

# Missionary Albert Kruyt and Colonial Modernity in the Dutch East Indies<sup>1</sup>

JOOST COTÉ\*

Intense debates emerged in the Dutch East Indies during the course of the third decade of the twentieth century concerning the role of missionaries in the development of the Outer Islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Ostensibly concerning “native welfare”, disagreement fundamentally reflected underlying fractures within the Dutch nation, projected through its “colonial mission” concerning the nature of modernity. While the main focus appeared to be a disagreement concerning the goals of mission and government agencies, it would be too simplistic to characterise the debate as one between adherents of a secular versus a religious world view. This paper considers the question of “missions and modernity” in the context of this debate about “native development” in the Dutch East Indies through the prism of the Poso mission in Central Sulawesi, headed by missionary Albert Kruyt, one of the foremost missionaries of his day.

Although an apparently symbiotic relationship between Dutch missions and the colonial government had existed at the turn of the twentieth century, this had become increasingly problematic by the 1920s. After World War One, the direction of colonial government policy had become increasingly bifocal. On the one hand it was struggling to manage the emerging Indonesian nationalist movement in the West of the archipelago, while on the other, its resources were stretched in the administration of the vast Outer Islands of the archipelago, the exploitation of which had become increasingly important to the colonial economy. It was also in the Eastern archipelago where the mission presence was most significant. While from a mission perspective the colonial government’s emphasis on economic development was at odds with their efforts to form Christian communities, for both arms of Western civilisation “the importance of ethnology...had become almost axiomatic”.<sup>2</sup> Both government agencies and mission bodies had evolved their own approaches to using ethnology to develop policies in specific ways to achieve their respective goals.

At the beginning of the century support of Christian missions reflected the dominance of Christian political parties at home and a belief that colonial policy should reflect the values of the Christian nation. The key slogan at the time, the “debt of honour”, was an appeal to the conscience of the Dutch electorate to make amends for past colonial practice and introduce more “ethical” policies to develop the

indigenous peoples of the archipelago.<sup>3</sup> Although largely a rhetorical gesture, significant advances were aimed for in the provision of elementary education, improvement in health, and the promotion of economic welfare. But a policy of more intense colonial intervention and territorial expansion also reflected a revitalized Dutch nationalism and economy.<sup>4</sup> Support for missions was also driven by more immediate pragmatic motives. A mission presence, it was argued, would assist indigenous peoples to adjust to a Western presence and introduce them to Western civilisation; and politically missions would form a barrier to the influence of Islam, assumed to be expanding and hostile to Dutch interests. On their part, missionaries (as religiously motivated individuals emerging often from small religious village communities in rural Netherlands) clearly saw themselves as having an important role to play both as Christians and as representatives of Western Christian civilisation, if not motivated by a nationalist urge to serve the Dutch nation. Their Christian mission appeared to echo the imperial one that believed the Dutch nation had an ethical duty to “raise up” the traditional peoples in its charge. Internationally, in the “high imperial age”, mission rhetoric had fused with that of expansionist colonial regimes in a belief that it had a mission to relieve “[t]he sufferings of uncivilised peoples [which] are increased by their well nigh continuous wars, tribal feuds and revenge for bloodshed, for ‘peace they know not’”.<sup>5</sup>

It was in relation to the eastern archipelago that the new “ethical” policy had its most dramatic impact. Central Sulawesi was one of the Outer Island areas of the Indonesian archipelago that came under Dutch colonial jurisdiction for the first time at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> The site of regular but inconclusive “punitive expeditions”, and almost irrelevant in economic terms in the course of the nineteenth century, sustained military conquest between 1900 and 1910 rapidly incorporated this vast area into an expanded colonial administrative structure.<sup>7</sup> One direct consequence of this incorporation was the substantial benefit to both the colonial treasury and European enterprise from improved access to the archipelago’s resources.<sup>8</sup> The other was the encouragement of mission activity.

Missionaries, according to the 1910 Edinburgh International Mission Conference, were the “auxiliaries of government”, responsible for bringing the benefits of Western civilisation to the heathen, helping to weave together the “seamless robe of the great Catholic Church – the Church for Humanity”;<sup>9</sup> or, less optimistically, as helping to arm governments to meet the threat of “a rising tide of Mohammedanism”.<sup>10</sup> Albert Christiaan Kruyt was one of these “imperial auxiliaries”. The *Nederlandsche Zendelingengenootschap* (the Netherlands Missionary Society)—the largest Dutch Protestant missionary organisation, and the one responsible for sending Kruyt and his wife to Poso—had responded enthusiastically to an appeal from colonial officials in North Sulawesi in 1888 for a mission station in the region. The request had been couched in terms that underscored the political urgency—rather than moral duty—of establishing a connection with the people of the region, the animist Pamona, about whom almost nothing was known at the time.<sup>11</sup>

Kruyt was the first white man to make his home in this particular part of the Indonesian archipelago in 1891.<sup>12</sup> Between 1892 and 1932 Kruyt, aided by linguist Bible translator, Nicholas Adriani, effectively wrote Central Sulawesi and its Pamona inhabitants into the pages of Western anthropology, initially via mission publications, but increasingly with articles in leading Dutch academic journals.

Furthermore, as effective colonial authority was not established until some ten years after Kruyt's arrival, newly appointed local colonial officials typically deferred to Kruyt in developing policies for the region. Based on the detailed knowledge that he accumulated through his intimate interaction with the people—and his propensity to analyse and publish his findings—until at least 1914 Kruyt managed to wield almost unchallenged authority on the question of “what the people needed”.<sup>13</sup> During the same period Kruyt had also clarified how his Christian mission could best enable the Pamona to gradually evolve “from heathen to Christian”,<sup>14</sup> thus defining a distinct mission “program” that increasingly conflicted with colonial modernisation policies.

While initially local colonial officials and local missionaries in Poso could agree about a basic development program—such as the need to relocate and amalgamate villages, construct roads, and introduce more sustainable agriculture<sup>15</sup>—as more centralised policies for colonial development of “primitive” outer islands regions evolved after 1910, Kruyt increasingly had to defend his goals against the growing opposition from representatives of a local colonial bureaucracy.<sup>16</sup> Beyond Poso, the debate about what constituted “development”, and to what extent “the native” and her traditional culture should be subjected to or could partake of the resultant modernity, had become a central issue for colonial policy makers. Capitalist interests in gaining access to resources in the “primitive” Outer Islands and concern at the growing anti-colonial agitation in Java, the relatively modernised colonial centre of the Indies, brought into question the wisdom of the more liberal, “native policies” of earlier decades. The contrast between Java (and parts of Sumatra) in the West and the undeveloped but increasingly valuable expanse of the Outer Islands in the East highlighted both the urgency and the complexity of the “native question”.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, the post World War One imperial nation itself had become infected by what one influential conservative colonial spokesman described as a “*defaitistische stemming*” (a defeatist attitude) which was encouraging groups in Europe as well as in the colony—social democrats, Marxists, Theosophists, left leaning liberals and “university types”—to question an earlier commitment to “progress” and the benefits of Western civilisation, and the trajectory of modernity.<sup>18</sup> The expansion of anthropological research and the popularisation of ethnographic information promoted popular interest in traditional cultures and native crafts,<sup>19</sup> increased the importance of “anthropological insights” in constructing policy,<sup>20</sup> and encouraged secular critics of missions in their view that missionary activity (as well as colonial intervention) undermined the cultural integrity of “traditional societies”. While imperial regimes exploited such interests in erecting monuments to enlightened colonial policies at world exhibitions,<sup>21</sup> increased knowledge of “primitive societies” also encouraged those philosophically disillusioned with Western society<sup>22</sup> in their fascination with “the East” where, in contrast to the individual “alienated modern man” they saw commitment to communities that remained connected to history.<sup>23</sup>

Even before the taken-for-granted relationship between government and missions began to unravel, Kruyt was already a controversial figure, not least within mission circles. Defining himself as a Christian socialist, early in his training as a missionary he had also become attracted to the new discipline of anthropology. This distinguished him from the average nineteenth-century missionary for whom

the mission task had traditionally been perceived in terms of achieving salvation through preaching the gospel and a belief that enlightenment would follow the Word. Kruyt believed in a Christian version of evolution in which spiritual development was manifested by an evolving religious belief increasingly approaching Christian monotheism. Spiritual evolution was simultaneously manifested, he believed, in improvements in the quality of material life.<sup>24</sup>

Linked to his conception of spiritual evolution was Kruyt's belief that within even animist belief there was a "spark" of essential spirituality which it was essential for the missionary to identify and endeavour to develop. Rejecting earlier theories of separate origins, polygenesis, or a "fall from paradise" thesis (which assumed an innate prior knowledge of the truth), Kruyt's position allowed for the possibility of recovering from a primitive society's belief systems the fundamental primordial "anchors" for redeveloping "proper" understandings of man's relations to the true God.<sup>25</sup> One implication of this was the conviction that an appropriate external intervention in the lives of the "primitive heathen" by missionaries would act to stimulate and guide progress along this spiritual path towards an inevitable human destiny. Thus for Kruyt, a correct mission approach involved "understanding the heathen" to enable the missionary to "unmask" "heathen misrepresentations" and to prepare the evolution towards true religion.

An ethnographic approach was only beginning to emerge within international mission circles at the beginning of the twentieth century, being notably celebrated at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 which recognised Kruyt as one of the era's leading missionary theorists.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, even those missionaries who accepted this perspective (or at least the necessity of cultural understanding) did not necessarily accept the view that an evolutionary pathway from "fundamental primordial anchors" to "the truth" existed.<sup>27</sup> Nor did this pathway to modernity coincide with the more instrumentalist goals of development defined by colonial government. In practice the issues that concerned Kruyt's secular and religious critics were similar: to what extent did "the native" need to adopt European forms of behaviour and belief to be said to be a civilised person and ready for autonomy. On this issue both Dutch East Indies missionaries and colonial administrators were very reluctant to make a judgement.<sup>28</sup>

Kruyt's "new missiology" had developed gradually as he initially struggled to find a point of connection with the Pamona inhabitants. This people, estimated to have numbered about 30,000 at the time, were grouped in small, isolated, fortified villages, lacked identifiable hierarchical or governmental structures, and were in no sense daunted by this isolated if energetic and helpful European.<sup>29</sup> Kruyt's diary entries and mission publications suggest that his initial experience in Central Sulawesi left him disillusioned with the possibility that Pamona would ever understand the abstract nature of Christian concepts of a Protestant God.<sup>30</sup> In the field, he began to read E.B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and other current Anglophone anthropological writing in an attempt to make sense of what he observed around him, publishing an initial analysis of Pamona religion in 1903 in *Het Wezen van het Heidendom* ("The Nature of Heathenism"). This was soon superseded by his first major ethnographic study, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel* ("Animism in the Indies Archipelago") published in 1906. Here he elaborated his views on Pamona belief in the supernatural, and the link between their material and spiritual

un-development. He defined the Pamona as “primitive animists” well down the evolutionary scale, whose beliefs lacked any dynamic potential. He blamed what he considered to be their lack of intellectual capacity for their low level of material development, which in turn reinforced their commitment to traditional religious rituals as a desperate strategy to survive. Fostering intellectual capacity then became integral to Kruyt’s missiology. It took the form of formal, modified Western-style schooling for children; and for adults, who were habituated to a swidden agriculture, training in new agricultural methods.

While Kruyt’s views on Pamona spiritualism and evolution have now been thoroughly refuted,<sup>31</sup> in his day this “underpinning assumption...of a concept of evolution that runs from primitive, communalistic animism towards a higher, more individualistic, and spiritual stage of development”<sup>32</sup> had important consequences for his approach to missions and his attitude to colonial modernity. In terms of his missiology, Kruyt could now more positively conclude that introducing Christianity would act to uncouple the traditional conception of the supernatural from the material characteristics of Pamona society and so unleash the dynamic of a spiritual evolution. Nevertheless, he recognised that “the Word” alone was not enough to achieve this: he relied upon colonial (military) intervention to “crack open” the traditional Pamona way of life, and colonial supervision to force changes in traditional Pamona village life to prompt their consideration of the relevance of the new religion to the improvement of their material lives.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, more specific “developmental” strategies (such as teaching the Dutch language or providing vocational training which might have prepared Pamona for positions as clerks in local colonial administration; or providing modern consumables through shops or even extended medical care through clinics or hospitals—all of which local colonial officials and even some of Kruyt’s junior colleagues suggested) were for Kruyt both irrelevant to and even subversive of his mission goals.<sup>34</sup> It was not acceptance of Western civilisation that he aimed for, but a Christianised and improved material form of traditional Pamona life.

Although he maintained that his academic work was completely separate from his mission interests, the “new missiology” Kruyt advocated demanded that ethnology and linguistics “were important assisting sciences for missionary work”.<sup>35</sup> Kruyt in fact published literally hundreds of ethnographic and anthropological works on Pamona and other archipelagic cultures in leading Dutch academic journals during and after his period in Central Sulawesi.<sup>36</sup> This marked Kruyt as a key contributor to the burgeoning study of the ethnography of the Indonesian archipelago and afforded him an important position within the Dutch academic environment which was closely associated to the imperial enterprise.<sup>37</sup> It also determined his whole-of-community approach, with its insistence on maintaining Pamona language for use within the new institutions of school and church, and on maintaining as much as possible existing cultural forms that were consistent with Christian principles. His overt “evolutionary” view dictated a “sociological method of ‘inculturating’ Christianity within a non-Christian people in such a way that their culture was Christianized (rationalized, nationalized) without losing its distinctive identity”.<sup>38</sup> For Kruyt, extending the missionary’s influence beyond the walls of a church, and to encouraging the practice of a Christian way of life, was more important than the orthodoxy of church theology or ecclesiastical ritual.<sup>39</sup>

The influential 1910 Edinburgh International Mission Conference praised Kruyt's modern methodology, and claimed that missionaries such as he "have a more forward-reaching view of human destiny, a more extensive sphere of operations, a more inward and spiritual motive of work, a more clearly defined sense of God's claim on the individual conscience".<sup>40</sup> Back home, however, his principles offended not only early twentieth-century conventional missiologists (for his rejection of traditional mission theology) but also the assumptions of colonial officials which implied the superiority of mission compared to a colonial administration in civilising "the native". Kruyt's gradualist approach attracted criticism for the lack of obvious conventional "results"—as evidenced by baptisms, church membership, and church buildings—and his willingness to countenance "doctrinal impurities".<sup>41</sup> At the same time, Kruyt's attempt to protect "his" emerging Christian community from colonial "modernity"—his refusal to allow commercial agriculture, colonial enterprises, government (non-mission) schools and even mission-run shops and hospitals—attracted criticism from officials and was seen as extreme even within mission circles.<sup>42</sup>

Kruyt's whole-of-community approach inevitably led to conflict with local colonial officials who maintained that the advancement of Pamona material welfare was their responsibility and that the mission was encroaching on their domain. Although the Indies colonial government declared itself strictly neutral in relation to religion, if only to placate Islamic protest, mission activity largely depended on generous government school subsidies. This was technically provided on the grounds that mission-run education was an extension of a government service. To supplement these and other mission funds provided by church communities at home, Kruyt instituted a system of community coffee plantations and rice fields operated on the basis of unpaid labour to fund the needs of the embryonic (and largely non-existent) Christian Pamona communities. Kruyt considered "self-funding" a valuable element in focussing attention on the importance of the new religion in the new circumstances. By 1914 local officials were actively complaining that Kruyt was exploiting Pamona villagers for mission rather than community benefit and thus standing in the way of Pamona development.<sup>43</sup> They saw Kruyt's initiatives as funnelling community resources, not least of which was the supply of free labour, away from broader colonial "development" projects, such as establishing region-wide road networks and self-supporting agricultural complexes, or of training local village administrators and vocational experts as part of the broader colonial vision for the modernisation of the archipelago.<sup>44</sup>

A more crucial conflict, from a mission perspective, arose regarding the nature and purpose of mission schools. For colonial officials responsible for overseeing the economic and general development of village communities, the establishment of schools supported by government subsidies and community contributions were to prepare the new generation to adapt to the new conditions colonial government was charged with introducing. Missionaries, in their view, were merely to supervise such schools. Kruyt's argument was that the role of the school was to prepare a child to be able to mentally respond to the intellectual and spiritual challenge of the Christian message and to prepare children for entry to the emerging Pamona Christian community. The inclusion of religious subjects in the mission school curricula over and above the standard "three r's" elementary curriculum of govern-

ment-run schools was considered unnecessarily elaborate and intellectual, and thus primarily intended to serve mission ends rather than broader community needs. The “schools” debate (an echo of a huge debate in the Netherlands that shaped the democratising politics over the previous decades) was partially resolved in 1917 when oversight of all village schools across the archipelago was taken out of the hands of local colonial officials and placed under the supervision of inspectors of the department of education. The new arrangement, while removing the flashpoint for conflict at a local level, now left the mission open to the scrutiny of colony-wide, standardised educational regulations. Education department inspectors charged with implementing a minimal standardised curriculum for “inlanders” were no more ready to accept Kruyt’s mission school objectives than were development-oriented local officials.<sup>45</sup>

As colonial administration across the East Indies archipelago intensified after World War One, driven by an overriding discourse of “development”,<sup>46</sup> Kruyt’s mission was entangled in a larger discourse that saw missions as obstacles to the efficient implementation of colonial policy and representing obstructions to the proper material development of indigenous communities. This secular discourse, articulated by both “right-thinking” conservatives and left wing “progressives”, argued that the colonial government alone should be left to prepare native society for the “real” world. Where these two sides of the political debate differed was on the nature of, and the timetable for, the ultimate goal of autonomy.<sup>47</sup> Progressive colonial thinking increasingly appeared to support a principle of separate rates of “development” for different ethnic groups within the archipelago to allow for the gradual evolution of traditional communities. This gained its most principled expression in the development of the study of *adat* or customary law. Associated with Leiden law professor Cornelius van Vollenhoven, this project collated a significant body of ethnographic data from which specific culturo-legal principles were derived which were to form the basis of localised juridical administration.<sup>48</sup> Van Vollenhoven and his supporters argued that this represented a progressive step which relieved indigenous communities from being subjected to the inappropriate values of Western law. Described as a product of “romantic Orientalism”,<sup>49</sup> by the late twenties “[e]very conscientious administrator in the NEI had to take cognizance of its existence... [and] [f]or many it was becoming the new orthodoxy to which lip service was due, even though its political implications were taboo”.<sup>50</sup> It was a principle that had also been used to rationalise a differentiated education system, which provided a simplified western curriculum and excluded access to Dutch language in “native schools”.<sup>51</sup>

While some saw the proliferation of separate legal communities—and separate schooling systems—as a retrogressive step, as imposing ultimately insurmountable barriers of “separate development”, the privileging of *adat* over European values was also criticised as a further manifestation of the growing trend to disparage the prestige of Western civilisation. For missionaries encouraged to develop new “Christian *adat* law”, it was also problematic both because of the inability of mission organisations to cooperate amongst themselves, but also, as in the case of Kruyt, a refusal to systematize new customary law for local Christian communities when these were only just evolving.<sup>52</sup> But Kruyt wanted it all ways: he rejected an attempt to enshrine traditional *adat*, which in any case he was in the process of

changing, while equally not wanting the application of European or any “foreign” values, in an attempt to maintain “traditional Pamona culture” insofar as it was compatible with Christian principles.

The rejection of earlier attempts to promote “association” with Western ideals amongst Indonesian leaders can be linked to a broader sense of disillusionment with the condition of modernity and capitalism in the West. One prominent conservative commentator on colonial affairs accused prominent American evangelists “Mott, Stanley James and such [mission] leaders” for infecting the Dutch mission hierarchy with this anti-Western “virus”. He quoted in this context the *zending-consul*, the Protestant churches’ missions’ representative in the colonial capital, as advising missionaries in the Indies that “[t]he mission, even though it originates in the West, is not indivisibly tied to the West, does not necessarily need to transfer Western ideas, introduce Western culture let alone be obliged to serve Western interests”.<sup>53</sup> Traditional missiologists concurred: they considered missionaries like Kruyt as “dragging down” Christianity by allowing the infusion of traditional beliefs which, according to critics, would produce a dangerous syncretism.<sup>54</sup> Conversely, despite such apparent commitment to an anthropological approach, the “romantic Orientalists” accused missionaries such as Kruyt of destroying non-Western cultures, which opened up a further front in the development discourse.<sup>55</sup>

The emerging disquiet about Christian mission intervention in “traditional societies” came to a head in the Dutch East Indies in the 1930s and crystallised in *Djawa: Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut*, the journal of the “romantic Orientalists” devoted to the celebration of Hindu-Buddhist culture.<sup>56</sup> Bali had by then become a key focus of interest for Dutch “Orientalists”—as well as artists for whom Bali was a “tropical paradise”—who unsurprisingly resisted mission intrusion. The mission perspective, most energetically articulated by the influential mission advisor “at large”, Hendrik Kraemer,<sup>57</sup> argued that, as a result of colonial intervention, an authentic Balinese culture no longer existed since the Balinese were now governed according to the “norms of justice, humanity, etc that this society originally never knew”.<sup>58</sup> While Bali’s Hindu-derived religious culture had perhaps been more complex than that of other indigenous peoples, in general Kraemer rejected the view that traditional religion was worth preserving, asserting that

[t]he collective and massive religiosity of a pagan...is largely a cover for the desires and egotism of man, who tries to assert himself with his helplessness and craftiness, with his vitality and his naive self-preservation, in the midst of a world which he does not understand and which overwhelms him threatening his elementary and vital desires.<sup>59</sup>

The logical conclusion was that, lacking a religion in the “true sense”, and with a culture no longer intact as a result of the incursions of colonialism, Bali—and by extension any other traditional culture—should not be closed to missionary endeavour. On the other hand Kraemer was critical of “modern” missions which prematurely granted autonomy to their Christian communities. In a series of reports on newly autonomous indigenous churches in East Java and Sumatra he pointed to the persistence of “heathen” attitudes and merely superficial representations of Christianity. These communities of Christian “natives” he considered insufficiently spiritual, “overly worldly”, “disconnected”, and prematurely independent of mission

direction.<sup>60</sup> This suggested that for Kraemer, “native Christians” had ultimately to measure up against a conception of Western Christian civilisation. This position appeared to align him with those “secular modernisers” who similarly maintained the superiority of a secular version of Western civilisation.

Kraemer’s interlocutor in *Djawa* was the archaeologist (and Javanologist) FDK Bosch. Bosch recognised that contemporary European missionaries, unlike those in the past, thoroughly appreciated the importance of conducting modern scientific enquiry into “foreign religions and cultures”. But the modern missionary, he argued, now used science in a new way: as a tool to better “recognize the full power and worth of its opponents” and to attempt to “prove” the superiority of Christianity in the battle to Christianise. In the past such realities had been simply ignored but “in modern times” it was no longer possible to take either for granted.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, according to Bosch the new missiology attempted to do much more than it had in the past: it wanted its potential converts to “own”, and not simply imitate, the new faith. Opponents of the mission such as Bosch focussed on this psychological condition created by modernity in which:

those natural feelings that arose from deep within the heart of individuals, which [prior to their destruction] could be freely and normally expressed via the multiple channels that a culture provided, were now denied an outlet and consequently suppressed into the dark recesses of individual’s unconscious.<sup>62</sup>

In late colonialism, both sides in fact focussed on the psychology of cultural transformation. Where Kraemer argued that modernity brought by colonial intervention necessarily rendered old customs and beliefs obsolete, thus necessitating the insertion of a new belief system and identity relevant to the new state of affairs—an argument that also implied a symbiotic relationship between modernity and Christianity—Bosch argued that traditional culture could be gradually modernised by working with and through existing *adat*. While change would inevitably occur under colonialism—and as Bosch stressed, neither Balinese nor colonial government wished to “make Bali into a reservation, museum or an Indies Marken”<sup>63</sup>—this did not mean the integrity of Balinese ways of life was undermined by colonial intervention. Instead, Bosch argued, the new needs and conditions brought by modernity (colonialism) would lead to the “rejuvenation” (*verjonging*) of the Hindu-Balinese religion. By contrast, he saw that mission demands for a thorough psychological transformation implied the destruction of the existing religious and cultural foundations of Balinese (or any other) society upon which the essential rejuvenation of traditional societies could take place.

By the thirties it was clear that both missionaries and colonial officials, despite growing friction, shared a common interest in, at least, ethnography. Both sides published copiously in the pages of key Indies-related journals and were represented in the agendas of learned societies. Young colonial trainees in the Leiden Indology faculty learned from the renowned Professor of Ethnology, JPB De Josselin de Jong, that an understanding of ethnology was an essential tool of trade; and that an understanding of anthropology was, as the newly appointed professor of Comparative Ethnography at Utrecht University, H.Th. Fischer confirmed in 1931, a taken-for-granted element in the colonial official’s job description.<sup>64</sup> Prior to

his appointment Fischer had undertaken a field trip to the East Indies and concluded in a subsequent book that the stand-off between officials and missionaries in the colony was damaging to colonial interests as well as the reputation of the field of *Volkenkunde*. His pragmatic argument (biased, according to some, in favour of the mission position) was aimed at mediating between those who demanded “assimilation” into a Western cultural sphere and those whom he rather sarcastically named “lovers of human nature monuments”.<sup>65</sup> Change was clearly inevitable and already apparent, but the gradual transformation of the East need not traverse the pathway established by the West: it could gradually evolve a modern equivalent. While the colonial context still provided the best way for the peoples of “the East” to “better understand West-European culture and appropriate more rapidly the external attributes of the West”,<sup>66</sup> such a synthesis should not assume an “eventual standardized world”.<sup>67</sup> In this modern world, missions continued to have an important role because of their close connection with the people.

While it is easy to dismiss this debate as a mere ripple in a hegemonic colonial discourse, it did involve protagonists passionately defending genuinely held views regarding the question of what was the most appropriate policy to pursue to prepare indigenous peoples for an eventual participation in modernity. This of course smacked of colonial hubris, but all sides of this discourse were characterised by the degree of paternalism by which Dutch colonialism had always distinguished itself. In the end colonial policy produced only minimal “modernisation...in the form of roads, bridges, railways, schools and hospitals” which barely modified what remained essentially a subsistence economy “which seemed to stick to its own pace of change”.<sup>68</sup> Albert Kruyt, while one of the first to employ “modern technologies” in developing a modern missiology, attempted to resist what he saw as the destructive nature of such developments, and instead aimed to create a “modern tradition”.<sup>69</sup>

In the end, the Pamona—over whom mission and government representatives had argued so furiously—claimed their independence. After 1945, they forced the Dutch mission to transfer power to Pamona community leaders and to recognise the Pamona Church as the autonomous *Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah* (GKST); soon after, the official recognition of Indonesian independence forced the departure of the last missionaries. In the subsequent regional conflicts the Pamona Christians fought to maintain their autonomy against larger indigenous churches and against the incursion of Islam in Christian Pamona land.<sup>70</sup> Later still the *Gerakan Pemuda Sulawesi Tengah* (young Christian Pamona fighters) joined fellow Sulawesians in asserting regional autonomy against the claims of the national government in Jakarta.<sup>71</sup> Albert Kruyt, it could be said, was finally vindicated: in the course of sixty years, and over several generations, the Pamona had indeed emerged as a transformed community celebrating an alternative modernity.

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## Notes

- \* Joost Coté teaches Southeast Asian history at Deakin University and researches colonial cultures in colonial Indonesia. Recent publications include *Realizing the dream of R.A. Kartini: Her sisters' letters from colonial Java* (Ohio 2008) and *Colonising Poso: The diary of E. Gobée 1909-1910* (Monash Asia Institute, 2007). His e-mail address is joost.cote@deakin.edu.au.
- 1 I would like to thank Roy Jordaan and Han Vermeulen for providing information and two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions.
  - 2 Fischer, *Zending en Volksleven*, 1057.
  - 3 Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, 193.
  - 4 Kuitenbrouwer, *The Netherlands*.
  - 5 Warneck, *Living Forces*, 161.
  - 6 Technically designated "native states" linked to the colonial state via "contracts".
  - 7 Some areas, of course, had a much longer experience of a colonial presence.
  - 8 Touwen, *Extremes in the Archipelago*, 3.
  - 9 Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910*, 157.
  - 10 *Ibid.*, 75.
  - 11 Coté, "Colonising Central Sulawesi".
  - 12 Arts, "Zending en bestuur".
  - 13 Coté, "The Colonisation and Schooling of the To Pamona".
  - 14 Title of one of A.C. Kruyt's key works, *Van Heiden tot Christen*, 1926.
  - 15 Coté, "Colonising Central Sulawesi".
  - 16 *Ibid.*
  - 17 Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, 231.
  - 18 Zentgraaff, *Vaderlandsche Kout*, 94.
  - 19 Bloembergen, *De koloniale vertooning*, 261-9.
  - 20 Used as derogatory term, Zentgraaff blamed Leiden academics for promoting this attitude amongst colonial officials.
  - 21 Bloembergen, *De koloniale vertooning*.
  - 22 Spengler's *Decline of the West* (1918) defined the state of the modern world for many. Jung's work defined the condition of "alienated modern" in search of meaning.
  - 23 Jung, "Modern Man".
  - 24 Noort, *De weg*, 215-16; *Van Slageren*, "A.C. Kruyt".
  - 25 Noort, *De weg*, 213-5.
  - 26 For this reason Kruyt was invited to attend the Conference. Unable to attend, he completed the organisers' questionnaire.
  - 27 Johannes Warneck also feted at Edinburgh for his emphasis on an ethnographic approach, and refused to accept any evolutionary relationship between animism and Christianity (Friesen, *Missionary Responses*, 85; Noort, *De weg*, 171-5).
  - 28 See Kraemer, *From Missionfield*; Fischer, *Zending en Volksleven*. His major work on the subject was *De strijd over Bali en de zending: een studie en een appel*.
  - 29 Kruyt's diaries describe him walking long distances barefoot to reach hill top villages or distant agricultural plots to search out influential Pamona. He was welcomed particularly for his medical help and his novelty, not for his "message". Noort, "Dagboeken".
  - 30 Kruyt published extensive annual accounts in the mission journal, *Mededelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelingengenootschap* between 1895 and 1919. He also maintained dairies between 1892 and 1922 which were collated by Gerrit Noort in an unpublished volume, "De dagboeken van Albert Christiaan Kruyt", 1994.
  - 31 Downs, *The Religion*. Kruyt was influenced by the Leiden professor of ethnography, G.A. Wilkens (1847-1891). Wilkens was respected by (and corresponded with) the likes of Tylor, Fraser, Robertson Smith, and Codrington, who eagerly sought his new "Indonesian" data. See De Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen, "Cultural Anthropology".
  - 32 Noort, *De weg*, 174.
  - 33 *Ibid.*, 267. Later, as it became evident that the dismantling of traditional Pamona society could not so easily be rectified by the attempted substitution of Christian belief, Kruyt blamed the colonial intervention for having gone too far.
  - 34 In this he differed profoundly from his father in East Java, whose mission developed extended agricultural and vocational training, hospitals and successful commercial enterprises. Nortier, *Van Zendingenarbeid tot Zelfstandige Kerk*.
  - 35 Noort, *De weg*, 212.
  - 36 Kruyt continued to be actively involved in shaping Dutch missiology after his return, both as a writer and as a lecturer at the Mission training school. Correspondence also indicates that he continued to act as advisor to his son, Jan Kruyt, who took over from the father as head of the Poso mission conference until 1954.
  - 37 The three-volume account of the Pamona people written with Adriani, *De Bare'e sprekende Toradjas van Midden Celebes* (1912-14) earned him a doctorate. A complete bibliography of his works, including those

- that are mission-related, covers twenty pages (Noort, *De weg*, 243-63).
- 38 A. Schrauwers, 'Returning to the Origins'.
- 39 Noort, *De weg*, 213.
- 40 Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910*, Report, Commission Seven, Missions and Governments, 2.
- 41 Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw*, 618-9.
- 42 Coté, *Colonisation and Schooling*.
- 43 *Ibid.*, xxx.
- 44 Colijn, 1907, cited in Coté, *Colonisation and Schooling*, xxx. Kruyt was forced to give up his community plantations.
- 45 *Ibid.* Fischer, in *De Zending*, praises Kruyt's policies in "mediating modernity" and criticises local colonial officials' opposition to Kruyt's efforts, including his schools policy.
- 46 Touwen, *Extremes*. Touwen shows the negative impact of colonial activity in the eastern archipelago.
- 47 This summarises Zentgraaff's analysis of the current political scene at the time.
- 48 Otto and Pompe, "Leiden Oriental Connection".
- 49 Burns, "The Myth of Adat", 82.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 51 Brugmans, *Onderwijspolitiek*, 163.
- 52 Noort, *De weg*, 420-5.
- 53 Zentgraaff, *Vaderlansche Kout*, 91. The *Zendingsconsul* was the lobbyist for mission interests to the colonial government in Batavia. The quotation was from a speech in 1929 to the prestigious academic society, *Indische Genootschap*.
- 54 Noort, *De weg*, 423-5.
- 55 Kaudern, *Ethnographic Studies*.
- 56 In 1933, the journal presented essays by key spokesman for each side: F.D.K. Bosch, "Bali en de Zending" and H. Kraemer, "Repliek op 'Bali en de Zending'", *Djawa*, vol. 13, 1, 1933, 1-77.
- 57 Kraemer, "The Controversy"; Jongeling, *Het Zendingsconsulaat*, 98-211.
- 58 Jongeling, *Het Zendingsconsulaat*, 209.
- 59 Kraemer, "The Controversy", 51-52.
- 60 Kraemer reported on the three most prominent mission fields: the Minahassan region of Northern Sulawesi, the East Java mission at Mojowarno, and the German Rhenish Mission in Northern Sumatra.
- 61 Bosch, *Bali en de Zending*, 1. Bosch was continuing a public debate that had commenced earlier when Kraemer responded to an article by Bosch in the critical journal, *De Stuw* (1933), which was in part a response to an earlier restatement of modern missiology published by Kraemer in the mission journal, *De Opwekker*, in 1930.
- 62 Bosch, *Bali*, 4-5.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 6-7. Marken, an island off the Dutch coast, had become an outdoor museum of traditional local Dutch culture and architecture.
- 64 Fischer, "Het belang der volkenkunde"; De Josselin de Jong, "Het belang der ethnologie".
- 65 Fischer, *Zending en Volksleven*, 13.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 11
- 67 *ibid.*, 15.
- 68 Touwen, *Extremes*, 229.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 304.
- 70 J. Kruyt, *Poso*, 362-8; Coté, "Christian Mission".
- 71 Sadi, *Poso*.