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

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1. Ratulangie and Manoppo

Speaking before the *Indische Vereeniging* (Indies Society), an organization of indigenous students from the Dutch East Indies studying in the colonial metropole in 1914, G. S. S. J. (Sam) Ratulangie (1890-1949), perhaps the most celebrated politician of Minahasa,[1] declared that

> We did not have a civilization before the arrival of the Dutch. This is important because in our pursuit to westernize our society, we did not suffer the burden of centuries of tradition. We accepted the Christian civilization without any restriction. [2]

Ratulangie aimed to please his audience, which would have certainly included Dutch colonial functionaries. He added to his self-deprecating panegyrics that before the coming of the German missionaries J. G. Schwarz and J. F. Riedel in the 1830s, his own society was characterized by such human vices as laziness, immorality, and vindictiveness. Furthermore, it was only through missionization that the "slumbering powers" of the people were awakened.[3]

The sentences from the above quotation were a preamble to arguing for the employment of more Minahasans as teachers in the fast expanding colonial education system. Ratulangie pleaded to "use our people [Minahasans] as mediums for the large-scale civilizational work in Celebes." He asserted that Minahasans should become the vanguards of civilization in the region and perhaps beyond.

Datoe Cornelis (D. C.) Manoppo, a more obscure contemporary of Ratulangie and also paramount ruler of Minahasa's adjacent Islamized polity of Bolaang-Mongondow, provides a telling contrast. Manoppo was explicit in his belief that the Minahasan teachers

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[1] To name some of his distinctions, Ratulangie was "the founder of the nationalist political party Persatuan Minahasa in 1927, first governor of Sulawesi for the Indonesian Republic in 1945, and posthumous Indonesian national hero." David Henley, "The Fate of Federalism: North Sulawesi from Persatuan Minahasa to Permesta," *Moussons* 11, (2007): 90.

[2] G. S. S. J. Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," *Indische Vereeniging: Voordrachten en Mededeelingen* 3, no. 1 (1914): 37.

[3] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 35. The trope of the missions' "awakening" the (Oriental) natives from their "laziness" is seemingly widespread not only in the Dutch colony but also in the British raj. See Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 6.

(*guru*) were "inferior" to the (Muslim) Javanese.[4] Manoppo had previously journeyed to Java to "expand his worldview"[5]—a rather unconventional activity for local rulers at the time—and was supposed to have "returned as a stauncher Muslim."[6]

It is likely that Manoppo and Ratulangie never socialized with each other though they were from neighboring areas and the leading members of their respective notable families. However, their shared invocation of religious affiliation as an important, if not defining, identity could not be more striking.

Ratulangie claimed that Minahasan and migrant Catholic Filipino pearl fishers in the Banggai archipelago (central Sulawesi) lived peacefully with each other compared with the supposed troubled relationship between Christian Minahasan and Muslim Javanese gold miners working side by side. The reason for the Minahasan and Filipino harmony was the supposed "close[ly] [shared] language and culture."[7]

Manoppo, on the other hand, strived to curtail the influence of Minahasan teachers working in Bolaang-Mongondow and strengthen his subjects' Islamic identity. He forbade "pagan festivities" and ordered his subaltern chiefs to "gather Islamic teachers" in order to "strengthen Islam." He promoted the construction of new mosques and the conversion of the "still pagan" Mongondorese.[8]

However, just a century earlier, the idea of tension between a Christianized Minahasa and an Islamized Bolaang-Mongondow would have seemed almost inconceivable. The people of Minahasa were animists at the time and also hostile towards Dutch dominance, at least until the Tondano War (1809) that finally "pacified" the region. The inhabitants of Bolaang-Mongondow's demographically dense uplands were "pagans except for a few chiefs who are Muslims."[9] Besides, the Mongondorese chiefly elite class, which was at least nominally Christian, was the last of the elites in the region to convert to Islam.

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[4] Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[5] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[6] Cited in Sven Kosel, "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 38, no. 110 (2010): 55.
[7] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 33. On the Banggai migrant settlement: Nationaal Archief- The Hague (NA) Memorie van Overgave (MvO) 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 306, Residentie Menado, A. Ph. van Aken, 1932, 17; see also, Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 453.
[8] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[9] Arsip National Republik Indonesia (ANRI) Manado ivn. 48, no. 4, Verslag van de rijkjes en negorijen ten westen van Manado gelege, D. F. W. Pietermaat, Resident van Manado, 31 December 1833.

Yet, only after a century "98 % of Bolaang-Mongondow is Muslim"[10] while Minahasa was by the time already "virtually Christianized."[11] The divergence of religious identities is striking given that Bolaang and Manado, the respective commercial centers of these two regions, are barely a hundred kilometers apart.

What happened in the intervening years that led to such mass identification with specific and divergent religious identities reminiscent of or perhaps even an analogue to the mass conversions during the so-called "Age of Commerce" (1450-1680) during which about half of the population of Indonesia became Muslim while more than half of Filipinos became Christian?[12]

How can we historicize the rise of such "religious mode of thought"[13] that pervaded not only the elite but also the ordinary people's *mentalité*? Even more fundamental—what accounts for the relatively rapid and simultaneous religious conversion to Islam and Christianity?

While often hedging against generalizations, historians writing on religious conversions in Indonesia tend to rely on several lines of argument to explain the phenomena of conversions. The notion that trade was instrumental not only in elite but also mass conversions appears particularly common in the literature on Islamic conversions. Additionally, the idea that colonial rule created a massive social crisis inducing people to convert to Christianity recurs in the literature on Christianization in Indonesia. To what extent are these—and other competing—explanations applicable to north Sulawesi?

Before proceeding to a more extensive discussion on the various theories of conversions (Chapter 2), a brief remark on the theoretical approach and the broader historical context is in order.

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[10] *Rayat Bolaäng Mongondow*, 18 November 1932, Vol. 1, no. 5.
[11] David Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 50.
[12] Anthony Reid, "An 'Age of Commerce' in Southeast Asian History," *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1990): 2. And more extensively in Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 2 vols., vol. 2: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 136-145.
[13] Robert W. Hefner, "Multiple Modernities: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, (1998): 87.

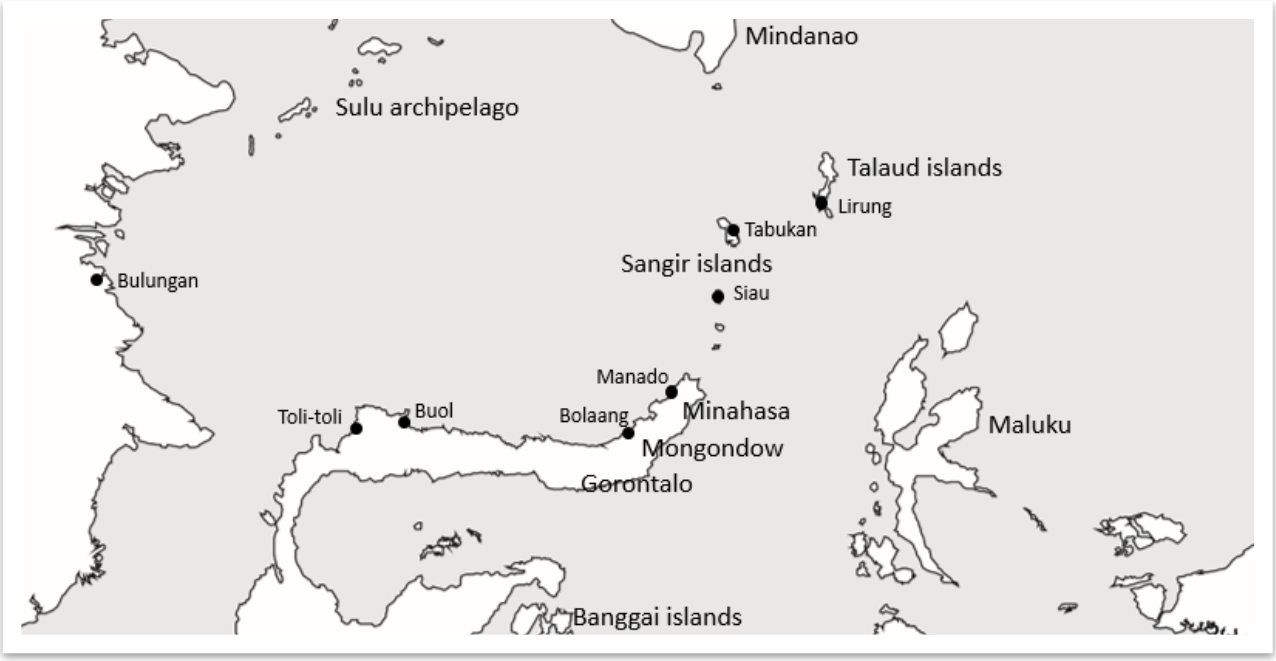

Figure 1
Map of northern Sulawesi and environs

2. Conversion as a sociological phenomenon

This dissertation is informed by two ostensibly divergent and mutually exclusive perspectives on religious conversion. On one hand, some scholars argue for an "internalist" definition and explanation to conversion. They believe that "true" conversion occurs only when there is a "re-orientation of the soul."[14] As such, they espouse an essentialist, even theological, approach to understanding conversion. Individuals and societies that fail to fulfill the conditions characterizing "true" and "ideal" conversion are thought to have undergone either "deficient conversion,"[15] "adhesion"[16] or merely an (intercultural) "interaction."[17] On

[14] Nock (1993), cited in Janet Hoskins, "Entering the Bitter House: Spirit Worship and Conversion in West Sumba," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, ed. Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (Tucson AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 159.
[15] See Lorraine V. Aragon, "Reorganizing the Cosmology: The Reinterpretation of Deities and Religious Practice by Protestants in Central Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (September 1996): 350.
[16] See Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 152.
[17] See Gerrit Roelof de Graaf, "De wereld wordt omgekeerd: Culturele interactie tussen de vrijgemaakt-gereformeerde zendelingen en zendingswerkers en de Papoea's van Boven Digoel (1956-1995)" (PhD. Dissertation, Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2012).

the other hand, the "externalist" view sees social, political, and economic forces taking a central place in understanding religious conversions.[18]

In the literature on Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular, the scholarly understanding of religious conversions tends to combine varying degrees of both the externalist and internalist views. Anthony Reid, for instance, in his study of early modern Christian and Islamic conversions, asserts that these conversions were a "conscious repudiation of a past identified as evil in favor of an externally defined new ideal."[19] However, such an internal, personal decision to convert was triggered by an essentially external factor, which was "a commercial, cosmopolitan, competitive environment that shook the foundations of older local beliefs."[20]

Robert Hefner's studies on contemporary Christian, Hindu, and Islamic conversions in Java likewise draw causality from both sides. Without negating individual moral agency, he contends that "an individual can be committed to a particular belief system without fully understanding its conceptual truth or social entailments."[21] He cautions against "intellectualism" or the view that individuals convert "as a result of social developments that promote comparison of the relative coherence of one set of beliefs with that of another."[22] Hefner identifies the Indonesian state's centralizing policy in the 1960s and 1970s as a driving force in mass conversions to world religions. As such, he sees conversion "not simply a matter of individual evaluation, but a social problem, related to the construction of political institutions under which some meanings would be shared and others denied."[23]

This dissertation also takes into account the political economy as well as the motivations and intentions of the social actors involved. Recognizing the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of pinpointing individual internal reasons for conversion, it strives to

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[18] This view is perhaps best represented by the studies of Jean and John Comaroff on South African Christianity in which "culture, symbolism and ideology" are weaved into the political-economic approach to understanding religious conversions. For example, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa," *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 1 (February 1986). See also, Sally Engle Merry, "Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's "Of Revelation and Revolution"," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 2 (April 2003): 462.

[19] Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650, "*Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, 152.

[20] Anthony Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," in *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, ed. Judith Schlehe and Evamaria Sandkuhler (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014), 52.

[21] Robert W. Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 121.

[22] Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java, "*Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, 119.

[23] Robert W. Hefner, "The Political Economy of Islamic Conversion in Modern East Java," in *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning*, ed. William R. Roff (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1987), 76.

reconstruct, and at times extrapolate, a sociologically based motivation for individual and mass conversions. It therefore considers personalities as political and economic actors whose motivations were shaped, if not defined, by their social interests.

Although egodocuments are not extant to prove conversion as such, historical accounts are often explicit about the visible changes accompanying conversion to Islam or Christianity—either through descriptions of clothing, houses, or actual religious practices.[24] This dissertation is less concerned with the moral transformations that assumed to accompany such changes, and more concerned with how such physical manifestations are related to conversion. What did conversions mean for the broader aspects of social life, if at all? To what extent did conversions represent, or at least replicate, contemporaneous political and social currents within the societies in question?

3. Islam, Christianity, and Dutch colonialism

While this dissertation devotes considerable discussion to the early modern period, it focuses primarily on the nineteenth century. How does one locate these conversions in the broader histories of Islam, Christianity, and Dutch colonialism?

3.1. Islam

This dissertation's discussion of nineteenth century Islamic conversions questions the assumption that "virtually all of the Austronesian peoples of Island Southeast Asia became integrated into the Islamic world between 1300 and 1600 CE."[25] It examines Islamic conversions that straddle the transition between what could be broadly categorized as the early modern and modern phases of Islamization in Indonesia. While the early phase is characterized by the key role of the ruler, the latter is marked by the importance of religious schools.[26] Whereas the early modern phase "assumed a 'raja-centric' face" in which "rulers were central both to the initial conversion process and to the exemplary public culture

[24] On the difference between "Christian" and "pagan" houses and clothes, see J. G. F Brumund, "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragmentmijner reize door de Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 2, no. 2 (1856): 137-140. On the marked change of clothes among Muslim converts, see N. Adriani and Alb. C. Kruijt, "Van Posso naar Mori 22 Augustus-29 September 1899," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 44, (1900): 178.

[25] Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia from the 16th to the 21st century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 16.

[26] See Robert Hefner, "Indonesia in the Global Scheme of Islamic Things: Sustaining the Virtuous Circle of Education, Associations and Democracy," in *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin and Kees van Dijk, 49-62 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).

constructed in its wake,"[27] the latter saw the importance of "broad-based institutions for intermediate or advanced education in the Islamic sciences comparable to those that had existed in the Middle East for almost a thousand years."[28] Indeed in different parts of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, the nineteenth century saw the rise of "private Islamic schools" (*pondok*) that were "usually established by a religious teacher and that offered a regular course of Islamic studies of one or a couple of years."[29] Spreading alongside this reformist wave was the "fundamentalist" Islamic (*jihahist*) ideology through which opposition to colonial and local traditional elite rule congealed notably in Sumatra[30] as well as in Kalimantan.[31] To what extent then was the raja or the emergent religious institutions important in the Islamic conversions in north Sulawesi?

3.2. Christianity

With regard to Christianity, this dissertation discusses a period of conversions that is likewise distinct in a number of ways.

The substantial number of Christian conversions in north Sulawesi happened long after the Dutch East India Company encouraged the Christianization of the ruling elite in the early modern period.[32] These conversions occurred before the comparable Christianization of the Toraja, Batak, Dayak, and other upland peoples in the eastern archipelago who were incorporated into the colonial realm in what has been described as the "final burst of [colonial] pacification" in the early twentieth century.[33] Most notably, the conversions in north Sulawesi—and those in Minahasa in particular—took place during the unprecedented colonial intervention in local affairs which was underpinned by the economy of compulsory

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[27] Robert W. Hefner, "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 13.
[28] Hefner, "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia,"*Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, 12.
[29] Muhamad Ali, "Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Kelantan," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 79, no. 2 (2006): 39.
[30] Christine Dobbin, "Tuanku Imam Bondjol, (1772-1864)," *Indonesia* 13, (1972).
[31] G. L. Tichelman, *Een gezaghebber-resident : herinneringen van een bestuursambtenaar uit den ouden tijd, bewerkt naar de nagelaten bescheiden van wijlen den resident der Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, J. J. Meijer* (1939).
[32] See Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "Agama Kumpeni? Ternate en de protestantesering van de Noord-Molukken en Norod-Sulawesi 1626-1795," in *Het Indisch Sion: De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, ed. G. J. Schutte, 146-175 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).
[33] Gerry van Klinken, *The Making of Middle Indonesia: The Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1980s* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 7.

coffee cultivation and rice deliveries. This was often referred to as *cultuurstelsel* although this term is technically incorrect.[34]

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Christian conversions in north Sulawesi occurred in the context of a seemingly widespread (religious) liberalism in colonial official circles. Following the adoption of a liberal constitution in the Netherlands in 1848, a liberal *Regeringsreglement* (Constitutional Regulation) for the Indies was instituted in 1854.[35] It directed colonial officials to refrain from involvement in local religious affairs (*onthouding*), forbade direct propagation of Christianity, as well as the privileging of Christians over Muslims.[36] However, the colonial metropole's liberal attitude was counteracted by a vigorous religious offensive from conservative quarters represented by such figures as Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer and Otto Heldring.[37] The latter, in particular, lobbied for the sending of missionaries to Sangir-Talaud and other regions of the Dutch East Indies in the 1850s.[38]

Given the official policy of ambivalence to the missions, on the one hand, and the active Christian lobby in the metropole, on the other, to what extent did the colonial government play a role in the promotion of Christian conversions, if at all?

3.3. Dutch colonialism

This dissertation aims not only to explain but also compare and contrast conversions to Islam and Protestant Christianity in north Sulawesi. It thus deviates from the historiographical traditions that tend to isolate the understanding of Christianity and Islam. Anthony Reid observes that "it is surprising that Southeast Asianists have not attempted to analyse Islamisation and Christianisation as part of a similar process."[39] Karel Steenbrink echoes Reid in that "most studies of Islamic modernism either neglect the simultaneous

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[34] As Bosma points out there is a widespread confusion between "coffee monopoly" and "*cultuurstelsel*" in the context of Java. The latter was a more complex process that involved government compulsion in the acquisition of land and native labor for tobacco, tea, indigo, and above all, sugar plantations. However, the former was by and large a "*bevolkingscultuur*" in which the Dutch East India Company, and later the colonial government, purchased coffee from the natives at fixed sub-market prices. An elaborate economic system comparable to the *cultuurstelsel* in Java was absent in north Sulawesi. Ulbe Bosma, "Het cultuurstelsel en zijn buitenlandse ondernemers: Java tussen oud en nieuw kolonialisme," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 2 (2005): 6, 15.

[35] M. B. Hooker, *Adat Law in Modern Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 13.

[36] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2768, RM Manado, E. J. Jellesma, 14 March 1903 to Directeur van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid.

[37] Albert Schrauwers, "In Whose Image? Religious Rationalization and the Ethnic Identity of the To Pamona of Central Sulawesi" (University of Toronto, 1995), 56.

[38] H. Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1991), 250.

[39] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 153.

development of Christian missions, or consider both as natural enemies and competitors".[40] In the context of north Sulawesi, Sven Kosel has recently observed—but stopped short of explaining—that the conversions in adjacent Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow occurred at roughly the same period.[41]

The above cited sources suggest that these broadly contemporaneous conversions to Islam and Christianity occurred during the period of Dutch colonial rule, which has led the current study to firmly locate Islamic and Christian conversions in north Sulawesi's three sub-regions within the shared variable of being under colonial rule.

Except for a brief British interlude in the early nineteenth century, the Dutch exercised political and economic dominance over the region's various polities from the 1670s. However, Dutch colonial presence and intervention remained uneven. Of the three sub-regions, Minahasa underwent the earliest and most profound experience of modern colonialism. It is also along the Minahasan shores that Manado, the settlement which came to be the colonial administrative and commercial center, was located. Several low-ranking European or more likely Eurasian[42] colonial functionaries (*opzieners*) were already assigned in the Minahasan hinterland from the commencement of forced coffee cultivation in 1822. Their main concern however was essentially economic—facilitating the "cultivation, delivery, and payment of coffee"[43] while leaving the internal political affairs to the indigenous district chiefs (*majoor*).[44] By 1856, however, the so-called *controleurs*, endowed with broad political and fiscal powers by the colonial state, supplanted the *opzieners*.[45]

In contrast, Sangir-Talaud only received its first permanent colonial official in 1889 while Bolaang-Mongondow did so much later in 1902. In colonial official parlance, Sangir-Talaud and Bolaang-Mongondow were "self-governing" regions (*zelfbesturende landschappen*) while Minahasa was under "direct rule."[46] However, despite these

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[40] Karel A. Steenbrink, "Conversion or Religious Revival? Modernist Islam and Christianity in Central Java," *Verbum SVD* 36, no. 4 (1995): 370.
[41] See Kosel, "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion"; Sven Kosel, "Christian Mission in an Islamic Environment: Religious Conversion in North Sulawesi in the Light of a Case-study from Bolaang Mongondow," *Paideuma* 51, (2005).
[42] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 55.
[43] M. Brouwer, *Bestuursvormen en bestuurstelsels in de Minahassa* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1936), 38.
[44] There were four *opzieners* stationed in the following towns of Minahasa: Kema, Tondano, Amurang, and Belang. J. C. Smelijk, "Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië," in *A. J. Duymaer van Twist: Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië (1851-1856)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 69.
[45] Brouwer, *Bestuursvormen en bestuurstelsels in de Minahassa*, 38-39.
[46] See Karel E. M. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië : 1855-1942* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

developments, local chiefs remained important pillars of colonial governance even in Minahasa.

Any governmental regulation was necessarily implemented through local chiefly allies. The Dutch had always relied on cultivating peaceful, clientelistic relations with local powers to achieve their political and especially economic goals. The Dutch came to gain monopolistic control of export produce from the region, which they achieved through obligatory deliveries (rice, gold, and later coffee) in exchange for relatively inexpensive Indian textiles and other commodities (for example, ammunition).

The local chiefs, on the other hand, were often very willing clients of their Dutch patrons. Not only were they differentiated as apical rulers among their chiefly peers, they were also accorded relatively stable positions otherwise difficult to achieve without external support. More importantly, the chiefly vassals could establish their own small monopolies by cornering local trade. The chiefs accumulated profit by acquiring goods, primarily rice and gold, from their subjects as tributes and by redistributing foreign goods, like textiles from the Dutch, which were likely seen less as payments anchored on prevailing market prices and more as gifts from a supposedly benevolent patron.

However, while this clientelistic system with roots extending back to the time of the Company prevailed until the early nineteenth century, the liberal colonial reforms of the succeeding decades altered this system drastically. If in the traditional system the chiefs acted as traders delivering goods to the Dutch, in the modern colonial system the chiefs were obliged to shed their economic role and take on a political role. Effectively, they became bureaucrats—albeit in the lower levels—of the colonial state. In the context of north Sulawesi, such bureaucratization of the chiefly elite and the transformative hand of the colonial state were most palpable—albeit felt unevenly throughout the region—during the tenure of Residents A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859) and M. C. E. Stakman (1889-1892).

In the new system, chiefly tributes were replaced by census-based, monetary (poll) taxation to facilitate the growth and monetization of the economy. A small fraction of these taxes proceeded to the official chiefs, whose numbers had been dramatically reduced by the colonial state in order to streamline local political authority and simplify colonial governance.

How did these changes influence the actual conduct of authority by the chiefly elite? To what extent were these colonial reforms appropriated by the chiefly class to advance their own centralizing agenda? Were these colonial reforms part of the causation of, or at least associated with, mass religious conversions?

4. Conversion and chiefly interests

There is a widespread view that Southeast Asian societies are generally marked by openness to foreign cultures, lying as it were, at the "crossroads of civilizations."[47] Such a perspective finds a parallel in the literature on religious conversions in which conversions were "usually told in terms of foreign arrivals, interventions and successes, or (by reaction) of a relatively seamless gradualism."[48] However, these notions of foreign introduction and local acceptance (albeit gradual) seem not only simplistic but also teleological. If Southeast Asian societies were indeed open to foreign religions, then what accounts for the persistence of animism,[49] the protracted gradualism of conversion,[50] or the relatively late acceptance of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago?[51] More specifically, what social forces within Southeast Asian societies promote—or hinder—conversion to world religions?

Yet, the existing literature on both Islamic and Christian conversions focus on themes that tend to preclude an incisive view of local societies undergoing (mass) religious conversions. On the one hand, the dominant theme in the literature on Christianization in Indonesia—in both its Catholic and Protestant forms—seems to be the stated, though rarely problematized, relationship between Christianity and European imperialism.[52] Christian conversions appear either as an appendage to the broader histories of the Spanish and Dutch colonial empires or as a genre of missionary triumphalist literature.[53] They are often viewed as a consequence of the natives' acquiescence in the European establishment which, in turn, considered conversions as an instrument of cultivating compliance and loyalty.[54] On the other

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[47] See most notably, Denys Lombard, *Le carrefour javanais: essai d'histoire globale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990). Translated into Indonesian as Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya (Kajian Sejarah Terpadu)*, 3 vols. (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama , 2005).

[48] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 51.

[49] See Guido Sprenger, "Dimensions of Animism in Southeast Asia," in *Animism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Kej Arhem and Guido Sprenger, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

[50] Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi," *Archipel (Paris)* 29, (1984): 108.

[51] John R. Bowen, "Narrative Form and Political Incorporation: Changing Uses of History in Aceh, Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 4 (1989): 681-682.

[52] Peter van der Veer points out a widespread view in the scholarly literature that the "universalization" of the concept of "religion" is closely tied with the "coming of modernity in Europe and to the European expansion over the world." Moreover, "it is in the field of historical interaction, established by [European] imperial expansion, that the category of religion receives its significance." See Peter van der Veer, "Religion in South Asia," *Annual Review of Anthopology* 31, (2002): 174.

[53] This is evident in the the Christian missionary journals on the region. The narrative of the rise of Christian communities in North Sulawesi is well-represented in the major Dutch missionary journal *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap.*

[54] On the project of Christianizing the Malukans, see Gerrit Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*, 2nd ed., revised (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2004), 124. On the intertwined history of Dutch colonialism and Christianity in north Sulawesi, see M. J. C.

hand, the literature on Islamization seems to focus on either tracing the "first landing" of Islam in Indonesia or the characteristic syncretism of Indonesian Islam.[55] As the historian of Islam, A. C. S. Peacock, remarks—"a prime concern of scholarship on Islamisation in Southeast Asia remains the question of who first brought Islam to the region (Arabs, Indian or Chinese), as well as the relationship between Sufism and pre-Islamic religious traditions of the local courts."[56]

One of the most conspicuous gaps in the literature is the role of the local chiefly elite. Although there are frequent claims about the local elite's key role, they remain largely undemonstrated. Concerning the Christian missions among the Bataks in Sumatra, it has been observed that the support of the "existing aristocratic hierarchy" was a "condition for bringing about spiritual fruits [conversion]."[57] The literature on Islamization likewise views the role of the ruling elite as necessary for conversion. Christian Pelras comments on the Islamization of the Bugis that "no mass conversion of the people was possible without the acceptance and prior conversion of the rulers."[58] On the Islamic conversions in the Malay polities, Anthony Milner states categorically that Islamization "was in fact a process led by the local elite, and not imposed from outside."[59] Likewise, Merle Ricklefs asserts that those "who controlled the court [in Java] […] determined the success or failure of efforts to Islamize the court and the society."[60]

However, despite the consensus that elite conversion preceded the conversion of those whom they ruled, there are divergent views with regard to their willingness to share their religion with their claimed subjects. On one hand is the view that the political elite, the raja especially, was naturally predisposed to converting his subjects and that "given the important religious role that the ruler fulfills in the society…it is understandable that he converts to

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Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'success story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia " in *In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, ed. Clara Sarmento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 215.

[55] Danilyn Rutherford, "After Syncretism: The Anthropology of Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 1 (2002): 196; Amirul Hadi, *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 43, note 23.

[56] A. C. S. Peacock, "Introduction: Comparative Perspectives on Islamisation," in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 9.

[57] A. J. van Zanen, *Voorwaarden voor Maatschappelijke ontwikkeling in het centrale Batakland* (Leiden: Luctor et Emergo, 1934), 90.

[58] Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell: 1996), 130.

[59] Anthony Milner, *The Malays* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 40.

[60] M. C. Ricklefs, "Religious Elites and the State in Indonesia and Elsewhere: Why Takeovers are so Difficult and Usually Don't Work," in *Encountering Islam: The Politics of Religious Identities in Southeast Asia*, ed. Hui Yew-Foong (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013), 24.

Islam together with his subjects."[61] This view is captured in the adage *cuius regio, euis religio* (whose realm, his religion). It finds an iteration in popular and official histories of Indonesian Islam that often emphasize the crucial role of various proselytizing rulers (*penyebar agama*) in the spread of Islam.[62]

The other view contends exactly the opposite—that the ruling elite was inherently resistant to mass conversions as it endangered their social and economic position. In central Sulawesi, the missionaries Kruyt and Adriani noted that the coastal Luwu people never attempted to Islamize their tributary neighbors (Torajas) in order to maintain social distance between themselves and their subjects.[63] A more straightforward economic reason is observed in Sanggau (western Kalimantan) where the subaltern Malay chiefs prevented their Dayak subjects from converting for fear of losing *serah* (tributary rights). Besides, an Islamized Dayak would have become the direct subject of the sultan and no longer the subject of the subaltern chief.[64] This phenomenon finds a parallel in the case of early modern Philippines where Christianized Filipinos "resisted efforts by Spanish missionaries to convert the highlanders because they found it useful to have [an] unadministered population with whom to trade."[65]

However, could one actually speak of the ruling chiefly elite as a monolithic group acting uniformly to secure power and position? To begin with, as Heather Sutherland opines, there was a clear political and economic incentive for an apical ruler to rise above his chiefly peers. For Sutherland, the "rivalry between datu—over political and economic resources, for example—could endanger the stability of the entire system, and the existence of the Sultan, with his special prestige and access to Islamic law, was necessary to the survival of the

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[61] J. W. Schoorl, "Islam, Macht en Ontwikkeling in het Sultanaat Buton," in *Islam en Macht: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. L. B. Venema (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987), 60. See also a similar view in Christiaan Heersink, "Islam & Islamisering in Bandjermasin van eind 18e tot begin 20ste eeuw" (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1987), 76.

[62] For north Sulawesi, see Fendy E. W. Parengkuan, "Pengaruh Penyebaran Agama Islam Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Politik di Daerah Sulawesi Utara" (paper presented at the Seminar Sejarah Nasional ke-III, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional 1981); A. E. Rompas and A. Sigarlaki, *Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kota Manado* (Manado: Universitas Sam Ratulangi, 1982/1983); for a general view of Indonesian Islam see Hamka, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, 3rd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara, 1980).

[63] N. Adriani and A. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1951), 214.

[64] H. P. A. Bakker, "Het Rijk Sanggau," *Tijdschrift voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie* 29, (1884): 454-457.

[65] Thomas Gibson, "Egalitarian Islands in a Predatory Sea," in *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia*, ed. Thomas Gibson and Kenneth Sillander (New Haven, CN: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2011), 282.

whole."[66] One could thus consider conversion as one of the "religious and cultural strategies" of the topmost elite to "counteract" the "inexorable pressure" arising from competing chiefs.[67]

Such intra-elite rivalry underpinning the desire of an apical ruler to promote a normative, external cultural force can be gleaned from the discussion on the further or deeper Islamization of polities in Southeast Asia. Cesar Majul observes that in the Sulu sultanate "in general, it can be said that the sultan was the protector of the Sharia," while the datus or lesser chieftains stood for the integrity of the *ada* [tradition]".[68] In Java, Merle Ricklefs likewise notes the potentially centralizing effect of Islam. As such "those who sought a more pious Islamic state had their greatest prospects of winning influence when the monarchy was at its weakest"[69] and when the monarch used Islam to strengthen his rule.

Could the same dynamics of intra-elite rivalry be crucial in understanding both Islamic and Christian conversions in north Sulawesi? How did Dutch colonial rule influence such dynamics, if at all?

5. North Sulawesi: geography, politics, and society

This dissertation analyzes Christian conversions in two sub-regions of north Sulawesi (Minahasa and Sangir-Talaud) as well as Islamic conversions in the adjacent sub-region of Bolaang-Mongondow. In doing so, this study calls attention to religion and religious conversion in two relatively unstudied areas of north Sulawesi rather than the more studied areas of Sumatra or Java in Indonesia.

Lying at the most northern tip of the island of Sulawesi are the contiguous regions of Bolaang-Mongondow, Minahasa, and Sangir-Talaud. Whereas the first two sub-regions are located on Sulawesi mainland, the third is an archipelagic cluster found between Sulawesi and the island of Mindanao (see Figure 1).

In the early modern period, the broader significance of this region was tied to its proximity to Maluku where the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch successively established

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[66] Heather Sutherland, "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos," in *Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, ed. Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), 155.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Cesar Adib Majul, "The General Nature of Islamic Law and its Application in the Philippines," in *Islam and Development: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Datu Michael Mastura (Manila: Office of the Commissioner for Islamic Affairs, 1980), 163.
[69] Ricklefs, "Religious Elites and the State in Indonesia and Elsewhere: Why Takeovers are so Difficult and Usually Don't Work," *Encountering Islam: The Politics of Religious Identities in Southeast Asia*, 24.

monopolistic regimes to control the lucrative spice trade. The Moluccan kingdom of Ternate had previously claimed control, albeit very tenuously, of the various polities of north Sulawesi.[70] During the time of the Dutch East India Company from the 1670s to the 1790s, north Sulawesi supplied various commodities to the Dutch-dominated market—coconut oil from the Sangirs, rice from Minahasa, and gold from Mongondow.[71] Indeed these products continued to be some of the main export commodities of these respective areas until the nineteenth century. Rice was grown mainly in the fertile regions of upland Minahasa, around Lake Tondano, while gold was mined mostly in the Mongondow uplands.[72]

Yet, despite the presence of these (occasional) exports, the economy of north Sulawesi was by and large self-sufficient.[73] The cultivation of food crops (rice and maize primarily) was the main economic preoccupation of its inhabitants. David Henley identifies several important factors that precluded the growth of trade in the region. [74] First was the lack of economic specialization. Various communities and regions tended to produce the same sort of crops and products which in effect discouraged market demand. Second was the persistence of violence or threats of it, especially during the head-hunting season. Third was the practical difficulties in transportation. Sailing to Sangir-Talaud and along the northern coast of Sulawesi was dangerous because of rough weather and rocky coasts.[75]

Economic self-sufficiency was, however, gradually eroded in the nineteenth century.[76] While the most decisive factor was the intervention of the colonial state—especially in Minahasa—which required rice and coffee deliveries, one might argue that private traders (Chinese, Bugis, and Arabs) were also important participants in the incipient commercialization of the region.[77]

This trend towards commercialization, although it occurred unevenly throughout the region, seems to have paralleled population growth. In 1850, Greater Sangir had around

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[70] Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 84-85.
[71] On the early Dutch engagement in north Sulawesi, see P. A. Leupe, "Het Journaal van Padtbrugge's Reis naar Noord-Celebes en de Noordereilanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 14, no. 2-3 (1867).
[72] A comprehensive study of the region's geography is David Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 201 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005).
[73] See Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, economy and environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 51-100.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, economy and environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 92-95.
[77] See the discussion on the role of Arabs in Chapter 4 below.

50,000 inhabitants, Minahasa had 100,000, and Bolaang-Mongondow had 55,000.[78] These regions generally saw the rise of the population as the colonial government intervened more deeply in local politics and especially in the local economy. For instance, by 1920 the population of Bolaang-Mongondow had grown 70,000, and by 1930 the population of Minahasa had grown to 300,000.[79]

The population centers in Mongondow and Minahasa—as in other regions of mainland Sulawesi—were concentrated in the fertile uplands. However, the important population centers of Sangir were found along the coasts of its islands, the most significant of which were in the fertile and volcanic islands of Sangir (or Sangihe), Besar (Greater Sangir), and Siau.

Despite their contiguities, these three regions were marked by a diversity of languages as well as political structures of varying levels of complexity. The Mongondow region developed the most centralized polity in the early modern period. This is perhaps because of the relative concentration of the population in its upland valley, which resulted in the relative ease of controlling the population. Its apical ruler (raja) had even repeatedly claimed territorial rights over parts of neighboring Minahasa before the latter's consolidation as a political entity in the late eighteenth century.[80]

The Sangir-Talaud region, in contrast, had a relatively stable though often competing six small chiefdoms (Manganitu, Kendahe, Taruna, Siau, Tagulandang, and Tabukan). Each of these polities possessed its own local aristocracy and claimed territorial rights over defined areas in Talaud.[81] Two factors seem to have contributed to the stabilization of Sangirese polities and politics in the early modern period: (1) access to maritime trade which differentiated the elite from the rest; and (2) patronage and thus legitimization of local rulers by a powerful foreign power, in this case the Dutch.

Of the three regions under discussion, the area which came to be known as Minahasa had the most fragmented political structure on the eve of formal colonial rule. It was more a congeries of frequently warring villages than a polity in the mirror of neighboring Gorontalo or even Mongondow. One sign of its extreme fragmentation was the multiplicity of languages

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[78] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 163, 210-211.
[79] Ibid., 210-211.
[80] See E. C. Godée Molsbergen, *Geschiedenis van de Minahassa tot 1829* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1928).
[81] See "De Zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang, Siaoe, Taboekan (ten rechte: Tawoekan), Kandhar-Taroena (ten rechte: Kendahe-Tahoena) en Manganitoe (Afdeeling Sangi- en Talaud-eilanden, Residentie Menado)," *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezitttingen, bewerkt door Het Encyclopaedisch Bureau* 2, (1912).

(for example, Tontemboan, Tondano, Tonsea, and Tombulu) spoken by people living in relatively close proximity to each other (in contrast to the relatively more homogenous linguistic landscapes of Sangir and Mongondow where the inhabitants broadly shared the same language, Sangirese and Mongondorese, respectively.[82]

Despite variations in language, export commodity, and political complexity, the societies of this region shared the same emergent pattern of social differentiation based on status differences. There were, in general, three levels of social class: the aristocrats/nobles, commoners, and slaves. While descent from a prestigious familial line (usually the founder of the oldest village) was likely a precondition to rise as chief, other channels were available to climb the social ladder (for example, the accumulation of wealth and followers).[83]

Such fluidity of social status is indicative of the general centrifugal tendency of politics and the lack of effective control by a ruler. Rival elites contested the authority of other elites in attempts to monopolize political authority. The raja therefore—either self-styled or appointed by an outsider power—was likely a *primus inter pares* who maintained his position only by sharing authority with other subaltern chiefs.

The claim to difference by the chiefly class—that of the raja in particular—is most likely anchored upon the control of profitable natural resources and external trade. However, to maintain their dominance, they not only attempted to monopolize tangible goods but also symbolic power. As such, what Anthony Reid calls "Southeast Asian religion"[84] or simply "animism," functioned in conjunction with other factors to display the efficacy, and thus the legitimacy, of the chiefly class. The "religious practitioner" (*walian*[85]), who himself or herself was likely part of the ruling class, was thus involved with the "ritual manipulation of spirits,"[86] especially those concerning crucial agricultural events (planting and harvest) and life events (birth, marriage, and death).[87] Jane Monnig Atkinson's anthropological study of

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[82] Ruben Stoel, *Focus in Manado Malay: Grammar, Particles, and Intonation* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005), 5-6.
[83] On the Southeast Asian "big man" model, see O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2004).
[84] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 53.
[85] The most used term to refer to such a figure in the region is *walian*, a cognate of *bolian* in Mongondow, *belian* in east Kalimantan, and *babaylan* in the Philippine islands. W. Dunnebier, "Het bemedicineeren van een dorp in het landschap Bolaang Mongondow (Noord Celebes)," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 104, no. 2-3 (1948); William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City : Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994).
[86] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 137.
[87] See Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers, "Introduction," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 3; Umar Thamrin, *How Economy Matters to Indigenous Identity of Bissu, Transgender Priests of South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, Working Paper Series vol. 241 (Singapore: Asia Research

the Wana people of Central Sulawesi affirms the notion that the "religious practitioner's" access to "special [religious] knowledge" served as a "basis for political inequality" and therefore functioned to accord the practitioner considerable "social privilege."[88]

While there is little historical or ethnographic data to reconstruct and differentiate various religious rituals[89]—the Mongondorese *monayuk*, Minahasan *fosso,* and Sangirese *tulude*—it is clear that the public performance of these rituals was directly related to the chiefly interest to represent control of otherwise uncontrollable natural events and in doing so, reaffirmed their status—the ruler in particular—as efficacious mediators between the temporal world and the eternal, transcendental world. These rituals also often incorporated the redistribution of material wealth. Mieke Schouten has argued extensively that local chiefly status in Minahasa hinged partly on one's capacity to "demonstrate success in harvest," and that the "organization of a copious feast […] provided guests the opportunity to share in wealth of the hosts."[90] As Henley reiterates, such "acts and displays of material generosity" tended to "validate" "prescribed [chiefly] rank."[91] These "acts of generosity" were exactly the "profligate" religious feasts that later colonial officials and missionaries would scathingly oppose.

It should be emphasized that this dissertation does not examine spiritual change per se or the likely religious hybridity that combined aspects of animism and Islam or Christianity. Yet, it recognizes that features of the old religion remained important in the social and especially political life of the chiefs even as they claimed conversion. This is most apparent in the case of Sangir-Talaud as the discussion in Chapter 5 will show.

The above brief summary of the region and sub-regions concerned provides the contextual background to the succeeding chapters. These sub-regional differences are important in understanding the nuances of how conversions in these regions occurred.

Institute, 2015), 7; L. J. Rhijn, "Een visitator in de Minahassa," in *God in Indië: Bekeringsverhalen uit de nedentiende eeuw*, ed. P. Boomgaard, Harry Poeze, and Gerard Termorshuizen (Leiden: KITLV, 1997), 31-32.

[88] Jane Monnig Atkinson, *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 297.

[89] As Jane Atkinson remarks on Minahasa, "[T]here is little reliable ethnographic information, either pre- or post-colonial, to assist in tracing social change in the area." Jane Monnig Atkinson, "Review of *Minahasa Civilization: A Tradition of Change* by Wil Lundström-Burghoorn," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982): 225.

[90] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia "*In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, 214. And more extensively in her book, Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*.

[91] David Henley, "Of Sago and Kings: Sustainability, Hierarchy and Collective Action in Precolonial Sulawesi," in *Muddied Waters: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Management of Forests and Fisheries in Island Southeast Asia*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, David Henley, and Manon Osseweijer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005), 238.

6. Sources

The primary sources for this study are culled from archives in both Indonesia and the Netherlands. These sources can be categorized broadly and temporally into pre- and post-1800 archival documents.

The first category is the Dutch East India Company (hereinafter the Company) papers from the *Nationaal Archief* (NA) in The Hague and the *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* (ANRI) in Jakarta. The most relevant Company sources from the Netherlands are found in Amsterdam chamber's missives from the Indies (*overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië*) and Zeeland chamber's letters from Ternate (*kopie-missiven en -rapporten ingekomen bij gouverneur-generaal en raden uit Ternate*).[92] There are also important documents from

- the *Comité Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen,* a quasi-ministerial body created by the Dutch government following the dissolution of the Company;[93]
- the Company-period archives which are found in Jakarta and which in turn have been drawn from the *arsip daerah* (regional archives) of Ternate and Manado; and
- the recently published multivolume collection of missives on the Company-sponsored Protestant missions in eastern Indonesia which have been sourced from a previously inaccessible archival collection in ANRI. [94]

However, by far the majority of archival sources are post-1800. These, in turn, tend to fall into two broad, and sometimes overlapping, categories—(Christian) missionary and (colonial) governmental.

Although the sources for Christian conversions are certainly more abundant than those for Islamic conversions,[95] they often do not provide a broader social framework,

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[92] See the inventories: G. Louisa Balk et al., *The archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta) = Arsip-arsip Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan kota Batavia (Jakarta) = De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) en de locale instellingen te Batavia (Jakarta)*, Arsip-arsip Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan kota Batavia (Jakarta) (Jakarta and Leiden: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia and Brill, 2007); M. A. P. Roelofsz et al., *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie = The archives of the Dutch East India Company : (1602-1795)*, ed. M. A. P. Roelofsz et al., archives of the Dutch East India Company ('s-Gravenhage : Sdu Uitgeverij, 1992).

[93] See Comité Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen, 1796-1800 – inv. 2.01.27.01 at the Nationaal Archief (Netherlands).

[94] For north Sulawesi, the relevant volumes are Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Th. van den End, and G. J. Schutte, *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1612-1697*, vol. 2: 1 (Den Haag: Huygens ING (KNAW), 2014); Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Th. van den End, and G. J. Schutte, *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1698-1791*, vol. 2: 2 (Den Haag: Huygens ING (KNAW), 2014).

focusing as they were, on the internal or personal aspect of conversions. Many of these writings were also intended to "serve the interest of the supporting communities in the homelands of the missionaries, where funds and personnel were granted"[96] and connect with and inform fellow missionaries of a particular mission's recent events and progress. Nevertheless, some of these publications contain invaluable ethnographic descriptions of would-be "missionized" societies as well as relevant albeit partial information on Islam.

While most of the diaries and reports of the pioneer missionaries in the region have been published in the *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (MNZG) beginning in 1857 and in an abridged version of such reports in the *Maandberigten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap (Maandber NZG)* beginning in 1828, it remains necessary to consult the original manuscripts. The published pieces were not only edited but also extracted versions of the original. The original letters, preserved in *Het Utrechts Archief* (HUA), form part of the *Archieven van de Rechtsvoorgangers van de Raad voor de Zending*, ARvdZ, a recently re-catalogued larger collection of Dutch missionary archives extending to the twentieth century.[97]

This dissertation attempts to triangulate missionary data with governmental accounts that provide the general political and economic context of the societies under study. The relevant government archives are found, albeit scattered and fragmented, at the NA in the collection of the Ministry of Colonies as well as at ANRI. Within the collection of the Ministry of Colonies (NA), the most helpful archival series have been the *Politieke Verslagen* (political reports), *Mailrapporten* (mail-reports)*, Memories van Overgave* (memories of succession) [98] and the various *verbaal* dossiers (decisions).[99]

Whereas the *Nationaal Archief* provides excellent materials from around the 1850s until the end of the colonial period, ANRI preserves the most relevant materials—especially

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[95] A useful listing of these periodicals is: Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Protestantse zendingsperiodiken uit de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Utrecht and Leiden: Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica, 1990).

[96] Karel Steenbrink, "A History of Christianity in Indonesia as an Exercise in Comparative Religion," *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 7, no. 1 (2000): 70.

[97] Ton Kappelhof, "Archives of Dutch Christian Missionary Organisations and Missionaries: Information=power; from Hagiography to Historiography," in *Colonial Legacy in South East Asia: The Dutch Archives*, ed. Charles Jeurgens, Ton Kappelhof, and Michael Karabinos 151-170 ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2012).

[98] See W. R. Hugenholtz, "An East Indian Serial: Mailrapporten (1869-1940)," *Itinerario* 4, no. 2 (1980); A. M. Tempelaars and H. B. N. B. Adam, "Een ingang op Indische Mailrapporten," *Nederlands Archievenblad* 82, no. 2 (1978).

[99] A most useful guide to the archives of the Ministry of Colonies is F. J. M. Otten, *Gids voor de archieven van de ministeries en de Hoge Colleges van Staat, 1813-1940* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2004), 351-377.

letters sent within and from Manado—from the 1820s until around the 1870s.[100] The *Politieke Verslagen* collection of NA for instance, begins in 1898 while those of ANRI, though comparatively less accessible—being part of the largely undifferentiated "Residency of Menado" archives (*arsip daerah* Manado)—extends from the 1850s.[101] Annual reports on the Manado Residency commence from 1825. In ANRI, the materials relevant to this study are found either in the archival series of *geweestelijke stukken* (a.k.a. Residentie archief - Manado) or in the series of the *Algemene Secretarie* of the Netherlands Indies Government.[102]

The series of annual general reports for the entire Netherlands Indies (*Koloniaal Verslag)* as well as almanacs (*Regeeringsalmanak*) published under the auspices of the colonial government have also been helpful in identifying the term and location of duties of Europeans (missionaries and *ambtenaren*), and local figures (primarily the rajas) within the regions under study.[103] Finally, almost all of the primary sources consulted were written in Dutch, except for a few letters written by the rajas and the local periodicals published in Manado which are in Malay (Manadonese).

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[100] As William Clarence-Smith observes: "the 'Residency Archives' of the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia become patchy and thin around 1880, and stop altogether around 1914." William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "The Economic Role of the Arab community in Maluku, 1816 to 1940," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 26, no. 74 (1998): 32.

[101] This is likely because of Batavia's regulation to send all General Reports (Algemene Verslag) directly to the colonial capital in 1850. See NA MvK 2.10.02, in. 7116, Decision of the Governor-General, 5 December 1850, no. 15.

[102] During the time that research for this project was undertaken (2012-2014), the archives of the *Algemene Secretarie* (AS) in ANRI were only partially available. Except for the *besluiten*, other series (*kommissorial, agenda, renvooi,* etc.*)* within the AS are yet to be fully accessible. Recent archival guides produced, notably the *Missive Gouvernments-Secretaris* (1890-) and the *Grote Bundel Series* (1890-) have also been useful. The AS archives are estimated to be 5.6 kilometers long. R. Kramer and A. M. Tempelaars, *Handleiding voor historisch onderzoek in het archief van de Algemene Secretarie en voorgangers, 1816-1942* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1990), 4. See also: *Guide Arsip Algemene Secretarie (1816) 1819-1850*, ([Jakarta]: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2011). A useful history of the *Algemene Secretari*e can be read in: P. H. van der Kemp, "De geboorte van de Algemeene Secretarie te Batavia en van het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië," *Indische Gids*, no. 1 (1910). The Archives of the Algemene or Gouvernementssecretarie (1816-1942) is further divided into: (a) Besluiten en Resoluties van de Commissarissen-generaal, 1816-1819, (b) Besluiten en Resoluties van de Gouverneurs-generaal (buiten en in rade), 1819-1942, (c) Geheime Besluiten en Resoluties van commissarissen-generaal en Gouverneurs-generaal, 1816-1942, (d) Missiven Generale Secretarie later Missiven Algemene Secretarie, 1817-1942, (e) Geheime Missiven Generale Secretarie, later Algemeene Secretarie, 1817-1942, (f) Kabinetsarchief van de Gouverneur-generaal, 1825-1888, (g) Gedeponeerde of Agenda stukken, 1826-1943, and (h) Apostille stukken. M. G. H. A. de Graaff, *De eerste jaren van de samenwerking tussen de Nederlandse en Indonesische archiefdiensten; Verslagen 1974-1988 (2001)* (Santpoort-Zuid: 2013), 12-13.

[103] On the *Koloniaal Verslag*, see Frans van Baardewijk, "The Colonial Report (Koloniaal Verslag); 1848-1939," in *The Colonial Past: Dutch Sources on Indonesian History*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, 22-27 (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1991).

7. Chapter organization

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Following the Introduction (Chapter 1) is a survey of the various theories on Islamic and Christian conversions especially as they relate to cases in Indonesia in general, and in north Sulawesi in particular (Chapter 2). The next three chapters (3, 4, and 5) constitute the narrative core of the dissertation. They present the divergent but often interwoven narratives of religious conversion in Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow, and Sangir-Talaud, respectively. The last chapter (6) recapitulates major points from the earlier chapters and offers an overall analysis of the conversion in the three regions.