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

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CHAPTER 3
Christianization in Minahasa

Scholars have noted the drastic transformations in Minahasan society in the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, Schouten observes that "in 1860, less than three decades after the arrival of official NZG missions, 57% of the natives had already embraced Christianity."[1] Buchholt remarks that "a continuity of traditional religious rites and ceremonies is claimed until the middle of the 19th century. Then, a sudden conversion to Christianity in huge parts of the population took place."[2] Indeed, the Christianization of Minahasa might very well be the ultimate missionary success story in nineteenth-century Indonesia.

This chapter re-examines the conversions to Christianity in Minahasa. It points to the centralizing offensive of the colonial state in general and the reforms in the 1850s in particular as pivotal to understanding the phenomenon of large-scale conversions. The chapter identifies the abolition of obligatory rice deliveries, imposition of monetary taxation, and the streamlining of the indigenous political office as processes that accelerated conversions. These transformations allowed individuals to engage the market place more directly and to interact with state functionaries and missionaries. More importantly, the transformations assuaged the desire of initially intransigent chiefs for stable political tenure and status ascendancy.

The chiefs of various ranks (village and supra-village) had traditionally possessed undifferentiated authority that combined economic, political, and religious roles. Chiefly wealth and status traditionally depended on income from chiefly monopolies, which chiefs could therefore be expected to defend stubbornly against market forces unless a credible alternative deal was available. However, as the colonial state opened the economy, it institutionalized and compartmentalized the authority of a select number of indigenous chiefs. Consequently, this intrusion of the colonial state narrowed the space in which these chiefs pervaded the natives' social lives.

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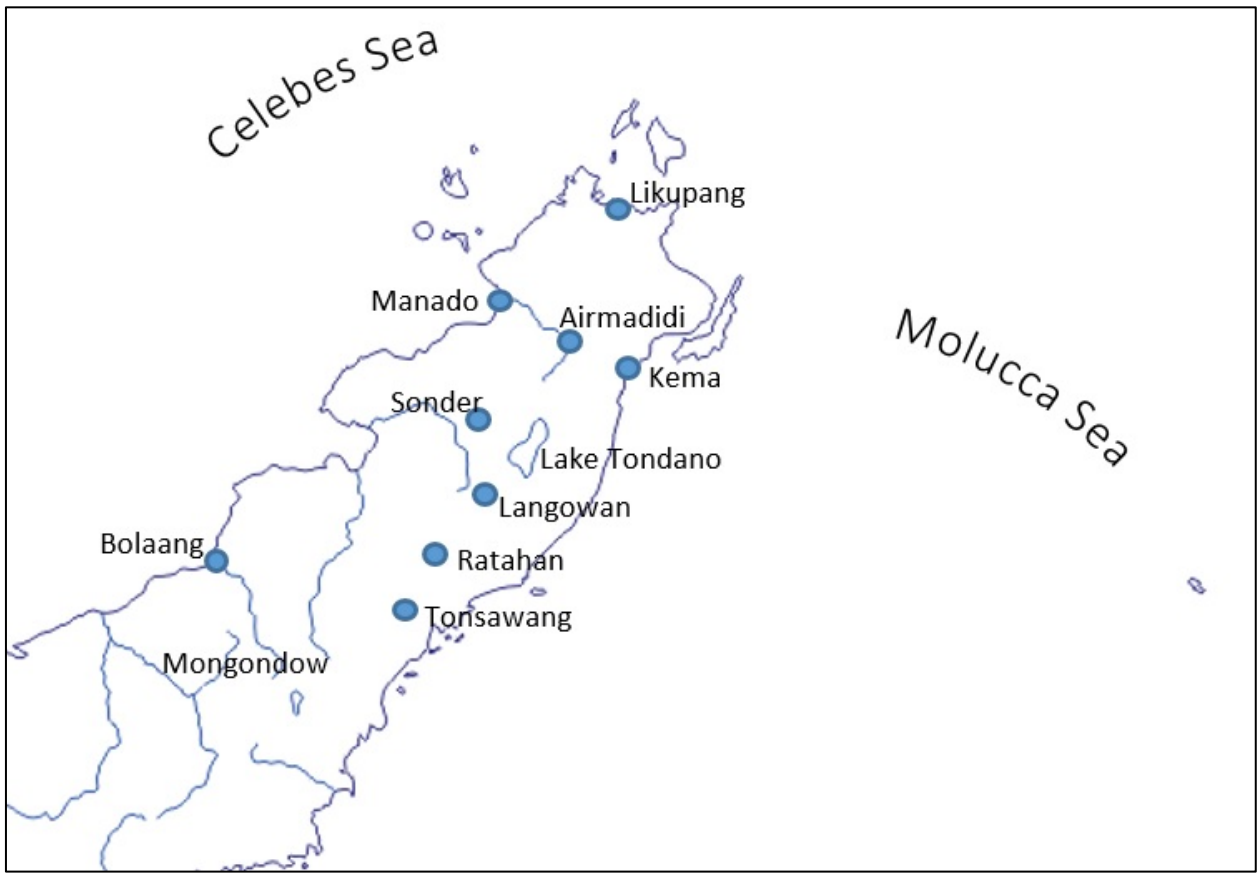
[1] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 108.

[2] Helmut Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," in *Kolonien und Missionen, Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialengeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen*, ed. Wilfried Wagner (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994), 312.

Key to the state reformist's policy was the co-optation of the chiefs into the colonial bureaucratic project and the gradual disentanglement of the bonds that connected them with their claimed subjects. The colonial state achieved this through the abolition of obligatory rice deliveries and the imposition of monetary taxation which forced the people to venture into the expanding market-based economy. This was possible because the colonial state continued to insure that those obedient chiefs, the apical chiefs especially, could maintain their status difference from the rest of the population and promised them permanent, even heritable, office. After all, these bureaucratized chiefs continued to receive profitable sums through their engagement in the government monopoly of coffee cultivation.

Meanwhile the loosened bond between the subaltern chiefs and their subjects not only allowed more Minahasans to participate in the expanding economy but also to take part in a socially prestigious religion. Christianity had long been a marker of status which chiefs were not initially willing to share, but was fast becoming accessible to ordinary villagers partly as a consequence of vigorous government support. Conversion likely represented not only social equivalence (being the religion of the elites, that is, the chiefs and chiefly families) but also affiliation to a wider community.

This chapter revises the view that Christian conversions in Minahasa were primarily a product of a severe social crisis arising from intensified colonial intervention. It argues that these conversions resulted from a transformative, albeit imposed, colonial policy as well as the willingness of many to convert. This chapter is divided into three parts. First, it examines Minahasa on the eve of nineteenth century colonialism. It illustrates that conversions to Dutch Protestant Christianity had been present in the upland region, where Christianity functioned as a mark of status difference that helped aspiring chiefs to centralize local rule. Second, it describes the intensified political and economic intervention of the Dutch colonial state in the early nineteenth century and the first permanent missions in the uplands. Third, it documents the political and economic changes in the mid-nineteenth century and their effects on the phenomena of religious conversions.



Map 3
Map of Minahasa
(Map by author)

1. The Company and the chiefs

There is a view in the scholarly literature that the decline and subsequent demise of the Dutch East India Company was paralleled by a decline of Christianity in areas it controlled. For example, Olaf Schumann notes that towards the end of the eighteenth century "the number of pastors salaried by the VOC had declined rapidly."[3] Thomas van den End concludes that by the end of the Company's existence, not much had been achieved towards Christianization in

[3] Olaf Schumann, "Christianity and Colonialism in the Malay World," in *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, ed. Susanne Schröter (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 46.

general.[4] However, while this might have been true for other regions of Indonesia, this situation does not seem apply to Minahasa.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Company believed that only three of the 20 major settlements in the upland of Manado were Christians.[5] By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the chiefs of the major districts had converted, including that of Tonsea, Likupang, and Tondano. In 1770, the chief of Likupang converted to Christianity in Ternate and he was named Bernardus Kalenkongan.[6] Similarly, in 1792 a Christian supra-village (*walak*) chief (*hukum tua*), Abraham Dotulong, replaced the pagan Ekelewang.[7] In the following year, the newly baptized Theodoor Fredrica Rumenkiwas was appointed *hukum tua* of Tondano, supplanting the non-Christian chief named Pangalilla.[8] By 1792 smaller settlements like Atap and Malalayang (Bantik) were also documented to have Christian chiefs.[9] To explain why there was a flurry of chiefly conversions during this period, it is important to briefly characterize some salient aspects of Minahasan politics and society.

Contemporary scholars agree that on the eve of colonial rule Minahasan society was marked by intense competition and status rivalry. David Henley argues that at the core of the rivalry was jealousy among aspiring chiefly elite who competed for "wealth, status, and the allegiance of the lower orders."[10] Mieke Schouten adds that such intra-elite competition existed not so much because of wealth per se but because of social status. She observes that

> In Minahasa, wealth was a necessary condition for prestige. However, it was of no use to accumulate goods if they were not shown to others, and were not distributed or even destroyed on certain occasions, such as status festivals.[11]

Ritual feasts (*fosso*)[12] were important if not critical occasions to demonstrate one's success in harvest and other prestige-endowing ventures, such as head-hunting. These feasts showcased not

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[4] Th. van den End, "Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending: een overzicht," in *Twee Eeuwen Nederlandse Zending, 1797-1997*, ed. Th. Van den End, et al. (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997), 2.

[5] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, inv. 8163, 20 July 1756, Memorie wegens den presenten staat van saaken in de Moluccos, opgesteld door Jan Elias van Mijlendonk, afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Ternaten.

[6] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, 20.

[7] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Gemeene Resolutien beginnende den 26 September 1791 eindigde...18 Sep 1792.

[8] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.

[9] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, p. 388, no. 168.

[10] David Henley, *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 2002), 34.

[11] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 27.

only the host's (aspirational) status ascendancy over the community but also his generosity by creating an opportunity for his claimed constituents to partake of his wealth.[13]

Among the (Tontemboan) Minahasans, individuals who were successful in the raiding-trading-feasting nexus[14] were thought to possess *keter*—an indigenous concept believed to be a "manifestation of supernatural power […] recognizable by its results."[15] Aspiring chiefly elites who were very successful and possessed enviable tangible wealth were thus thought to have *keter*. Yet, only those who performed the prescribed elaborate ritual feasts were accorded with the prestigious and most distinguishing title of *wa'ilan*.[16] Schouten describes the *wa'ilan* as those who had "attained ritual perfection" and were thus "assured […] of a future status as a deified ancestor."[17] The remains of the *wa'ilan* were honored by their containment in the *waruga* or sandstone tomb (see Figure 3.1).

One could associate the attraction of Minahasan elites to a prestigious foreign culture, in general and to Christianity, in particular with the intense status competition among local chiefly rivals. In the eighteenth century or before intensive colonial intervention, the number of chiefs in Minahasan villages had been perplexingly numerous. A small village is said to have had 50 chiefs while a large settlement had 100. Each settlement had two *hukum tua* or two most important chiefs.[18]

It is very likely that in order to rise above the rest and become the *primus inter pares*, the competing chiefly elites sought the Company's patronage. One channel was straightforwardly economic. In order to be recognized by the Company, an aspiring chief could pay an amount ranging from ten to 20 *rixdollars* in cash[19] in exchange for the prestigious silver knob handle of a

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[12] As Schouten notes *fosso* or *foso* is the "Manado-Malay term for sacrificial ceremonies in general." Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 22, note 27.
[13] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia", In *In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, edited by Clara Sarmento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 214.
[14] See Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).
[15] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 25.
[16] Ibid., 28.
[17] Ibid., 29.
[18] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, no. 164.
[19] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 31 March 1793; NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, p. 387, no. 165.

walking stick inscribed with the initial letter of the settlement where the chief resided.[20] In an earlier period, the Company also distributed parasols and flags to appointed Minahasan chiefs.[21]

Another channel, which notably did not preclude the first, was through conversion to Christianity. Chiefly conversions became more frequent towards the end of the eighteenth century, presumably as economic opportunities for aspiring chiefly elites increased as a result of more vigorous trade. In the early 1790s, the Company had terminated its monopoly of textile trade in Minahasa in favor of private traders (likely the borgo, that is, the Europeans or settlers of mixed European and indigenous descent) [22] and in exchange for fixed rent/lease (*pacht*).[23] The greater and more open trade that likely ensued would have allowed more aspiring chiefs to acquire status-giving goods.[24] Consequently, there was a greater need for individual chiefs to distinguish themselves vis-à-vis other aspiring chiefs in order to attract and maintain followers.

Because numerous chiefs had access to trade and wealth, many of them could pay the necessary recognition to the *Tuan Compania* (lit. Lord Company).[25] Given this situation, conversion to Christianity might have provided the necessary edge for an aspiring chief. In fact, this had been the case in neighboring Kaidipang, where a candidate deemed more Christian was chosen to be chief from a selection of individuals coming from the same distinguished family.[26]

For the chiefs themselves, conversion likely meant greater legitimacy and entitlement to rule over their claimed subjects. The *hukum tua* of Tondano named Rumenkiwas who converted in 1793 was given a silver knob, flag, and *payung* (umbrella) for the explicit purpose of "making the Tondano Christians abide" him.[27] Other Christianized *hukum* (chiefs) were also accorded

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[20] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, no. 164.
[21] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.
[22] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88, 21 February 1795 [Ternate], 103.
[23] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88, Aankomende Brieven van Manado, beginnende den 17 Augustus 1794 en eijndig 15 Julij 1795, Letter of G. F. Durr to Ternate. The *pacht* allowed Manado to earn 1,000 *rixdollars*.
[24] On this issue, but from a long-term perspective, see Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 48.
[25] As used by the Majoor of Sonder in his public speech. See ANRI Manado inv. 50, no.2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846 Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 8.
[26] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8144, Letter of Kaidipan to Ternate, 23 May 1742, 1651-1653.
[27] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.

rights by the Company to village corvée labor from converted *alfur*.[28] Using the authority emanating from the Company, the chiefs could thus solidify their authority over their subjects. The stabilizing authority of the Company was advantageous for the aspiring chiefs given the long-standing political situation wherein competing chiefs could "woo away"[29] another's followers. Such a phenomenon notably occurred during ritual feasts where "prestigious men" displayed their *keter* to attract would-be followers.[30]

Figure 3.1. A preserved *waruga* in the village of Sawangan (Airmadidi)

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Waruga_Sawangan_-_panoramio_(2).jpg&oldid=214352979 (Accessed: 30 November 2017)

[28] NA VOC 1.04.02, no. 8119 (1749), Memorie door den afgaande Gouverneur Blokland aan sijn vervanger Mijlendonk naargelaten, 215.
[29] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 25.
[30] Ibid.

The attraction of the emergent Minahasan elite towards a foreign culture, in order to socially differentiate themselves, legitimize themselves, and improve their status in the community is well-exemplified in the extant *waruga* that likely date back to the Company period. These *waruga* were traditionally reserved for the most accomplished chiefs (*wa'ilan*) as well as religious specialists (*walian*).[31] A number of these *waruga* exhibit distinctive anthropomorphic figures in Company-style clothes "wearing knee breeches or hats, carrying fire-arms, smoking pipes, etc."[32] As such, they could be interpreted not only as a mark of social difference but also of the person's ascendancy in life as in death.

Other than the chiefly conversions of the eighteenth century, there is little evidence of large-scale conversions.[33] To what extent then did the advent of greater political and economic intervention by the Dutch colonial state—the compulsory crop deliveries in particular—influence the mass of common Minahasans to convert?

2. Missionaries, chiefs, and obligatory crop deliveries

One could argue that the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of continuity in Minahasan society. The earlier pattern of tribute and vassalage to the Company in exchange for local political patronage remained. However, such a pattern was not only intensified and accelerated but also extended into previously remote highlands. Despite the fact that the political and economic relationship of the Dutch colonial state and local Minahasan chiefs intensified, the question of religion—conversion to Christianity in particular—appears to have been initially marginal.

This section explores the dynamics of conversion in the early period of the "cultivation system"[34] in Minahasa by focusing on two categories of actors: the chiefs and the missionaries. They were not only power holders in their own right within the Dutch colonial apparatus, but

[31] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 29.
[32] H. R. van Heekeren, *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, vol. XXII, Verhandelingen Van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), 62. See also, Cornelis Tjenko Bertling, *De Minahasische "Waroega" en "Hockerbestattung"* (Den Haag 1931).
[33] Except for the reference of a large number of *alfurs* converting in 1743. NA VOC 1.04.02, no. 8119 (1749), Memorie door den afgaande Gouverneur Blokland aan sijn vervanger Mijlendonk naargelaten, 215.
[34] The term "cultivation system" is technically inappropriate to describe the compulsory coffee and rice deliveries. See Chapter 1.

they were also at the forefront of engaging and mediating colonial authorities and the local society.

2.1. Wars and the "delivery system"

One might say that Christianity—the constitutive core of what is later known as "Minahasan" identity[35]—as a social reality and political force was barely present among the Minahasans in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The important economic (compulsory coffee cultivation) and political (Tondano and Java wars) developments of the period seem to bear little correlation with Christianization. However, one could also argue that Dutch political pre-eminence and colonial patronage over local chiefly elite—two of the most salient consequences of these developments—contributed to the social prominence and political expediency of Christianity.

The so-called "Tondano War" (1809),[36] which was fought between the Dutch and an alliance of Minahasan chiefs in upland Tondano, established the authority of the Dutch. It began from the supposed dissatisfaction of some Minahasan chiefs with the labor and tributary exactions of the Dutch. Yet, the war ended with the Dutch emerging as the unchallenged rulers of the upland, with numerous Minahasan "rebels" even siding with the approaching Dutch-led contingent.[37] In addition to this event, Minahasan participation in the so-called "Java War" further affirmed the idea that the political fate of Minahasan chiefs depended upon resistance to or alliance, especially collaboration, with their Dutch overlords.

Between 1825-1830 Minahasans were recruited as mercenaries of the Dutch state against the rebel Javanese prince, Diponegoro, in Java.[38] The Minahasan chiefs who delivered less than 4,000 able-bodied men were named *hukum besar,* while those able to gather more received the higher title of *hukum majoor*.[39] In the course of the nineteenth century, these chiefly ranks would

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[35] See David Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996).

[36] See Bert Supit, *Sejarah Perang Tondano (Perang Minahasa di Tondano)* (Jakarta: Yayasan Lembaga Penelitian Sejarah dan Masyarakat, [1991]); H. M. Taulu, *Sedjarah Minahasa* ([Manado]: Badan Penerbit dan Penjiar Buku 'Membangun', 1951), 49-50.

[37] Henley, *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi*, 49.

[38] See Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).

[39] Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, J. G. Schwarz, Dagverhaal 1834, 9v.

be permanently adopted by the colonial state to reward and distinguish abiding chiefs. They would also become inheritable for aspiring chiefs belonging to the chiefly line.[40]

The Minahasan participants of the Java War would have returned to their homeland not only with a closer sense of affiliation with their Dutch patrons but also with a greater sense of political importance in their own communities. These ties with the Dutch were notably devoid of any Christian religious undertones as had been the case in the Company times. In 1836 a European missionary attended was present in a large pagan feast (*fosso barani*) given by one of the veterans of the Java War. It is remarkable that one of the war veterans—who was also a Walian—was explicitly ambivalent about the missions and even unapologetic for his sponsorship of the *fosso*. The Walian told the missionary, J. G. Schwarz: "People perform this [fosso] not only here, but also in others places…We follow others because this event is also also performed at the same time in other parts of Minahasa."[41]

Perhaps more than the symbolic advantages that participation in the Java War provided, the compulsory coffee cultivation in tandem with obligatory rice deliveries strengthened chiefly authority. The system was in place from 1822 until 1899. The "cultivation system" in Minahasa actually meant the "compulsory growing of an export crop [primarily coffee] by the local population and the delivery of this to the *Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij* (NHM) (Dutch Trading Society) at artificially low prices."[42]

The chiefs possessed entrenched interest in adhering to the demands of the compulsory delivery system. They benefitted not only because the government secured their political position but also because they received substantial amounts for the delivery of coffee beans. For each *pikol,* a district chief (*hukum besar* or *majoor*) received 50 *duiten,* the deputy district chief (*hukum kedua*) received 16 ½ *duiten*, and the village chief received 33 ½ *duiten*.[43] The chiefs also mediated and pocketed profits from the obligatory delivery of rice to the Dutch state (until 1852) in exchange for luxury textiles (*salemporis*). The effect of such a political-economic system, wherein authority and legitimacy exclusively emanated and were effectively dispensed from above, seems comparable to what has been described in Java at the same time. Like Java,

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[40] *Ikhtisar Keadaan Politik Hindia-Belanda Tahun 1839-1848*, vol. 5, Penerbitan Sumber-Sumber Sejarah (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1973), 356.

[41] "Leven en Werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 4 (1860): 296.

[42] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 54.

[43] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856.

the obligatory crop delivery system in Minahasa enhanced the authority of a few chiefs and notably "extend[ed] the indigenous hierarchy more firmly into village life."[44]

However, the increasing authority of the chiefs created discontent from below. Minahasans, mostly Tontemboans, who felt abused by their *hukum besar* (supra-village chiefs), migrated to nearby Bolaang-Mongondow where there was neither a compulsory coffee and rice delivery system nor palpable colonial interference. By 1827 or five years into the Dutch-imposed system, 21 Minahasan village chiefs had migrated to the Mongondow district of Moriri to escape the oppressive demands of their *hukum besar*.[45] Many of these migrants remained in their new homeland despite repeated appeals from the Resident of Menado to the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow to return them to Minahasa. In exchange for protection, the migrants paid yearly tributes to the new Mongondow chiefs, who also allowed them to trade harvested rice in Bolaang.[46]

That these Minahasans chose to migrate is indicative of the excessive demands of the Minahasan chiefs who drew their legitimacy from the Dutch. The tribute demands of the Mongondow chiefs were probably lower. Additionally, the value of rice in the Bolaang market would have also been more competitive than in Minahasa. Discontent among and migration by the Minahasan populace seemed to have intensified after the imposition of the compulsory coffee deliveries. This can be gleaned from Resident Wenzel's (1825-26) decree that prohibited migration from one village to another in the entire Minahasa.[47] The migrants were likely escaping the rule of an oppressive chief and searching for protection by another. The "corrupt nature" of the Minahasan chiefs was one of the main reasons why Resident Pietermaat (1828-31) remained in upland Minahasa for most of his tenure, supposedly to prevent the chiefs' abuse of power towards the ordinary people (*anak bala*).[48]

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[44] Albert Schrauwers, "The "Benevolent" Colonies of Johannes Van Den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 318-319.

[45] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 2, Letter of the RM to the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow, 5 February 1827.

[46] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829, 39.

[47] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage Tot De Kennis Van Noord-Selebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 18 (1872): 480.

[48] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829, 39.

The migration of ordinary Minahasans to escape unfavorable economic and political circumstances at home brought by a centralizing chief was by no means a novel phenomenon. Dissatisfied Minahasans were known to have left for Mongondow in 1707 and 1743.[49] During the Company times, the chiefs were accorded by the Dutch unprecedented authority in the form of the right to impose fines or *pukul salah* among their claimed subjects.[50] Such fines were punishment for committing petty crimes and supposed negligence of obligations to the chiefs. In addition, the chiefs gained the right for five days of unpaid labor from their subjects.[51]

It is within this context of increasingly powerful chiefs, whose loyalty and political survival lay decidedly with the colonial state, that the first permanent Christian Protestant missions in upland Minahasa were established. To what extent were these early missionaries successful in conversion?

2.2. Early missions: Riedel and Schwarz

The coming of German missionaries J. G. Schwarz and J. T. Riedel is widely regarded as the beginning of the Christianization of upland Minahasa. G. S. S. J. Ratulangie, the celebrated Minahasan politician, declared in 1914 that before the coming of Schwarz and Riedel in the 1830s, his own society was characterized by "human vices" such as laziness, immorality, and vindictiveness. It was only through missionization that the "slumbering powers" of the people were awakened.[52] Schwarz and Riedel's missionary projects are considered as benchmarks among colonial missionary circles.[53] However, were these missionaries actually successful in their respective missions?

Schwarz and Riedel arrived in Minahasa in 1832 as the first permanent missionaries in the uplands.[54] They were Germans who came under the auspices of the Dutch Missionary

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[49] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 44-45.
[50] Ibid., 48.
[51] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De zaak betreffende, het dapoer geld en de beschuldiging, dat ik [O. J. Pelenkahu] de lieden zou gedwongen hebben, die in rijst te betalen, ten einde die rijst met voordeel te kunnen verkoopen.
[52] G. S. S. J. Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," *Indische Vereeniging: Voordrachten en Mededeelingen* 3, no. 1 (1914): 37.
[53] *Een ernstige bede voor Indië*, (Rotterdam: Zendingsbureau), 8; W. van Oosterwijk Bruyn, *Dr. Johannes Theodorus Van Der Kemp: De apostel van Zuid-Afrika* (Utrecht: C. H. E. Breijer, 1896), 29.
[54] Although the missionary Hellendoorn had stayed temporarily in the region in 1827. I. H. Enklaar, *Joseph Kam: 'Apostel Der Molukken'* ('s-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum N.V., 1963), 63.

Society (*Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap*, NZG), an organization founded in Rotterdam in 1797 following the model of the London Missionary Society.[55] Before travelling to the Indies, they spent years of preparatory studies in Berlin and Rotterdam.[56] Once in Minahasa, Riedel maintained his base in Tondano, while Schwarz initially stayed in Kakas (southwest of Tondano Lake) before settling permanently in Langowan (Tontemboan) in July 1834.[57] However, despite what seems to have been a rigorous missionary training, the practical realities on the ground were too daunting for Schwarz and Riedel to be successful.

2.2.1. Schools and the Malay Language

Language was a major problem. Even though Schwarz and Riedel had a few years of preparatory training in the Malay language while in transit in Ambon,[58] their mission field was distinguished by a diversity of languages within a relatively limited area. (Some of those languages were Tontemboan, Tondano, Tombulu, Tonsea, and Tonsawang.[59]) Riedel and Schwarz were only trained to speak in Malay though Schwarz might have learned a certain degree of local languages from his wife.[60] She grew up in Minahasa and spoke Tonsea, Tombulu, and later Tondano and Tontemboan, the major local languages of the region.[61]

Even the Timorese and Ambonese schoolteachers already employed before the arrival of Schwarz and Riedel were thought to have been ineffective because of their exclusive use of

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[55] The NZG was a reaction against the liberal *Bataafse Republiek* that sought to separate the domains of church and state. A. J. van den Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie: De scheuring in het Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap rond het midden van de negentiende eeuw* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997), 11.

[56] See "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 255; 64-65; Johan Friedrik Riedel, *Een levensbeeld uit de Minahasa op Celebes* (Rotterdam: M. Wyt & Zonen, 1874). They were Lutherans who had to learn the specificities of the Dutch Reformed Church.

[57] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, J. G. Schwarz, Dagverhaal 1834, 12r.

[58] Enklaar, *Joseph Kam: 'Apostel Der Molukken'*, 69-70.

[59] See Ruben Stoel, *Focus in Manado Malay : Grammar, Particles, and Intonation* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005).

[60] Schwarz married Fransch Constans, a lady from Kema (Tonsea) and the daughter of a low-ranking colonial government officer. The Schwarz couple would later have a son who would likewise become a missionary in Minahasa [J. A. T. Schwarz]. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1133, G. J. Hellendoorn, Journaal, 28 December 1832, Manado, f.4r.

[61] N. Adriani, "J. A. T. Schwarz Als Taalbeoefenaar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 73, no. 3 (1918): 438.

Malay.[62] Schwarz complained that even through his mission station, Langowan, had had a government-funded school for seven years, "the people understood little Malay."[63] In fact, in a periodic conference of European missionaries in Minahasa in 1850, it was revealed that given the speed of education at the time, it would take 20 to 30 years before the majority of Minahasans could speak Malay. They estimated that 80 percent of Minahasans did not understand it.[64]

Given this situation, some of the missionaries advocated the use of *alfur* (local Minahasan) languages for evangelization. There was a consensus among them that there was a need to have school textbooks in these local languages.[65] Nevertheless, even up to the 1870s, there was still a marked paucity of instructional materials in Minahasan languages and hardly any (European) teacher was fluent in any of those languages.[66] Furthermore, the sons of the chiefs preferred to formally learn Dutch, the language of prestige, instead of the increasingly more commonplace Malay.[67]

Even the schools, despite their seemingly impressive numbers, seem to have not been the primary drivers for widespread conversions. By 1854, Minahasa had the following types of schools: 12 government; 88 missionary; and 23 village.[68] However, while there was a relatively high number of registered pupils (10, 536), only about half (5,749) attended school regularly.[69] Colonial functionaries and missionaries agreed that many pupils missed school because they had to work on coffee plantations and in rice fields[70] in order to meet the basic requirements of

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[62] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 267.

[63] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 5 (1861): 78.

[64] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1076, Conferentie te Langowang, 22-23 March 1850, 5-6.

[65] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1076, Conferentie te Langowang, 22-23 March 1850, 5-6.

[66] See the schoolbooks written by J. G. F. Riedel in Tombulu language and the early works of N. A. Graafland. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 2573, Verbaal 31 March 1873.

[67] "Verslag van den zendeling S. Ulfers over het jaar 1851," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap; bijdragen tot de kennis der zending en der taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 3 (1859): 28.

[68] These are referred to in the sources as: "gouvernements-, negorij- en genootschapscholen."

[69] H Quarles van Ufford, *Aantekeningen betreffende eene reis door de Molukken van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal Mr. A. J. Duymaer Van Twist in de maanden September en October 1855* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1856), 15.

[70] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853; J. G. F Brumund, "Twee Dagen Te Langowang, Fragment Mijner Reize Door De Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1, no. 2 (1855): 425-26; J. Louwerier, "Tomohon (Minahassa)," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 20 (1876): 120.

subsistence.[71] The latter situation was true particularly in the early colonial period and in more remote regions.[72] School absences were also more frequent during coffee and rice harvest seasons.[73] Thus, despite the general desire for education among the populace,[74] practical realities were a serious hindrance.

One could also argue that the very nature of the schools themselves seems to have preconditioned the slow process of Christianization through education. There was an apparent hierarchy of schools. The government and missionary schools were under the supervision of the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) and they were funded by the government. On the other hand, the village schools were funded by the local people and their teachers received a paltry salary compared with the European missionaries.[75] The novel and higher demands of the European missionaries led some students to transfer to the supposedly more lax Ambonese teachers.[76] Additionally, some government schools also defaulted on teaching Christian religious education. This was due to the limited supervision of European missionaries owing to the large distance between missionary schools and the natives' residences or lack of personnel.[77]

While the schools were less effective in terms of religious conversion (in a strictly theological sense), they were more able to replicate and affirm pre-existing class and power structures in the native society. By 1856, the European Primary School in Manado not only welcomed children of Dutch functionaries and settlers, but also the children of local chiefs and a few Chinese.[78] The school served as a precursor to the formal separation of the chiefly and commoner education with the establishment of a school (*hoofdenschool*) exclusively for

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[71] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. Schwarz, 3 May 1834.
[72] C. J. van de Liefde, "[Amurang]," *Maandberigt van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 81, no. 1 (1879): 25.
[73] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 58.
[74] See H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 118.
[75] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853.
[76] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853.
[77] See for instance, M. Brouwer, "Celebes (Minahassa, Langowan)," *Maandberichten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 77, no. 11 (1875): 55.
[78] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 14 April 1858 , no. 2, 'Toestand van het Schoolwezen in de Residentie Manado in 1853'; Quarles van Ufford, *Aantekeningen betreffende eene reis door de Molukken van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal Mr. A. J. Duymaer van Twist in de maanden September en October 1855*, 10.

aristocratic sons in Tondano in 1863 and another school for daughters of notables in 1881.[79] The European school in Manado and the chiefly school in Tondano attracted indigenous notables from all over north Sulawesi. One could argue that the status differences among the European schools, mission schools, and village schools and their pupils were also replicated in the uplands. This is because village and supra-village elites likely attended government and missionary schools manned by European missionaries, while the commoners attended the village schools (*negorijscholen*) which were poorly funded.

That schools were not the primary venues for conversion, especially in the short-term, can be seen from the number of schoolchildren attending government and missionary schools in Minahasa in 1846 (see Appendix 4). The data show that the majority of pupils were pagans and that there were only four supervising (European) missionaries. Even the number of formally enrolled schoolchildren (4,368) appears low relative to the total population of Minahasa at the time, which was estimated at 91,664.[80] Although religious education was part of the curriculum in both government and missionary schools,[81] it was noted by the missionaries themselves that "many send their children to school not because of religion, but only to learn the Malay language, since that is the language of the government."[82] At times, the missionaries expressed their disappointment with the fact that within the native-run schools, pagan practices, such as the *fosso* (ritual feast), still persisted.[83]

The pioneer missionaries Riedel and Schwarz repeatedly expressed their disappointment with the progress of the schools. In the early years of his mission, Schwarz noted that the number of school-going children in Tompasso seemed to have decreased through time.[84] On his part, Riedel complained that although the colonial government wanted the children to attend schools,

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[79] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, Verbaal 11 July 1863, no. 1. Although its actual operation began only in 1865. See M. J. C. Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," *Archipel* 34 (1987): 137.

[80] See Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling Beschrijving der Onderscheidene landschappen uitmakende de Residentie Menado, aanwijzende de ligging, bevolking en het bestuur, benevens, de onderlinge verhouding dier landschap tot het Gouvernement, en voorstellen voor eene betere indeeling dezer Residentie.

[81] ANRI Manado, inv. 126, Letter of J. F. Riedel, J. G. Schwarz, Hermann, N. P. Wilken, Manado to RM, 6 February 1846.

[82] J. F. Riedel, 1840 cited in Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 113.

[83] Louwerier, "Tomohon (Minahassa)," 122.

[84] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 26, Vergadering 13 March 1839, Letter from J. G. Schwarz, 12.

there were no incentives or support from the government to encourage them to do so.[85] By the mid-1850s and amidst the flurry of conversions in Minahasa, the European missionary, N. P. Wilken, observed that the majority of school-going children remained pagans.[86]

2.2.2. Healing and medicine

If education was one pathway through which the missionaries approached the local population, healing was another path. To what extent was healing an effective method of converting masses of people? To begin with, healing and medicine were central to the early nineteenth century missionary enterprise. Schwarz and Riedel were especially tasked to help the "sickness of spirit and body"[87] and their training would have most likely included lessons on the rudiments of medicine. This training for colonial missionization was likely based on an emergent medical science that drew inspiration from previous European overseas (colonial) experience.

Thus, one of the instruction books that they likely studied was the *Medical Instructions for Missionaries on Surgery and Medicine for the Uncivilized Peoples (1800)*.[88] This is part of some of the earliest documents of the NZG archives and was used to teach future missionaries how to utilize healing as a tool for proselytization. The book was originally inspired by the experiences of Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (1747-1811), the main founder of the NZG[89] and a pioneer missionary in South Africa in the service of the London Missionary Society.[90] The book aimed to teach the techniques of treating wounds and potentially gain converts, as Kemp had focused on the casualties of "warring African tribes."[91]

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[85] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 1074, Kopieboek houdende samenvattingen van ingekomen brieven van zendelingen van het zendingsveld Celebes, 1835-1838, Letter from J. F. Riedel to NZG Bestuur from Tondano, 25 February 1835.
[86] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6.
[87] Riedel, *Een levensbeeld uit de Minahasa op Celebes*, 12.
[88] The original title of which was: *Medische aanwijzingen voor zendelingen, "ten einde zich in het vak der Heel- en geneeskunde aangenaam te maken bij wilde of onbeschaafde volkeren tot dewelke zij gezonden zijn"* by G. van Hussen (1800). HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 704.
[89] Oosterwijk Bruyn, *Dr. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp: De Apostel van Zuid-Afrika*, 27; Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie: De scheuring in het Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap rond het midden van de Negentiende Eeuw*, 11.
[90] William M Freund, "The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony during the Batavian Period (1803-1806)," *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (October 1972): 640-43.
[91] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 704.

Another relevant instructional manual was a pharmacological guide or an enumeration of common household items and their uses for treating a variety of illnesses.[92]

The missionary act of providing physical relief from suffering as a strategy to conversion is central to evangelical pietism, the foundational ideology of the NZG which emphasizes the unity of the physical and spiritual aspects of human life.[93] Pietists believe that the human body and physical appearance are reflections of the "inner spirit."[94] However, a more historical reading would likely trace the nineteenth century missionaries' role as "pseudo-doctors" to the Company-period ministers (*predikant*). These ministers also supervised functionaries who served as "comforters of the sick" (*ziekentrooster)* and "visitors of the ill" (*krankbezoeker*).[95]

Armed with such foundational knowledge, missionaries in Minahasa set out to proselytize and practice rudimentary medical science. How successful were they?

The early missionary narratives, especially those written by J. G. Schwarz, are punctuated by stories of healing. One of the earliest entries in Schwarz's journal relates the attempted murder of a native woman by another woman who claimed to have been possessed by a spirit.[96] Schwarz's local informants thought that a malevolent spirit was dissatisfied with the manner in which a religious ritual (*fosso*) was performed, so the spirit possessed the murderer. Both the assailant and the victim received medical help from Schwarz and his wife. The assailant received *Haarlemmer olie* (herbal liniment) on her facial cuts.[97] Another entry in Schwarz's journal pertained to a man in Kakas who was severely injured while hunting wild animals. Using his operating scissors and knife, Schwarz successfully performed a surgical operation on the wounded man.[98] While these episodes did not lead to conversion, other medical interventions did.

Runtunuwu was a political figure in the village of Kawangan who was baptized by Schwarz as "Abraham" when he was in his sickbed.[99] Schwarz had been providing medicines to

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[92] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 706, ´Excerpten uit Christoph W. Hufeland , "Makrobiotiek, of de kunst om het leven te verlengen", met "huis- en reisapotheek", 1804.
[93] End, "Tweehonderd Jaar Nederlandse Zending: Een Overzicht," 2.
[94] Rita Smith Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 3 (August 2004): 617.
[95] NA VOC inv.1.04.02, no. 3597 (Ternate), 27-28.
[96] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 277.
[97] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, 8v; Ibid., 278.
[98] Ibid., 290-91.
[99] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 64.

the sick Runtunuwu, who renounced his pagan past. He declared that he had served the "devil" in the forest yet he had remained destitute, miserable, and sick. [100] Runtunuwu eventually recovered and distinguished himself as the only Christian among his peers.

A similar case was the conversion of Kelatto, an old religious specialist (*walian tulus*) from the district of Langowan. Kelatto had been a strong opponent of Schwarz's missionary activity, but he decided to convert after being struck by sickness and receiving medical visits from Schwarz. Kelatto ordered his son to inform Schwarz that he had disposed of his ritual altar and wanted to become a Christian.[101] Kellato openly renounced his pagan past and admitted that ritual *fosso* was "wrong." Schwarz baptized Kelatto, who then became known as "Martinus."

Notwithstanding these narratives, the conversion incidents appear to be very exceptional.[102] They exemplify rather than explain the few missionary successes. They were directed mainly to readers and (potential) missionary patrons in Europe. The converted Runtunuwu only succeeded in having a few peers converted,[103] while Kelatto was thought to have converted to achieve status equivalence with a rival chief who had previously converted.

The use of European medicines by Schwarz and his fellow missionaries was hardly a novel experience among the Minahasans, as they had been familiar with these medicines since Resident J. Wenzel brought and distributed smallpox vaccines as early as 1822.[104] However, unlike Schwarz's use of European medicines, this government-led redistribution of drugs was not coupled with missionization or religious conversion.

However, one could still argue that even though the missionary ventures in both education and healing were not particularly crucial to massive-scale conversions, they would have created an unmistakable imprint of novelty and efficacy that would have been attractive to the natives. These strategies might have been effective—at the very least, as a preliminary instrument to bridging the wide cultural gap between the Europeans and ordinary Minahasans—in the locality where the missionary worked.[105] However, any missionary gain would have been

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[100] Ibid.

[101] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 6 (1862): 370.

[102] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 60.

[103] Ibid., 73.

[104] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes," 481.

[105] See references on healing as a missionary strategy in north Sulawesi and elsewhere in Indonesia. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2838, C. W. L. M. Schroder, 5-6; Michael Coomans, *Evangelisatie en Kultuurverandering:*

limited given that "only 31 European missionaries were involved in the Christianization of Minahasa"[106] during a period that stretched roughly two to three generations.

Given these circumstances, what then explain the rapid and massive conversions to Christianity in Minahasa?

3. Colonial reforms: taxation, centralization, and conversion

Various scholars agree that the 1850s was a crucial decade in the Christianization of the region. They describe it as a period when "a sudden conversion to Christianity in huge parts of the population took place."[107] To be sure, the single mass conversion in the 1850s, which captured the interest of Dutch society in both the colony and the metropole,[108] was confined to only one district (Tonsea). It is believed that "between 1856 and 1859 the Christianized zone was extended dramatically to the north with the mass conversion of most of the Tonsea language speakers."[109] Additionally, in a relatively short period of time in 1857 it is estimated that 10,000 Minahasans converted.[110] By 1860 "57 percent of the population had already embraced Christianity."[111]

While there is consensus on the importance of the 1850s, the reasons for such conversions vary. One reason offered is that it was the "political punishment" levied by the colonial state on the Minahasans if they were resistant to the missions.[112] However, most reasons refer back to the argument espoused by Kurt Tauchmann that the "outlawing of extravagant [ritual] feasting," which was central to the indigenous belief, ultimately led to the "destruction" of the old religion.[113] Christianity, therefore, was the "only possible way to fill a religious

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Onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen de Evangelisatie en de socio-Kulturele veranderingen in de adat van de Dajaks van Oost-Kalimantan (Bisdom Samarinda) Indonesië (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1980), 217.

[106] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*, 56.

[107] Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," 312.

[108] See the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* (1862); Koloniaal Verslag over 1857, 32.

[109] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*, 53.

[110] Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," 603.

[111] M. J. C. 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), 216.

[112] Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," 311.

[113] See Kurt Tauchmann, "Die Religion Der Minahasa-StäMme (Nordost-Celebes/Sulawesi)" (Universitat zu Köln, 1968). See also, Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 108; Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," 614.

vacuum."[114] Schouten refers to a "cultural disorientation" and to "schooling and conversion" as social adaptations to ongoing "social and economic distress."[115] These arguments echo the earlier view of A. C. Kruyt, a pioneer missionary in Central Sulawesi in the early twentieth century, who believed that the conversion of pagan Torajans occurred because

> [s]piritually they became uncertain, because the religious rites which for generations they had performed to invoke strength and success in their conflict with nature, had been taken away from them. In their uncertainty, the people turned to the missionaries, whom they knew were kindly disposed towards them and who spoke their language and knew their adat. [116]

If the testimony of a ranking Minahasan chief is to be believed, actually there was no government prohibition of traditional religious feasts as such. Rather, anyone intending to sponsor a traditional ceremony simply had to ask permission from the government-backed district chief (*hukum besar*) before doing so.[117]

To attribute the mass conversion to missionaries alone also seems highly improbable. This is because there was only one (European) missionary assigned to the entire district with a population of at least 13,000.[118] In the entire Minahasa at the time, there were only eight European missionaries and a few more low-ranking church functionaries.[119]

In spite of these facts, data from missionary sources show that in Tomohon—well outside the Tonsea district where the mass conversion took place—similar spikes in the number of converts were recorded from the late 1840s onwards (see Chart 3.1). That this trend was not an anomaly is evidenced in the missionary data for the entire region (see Chart 3.2).

What then was happening in Minahasa during this period?

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[114] Helmut Buchholt, "The Impact of the Christian Mission on Processes of Social Differentiation," in *Continuity, Change and Aspirations: Social and Cultural Life in Minahasa, Indonesia*, ed. H. Buchholt and Ulrich Mai (Singapore: ISEAS, 1996), 15.

[115] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia ", 216-217.

[116] Albert C. Kruyt, "The Influence of Western Civilisation on the Inhabitants of Poso (Central Celebes)," in *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, ed. B. Schrieke (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1929), 6. It most likely—and ultimately—draws inspiration from the writings of the sociologist Max Weber who believed that religious conversion was a result of "disenchantment" with the modern world. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York The Free Press, 1947).

[117] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

[118] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 1846.

[119] "Almanak en naam-register van Nederlandsch-Indië," (Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, 1854), 239.

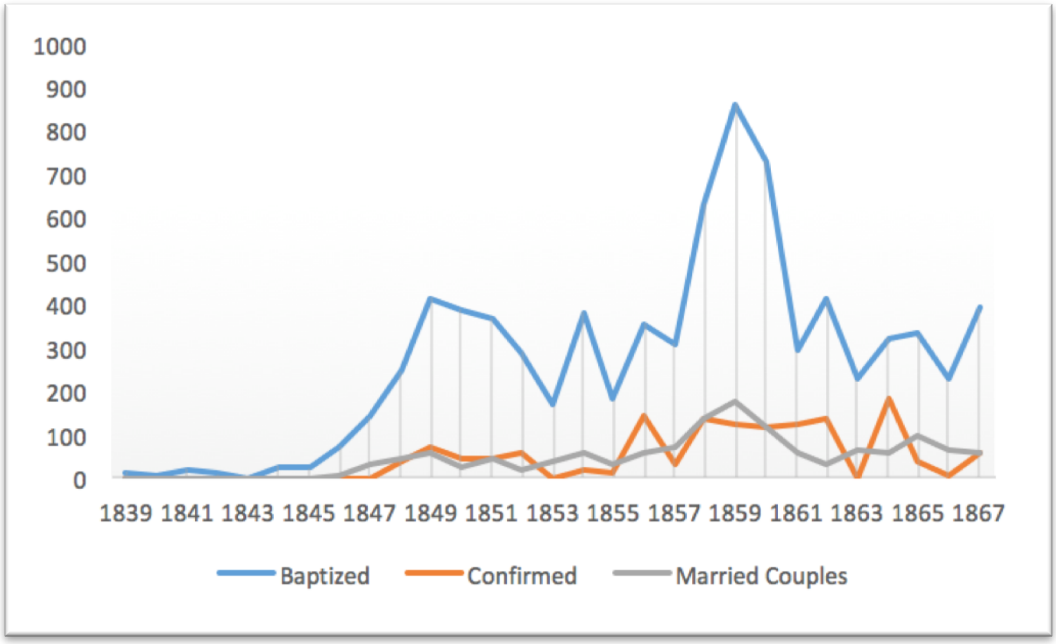

Chart 3.1.
Converts and confirmed members in and around Tomohon, 1839-1867[120]

[120] Includes Tomohon and the villages of Tataaran, Rurukan, Pangolambian, Kembes, Sarongsong, Lahendong, Tondango, Tinaras, Kakaskassen, Lotta, Koka, Kayawu, and Tinoor. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1201, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 23 May 1867.

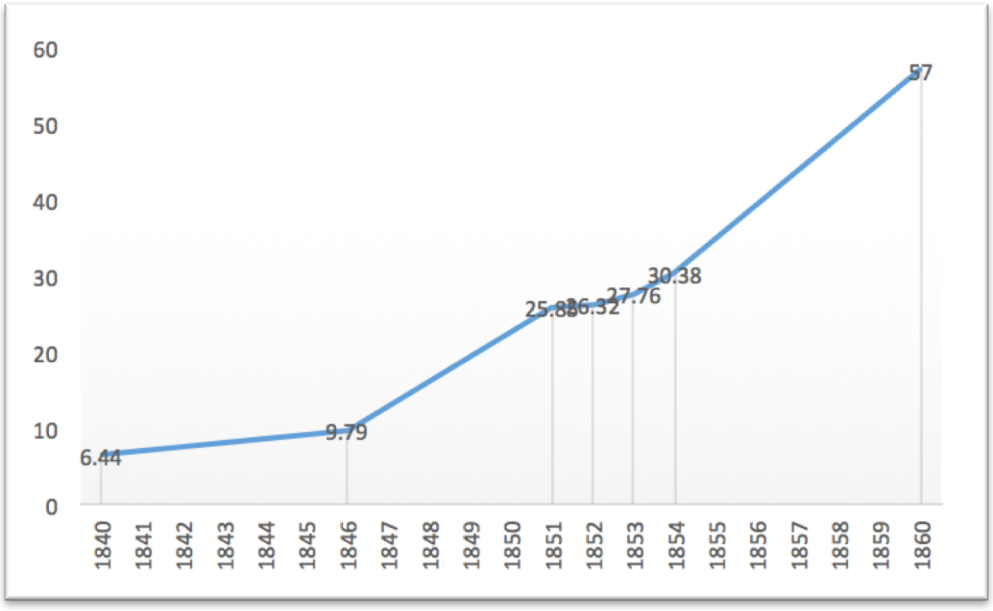

Chart 3.2.
Percentage of baptized Minahasan Christians relative to the total population, 1840-1854[121]

3.1. Early liberal reforms

It is interesting to note that these conversions coincided with the increasing commercialization and monetarization of the Minahasan economy. Schouten observes that "gradually, from the 1850s on, a monetary economy was taking root, though in differing degrees for different geographical zones and categories of people."[122] She attributes this monetary economy to such developments as "the introduction of wages for the transport of coffee, and a steady growth in the number of indigenous civil servants, teachers and craftsmen."[123] In addition, and perhaps more crucially, the growth of a monetary economy appeared more closely tied with the monetarization of rice and coffee exchanges, and the imposition of household-based monetary taxation.

[121] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 1846; ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854; 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), 170; D. F. W. Pietermaat, "Statistieke aantekeningen over de Residentie Menado," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 3, no. 1 (1840): 153; Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 108.
[122] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 65.
[123] Ibid.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, circulation of money in the region remained rather limited. While silver monies entered neighboring Gorontalo as payment by the government to obligatory gold deliveries, they nevertheless ended up with the "raja of the Bugis."[124] In the1820s Minahasa, copper coins (*duiten*) were used only in the marketplaces found in Manado and Kema, while barter exchanges prevailed for markets in Tondano and Kakas.[125] In the initial years of the compulsory crop cultivation and deliveries, both coffee and rice were paid by the government through textiles, notably through blue and white *salemporis*.[126] By 1825, however, coffee was usually paid in cash by the government[127] albeit at fixed and submarket prices.[128] Rice remained largely remunerated through textiles. This situation created not only an undesirable glut in textiles in Minahasa[129] but also discontent, since "most natives prefer to choose their cloths for themselves"[130] from those offered by private traders who had "a wider assortment of textiles than the government warehouses."[131] One could surmise that on the whole, such a redistributive system severely constrained the economic opportunities and choices of ordinary Minahasans.

The tribute of rice, for instance, became a heavy economic burden for many in times of poor harvest. Such was the case in the 1840s when the inhabitants of Tonsea had to acquire expensive rice from places far away from their villages in order to fulfill tributary obligations to their *hukum besar*, who in turn profited enormously by re-selling it at much higher prices.[132] To

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[124] It is like a case that illustrates "Gresham's law," an early modern economic theory that states that "bad money" without or little inherent commodity value displaces "good money" in this case, silver. KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, p. 6 Algemeen verslag afdeeling Gorontalo…1838, 1839, 1840, Scherius, Civiele Gezaghebber van Gorontalo, May 1840, 16.

[125] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, p. 35 Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.

[126] Pietermaat, "Statistieke Aantekeningen over De Residentie Menado," 100.

[127] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 353.

[128] In 1840, each *pikol* (125 pounds) of coffee was paid by the government *f* 15. Pietermaat, "Statistieke Aantekeningen over De Residentie Menado," 139.

[129] See Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*.

[130] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 353. Henley quotes the Resident of Manado in his letter to the Directeur's Lands Producten Batavia, see ANRI Manado inv. 78.

[131] Ibid.

[132] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging van eenige kwaadwillige onruststokers dat de bevolking van Tonsea in 5 a 6 jaren geene behoorlijke rijsttuinen heeft gehad, dat zij gebrek lijdt ten gevolge van mijn slecht bestuur zoodat het distrikt Tonsea ten achteren is in welvaart, O. J. Pelenkahu.

ease this market distortion, the liberal-minded Resident van Olpen allowed, for the first time, those who were incapable of delivering unhusked rice (*beras*) the possibility of paying *f* 1 *recepis* (copper certificates).[133] These *recepis*, equivalent to 120 *duiten*, were legal tender devised by the colonial government and they were the *de facto* substitutes for the perennially scarce copper coins.[134]

In fact, as early as 1844 Van Olpen had planned to entirely abolish the "rice-for-textile" system in favor of the government paying *f* .70 for each *gantang* (or 56 doits per *koyang*) of rice.[135] While one could assume that monetary payments for rice was already occurring in some parts of Minahasa prior to van Olpen's tenure, it was only in 1852 that obligatory rice deliveries were effectively abolished in exchange for a monetary tax of *f* 5.

It is telling that it was during the tenure of the reformist Resident van Olpen (1843-1849) when the initial surge of Christian conversions in the entire Minahasa which intensified in the 1850s took place. Although the European missionaries were openly antagonistic to van Olpen's secularist policy, the influential missionary N. P. Wilken wrote that "it is exactly during his administration that the desire to become Christian arose in the entire region."[136] However, while Wilken attributes such "awakening" to the people's supposed counter-reaction to van Olpen's ambivalence, if not their open resistance to Christian mission, it is more likely attendant on the Resident's unprecedented liberal policies.

Van Olpen did not only pave the way for the monetarization of rice exchange in selected parts of Minahasa,[137] but he also decreed after the devastating earthquake of 1845 that small family houses be built instead of traditional multiple-family ones.[138] It was during his time that Kema and Manado were declared free ports and foreigners (specifically Chinese and Arabs)

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[133] See Willem Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," in *Money in Asia (1200-1900): Small Currencies in Social and Political Contexts*, ed. Jane Kate Leonard and Ulrich Theobald (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

[134] Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Linking Two Debates: Money Supply, Wage Labour, and Economic Development in Java in the Nineteenth Century," in *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jan Lucassen (Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang, 2007), 183.

[135] ANRI Gouvernements Besluit 9 January 1846 no. 1.

[136] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 5.

[137] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging van eenige kwaadwillige onruststokers dat de bevolking van Tonsea in 5 a 6 jaren geene behoorlijke rijsttuinen heeft gehad, dat zij gebrek lijdt ten gevolge van mijn slecht bestuur zoodat het distrikt Tonsea ten achteren is in welvaart, OJ Pelenkahu.

[138] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N.P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo.1.

were officially recognized as "legitimate traders" and residents of Manado.[139] Although van Olpen's tenure was cut short in 1849, the reforms he began were continued with even greater speed by one of his successors, A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1959).

How exactly did these economic reforms relate to religious conversions?

3.2. Jansen's reforms: centralization and conversion

Resident Jansen's administration was a watershed in many ways. It was during his time that monetary taxation was implemented. It also witnessed an accelerated and irreversible trend towards Christian conversions. One could assume that even without Jansen's aggressive policy, conversions would have occurred anyway. This is suggested by the upward trend in the data. However, a key fact is difficult to ignore. From a little over five percent of the population registered as "Christians" in 1840 the figure rose to about 57 percent by the end of Jansen's regime.[140]

This section illustrates how the political and economic policies of Resident Jansen had the net effect of subverting local chiefly rule. This in turn opened the opportunity for many to become Christians and become affiliated with an institution that was closely related with and even promoted by the most dominant power in the Indonesian islands.

An acute observation of Minahasan society in the aftermath of drastic reforms comes from M. W. Scheltema, a *commissaris* sent by higher authorities in Batavia in 1862 to investigate the reported "lack of material and spiritual advance" in Minahasa.[141] Scheltema found "increasingly more people wandering around" because of the tax payment that had made them "indebted to their chiefs and to the Government."[142] He also noted that "the indigenous chiefs have no authority and the European administration, without any grip." He contrasted the

[139] NA MvK inv. 2.10.01, no. 2710, 8 September 1848. The presence of the Chinese and Arab traders in the region, of course, preceded the "legality" of their presence in Manado.
[140] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 216.
[141] Scheltema replaced Tutein Noltenhuis who died and who had originally received the commission from Batavia. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indie, Buitenzorg 24 December 1862.
[142] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.

Minahasan chiefs' lack of "palpable authority" to the supposed "magical hold" of the Javanese chiefs over their subjects.[143]

The majority of those "wanderers" were very likely young men who not only found themselves indebted through taxation but also at once free to roam around and transfer residences.[144] This was a phenomenon unique to the period. Contemporaneous with the imposition of monetary taxation was the exemption of taxable men[145] from the rule prohibiting the transfer of residences, which had been in effect since the 1820s.[146] As one missionary declared, the "Alfurs are [now] freer [to move]."[147]

While the overriding reason for Minahasans to transfer abode remained economic in nature, one striking missing feature of the 1850s migrations—compared with earlier ones—was the absence of quarelling village chiefs with mutually overlapping claims on the migrants. This suggests the predominance of the state authority which could subvert local chiefly interests in favor of broader fiscal and governmental goals. However, how did the colonial state commercialize the economy and centralize authority?

3.2.1. Opening the economy

The growth of a commercial economy in general and the increasing use of money in particular likely accelerated during the tenure of Resident A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). He was a staunch advocate of monetary taxation in the broader region.[148] Resident Jansen decreed the establishment of a permanent marketplace and mandated the provision of monetary wages for workers who transported coffee from the uplands to the coast.[149] He promoted rice irrigation[150]

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[143] Ibid.
[144] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage Tot De Kennis Van Noord-Selebes," 480.
[147] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.
[148] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon. This system of taxation is reminiscent of the *tributo* system in the Spanish Philippines from 1560s to 1884—a 'tax system based directly on adult individuals' whose 'primary aim…was symbolic though it did have a modest economic component as well…' The absence of such direct monetary taxation in many parts of early modern eastern Indonesia might provide clues to the late expansion of centralized states closely identified with a single religious tradition (vis-à-vis Catholic expansion in the Philippines). See Bruce Cruikshank, "Silver in the Provinces: A Critique of the Classic View of Philippine Economic History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 36 (2008): 127.
[149] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.

and he was the first resident to require an annual written assessment of rice harvests from each indigenous district chief (*hukum besar*)[151] for an effective oversight of production. He also actively encouraged the cultivation of tobacco,[152] nutmeg,[153] Manila hemp (*koffo*),[154] cacao,[155] mulberry tree (for silk),[156] maize,[157] and especially coffee in specific parts of the Residency which were deemed suitable for such cash crops. With taxation and rapid commercialization, it is no surprise that under his watch, the Residency achieved a favorable "credit balance" for the first time.[158]

One sign of an expanding economy is the need for more specie. In 1854 the Netherlands Indies government—aiming to manage and control the increasingly monetarized colony—introduced standardized copper coins[159] to replace the old doits, which likely referred either to Dutch-minted coins from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries or to the so-called *kupang cinci* or Chinese copper coins.[160]

Although colonial policy-makers probably had a commercializing Java in mind, there is reason to suppose that the demand for coins was partly driven by north Sulawesi, given the spectacular success of the compulsory coffee cultivation in the region. Even so, the preference for old doits in north Sulawesi—as in Java[161]— likely continued. J. G. F. Riedel observed in the 1860s that in neighboring Mongondow, old doits were still "highly desired" as a "medium of

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[150] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 56.

[151] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De beschuldiging dat ik de padie, welke de bevolking van Tonsea jaarlijks uit hare tuinen verkreeg opzettelijk te hoog zou hebben doen opgeven, O. J. Pelenkahu.

[152] ANRI Manado inv. 13, no. 4, Resident Jansen to the Opziener van Kema, 22 October 1853, no. 571.

[153] ANRI Manado inv. 13, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1854.

[154] Ibid.

[155] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, Verhaal naar Bolang Oeki, 19 Jan 1867, Sonder, N. P. Wilken and J. A. T. Schwarz, 11.

[156] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken 4 February 1868, 8.

[157] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 66.

[158] Ibid., 54.

[159] Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," 133.

[160] The term "*kupang cinci*[n]" or ring copper coin was used in the treaty of between the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow and the Company in 1733 which mentions that the raja could pay his debt through "*amas* [gold], *kupang cinci* [ring copper coins], or laskar [slaves]." ANRI Manado inv. 65, no. 1, Contract with Regent [Pangulu] Marcus Manoppo, 30 October 1733.

[161] Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," 134.

exchange."[162] The continued popularity of the old doits in north Sulawesi and indeed elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago points to the failure of a "monetary regime" based on standardized coins minted at the behest of the colonial government. Such popularity also indicates the existence, perhaps even the fluorescence, of the "shadow" economic connections that linked north Sulawesi to other parts of the archipelago—Singapore in particular—where the old doits remained a currency of importance.[163] However, the overall economic expansion as suggested by the need for specie could not fully materialize without the cooperation of a segment of the indigenous elite.

3.2.2. Co-opting the chiefs

Resident Jansen—following classic imperial strategy—sought to streamline and underpin the authority of a small group of select chiefs, while reducing the power of a much larger group of other less favored chiefs. He buttressed the authority of the district chiefs (*hukum besar*) against whom there were frequent complaints from their claimed subjects and chiefly peers. Jansen believed that such complaints were "done only to display their [rhetorical] talent"[164] and threatened to punish those found guilty of false accusations.[165] He broke the former seven districts of Minahasa into 27, thereby decreasing the geographic and demographic reach of the *hukum besar*.[166] As a counterbalance, he sought to reaffirm the status difference of chiefs and to "increase their prestige in the eyes of their subordinates." He also suggested a distinguishing costume for the chiefs alongside a parasol.[167]

Jansen's centralizing measures were so dramatic that for many years after his tenure, his name still "rings even in the most remote villages."[168] Until the 1890s, officials in Dutch colonial circles remembered Jansen's time as a "regime more severe" than the comparable instance of

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[162] J. G. F. Riedel, "Het Landschap Bolaang Mongondow," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 13 (1864): 283.
[163] John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade* (London and Calcutta: Wm. H. Allen and W. Thacker, 1836), 317.
[164] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes," 552, note 1.
[167] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 4554, Verbaal 10 March 1892, Letter of GG [Pijnacker Hordijk] to MvK, 15 September 1891.
[168] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.

centralization they were witnessing at that time.[169] Jansen intervened in local affairs at critical moments and demonstrated sheer authority. He recapitulated the earlier regulation prohibiting the construction of traditionally elevated Minahasan houses.[170] He also strongly urged the planting of new coffee trees despite a raging epidemic in 1854.

The highly ambitious[171] Resident demonstrated a draconian approach to administration that "kept the population under control," perhaps because of the potential incendiary effect of his economic and political reforms. As a colonial official suggested much later with a degree of exaggeration, during Jansen's time "people had no time to object. All men had and learned to work. He [Jansen] animated the *controleurs* (low ranking colonial officials) and supported the chiefs."[172] One missionary also noted that at the time "an uprising among the Minahasans would be natural, were it not for their internal dissension."[173]

However, the chiefs themselves—once recognized as part of the Dutch-sanctioned political hierarchy—became generally invested in the expansion of colonial rule. They could advance their own economic agenda using the authority of the colonial state, which in turn rewarded chiefs who could muster command of their respective subordinates. Chiefs who wished to be in "Resident Jansen's good books" were said to have even illicitly augmented the number of taxable individuals by including even adolescent boys.[174] They received a percentage (*f* 1 of *f* 5) of monetary taxation in addition to a fixed commission for every *pikol* of coffee delivered by their subordinates.[175] By relying on a pre-determined income from taxation and commission, the chiefs effectively became salaried local agents of the colonial state.[176]

This emergent political-economic system inevitably clashed with the traditional chiefly system still prevalent on the local level at the time. The economy that underpinned traditional

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[169] Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 134.
[170] Paul Richard Renwarin, "Matuari and Tona'as: The Cultural Dynamics of the Tombulu in Minahasa" (PhD. Dissertation, Leiden University, 2006), 107.
[171] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 8. la. C. 2) Gouverneur, Gouvernement Celebes en Onderhoorigheden (1860, 1861), Kommandeur, Spaansche Orde van Isabella la Catholica (1861); Kommandeur, Orde van de Eikenkroon (1861)
[172] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.
[173] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 72.
[174] Jansen decreed that men of at least 20 years old were liable to taxation. But as one missionary noted, "children" as young as sixteen were taxed by unscrupulous chiefs. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo.1.
[175] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856.
[176] Specifically dealing on this phenomenon, see M. J. C. Schouten, "De veranderende positie van het walakhoofd in de Minahasa gedurende de 19e eeuw" (Vrije Universiteit, 1978).

rule was a system of tribute and preferential trade that mostly benefitted the local chief, himself the most important trader. Tributes and gifts were also given by the local people to the chief on different pagan ceremonies related to the harvest cycle, such as the opening of fields for cultivation.[177] As revealed by a *hukum besar* himself, the "material benefits" of the large religio-communal gatherings (*fosso*) "proceed to the ruling chiefs in association with the most senior *walians* (religious leaders)."[178]

The state policy of monetary taxation did not discriminate, at least in theory, between chiefs and subjects, since everyone was obliged to pay the same amount. The competitive ritual feasting that re-affirmed or created chiefly status was effectively countered by the creation of a state-backed indigenous hierarchy that eventually became almost hereditary.[179] Most importantly, the extracted productive surplus—increasingly in the form of money— was exclusively directed as compensation to the relatively small of group of chiefs who gathered taxes for the state. These chiefs became self-vested in expanding the political and fiscal powers of the state.

The increasingly commercialized economy amid the growing presence of state power tended to weaken local chiefly rule. In turn, the weakened local rule created conditions favorable for the development of new social affiliations beyond the constrictive confines of the village.

3.2.3. Conversion as centralization

Religious conversions in the 1850s can be viewed as an event in which the interests of various actors aligned: missionaries, ordinary Minahasans, various local chiefs,[180] and the colonial Resident. While the interest of the missionaries to convert seemed self-evident, the motivations of the latter three actors in conversion appeared less discernible. This section argues that the government-appointed chiefs and the Resident likely shared the common interest of centralizing authority and economic expansion, which in turn induced and enabled the natives' interest in economic and political autonomy from the constraints of local chiefly rule. That all

[177] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 8.
[178] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. .J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[179] See Schouten, "De veranderende positie van het walakhoofd in de Minahasa gedurende de 19e eeuw."
[180] Most of the *hukum besar* at this time were young and had been used to the presence of the colonial state. They were all likely educated by the missionaries. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6

these interests became embedded within the dominant language of conversion is hardly surprising. After all, the traditional authority of the local chiefs over their subordinates extended not only to political and economic matters but also social and religious concerns.

From the outset, Jansen declared that "Christian faith and education diminish the respect of the population towards their chiefs; and [they] thus develop a sense of equality."[181] Jansen's view on religion, Christianity in particular, as a tool of social progress dovetailed exactly with his argument for the moral imperative of colonial rule. Writing to his superior, Jansen argued for a greater governmental presence in north Sulawesi for the "higher moral and social development" of its people.[182] Notably, he considered the "moral and material progress" of the Indies through "the establishment and expansion of colonial rule, education, [etc.]" and through the "Indies' peoples' own initiatives" as more important than the planned, government-led sending of Chinese and European permanent settlers or "colonists" in north Sulawesi.[183] Jansen's seeming preoccupation with the "moral" was also reflected in his opinion on the teaching of the Dutch language to the Minahasans. Jansen wrote that it is "good" from the "perspective of morality" but not from the 'view of politics'.[184]

Jansen's coupling of "modern" colonial governance with religion and religious conversion ran counter to earlier and even later official views on Christianity. For instance, the Governor of Moluccas, J. B. de Cleerens (van Olpen's direct superior), thought that Christianity would only engender laziness and "aversion to hard work."[185] On the contrary, Jansen believed that Christianizing the population while "professionalizing" the native chiefly offices[186] was a pathway to effective and, by extension, profitable colonial rule. The case of Tonsea concretely illustrates this conflation of Christianization and centralization.[187]

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[181] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[182] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[183] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1857.
[184] Ibid.
[185] NA MvK 2.10.02, no. 701, 14 April 1858, no. 2 (Schoolwezen), Report of Schools in R. Menado and Gorontalo Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853, citing the letter of Gov. Cleerens, Moluksche Eilanden,14 July 1848, no. 18, 10-11.
[186] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[187] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

Sometime in 1855, the Resident—accompanied by the Christian *hukum besar* of Tonsea, O. J. Pelenkahu—visited the village of Sawangan (Tonsea) for census-taking in connection with the recently imposed monetary tax. Their visit coincided with a 13-day *fosso* (religious celebration) sponsored by pagan chiefs who were indifferent or hostile to the new regulation. Jansen was reportedly displeased to witness the event, so he decided to "investigate all districts of Minahasa" and "effectuate a [relevant] regulation in consultation with the [high-ranking] chiefs." He supposedly ordered that no *fosso* be held unless it was done "with the knowledge of the district chief"—Pelenkahu himself.[188]

This delegated authority strengthened Pelenkahu's position vis-à-vis competing chiefs. For instance, a likely pagan chief from another distinguished family named Hanok Wenas[189] sponsored a *fosso* without informing Pelenkahu. As a result, Wenas was arrested and imprisoned for three days under Pelenkahu's order.[190]

Pelenkahu's strengthened position allowed him to subvert the subaltern chiefs and extract taxation in kind or cash. He came to possess authority over 22 village chiefs (*hukum tua*) and other subaltern chiefs (*kepala jaga*) who were tasked with assessing the rice harvest in different villages.[191] He established a rice market in the uplands (Airmadidi) that brought convenience to the general populace who previously had to travel long distances to reach the market along the coast (Kema).[192] By doing so, he effectively circumvented the subaltern chiefs who earned from the arbitrage of rice between the uplands and the coast.

Although there was monetary taxation in place, Pelenkahu still demanded actual rice from his subjects,[193] especially during times when the selling price of rice along the coastal port exceeded the value of rice equivalent to monetary tax (*f* 1). This was likely the case during the

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[188] Ibid.

[189] The family name, Wenas, likely originated from Wenas Lumanaw, a chief of the village of Tonsea in the early eighteenth century. KITLV H 1890, Stukken afkomstig van de familie Doutoulong, Tonsea, 1770-1897, Stukken over erfenissen, eigenaarschap eiland Lembeh en andere documenten Extract Resolutie in Raade van Politie te Ternate 27 February 1770, Translation of the Malay letter of Xaverius Dotulong.

[190] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

[191] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De beschuldiging dat ik de padie, welke de bevolking van Tonsea jaarlijks uit hare tuinen verkreeg opzettelijk te hoog zou hebben doen opgeven, O. J. Pelenkahu.

[192] Ibid.

[193] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De zaak betreffende, het dapoer geld en de beschuldiging, dat ik de lieden zou gedwongen hebben, die in rijst te betalen, ten einde die rijst met voordeel te kunnen verkoopen, O. J. Pelenkahu.

disastrous year of 1857 when a rodent infestation and a long dry season took a heavy toll on rice production. With decreased supply, the selling price of rice increased. It was precisely during that year when Pelenkahu was accused of prohibiting his subjects to sell their rice to outsiders[194] and expropriating the rice as taxation but eventually selling it for his own profit. He was also accused—probably with good reason—of exempting some subjects from monetary taxation and using his position to grant political favors.[195]

In this way, Pelenkahu accomplished what Jansen had vowed to achieve by himself at the beginning of his tenure—"to prohibit the chiefs to trade in order to supplement their own income because it is not advantageous to the government and also the people."[196] Through the authority vested upon him by the colonial state, Pelenkahu was able to undercut the "embedded authority" (political, economic, and religious) of other competing chiefs. In his own words, "the *walians* could not anymore levy the people with *fosso* and profit from others."[197] With Pelenkahu's palpable authority and the weakened authority of competing chiefs, around 5,000 inhabitants of Tonsea declared their intention to become Christians when the missionary, F. H. Linneman, visited the region around April-May 1857.[198] It is perhaps not a coincidence that this was exactly the period when the rice harvest was destroyed by disasters and when Pelenkahu sought—and perhaps likely established—control of the selling of rice to the coast.

On the whole, and despite Pelenkahu's own attempts to distort the market in his favor, the years following Pelenkahu's and Jansen's respective tenures saw an "increase of rice production."[199] This could be attributed to the creation of markets and the more efficient interconnections between existing ones. Such increased productivity was especially true for Likupang, Tonsea, and Klabat-di-atas—regions that witnessed Pelenkahu's centralizing efforts and notably, the much-cited mass conversions. [200]

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[194] Ibid.
[195] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1859.
[196] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854.
[197] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[198] Ibid.
[199] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken, Tomohon 15 October 1862.
[200] Ibid.

3.2.4. Resistance and attraction

Elsewhere in the Residency, Jansen continued his Christianization policy with the outright destruction of objects and disapproval of practices identified with the traditional Minahasan religion. He prohibited the ancient practice of burying the dead around the communal (*kalekaran*) houses.[201] He approved the destruction of a "pagan house" (likely a *kalekaran*) in Kakas and replaced it with a community church.[202] He ordered the demolition of large multiple-family houses of the Bantik people as well as pile houses "decorated with pagan symbols" in Tonsawang, Pasan, and Ratahan.[203]

Jansen encouraged the building of churches and mission schools in Tanawangko, Tomohon, and Sarongsong.[204] He also likely endorsed the sending of three Minahasans to study in the Netherlands between 1854 to 1860.[205] Furthermore, despite the missionaries' complaint that "there are still many pagan practices" Jansen argued that it would "take time before such practices vanish," citing as an example the persistence of pre-Columbian religion in contemporaneous Mexico.[206]

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[201] ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Afgaande Brieven Manado 3de kwaartal, 29 Aug 1857, no. 865 to the Controleurs of Menado, Kema, Tondano, Amurang and Belang.

[202] J. G. F Brumund, "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragment mijner reize door de Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 2, no. 2 (1856): 275.

[203] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854. Although one source says that the last episode of headhunting in Minahasa was in 1862. Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 93, note 149.

[204] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken 4 February 1868, 8.

[205] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 35.

[206] He was referring to the travel and work of Ampere in Mexico. See Jean-Jacques Ampère, *Promenade en AméRique : ÉTats-Unis, Cuba, Mexique*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1856). ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.

Figure 3.2
Church in Tomohon, c. 1850[207] (KITLV Image Repository)

Like Pelenkahu, most of the *hukum besar* were supportive of these changes.[208] By the 1850s most of the highest-ranking chiefs were not only Christians but also "younger men" who were said to be "different from the older chiefs."[209] These younger chiefs, Pelenkahu included, would have been born or grown up in the political and economic context of direct colonial rule underpinned by the system of compulsory deliveries and with little or no memory of the older Minahasan political system. They would also have been likely educated in the missionary schools in the district center or perhaps even in Manado. As such, for this younger generation of chiefs it was easier to conceive of their political edge over potentially competing chiefs by riding on Jansen's Christianization *cum* centralization project.

[207] KITLV Image repository 36D817.
[208] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.
[209] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, 6.

However, there were exceptions. The chiefs of Bantik, Tonsawang, Tombariri, and Belang were unsupportive, at least initially, of Jansen's reforms.[210] The most notable opponent of Christianization was H. W. Dotulong, the *hukum majoor* of Sonder (1824-1861). Dotulong was of the "old mold" who had risen to power long before the drastic commercialization and political centralization of the 1840s-50s. He had been the leader of the 1,400-strong Minahasan mercenaries sent by the Dutch to fight Prince Diponegoro during the Java War (1825-1830).[211]

Long before the 1850s, Dotulong had been notorious among missionary circles for preventing Christianity in his district. The pioneer missionary Schwarz noted that "out of self-interest [Dotulong] obstructs the Christianization of his subordinates rather than encouraging it."[212] Dotulong did not see his political ascendancy as being tied to his promotion of Christianity as the younger chiefs like Pelenkahu did. This is because Dotulong's political authority had already been cemented after his participation in the Java War.

Dotulong publicly declared that "he does not fancy all those fine things of enlightenment and civilization."[213] Paradoxically, his actions conveyed a self-conscious projection of cosmopolitanism as reflected in "the way he furnished his house, his conversation in Malay, and his table manners when he received European guests."[214] Dotulong—likely possessing a similar sentiment with other chiefs—feared that mass conversion to Christianity could bring about the loss of his status difference with his subjects. He vehemently opposed the building of a school in his district, and only after his subjects planned to send their children to the nearby district did he relent.[215] This was because, Schouten argues, Dotulong was "motivated by envy and anxiety at the thought of losing control over the inhabitants of that village."[216] One form of such control was Dotulong's constant affirmation of his higher relative status vis-à-vis his "subjects."

Without the colonial state constraining of chiefs like Dotulong and without the increasingly commercialized market that connected Dotulong's subjects with the outside world, the eventual transgression of Dotulong's authority by his claimed subjects would not have been possible. Chiefly intransigence would have been rife because conversion to Christianity not only

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[210] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.
[211] Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 124.
[212] Ibid., *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 103.
[213] Ibid., 102.
[214] Ibid., 101.
[215] Ibid., 103.
[216] Ibid.

meant status equivalence but also loss of material benefits. It meant—at least and especially during the time of Resident Jansen—the prohibition to participate in or sponsor traditional rituals that "are very [economically] advantageous for the chiefs."[217]

Escape from the often oppressive local chiefly authority was probably a major driving force for ordinary Minahasans to convert. Pelenkahu notes that people "understand that Christianity is not like 'paganism' that requires remarkable offerings like the *fosso*."[218] These competitive rituals not only enhanced the status of the feast-givers.[219] The outcomes of these *fosso* signified which chief was the most influential and had the most following, and consequently to whom (later) tributes should flow.

However, the state authority made these rituals irrelevant as chiefly offices became stable. Taxation also made everyone—chiefs and subjects alike—indebted to the state. Furthermore, colonial regulations set a limit on the number of days when chiefs could call upon their subjects for unpaid labor, thereby likely freeing—albeit partly—some manpower time for the wage labor outside the village.

These essentially political reforms were not often carried out under the banner of Christianization. The reforms also fundamentally weakened the authority of the local chief. For example, when a communal house (*kalakeran*) in Tomohon—a symbol of the "embedded authority" of the chief—was demolished to make way for a church, the natives were expected to express their satisfaction. This is because with the church, "everyone 'big or small people' could enter, unlike before with the *kalakeran* only chiefs could enter."[220]

Colonial officials did not always regard conversion positively. For instance, Resident C. J. Bosch (1861-1862) considered Christianization as having a detrimental influence on the Minahasan people's productivity in that "there was little work done" in the fields, especially on coffee plantations[221] Bosch saw injustice, among others, in the unpaid work rendered by the Minahasans for building the colonial officials' residences, government warehouses, and

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[217] Ibid. See also on the chiefly advantages regarding tributes from pagans, Mailrapport 1891, Geruchten over gedwongen bekering tot het christendom bij het Bantikkers res. Menado, 935+, Letter of the Res of Men, Stakman to the GG 23 Oct 1891.
[218] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[219] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 171.
[220] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo. 5.
[221] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 3 March 1862.

especially Christian churches and schools.[222] Perhaps, more crucially, Bosch was critical of what he viewed as "communalism" in Minahasa.[223] One form of the "communalism" which Bosch likely had in mind was the church gatherings that blended Christianization with socialization. However, European missionaries insisted on the importance of such social gatherings and "more free time" for the natives[224] as a major path to Christianize the people.

In Minahasa, and indeed in other parts of the archipelago where there were Christian missions,[225] missionaries often clashed—at times even astringently—with secular authorities (European and local) to preserve Sunday as a church *cum* community day.[226] Numerous Minahasans already had to spend days on end in far-flung coffee plantations in relative isolation.[227] Work on coffee fields from plucking to the delivery of dried coffee beans was notably not done as a community but as a small family.[228] For the many Minahasans who converted, the church likely became a locus for the community albeit without the baggage of the traditional political and economic structure of the village. Even until the contemporary times, harvest festivities traditionally held in pre-Christian villages continued to be celebrated, but with the church as the venue.[229]

In addition to the advantageous affiliation to a community, Christianity likely also symbolized an accessible aspirational social identity—or at least seemingly so—to ordinary Minahasan uplanders. It has been observed for instance that in the mid-nineteenth century Manado, there existed a marked social distinction between the long-Christianized lowlanders—the *orang bebas* (lit. free person) and the likely pagan *orang negri* (lit. village person).[230] The former group, which likely included or perhaps were even comprised mostly by the *borgo* (European and mixed settler) population, notably enjoyed various privileges which were denied

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[222] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politiek Verslag 1862.
[223] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.
[224] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6.
[225] Joost Cote, *Colonising Poso: The Diary of Controleur Emile GobéE, June 1909-May 1910*, Working Paper 128 (Victoria: Monash University Press, 2007), 15-16.
[226] On Sangir, see NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1257, 3 November 1862, no. 25, Letter of E. Steller, Manganitu 22 April 1862; on Minahasa, see HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 4 February 1868.
[227] See Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility.*
[228] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 3.
[229] Fentje Eliezer Palit, "Christianity as a Socio-Cultural Identity: A Study on the Minahasan Communities," in *Working Papers on Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1999), 18.
[230] Dik van der Meulen, *Multatuli: leven en werk van Eduard Douwes Dekker* (Nijmegen: Sun, 2002), 244.

the latter group. Conversion to Christianity and especially the "liberation" from local chiefly rule attendant to it were likely crucial steps toward that aspirational social standing.

4. **Concluding remarks**

This chapter explains the rapid and mass conversions in Minahasa by focusing on the consequences of the political and economic reforms of the mid-nineteenth century. While there was likely a widely-shared desire among the populace to become Christian, traditional chiefly authority prevented mass conversions. This was evident in the attitude of the *hukum major* of Sonder, H. W. Dotulong, who prevented his claimed constituents to convert. Since the Company times, Christianity likely functioned to distinguish and legitimize the aspiring chiefly elite. As such, sharing Christian identity with the lower orders diluted the elite's claims to social superiority.

This chapter argues that the mass conversions in Minahasa in the mid-nineteenth century should be attributed to the breakdown of local chiefly authority which tended to loosen the bond between the chiefs and their subjects. This loosening of bonds was precipitated by an expanding commercial economy that initially became noticeable in the 1840s, but flourished more intensely in the 1850s due to direct political interference. The most important of these political interventions that led to commercialization was the intertwined policy of abolition of the "rice-for-textile" system and the imposition of monetary poll taxation.

This chapter suggests that the wide-ranging centralizing policy of Resident Jansen (1853-1859) not only expedited the commercialization of the Minahasan uplands, but sped up its development as well. During Jansen's tenure as Resident, he oversaw the initial years of monetary taxation that coerced Minahasans to find money in the increasingly and perhaps rapidly marketizing society. He streamlined local chiefly authority and sought to confine the local chiefs in the separate sphere of "politics" and "governance," thus moving them away from their traditional role as traders. Taken as a whole, these policies tended to reduce the ordinary Minahasans' economic dependence on their chiefs who had lost their preferential access to trade.

Jansen's drastic political and economic policies were notably implemented alongside the rhetoric of "Christianization." For Jansen, these policies were manifested by the destruction of structures and paraphernalia associated with the old "Minahasan religion" and the vigorous

support for Christian missions. Yet, it is very likely that Jansen's undermining of the local chiefly authority and commercializing the economy—more than any of those highly symbolic destruction of "pagan" structures—contributed crucially to his vision of a Christianized Minahasa.

The case of O. J. Pelenkahu exemplifies the active and key participation of chiefs in Jansen's agenda. Pelenkahu knew that cooperation with the Dutch was the primary and perhaps the only sustainable way to maintain chiefly ascendancy amid the notoriously fierce intra-elite competition. Thus, he ably used the authority emanating from the Dutch to centralize his own local chiefly authority. Riding on the back of and being ultimately supported by the colonial state, Pelenkahu successfully undercut the authority of other chiefs. Following Jansen's initiative, Pelenkahu introduced various political and especially economic reforms, such as cash-crop cultivation and efficient rice markets. On the whole, these reforms tended to circumvent traditional chiefly intermediaries and undercut the economic basis of local chiefly power. For Pelenkahu, as for Jansen, the promotion of Christianity seems to have served as a shorthand for these political and economic reforms—an expedient strategy to gain political legitimacy amid rapid social transformations.

These political and economic reforms were, as whole and perhaps arguably, a boon for the majority of the Minahasans. Not only were they liberated from the economic dependence and political patronage of "oppressive" chiefs, they were also exposed uninhibitedly to the socially-prestigious Christian religion. While individual chiefly intransigence to Christian schools persisted, as the case of Dotulong shows, the over-arching authority of the colonial state offered a powerful counterbalance to any chiefly excesses.

The following chapters on Bolaang-Mongondow and Sangir-Talaud explore how religious affiliations came to be configured in settings where social variables differed from that of Minahasa. In Bolaang-Mongondow, the colonial state imposed monetary taxation at around the same time as in Minahasa, although it notably refrained from promoting Christianity. In Sangir-Talaud, the state promoted Christianity but without any substantial colonial interference, particularly the imposition of monetary taxation in view of commercialization.

To what extent then was the Minahasan pattern of Christianization—underpinned by a politically-driven commercialization that led to the weakening of the dependence of ordinary

Minahasans on their (subordinate) chiefs—mirrored in the contiguous regions of Bolaang-Mongondow and Sangir-Talaud?