

Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

Lopez, A.C.

Citation

Lopez, A. C. (2018, September 18). *Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Lopez, A.C.

Title: Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-

1900

Issue Date: 2018-09-18

Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker, volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties te verdedigen op dinsdag 18 september 2018 klokke 10 uur

door

ARIEL C. LOPEZ

geboren te Lucena City (Filippijnen) in 1986 Promotores: Prof. dr. J.J.L. Gommans (*Universiteit Leiden*)

Prof. dr. D.E.F. Henley (Universiteit Leiden)

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. G. van Klinken (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Dr. A.F. Schrikker (Universiteit Leiden)

Prof. dr. H.G.C. Schulte Nordholt (Universiteit Leiden)

Dr. K.A. Wellen (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde)

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1. Ratulangie and Manoppo	1
2. Conversion as a sociological phenomenon	4
3. Islam, Christianity, and Dutch colonialism	6
3.1. Islam	6
3.2. Christianity	7
3.3. Dutch colonialism	8
4. Conversion and chiefly interests	11
5. North Sulawesi: geography, politics, and society	14
6. Sources	19
7. Chapter organization	22
Chapter 2: Theories of conversion	23
1. Bottom-up theory	24
2. Expanding horizon theory	26
3. Comprehensive social crisis theory	28
4. Missionary theory	31
5. Trade theory	32
6. Marriage theory	37
7. Concluding remarks	40
Chapter 3: Christianization in Minahasa	41
1. The Company and the chiefs	43
2. Missionaries, chiefs, and obligatory crop deliveries	48
2.1. Wars and the "delivery system"	49
2.2. Early missions: Riedel and Schwarz	52
2.2.1. Schools and the Malay language	53
2.2.2. Healing and medicine	57
3. Colonial reforms: taxation, centralization, and conversion	60

3.1. Early liberal reforms	63
3.2. Jansen's reforms: centralization and conversion	66
3.2.1. Opening the economy	67
3.2.2. Co-opting the chiefs	69
3.2.3. Conversion as centralization	71
3.2.4. Resistance and attraction	75
4. Concluding remarks	80
Chapter 4: Islamization in Bolaang-Mongondow	83
1. Christianity and the Dutch East India Company	84
2. Maritime Islam, family alliances, and the Dutch	88
2.1. Islam and the Dutch	90
2.2. Arabs in north Sulawesi	94
2.3. Islam and the indigenous elite	101
3. Nineteenth-century conversions in Bolaang-Mongondow	108
3.1. Early conversions: traders and the raja	109
3.2. Liberal colonial reforms and Islamic conversions	117
3.2.1. The Francis Commission and the reforms of Resident Ja	nsen 117
3.2.2. Conversion and the contingent effect of taxation	121
4. Concluding remarks	132
Chapter 5: Christianization in Sangir-Talaud	134
1. Sangirese Christians and the Dutch East India Company	136
1.1. Christianity as political affiliation	138
1.2. Relative status, slavery, and Christianity	141
1.2.1. Talaud's subservience to Sangir	143
1.2.2. Relative status in Sangir	147
1.3. Christianity as elite ethos	150
2. Stalemate: government, chiefs, and missionaries, c. 1850-1890	151
2.1. Resident Jansen and the missionary-artisans	152
2.2. Chiefly intransigence: Jacob Ponto, raja of Siau	156

2.2.1. Christianizing a Muslim chief	156
2.2.2. Ponto and the missionaries	159
2.3. The missionary-artisans and the missionary "familial-regime"	165
3. Religious conversion, political reforms, and commercial expansion	170
3.1. Persistence of the old order	171
3.2. Stakman's and Jellesma's reforms (1889-1903)	174
3.3. Hostility and attraction	178
4. Concluding remarks	182
Chapter 6: Conclusion	183
1. Demand-side and supply-side causations	183
2. Elite conversions and relative status	185
3. Conversion, colonial reforms, and the consolidation of chiefly authority	188
3.1. Minahasa	188
3.2. Bolaang-Mongondow	190
3.3. Sangir-Talaud	192
4. Conversion and the promise of liberation	193
Appendices	195
Appendix 1: List of rajas and apical chiefs of the various north Sulawesi polities	195
Appendix 2: List of residents of Menado	200
Appendix 3: Colonial career of A. J. F. (Albert Jacques Fredrik) Jansen	201
Appendix 4: Schoolchildren in Minahasa, 1846	202
Appendix 5: Pre-modern Sangirese domains in Talaud	204
Glossary of terms	208
Bibliography	211

Acknowledgments

The foundations of this dissertation were laid as early as 2009 when Prof. Leonard Blussé-van Oud Alblas accepted my application to the Encompass Program. He and Alicia F. Schrikker, then coordinator, opened the doors for me to study Dutch-Indonesian history. As academic mentors, they were later joined by Kathryn A. Wellen who helped broaden my perspective of the field and improve my academic English.

Notwithstanding tradition, the Filipino values of *utang na loob* behooves me to acknowledge gratitude to my supervisors. I thank Prof. Jos Gommans for taking the risk of supporting my project and for the resolute belief that I could finish despite the difficulties along the way. I am grateful to Prof. David Henley for instilling academic rigor and sharing precious insights on the research topic.

Marijke van Wissen, the secretary of the Encompass and Cosmopolis programs, deserves special thanks for the countless assistance on practical matters on living in Leiden.

Through the years, I benefitted immensely from the series of classes on the Dutch language. I am grateful to Lili Evers, René Wezel, and Ton Harmsen who taught these courses with patience and dedication. I am also thankful to *Pak* Suryadi, Aone van Engelenhoven, and Prof. Ben Arps under whose tutelage I learned Bahasa Indonesia.

This dissertation is not only a product of synthesizing archives and books, but also of brief yet productive conversations with colleagues and friends. I am fortunate for the community of scholars brought together by the program and who socialized during *borrels* after the occasional lectures sponsored by these programs.

In addition, the generosity of friends, colleagues, and teachers who imparted their own research discoveries—and share of difficulties—sustained my optimism in the project. I am grateful to Farabi Fakih, Esther Zwinkels, Sanne Ravensbergen, Seng Guo Quan, Andreas Weber, Prof. Gerry van Klinken, Prof. Charles Jeurgens, Nadia Fauziah Dwiandri, Ruurdje Laarhoven, Henk Niemeijer, Yeri Wirawan, Hans Hägerdal, Mieke Schouten, Ian Caldwell, Marije Plomp, Arlo Griffiths, Veronique de Groot, Maarten Manse, Mahmood Kooria, Mark van de Water, Misael Racines, Simon Kemper, Xu Xiaodong, Pham Van Thuy, Pimmanus Wibulsilp, and Louie Buana. I would like to thank friends with whom I shared *Koningstraat* 27 and from

whom I learned about Indonesia—they were: Prima Mulyasari, Haris Budiawan, Abdul Wahid, Uji Nugroho, Widiratih Kamiso, and Intan Wibisono.

During my research trips to Indonesia, I am very fortunate to have met people who shared their knowledge and time. In Manado, I am indebted to Prof. Alex Ulaen, Stevano Sumampouw and Christian Setiawan. Christian accompanied me to Mongondow and Sangihe and whose family adopted me during the Christmas holidays of 2014. In Gorontalo, I am thankful to Basri Amin and David Radjak who were gracious hosts. My visit to the outskirts of Cirebon was facilitated by Fuad Faizi.

I thank the Cosmopolis program for the generous support for research trips and conferences, in particular in Yogyakarta (2014) and Manila (2016). I also thank David Szanton of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) for the grant to join the "Religion and the State" dissertation workshop in Chicago (2015). Elsa Clavé gave me the opportunity to present my findings at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS) (2016) and Prof. Maria Serena I. Diokno and the SEASREP Foundation provided the chance to share my research at Chulalongkorn University (2017).

On a more personal level, I wish to thank friends for the constant wish of *semangat* during difficult times. They were Esther Zwinkels, Pimmanus Wibulsilp, and Norifumi Daito.

Nguyễn Bảo Trang, reminded me of the importance of work-life balance, in spite of its elusiveness. She hosted me at Gießen, Germany in my last months in Europe and provided space to finish my draft. I thank her for the unwavering support and care.

I thank my parents and siblings in the Philippines for understanding my frequent absences at important family gatherings and long periods of being *incommunicado* while working on this project.

Finally, I wish to dedicate this work to my late mother who was always eager to listen to the progress of my project—no matter how slow. She would have been glad to know that I have finally reached this stage.