headhunting, Marind use of *wati* (a highly appreciated narcotic, used on a daily basis by men), infanticide, viviseepulture, blood feuds, the physical abuse of women, and Marind sexual customs. Despite the financial strictures and the pressure from their superiors to be successful in terms of conversions, the MSC missionaries in South Dutch New Guinea were in fact very reluctant to baptise during the first decades. The missionaries strongly believed that Marind, who were known to be notorious headhunters, needed to be ‘civilised’ before they could achieve conversion and sustain a Catholic life. Already in 1908, Father Eduardus Cappers wrote to his former student (and future missionary priest) Van de Kolk: ‘When you come, you are welcome. But let it be clear to you in advance, that you are not coming here to administer many baptisms.’ 446 For the missionaries, civilisation was strongly associated with the outward appearance and behaviour of bodies of western culture: the adoption of fabric clothing, certain habits of hygiene, specific sexual mores, management of time and labour, nuclear family life, and domestic arrangements. Consequently, the transformation of Marind bodies, as well as bodily and sexual practices and conventions closely connected to the body, took precedence over the transformation of their beliefs. In this section, I will elaborate on these missionaries’ ‘civilising’ intentions and attempts. Headhunting, a prominent feature of Marind culture, was one of its greatest impediments to ‘civilisation,’ and therefore, to the missionaries’ work. 447 The practice of headhunting saw Marind men, women, and children from several villages join raiding parties, leaving villages deserted for weeks at a time in order

445 Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 43.
446 Cappers to Jos van de Kolk in Tilburg August 1908, ENK-AR-P027, 142.
447 For more information on Marind headhunting practices, meaning, and rituals, see Van Baal, *Dema*, chapter XII.
to destroy rival villages, kill their inhabitants, and take their heads as trophies. As a result of the priests’ ethnography, it soon became known that Marind headhunting practices were not a matter of revenge, nor the outcome of social conflict, nor simply an act of warfare. Marind had told the missionaries that through a raid they gathered pa-igiz for their children, literally head-names. In Marind culture, every person had at least a clan name (boan-igiz) which often became the ‘call-name’, as well as a head-name (pa-igiz) which was taboo (dur) and therefore not used lightly. The head-name was borrowed from the head the child’s father (or relative) had taken. They were also mementoes testifying to men’s power because fathers would live on as ‘true men’ in these names.

The priests Van de Kolk, Vertenten and Viegen were not sure that acquiring head names was the ultimate reason for mounting headhunting expeditions. They believed other motives such as establishing a reign of terror or acquiring magical powers were at play. Anthropologist Jan van Baal argues that these motives did not apply, because headhunting had a ritual purpose and was a ceremonial necessity. Nonetheless, Van Baal offers two additional motives himself in his voluminous ethnography Dema. Description and analysis of Marind-anim culture (South New Guinea): Marind’s aggressive drive (fighting/showing brave culture) and the acquisition (kidnapping) of young children. Hereby he explains that while the actual fighting and cutting of heads (and the acquiring of headnames) was done by men, it was left to women to kidnap young children from rival tribes.

The missionaries were aware of this kidnapping and the existence of ‘adopted’ children. In fact, the missionaries had observed that at least twenty-two of these ‘captured’ children lived in Okaba, and that they had been given the same rights and raised in the same way as the local children. Nevertheless, the missionaries were unable to determine the underlying motives. With the benefit of the insights of anthropologists Van Baal and Bruce Knauft as well as the depopulation team of the South Pacific Commission set up in 1953 to study the causes of the depopulation

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448 After a ceremony, the skulls were placed at the men’s house, where they hung or sat on the ground till they decayed. The mandible was preserved for a longer time. According to Van Baal, the skulls were kept as trophies to which an emotional value was attached. However, the practice of taking the skull home and the custom of naming people after captured skulls were not based on concepts or beliefs concerning the supernatural (Van Baal, Dema, 719).

449 Van Baal, Dema, 135-137.

450 Boelaars, Met de Papoea’s samen op weg, vol. 2, 121-124.

451 A headhunt followed upon the celebration of the cult. Marind had four cult groups; Sosom, Mayo, Imo, or Rapa cult, and each Marind totem clan (which was the basis of Marind social organisation) belonged to one of these cult groups and to one of the two closely cooperating moieties of Gebze or Sami-rek. Marind’s rites and ceremonies had a solid basis in their social order, whereby Marind cults were connected with initiation and satisfied the deeply felt communal religious needs (Van Baal, Dema, 471).


among the Marind-anim in the 1910s-1920s⁴⁵⁴, it is strongly suggested that the kidnapping of young children of rival tribes had special socio-demographic importance, that it was even a necessity, because Marind had to make up for their own deficiency in procreating. As I will demonstrate below, the missionaries were very much aware of the impending extinction that threatened the Marind.

The missionaries openly disapproved of headhunting. They tried to eliminate this custom indirectly by reasoning with the Marind concerning their headhunting activities. The missionaries preached the Genesis creation narrative and tried to provide the Marind with Christian names for their children as an alternative, eliminating the need to obtain new names by means of headhunting. These efforts repeatedly met with failure, and for that reason, the missionaries became convinced that headhunting could only be rooted out by means of firm government and military force.⁴⁵⁵ While the missionaries objected against the practice of cutting off heads and thus killing people, they, however, did not intervene, initially, in the lives of the children who were abducted during raids. It was only when the administration took custody of a number of newly captured children during punitive expeditions in 1913 and 1915 against the villages of Sangasee and Demandee, that the missionaries were inclined to take care of them. Some were entrusted to foster families in Okaba; others were sent to the mission’s boarding school in Langgur.⁴⁵⁶

Besides Marind headhunting activities, the missionaries also condemned Marind sexual customs —qualifying them to be primarily a form of sexual depravity.⁴⁵⁷ The missionaries mainly objected to the institutionalised practice of

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⁴⁵⁴ The South Pacific Commission was established in 1947 when Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, countries that had a strong interest in the Pacific, signed the Canberra Agreement. They sought to ‘strengthen international cooperation in promoting the economic and social welfare and the promotion of the welfare of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories in the South Pacific’. The Netherlands withdrew from the Commission in 1962. In the 1950s the South Pacific Commission (SPC) financed a study by the so-called ‘Depopulation team into the causes of depopulation among the Marind-anim’. Their unpublished report can be found at the KITLV in Leiden. (S. Kooyman, M. Dorren, L. Veeger, J. Verschueren and R. Luyken, Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek onder Marind-Anim van Nederlands Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1955, Leiden, KITLV/ Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Collectie demografie en antropologie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, inventory 26, item 28).

⁴⁵⁵ Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken, Easter 1912, ENK-AR-P027, 142.

⁴⁵⁶ Diary of Okaba, 1913 & 1915, ENK-AR-P027, 5041.

⁴⁵⁷ It was not until the 1930s that missionaries came to interpret the sexual customs of otiv bombari differently, that is, acknowledging their ritual character. However, there was the exception of missionary priest Jos Viegen who worked in Merauke from 1909-1915 and who did see the ritual character of Marind sexual custom. However, Viegen never published about this. In 1920 when Viegen was recalled to the Netherlands, the mission superior Father Nollen wrote a peculiar message to the Provincial Father Brocken in Tilburg, warning them to not allow Viegen to publish any of his ethnographical data as that would make the missionaries look ridiculous and people would think ‘what filthy priests are they, who imagine such things’. (See: Nollen to Provinciaal 7-2-1920, ENK-AR-P027, 135).
men having sex with men, which was associated with the age-grade initiation of the wokraved (early adolescent boys), who lived in the gotad (boys house) and the yearly Sosom ritual. Furthermore, they disapproved of the collective fertility rituals with which young men and women were initiated after their union (marriage). A personal letter from Father Cappers to Jos van de Kolk (who at that moment was still a student of the seminary in Tilburg), contains a rare and blunt description of one of these rituals:

On the occasion of the Mayo celebrations (I still don’t know exactly what kind of feasts they are) women are publicly made lascivious and they consume sperm mixed with sago in public; the participants also form knots in which they perform coitus publicly.

This fragment describes the rite of otiv-bombari. This rite was geared towards impregnation (collective fertilization) or performed for the purpose of collecting ‘fertile sperm’ (used in rituals and in medicine) to increase the fertility of women. It was a performance in which the members of the same men’s house and a few (1-3) women who had recently married or given birth were having extra-marital intercourse through extensive copulation. Otiv-bombari was performed frequently because it was a part of nearly all feasts and occasions in which fertility or life was at stake.

Both Marind sexual rituals and headhunting activities were framed by the missionaries as the main cause for Marind’s impending extinction. Since 1911, the missionaries had observed a relative absence of infants and an alarming low birth-rate, an observation that was confirmed by the census in 1915. According to the missionaries, the low birth rate was due to the infertility of women, which was caused by the —initially unidentified— sexually transmitted infection granuloma venereum, also known as donovanosis. Assistant-Resident Plate supported this

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458 Sosom is the Marind word for bull-roarer. The Sosom ritual is the first ceremony for boys regarding their initiation into the tribe. It is a ritual which took place in a special hut built in the woods, where anal insemination of boys by older men took place. For more details on the Sosom ritual, and the dema Sosom see: Van Baal, Demo, 472-494.

459 Cappers to Van de Kolk, August 1908, ENK-AR-P027, 142.

460 Wirz calls these rites orgies, while Van Baal refers to them as promiscuous sexual intercourse or concentrated promiscuity. Van Baal notes that Marind men also called this rite dom (bad/objectionable) bombari (rite), which according to him reflects a more complex feeling of discomfort as it did not give sexual nor emotional satisfaction.

461 For a discussion of the otiv bombari and the meanings and interpretations attached to it by both missionaries and anthropologists see Van Baal, Demo, 807-821.


interpretation.\textsuperscript{464} The \textit{granuloma venereum} spread rapidly given Marind ritual sexual practices, and it was estimated that more than 50% of Marind suffered or had been suffering from this venereal disease in 1920.\textsuperscript{465} While earlier missionary reports had stressed that the region was ‘swarming’ with potential converts, concerns grew within five years of missionary presence that depopulation would leave few souls who could be saved.

**Dressing to ‘civilise’: fashioning Marind bodies, beliefs, and lives**

The depopulation, the headhunting practices, the sexual customs and other brutal customs drove the missionaries to commit to the project of ‘civilising’ Marind. As was briefly touched upon earlier, the missionaries sought to effect change by preaching their beliefs to Marind as a desirable alternative to their ‘barbaric’ and heathen traditions. Also, they intervened in certain incidents and practices. For example, when the missionaries learned that a sick person was to be buried alive, they would attempt to prevent it. An act of ‘child rescue’ was carried out by the missionaries in Okaba when they took custody of an illegitimate child, Mathias, who was to be killed in accordance with Marind custom. With missionaries’ approval, Mathias was adopted by the Timorese copra trader Jacob Siong and his Marindese wife Jut.\textsuperscript{466} As I will demonstrate in this section, missionaries also tried to effect change by seeking to ‘cover up’ what they perceived as Marind nakedness, by encouraging the renunciation of Marind physical adornments, and by making Marind conform to western standards of hygiene. While the missionaries gave some leeway regarding whether Marind in missionaries’ care had to wear clothes made of fabric, they still had to dispense their hair-extensions, as they were thought to be so interconnected with Marind ages grades and the concomitant feasts.\textsuperscript{467}

Marind dress style was associated with Marinds’ different age-groups, which were distinguished through specific hairstyles, ornamentations and decorations

\textsuperscript{464} L.M.F. Plate, (Assistant-Resident), Memorie van Overgave van de (onder)afdeling Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1915, NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Memories van Overgave, 2.10.39, 32.

\textsuperscript{465} In 1953, researchers from the so-called depopulation team concluded that the low birth rate was indeed the result of infertility of Marind-anim women. However, this infertility was not caused by venereal disease but by inflammation of the cervix uteri due to excessive copulation (S. Kooyman, M. Dorren, L. Veeger, J. Verschuuren and R. Luyken, Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek onder Marind-Anim van Nederlands Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1955, Leiden, KITLV/ Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Collectie demografie en antropologie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, inventory 26, item 28).

\textsuperscript{466} Diary of Okaba, August 1910 ENK-AR-P027, 5041; Kooy, ‘Levend begraven’, Annalen (1912) 343-345; Van de Kolk, Letter to priest and brothers MSC in the Netherlands 18-07-1911, ENK-AR-P027, 6344.

\textsuperscript{467} Jan van Baal observed in 1939 that neither the Marind elders nor the youth wore the Marind hairdo anymore (Van Baal, \textit{De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea onder Nederlandsch bestuur}, 63).
Marind distinguished age grades using the following categories: Infants were called hon-a-hon. Boys and girls who started to walk and who were younger than eleven years old (showing first signs of puberty) were considered to be children (patur and kivasom). Children went naked, their hair was short, and they enjoyed a kind of free-and-easy life. Past infancy, boys slept in their father’s men’s house. The juvenescence period was from 10/11 years to approximately 20 years and it was the period in which both boys and girls were initiated into the (secret) cults of the Marind. Boys were secluded from Marind daily life as well as feasts and celebrations as they moved into their new abode, the gotad, and placed under the supervision of their binahor-évavi (mentor of a boy—mother’s brother). Girls were not secluded but they came under the supervision of their yarang-parents (mentor- mother’s brother and his wife). This juvenescence period was divided into three periods. The first is the pre-adolescent youth (aroi-patur/wahuku). For boys, this period ranged from a couple of months up to a year, at least until their hair was long enough to be plaited into the mayub (hairs that are braided into thin pigtails). Wahuku girls were given their first nowa (apron of bark fibre which functions as the pubic cover) and their first hairdo, painted brick-red. At this age, girls were required to assist their yarang-mother with sago-pounding and carrying loads etc. The second period brings stricter control and supervision for both boys and girls. It is about disciplining and educating. They had to be subservient to others, they had to work or assist yarang-parents and binahor-fathers with daily chores and were instructed in tribal traditions. For boys, disciplining in practice was carried out by the older peers rather than by the men or binahor-father. Early adolescence was only institutionalised (including a ceremony) for boys (wokraved – pl. wokrévid) and spanned a 2-3-year period. Wokraved went naked but their bodies and headdress were painted black and the septum of the nose and the two wings were pierced. Furthermore, wokrévid were under strict supervision, severely disciplined, and treated as inferiors as well as being at the receiving end of anal sex by from their senior inmates (évati’s) of the gotad and their binahor-father. The third period, that of late adolescence (évati/kivasom-iwag) was a glorious period in which both boys and girls were admired and celebrated by all. It started around the age of 16 and lasted up till 3 years. The boys, évati, changed hairdo and bodily ornaments and rubbed their bodies with sweet-scenting herbs. They were handed their first pubic shell, bow, and stone-headed, and while they still were not allowed in the village during day time, they enjoyed a greater degree of freedom and were allowed to attend feasts and ceremonies (which normally took place at the night). Éwati’s played an important role in the different Marind dances and it was the évati who led the van in headhunting-parties. Girls, ivasom-iwag, pierced (but did not widen) the septum and the wings of the nose, and their chest and abdomen were scarred with elaborate cord-like swellings. When Marind became adults—which was after they found a partner for life and moved into the village—the age-groups were associated with status instead of real age and there was no definite transition, yet reaching adulthood (miakim or iwag) involved an important ceremony. Young men could become engaged when they were still évati. They reached the status of miakim shortly before marriage. A miakim’ body and face were painted red and their penis was drawn up. The stage of betrothal was different for young women, as they acquired the status of iwag as soon as they were marriageable, had been pledged in marriage or were engaged. This did not mean that marriage was close at hand as girls could be an unmarried iwag for a few years. As iwag, young women were not urged to work. When men were married, they became amnangib and women became after marriage sav. With acquiring this status, women went over to their husband’s group and carried out the many duties and tasks that were required for married women. Elderly men (mes-miakim) and elderly women (mes-iwag) both gradually laid off their ornaments, but women did so earlier than men (Van Baal, Dema, 143-162).

468 Father Henricus Nollen described these in great detail in the scientific journal Anthropos in 1909. Missionaries did not approve of any of these Marind dress styles. Numerous missionary sources show the problematic nature of the lack of clothes or perceived Marind nakedness—which was associated with Marind’s primitiveness and savagery—as well as an almost physical aversion to Marind’s oily, painted and smelly bodies. However, these same writings indicate that missionaries’ way of dealing with Marind bodies and perceived nakedness is
at least ambivalent and inconclusive. A good example of this ambivalence is a
letter from Father Cappers, who wrote: The éwati [late adolescent boys, MD] are
generally sturdy folks, there are even some wonderfully fine specimens among
them. Well built, muscular.⁴⁷⁰ Continuing his description of the éwati dress style,
Father Cappers noted: ‘From the above, you see that there is absolutely no clothing,
not even of the most primitive kind [...] I forgot to mention one other thing, namely
that the Kaja-Kaja’s do not wash themselves (old nor young), but paint their skin
white and red and black and rub their entire body with oil.’⁴⁷¹ Not only Father
Cappers, but also the other MSC missionaries admired the impressive physique of
Marind men, took an earnest interest in their dress style, were aware of the
cultural meanings of oil and paint on Marind bodies, and welcomed ‘naked’ and
‘dirty’ Marind at the mission station.⁴⁷²

In general the missionaries considered the ‘dirty’ and scantily dressed bodies
of the Marind —which did, however, ‘cover’ the private parts of women (nova) and
the buttocks of men (wib)—as uncivilised. More specifically, the missionaries saw
problems and improprieties in the culture and practices expressed in Marind
dress through hairstyles, bodily paintings/oil, skin garments, and ornaments. This
Marind dress was received with the onset of puberty; before that children went
naked and short-haired. It was this rite of passage into adulthood, marked by
different and new dress styles, that was most problematic for the missionaries.
During the juvenescence period, which lasted approximately from the age of ten
until the age of twenty and was divided into three periods, the Marind children
and youth were initiated into the cult and instructed in gendered tribal traditions.
For example, boys were coached with a view to headhunting expeditions, in which
éwati (late adolescent boys) were to take the lead. During this period, boys and girls
were also initiated into a system of sexual customs and fertility rituals.⁴⁷³ Hence,
missionaries became committed to ‘dressing’ children who were not yet initiated
into the Marind tribal traditions and to get Marind to adopt a fundamental
different bodily regime.

With a few exceptions, the fabric dress style missionaries introduced consisted
of Indonesian-style sarongs and blouses for women, frocks for girls and women,
and shorts and t-shirts for boys and men. While the dress style was clearly distinct

⁴⁷⁰ Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, September 27-08-1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5005, also published
in Annalen 1907, 42-44.
⁴⁷¹ Ibidem.
⁴⁷² For more analysis of the missionaries’ contradictory attitude towards Marind bodies see Marleen
Reichgelt and Raymond Corbey who both studied the MSC photo collection of the Marind: Marleen
Reichgelt, Marind children Through the Lens of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. Missionary Photography
on Netherlands New Guinea, 1906-1935. MA-thesis (Nijmegen: Radboud University, 2016); Corbey, Snellen
om namen.
⁴⁷³ Van Baal, Dema, 143-162.
from that of missionaries, it was not so different from that of the Ambonese, Chinese, and Timorese who settled in Merauke. Shoes were not part of ‘the dressing’ venture and Marind dressed in fabric clothing appear barefoot in all known photographs. Historian Henk Schulte Nordholt remarked that in Java the wearing of shoes was connected to someone’s status within the colonial hierarchy.\textsuperscript{474} Missionaries and other settlers did in fact wear shoes that were often ordered from the Netherlands by special request. Although shoes were a marker of difference, shoes and any other kind of footwear were also scarce and expensive, and therefore not part of the mission-sanctioned dress for Marind.

From the missionaries’ perspective, fabric clothes held a cultural transformative power. Missionaries were convinced that by wearing fabric Indonesian style clothes, Marind would step out of their own society and enter a ‘modern’ world in which they were no longer bound by their ‘regressive’ customs. As Father Henricus Geurtjens wrote: ‘By adopting clothes, the folks openly break with their adat [local customary practices and tradition, MD] and all its institutions.’\textsuperscript{475} Hence, fabric clothes came to mark the difference between the ‘savage/barbaric’ Marind bound to Marind institutions and cultural practices, and the ‘modern/civilised’ Marind, who were ‘independent’ and ready to become Christians.\textsuperscript{476} The act of wearing fabric clothing was seen as constituting a rite of passage into a world with new and ‘civilised’ practices and traditions, a transition into modernity. Consequently, wearing fabric clothing became a visual marker of distinction, not only for the missionaries but also for the Marind themselves.

The Marind considered themselves as \textit{anim-ha}\textsuperscript{477} (real humans), and saw the new settlers as strangers (\textit{poe-anim}) who ‘cover their whole body with clothes, sail in grand ships [and] who cannot shoot bow and arrow.’\textsuperscript{478} Those few Marind who adopted fabric clothing, some of whom lived in the ‘foreigner settlement’ Merauke, were considered as inferior and given the somewhat shameful name of \textit{Marind poe-anim} (Marind stranger) by other Marind.\textsuperscript{479} This indicates that not only missionaries but also Marind themselves acknowledged the culturally transformative power of the adaption of fabric or western clothes. Various incidents show that that Marind were not too pleased with those Marind who adopted fabric clothes.

\textsuperscript{475} Henricus Geurtjens, ‘Reisindrukken’, \textit{Annalen} (1916), 341-343.
\textsuperscript{476} I deliberately do not use the phrase “Western clothes” or “Western-style clothing” because the clothes that were introduced to Marind can be better qualified as Indonesian/Indisch style.
\textsuperscript{477} Marind distinguished among four categories of mankind: the \textit{anim-ha} (real humans – Marind themselves), the \textit{ikom}, (Marind enemies - other inhabitants of New Guinea), the \textit{poe-ikom}, (friends from other tribes); and the \textit{poe-anim} (foreigners).
\textsuperscript{478} Eduardus Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, 23-11-1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5005. This letter was (partly) published in \textit{Annalen} (1907) 1948-152.
\textsuperscript{479} Van der Kooy to Father Van Rooyen, 8-01-1913, ENK-AR-P027, 5008.
clothes or who in other ways broke with Marind society. For instance, in 1906, three boys working for a trader in Merauke were harassed by some Marind men from the Sangasee region and forcibly deprived of their fabric clothing and threatened with death.\footnote{Diary of Merauke, 28-07-1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.} Marind elders also took measures when more and more Marind young women went off to live with ‘foreign’ traders and in doing so inevitably broke with Marind society. As was the case in Okaba, girls were made ‘marriageable’ (\textit{iwag}) at increasingly younger ages to be able to enter into arranged marriages with Marind boys. Relying on the permanent nature of marriage-bonds, this practice was meant to reduce the girls’ chances of marrying a \textit{poe-anim} and subsequently wearing fabric clothes and breaking with Marind customs and community.\footnote{Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 20-01-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142; Diary of Okaba, 1910 and July 1911, ENK-AR-P027, 5041; Van de Kolk, ‘Oermenschen, Haal’, \textit{Annalen} (1913) 230-231; Diary of Merauke, 28-07-1906, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.}

Missionaries saw the wearing of fabric clothes as a precondition for civilising and religious conversion, because in their view, it signified that a Marind had broken with his or her ‘barbaric’ customs. As an experiment, Van de Kolk started distributing clothes to all children who were not yet initiated into tribal customs and some willing adults in the village of Okaba in 1911. In his initial enthusiasm, Van de Kolk (Okaba) had written several letters to the missionaries stationed in Merauke and to his superiors in Langgur and the Netherlands, celebrating their initial success in ‘dressing’. He even ventured to appeal to the Dutch public for more clothes, advertising for donations of green and red clothes, because he believed Marind were particularly fond of these colours.\footnote{Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 30-07-1911, ENK-AR-P027, 142; Van de Kolk, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea’, \textit{Java-post} (1911) 638-640; Van de Kolk, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea’, \textit{Centrum}, 25-11-1911, derde blad.} These appeals for clothes in the newspapers provoked a public debate, pitting those committed to the mission’s civilising project against those (mainly ethnologists) who wanted to preserve Marind culture as it was. The \textit{Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant} published a letter alleging that forcing people to wear clothes caused depopulation by increasing the risk of carrying disease.\footnote{NN, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea begint zich te kleeden’, \textit{NRC} 30-01-1912, Avondblad D. no. 2. The diary of Okaba mentions that it was Johannes François Snelleman who wrote the letter. Snelleman was the director of the Ethnological museum in Rotterdam. As an ethnologist, he previously had joined the scientific expedition organised by the Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (KNAG) to Sumatra in 1887-1889.} The MSC missionaries were not pleased with these sentiments. Using several print media outlets, they defended their attempts at ‘civilising’, while arguing that the people making these claims were not sufficiently aware of the true causes of Marind depopulation, such as headhunting and the ‘promiscuous’ practices causing female infertility.
The adoption of a new dress by a limited number of Marind children, youth and adults in the surroundings of Merauke and Okaba did not solely result from the imposed domestic discipline of missionaries or colonial authorities.\textsuperscript{484} Some Marind actively sought fabric dress, indicating that, as Margret Jolly pointed out, the adoption of fabric clothing was not simply a colonial imposition by missionaries on passive Indigenous people.\textsuperscript{485} This is illustrated by the examples of the first few Marind who discarded some of their ornaments and started wearing fabric clothes. These Marind were not associated with the missionaries, nor did they receive their clothing from them. The caption to a photo of a Marind man and woman published in the \textit{Annalen}, named Topoem and Warangau states that they were ‘the first to be dressed Kaia-Kaia’s.’\textsuperscript{486} The mission station diary of Merauke noted that Warangau, against her family’s wishes, wanted to join her husband who worked and lived in Merauke and adopted a new kind of dress. Through this act, she broke with Marind customs, which, according to Father Henricus Nollen, was an act of independence that could prove useful for missionaries in the future.\textsuperscript{487} The influence of the various and ever-changing group of Ambonese, Chinese, and Timorese traders deserves consideration in this respect. These traders gave young Marind employment and put their Marind ‘wives’ into contact with the practices of fabric clothing and hygiene.\textsuperscript{488} Missionaries believed that interethnic relationships and the phenomenon of Marind boys working and living with traders constituted proof of the younger generation’s desire to break with the old Marind customs. But missionaries also had moral concerns about encounters between Marind and traders.\textsuperscript{489}

\textsuperscript{484} Assistant-Resident Plate had set the rule that those Marind/Papuans who entered the settlement of Merauke had to cover their abdomen and/or loins (L.M.F. Plate, (Assistant-Resident), Memorie van Overgave van de (onder)afdeling Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1915, NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Memories van Overgave, 2.10.39, 412.). In the book \textit{In het land van de kannibalen en paradijsvogels} it is suggested by the author that this rule was introduced for the sake of morality, keeping in mind the few Dutch women who lived in Merauke. The book also reveals there was a kind of ‘trouser tree’ where Marind who wanted to enter Merauke could borrow a clothing item in order to cover up and live by the established rules (Aage Krarup Nielsen, \textit{In het land van de kannibalen en paradijsvogels} 1930, 173-174). This story is confirmed by missionaries’ sources, which mention that Marind put on fabric clothes and even hats before entering the city.


\textsuperscript{486} Nollen, ‘De eerst gekleede Kaia-Kaia’s: Topoem en Warangau, man en vrouw’, \textit{Annalen} (1908) 251.

\textsuperscript{487} Diary of Merauke, 07-12-1905, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.

\textsuperscript{488} In his Memorie van Overgave Assistant-Resident Plate referred to the Marind women who lived with the Chinese/Timorese traders as concubines and missionaries referred to them as ‘wives’.

\textsuperscript{489} Hamers to fellow brothers MSC 14-07-1907, ENK-AR-P027, 5008; Diary of Okaba, July 1911, ENK-AR-P027, 5041; Van de Kolk, ‘Oermenschen, Aloembe’, \textit{Annalen} (1913) 292-293; Diary of Merauke, ENK-AR-P027; Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 20-01-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142.
While Van de Kolk’s clothing experiment seemed to work at first, within a month, however, most adults and children had discarded these fabric clothes. The missionaries were not sure why the Marind were initially enthusiastic about their clothes made of fabric but got rid of them after a few months. Despite this setback, missionaries’ overriding concern was still introducing fabric clothes to all Marind as a means to transform the whole society. As I will show, regimes of clothing and cleanliness became central to the mission’s policy in their boarding school and model villages for that reason.

**Military intervention: a pre-condition for missionaries’ civilising work**

In 1912, six years after missionaries first arrived in Merauke, missionaries found that it was hard to get Marind to adopt clothes made of fabric and other efforts to curtail certain Marind cultural practices also repeatedly met with failure. Headhunting raids across the international border, however, had declined since the government post in Merauke had been established. Nevertheless, the practice of headhunting had not been eliminated completely, as missionaries had noted on several occasions, when complete villages were deserted for weeks to go on a raid. Anthropologist Thomas Ernst suggested in 1979 that the decline of Marind headhunting over the colonial border was due to internal factors such as population decline in this area and not so much because of Dutch intervention. Moreover, the headhunting raids of inland tribes such as the Yahray and Awjoe remained ‘hidden’ from the administration’s and the missionaries’ view till the pacification of the areas in the hinterland after the 1920s.

The last punitive expedition held by the administration was in 1906, and only after missionaries informed government officials of the ongoing headhunting practices. Priests had observed that all adult men and women of the villages Kamisan and Borem had left and the raid was confirmed by a confidant of the missionaries from the village Jobar. The Assistant-Resident, soldiers and forced labourers responded with a punitive expedition against the coastal villages north and south of Merauke who had taken part in headhunting raid. Prauw canoes and weapons used on raids were demolished, men were killed and others were imprisoned, heads were seized, and a penalty payment in pigs and coconuts was imposed on villages believed to have been involved. Missionaries noted that after these punitive expeditions, Marind from punished villages became apprehensive, and diminished their visits to the settlement of Merauke and the station.

To missionaries’ frustration, however, the administration barely acknowledged their other appeals to act against Marind’s continued headhunting practices, sexual customs and brutalities. Van de Kolk was not too impressed with the overall

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490 Diary of Okaba, February 1911, ENK-AR-P027, 5041.
conduct of the administration regarding the Marind. In 1911, he wrote in the Okaba station diary: ‘[No trouble] is the motto of the accommodating administration ... as long as trade thrives. The colonial civilising imperative is not yet felt.’ Van de Kolk spoke of a lack of humanitarian concern on the part of the colonial authorities. This was precisely the point; there was a tremendous difference between colonial policy and colonial practice in South Dutch New Guinea. The Ethical Policy, the Dutch version of the civilising mission, effective from 1901 onwards, advocated the emancipation of Indigenous peoples under the guidance of the Dutch. Scholars such as historian Elsbeth Locher Scholten, Berteke Waaldijk and Suzan Legene have already pointed out the inherent contradiction of the Ethical Policy, the oxymoron of ‘guided emancipation’ which, in the peripheral regions of the Dutch colony, such as South Dutch New Guinea, could not be enforced without violent coercion.\footnote{Berteke Waaldijk and Suzan Legène, ‘Ethische politiek in Nederland. Cultureel burgerschap tussen overheersing, opvoeding en afscheid’, in: Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben (eds.) Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief. Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950 (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009) 187–216; Locher-Scholten, Ethiek in fragmenten.}

According to the missionaries, however, in South Dutch New Guinea the supposed ‘guidance’ by the Dutch was completely lacking. The Assistants-Resident R.L.A. Hellwig (1906-1910) and E. Kalff (1910-1912) were primarily concerned with the exploration of the area and refrained from intervening as long as Marind practices did not adversely affect settlers or colonial interests. The missionaries, however, kept on urging the administration—which they perceived as negligent—to hold military campaigns and impose order by force, as a pre-condition to the mission’s ‘civilising’ work, and thus to the guided emancipation of the Marind.

In 1913, things changed when the newly appointed Assistant-Resident L.M.F. Plate ordered an extensive military intervention to bring all villages along the coast under further effective colonial control.\footnote{L.M.F. Plate, (Assistant-Resident), Memorie van Overgave van de (onder)afdeling Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1915, NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Memories van Overgave, 2.10.39, 412.} This ‘pacification’ demanded an extensive military campaign. Plate authorized a large punitive expedition against several villages in the Okaba-Sangasee region, which had repeatedly defied the colonial ban on headhunting in February-March 1913. Marind were imprisoned and killed, villages and boats burned. Hundreds of skulls, mandibles, arrows, spears, and other headhunting paraphernalia were confiscated. After this violent intervention, Plate intensified colonial control and appointed Marind village heads, imposed taxes—in the form of compulsory delivery of coconuts—and made Marind liable to compulsory labour services (herendiensten).\footnote{L.M.F. Plate, (Assistant-Resident). Memorie van Overgave van de (onder)afdeling Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1915, NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Memories van Overgave, 2.10.39, 412; Jan van Baal, De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea onder Nederlandsch bestuur, 30-31.} The latter entailed
large-scale corvée by Marind employed for infrastructure. This kind of work had previously been done by convict labourers and employed labourers from other parts of the Archipelago, but from then onwards Marind were required to establish communal works, such as roads, buildings, and bridges. The military sweep and the intensification of colonial control were part of the Ethical Policy and resembled events in other Outer Provinces, for example in the Poso region in central Sulawesi, as historian Joost Coté has shown.494

The missionaries actually demanded (punitive) action of the colonial government in order to fruitfully ‘civilise’ the Marind. They tacitly and directly supported the Assistant-Resident’s offensive by informing the Controleur (district officer) of skulls hidden in men’s houses, and negotiating between Marind and colonial officials about the surrender of these skulls. Instead of protesting against the excessive violence and harsh punishments, the missionaries encouraged and praised the punitive expedition and the process of subjugation of the Marind. Then again, the missionaries needed to disavow the same punitive actions in order to stay in contact with the Marind. To this end, they attempted to distance themselves from the administration’s violent military campaign and retain a measure of Marind’s confidence. After six months, Van de Kolk wrote approvingly of ‘a nice advancement, especially since the people are still as favourably disposed towards us as before the punitive expedition.’495 The entanglements between the missionaries and the colonial administration point out that the establishment of colonial rule in southern Dutch New Guinea was accompanied by violence, and that there was a degree of tolerance to it by the missionaries who like others of the Ethical movement believed that ‘ethical’ emancipation could not do without Dutch guidance which in turn required violence coercion.496

**Spaces of transformation**

In the previous section, I pointed out that the missionaries in South Dutch New Guinea had a strong intention to ‘civilise’ the Marind-anim. Despite their attempts to fashion Marind bodies, lives and beliefs along western lines, the missionaries had experienced difficulties when trying to effect change in the close-knit Marind community, especially among the older generations. In their view, violent subjection by the administration was required, yet the governing body proved to be hesitant, if not simply unwilling. Also, the customary missionary practices of

494 Coté, ‘Colonising Central Sulawesi’.
495 Diary of Okaba, June 1913. ENK-AR-P027 5041.
educating children would be difficult to realise if Marind children remained culturally and physically attached to Marind society, a space in which missionaries' authority was in constant competition with that of Marind elders. Hence, it became necessary to create a space governed by the mission's values for missionaries' 'civilising' and proselytising activities: This space was to be set up outside and separated from the Marind village community. This particular location was to shift the Marind away from the traditional spaces, and the symbolic meanings they entailed. Furthermore, it was a space in which children occupied a central place. They, rather than adults, became the starting point from which Marind society was to be transformed. To this end missionaries set up boarding schools and model villages, both of which were characterised by imposing a temporary and permeable physical distance between children and their kin, Marind society and traditional life. To capture both the physical, institutionalised space in which colonialism was embedded and embodied, and the tangible spaces in which the missionaries possessed the authority to contest Indigenous practices, reorganise behaviours, and supervise and instil new (gendered and paternalistic) domesticities and bodily regimes, I have developed the analytical concept of 'spaces of transformation'. In these tangible spaces, which were transformative in nature, the missionaries had the ability to impose a regime that regulated Marind (daily) lives, and establish the authority necessary to enable the desired changes to Marind bodies, bodily practices, and customs closely connected to the body — food, work ethic, feasts, and rites. The boarding schools and model villages were such spaces of transformation. They were not only symbolical manifestations of modernity and civilisation but also the institutions that provided the missionaries with the technologies to carry out their civilising mission.

The boarding schools
In April 1912, Father Johannes van der Kooy wrote to his superior in the Netherlands: 'About our evangelisation work I cannot say much. If we knock a soul into heaven every now and then, we can congratulate ourselves: there is no steady Christian congregation yet. We do, however, have six boys as boarders in our house.' 497 The boarders were young Marind boys, who received an intensive and long-lasting education, so comprehensive as to be considered an 'upbringing', under the missionaries’ guidance, only after which they were thought to be 'civilised' enough to be eligible for baptism. The missionaries had experienced that they could do little to convert or 'civilise' Marind adults who were too corrupted by Marind culture in missionaries’ opinion. Marind children younger than 10 years old, however, were still ‘innocent’ because they had not yet been

497 Johannes van der Kooy to Father Provincial Brocken, Merauke 29 April 1912, ENK-AR-P027 5008.
initiated into Marind tribal traditions. In addition, children seemed to accept their teachings more easily, especially when they received an education by the missionaries themselves. Hence, the mission’s success was not to be measured in the number of baptisms they performed but rather by the number of boarders they hosted.

Scholars of colonialism have already shown that children and youth were central to modern colonial projects and to mission projects in colonial contexts. Children were seen as malleable, changeable and receptive to education. Control over children and youth, including their labour, leisure time, sexuality, and education was crucial to any colonial modernising agenda. After all, they were the adults of the future.\textsuperscript{498} Margaret Jacob and Amanda Barry amongst others have shown that missionary strategies in settler colonies such as Australia and Canada included the separation and subsequent removal of Indigenous children.\textsuperscript{499} In addition, historians Christina Elizabeth Firpo and Emmanuelle Saada have shown that in the French colonies these practices of child separation and removal were extant.\textsuperscript{500} As in the British settler colonies and the French colonies, separating children from their own society was crucial to missionaries’ educational and ‘civilising’ practices in South Dutch New Guinea. As Van de Kolk put it, ‘Removing the youth from their pernicious environment is the only way to save what can be saved in South New Guinea.’\textsuperscript{501} Educating and ‘bringing up’ children in boarding schools thus became essential elements to children’s ‘civilisation’—their acculturation into Catholic and western ways of knowing and being. The objective of the boarding schools was to provide the boys under missionary tutelage with a Catholic upbringing. Brothers and priests were both involved in the schooling and ‘upbringing’ of these boys. This missionary policy of civilisation by tuition was not new or unique, but the boarding schools of the missionaries were the first of their kind in South Dutch New Guinea.\textsuperscript{502}

Four years after their arrival, missionaries began to put these ideas of separating and educating children into practice, establishing their first boarding school for


\textsuperscript{499} Barry, ‘“Equal to Children of European Origin”’; Jacobs, \textit{White Mother to a Dark Race}.

\textsuperscript{500} Firpo, \textit{The Uprooted}; Saada, \textit{Empire’s Children}.

\textsuperscript{501} Jos van de Kolk, ‘Zes gelukkige kinderen van Z. N-Guinea’, \textit{Almanak} 30 (1920) 33-38.

\textsuperscript{502} For other boarding schools of the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies, see: Maaike Derksen, ‘“On Their Javanese Sprout We Need to Graft the European Civilisation”’. Fashioning Local Intermediaries in the Dutch Catholic Mission, 1900-1942’, \textit{Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies}, 19:1 (2016) 29-55.
Marind boys at their mission station in Merauke, with another at their mission station in Okaba following in 1913. The educational programme set up by the missionaries did not follow any ‘official’ colonial curricula, and consequently, the schools were not officially recognised by the administration. However, the local administration in Okaba and Merauke supported the mission financially, pledging five guilders per month, per student, toward the children’s ‘upbringing’ and the maintenance of their school.\(^{503}\) As a male Catholic order, the MSC priests and brothers did not accept girls at their boarding schools. Catholic tradition demanded the education of girls to be undertaken by religious sisters, hence a few girls baptised as Catholics—the majority of them mixed-race, children of Marind mothers and Chinese or Timorese Catholic fathers—were sent to the sisters’ boarding school in Langgur on the Kei-Islands to secure their upbringing. These boarding schools in Langgur were geared specifically towards children of the aristocratic classes from the Kei Islands, and focused on educating role models for the local Catholic community. The MSC priests and brothers took care of the boys’ school. The Sisters of Heythuysen took care of the boarding school for girls until 1920 when they were replaced by the female counter part of the MSC, the Daughters of the Sacred Heart. As I will explain in the next chapter, from 1921 onwards these schools in Langgur became important recruiting institutions for goeroe families for the mission in South Dutch New Guinea.

Initially, there were only three to five boys at the missions’ boarding schools in Merauke and Okaba. While detailed accounts of how the schools gathered their pupils remain scant, it becomes clear that the initial boarding school pupils had all worked for traders or participated in one of the many exploration parties held in South Dutch New Guinea.\(^{504}\) Numbers gradually increased to around fifteen pupils for each school, a figure that included Marind boys who did not have previous experience with traders or expeditions. The missionaries suggested in their writings that these boys were brought around by the other boarders and came to dwell on the station in defiance of their elders or out of their own interest.\(^{505}\) This differs from the practices of the Protestant mission in North Dutch New Guinea, which took in mainly enslaved children who had been...

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\(^{503}\) Diary of Okaba October 1915.


'ransomed' by Protestant missionaries. Among the Marind in South Dutch New Guinea, there was no practice of selling captives or keeping slaves. Furthermore, while missionaries’ common policy was not to forcibly take any children from their parents, as was common in Canada and Australia under the child removal policies, the missionaries did, however, take in the few ‘captured’ children who were confiscated by the administration.

The boarding schools in Merauke and Okaba were institutions developed to pursue a missionary strategy requiring youngsters to break with Marind village life and live at the mission station. For the MSC missionaries the key to sustain such a break, was by cleaning, dressing and controlling the bodies of their boarders. The transforming and disciplining of Indigenous bodies at mission stations or boarding schools in other colonial contexts has been analysed by historians such as Tony Ballantyne, Karen Vallgårda, Annelieke Dirks and Sarah de Leeuw. These practices correspond to the practices of the MSC missionaries in South Dutch New Guinea. To break with Indigenous practices, missionaries compelled their young boarders to eschew Marind dress (plaited hairstyle, bodily paintings, and certain ornaments) and don plain fabric clothes in its place. Fascinatingly, some of the pupils’ discarded hair-extensions and ornaments ended up in the mission’s museum in Tilburg.

In South Dutch New Guinea, the discarding of hair-extensions and bodily ornaments did not mean that these Marind youth were cut off indefinitely from their community, family or culture. For example, the boys from the boarding school would still visit family and friends in Marind villages and attend certain rituals and feasts. Furthermore, Marind who in turn left the boarding school (or

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509 The discarded ornaments and hair-extensions of Kenda’s wife, Jomar, ended up in the missions’ museum in Tilburg (Van de Kolk, Java-post (1910) 458-59, there 459).

510 For more on Marind hairstyles which are a distinctive ornament of the age-grades of the Marind see: Van Baal & Verschueren, Dema, 144-145; Nollen, ‘Les différentes Classes d’Age dans la Société kaia-kaia’; Paul Wirz, Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea, 37-61.
model village) altogether, had the option to go back to their birth villages and have their hair plaited into strings again. This indicates there was no absolute or definite form of separation, but instead a fuzzy form of separation, reflecting the gradual power of the missionaries as well.

Not only did the missionaries insist that their boarders had to respect their standards of dress, boarders also had to become physically clean. This is reflected by an account of the arrival of Walaw, who joined four other boarders in Okaba by the end 1913:

On a rainy day he turned up here, covered from head to toe in soot and oil, the regular ‘costume’ of the youngsters. Before handing him his first pair of trousers, we cut off his greasy hair-lengthenings and [took] the pork streaks off his arms. [...] After that we sent him to the large washbasin, the sea.

In this way, the missionaries introduced a regime of European hygiene to their pupils that involved specific concepts of cleanliness and neatness with which the Marind were unfamiliar.

Once pupils were admitted to the mission’s boarding school, they were absorbed in a strict daily regime of work and practical education. Priests gave catechism lessons, taught basic literacy and numeracy, and lectured on geography, biology, Malay language and physics in the mornings. The lessons did not take place on a daily basis, however. Priests were constantly occupied by other tasks, such as their ethnographic activities and language studies which were a necessity to come in contact with Marind and to lay a fundament for their civilising and pastoral work. After giving a vivid description of the primitive state of the school building and interior, Father Vertenten wrote:

There I teach, three days a week (the other days I visit the villages). In the morning from 7.30 till 9.30. On the programme is: practical admonitions, drawing, counting, stories about Europe, the alphabet, some Malay, and for them the most interesting, catechism.

Outside the classroom, the boys assisted brothers in the gardens, the farm, or the coconut plantation. Brother Jannes Joosten, who was in charge of the farm and garden in Merauke, wrote about the boys: ‘When they didn’t have school, they had to work with me in the garden. Normally that was from 8 till half-past ten in the

511 Diary of Merauke, 23-09-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 5790; Petrus Vertenten, Vijftien jaar bij de koppensnellers (Leuven 1935) 104-105.
513 Vertenten, 105-106.
morning, sometimes till 11.\textsuperscript{514} This practical work aimed to teach a western work ethic and discipline, which missionaries thought would ‘improve’ their moral character.\textsuperscript{515} There were also pragmatic reasons for putting the pupils to work. Gardening and farming provided the missionaries and the boarders with grains, vegetables, and meat—essential commodities for feeding missionaries and boarders, especially in times of scarcity during the First World War.\textsuperscript{516}

While the missionaries strived to induce their pupils to adapt to this new temporal and bodily regime—attending school, working in gardens, saying prayers, attending church, and eating new foods such as rice—the missionaries were incapable of completely extinguishing their pupils’ Marind origins. Consequently, they accommodated the boys’ desire for contact with kin and community, permitting them to visit relatives, attend certain feasts and celebrations, and to wear certain Marind ornaments underneath fabric clothes.\textsuperscript{517} Furthermore, while boys’ physical appearances were altered to suit the missionaries’ specifications, the boarders were not baptised until 1922.\textsuperscript{518} Hence, they did not receive new (Christian) names.

Missionaries’ interactions with children, that is both their provision of fabric clothes to children and the taking in of boarders into their school, provoked distrust among Marind elders. Some of the Marind parents, in addition, tried to keep their children away from the mission station.\textsuperscript{519} Vertenten complained about this in a letter to the seminary students in the Netherlands:

Parents object to the adopting of [fabric/Indonesian style] clothes for their children, as they want their children to wear Marind dress and finery, with hair-lengthenings that are so heavy that they wrinkle their foreheads, painted with a mixture of coconut oil and powder, so much so that one could smell them from a distance, plumed and decked out like only a Kaja-Kaja [Marind] can be.\textsuperscript{520}

\textsuperscript{514} Joosten, to fellow brothers September 1910, ENK-AR-P027 5008.
\textsuperscript{515} For an interesting analysis on missionary attempts to transform Indigenous economic behaviour and encouraging new models of work to “improve” their moral and spiritual character in the context of New Zealand, see: Tony Ballantyne, ‘Economics, labor, and time, in Ballantyne, Entanglements of Empire, 98-137.
\textsuperscript{516} Diary of Merauke, august 1914, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
\textsuperscript{517} Van de Kolk, ‘Oermenschen, Baja’, Annalen, 1914, 133-134; Johannes van der Kooy to Father Provincial Brocken Merauke 29 januari 1913, ENK-AR-P027 142; Diary of Merauke, August 1914 March 1915, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
\textsuperscript{518} Diary of Merauke,17-04 1922, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
\textsuperscript{519} Nollen to Father Provincial Theodorus Okhuijzen 24-09-1909, ENK-AR-P027, 139; Vertenten, ‘Brief aan studenten 20-04-1914’, Annalen (1914) 281-282.
\textsuperscript{520} Vertenten, ‘Brief aan studenten 20-04-1914’, Annalen (1914) 281-282.
The missionaries also encountered regularly parents and relatives persuading the boys who dwelled on the mission station to return to their natal villages.\textsuperscript{521} For example, with reference to Walaw, who was taken in by the missionaries in Okaba, Van de Kolk wrote: ‘As usual the family came to reclaim the ‘defector. Walaw’s parents arrived in Okaba, weeping profusely’.\textsuperscript{522} The same was the case with Bonek in Merauke, as brother Gerardus Jeanson wrote: ‘[F]amily showed up regularly in order to prompt him to return to his village.’\textsuperscript{523} Elders were suspicious of missionaries’ educational intentions, and had little regard for schooling and upbringing outside the existing structures of family and society. According to the missionaries, they feared that the adoption of new ways of life would alienate their children from Marind customs and become a source of social discord. Indeed, these were the missionaries’ intentions, seeing the education of the children under their influence, as they did, as a means of eroding the barbaric traditional practices stemming from the Marind cultural norms and practices.\textsuperscript{524}

The boarding school at the mission station was a means to separate pupils from their families and communities in order to get the children to adhere to the mission’s specific (Catholic) norms and values. However, there were limitations to missionaries’ authority, as indicated by the fact that some Marind boys left to return to life in Marind villages. Some left indefinitely, while others lived off and on with the missionaries at the mission station.\textsuperscript{525} Missionaries rationalised these setbacks by declaring that these Marind boys were incapable of adapting to the new temporal and bodily regime —attending school, working in the gardens, attending prayers and church, and eating new foods such as rice. There were also needs and desires missionaries could not prevent and therefore accommodated on their terms, such as contact with kin, attendance of certain Marind feasts and celebrations, and the wearing of certain Marind ornaments below fabric clothes. As Tony Ballantyne has written about mission stations in New Zealand, this indicates that western hegemony could not be exerted consistently even in those spaces where new ideas, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour were taught.\textsuperscript{526}
puts the effective control and authority of missionaries in the spaces of transformation into perspective.

The first model villages
Following the idea that a new ‘civilised’ generation had to be shaped and created by followers of Christ, the missionaries began acknowledging and facilitating the ‘marriages’ of young men in their care. While missionaries named these relations ‘marriages’, their relationships were not registered, nor were Christian wedding rites performed, because the couples had not yet become official Catholic converts.\footnote{Diary of Okaba, March 1915, April 2015, ENK-AR-P027, 5041.} The first marriage of this kind was that of Kenda and Jomar. Missionaries encouraged Jomar, the groom, to wear a sarong and kebaya at the service, and within a day, brother Norbertus Hamers had built a family dwelling on the mission station in Merauke for the newlyweds. This was an uncommon domestic arrangement for Marind.\footnote{Van de Kolk, ‘Nieuw Guinea. Uit Merauke schrijft ons van de Kolk,’ Java-post (1910) 458-459.}

Traditionally, Marind men and boys occupied separate dwellings or men’s houses, while women and children—including boys in infancy—lived in women’s houses. The houses were simple huts with no partitions. They stood close together and basically functioned as dormitories because the greater part of domestic life was lived in the open; near the houses, on the beach, or in the gardens. There was also the gotad, a day-dwelling for boys located outside the village and meant to seclude aroi-patur (pre-adolescent youth), wokraved (early adolescent youth) and ēwati (late adolescent youth) from Marind daily life. These traditional domestic and family arrangements required that men and women slept separately, secluded young men from daily life, and did not envisage a ‘nuclear family life’.\footnote{Van Baal argues that the segregation of the sexes in Marind society, although strict, permanent, and extensive, was also inefficient and ineffective, and cites several examples of this throughout his book (Van Baal, Dema, 20, 48-49; 165).} Both the missionaries and Assistant-Resident Plate considered these arrangements undesirable, indecent, immoral, and unhealthy. Especially the gotad was condemned, as it was in this space that sexual relationships between Marind boys and men were institutionalised, and boys were encouraged to be warriors and coached to lead headhunting raids.\footnote{Van Baal, Dema, 147-148.}

After other Marind couples followed Jomar and Kenda’s matrimonial example, the missionaries toyed with the idea of establishing new villages with nuclear family housing. In this village, the families could live and work in an ‘orderly’ and ‘morally sound’ environment, removed from the ‘corrupted’ influences of their family and native villages. Jos Viegen proposed the idea to start such a model
village to Jos van de Kolk in 1911 and opted to buy a certain plot of land near the
village of Demandé, which had potential as a coconut plantation and a place for a
new village where ‘dressed’ Marind could live and work. However, the idea of such
a model village was not realised until the Dutch colonial administration had
brought the Marind villages under effective colonial control after the Plate’s
‘pacification’ quest in 1913.\(^{531}\) As soon as ‘order and peace’ were restored in the
area, missionaries seized the opportunity to establish ‘new’ villages—the so-called
model kampong (model village).\(^{532}\)

The first model village, Noh-Okaba, was set up on a plot of land beside the
Okaba mission station in 1913. The establishment of the model village in Merauke
followed soon after that of Noh-Okaba. For the model kampong in Merauke, the old
station for experimental agriculture and its houses had been put at the mission’s
disposal by the colonial administration. Hence, Merauke’s model village was set up
at some distance from the mission station whilst that of Noh-Okaba was adjacent
to the mission station. The first residents of both model villages were the (married)
boys who had previously lived in the boarding school and a few interethnic
Catholic couples (Catholic traders and their Marind wives). At later stages, the kin
of these first residents and ‘new’ Marind couples also moved into the model village,
gradually increasing the number of residents. Initially, Noh-Okaba had ten
residents; this tripled within the first year, and there were about fifty residents by
1915.

These model villages were new spaces that, in the view of the missionaries
would foster the transformation of Marind society as well as reorganising Marind
social structure over the next several years. Traditional Marind local organisation
appeared simple to contemporary administrators and missionaries, who observed
a stretch of seemingly unrelated villages along the coast and several others
scattered in the hinterland. Adding new villages to this land and bringing together
their inhabitants seemed an uncomplicated proposition, but this proved to be a
misconception. Marind’s local organisation was connected to Marind’s social
organisation, which was based on a complex and multi-layered clan system.
Anthropologist Jan van Baal explained that Marind social organisation was
composed of several non-localised, patrilineal exogamic totem clans, each
belonging to one of the cult groups (Sosom, Mayo, Imo, or Rapa cult) and to one of
the four local patrilineal and likewise exogamic phratry. The phratries two by two
constitute opposing moieties, however, moiety exogamy had disappeared among
the coastal Marind except in Sangasee, the ritual centre of the Imo cult. Each

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\(^{531}\) Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 18-01-1911, ENK-AR-P027, 142.

\(^{532}\) Van de Kolk, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea’, Java-post (1911) 536-537; Van de Kolk, 18-01-1911, ENK-AR-P027
142; Van Santvoort to fellow MSC, 17-02-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142; Van de Kolk, ‘Nieuwe dorpen in
territorial group or subtribe—a social unit made up of members of four phratries—constituted two or more villages. Adjacent hamlets huddled together, each representing one of the four phratries, to form a village. Each hamlet stood apart and comprised multiple men’s communities or lineages, and each lineage occupied one common men’s house with adjacent women’s houses.533

The missionaries considered model villages to be the basis for a healthier family life, crucial to the uplifting and ‘civilisation’ of the people. This ‘healthier family life’ was a nuclear family, centred around a married couple and their children, who lived and slept together in a single dwelling. In practice, relatives beyond the nuclear family also lived in these family houses. For example, in the model village of Merauke three elderly women lived with their married children.534 As soon as the model villages and the family houses were finished, Van de Kolk appealed to the public in the Indies and the Netherlands for donations. For 25 guilders, one could sponsor a ‘new’ Marind family. In doing so, charitable givers could ‘redeem a whole family from slavery of heathenism and the devil. Because the wild men who join the new village are gained for civilisation and conversion.’535

As historians Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre already argued for the larger Pacific context, missionaries were key figures in charting domestic transformations among Indigenous peoples.536 In South Dutch New Guinea, Catholic missionaries introduced nuclear family houses and fashioned new (modern) domesticities; including embodied practices and gender relations. Model villages too were to become spaces of transformation that reflected the colonial Christian desire to fundamentally change Marind society.

The model villages and the nuclear family households, however, were more than a tangible space that fostered new domesticities and nuclear family life, in accordance with the mission’s and the administration’s desires. The administration and the missionaries also saw the model villages as the most adequate method to fight the depopulation they had observed among Marind. In the model village, youngsters would not be subjected to traditional cultural obligations and sexual customs such as the *otiv-bombari*, thereby preventing the spread of the venereal granuloma that caused women to become infertile. Missionaries also thought that the nuclear family households would function as a fertility factor. In their thinking, the making of children happened when husbands and wives lived and slept under the same roof. However, what missionaries did not take into

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533 Van Baal, Dema, chapter II social organization, 38-130.
534 Van Santvoort to fellow MSC, 17-12-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142.
consideration, because it was beyond their knowledge, was that traditionally
sexual intimacy between married couples took place in the gardens. These gardens
were located in the hinterland where missionaries seldom went, and Marind
probably would not have allowed others to follow them to the space reserved for
matrimonial sexual activities.  

Missionaries strongly believed that the desired break with depraved and
‘barbaric’ Marind traditions and the pursuit of a virtuous, domestic family life
could not be achieved in original Marind villages. In the model villages, Marind
residents not only lived in the appropriate family dwelling, but lived in new
culturally encoded physical spaces, governed by missionary authority rather than
Marind local customary practices and tradition (adat). Here, Marind could be
subjected to a gradual process of ‘civilisation’ through which ultimately change of
Marind society could be produced. At the same time, as a village of peers, it was
believed to offer Marind residents the mutual support that was needed to instil the
changes desired by missionaries.

Life in the model villages came with a number of requirements. First of all,
the inhabitants had to wear fabric clothing and eschew Marind adornments,
especially the hair-extensions. Again, as argued above, the wearing of fabric
clothes was seen as a public sign that Marind had abjured the traditional adat and
its institutions. Hence, the model village was also referred to as dorps van gekleden
(village of the dressed).  

In addition to observing dress regulations, all inhabitants
had to attend church and follow catechism lessons (in Marind or Malay). Residents
were given clothes, mosquito netting, blankets, and a plot of land near the model
dorp for their gardens. According to Van de Kolk, the gardens were an
important factor for success, because they made the new families ‘rich’ and
independent from the families in Marind villages. At the same time, the gardens
were supposed to more or less a guarantee that these Marind would not go to their
gardens in the hinterland, but stay near the model villages. Families residing in
the model villages were encouraged to be autonomous—bartering rice, tools, and
other necessities from traders against coconuts and sago, as well as working their
own gardens and aspiring to self-sufficiency. Missionaries reasoned this would
benefit both parties, contrary to a system of indentured servitude which would
not only be costly to the mission but also exacting to Marind. Furthermore,
misionaries negotiated with the administration over the corvée obligations of

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537 Van Baal, Dema, 19-20.
538 Van de Kolk, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea’, Java-post (1911) 536-537; Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken
18-01-1911, ENK-AR-P027 142; Van Santvoort to brothers MSC, 17-02-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142; Van de
(1915) 43-49.
539 Van de Kolk to Father Provincial Brocken 20-01-1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142.
those Marind living in the model village. Instead of being sent to work on public works, they were obliged to build houses, clean and clear terrains, do trellis work, and dig wells in the model village. Missionaries thus creatively used the administration’s existing policies for the benefit of the model villages and the moral strengthening of their inhabitants. Finally, the model villages were set up and designed as a space of transformation, to impart colonial norms of hygiene, cleanness, and neatness. Houses were neatly arranged in rows, garbage or any other kinds of waste were not allowed to lie outside, streets and houses had to be swept and cleaned regularly.

Nevertheless, missionaries experienced a degree of failure and setback regarding the model villages of Noh-Okaba and Merauke. Merauke, compared to Okaba, had fewer residents, and there were some conflicts among the residents as they all came from different villages, and therefore belonged to different clans with different cults. The residents also had a rather casual attitude concerning missionaries’ requirements of eschewing adornments and attending Marind feasts. Okaba was more ‘successful’ in terms of Marind obeying missionaries’ requirements and changing their bodies, lives and beliefs. However, the Okaba mission station was dissolved in October 1915 for the time being, due to internal (financial) problems within the MSC mission. As a consequence, the model village of Noh Okaba came under the guardianship of a Catholic copra merchant (Baba Geong, Liberato and Bandoi Anitoe respectively) who received a salary of five gilders per month from the missionaries. Vertenten would undertake annual visits to Noh-Okaba to check up on things, but after two years he observed that residents had begun to discard their clothes and wear Marind ornaments again. The model village had lapsed and eventually, only few residents remained. In addition, the 1918 flu pandemic caused a significant number of the residents from both model villages to ‘flee’ to the hinterland, and upon return to the coast, they went back to their native villages rather than the model villages.

Despite these failures and setbacks, missionaries and the Assistant-Resident were convinced of the potential of model villages. The model villages came to feature the prime instrument in Vertenten’s proposed ‘rescue plan’ in order to save the Marind-anim from what he considered the catastrophic depopulation of south Dutch New Guinea. This proposed rescue plan, with a complex set of coercive measures, was put into action in 1921, and the experimental model villages of Merauke and Noh-Okaba made a second start. From that point onward, model villages with accompanying mission schools became the preliminary design of an immense resettlement programme in South Dutch New Guinea, designed to

540 Diary of Okaba, June 1915, ENK-AR-P027, 5041.
541 Diary of Merauke 23-02-1915, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
542 Diary of Okaba, 1915-1919, ENK-AR-P027, 5041; Diary of Merauke, 1915-19, ENK-AR-P027, 5790.
regulate village life and transform certain aspects of traditional culture. This I will discuss in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter emphasised that even if Dutch Catholic missionaries did not regard themselves as colonisers per se, they were actors on the colonial stage, involved in pacification and evangelisation processes that were brought to bear on the Marind. The missionaries engaged with the Marind in conversation, and intended to reform and transform Marind culture. To ‘pacify’ South Dutch New Guinea, the administration’s coercive measures did not suffice by themselves, and missionaries were needed to impose western, Catholic, and ‘civilised’ ideals and values upon the Marind in order to create governable subjects. These missionary ‘civilising’ activities could not take place without the policing and coercive violence of the colonial administration. Colonial and missionary projects were thus mutually dependent and deeply entangled.

In the beginning the Catholic missionaries, especially the priests, immersed themselves in the Marind world, they studied Marind culture and language, which was fundamental to their project. This required missionaries to work with the Marind and engage in conversation. Including asking questions, observing, and encouraging new ways of life, practices and beliefs. Initial efforts of the MSC missionaries to ‘civilise’ Marind, especially by espousing a fundamentally different bodily regime to the Marind, met with difficulties. These ‘civilising’ attempts were executed in the culturally encoded space of the Marind village, where missionaries wielded little to no authority. The MSC missionaries subsequently tried to separate Marind children and youth from their families and society, and enrolled them into boarding schools and model villages. These culturally encoded spaces were new to them and undercut the organisation of daily life in Marind society. These spaces of transformation were integral to the mission’s project of civilisation and had been designed to manage Marind people and culture by subjecting their bodies to new domestic arrangements, clothing practices, western hygiene, time and working ethos, sexual customs and conventions close to the body. Through these practices in the spaces of transformation colonial subjects were created and thereby their consent for colonial rule was produced and made effective. As such, the Catholic mission strengthened its position by investing heavily in what Ann Laura Stoler defined as ‘the tense and tender ties’, attempting to transform the intimate spheres of Marind youth.

Despite that these spaces were designed with the intention to effect cultural change and transform of Marind society, the actual changes the Dutch missionaries
were able to implement was limited and sometimes even temporary, however. Missionaries made substantial accommodations to certain Marind practices and beliefs in order to ‘keep’ them within these spaces of transformation, and the boarding schools and model villages had permeable boundaries. Marind could move in and out of these spaces, and in addition, those inhabitants of the model villages and the pupils in the boarding schools were mobile actors with interests of their own as I showed.

In the period discussed in this chapter, 1905 to 1921, the societal transformations missionaries were able to bring about were also limited and unsustainable because the two model villages and boarding schools were experimental and operated on a small scale. Only a small group of young boys had entered the boarding schools. Also, the main inhabitants of the model villages were former students and their wives, some elderly people living with their children, and mixed couples (Marind women and Chinese/Timorese men). The boys in the boarding schools and these Marind families and mixed couples had in many cases already distanced themselves from traditional Marind society and culture to some degree. Nevertheless, by setting up boarding schools and model villages, missionaries not only effected change among Marind who subjected themselves to these institutions, but also in Marind society and demography in general, as certain groups of Marind — especially youngsters— withdrew from Marind villages. The small-scale pilot of model villages created the basis for a future full-scale resettlement programme that eventually brought about the pacification and de-facto control of South Dutch New Guinea. As I will show in the next chapter, from 1921 onwards, the administration provided significant support to the establishment of model villages, through which missionaries were able to foster much more large-scale cultural and social change among Marind. To the Dutch colonial administration, this reorganisation of Marind social structure made the Marind easier to govern effectively.
Chapter five

Local intermediaries?
The missionising and governing of colonial subjects in South Dutch New Guinea, 1920-42

Introduction

From their arrival in 1905, the Dutch Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Missionari Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu - MSC) were supported by the Dutch colonial administration. Their collaboration deepened in the 1920s, when they worked together intensely on the ‘pacification’ of South Dutch New Guinea, one of eight administrative regions. This involved the establishment of model kampongs (model villages) with accompanying village schools throughout the region. This colonial project was engineered by Dutch missionaries and administrators situated at the top of the colonial stratum, but could not have been realised without the labours of hundreds of Catholic goeroes (teachers). These goeroes were educated and recruited by the MSC missionaries from the Kei and Tanimbar Islands in southeast Maluku, about 1,000 kilometres from the southern coastline of New Guinea, see Figure 5.1.

With the employment of these non-European agents, direct contact at a village level between missionaries and Papuans became limited, flowing through the interface of goeroe families instead. What did their work entail and how was it implicated in the colonial project? In light of these questions, the work and role of these non-Europeans, the goeroe families, invites closer examination. I use the concept of ‘local’ intermediary as the starting point for this analysis, with which I aim to bring the goeroes from Kei and Tanimbar into visibility and give greater prominence to their work in South Dutch New Guinea’s colonial project. As stated

543 The administrative region consists of the areas of the south coast and the hinterland of Merauke, the Mappi/Tanahmerah area, Frederik Hendrik Island, and a part of the Mimika area.
544 Goeroe, as is written in this chapter, follows the colonial Malay spelling and is pronounced as ‘guru’. It literally translates to ‘teacher’; however, goeroes were more than just (religious) teachers, as this chapter will demonstrate.
in the introduction to this dissertation, the concept ‘local’ intermediary is used to distinguish the specific group of non-European agents from the European missionaries who often denoted themselves as well as intermediaries. The local element of ‘local’ intermediaries, however, proofs to be a complicated attribution as I will elaborate in this chapter by analysing missionary practices in South Dutch New Guinea. The term is therefore framed by quotation marks throughout this chapter.

The analytical concept of ‘local’ or ‘Indigenous’ intermediary has received renewed attention in recent decades as historians, notably Felix Driver, have sought to uncover and incorporate ‘hidden histories’ of exploration.\(^\text{545}\) Its usage has prompted questions about what has been made visible and what has remained obscured in standard narratives of colonial history, while highlighting the crucial role of non-Western people in creating colonial knowledge, establishing lines of communication, and facilitating cross-cultural encounters.\(^\text{546}\) Simon Schaffer, for example, has recognised that ‘Indigenous’ or ‘local’ intermediaries have played a crucial role in ‘making sustained encounters and interactions across different cultures possible’, a fact also acknowledged by recent histories of religious contact and conversion.\(^\text{547}\)

In studies concerning missions in the Asia-Pacific region, it has been shown that the pattern of missionary expansion followed the training and deployment of non-European agents to open up new mission fields. Both the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Overseas Missions of Australasia employed Polynesian and Melanesian teachers, evangelists, and pastors with their wives to travel and work on other Pacific Islands.\(^\text{548}\) David Wetherell, for example, has explored the interaction of the South Sea Islands evangelists (called teachers) in their work with Papuans in east New Guinea and some of the problems they experienced.\(^\text{549}\) Other scholars have also explored the role of non-Europeans in the Christian missions. For example, the pivotal role of local agents in processes of religious change in the British Empire is highlighted in the recent full-length historical study *Indigenous*

\(^\text{545}\) Driver and Jones, *Hidden histories of exploration*; Kennedy, *The last blank spaces*; Konishi et al., *Indigenous Intermediaries*; Shellam et al., *Brokers & boundaries*.
\(^\text{546}\) Jobs and Mackenthun (eds.) *Agents of transculturation*; Karttunen, *Between worlds*.
\(^\text{547}\) Schaffer et al., *The brokered world*, xiv and xxxvii.
5.1 Map of Dutch New Guinea and the Maluku Islands. The location of the Kei and Tanimbar Islands as well as South Dutch New Guinea is marked.

©Jos van de Kolk, Een kwarteeuw apostolaat: Gedenkboek bij het zilveren jubileum van de missie in Nederlandsch-Nieuw-Guinea en de Molukken. 1903-1928 (Tilburg: missiehuis, 1928).
Evangelists and Questions of Authority in the British Empire, 1750-1940. By contrast to highlighting the crucial roles of Indigenous missionary elites and native evangelists, Felicity Jensz, Jan Hüsgen, Richard Hölzl and Hugh Morrison have focused on non-European teachers within mission schools in the period of colonial control. These teachers were central to the missionary project, and according to Jensz, ‘important mediators of mission and indigenous knowledge.’

Using the concept of ‘local’ intermediaries to analyse the role and work of goeroes will provide a more detailed description of the practices of governing and missionising Papuans, revealing the wider mechanisations of the dual colonial structure operating in South Dutch New Guinea. According to Papuan history expert Richard Chauvel and Dutch anthropologists Anton Ploeg and Jan Pouwer, this structure of colonial rule powerfully shaped present Indonesian-Papuan relations, while planting the early roots of anti-Indonesian sentiment among a significant segment of the Papuan population.

The dual colonial structure in Dutch New Guinea was a form of indirect colonial rule whereby an upper stratum of a few Dutch peoples held the most senior positions in the administration and missionary organisations, while Indigenous colonial subjects from other parts of the colony (Maluku) were relegated to the middle and low-ranking positions. In this structure there were no (or few) opportunities for Papuans to continue their education or access work in schools, the government administration, or in private enterprises. This form of indirect governance was distinct, and more complex, in comparison to its counterparts operating in Java and other Outer Provinces of the Dutch East Indies. Conversely, here members of the local (aristocratic) elite were sought out and included in the work of missionising and governing Indigenous subjects. In the Outer Province of the Kei Islands (southeast Maluku), for example, the colonial government and the mission recruited and educated Keiese ‘chiefs’ (rat) and village heads (orang kaya). Moreover, in Java, both the Catholic mission and the administration invested in educating Javanese children from the higher aristocratic elite or nobility (priyagung), regents’ (bupatis) and district heads’ (wèdanas) families, ultimately to co-opt them as a bureaucratic elite in the mission or colonial civil service. As I demonstrated in chapter three, missionaries envisioned that carefully fashioning

550 Brock et al., Indigenous evangelists.
551 Jensz, ‘Non-European teachers; Hölzl, ‘Educating missions; Morrison, ‘Negotiated and mediated lives’; Hüsgen, ‘The recruitment, training and conflicts surrounding “native teachers”’.
552 Jensz, ‘Non-European teachers in mission schools, there 398
faithful local intermediaries among the Javanese priyayi would accelerate a ‘trickle’ down process of ‘civilisation’ and Catholicism, from Javanese priyayi to the lower strata of Javanese society.

While Chauvel, Ploeg and Pouwer observed the dual colonial structure in Dutch New Guinea, they failed to distinguish clearly between the Protestant and Catholic missions and their respective geographical spheres of influence. Chauvel did not include Catholic Kei Islanders and South Dutch New Guinea at all in his analysis. Pouwer did, but wrongly placed the involvement of Keise goeroes in the period between 1905 and 1920, even though the first Keise goeroes arrived in 1921. For clarity, the Catholic and Protestant missions were each given an exclusive region in Dutch New Guinea as articulated in Article 123 of the constitutional law for the Dutch East Indies, *Regeringsregelement* (RR) (later art. 177 of the *Indische Staatsregeling*).\(^{555}\) The demarcation line at 4º30’ latitude, established by Governor-General A.W.F. Idenburg in 1912, geographically separated Dutch New Guinea’s mission fields, demarcating the Protestant north from the Catholic south.\(^{556}\) The exact criteria used to draw this boundary remains elusive, but according to Susanna Grazia Rizzo, it is most likely that political and economic considerations were paramount to decision-making.\(^{557}\)

The various missionary denominations present in the North and the South had distinctive missiological approaches, and differed further in their organisational structures. Protestant missions were managed by laymen and financed by the church or mission society at home. These laymen settled themselves among their Papuan flocks to set a living example of Western and Christian ways of life, often accompanied by their families. By contrast, the Catholic missions were managed by priests, and financially supported by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. Furthermore, Catholic missionary posts were located at much greater distances from each other due to a heavier reliance on organisational structures outside of Dutch New Guinea, that is, from the seat apostolic prefecture based in Langgur, in the Kei Islands.\(^{558}\) Both Christian missions trained Indonesians from elsewhere in the colony as teachers and lay-preachers to Indigenous peoples, placing them in Papuan villages and schools. Protestant missionaries recruited

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\(^{555}\) The jurisdiction and control over mission work was enforced by art. 123 of the *Regerings Regelement* (RR) and later art 177 of the *Indische Staatsregeling*. The background of this policy lies in the aftermath of the Java war and the liberal conception of the colonial state to enforce *Rust en Orde* (peace and order).

\(^{556}\) Hubert Eijkman, *De bijzondere toelating van artikel 177 van de wet op de staatsinrichting van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Den Haag 1934), 71; Gabrielle Dorren, *Door de wereld bewogen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Missionarissen van het Heilig Hart* (Hilversum 1995), 142.


Protestant amberi-goeroes and njoras from Ambon and Sangir Island, where they had received their education in Ambon’s government teacher training school (kweekschool voor Inlandse onderwijzers). By contrast, Catholic missionaries attracted Catholic goeroes and njoras hailing from the Kei islands and Tanimbar Islands. These workers were not state-educated but were drawn from inside the Catholic missionary sphere including the boarding schools in Langgur, operated by Dutch Catholic missionaries themselves.

As anthropologist Anton Ploeg has pointed out, it is difficult to find reliable information about the Indonesian members of the middle and lower strata of the colonial administration in Dutch New Guinea. This holds especially true for government sources. The Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes were, however, educated and employed by the Catholic mission. Information about them can thus be found in the Catholic mission archives—which only a few Dutch colonial historians have consulted. To reconstruct the role of these Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes, I analysed missionary records such as diaries, reports, letters and memoirs kept in the MSC archives in the Netherlands. These written missionary records rarely retain traces of goeroes’ voices as they did not, to my knowledge, correspond with members of the MSC in the Netherlands or write any publications for the many missionary magazines circulating at the time. Goeroes were, however, obliged to report to their superiors, for which they were required to keep a dagboek kampong: a diary that was used for keeping record of baptisms, deaths, and numbers of schoolchildren, as well as taking notes on the vernacular and cultural customs, and lastly also for recording perkara (problems) and infringements. While originally a few of these diaries were kept in the MSC archive, after the relocation and reclassification of the archive they were somehow lost. Notwithstanding the one-sided nature of these missionary sources, the MSC archive also includes a total of 22 translated and transcribed life histories, as well as interviews with goeroes, njoras (wives of goeroes), and their children; a rare treasure. Nevertheless, these ‘voices’ come through a filter, as the interviews were collected in the 1980s by Father Boelaars to serve as material for a history of the Dutch MSC missionaries, and therefore, ultimately to follow the mission’s narrative.

559 From 1925 onwards, the Amberi goeroes and a few Papuans (former slaves) were trained by the Protestants missionaries themselves in Miei Kamma, ‘Dit wonderlijke werk’, 571–72, 721, 749–53.
561 All located at St Agatha, Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven (hereafter ENK-AR-P027), archive of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, AR-P027 (hereafter AR-P027).
562 Willem Thieman, diary of Kimaam, 5 Mar. 1937, ENK-AR-P027, 5031. Thieman copied parts of the goeroes’ diaries into his own.
564 These life stories were all recorded by Jan Boelaars. While Boelaars transcribed and translated some of them into Dutch, others were done by Father K. Sträter. They can be accessed in ENK-AR-P027, 5171 and 5212.
Before exploring the work and role of goeroes and their families in the colonial project, I will first provide some context regarding the Dutch Catholic mission in South Dutch New Guinea. I begin with the model kampongs, sites where missionary practices ‘on the ground’ can be studied fruitfully. These model kampongs were transformative spaces in which ideas about ‘pacification’, education, ‘civilisation’, and evangelisation were translated by goeroes into everyday practices; the undertaking of creating colonial subjects and managing Papuan bodies, time, space, and behaviour. In the second section, I will elaborate on the background of the Keiese and Tanimbarese goero families, and upon missionary reasoning surrounding their deployment to model kampongs throughout South Dutch New Guinea. These first two sections will be followed by an exploration of the role of goeroes in the interwoven processes of attempting to ‘pacify’ South Dutch New Guinea and to educate, ‘civilise’, and evangelise its Papuan population. This analysis illuminates the complexity of ‘local’ intermediaries’ usage as an analytical category, leading me to further problematise the ‘local’ in conclusion.

**Model kampongs**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the early permanent Dutch presence in South Dutch New Guinea was marked by the establishment of a government post at Merauke in 1902. In the wake of its establishment, the Catholic mission was encouraged to set up a missionary post in Merauke in 1905 and Okaba in 1910. The Dutch MSC missionaries came to South Dutch New Guinea with a typical ‘civilising’ outlook, but until the 1920s they enjoyed few successes in either ‘civilising’ or converting the Marind. During these first decades, the MSC mission was also confronted with financial problems. The mission in South Dutch New Guinea may have been abandoned altogether were it not for extensive financial support received from the government in the 1920s under a so-called ‘rescue plan’.

The ‘rescue plan’ was designed by MSC missionaries in 1919 in response to the depopulation of South Dutch New Guinea. The Marind were, according to the missionaries, threatened with extinction because of the (initially unidentified) sexually transmitted infection granuloma venereum, also known as donovanosis, combined with the effects of other ‘corrupting’ elements which featured in Marind-anim culture (headhunting practices, infanticide, and sexual customs among them).

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566 See chapter four for details on these ‘corrupting elements’, including the kind of sexual customs of the institutionalised practice of men having sex with men and the heterosexual sexual customs and collective fertility rituals–which missionaries primarily a qualified as a form of sexual depravity.
While it may be assumed that fears of ‘extinction’ were cynically used as justification for missionary expansion, the decline of South Dutch New Guinea’s Indigenous population was very much a reality. Owing to the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-19, almost one in five Marind-anim died. There was also an alarmingly low birth-rate among the Marind-anim, and the only children that were being born were from couples residing in the experimental model kampongs of the mission in Okaba and Merauke.\textsuperscript{567} While observing these low birth rates, missionaries also noted the ravages of the sexually transmitted infection granuloma venereum.\textsuperscript{568} Missionaries argued that the low birth rate was due to infertility caused by the spread of venereal disease through a Marind ritual called otiv bombari. As mentioned in the previous chapter, otiv-bombari was a fertility rite which implied multiple-male copulation, geared towards impregnation (collective fertilisation) or performed for the purpose of collecting ‘fertile sperm’.\textsuperscript{569} In 1953, the decline in population was confirmed by researchers from the South Pacific Commission’s ‘depopulation team’, which concluded that the coastal Marind-anim population had dropped gradually from 10,000 to 5,000 between 1900 and 1920. In contrast to the missionary perspective however, the depopulation team’s assertion was that the infertility or sub-fertility, resulting in a low birth rate, was caused by chronic irritation of the female genitalia and chronic inflammation of the cervix uteri and not the sexually transmitted infection granuloma venereum.\textsuperscript{570}

The ‘rescue plan’ designed by the MSC missionaries promoted the resettlement of ‘healthy’ Marind newlyweds from coastal areas to newly established villages. The setting of these villages, commonly referred to as model kampongs, was believed to free youngsters from the pressures of conforming to traditional obligations and sexual customs such as the otiv bombari, thereby preventing the spread of the venereal granuloma. The missionaries also considered the model villages to be the basis for a healthier family life, crucial to new regimes of sexual discipline. This ‘healthier family life’ was a nuclear family, centred on the married couple and their children living, sleeping, and eating together in a single dwelling. The ideal of monogamous, long-term cohabitation would, the missionaries believed, be the spiritual and moral salvation of the Marind-anim. Moreover, each model village

\textsuperscript{567} Van Baal, De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea, 34.  
\textsuperscript{568} Owing to the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918–19, almost one in five Marind-anim died. See Jos van de Kolk to the provincial, 1 Nov. 1911, 1 Nov. 1913, Christmas 1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142 (B); L.C. Vogel. ‘Een granuloma-venereum (donovanosis) epidemie in Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea (1920)’, 2425–26; L.C. Vogel and J. Richens, ‘Donovanosis in Dutch south New Guinea’, 203–18.  
\textsuperscript{569} For a discussion of this practice and its given meanings and interpretations by both missionaries and anthropologist see Van Baal, Demu, 807-821.  
was to be formed around a village boarding school, referred to by the missionaries as ‘the centre of civilisation’. Here, the attendance of Papuan children was compulsory, in order to ready them for membership of a ‘new’ and ‘modern’ society. As the missionaries had discovered with their experimental *model kampongs* in Okaba and Merauke a few years earlier, a *model kampong*’s status as a new, culturally encoded space provided for the contestation and disruption of Indigenous practices, facilitating and expediting the ‘civilisation’ of Papuans.

Father Vertenten became the lead spokesperson for this ‘rescue plan’, issuing alarming press reports to newspapers in Java and the Netherlands bearing headlines such as ‘South New Guinea is dying out’ and ‘The extinction of Kaja-Kajas’. In 1920, Vertenen pitched the missionary ‘rescue plan’ to the administration in Batavia. At this time, the so-called Ethical Policy had begun to reshape colonial governance in Dutch New Guinea. The Ethical Policy aimed to provide education, healthcare, and economic security for the Indigenous populations of the Dutch East Indies. However this policy went hand-in-hand with an intensification of territorial expansion and colonial intervention. For Dutch New Guinea, this Ethical Policy’s impacts were significant and widespread, implying further cultural transformation according to a Western model.

In 1921, the proposed ‘rescue plan’ was put into effect with the initiation of a ‘control’ campaign; a complex set of coercive measures aimed at disciplining Indigenous bodies. The Catholic mission collaborated with the Department of Health and the Department of Internal Affairs of the colonial administration in realising this ‘control’ campaign.

As an extraordinarily high proportion of the Marind were affected by the sexually transmitted disease, in the first instance, treatment for cases of donovanosis was brought under stricter administrative control. A large-scale, decentralised, curative campaign was set up under the direction of doctor M. Thierfelder of the Health Department. This included setting up eight health centres throughout the region to monitor donovanosis sufferers and subject them to (compulsory) annual examinations. The majority recovered from the infection after treatment.

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571 Earlier, in May 1917, the mission failed to get two schools subsidised by the colonial government. Verschueren, ‘Zuid Nieuw-Guinea’, 522.
572 The first two articles about this alleged extinction were written by Father Vertenten in the *Java-post*, after which they were widely reprinted in other newspapers. Petrus Vertenten, ‘Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea sterft uit’, *Java-post*, 1919, 302; Petrus Vertenten, ‘De ethische richting als moordenares op Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea’, *Java-post*, 1920, 181.
573 For a detailed discussion of the Ethical Policy, see Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten*.
Moreover, birth rates recovered significantly after 1923. The depopulation report maintained however, that this recovery owed less to the treatment of donovanosis than to the proliferation of *model kampongs* and supporting legislation. The latter resulted in a wider transformation of lifestyle and beliefs and put a stop to sexual rituals such as the *otiv bombari* causing infertility or sub-fertility.\footnote{S. Kooyman, M. Dorren, L. Veeger, J. Verschueren and R. Luyken, *Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek onder Marind-Anim van Nederlands Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1955*, Leiden, KITLV Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Collectie demografie en antropologie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, inventory 26, item 28.}

Secondly, different regulations to restrict certain Marind customs were enforced. Alongside headhunting tours, all major rituals or feasts that included sexual elements were forbidden.\footnote{Petrus Vertenten, *Vijftien jaar bij de koppensnellers van Nederlandsch Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1935), 150–56; Van Baal, *De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea*, 37–39; Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia*, vol.2, 237, 248; Vogel, ‘Een granuloma-venereum (donovanosis)-epidemie’, 2425–26.} These regulations provoked an extensive debate among missionaries, anthropologists, and Governor Jan van Baal from its implementation up to the 1950s, which addressed an emerging disquiet about the mission’s intervention in traditional societies.\footnote{Among others, see Van Baal, *De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea*, 99; Paul Wirz, *Dämonen und Wilde in Neuguinea* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1928), 9, 301–04. Also, the governor of Australian Papua, Hubert Murray, voiced his discomfort with the Dutch interventions, indicating that his administration was aware of the Dutch policies on the other side of the border. See Hubert Murray, *Territory of Papua, Annual Report for the Year 1930–1931* (Canberra 1932), 16–17.} The depopulation report of 1953 states that the coercive legislation and measures had an especially deep impact on the lives of the Marind-anim indeed, but elements of tradition and customary lifeways survived this legal sanction.\footnote{S. Kooyman, M. Dorren, L. Veeger, J. Verschueren and R. Luyken, *Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek onder Marind-Anim van Nederlands Zuid Nieuw-Guinea, 1955*, Leiden, KITLV Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Collectie demografie en antropologie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, inventory 26, item 28.}

Third, all Marind were to be housed in nuclear family units situated in *model kampongs*, and were to adopt new lifestyles to reflect their changed situation. This measure was taken in a more radical direction than that proposed by the missionaries’ ‘rescue plan’, which sought only to house non-affected youngsters and newlyweds in model villages. The tradition of men’s and women’s houses existing separately were hereby abolished, alongside the *gotad*. The *gotad* was, as explained in the previous chapter, a dwelling for adolescent boys, secluded by degrees from Marind society. They were sites of coaching for headhunting expeditions, while facilitating homosexual sex acts between young boys and older men.\footnote{See note chapter number 473 in chapter four.} For these reasons, the tradition of the *gotad* was severely condemned by missionaries and the Assistant-Resident of South Dutch New Guinea.\footnote{Verschueren, ‘*Zuid Nieuw-Guinea*,’ 523; Jan van Baal, *De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea onder Nederlandsch bestuur: 36 jaren* (Den Haag 1939), 9–13, 37; Van Baal, *Dema*, 20. For more on ritualised or institutionalised homosexual relations among Papuans, see Gilbert Herdt, *ritualized homosexuality in Melanesia* (London: University of California Press, 1984), 24–30.
This complex of coercive measures implemented by the ‘control’ campaign appears to have echoed the colonial administration’s policy programme in several of the Outer Provinces. In Kei, for example, the colonial administration imposed taxes and banned separate longhouses for men, women, and bachelors, stipulating that nuclear-family houses be built in their place.\(^\text{582}\) Also, during an earlier period of colonial rule between 1830 and 1850, the government closed traditional villages where inhabitants lived in longhouses, replacing them with smaller dwellings in North Sulawesi. This forced resettlement often compelled local families to adopt the nuclear model, viewed by the administration as an essential precondition for the organised cultivation of coffee and cacao for export.\(^\text{583}\) Furthermore, the implementation of the Ethical Policy for Borneo and central Sulawesi (Poso region) in the first decade of the 20th century displays several similarities as well. In the latter region, a resettlement programme was instituted by a collaboration of Protestant missionaries from the Netherlands Mission Society (Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap - NZG) and the government, again relocating and re-establishing new and larger villages with individualised family dwellings where taxation, prohibitions against headhunting, and restrictions upon ceremonial feasting were enforced. Like the case in South Dutch New Guinea, the Protestant missionaries were also encouraged to complete ‘civilising work’ among the Panoma, known headhunters like the Marind-anim.\(^\text{584}\) North of the demarcation line in Dutch New Guinea, Protestant missionaries of the Utrecht Mission Society (Utrechtse Zendings Vereniging - UZV) established ‘Christian villages’ from 1900 onwards, where Christian Pапuans built family houses and lived separately from other Pапuans.\(^\text{585}\) Protestant missionaries also established village schools and churches in existing Papuan villages, where they deployed Protestant goeroes from Ambon. Catholic missionaries also noted that in the Fak-Fak region, Protestant missionaries of the UZV and the colonial government had jointly attempted to re-settle Pапuans into kampongs.\(^\text{586}\)

While the MSC missionary ‘rescue plan’ initially advocated the gradual resettlement of coastal Marind-anim in model kampongs, a policy programme theoretically subjecting all Pапuans from the newly opened areas to resettlement

\(^{585}\) Hogerwaard, ‘Het aandeel van de Amberi-Goeroes’, 571–72, 721, 749–53; Kamma, Dit wonderlijke werk, 258, 392, 602.
\(^{586}\) Henricus Nollen to the provincial, 27 Apr. 1920, ENK-AR-P027, 135. Further research needs to be done to establish if this happened in collaboration with the government, whether this was on the same scale and whether it had a similar impact to that of the establishment of model kampongs in south New Guinea.
in the neatly ordered confines of *model kampongs* was soon implemented. This policy programme also aimed to concentrate the traditionally smaller, scattered Papuan villages into larger entities. This eroded the autonomy of Papuans by collapsing expansive networks of kin into governable social units. While affirming the administration’s colonial imperatives by providing essential labour and taxes, *model kampongs* provided missionaries with more localised, interpersonal regimes of governance by which to realise their civilising mission. Moreover, the *model kampongs* were as a means to rigidly control and discipline Papuan sexuality, reproduction, and domestic life. *Model kampongs* were not only more efficient administrative units but also the main instrument of government ‘welfare’ efforts. And as such effective, multi-layered mechanisms for colonial governance.

The MSC missionaries and the colonial government collaborated to implement this new administrative and socio-cultural initiative throughout South Dutch New Guinea. Missionaries, especially priests, undertook exploratory journeys into unfamiliar tribal areas, seeking out ‘new’ peoples and children in order to ‘open up’ new *model kampongs* and schools.\(^{587}\) A Keiese or Tanimbarese *goeroe* was then sent to this area to lead the building of a *model kampong* and start a village school. The establishment of *model kampongs* developed gradually as it followed the pace of missionary expansion. These villages were first set up along the south coast, where the Marind-anim tribe lived. The prefabricated buildings of the first few *model kampongs*, which were financed by the government, were built in the style of Moluccan houses by Kei construction workers under the supervision of an MSC brother.\(^{588}\) The buildings were then transported and assembled at the model village site. This method of building and assembling prefabricated houses for a *model kampong* became too expensive. Hence, missionaries and colonial authorities decided that the villagers themselves should build the nuclear family houses and *model kampongs* under the supervision of *goeroes*.\(^{589}\) Papuans were obliged to perform these tasks as part of their *herendiensten*. These were compulsory duties that Papuans were obliged to perform for the government (and mission), and also involved building schools, roads, maintenance activities, and local community services for the model village. Missionaries perceived the compulsory construction

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588 MSC, diary of Merauke, Sep. 1921 – Nov. 1922, ENK-AR-P027, 5790; Jos van de Kolk to the provincial, 6 Sep. 1910, ENK-AR-P027, 140 (B); Henricus Geurtjens, memoirs, 1895–1942, ENK-AR-P027, 5070, 20–23.

of family dwellings and model villages as a valuable educational undertaking, introducing new building skills and promoting the Western ethos of hard work.

In 1923, 11 model villages, accompanied by schools, had been established in the districts of Merauke, Koembe, Okaba, and Wambi. In 1926, missionaries noted that a quarter of the approximately 6,000 coastal Marind living in the area from Merauke up to Wamal were under the mission’s ‘control’ and had either been baptised or were catechumens. From the 1930s, *model kampongs* were established further along the south coast and in the hinterland of Merauke, where, the Yéi, Awjoe and Jaqai (Jahraj) lived. By 1940, the Catholic mission had established six main stations, sixteen sub-stations and around two hundred model villages with schools along the south coast and in the hinterland of South Dutch New Guinea.

The sources consulted here do not reveal what proportion of the Marind-anim and later, Papuans from neighbouring tribes, were actually resettled. The sources do, however, reveal that some Papuans themselves requested a *goeroe* for their village. Such a claim can partly be explained as colonial or mission rhetoric, not least because this increased their chances of obtaining further government subsidies. However, it is also likely that these were authentic appeals, as Papuans observed the material growth of other villages, facilitated by a *goeroe*, and desired the same advantages. The sources also reveal Papuan resistance towards resettlement and the imposition of compulsory duties. Missionary reports and diaries also indicate that Papuans had clandestine sexual relations, or sexual relations ‘in the forest’, in addition to participating in ‘forbidden’ rituals and feasts. This indicates that they resisted attempts to control their intimate lives. Furthermore, it was often reported that Papuans, especially adults, did not stay permanently in the *model kampongs*, rather they withdrew to ‘the forest’ for longer periods of time. This presented colonial officials and missionaries with a new problem, namely that of *kampong* absenteeism. Later in this chapter, I will discuss how Keiese and Tanimbarese *goeroes* were tasked with enforcing and regulating Papuan intimate life, as well as their presence in the *model kampongs*. First, however, I will discuss why MSC missionaries deployed ambitious Catholic *goeroes* from the Kei and Tanimbar Islands in South Dutch New Guinea, for it was they who made the establishments of *model kampongs* possible, and the consequent expansion of both missionary and colonial influence.

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590 Several MSC missionaries such as Vriens, Boelaars, Geurtjens and Verschueren reflected (from a missionary point of view) upon the influence of these policies, the ‘pacification’ and cultural change aimed at the Marind in a series of articles in, among others, the journal *Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea*.


Catholic goeroes from Kei and Tanimbar Islands

When the Dutch province of the MSC took on the mission in the Moluccas and Dutch New Guinea in 1902, they secured flourishing boarding schools in Langgur in the Kei Islands from the Dutch Jesuits. These schools were designed for children of the local aristocracy (mel-mel) and focused on educating role models who could reach out to their more numerous non-elite counterparts. The boys in Langgur followed a teacher training programme with the brothers and priests, while the girls were educated in a separate boarding school by Catholic sisters in preparation for marriage and domestic life. Following the establishment of teacher training school in Langgur, male pupils trained there were employed as goeroes at village schools on the Kei and Tanimbar Islands. From the 1920s onwards, the schools in Langgur became important recruiting institutions for goeroe families for the mission in South Dutch New Guinea. MSC missionaries were of the opinion that Papuans at the time were not ‘suitable’ candidates to serve as goeroes because they were not ‘civilised’, nor intelligent enough. The same reasons were cited to explain missionary disinterest in establishing teacher training programmes for Papuans in the near future. Hence, when the need arose for trained goeroes to service the growing number of newly established village schools in South Dutch New Guinea, they began deploying the Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes who were already at hand. Disciplined by their education, they were believed to be deeply religious and loyal to the Catholic missionaries. Moreover, these Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes were considered to be ‘civilised’ colonial subjects who were neither too far removed from ‘Indigenous’

593 These boarding schools in Langgur were broadly similar to the boarding schools of Mendut and Muntilan in Central Java as discussed in chapter three; in both cases, they had been developed by Father Mertens SJ, were geared specifically towards children of the aristocratic classes and focused on educating role models for the local Catholic community.

594 J. Bergh, The beginning of the Catholic religion on the Kei Islands, memories of Justinus Melau (Renjoets), Langgur, 1880–1907, ENK-AR-P027, 667; Jos van de Kolk, Een kwarteeuw apostolaat: Gedenkboek bij het zilveren jubileum van de missie in Nederlandsch-Nieuw-Guinea en de Molukken. 1903-1928 (Tilburg: Missiehuis. 1928); Henricus Geurtjens, Oost is Oost en West is West (Utrecht: Utrecht Brussel, Het Spectrum. 1946), 113–14.

595 In addition to this argument of the missionaries at the time, it must be noted that there was no educational trajectory in place in South Dutch New Guinea enabling Papuans to become teachers. In 1939 anthropologist and Governor Jan van Baal wrote that he considered it impossible that, in the coming twenty-five years, Papuans would be trained as teachers. He was mistaken. Not because he made a poor assessment, but because he simply could not predict the impact of the Pacific War, during which large parts of Asia and the Dutch East Indies were occupied by Japan. While South Dutch New Guinea remained unoccupied, ties with the rest of the colony were severed and the supply of new teacher families from the Kei and Tanimbar islands was interrupted. Consequently, missionaries were compelled to train Papuans (from the Muju area) as teachers. After the war ended, missionaries launched a teacher training programme in Merauke. One of the first Papuans to be trained as a teacher was Paulus Keji, who started to work as a goeroe in 1951.
culture. Missionaries thereby assumed that Papuans would respond more readily to *goeroes* from Kei and Tanimbar than to European missionaries themselves because the former were ‘closer’ to their culture. As Father Verschueren and Father Meuwese explained, in a manner typical of Orientalist discourse, these *goeroes* had attained a precise ‘level of development’ which enabled them to adapt better to the *kampongs* than Dutch missionaries could, while at the same time, they stood above the Papuans. Moreover, these *goeroes* were already ‘civilised’ and possessed specific ‘racial traits’ that made them particularly well suited to working under harsh conditions in remote areas and in ‘heathen environments’.

Missionaries’ representation of Keiese and Tanimbarese *goeroes* as occupying an ambiguous position of similarity and difference was based on a notion of racial hierarchy. Missionaries saw the world’s peoples as distributed along a one-dimensional scale from less to more civilised, and, considering white Europeans the pinnacle of racial progress and civilisation, accorded the Indigenous peoples of the archipelago a lower station. On this scale, Keiese and Tanimbarese *goeroes* were considered more advanced than Papuans in respect to race, culture, language, dress, and religion. According to these markers of difference, the use of colonised subjects, such as Kei *goeroes*, to work among the more inferior Papuans was logical and legitimate. At the same time, missionaries reasoned that the *goeroes’* racial traits and level of development was precisely what made them suited to living and working under the harsh conditions in Papua. The missionary reasoning behind this hierarchical ranking of races and ethnicities was structured similarly to what Partha Chatterjee has called the rule of colonial difference; a rule institutionalised by the dual colonial structure in Dutch New Guinea.

Working in South Dutch New Guinea was not without risks for *goeroes* and their families. These included common health risks such as influenza, malaria, and maternal death but also the threat of violence. So, *goeroes* must have had reasons of their own for entering the missionary workforce in Papua. From transcripts of the interviews held by Father Jan Boelaars, it becomes clear that *goeroes* saw themselves first and foremost as the bearers of the Catholic cross. As one of the *goeroes*, Melchior Sibilum, stated: ‘My intention was: My father brought the Gospel to Hollat [Kei Besar], and that is why I left Hollat after Christmas to

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596 This kind of reasoning was also used by Protestant missionaries for the legitimation of the deployment of Ambonese *goeroes*. Kamma, ‘Dit wonderlijke werk’, 570.


598 Chatterjee, *The nation and its fragments*.

bring the Gospel to Merauke’. Other personal motivations could also have played a role, like increasing their children’s prospects, social mobility, honour, family tradition, or the idea of salvation. Prominent among these was money; as anthropologist Todd Hoee showed, the deployment of Kei Islanders in South Dutch New Guinea by the Catholic mission created remittance flows, on which the Kei economy came to rely.

On 13 November 1921, the first two goeroe families arrived in Merauke: Kassimirus Maturbongs and his family went to work in the model kampong of Merauke, and Adrianus Dumutubun and his family went to work in the school in Okaba. Many more goeroes arrived soon after, outnumbering the ten MSC missionaries then present. Some of these goeroes had considerable experience teaching on Kei or Tanimbar, while others came fresh from the teacher training in Langgur. Like Maturbongs and Dumutubun, the majority of the goeroes came to South Dutch New Guinea together with their families. While the 1930s saw bachelor goeroes deployed to supplement shortages in personnel, Dutch missionaries strongly preferred to employ married goeroes who could not only discharge their official duties, but could serve as role models of a Catholic ‘modern’ family. Women (njora), whom missionaries considered the cornerstone of the family, could in turn take up ‘women’s’ tasks and work with Papuan girls. Hence, after a few years of employment, many of the bachelor goeroes were encouraged to take a sabbatical and find a spouse in Kei.

Goeroes from Kei and Tanimbar left to work in South Dutch New Guinea with a specific historical, social, and educational background, one which combined elements Keiese culture and adat with Western Catholic teaching. The Kei social and political life was determined by hierarchical relationships, precedence

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601 Hoee, ‘“Little kingdoms”’.
602 MSC, diary of Merauke, 1921–42, ENK-AR-P027, 5790, 46. In the archive of the archbishopric of Batavia, (incomplete) lists are available of Kei goeroes and the names of the villages where they were first stationed. See Daftar segala toean2 padri, broeder, zesters dan goeroe2 jang soedah bekerja dalam Vicariaat Nederl. Nieuw Guinee sampai sekarang, 1888–1938, Langgoer, July 1938, Jakarta, Archive of the Archbisshopric of Batavia/Jakarta (hereafyer AJAK), G.10 Kei (129/128). See also Statistics: mission schools in Mappi, 1 Aug. 1948; Goeroes working from 1939–1940 in RK mission schools in Mappi, 1 Nov. 1940, both in ENK-AR-P027, 5200.
603 P. Cornelissen to Kees Meuwese, 27 Feb. 1940, 6 Mar. 1940, 6 Nov. 1940, ENK-AR-P027, 6464.
605 Catholic missionaries have reported on Kei society and culture in books and missionary magazines. See for example J. Kusters SJ, C. van der Heijden SJ and J. Mertens SJ in the Claverbond (1881-1904); articles from father Geurtjens MSC in Almanak en Analen; Geurtjens, Uit een vreemde wereld, of het leven en streven der inlanders op de Kei-eilanden (Den Bosch: Teulings, 1921) Jos Klerks MSC, ‘Gegevens over Keieesche huwelijksadat’, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 98-3 (1939) 285-323.
relations, and a caste system, as anthropologist Todd Hooe has explained. As the bishop of Agats elucidated in the *Asmat Sketch Book* (1973), this meant that the *goeroes*, who were people of status, were to be treated in a lordly manner and obeyed by Papuans. *Goeroes* were proud of their ‘civilised’ culture, and they were praised for it by the Dutch missionaries. Consequently, *goeroes* tried to modify Papuan culture so that it would assimilate their Keise or Tanimbarese culture and version of Catholicism. Moreover, Kei Islanders and Tanimbar Islanders were known to be very competitive: honour was in their eyes a matter of village obligation. In South Dutch New Guinea this resulted in some friendly competition among the *goeroes* of different *model kampongs*, whereby *goeroes* sought to cultivate the largest school garden, the best flute orchestra, the best school results, etc.

In the next three sections, I will follow the work of these *goeroes* and *njoras* in the *model kampongs* in South Dutch New Guinea. I will first explore their role as village leaders and informants, second as educators, and finally as catechists. In daily practice these roles and tasks were deeply entangled.

**Goeroes as village leaders and informants**

With the model kampong policy programme the colonial administration set up a more rational administrative structure in South Dutch New Guinea. Papuans living in the model villages could be more easily subjected to compulsory labour services (*herendiensten*) and pressured for the payment of taxes, in the form of cash or compulsory delivery of coconuts. Moreover, as these model kampongs had no indigenous basis and in the absence of traditional leadership linked to clan-settlement, the colonial administration implemented a new formalised authority. Authority customarily lay in the hands of the *somb-anim*, ‘great men/headhunters’ who served as custodians of tradition and myth, village administrators, mediators, and decision-makers. By way of ‘replacing’ the influence of *somb-anim*, the administration established the position of *kepala kampong* (village head), and reserved the right to appoint a symbolic Papuan leader for each model village. However, owing to their socio-cultural background, professional connections, and skills, *goeroes* often functioned as the authority in practice. *Goeroes* enjoyed their status of being ‘more developed’ according to the dominant reasoning of ‘racial

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606 Hooe, “‘Little kingdoms’.”
608 Hooe, “‘Little kingdoms’”; Sowada, ‘Kai Islanders’.
609 De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea, 39.
hierarchy’ used by missionaries and administrators, essential for legitimising their privilege and authority over Papuans. Moreover, because the *goeroe* was often the only literate man in a *kampong*, the colonial administration and missionaries relied upon them to announce and execute orders, collect taxes, and provide information. As such, the administrative structure implemented in South Dutch New Guinea was characterised by a dual colonial structure. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, under this regime an upper stratum consisting of a few Dutch officials and missionaries ruled, ‘civilised’, and ‘missionised’ Papuans by stationing Keise *goeroes* in each model village.

The model villages were considered to be the main instrument of government and the mission’s welfare and civilising efforts. Since living in a *model kampong* under the *goeroes’* influence was considered as a more ‘civilised’ lifestyle for the Papuans (and deemed necessary to govern them) *goeroes* were expected to encourage stable patterns of residence and increase social cohesion. Papuans were sometimes reluctant, however, and resisted living permanently in these new dwellings. Instead, individuals would stay in the village intermittently, also spending time ‘in the forest’ and in the *bivak* (bivouac) near their own gardens and sago stands. The latter lifestyle was regarded as ‘uncivilised’ because it was believed that ‘out in the bush’ Papuans would revert to their ‘heathen’ and ‘promiscuous’ customs. As a result, *kampong* absenteeism manifested itself as a problem for government and mission alike, though primarily the *goeroes’* responsibility to manage.

In the event that Papuans left the *kampong*, *goeroes* were tasked with seeking them out and encouraging them to return. *Goeroe* Katmaerubun recalled one such instance:

> When I woke up at dawn, there was no one in sight; they had all run away. But I didn’t want to give up and took up my gun and oar and went on my way to find the people in their old kampong, and there I found them.

Direct surveillance, physical punishment, incarceration, together with the threat and use of violence were applied to curtail absenteeism, but coercive measures seldom resulted in changed behaviours. Therefore, missionaries encouraged *goeroes* to instead gain Papuans’ confidence, create a close sense of community, and foster affective links with the *model kampong* to foster an active desire to remain. However, if necessary, Moluccan soldiers and police officers were called to this


611 *P. Katmaerubun* interviewed by Jan Boelaars, 1987–88, tr. K. Sträter, ENK-AR-P027, 5171
model village to uphold restrictions, sanction or detain unwilling Papuans. Yet, it be inferred from debates during the annual missionaries’ conferences in Merauke that the mission and colonial government sometimes had differing opinions regarding the degree of coercion warranted, with missionaries accusing Controller Jan van Baal of insufficient cooperation and weak government action.612

Goeroes not only commanded many of the villages’ ‘administrative’ affairs, but were also responsible for maintaining law and order, settling village disputes in the absence of a continuously present police force. As such, they often became mediators and peacemakers. Moreover, goeroes were also crucial in gathering colonial knowledge on Papuans and Papuan culture. The Dutch anthropologist Sjoerd Jaarsma observed that after 1945, Kei and Papuan goeroes were both key informants and assistants for the missionary priests in gathering knowledge on Papuan customs and languages.613 When Verschueren undertook his tour around Bupul in 1933-34, he noted in his diary that he spoke with goeroes and asked them questions about the customs of the people.614 Goeroes were also required to keep a dagboek kampong. Father Willem Thieman used these accounts to write an overview of the life course and cultural customs of the Papuans on Frederik-Hendrik Island.615 Via intelligence gathered by goeroes, the mission provided the administration with information for conducting census. Van Baal stated that the census of 1937 was considered especially reliable because information was provided by goeroes; more knowledgeable than civil servants who only occasionally visited a village.616

The administrative structure in South Dutch New Guinea was characterised by relations of mutual dependency among the government, missionaries, Papuans, and goeroes. The financial elements of this relationship shed much light on the interdependency among these actors. The MSC missionaries were dependent on the colonial government for funding, which they obtained by establishing schools in model villages. The colonial administration in turn fully relied on the mission’s ability to provide education for Papuans in South Dutch New Guinea, and to supply these schools and model villages with trained goeroes from Kei and Tanimbar. The relationship between goeroes and missionaries was also characterised by mutual

612 Reports of pastor conferences, 1935, ENK-AR-P027, 5172a. That the mission and the colonial administrators in South Dutch New Guinea did not always get along, and sometimes worked against each other, can also be seen, for example, in MSC, diary of Merauke, 1920–39, ENK-AR-P027, 5790, S2.
613 Sjoerd Jaarsma, “‘More pastoral than academic...’”, 109–33.
614 Verschueren, diary, 17 Feb.–30 Mar. 1934, ENK-AR-P027, 5043. After his death, Verschueren’s notes on the customs and language of the Yei were found by Piet Hoeboer. These were used for Jan van Baal, Jan Verschueren’s, Description of Yei-nan culture: extracted from the posthumous papers (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).
615 Boelaars, Met Papoea’s samen op weg, vol. 2, 84.
616 Van Baal, De bevolking van Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea, 46.
financial dependency. For their salary, *goeroes* depended on missionaries, and missionaries in turn relied on *goeroes* to fulfil various conditions in order to receive payment of the government subsidies. *Goeroes* had to obtain either a teaching degree (*diploma volks-onderwijzer*) or a ‘statement of suitability’ (*verklaring van geschiktheid*) given by the inspector of education to gain employment at a school.617 Furthermore, *goeroes* had to make sure that a certain number of children were present in school because government subsidies were determined by attendance rates.618

School attendance and absenteeism were checked by the *schoolopziener* (missionary school inspector) and the *Controleur* (district officer).619 Children not attending school not only jeopardised the receipt of subsidies, but above all, the ‘civilising mission’. According to missionary belief, the reproduction of colonial society rested with its younger generations. While missionaries encouraged the colonial government to criminalise parents of truant children, ultimately little institutional support was available to bolster the *goeroes* personal authority. As a result, *goeroes* frequently meted out corporal punishment to school children.620

By installing a *goeroe* in the *model kampong*, the administration and mission not only obtained a representative in the functional sense, but one who functioned as an educated observer and informant. Though prominent, this was but another of the *goeroes’* diverse roles in South Dutch New Guinea’s colonial apparatus. The work of educating and evangelising, crucial components of the ‘civilising mission’, will be discussed in the following two sections.


618 My educated estimate is that a little less than 50% of the total mission was fully subsidised. In 1939, 64 schools with 76 *goeroes* were subsidised; the total number of schools is not mentioned. See: Indisch verslag II - Statistisch jaaroverzicht van Nederlands-Indië over het jaar 1939 (The Hague 1939), 118. Before 1939, the colonial reports include no differentiation into subsidies for beschavings scholen (‘civilising schools’) in New Guinea. Statistics are available in the archive of the archbishopric that show that in the period 1934–37, the total number of schools grew from 92 to 115 in the regions of Merauke, Mimika and Boven Digul, but these do not mention the number of subsidised schools. See: Statistiek der werkzaamheden van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinee, 1934–37, AJAK, 15.


Goeroes as educators

During the first two decades of the colonial and missionary presence in South Dutch New Guinea, no formal educational system existed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, however, the missionaries established boarding schools in Okaba and Merauke. With the introduction of the model village system in 1921 a great deal of effort was put into Indigenous education. Hence, as recommended by the missionaries’ ‘rescue plan’, each model village was formed around a village school and attendance made compulsory for all children residing in the local area. While an MSC priest served as the school administrator (schoolbeheerder), goeroes drawn from graduates of the boarding school in Langgur were employed to work in these Catholic village schools, of which around 200 were established by 1941.

For a decade, the MSC missionaries received a special subsidy from the administration to establish village schools in South Dutch New Guinea. In 1931 this arrangement ended, and all schools run by the mission were brought under the general subsidy regulation (Algemeen Subsidie Reglement). Henceforward, the village schools had to meet the formal level and curriculum requirements for primary schools (dorpsscholen/dessascholen), presenting problems (common to this part of the Dutch Empire) which in turn prompted the introduction of a new and specific type of primary education for Indigenous peoples known as beschavingsscholen (civilisation schools). These schools were more modest than regular village schools: the curriculum prioritised musical instruction (singing and playing the flute, fashioned from bamboo), sports and games. Contributions of unpaid manual labour, such as cleaning the courtyard and tending the school gardens, were required as well. In these civilisation schools, knowledge instruction (schoolse kennis) was limited to addition and subtraction up to one hundred. On slate and paper, children received instruction in reading and writing the Latin alphabet and the Malay language as well.621

The village schools and colonial curriculum became, with the model kampong policy, an integral aspect of the welfare efforts, the ‘civilising mission’, in South Dutch New Guinea. The education provided both within and outside the school was vital to the modern colonial state; it introduced Papuan youths to aspects of colonial modernity, some of which they found desirable and appropriated with varying levels of success. Other elements, however, they rejected, and all they interpreted in their own ways.

In South Dutch New Guinea, a school, either a regular village school or a civilisation school, typically had 20-30 pupils ranging from six to nineteen years

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621 Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indië, nos 14081 (1938).
old, who were not instructed separately by age. The aim was to tie Papuan children to their schooling as long as possible, in order to extend and naturalise the goeroes’ influence. Consequently, a three-year programme might take six to eight years to complete. This custom of prolonging children’s exposure to the colonial education system reveals their conception as the main agents of cultural and religious change in the colony. In order to extend the reach of this transformative project and ensure its success, Papuan children had to be fashioned into morally upstanding Catholics and ‘civilised’ subjects.

During the early 1920s, goeroes working in the model kampongs along the south coast attempted to teach in the Marind language, but the expansion of the mission beyond Marind territory soon frustrated these efforts. As the reach of their mission grew, goeroes were required to work amid a growing mosaic of different ethnolinguistic groups, necessitating the introduction of Malay as the language of instruction and lingua franca. As such, the schools and goeroes functioned as propagators of the Malay language, facilitating its growth as a national language. Teaching Papuan children Malay initially presented the goeroes with a challenge, however. Njora Werenditi remembered the language barrier upon arrival in every new kampong:

"We arrived. The people were happy, came to talk, but they did not speak the Malay language. Only the head of the kampong knew a few words...It was very difficult: they talked in their language and we in ours."

Because of the language barrier, goeroes often used a translator when they began working in a new village. This could be either the kepala kampong or a local child who spoke Malay because of their contact with traders, birds-of-paradise hunters, or other outsiders.

Goeroes were, as the school curriculum required, tasked with providing basic instruction in reading, writing, and counting during school hours. Above all, the goeroe families — ‘the civilisers’— were to train young Papuan children in good behaviour and Christian values. These attributes were conceived as being distinct

623 Van Baal, Ontglipt verleden, I, 283.
624 Meuwese, report on schools, 1938, ENK-AR-P027, 6463.
627 These Papuan children and the traders were other kinds of (local) intermediaries, who probably had considerable influence.
from those promoted in customary Papuan homes, and thus, all the more essential. To this end, the *goeroes* and *njoras* taught music, dance, sports, and manual labour, both within and after school hours.

Working in the school garden figured prominently in the education offered by the *goeroe* and his wife. With the establishment of the *beschavingsscholen* in 1938, instruction in horticulture became mandatory. Marcus Fofid observed that the school garden had many different functions. He recalled:

> The first was to provide for the needs of the school and the children. Especially when the children were under the care of the teacher families, and their parents did not bring any food, we had to gather the food from the school garden for the pupils and the *goeroe* and his family.

Foods and vegetables that were unknown or new to Papuan children were cultivated in the school gardens, seeing *ubi*, *rice*, *potatoes*, *corn*, *kasbi*, and *keladi* become part of a new diet. Some of the teachers’ families also planted ceiba trees for kapok fibres, used to spin and weave thread for the girls and the *njoras* to make clothes. While the school’s garden provided necessary produce, it was primarily used as a means to instil Western disciplines surrounding the management of bodies, time, and labour. As Ibu Tuyu stated: ‘that garden was there just for teaching children to work.’ In 1934 all teachers received an instruction booklet from the MSC missionaries comprising of directions for tending the school garden. Njora Werenditi remembered that her husband taught ‘school in the garden: he chose a day from the lists the priest had given him and scheduled school in the garden: loosen the soil, cleaning, etc.’ While labour and schooling coexisted in the everyday lives of Papuan children, the precise role of (child)labour in this colonial project has yet to be investigated further.

*Goeroes* also provided Catholic musical instruction. Soon after the arrival of teacher families, the formation of school flute orchestras became an established tradition. Aloysius Fangohoi describes his experience teaching the children to play the flute, which the *goeroes* made themselves from bamboo:

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630 The school garden and its linked copra trade elicited complex trading relations and competition among the *goeroes*, Papuans and Chinese traders.
They greatly enjoyed producing sounds; in the beginning, the adults were not too Happy. They considered it foolish and were reminded of the buzzing of the swinging batons of the secret cult [...] At first, the elderly sometimes destroyed the flutes, [...] and I had to make new ones the next day. Gradually, they stopped taking offence and fearing that the children were getting into trouble.635

Flute orchestras ultimately became a source of village pride and create social cohesion. It was also a means of marking symbolic events as these orchestras would welcome visiting missionaries or government officials, perform at Catholic feasts, and participate in competitions.636 With musical instruction and the institution of the flute orchestra, missionaries also sought to replace ‘uncivilised’ Papuan customs with their more ‘civilised’ Keiese or Tanimbarese counterparts. Furthermore, missionaries advised their goeroes to discourage certain Papuan dances, considered obscene, in the same fashion.637

In accordance with their ‘civilising’ mandate, goeroe families also encouraged their Papuan villagers to adopt new standards of dress and hygiene. Njora Tuyu, who came with her parents to Koembe, in the Merauke region in 1923 recalls:

On a certain Sunday he [my father the goeroe] gathered all the children in our house and instructed them to wash. When they returned, he gave them all clothes, and mama [my mother], had to teach them how to wear the sarong. The little ones received some shorts with a piece of string, back then we did not have elastic. In any case, they were not allowed to run around naked anymore.638

In the model kampongs, initially, Papuans were obliged to wear Indonesian or Western style clothes, comprising of sarong, blouses, and trousers, but this compulsory measure was later abandoned. Nevertheless, missionaries urged the goeroes to distribute trousers and sarongs among their pupils and to encourage older men and women to wear clothes made of fabric. Ibu Somar, who was employed in a village at the Kumbe River with her husband in 1930, remembers:

637 For the discussion by Controleur Jan van Baal and the missionaries about abolishing and replacing the ngadzi dances, see reports of pastor conferences, 1937, ENK-AR-P027, 5172a.
The [Marind] people were still attached to their adornments [ornaments made of pork, plaited hair, body paintings]. Slowly they followed our example. We taught them to pray and gave [them] religious instruction, telling them if you want to pray, you have to get discard your garnish and dress properly. That’s what we do too! [...] Step by step, they started to abandon their traditional dress. I cut their hair and threw it away as far as I could, after which I gave them a dress. A beautiful kain [sarong cloth, MD] for the schoolchildren, [...] and for the men a pair of trousers and a shirt.639

Usually, schoolchildren had a set of clothes for everyday wear, and another for wear on Sundays. The latter was kept at the goeroe’s house, distributed on Sunday mornings and collected again for safekeeping after church.640 Some of these clothes were purchased with funds raised by the missionaries, while others were purchased in Merauke or Tanah Merah by goeroes, using money exchanged for school garden produce. Other teacher families made clothes by hand with the assistance of their pupils.

Missionaries and goeroes alike considered the ‘dressing’ of Papuans as hallmark of success in their ‘civilising’ mission, imbuing fabric clothes with important symbolic meaning. The wearing of garments signalled the development of a modern, Catholic society.641 The sarong, blouse, and trouser also signified missionary presence and Papuan appropriation of Christian behaviours, material cultures, and model kampong domesticities.

While the goeroe was officially appointed and salaried, missionaries also strongly advocated the unpaid role of goeroes’ wives, the njoras. Missionary assumptions about ‘female qualities’ saw the njoras cast as ideal agents for spreading faith and civilisation among Papuan women. The role of njoras was twofold. Firstly, as they had been taught by the sisters back in Langgur, njoras had to take care of household work, prepare food, and nurture children.642 Secondly, njoras were supposed to teach Papuan girls outside school hours, instructing them in cleaning, cooking, and washing.643 Paulus Keji, remembers that the time when he was at school: ‘the njora prepared food for boys and girls, and she was always there for us. [...] mama

641 Van de Kolk, letters, 3 July 1911, Easter 1912, 1 Nov. 1913, 20 Jan. 1914, Christmas 1914, ENK-AR-P027, 142 (B).
taught the girls to cook, fry sago, cook rice and other stuff." Njora Werenditi, who came from Tanimbar to South Dutch New Guinea, also taught girls handicrafts and needlework, as did the other teachers’ wives. ‘I taught them to make strainers for sieving and winnowing or bags to store their barrang [stuff] and clothes, yes I also taught them to spin and weave kain [sarong cloth], Tanimbar kains’, Njora Werenditi explained.

As the above quote of Paulus Keji indicates, njoras and goeroes were ascribed the roles of mother and father of the kampong, and were addressed as such by Papuans: ibu/mama (mother) and bapak (father). Together they were supposed to function as role models, instilling a ‘modern’ way of life in their followers and promoting the Catholic faith. As I will discuss below, apostolic work was deeply entangled to the educating and ‘civilising’ work.

**Goeroes as catechists**

Because missionary priests visited a model kampong only so often, goeroes undertook most evangelistic preparation and work in the model kampong: performing daily prayers, church services on Sundays and, if necessary, the last sacraments, emergency confessions and baptism. Meanwhile njoras assumed responsibility for evangelistic work directed at girls and women; teaching prayers and discussing religion. ‘Touring’ priests visiting a model kampong often stayed with the goeroe and confirmed he was completing his work. If time permitted, the missionary may provide catechism lessons and perform sacraments, but the performance of mass was a fixed duty. Goeroes were not ordained and therefore not allowed to perform the latter two.

With strong devotion, goeroes propagated the Catholic faith to the villagers, especially the children. Yet, missionaries demanded that goeroes also give catechism lessons to non-Catholic adults. Paulus Keji remembered receiving religious education from his goeroe as a child, learning the ten commandments of God, the five commandments of the church, and of prayers. Indeed, each school day began with pupils making the sign of the cross. The Ten Commandments and various prayers had to be memorised and, every week, the children learned a new story from the Bible. Reciting, memorising, and reading these religious narratives
increased the children’s Malay vocabulary and grammar, while imparting a moral education which enriched the spirit. Evangelisation among children in this way served a dual purpose: Children became familiar with the gospel, and learned also to become propagandists for it. Having learnt Catholic parables and prayers by heart, pupils might repeat them to their parents, or discuss their implications with older kin. Here the interconnectedness of the school and evangelisation with goeroes, pupils and their families is revealed with great clarity.

The Catholic mission in Dutch New Guinea relied heavily on goeroes to spread Catholicism. Father Meuwese even stated that goeroes had done more than he had done himself in advancing this goal. Their influence was direct and constant because they were permanently settled among Papuans, who were themselves settled (more or less) in a model kampong. The stability and depth of their position lay in strong contrast to the sporadic visits of their missionary overseers, occupied with serving larger populations. Missionaries were, however, not always satisfied with the apostolic work taking place beneath them. During the conference of pastors in 1936, complaints were made about goeroes who fell short on their task as lay apostles. Aware of their dependency on goeroes, missionaries constantly tried to manage and improve goeroes’ abilities: in addition to providing tutoring and training, missionaries looked to cultivate morale and community, organising retreats and regular meetings among goeroes, providing them with Catholic literature, and attending to complaints working conditions. Disciplinary measures or dismissals were applied reluctantly, but not infrequently, for more serious lapses: Fathers Thieman, Meuwese, and Hoeboer all recorded such cases, where goeroes were accused of sexual assault, embezzling profits from their school gardens, or poor performance in teaching catechism.

Goeroes, trained within the missionary structure, came to work in South Dutch New Guinea to spread the teaching of the church, together with specific means of ‘upbringing’ Papuan children and ‘civilising’ their culture at large. In general, goeroes had to model the material and moral attributes of an ideal Catholic family, but in a more active sense, the goeroes were also expected to disrupt Papuan culture, replacing rites and traditions with their more Catholic or ‘civilised’ variants. Christianising living arrangements entailed the goeroes’ enforcement of ‘settled’ living in nuclear family dwellings situated on kampong grounds, rather than the

651 Reports of pastor conferences, 1936, ENK-AR-P027, 5172a.
652 Reports of pastor conferences, 1936, ENK-AR-P027, 5172a; Verschueren, diary, 16 Dec. 1933, ENK-AR-P027, 5043.
single longhouses beyond them. In place of customary feasting and fertility rituals, goeroes offered Catholic festivities marking baptisms, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Blessed Sacrament processions. The evangelising task of goeroes was thus deeply entangled with the colonial project of 'civilising' and educating Papuans.

**Conclusion: Goeroes as ‘local’ intermediaries?**

As I have shown in this chapter, between 1920-1942 many ambitious Catholic Keiése and Tanimbarese goeroe families, themselves fashioned by missionaries in Langgur, left their homeland to work in the village schools in South Dutch New Guinea. It was the policy programme of model kampongs in South Dutch New Guinea which created the space to deploy these Catholic goeroe families. Model kampongs were institutions initiated by Catholic missionaries which attracted the support of the colonial government during the 1920s. As such, they became part of a major state-sponsored resettlement programme, aiming to secure Papuan submission and governability by concentrating the population in nuclear-family housing. The village formation, and the coercive measures entailed in realising it, turned the model kampong and the village school into sites where missionary ambitions and colonial policies encountered Papuans with their own ideas and goals. Such an intimate site of cultural transformation was crucial for governing Papuans. However, historians cannot assume the success of the model kampong policy as the motivations and outcomes underwriting Papuan engagement with this project require further consideration.

Using the concept of ‘local’ intermediaries has brought the work and role of Catholic goeroe families from the Kei- and Tanimbar Islands into visibility, resulting in a complex account of missionary practices, the institutions they created, and upon which they depended. Being continuously present, goeroes gained a more intimate and detailed knowledge of the Papuan world than that enjoyed by their Dutch superiors. Moreover, goeroes provided an interface for colonial rule in Dutch New Guinea. More so than their distant superiors —based in social and geographical contexts far removed from the model kampong— these Catholic ‘local’ intermediaries promoted Dutch reforms of belief and behaviour directly to a Papuan audience. Their successes accelerated transformations long-anticipated by missionary and colonial authorities alike.

These goeroe families were, however, neither ‘local’ nor ‘Indigenous’, strictly speaking. They hailed from distant islands of the Dutch colony and were thus not local to the areas they settled and worked in, and they were nothing alike Papuans.

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in terms of cultural heritage or even appearance. While they quickly familiarised themselves with the local language, culture, and area due to their full immersion in the village environment, to Papuans, goeroes were outsiders as much as the Dutch missionaries were. Hence, this case study raises the question of what ‘local’ in the conceptualisation of ‘local intermediary’ actually signifies. Dutch missionaries themselves reasoned that because of goeroes presumed ‘localness’ or ‘indigeneity’—alleged cultural or racial closeness to the area and the people—in addition to their skills, education and knowledge, they were (potential) local intermediaries. Missionaries’ perceptions of the Keiese and Tanimbarese ‘racial traits’, however, naively emphasized closeness and similarity to ‘Indigenous’ Papuan culture. In a similar vein, their ‘level of development’ was expected to underpin their superiority to Papuans. This complex mixture of similarity and dissimilarity legitimised the involvement of these Moluccan goeroes in the colonial project, which culminated in a system of dual colonialism in Dutch New Guinea. As an analytical concept, ‘local intermediary’ illuminates the significant work and role of those non-European or non-Western agents or marginal missionary workers, who made possible sustained encounters across different cultures and religions. Thereby contributing to mission and colonial history, in which the agency, work and role of these non-Western agents are often obscured.
Chapter Six

Conclusion

Dutch colonial histories have produced master narratives which accorded little importance to the role of religion and Christian missionaries. At the same time, Christian institutional histories, as well as Dutch missionaries themselves, have deemed the Catholic mission an apolitical, altruistic, and religious undertaking—one far removed from the machinations of colonial power in the Dutch East Indies. As I touched upon in the introduction of this dissertation, these conceptions rest upon narrow and inflexible conceptions of colonialism emphasising resource exploitation and violent conquest. Colonialism was, however, besides a political, military, and economic endeavour, also a cultural project of control. Informed by postcolonial theory and new imperial history scholarship, in this dissertation I have placed strong emphasis on colonialism as cultural project. Furthermore, inspired by the Anglophone research on mission and empire, this dissertation proceeded from the assumptions that religion cannot be reduced to an epiphenomenon of colonial rule and that Catholic missionaries were actors on the colonial stage. Placing Catholic missionary practices centre-stage, my dissertation aimed to show that the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies was much more than just the religious project of evangelising and converting Indigenous peoples: it was a colonial cultural project deeply entangled in colonial power structures of coercion and control. Consequently, this thesis investigated how missionary practices were entangled with colonial governmentality in Java and Dutch New Guinea, between 1856-1942.

Investigating how missionary practices were entangled with colonial governmentality required attentiveness to the local contexts and intimate aspects of colonial encounters as well as close examination of what missionaries did in the mission field and how they did it. Inspired predominantly by the work of Tony Ballantyne, Jeffrey Cox and Johannes Fabian, I developed a heuristic framework labelled embodied encounters. As I explained in the introduction, this framework allows the researcher to explore both the practicalities and materialities of the face-to-face meetings missionaries had in the Dutch East Indies, as well as missionary efforts to refashion and discipline colonial subjects’ bodies. As part of the analysis, I interrogated a wide variety of published and unpublished missionary sources including diaries, letters, periodicals and interviews from various Catholic orders held in archives in both the Netherlands and Indonesia.
The main research question, concerning how missionary practices were entangled with colonial governmentality, was examined in four case studies, for which two extremely different regions and colonial contexts—Java and South Dutch New Guinea—were selected to showcase a variety of missionary practices across time and space. Each case study took as its point of departure a particular episode of the missionary encounter.

In Java, which was home to a predominantly Islamic population, the Dutch colonial presence was most pronounced. The analysis focused on the early missionary era in Java, during which evangelisation and pastoral care were confined to the European population (1856-1900), and the period in which the Dutch Jesuits and the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuysen began educating aristocratic Javanese boys and girls (1900-1942). In South Dutch New Guinea, the Dutch foothold was established relatively late, at the start of the twentieth century. Here, religion was deemed non-existent or ‘primitive’. I examined the activities of the Dutch Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus during the initial phase of settlement (1905-1921) and in the later phase of dual colonialism, the latter centring on the creation of model villages (1920-1942).

Studying Catholic missionary practices with the heuristic framework of embodied encounters has revealed that the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies can be considered vital to the late colonial project, insofar as colonialism rested on the coloniser’s capacity to transform, discipline, manage and control the population. The four case studies taken together, have shown the variety of ways in which missionary practices informed and upheld colonial rule in the period 1856-1942. While missionary practices differed significantly depending on spatial and temporal factors, distinct modes of colonial governmentality reflected the fluidity and strength of missionary influence; both in creating and managing governable colonial subjects and shaping the realities in which they lived.

In what follows in this conclusion, I will elaborate on my main findings by making connections and comparisons between the four cases. In answering my main question, I will first highlight that Catholic missionaries were inevitably involved in creating and managing colonial subjects. In doing so, I will first draw attention to the field in which missionary concerns and the concerns of the colonial administration were deeply entangled, and which was pivotal in creating colonial subjects amenable to western colonial rule: colonial education. Secondly, I will highlight that children, youth and separation practices were crucial to regulating the conduct of the colonised peoples through the way in which they effected changes in Indigenous ways of life. Lastly, I will accentuate the involvement of Catholic missionaries in colonial intelligence or knowledge gathering.

After I have set out how missionary practices were entangled with colonial governmentality, I will discuss the main supplementing historiographical and
conceptual insights which my heuristic framework of embodied encounters has yielded. I start with a section on religion as a marker of difference. Continuing, then, with two sub-sections on spaces of transformation and intermediaries, I will not only highlight my conceptual contributions, but also articulate some reservations concerning the spaces which missionaries created and the intermediaries they fashioned, to accentuate that the colonised subjects missionaries aimed to transform were not passive recipients nor accepted these transformations unquestioningly. I end this conclusion with some reflections on the ways in which including mission and religion in colonial histories may contribute to Dutch colonial historiography.

Creating and managing governable colonial subjects

Emphasising the extent and nature of missionary practices, this thesis has illuminated the influence of Christian thought, missionary actors and institutions upon the creation and management of governable colonial subjects in the Dutch East Indies. I have shown throughout this thesis that Catholic priests, sisters and brothers took the moral obligation or ‘duty’ of bringing Catholicism and modernity—or, as the missionaries’ put, it, ‘civilisation’—to heart. They did not only try to convert people in the name of ‘civilisation’, but they also attempted to alter modes of daily life, family life and gender patterns, sexual regulations, domestic spaces, and corporeal regimes. These kinds of interventions, directed at securing the ‘welfare’ of the colonial populations, were part of a politico-ethical project of producing subjects and governing their conduct. A project which David Scott has identified as a modern form of colonial governmentality, through which power in colonial societies was exercised through civilising colonial politics.

While missionary practices were directed at the creation and management of governable colonial subjects, there was nothing self-evident about this process. Missionary activity and practices were shaped by the nature of colonial administration; most directly by financial and legal provisions, but also by the application of force, or the threat thereof, through which, for example, they safeguarded their presence in South Dutch New Guinea. Here, missionaries’ ‘civilising’ activities, which were crucial to making governable subjects of the Marind-anim, appeared far removed from the violent police and military force brought to bear by the colonial administration. This violent ‘pacification’ of the Marind-anim was, however, a prerequisite to the safe and effective completion of the missionaries’ activities. The objectives of colonial administration and the Catholic mission were thus mutually dependent and deeply entangled. In addition, I have demonstrated that missionaries were deeply dependent on the responses of
those deemed in need of ‘civilising’—the willingness and cooperation of colonial subjects in the missionary endeavour. The failures experienced by the Jesuits and the MSC missionaries in the early years of their mission in Central Java and in South Dutch New Guinea, compared to limited success in later years, revealed careful missionary strategising in tandem with indigenous agency.

My research has shown that colonial education; children, youth, and separation practices; as well as colonial intelligence gathering were crucial to creating and managing governable colonial subjects. I will discuss each of these next.

**Colonial education**

Colonial education (and juvenile welfare) were the fields in which missionaries’ and colonial administrators’ concerns were deeply entangled, being central to both their ‘civilising’ colonial policies and practices. Colonial education, which reached further than schooling, was also crucial in creating and managing governable colonial subjects amenable to western colonial rule.

Throughout the nineteenth century, missionary activities in Java were directed foremost at ‘Europeans’, as I demonstrated in chapter one. Moreover, education and care, as they were organised and provided by the Catholic missionaries, were exclusively directed at children with a European juridical status. Evidencing the emergence of a modern form of colonial governmentality, the establishment of Catholic schools for children with ‘Native’ legal status markedly accelerated with the introduction of the ‘Ethical Policy’ at the turn of the twentieth century. As I showed in chapters three and five, funds allocated by the colonial administration aided the Catholic mission in expanding its institutions and infrastructure to encompass various forms of schooling. Hence, the Catholic missionaries became major providers of colonial education directed at ‘Native’ subjects throughout the Dutch East Indies. As such, and in ideological agreement with the Dutch colonial administration’s ‘civilising mission’, the Catholic missionaries increasingly supported the ‘modern’ colonial project.

In Java, the Catholic missionaries participated in an ‘advanced’ colonial educational landscape, with various education providers as well as different levels and kinds of schools directed at children of various legal statuses. For ‘Europeans’, sisters and brothers from Dutch religious orders and congregations established and ran several first- and second-class primary schools as well as several child welfare institutions (orphanages). For the Javanese, the Catholic missionaries established both desa schools as well as Hollands Inlandse Scholen at the primary level. In addition, they also established various ‘western schools’ with Dutch as the language of instruction, offering advanced secondary and tertiary education to ‘Native’ children. Among these were the (boarding) schools in Mendut and Muntilan, discussed in chapter three. In South Dutch New Guinea, the educational
landscape was totally different. Here, the Catholic missionaries were the main providers of colonial education to Papuans. The curriculum in the village- and civilisation-schools prioritised ‘civilising’ activities above formal education, emphasising habits of work, dress, and religious observance.

The mission’s focus on establishing schools and providing education throughout the Dutch colony reveals that Catholic missionaries were not merely evangelisers, but that they must be viewed as active institution builders who occupied an important position in the unfolding of colonial modernity in the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, schools came to be the operative principle for a fundamental redefinition of identities.

Education in these colonial contexts was far broader than formal schooling. It was about prompting children and youth to adopt new patterns of behaviour and configuring their aspirations and beliefs. This involved changing their outer appearance, as well as societal regulations of gender and sexuality, living arrangements and housing, religious beliefs, work ethics and the ordering of time. In the schools in Mendut and Muntilan for example, enforced regimes of bodily and moral discipline acculturated Javanese aristocratic children into colonial ways of knowing and being, creating westernised Catholic subjects destined for an instrumental role in the Catholic mission as future teachers of the Javanese. In this project, missionary understandings of middle-class femininity were the basis for remaking Javanese young girls’ identities, and western feminine norms were taught together with bourgeois domesticity by the Franciscan Sisters. In South Dutch New Guinea, the MSC missionaries and the Keise and Tanimbarese goeroes alike attempted to clothe Papuan bodies with dresses made of fabric, remove their traditional ornaments, Christianise their living arrangements by insisting on nuclear family houses and break down traditional customs and replace them with more Catholic or ‘civilised’ variants. Moreover, knowledge instruction in the schools was limited while Papuan’s education included unpaid manual labour, horticulture, musical instruction and sports. This was in order to teach the children good behaviour, Christian morality and values, and to instil (western) work discipline. The education of children by the Dutch missionaries was thus about instilling disciplinary mechanisms in their hearts and minds thereby creating a modernised and ‘civilised’ generation of colonial subjects.

Children, youth, and separation practices

Children and youth were pivotal to the politico-ethical project of creating colonial subjects who were ‘civilised’ and amenable to western colonial rule. Childhood was approached as the time to intervene and to change the lives of colonial subjects. Hence, like other humanitarian interventions in European colonies, missionary practices focused on children and youth who were believed to be susceptible to
‘civilisation’. As the reproduction of colonial society rested with youth, youth and children were targeted to foster a wider long-term social transformation of colonial society. The latter can be seen as a modern form of colonial governmentality that was carried out through a politics ‘from generation to generation’ as Geertje Mak has formulated it, which inherently also affects the societal organization of gender and sexuality.

In South Dutch New Guinea, the MSC missionaries who during the early years were deeply committed to the project of ‘civilising’ Papuans, intentionally delayed baptism to concentrate their efforts on ‘civilising’ children first. These children had to become a new generation responsible for generating deep and lasting change in Papuan society. To effect the transformation of the next generation, the MSC missionaries became involved with policies and practices of child separation. Combining ways to culturally detach them from their kin and society at large with physical separation or removal, the MSC missionaries tried to fashion these children into particular ways of knowing and being, through which they were supposed to become adults disciplined to the ideological and bodily regimes of the coloniser. After receiving their ‘upbringing’ from the missionaries, and later from the Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes, the return of children to kin and community would set the transformation of Indigenous society in motion and ensure it remained on course.

In Java, the Dutch Catholic missionaries were also committed to (re-)educating and converting children rather than adults. Moreover, here they were involved in separating children from kin and society as well. On the one hand, missionaries’ efforts concentrated on educating, civilising, and converting Javanese children of the upper classes and from better-off families. The boarding system of the schools in Mendut and Muntilan offered the Dutch missionaries a means to separate these children from Javanese society and the customs of their families and communities for long periods of time. The schools were established in relative isolation from both Javanese and European colonial society, their compounds were enclosed and students’ movements and interactions outside the institute were strictly regulated—all offered complete cultural immersion. On the other hand, the Dutch Catholic missionaries’ educational and civilising efforts focused on children with a European legal status who were considered to be morally ‘neglected’, because they had been raised in a non-Christian and non-European cultural context. These ‘wayward’ ‘European’ children were taken from their Indigenous mothers and put into pedagogic institutions, such as (boarding)schools and orphanages run by the Catholic missionaries. In this way, these ‘European’ children were separated from what the Dutch missionaries saw as the demoralising influences in the home and Indigenous society and taught their right social place according to the Dutch missionaries’ vision.
These child separation practices, whether they targeted Marind, Javanese or mixed-descent children, were legitimised as benevolent civilising projects, with the future welfare of the separated children as their main goal. Moreover, central to these child separation practices were those missionary institutions that were characterized by the imposing of a temporary physical distance between children and their kin, society and traditional life. These can be considered spaces of transformation, on which I will elaborate in more detail below.

**Intelligence gathering**

The entanglements of missionary practices with colonial governmentality turned out to reach even further than the involvement of Catholic missionaries in the regulation of the conduct of the colonised peoples through transformations to indigenous ways of life. Missionaries also played their part in gathering knowledge or intelligence, which was crucial to the management of colonial subjects and the development of effective policies to uphold and refine colonial governmentality. The incorporation of different regions within the administrative unity of the Dutch East Indies by the end of the nineteenth century facilitated the process in which ‘civilising’ influences were extended to various ethnic communities residing in the archipelago. To achieve this, obtaining information about the region’s inhabitants—their numbers, customs, and circumstances—was paramount. To this end, various expeditions and scrupulous ethnographic studies of these communities were undertaken, many contributions made by missionaries. As shown in chapter four, Catholic priests were heavily invested in knowledge-gathering and surveillance to increase the effectiveness of their civilising efforts. Priests shared intelligence in their possession, supplying insights into headhunting practices and local power structures to the Dutch administration. In addition, as shown in chapter five, the Keiese goeroes employed by the mission functioned as informants on Papuans, thus taking part in colonial knowledge gathering and production. They not only provided data for ethnographic studies but also provided information for the government’s population census. The production of knowledge by missionaries and Indigenous missionary workers was thus closely joined to the exercise of colonial power and the management of colonial populations. The role of missionaries in producing knowledge could be further explored in future research.
Religion as marker of difference

Focussing on missionary commitment and activities among the European community in the Dutch East Indies in chapter two of this thesis, I have shown that religion was a central domain through which difference was ordered and managed under colonial rule. Moreover, missionary priests, brothers and sisters, exclusively committed to serving the European community in Java during the nineteenth century, were important agents in solidifying legal and social boundaries enabling the rule of difference—a central pillar of colonial governance. This finding forms an important contribution to scholarship on the history of the Dutch East Indies, revealing the significance of religion alongside ethnicity, race, and gender in shaping colonial hierarchies, affirmed by social reality and upheld by law.

As demonstrated with the case of the West African soldiers mentioned in chapter two, Christianity was an important criterion in the construction of a distinct legal category for ‘European’ residents of the colony in the nineteenth century. Catholic priests were one of the few agents who could legally verify someone’s status as a Christian: by providing baptism letters. These were necessary to secure the legal status of a ‘European’, by which more vigorous legal rights and privileges were obtained.

Moreover, Christianity also constituted a marker of Europeanness during the nineteenth century. Being identifiable Christian —attending Christian services and behaving according to Christian norms— was an important qualification of European status, translating into social and legal privilege in colonial contexts. While Europeans of all social classes were subjected to a policy of Christianisation or Europeanisation, those belonging to the lower echelons of the European colonial elite —(Indo)-European paupers— came under particularly intense missionary scrutiny. Hence, their involvement in issues of colonial pauperism and child welfare is a potent illustration of the Catholic mission’s role in consolidating and strengthening European cultural practices, and cultivating habits of conduct and sensibility distinct from those of colonised populations. The Catholic missionaries had thus a significant role in the production and maintenance of colonial privilege and its boundaries in the Dutch East Indies.
Spaces of transformation

Using the heuristic framework of embodied encounters in the study of missionary practices required me to look at the physical sites where face-to-face encounters occurred. Moreover, it required me to be attentive to the impact of these sites and spaces. Physical meetings often took place within missionary institutional settings: (boarding) schools, orphanages and model villages. These missionary institutions were not only symbolical manifestations of modernity and civilisation, but also one of the techniques available to the missionaries to transform the conduct of subjects and to bring about broader social transformative processes. As set out in the introduction, I have come to conceptualise these as spaces of transformation: tangible and new cultural encoded spaces in which colonialism was embedded and embodied and through which missionaries contested practices, reordered behaviours, and instilled new beliefs, habits and bodily regimes.

Spaces of transformation were integral to the mission’s civilising project. These spaces intended to subject people, particularly children and youth, to processes of civilisation and worked to culturally detach and distance them from traditional ways of life. Dutch missionaries, however, did not enjoy complete control, hegemony or unquestioned authority in these spaces. As scholars focussing on indigenous agency have shown, Indigenous peoples resisted, adapted, and ignored missionaries’ humanitarian interventions and cultural activities. In this thesis, I have shown that the transformative effect of the missionary institutions on pupils of the missions’ schools as well as on the residents of the model villages is questionable.

In the chapters on South Dutch New Guinea, I demonstrated that the Papuans in model villages evaded scrutiny through moving out of the village and that pupils did not always attend the obligatory village school. This undermined the disciplinary apparatus of the model village and village school, which then again created new problems of *kampong* and school absenteeism, indicating an ongoing struggle to maintain control over subjects. Also regarding the schools in Muntilan and Mendut, evidence shows that parents fought against their children’s interest in the Catholic faith and European ways of life. This resulted in them not consenting to their children’s baptism or even pulling their children from school. Moreover, these spaces of transformation were never self-contained cultural spaces nor exemplary sites of European civilisation —something Jane Lydon and Tony Ballantyne also pointed out for the mission stations in Australia and New Zealand. In the schools in Mendut and Muntilan, European and Javanese cultural elements —language, dress, music, plays, games— were interwoven. Furthermore, the (boarding) schools in Merauke and Okaba, where Marind boys were educated and ‘brought up’ under missionary tutelage, required youngsters to break with
Marind village life and Indigenous practices. The missionaries were, however, incapable of erasing the boys’ desire for contact with kin and community. Hence, they started accommodating them, permitting them to visit relatives, attend certain feasts and celebrations as well as allowing them to wear certain Marind ornaments underneath their clothes. So, in reality, these spaces of transformation under missionary disciplinary regimes thus proved to be relatively open and dynamic, culturally mixed even.

**Intermediaries**

Through foregrounding the practices of the Catholic mission and analysing embodied encounters, the presence of multiple actors within the missionary effort became visible. It became clear that a large number of non-western teachers were involved in educating, ‘civilising’ and converting colonial subjects in the Dutch East Indies. In chapter three I explored the training of these non-western teachers in Java, arguing that they were educated and disciplined as a functional Catholic elite, while in chapter five I explored their role in the politico-ethical project underway in South Dutch New Guinea. They were indispensable to the reach and depth of missionary influence in Javanese and Papuan society. Or, to use the terms of Peggy Brock and Felicity Jensz, they were the foot soldiers in the larger imperial project of cultural colonialism and especially valued by the Dutch missionaries for their abilities as cultural mediators and translators. Inspired by scholarship on scientific and colonial explorations, expeditions and brokerage, I have used the concept of local intermediaries to bring those non-western agents who participated in the colonial project into visibility, and to get their contribution to stand out from standard narratives of mission and colonial history.

While proving a useful tool of analysis and allowing my analysis to venture beyond the binary framework of ‘coloniser and colonised’, the concept obscured the class and ethnic differences between these non-western intermediaries and the local populations. Moreover, the presumed ‘localness’ or ‘Indigeneity’ of the non-western teachers is contested by the practices of the Catholic mission in Dutch New Guinea.

In Java, the Dutch missionaries fashioned children from the Javanese upper classes and better-off families as intermediaries in their boarding schools in Mendut and Muntilan. The Dutch missionaries assumed, based on their understandings of mutuality under Javanese feudalism, that the Catholic faith and message of ‘civilisation’ would ‘trickle down’ from this fashioned Catholic Javanese elite to the ordinary people, thereby reforming all of Javanese society. In South Dutch New Guinea, the Dutch MSC missionaries deployed Keiese and
Tanimbarese goeroes at village schools in model villages throughout South Dutch New Guinea. For the Dutch missionaries, these goeroes were ‘local’ intermediaries; colonial subjects and ‘Indigenous’ subjects of the Dutch colony who were not merely teachers but also assumed the task of catechist, civiliser, village leader and informant. In the eyes of the Dutch missionaries, they were not too far removed from ‘indigenous’ Papuan culture, and the similarity of their cultural outlook to that of the Papuans would, the missionaries assumed, make the introduction of a new religion and way of life more palatable to Papuans in South Dutch New Guinea. In practice, these Keiese and Tanimbarese goeroes and Papuans were nothing alike in terms of cultural customs or even in appearance. By deploying these goeroes from Kei and Tanimbar the goeroes stood at the nexus of colonial rule in South Dutch New Guinea. The Dutch missionaries made a ‘new’ social order and laid down a dual colonial structure in South Dutch New Guinea in which Papuans were colonised by both the Keiese and, indirectly, by the Dutch as I have shown in chapter five.

In this dissertation, I included non-European agents—teachers and catechists—to study the relationship between mission and colonialism and tried to acknowledge the agency of Indigenous peoples in the colonies. However, because it is difficult to discern ‘the voice’ of these actors in the sources studied, we still do not know much about the various responses of non-European actors. These responses as well as the operation of agency, or the mutuality inherent in embodied encounters are themes that are that deserve much further study. Particularly the nature of Indigenous engagement with the Catholic mission, and forms of agency more diverse than resistance—extending to adaptation, ignorance, or limited acceptance for example—would be worthwhile to examine.

Rethinking Dutch imperial history

While scholarship about the Dutch empire and Dutch colonialism has come to be influenced by the cultural turn and the emerging field of postcolonial studies, as of yet, religion and Christian missionaries’ activities in the Dutch colonies are still remarkably absent. Why Dutch colonial history has prioritised ‘secular issues’, and why postcolonial approaches to Dutch imperial history have not included religion and religious institutions is still an open question. As I have shown, however, including Christian colonial missions and religion will prompt us to fundamentally rethink several aspects of Dutch imperial history.
## Appendix

### Overview of archives and periodicals

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Samenvatting

Nederlands-Indië was veruit de meest gangbare bestemming voor missionarissen van Nederlandse ordes en congregaties in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw. Tijdens het ‘grote missieuur’ van het Nederlandse katholicisme, dat de eerste vier decennia van de twintigste eeuw besloeg, werkten er meer dan tweeduizend priesters, zusters en broeders in de kolonie. Naast het doen van evangelisatiewerk, hebben de missionarissen er vele onderwijs- en zorginstellingen opgericht. Deze werkzaamheden beschouwden zij zelf niet als koloniale projecten, net zomin als zij zichzelf als onderdeel van koloniaal beleid en bestuur begrepen, hoewel een deel van de missionarissen op de loonlijst van koloniale ambtenaren stond. Deze scherpe scheiding heeft tot op heden doorgewerkt in de Nederlandse historiografie, tussen koloniale geschiedenis enerzijds en missie- en religiegeschiedenis anderzijds. Koloniale ambtenaren, maar ook koloniaal beleid, macht, en cultuur, schitteren door afwezigheid in vooral institutionele orde- en congregatiegeschiedenissen. Omgekeerd vervult religie amper een rol in analyses in de Nederlandse koloniale geschiedschrijving, waarin de werkzaamheden van christelijke missionarissen nauwelijks zijn meegenomen. Niet alleen een relatief smalle en vaststaande opvatting van kolonialisme, maar ook de aannemer dat de katholieke missie een eigenlijk apolitieke, altruïstische (want religieuze) onderneming was, heeft de betekenis van religie en het aandeel van katholieke missionarissen in koloniale overheersing grotendeels onzichtbaar gemaakt in beide historiografische tradities. Geïnspireerd door de veelal Angelsaksische studies naar missie, kolonialisme en empire heb ik deze twee historiografische tradities in dit proefschrift samengebracht en heb ik willen aantonen dat de katholieke missie in Nederlands-Indië een koloniaal cultureel project was, verweven met koloniale macht en overheersing. Hierbij heb ik mij geconcentreerd op colonial governmentality en praktijken van de missie op Java en in Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea tussen 1856 en 1942.

Geïnspireerd door het werk van Tony Ballantyne, Jeffrey Cox en Johannes Fabian, heb ik het heuristisch raamwerk embodied encounters ontwikkeld waarmee koloniale missioneerpraktijken konden worden bestudeerd. Deze aanpak concentreert zich op de praktische en de materiële aspecten van ontmoetingen van missionarissen met lokale bevolkingen. Dit raamwerk maakt het tevens mogelijk om de aandacht vooral op de intieme levenssfeer te vestigen, waaronder vormen van disciplinering van lichamen en het lichamelijke. Deze analyse vertrekt vanuit ogenschijnlijk eenvoudige vragen als: wie waren de missionarissen, wie en waar ontmoetten ze en wat werd er in die ontmoetingen hoe uitgewisseld.

Tot halverwege de negentiende eeuw bleef de Nederlandse koloniale aanwezigheid, ook die van de katholieke missionarissen, beperkt tot Java en enkele van de grotere steden in de zogenoemde Buiten Provincies of Buiten Gewesten. Geleidelijk
vestigde Nederland, met militair ingrijpen en soms ook gesteund door missionarissen, een koloniaal gezag in de Indische archipel. Vanaf eind negentiende eeuw domineerde de Ethische Politiek die paste in een breder internationaal beschavingsstreeven gericht op lokale bevolkingen. Via onderwijs met name probeerden koloniale mogendheden onderdanen in hun koloniën naar Europese normen te civiliseren. In Nederlands-Indië speelde dit streven de katholieke missie en de missionarissen in dekaart. Zij probeerden de mensen met wie zij in contact kwamen, te bekeren in religieuze zin, maar vooral ook naar westerse en christelijke noties te ‘civiliseren’. Dit was een gedifferentieerd proces, naar sekse, leeftijd en culturele achtergrond. Het greep diep in op de meest intieme aspecten van het leven: familierelaties, generationale verhoudingen, gender, opvoedingspatronen, arbeidsdeling, woongrammen, kleding en voedsel. Goede intenties van missionarissen om het spirituele en materieel welzijn van mensen in Nederlands-Indië te realiseren gingen, zoals ik laat zien in mijn onderzoek, samen met praktijken die disciplinerend werkten en drastisch ingrepen in samenlevingen. Deze praktijken droegen daarmee bij aan wat David Scott ‘the politico-ethical project of producing subjects and governing their conduct’ noemde.

Voor de missiepraktijken rondom dit politiek-ethische project waarbij geciviliseerde onderdanen werden gemaakt, ook wel de modern vorm van colonial governmentality, was onderwijs in allerlei varianten cruciaal. Niet alleen was onderwijs een middel in de evangelisatie, maar het was juist ook een middel om de beschavingspolitiek en praktijken institutioneel in te bedden en uit te voeren. Scholen maar ook modeldorpen waren instituties die belangrijke spaces of transformation vormden. Het streven was om vooral kinderen en jongeren in zulke spaces of transformation diepgaand en duurzaam te beïnvloeden. Precies dat zou bijdragen tot hervorming van een samenleving naar Europese snit voor toekomstige generaties. Wie de jeugd had, kon de toekomst van de samenleving beïnvloeden. Door mij te concentreren op praktijken en de analyse van concrete ontmoetingen heb ik tevens aangetoond dat de functie en betekenis van local intermediaries cruciaal is geweest in de katholieke missie in Nederlands-Indië. Met name de niet-westerse onderwijzers die vaak ook eerste generatie Indonesische katholieken waren, opgeleid door de Nederlandse missionarissen zelf en werkzaam op dorpscholen en in de (model) kampongs, waren als local intermediaries diepgaand betrokken bij de bekering en beschaving van de inheemse bevolking.

Deze bovenstaande conclusies berusten op vier casestudies waarvan ik hieronder een korte samenvatting geef. Zij bestrijken twee extreem verschillende koloniale contexten - Java en Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea. Deze regio’s, die elk deel uitmaakten van een ander kerkelijk district, werden door de centrale missieorganisatie van de rooms-katholieke kerk in Rome, de Propaganda Fide, toevertrouwd aan de Nederlandse Jezuïeten en de Nederlandse Missionarissen van het Heilig
Hart van Jezus. De Nederlandse koloniale aanwezigheid was het meest uitgesproken op het eiland Java, waar een overwegend islamitische bevolking woonde. De missie op Java was, net als de koloniale samenleving in het algemeen, gestratificeerd langs etnische lijnen, ook wel als ‘landaard’ aangeduid. Dit betekende dat er een intern onderscheid was tussen missionarissen. Sommigen werkten met ‘Europeanen’, bijvoorbeeld priesters in de zielzorg voor deze groep, of de broeders en zusters werkzaam in katholieke ziekenhuizen, weeshuizen en scholen voor ‘Europeanen’. Anderen werkten met de groep die als ‘Inlanders’ werden aangeduid, bijvoorbeeld de Javanen-paters en broeders en zusters werkzaam in katholiek ‘inlands’ onderwijs of dito gezondheidszorg. In de eerste casestudy laat ik zien dat in de negentiende eeuw de katholieke missionarissen hun aandacht exclusief op de ‘Europeanen’ in Java richtten. In de tweede casestudy analyseer ik de missie-praktijken in de laat-koloniale periode (1900-1942) toen de Nederlandse Jezuïeten en de zusters Franciscanessen van Heythuysen juist Javaanse jongens en meisjes begonnen op te leiden op als onderwijzers. In de derde casestudy concentreer ik met op het zuiden van Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea. Dit was een van de laatste gebieden in de archipel waar het koloniale gezag zich officieel vestigde. Hier woonden Papoea’s van verschillende stammen, welke elk als heidens en zeer primitief werden gezien. Deze casestudy beschrijft de initiële fase van koloniale vestiging (1905-1920), een fase waarin de missionarissen zich onderdompelden in de wereld van de Marind-anim en taal en cultuur intensief bestudeerden. Zij deden allerlei beschavingspogingen die echter zeer moeizaam verliepen omdat ze geen autoriteit hadden in de Marind-dorpen. De vierde en tevens laatste casestudy richt zich op hetzelfde gebied tussen 1921 en 1942, een periode waarin het koloniale gezag en de missie zich verder in de regio uitbreidde. Die uitbreiding staat als een proces van ‘pacificatie’ te boek. Hiervoor waren, zo laat ik zien, de door de missie nieuw opgerichte modeldorpen cruciaal waarin de missionarissen opgeleide Keiese en Tanimbarese onderwijzersgezinnen de leiding kregen.

Java

Civilising Europeans, producing difference

De katholieke priesters, broeders en zusters die in de negentiende eeuw naar Nederlands-Indië vertrokken hadden specifieke ideeën over het werk dat ze daar gingen uitvoeren, vooral gericht op de lokale bevolking die in hun ogen ‘heidenen’ waren. Haaks op deze voorstelling stond de missie praktijk. In deze periode waren de Nederlandse katholieke missionarissen in Java namelijk uitsluitend werkzaam onder mensen met een Europese juridische status. De wereldheren, dat zijn seculiere priesters, en de Nederlandse jezuïeten waren verantwoordelijk voor de
zielzorg van de Europese bevolking – burgers en soldaten van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch leger. Uit de statistieken blijkt dat er in 1899 23.356 katholieken met de Europese juridische status in Nederlands-Indië verbleven, waarvan ruim een kwart van deze groep militair was. De priesters werden voor deze zielzorg bezoldigd door het gouvernement, wat dit werk aanzienlijk lucratiever maakte dan missiearbeid onder de niet-katholieke en ‘Inlandse’ bevolking, waar geen vergoeding tegenover stond. De zusters en broeders die op verzoek van de priesters naar de kolonie vertrokken richtten in de grotere steden (kost)scholen en weeshuizen en gestichten op, waarin zowel katholieke als protestantse ‘Europese’ kinderen werden aangenomen. In deze casestudy heb ik meer precies gekeken naar de ontmoetingen van missionarissen met ‘Europeaan’ en heb ik de exclusieve toewijding aan de Europese gemeenschap in Java onder de loep genomen. In dit hoofdstuk laat ik zien dat religie, specifiek het christen zijn, een marker vormde in de juridische en culturele constructie van koloniale definities van Europees en Europeanen.

Aan de hand van de missionaire ontmoetingen en missiepraktijken gericht op de West-Afrikaanse KNIL-soldaten heb ik vastgesteld dat religie in de negentiende eeuw een belangrijke marker was in de uiterst complexe juridische categorisering van landaard: ‘Europeaan’ en ‘Inlander’. De door priesters aan deze West Afrikaanse soldaten afgegeven doopbewijzen wogen zwaar in het proces om de juridische status van ‘Europeaan’ te verkrijgen. Deze juridische status was een geprivilegieerde status, en dat betekende dan ook dat diegenen die deze status hadden (verkregen), zich moesten houden aan de normen en waarden die met deze status verbonden waren. Voor de missionarissen betekende dit dat vanuit een eigen veronderstelde superioriteit, ‘Europeaan’ moesten laten zien en uitstralen dat zij meer geciviliseerd waren en een ‘hogere’ godsdienst hadden dan ‘Inlanders’ die overwegend moslim waren.

Aan de hand van de missionaire betrokkenheid bij wat later werd geduid als het pauperprobleem, betoog ik tevens dat religie, specifiek het christendom, in Nederlands-Indië in de negentiende eeuw werd beschouwd als een relevante marker voor Europeesheid en daarmee essentieel was voor het trekken en handhaven van sociaal-culturele grenzen, op titel van ‘landaard’, binnen de koloniale hiërarchie. Vanaf het eerste kwart van de negentiende eeuw observeerden en rapporteerden missionarissen aan de apostolisch vicaris en aan hun superieuren in Nederland over de zorgwekkende morele toestand en het slechte gedrag van ‘Europeaan’. Dit waren met name arme ‘Europeanen’ en soldaten, van wie zij stelden dat zij bovenmatig veel alcohol gebruikten, in concubinage met ‘Inlandse’ vrouwen leefden, prostituees bezochten, en bovendien vaak ook nog afvallig of onverschillig waren geworden tegenover het christelijke geloof, of erger nog, zich tot de islam hadden bekeerd. Deze groep was zogegezegd ‘afgezakt’ omdat ze leefden volgens


Fashioning intermediaries and creating a Javanese Catholic elite
Na vijftig jaar vrijwel exclusieve aandacht voor de ‘Europeanen’ op Java begonnen de katholieke missionarissen rond het begin van de twintigste eeuw hun pijlen te richten op de Javaanse bevolking in Midden-Java. De ‘Ethische Politiek’ ondersteunde deze ambitie omdat onderwijs aan de inheemse bevolking daarin een prominente plaats innam. In de tweede casestudy van dit proefschrift onderzoek ik de internaten in Muntilan en Mendut, gerund door respectievelijk de Nederlandse Jezuïeten en de zusters Franciscanessen van Heythuysen, om vast te stellen welke bijdrage deze missionarissen aan het politiek-ethische project leverden. Deze onderwijsinstituten vormden zogenaamde spaces of transformation die niet slechts Javaanse bekeringen
opleverden, maar ook de opleiding en controle over een nieuwe generatie naar westers ideaal geciviliseerde onderdanen faciliteerden. Vooral onderwijzersgezinnen, een nieuwe Javaanse katholieke elite, zouden als lokale intermediairs de religieuze en sociale transformatie van de Javaanse samenleving naar westers idee moeten gaan leiden.

In de internaten in Mendut en Muntilan werd westers (hoger) onderwijs aan Javaanse jongens en meisjes werd verzorgd door Nederlandse paters, broeders en zusters. Deze kleine dorpen, in de residentie Kedu, waren volgens de missionarissen ideaal voor zulke instituten omdat ze ver genoeg verwijderd waren van de Europese centra, waar Javanen in aanraking zouden kunnen komen met als verpauperd omschreven Europeanen, maar ook niet te geïsoleerd waren van de steden Yogyakarta, Semarang en Surakarta. Daar woonden Javanen uit de hogere klassen die hun kinderen wellicht naar deze internaten zouden willen sturen. De Jezuïet Frans van Lith stond aan de wieg van deze instituten.

Het in eigen beheer vormen van kinderen tot onderwijzers-catechisten op een door het gouvernement erkende en gesubsidieerde katholieke kweekschool, was het essentiële onderdeel in de missievisie van Van Lith. Specifiek werden kinderen uit aristocratische en hogere Javaanse klasse (priyayi) aangetrokken als leerling voor deze kweekschool. Zij werden door de missionarissen gezien als tussenpersonen, die alleen al wegens hun stand invloed hadden op de rest van de Javaanse bevolking. De katholieke missionarissen hoopten daarmee op een vanzelfsprekend trickle-down effect naar de andere lagen van de Javaanse samenleving. In het internaatsysteem konden de missionarissen hun pupillen (her)opvoeden naar westers en christelijk model. Beide instituten waren grote omheinde complexen waarbinnen alles aanwezig was dat nodig was voor onderwijs en opvoeding: sport- en spelaccommodaties, klaslokalen, kapel, bibliotheek, tuinen, muzieklokalen, en slaapzalen. Deze besloten, zelfvoorzienende complexen maakten het mogelijk om kinderen fysiek en cultureel af te schermen van de omgeving en hen volledig onder te dompelen in een katholieke westers levensstijl en dagritme. Tegelijkertijd waren de missionarissen zich ervan bewust dat hun pupillen door die scholing en opvoeding niet te veel mochten Europeaniseren. Om als intermediairs te kunnen functioneren moesten zij Javas blijven, maar dan wel katholieke Javanen met moderne christelijke normen en waarden.

Fundamenteel onderdeel van de visie van Van Lith was dat behalve Javaanse jongens uit de hogere klassen ook Javaanse meisjes en vrouwen katholiek gevormd moesten worden. Dit namen de zusters in Mendut voor hun rekening; hun pupillen werden door de missionarissen gezien als mogelijke toekomstige echtgenotes voor de Javaanse onderwijzers die in Muntilan waren opgeleid. Huwelijken tussen de leerlingen van beide instituten werden dan ook onomwonden gefaciliteerd en gepromoot, om zo katholieke gezinnen te creëren. Het katholieke gezinsleven zou
de mannen beschermen in de niet-christelijke omgeving waarin zij dagelijks zouden gaan werken. Deze katholieke meisjes waren als toekomstige moeders verantwoordelijk voor een moreel goede katholieke opvoeding van de kinderen, en daarmee ook voor een nieuwe generatie katholieke Javanen. In Mendut werden alle meisjes getraind in vakken zoals naaien, borduren, strijken, wassen, koken; vaardigheden die volgens de zusters essentieel waren voor iedere huishoudvrouw en moeder. Paradoxaal was dat deze meisjes ook opgeleid werden om buitenshuis te gaan werken, namelijk in het onderwijs en in de gezondheidszorg. Bovendien kwamen de meesten van hen uit een hogere Javaanse klasse, waar deze huishoudelijke taken werden uitbesteed aan bedienden.

Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea

Spaces of transformation
In 1902 vestigde het koloniaal gezag een bestuurspost in Merauke. Deze nieuwe stad opgezet aan de rivier de Maro in Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea bevond zich letterlijk aan het uiteinde van de Nederlands-Indië. De Missionarissen van het Heilige Hart (MSC) volgden in 1905 en in vijf jaar tijd hadden zij twee missieposten aan de zuidkust opgericht: Merauke en Okaba. Vanaf de eerste gesprekken tussen de missionarissen en de assistent-resident was het duidelijk dat beide partijen gezamenlijk zouden moeten optreden in de ‘pacificatie’ gericht op het terugdringen van de koppensneltochten door Nederlandse onderdanen over de koloniale grens met Brits Nieuw-Guinea. Om dit te bewerkstelligen zou militair ingrijpen hand-in-hand moeten gaan met een beschavingsoffensief. De rol van ‘civilisator’ van de ‘heidense, primitieve koppensnellende’ Marind-Anim werd hierbij aan de missionarissen toevertrouwd. In deze casestudy heb ik gekeken hoe het ‘harde’ en fysieke geweld in de ‘pacificatie’ en het ‘zachte’ en mentale geweld van ‘civiliseren’ verweven was met koloniale overheersing en macht.

De missieposten in Okaba en Merauke werden met ondersteuning van het gouvernement gevestigd op die plekken waar er politie of legermacht gestationeerd was. Terwijl de missionarissen profiteerden van deze ondersteuning en relatieve bescherming, probeerden zij zich tegelijkertijd te distantiëren van andere koloniale actoren en partijen, en van het fysieke geweld door het Nederlands-Indische leger. Ze vestigden hun missiepost dan ook op gepaste afstand van de politiepost en handelaren, en gingen soms, maar niet altijd, zonder wapen of escorte naar de Marind dorpen. Bovendien probeerden ze zich in hun voorkomen en uiterlijk te onderscheiden door lange baarden en zwarte toog. Terwijl de broeders MSC met hulp van Keiese assistenten voornamelijk werkzaam waren op de missiestatie (huishouden, koken, tuinieren, bouwwerkzaamheden) ondernamen
de paters MSC regelmatig tochten naar de Marind dorpen. Als ware etnografen bestudeerden ze de taal en cultuur van de kustbewoners, verzamelden objecten en maakten talrijke foto’s. De opgedane kennis werd breder gedeeld, bijvoorbeeld in diverse publicaties in wetenschappelijke (antropologische) tijdschriften. Tevens werd er gerapporteerd over taal en cultuur in missietijdschriften en katholieke kranten, waarbij de bijdragen aangaande de ‘heidense’ en barbaarse culturele gebruiken zoals koppensnellen, levend begraven en kindermoord, dienden als legitimatie voor de beschavingspogingen van de missionarissen.

De door de paters verzamelde informatie en kennis over de inwoners en het land vormde belangrijke input voor de invulling van het beschavingsoffensief. Missionarissen hadden geobserveerd dat het ontvangen van een nieuwe klederdracht, dat wil zeggen ornamenten, lichaamsbeschpringingen en haardracht, voor Marind verbonden was aan de overgang naar een nieuwe sociale status en met de verdere initiatie in Marind cultuur. Dat laatste was wat de missionarissen juist wilden voorkomen, omdat het zou betekenen dat de Marind jeugd geïntroduceerd werd in de praktijk van koppensnellen en seksuele riten die naar westers begrip buitensporig waren. In het beschavingsoffensief werd daarom het her-kleden en daarbij het afleggen van de traditionele kleding en ornamenten, een belangrijk onderdeel. Het aantrekken van Indische kleding was voor de Marind een teken dat iemand openlijk gebroken had met de adat. Wie dat deed, kreeg de status van buitenstaander en werd door Marind poe-anim genoemd, Marind vreemdeling. Deze Marind poe-anim woonden dan niet in de mannen- en vrouwenhuizen in Marind dorpen, maar in de gezinshuizen in Merauke, bij een handelaar in huis, en later ook op de missiepost of in een modeldorp. Kleding functioneerde dus als cultural breaker en marker of difference. De missionarissen waren echter weinig succesvol in het beschaven en her-kleden van Marind die in hun eigen huizen en dorpen verblijven. De Marind dorpen met de eigen sociale organisatie en cultuur, leken de belangrijkste belemmering. Daarom vonden de missionarissen een fysieke scheiding tussen de jeugd en hun gemeenschap noodzakelijk. Door middel van een verblijf in een nieuw cultureel gecodeerde ruimte zou zo een nieuwe generatie los gemaakt worden van de gezag relaties en cultuur van de Marind, om vervolgens opgevoed en beschaafd te worden naar christelijke en westerse normen.

De missionarissen hadden in Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea twee van zulke nieuw cultureel gecodeerde ruimtes gecreëerd: de kostscholen op de missieposten en de modeldorpen grenzend aan, dan wel dichtbij de missieposten in Merauke en Okaba. In deze spaces of transformation werden Marind jongeren en kinderen geacht te breken met (ondertekenen van) de Marind cultuur. Om deze breuk te laten zien moesten ze alle zichtbare ornamenten afleggen, haarverlengsels afknippen, zich ontdoen van lichaamschilderingen en zich grondig wassen waarna ze permanent kleding in Indische stijl moesten dragen. Voor de schooljongens vormde dit ritueel
een ware rite de passage die de opname in de kostschool, wereld en cultuur van de missionarissen markeerde. In de modeldorpen werden Marind als kerngezin in eengezinswoningen gehuisvest, een samenlevingsvorm die nieuw was voor de Marind en de traditionele sociale organisatie van de Marind op de kop zette. Door deze *spaces of transformation* werden missionarissen in staat gesteld om niet alleen huishoudens en samenlevingsvormen te veranderen, maar ook nieuwe genderpatronen en arbeids- en (vrijetijds)regimes te introduceren.

*‘Local’ intermediaries and dual colonialism*

De modeldorpen en kostscholen van de missie in Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea waren in de periode van 1905 tot 1920 nog in een experimentele fase. Om de gewenste veranderingen en transformatie duurzaam te laten zijn moesten zulke modeldorpen een permanent en substantieel onderdeel van het door missionarissen gedragen beschavingsoffensief vormen. Rond 1920, nadat de missionarissen via diverse kanalen publiek hadden gemaakt dat de Marind met uitsterven bedreigd werden, wisten zij de modelkampong tot de institutionele basis voor het beschavingsoffensief in heel Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea op te waarderen. Met een alles-wordt-model-kampong programma werd de gehele regio onder koloniaal gezag gesteld en konden er op grote schaal culturele en sociale veranderingen gerealiseerd worden.


Als dorpsleider moesten deze onderwijzersgezinnen diverse administratieve taken opgelegd door missie en gouvernement uitvoeren. Zo moesten zij ervoor zorgen dat belastingen geïnd werden en herendiensten werden uitgevoerd. Daarnaast werd er van hen verwacht dat zij wet en orde handhaafden. De belangrijkste taak van de onderwijzersfamilies was echter te zorgen dat alle Papoea’s ook echt in de
modelkampings verbleven en dat kinderen en jongeren naar school gingen. Het succes van het bekerings- en beschavingswerk waarvoor de missionarissen verantwoordelijk waren, hing volledig af van de modelkampong met de school als space of transformation. Elke modelkampong had een eigen door het gouvernement gesubsidieerde dorpschool van het type beschavingsschool. De goeroes en njora gaven het onderwijs in deze school, waarbij tekenen, lezen, schrijven en Maleis weinig prioriteit of aandacht kregen. De nadruk van het curriculum lag veel meer op morele vorming. Muziekinstructie (bamboefluitspelen en orkesten) bijvoorbeeld, dat enerzijds voor sociale cohesie moest zorgen terwijl het anderzijds de ‘ongeciviliseerde’ feesten, muziek en dans van Papoea’s door meer ‘geciviliseerde’ varianten verving. Ook was er binnen het curriculum veel tijd en aandacht voor sport en beweging en werk in de (school)tuinen. Dit laatste werd gezien als middel om de nieuwe generatie discipline en een westers arbeidsethos bij te brengen, maar het leverde ook gratis arbeid en het noodzakelijke voedsel op. Goeroes en njora’s deden naast hun werk voor de school met volle overtuiging missionair werk; de eigenlijke evangelisatie die diep verweven was met het koloniaal project van ‘beschaving’. Ze propageerden en onderwezen met veel enthousiasme en discipline kinderen en volwassenen in het katholieke geloof. Tevens leidden ze de kerkdiensten en ontwikkelden ze met succes ‘beschaaide’ alternatieven voor Papoea feesten, dansen en andere tradities, vooral katholieke feesten ter gelegenheid van de doop, Kerstmis, Pasen, Pinksteren en het Heilig Sacrament.

Door de intermediaire rol van deze ‘lokale’ tussenpersonen te analyseren heb ik laten zien dat niet-westerse agency essentieel was in de opbouw van westere en christelijke instituties in Zuid Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea. Tevens kon ik de praktijk van het systeem van duaal kolonialisme in Zuid Nieuw-Guinea inzichtelijk maken. Dit was een systeem van indirect kolonialisme waarbij Papoea’s werden beschaafd en bekeerd door koloniale onderdanen van elders uit het Indische archipel, in dit geval goeroes uit Kei en Tanimbar. In dit systeem van duaal kolonialisme werden de hoogste posities in het gouvernement en de missie door een handjevol Nederlanders ingenomen, de posities daaronder door Keiesen en Tanimbaresen. Dit systeem liet voor Papoea’s weinig tot geen ruimte om überhaupt een positie van autoriteit in te nemen. De praktijk van dit systeem van duaal kolonialisme, waarbij de Keiese en Tanimbaresen onderwijsgezinnen de feitelijke dragers van opgelegde hervormingen en transformaties waren, maakt tevens duidelijk dat het concept van ‘lokale’ intermediari air genuanceerd dient te worden. Deze onderwijsgezinnen waren dan wel ‘lokaal’ voor gouvernement en missionarissen, maar voor Papoea’s waren zij net zo goed buitenstaanders die hen kwamen koloniseren en kerstenen.
Curriculum vitae

Maaike Derksen was trained as an anthropologist and historian at Radboud University Nijmegen. In 2011 she was awarded the Catharine van Tussenbroek scholarship, allowing her to conduct a pilot research in Indonesia. Here she studied Bahasa Indonesia, located (Dutch) mission collections in private archives, and conducted life history interviews with former pupils of Dutch Catholic mission schools in Java. The next year she started her PhD-project at Radboud University, which was funded with the HLCS-FdL grant.

In the course of her PhD project, she conducted research in both the Netherlands and Indonesia, was a guest lecture at the Gadja Madah University in Yogyakarta and spent two months at the Australian National University to deepen her knowledge on New Guinea and study with Chris Ballard. During her time as a PhD scholar, she was also awarded the Frye stipend for promising research, which funded a four-month period as a visiting researcher at the centre for Research on Colonial Culture (Otago University). She also worked as a lecturer at the Department of History in Nijmegen and Utrecht, teaching a wide range of classes on modern history, (post)colonial history and gender history, and supervising gender- and colonial-focused BA and MA theses. In 2018 she obtained her University Teaching Qualification. In addition to teaching and scientific research, Derksen organised several international workshops, such as ‘Locating voices of marginalised ‘others’. ‘Strategies for engaging textual, visual and material sources’ and was a guest editor of the special issue Gender and (Post)Colonialism: Locating Marginalized Voices’ of the Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies. She published her research in outstanding journals like Low Countries Historical Review (BMGN), Journal of Pacific History and International Review of Social History. During her time as a PhD-scholar, she also became a mother to two beautiful children, now eight and three years old.

In 2020 Derksen was commissioned by the Catholic Documentation Centre to carry out a pilot project on entangled history and missionary collections in Indonesia. Derksen is currently the project manager for ‘Sharing Entangled Heritage’, which aims to digitally conserve and share mission collections in the Netherlands and Indonesia. She is also lecturing at the Historical department at Radboud University. In 2020 she was awarded the Niels Stensen Fellowship but due to the COVID-19 Pandemic her post-doc research on the ‘colonial and post-colonial legacies of Dutch missionary influence in education and care’ is postponed to the beginning of 2022. For this post-doc research, she will spend a year at the Atma Jaya University (Jakarta) and the Australian National University (Canberra).