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Protestan Christianity Education in Tolaki and Moronene Society in Southeast Sulawesi, 1919-1942

ABSTRACT: This paper, using the historical method, qualitative approaches, and literature review, discussed the development of Protestant Christianity in Southeast Sulawesi, especially in Tolaki and Moronene society on 1919-1942 period. The efforts and policies of Dutch East Indies government and/or NZV (Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging or Dutch Mission Association) in opening school of Zending (Protestant Missionary) influenced toward the development of indigenous people. The opening of school by NZV institution not only had a special education pattern, but also had its influence. Opportunities of Zending in opening the education was inseparable from the missing of social services from Dutch East Indies or indigenous government toward the local society. The presence of Christianity education had risen various responses from various circles and also as the medium of Christianizing indigenous people. The dichotomy in the presence of Christianity education would occur in the midst of indigenous people, either it was the problem of management, policy, or the form of responses to its acceptance. This article was also arguing that the education of Christianity had an effect on the efforts of the deployment and development of Protestant Christianity in the Tolaki and Moronene society in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

KEY WORDS: Education; Protestant Missionary; Tolaki and Moronene People; Southeast Sulawesi; Cultural and Social Changes.

INTRODUCTION

The historiography of Christianity education in Indonesia could be found in the work of Jan S. Aritonang (1988), and other scholars, that explained about the history of Christianity education in *Tanah* (Land) of Batak, Sumatera island, in 1861-1940 periods (Jones, 1976; Aritonang, 1988; Camps, Poels & Willemsen eds., 2005; Steenbrink, 2007;

and Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008). But, in some areas, the work about the history of Christianity education was still low. The lack of this study was constrained in some ways, for example the access to sources on this issue, which was difficult to obtain by the researchers from the other religions. Moreover, there were few numbers of historians from the other religions, who write

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about this issue (cf Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007; Vanderbilt, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

On the other hand, from the Christians, there are some researchers studied about Islam education, especially *Pesantren*, or Traditional Islamic Boarding School, in Java and Indonesia. One of the experts is Karel A. Steenbrink (1984), and other scholars, who wrote about the development of the education in Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia (cf Steenbrink, 1984; Lukens-Bull, 2001; and Bruinessen, 2015).

The Christianity education had an impact to the development of the indigenous people in Indonesia. The existence of Christianity education gave the significant impact to the happening of social transformation, such as the rise of modern elite or the presence of elite circulation (Woodberry, 2004; and Koschorke, Ludwig & Delgado, 2007). This was also experienced in the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi. The *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) succeeded in approaching the indigenous society through social services, especially in the field of education, carried out by the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) and individually by the Pastors (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Boonde, 2016; and Yunani, 2017).

Christianity education in Southeast Sulawesi had a unique pattern as a missionary strategy to introduce new religions to the indigenous society. One of the succeeded in the spread of Protestant Christianity on the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi in the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies was inseparable from the intense educational services carried out by the *Zending* workers (Heuken, 1991; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Titaley, 2008; and Boonde, 2016).

In this section, the researchers explained the effort of *Zending* in giving the services in education field to the indigenous society. The education started from the village school to the high school, such as HIS (*Hollandsche Inlandsche School* or Dutch medium primary school for the indigenous elite), the *Zending* School, and *Normal Leergang* or Teacher Training Courses. In relation to education

and social change, W.F. Wertheim (1999) and other scholars explained that the most effective Christian contribution to social change is in the field of education. Missionary schools became popular centers of enlightenment. This is because these schools are intended for the younger generation. So, it can be said that these schools become powerful agents in dismantling ancient traditions (Nasution, 1987; Wertheim, 1999:160; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017).

According to Terance W. Bigalke (2005 and 2016), the service of educational work that is clear, the school symbolizes the existence of a threat of Christianization (Bigalke, 2005 and 2016). But, on the other hand, it has a positive impact on indigenous society. Furthermore, W.F. Wertheim (1999) and other scholars explained that the only Dutch missionary activity that has significance in the social field is the construction of schools. So, the impact of Christian education in Southeast Sulawesi also contributed positively to the indigenous society. There was a process of social transformation among them (Wertheim, 1999:155; Boonde, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

Since the inclusion of Protestant Christianity in Southeast Sulawesi under the Dutch Evangelists, or *Zending*, who joined the *Nederlandsc Zending Vereniging*, an organization of Protestant Christianity abbreviated as NZV. In 1919, it was considered as important thing because, since the entry and arrival of the Evangelists until 1942, had an impact on socio-cultural change in the Tolaki and Moronene communities was a response to the spread of Protestant Christianity in the Southeast Sulawesi region (Klift, 1925; Lindenborn, 1925; Muller, 1955; Boonde, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

The spread of Protestant Christianity to Tolaki and Moronene's local residents was called as "Serani". At first those who came were a priest namely Drs. Hendrik van der Klift and his family. He settled in Mowewe village. It was from this village that the spread of *Zending* to all corners of the inland of Southeast Sulawesi. Among them are areas that have the influence of Christian *Zending*, namely: the Kolaka *Onder-Afdeeling*

(Sub-District); Kendari *Onder-Afdeeling*; and Boeton *Onder-Afdeeling*, in which Boeton is located in Rumbia and Poleang Districts (Klift, 1922 and 1925; Ilmba, 2015; and Boonde, 2016).

The development and progress of Christianity, that occurred until the end of the Dutch East Indies government, supported the social changes of the Tolaki and Moronene society. The Evangelist does not merely focus on their work in the field of religion alone, but also in social services (education, health) skills, economic services such as farming and good gardening, rice assistance, opening rice fields skills such as carpentry, sewing, and so on. This is what encouraged Christianization of Tolaki and Moronene land to develop and succeed in the Dutch East Indies period 1919-1942 (*cf* Puspitasari, 2013; Ilmba, 2015; and Boonde, 2016).

Progress is seen after the introduction of education, health, the introduction of clothing models, European culture, settlement arrangements, cleanliness in daily life, and opening of roads. This resulted in a new awareness of their identity in the colonial period. Changes in aspects of life appear, due to *Zending* activities that lead to progress (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Hesselink, 2015; and Melamba, 2017).

Protestant Christianity brought various influences in the daily lives of the Tolaki and Moronene's people in Southeast Sulawesi. In many ways, various changes affected the behavior of those people from a traditional conception of social and cultural values as believed by the Christian community. It was undeniable that Christian values introduced by NZV are representations of the historical, sociological, and cultural processes of the local society (Jong, 2010a; Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The problem of social services, especially in the field of education and health, was carried out by *Zending* to the indigenous society. Christianization was not only considered as an effort related to theological spirituality, but there was a shift in the local beliefs of ethnic religions, or traditional beliefs (animism and dynamism), culture, and the introduction of educational institutions, health works, and in the field of social order

in indigenous society (*cf* Rumun, 2014; Boonde, 2016; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

On the other hand, the Dutch East Indies government in this area needed *Zending* personnel, because it helped in terms of social services. According to the explanation of Christiaan G.F. de Jong (2010b), it was stated that this could all be done, of course, with financial support, and moral support and enthusiasm from the Dutch East Indies government. Then, the government aimed to make the society, which was entered by the *Zending* activities, could obey and submit to them (Jong, 2010b:2).

The effort to expand Islam to areas that had not yet become Islam, such as in the inland of Southeast Sulawesi, was seen by the government only as an obstacle rather than as a reasonable condition in order to raise the level of welfare of the Dutch East Indies population (Jong, 2010b; Velthoen, 2002; and Boonde, 2016).

Both education and health work were always together in the service to the indigenous society. Education and health works were analogically to "right foot and left foot", or "*curry ihana ronga kare imoeri*" for *Zending*, wherever the church or the Protestant religion was present. Indigenous people needed good education and health services, and needed services with the provision of facilities, such as school, houses, teachers, curriculum, and education policies. This would have an impact on the lives of indigenous people in general (Rumun, 2014; Hesselink, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

This article, using the historical method, qualitative approaches, and literature review (Sjamsuddin, 2007; Winchester & Salji, 2016; and Mohajan, 2018), tries to elaborate the development of Christian religion organized by *Zending* via education and health affairs to the people of Tolaki and Moronene di Southeast Sulawesi. It will be described and analysed also: (1) the Development of Protestant Christianity Education in Southeast Sulawesi; (2) the Kinds of Christianity Education, such as *Normaal Leergang* or School of Teacher or Normal School, HIS or *Hollandsche Inlandsche School*, HCS or *Hollands Chinese School*,

Teachers and the Others Teaching Staffs, the Education Facilities, and Curriculum; (3) the Pattern of Protestant Christian Education; (4) the Obstacles of Christianity Education in Southeast Sulawesi; (5) the Management and Policy in Education of the Dutch East Indies Government; (6) the Christianity Education and Social Transformation; and (7) the Respons upon the Christianity Education.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Development of Protestant Christianity Education in Southeast Sulawesi.

It was impossible to carry out the widespread missionary Mission by relying on energy that appeared spontaneously and was not carefully prepared. The school network was founded by the Mission (Catholic) and *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) in various regions that required formal education teachers. These teachers were also aside from their additional task of doing the missionary work in the villages around the school and pastoring the church that is the result of their work (Steenbrink, 2007; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Irfan, 2014).

The initiative of the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association)'s Evangelist to establish Christian schools was the beginning of the renewal of modernization in this region. Changes that led to the progress from the Netherlands began to be introduced to the indigenous people with the aim that a good relationship between the society and the *Zending* could be realized. Especially for indigenous people who lived in rural areas, some of whom still adhere to local/tribal religions. On the other hand, the Dutch East Indies government felt less disturbed over *Zending* activities, but *Zending* activities helped the government in providing services to the indigenous people. This *Zending* activity made the Dutch East Indies government suspicious and unhappy (Kruger, 1959; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Aryono, 2017).

The same thing in the field of religious spread, the Dutch East Indies government had an ambivalent policy. The Dutch East

Indies government did not agree with the educational service activities carried out by *Zending*. This is due to the first fear of the raise of smart people, both governments only needed personnel for administration and workers on plantations. The policy of the Dutch East Indies government that allowed to attend education was from the elite or upper class groups, such as noble children or figures who had a position in society (Balk, Dijk & Kortlang, 2007; Kruithof, 2014; and Aryono, 2017).

The establishment of a school depended on the willingness of government officials. For this reason, they deserved to be given an award even though they were in a neutral position in a religious perspective. They gave a lot of sympathy to *Zending* schools in the form of giving attention in terms of building schools and visits to the schools. With the understanding of government officials like this, a school could be established and experienced a good development (Kliff, 1922; Grunder, 1995; and Nasution, 2018).

In addition, the Dutch East Indies government provided subsidies to several *Zending* schools, both those managed by *Zending* and those managed by the government itself. The table 1 was taken from the 1937 statistics compiled by the *Zending* Consulate, and shown the efforts of SZC (*Sammenwerkende Zendingen Corporaties* or Teamwork Missionaries) in the field of teaching various Indonesian schools.

Note from table 1, it was only recorded here that the teaching staff were located in schools solely. Teachers who should or were part of their time working in the church were mentioned in the books of M.C. Jongeling (1976) and S.C. Randwijk (1989). Starting January 1, 1933, these schools were managed by the GPI (*Gereja Protestan di Indonesia* or Protestant Church in Indonesia), and since 30th September 1934 by the GMIM (*Gereja Masehi Injil di Minahasa* or Christian Church in Minahasa). During most of the period discussed in this work, these schools were managed by NZG (*Nederlandsch Zending Genootschap* or Netherlands Missionary Society). It is only recorded here that the teaching staffs were located in schools solely. Teachers, who were all or part of their time

Table 1:
Statistics in 1937 Circumstances of Subsidized School

The Field of Zending	Village School					High School			
	Subsidized		Unsubsidized		Teaching Staffs	Subsidized		Unsubsidized	
	School	Students	School	Students		School	Students	School	Students
West Java	8	717	5	180	75	2	124	1	26
East Java	53	6,211	8	415	6	23	1,846	12	439
Tanah Karo Batak	-	-	7	391	9	-	-	1	58
Minahasa ²⁾	154	14,983	42	1,966	217	3	214	17	737
Sangir Talaud	128	11,514	34	1,167	346	8	1,251	7	464
Bolaang Mongondow	25	2,763	1	24	45	-	-	-	-
Central Sulawesi	86	4,534	11	281	128	3	246	-	-
Southeast Sulawesi	13	969	2	68	20	-	-	-	-
Buru	10	293	7	122	28	-	-	-	-
Halmahera	7	7	6	168	118	-	-	-	-
Irian Jaya	115	6,700	93	3,622	245	1	50	-	-

Source: M.C. Jongeling (1976:29); and S.C. Randwijk (1989:692).

working in the congregation, were referred to in M.C. Jongeling (1976)'s book, especially page 28 footnotes section.

Based on the table 1, it also appeared that in Southeast Sulawesi, the number of community schools in 1937 for public schools that received subsidies amounted to 13 with a number of students 969 people. Whereas public schools that did not receive subsidies amounted to 2 with a total of 68 students. Of the total number of schools, there were 20 teachers. This data was actually not entirely true, because there were several auxiliary teachers, as well as *Zending* (Protestant Missionary)'s teachers or church teachers from indigenous Christians (Jongeling, 1976; Randwijk, 1989; and Boonde, 2016).

The opening of *Zending* schools was motivated by an intention to assist the Dutch East Indies government in the provision of formal education for the sons of the earth, because the ability of the government was still limited. Residents knew this school, because some indigenous people in Kendari city attended public school. In the field of open education, there were many opportunities to be developed because the government did not pay attention to the people in the inland. The *Zending*

schools, which were opened from 1918-1942, were Rate-rate, Mowewe, Sanggona, Tinondo, Tawanga, Ameroro, Poli-polia, and Watumendonga, all from Kolaka, Lambuia, Waworaha, Uepai, Puriala, Wolasi, Wawolemo, Roraya, Benua, and all in Kendari. The *Onder-Afdeeling* (Sub-District) of Buton area is located in Taubonto, Rarongkeu, Liano, and Rompu-Rompu located also in the Poleang section (cf Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Puspitasari, 2013; and Melamba, 2017).

Some facts explained about *Zending* efforts to carried out in Kolaka were their effort in the educational field, which was the group of *Zending* opened the *Zending* school in several areas in Southeast Sulawesi, especially in *Onder-Afdeeling* of Kolaka. In the document report, the total number of schools in the region was 24 schools, with details as follows: 10 schools were in Kolaka District, 3 schools were located in Singgere District, 2 schools were in Tawanga District, 1 school was located in Lapai District, 1 school located in Watumendonga District, 5 schools were located in Kondeeha District, and 2 schools were in Mamboeloe District (cf Balk, Dijk & Kortlang, 2007; Vosloo, 2012; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The number above was included as a *Zending* school, the schools included

Volk School (Ordinary People School for Elementary), *Vervolgh School* (Secondary School), and *Zending School* (Christian Missionary School), and *Normal School* or *Normaal Leergang School* (Teacher School), but they were closed. Realizing that in order to change the mentality of one person, especially spirituality, then the *Zending* activities in developing its religion used the approachment of education with the consideration of the society of Tolaki and Moronene generally were still illiterate, so they needed formal education (Nasution, 1987; Ilmba, 2015; Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; and Melamba, 2017).

An agreement between the Dutch East Indies government and *Zending* that determines stated a certain area was handed over to *Zending*, and the government would not establish its own general school in Southeast Sulawesi. In the Indies, there was only agreement for Sumba and Flores. *Zending* in Southeast Sulawesi other than that did not have an education monopoly (Balk, Dijk & Kortlang, 2007; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba, 2017).

The Kinds of Christianity Education. The expansion of Christianity was mainly done through *Zending* schools. In addition, some *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) believe that schools needed to guide people into the Christian Western civilization environment, so that they could understand the preaching of Christianity (Lerissa, 1995; End & Weitjens, 1999:301; and Sianipar, 2017). Activities were directed towards education and health services, in addition to the church services. Schools were established in cities and some in villages, besides establishing hospitals (Abdullah & Lapian eds., 2012:212; and Sianipar, 2017).

At that time, education in Southeast Sulawesi, until the middle of the 20th century, could only be felt by the children of nobles or *anakia*. An open opportunity where Kolaka, Kendari, and Moronene schools that were almost all managed by religious institutions (*Zending*) had given greater opportunities to all local people to get involved. The Evangelist opened so many low schools or well-known as Village Schools or *Volks*

Schools. *Zending* established schools in every place it served (Velthoen, 2002; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba, 2017).

If government-owned local schools were mainly found along the coast, *Zending* built schools in the inland. At the beginning of World War II (1939-1945), the number of *Zending* schools and other private schools was slightly more than the number of neutral schools, 17 schools compared to 14 schools. There were 27 public schools in *Onder-Afdeeling* (Sub-District) of Kolaka and Kendari, and 4 schools in Rumbia and Poleang; in addition, there were 3 secondary schools (Jong, 2010a:107).

Education in this region consists of 6 *swapraja* (autonomous) regional public schools, 6 subsidized *Gospel* public schools, and 1 secondary school in Kolaka. This last school, where second-class government schools came from March 1934, turned into secondary schools. Then joined a new public school in Kolaka. Teachers from these schools came from various ethnic groups, but at the *Gospel* school there was an attempt to slowly replace all the teaching staffs from the indigenous society. For this reason, in Mowewe there was a teacher education course, but in October 1933, it was closed because subsidies were stopped (Penders, 1968; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba, 2017).

In 1933, in Southeast Sulawesi, there had been already 19 elementary schools and 12 congregations. Outside of these 12 churches, there were still a small group of Christians. We could say that between 900 and 1,000 of our students among the 12 youths from the society of Mekongga, Tolaki, and Tomoronene were educated to be the *Gospel* teachers to serve 2,300 Christians (Klift, 1925:19); with the details 16 village schools, 2 high schools and 1 HIS or *Hollandsche Inlandsche School* (Anonymous, 1933:4; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba, 2017).

Furthermore, Hendrik van der Klift (1925) explained that the learning material was studying about the local language. From his ability to improve the *Zending* work in Southeast Sulawesi, since 1925 up to 1933, could be described a higher task than the condition of *Zending* at the end of 1924 as

met in *Zending* conference to serve *Gospel* messages, where they had been already as its residents (Klift, 1925). The task of *Zending* was to fill the material for those who had studied the local language used in Southeast Sulawesi; then, they realize that Islam had already had a big influence there (Klift, 1925; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba, 2017).

Then, in 1935, there were an increase in the number of public schools with 14 schools and *Zending* schools as many as 7 schools (Stibbe, 1939:227). In Buton and Muna, *Zending* schools were not very developed. This related to the existence of the Islamic religion, which had developed very strongly into the inland. As we know that Raha (Muna) and Buton are known as Sultanate territories with relatively Islam based (Zuhdi, Ohorella & Said, 1996; and Rabani, 2010:102).

The spread of Christianity through the education channel was the provision of educational institutions for Evangelists prospective or spreaders of Christianity as well as the indigenous society. These *Zending* schools educated non-Christians, so that they could understand and teach Protestant Christianity. In the collective memory of the indigenous people and Christians themselves, they knew "*Zending* school" and "*Zending* teacher" (Dirks, 2011; Boonde, 2016:3; and Melamba, 2017).

Following is to describe the kinds of Christianity Education, such as: (1) *Normaal Leergang School* or School of Teacher or *Normaal School*; (2) *HIS* or *Hollandsche Inlandsche School*, the Dutch medium primary school for the indigenous elite; (3) *HCS* or *Hollands Chinese School*, the Dutch medium primary school for the Chinese elite; (4) Teachers and the Others Teaching Staffs; (5) the Education Facilities; and (6) Curriculum.

Firstly, *Normaal Leergang (School of Teacher) or Normaal School*. From opening the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) schools, a school was also opened to create school teachers who would later serve as Christian church teachers. The school of teachers was called *Normaal Leergang*, opened in Mowewe in 1926 and lasted until 1934. Some young men from the inland of Kendari had attended education at *Normaal Leergang* in Mowewe;

and finally after completing their studies, they were assigned to build a *Zending* school and was also the task of a Christian congregation in the areas of the spread of Protestant Christianity (Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984:92; Busschers, 2011; and Melamba, 2017).

Although *Zending* school was not a religious school of Protestant Christianity, because the subjects and material were the same as the Public School (*Volk School*), but from the interaction of education that occurred in the teaching and learning process there were many opportunities to introduce their belief systems according to Protestant Christianity and even influenced the society (Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984:91; Melamba, 2017; and Nasution, 2018).

Meeting the need of teaching staffs, either in *Zending* or government school of Dutch East Indies in Southeast Sulawesi area, the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) opened a teacher course or *Normaal Leergang* in Mowewe *Onder-Afdeeling* (Sub-District), Kolaka Village. The relation with these schools, according to S.C. Randwijk (1989), stated that *Normaal Leergang* (Teacher Training), the two-years training had been held since 1910, firstly called as Normal Course = *Normaal Cursus*, to educate the alumni of 5-years Standard School, who later would be as the teachers of Village School (Randwijk, 1989:689).

The education process used Malay/local language as the intermediate language, which was being combined to the 5-years Standard School as a place for practical training, and was led by the School Principals and other Teachers from the Standard School. The *Zending* saw that they needed a leader from an European man, and until the years of Malaise crisis in 1930s, they got the special privilege upon the public school, which received subsidies to give the salary of the European Director (Randwijk, 1989; Busschers, 2011; and Melamba, 2017).

This school began to open since 1925, but it began to be effective in 1927. The efforts of meeting the needs of teachers in the *Zending* schools, NZV established the School of Teacher Education (*Normaal Leergang*), which was simpler than the Normal School

(*Normaal School*), and was located in the others region. *Normaal School* was the 4-years education that had been established since 1915 with the European as the leader of the alumni from the Standard School to educate them as the teachers in Standard School that used Malay/local language as its intermediate language (Nasution, 1987; Randwijk, 1989:690; and Melamba, 2017).

After opening the public school and also the simpler teacher training institution, the SZC still established the School of Teacher Education (*Normaal Leergangen*) that was simpler than the Normal School. It was further explained that these institutions were located in Gamsungi, Halmahera, since 1910; in Pendolo then moved to Tentena, Central Sulawesi, since 1913; in Mansinam, Irian Jaya, since 1917 and in 1923 transferred to Mieii; and in Mowewe, Southeast Sulawesi in 1927 (Randwijk, 1989:432-433).

In 1926, the School of Teacher Education was held in Mowewe, which consisted of local residents (Tolaki and Moronene), and eventually fulfilled the needs of teachers from the local people. These teachers were as teachers at school and some succeeded in forming Christianity (Klift, 1925:248). Thus, this school could also be referred as a church school, which they had also pioneered similar things of schools in Mowewe (Klift, 1922 and 1925; and Melamba, 2017).

Because seminaries in Depok, near Batavia (Jakarta now), were closed and the education of teachers elsewhere in the Indies was an expensive and time-consuming method, in 1926, *Zending* decided to establish a Normal Course with subsidies in Mowewe, where the Tolaki and Tomoronene youths were educated as teachers, who are competent at a three-years public school, not four years (Muller, 1955:41; Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; and Melamba, 2017).

The Normal Course at Mowewe did not last long. In 1929, the management in Palopo revealed that NZV education was too expensive for a backward and least populated area like Southeast Sulawesi. For a while the Director of Education and Religion in Batavia still favored the *Zending* than others, but not in a long time because in 1935, the Normal

Course that had 24 students at that time was being closed too (Muller, 1955; Balk, Dijk & Kortlang, 2007; and Melamba, 2017).

Secondly, *HIS (Hollandsche Inlandsche School)*. HIS – the Dutch medium primary school for the indigenous elite – emerged since 1914, as the substitution of the First Class School which was abolished. This HIS, like the first class school, was intended as a school for Residents with upper classes and providing special education to children, whose parents wanted education that was equal to the education owned by the children of the Dutch (Nasution, 1987; Randwijk, 1989:691; and Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017).

In order to continue their education at the HIS level, the people of Kolaka usually continued their education to Palopo and Makassar in South Sulawesi. Several HIS schools were located in the *Afdeeling* (District) capital of Luwu, namely in Palopo, which was established from 1912-1920, and accommodated prospective students from the Palopo, Masamba, Malili, and Kolaka regions (Paeni *et al.*, 1984/1985:113-114; and Melamba, 2017).

In order to the indigenous society in Southeast Sulawesi to enjoy the education of the HIS, the *Zending* opened HIS in Kendari. As the school of the Dutch sons of the earth, namely *Hollandsche Inlandsche School* for the general Indonesian society, children of nobles, prominent figures, or public servants. The first HIS was founded in 1914, with a seven-years study period (Jongeling, 1976:6; Djojonegoro *et al.*, 1996:27; Boonde, 2016; and Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017).

The presence of HIS in 1914, which was a change from the first-class indigenous low school, i.e. EIS (*Eersteklasse Inlandsche School*), with a seven-years study period and was intended for indigenous people, especially noble children and prominent figures.¹ The HIS of Protestant Christian rose, it was opened firstly in Kendari on 1st August 1935, with six students and was funded entirely from the school fees. This HIS was under the leadership of the Batak people,

¹See also, for example, "Staatsblad Nederlandsch-Indie, No.762, 1914". *Unpublished Archives*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

J.W. Simandjoentak, and his wife, Clara, a Minahasa teacher, were both educated at the school of Dutch Christian Indies Teachers in Solo, Central Java (Schuermans, 1940; Bhurhanuddin *et al.*, 1978/1979:114; Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984; and Jong, 2010a).

According to Djoko Suryo (1996), HIS played a key role for indigenous upper class children to enter higher levels of education, as well as providing opportunities for them to enter the network of colonial bureaucracy and broader work differentiation (Suryo, 1996:5). For the lower-class indigenous people, HIS became the key of mobility of social-vertical and as supports to the social transformation. Although HIS in Kendari was not a Christian religion school, but the majority of students were children who embraced Christianity. The school was closed after Japan occupied Kendari in the framework of the Great East Asia War or World War II in 1939-1945 (Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984; Melamba, 2017; and Nasution, 2018).

The HIS curriculum, as stated in the 1914, Statute Number 764, covered all ELS (*Europese Lagere School*) subjects. The subjects at ELS were as follows: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Dutch Language, History, Earth Science, Singing, and Physical Education (Nasution, 1987:92; Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; and Nasution, 2018). The only difference laid in reading and writing lessons in local languages and Malay, which were specifically taught in HIS. Although this school was started to be considered as an "informal school", without recognition or subsidies from the government, hence this school could not be officially called HIS but the Dutch School of Kendari, J.W. Simandjoentak saw the number of students in his school rose to 36 in 1936 (cited in Melamba, 2017).

The HIS, which provided basic lessons in the Dutch, was opened by the government in 1914, and became a continuation of the 1892 temporary first class school. HIS was sometimes equipped with a dormitory, visited by children of indigenous heads and nobles, and was needed for them who want to hold a government position (Nasution, 1987; Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; Melamba, 2017).

There was a great need for HIS Christians

in Kendari, because many children of employees and indigenous heads were studying in HIS of Makassar and apart from the supervision of their parents. They also urged their own HIS in Kendari. In addition, rumors said that a Catholic school was opened, so that a Pastor had faced *Zending* for their existing HIS (Muller, 1955:59; and Jong, 2010b).

Thirdly, *HCS (Hollands Chinese School)*. In addition, in the city of Kendari there was a school of HCS, a Dutch-Language Chinese School, founded in 1935. It was founded to treat Chinese who were oriented towards Chinese culture. This HCS was used as a prototype for HIS (*Hollandsche Inlandsche School*)' schools. Chinese school students came from Chinese people living in Kendari City. Until now, we can still see Chinese school buildings located in the old city area. This building was once used as a place to study at UHO (*Universitas Halu Oleo* or Halu Oleo University). This building is in the corner of the old city street of Kendari, an axis to the Toronipa coast, which is included in the administrative area of Kandai Village, Kendari District, Kendari City (Melamba, 2013; and Batubara, 2015).

This HCS building was formerly used as a Chinese school and is now functioned as the building of STT (*Sekolah Tinggi Teknik* or College of Technology) of Mekongga. Rectangular building plan, the front of the two-story building, while the back is only one floor with a separate roof (Anonymous, 2012:76-79; Melamba, 2013; and Batubara, 2015).

Fourthly, *Teachers and the Others Teaching Staffs*. The expanding *Gospel* message was impossible to be carried out by relying on the power that arises spontaneously and was not carefully prepared. School networks established by *Missions* (Catholic Missionary) and *Zendings* (Protestant Missionary) in various regions that require formal education teachers. These teachers are also in addition to the additional task of preaching the *Gospel* in the villages around the school and pastoring the church, which was the result of their work (Padmo, 2006:3; and Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008).

Fulfilling the teaching staff, the *Zending* office opened teacher education in Mowewe,

as a *Zending* center in Southeast Sulawesi. To fulfill the teaching staff in 1926, the teacher education was held in Mowewe consisting of local residents from Mekongga, Tolaki, and Moronene, which eventually could meet the teaching staff for the local society. The teacher school leader in Mowewe was a young man from Minahasa, named Victor Rumager; he was a student who graduated from the school of teacher in Bandung, West Java (Klif-Snijder, 1950:167; Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba, 2017).

Teachers from this school were from the Minahasa and some Sangir tribes. These teachers from Minahasa were generally coming from Depok and Bandung students in Teacher Schools or *Kweek Scholen* (Klif-Snijder, 1950). It was not easy to become an Elementary School teacher in Mowewe as well as to lead a teacher school in Mowewe; and there was a quite capable young man from the Minahasa, named Victor Rumager, who became the leader of the school of teacher in Mowewe. He was graduated from the teacher school in Bandung, West Java. He was the one who taught basic lessons and prepared students for the test of habit after completing the exam; and students may wish to graduate and will return home happily after returning from Mowewe. Hence, they will study religion deeper (Klift, 1925:253; Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba, 2017).

In 1919, several church teachers arrived in Southeast Sulawesi and they pioneered of the opening *Zending* schools subsidized by the government. There are also schools that are not subsidized by the government. The *Zending* teachers focus on opening public schools rather than the main task of spreading Protestant Christianity. The way of the *Zending* teachers in educating children in schools used supervision and coercion. Then, as a result, some children were reluctant to go to school. In addition, some schools were far away from their homes and also to inadequate road networks (Pelras, 1985; Melamba, 2017; and Sianipar, 2017).

The presence of *Zending* teachers in Southeast Sulawesi had led to the competition between two Christian institutions, in order to attract parents to send their children to public schools established by Protestant and

Catholic missionaries. In the competition of the two Christian education institutions presented school uniforms (Jong, 2010b:107; Melamba, 2017; and Sianipar, 2017).

Based on the providing data, schools that were managed by the Dutch East Indies government were mainly established in the Buton region. While in Kendari, the schools were established by *Zending*, both elementary and secondary schools. According to La Ode Rabani (2010), it was suspected that the religious factor of the Buton people, which was predominantly Muslim. In addition, Islam entered Buton firstly (Rabani, 2010). School of *Mission* (Catholic Missionary) was founded in Muna. This public school in Muna was founded by the Dutch East Indies government. The school of *Mission* brought by Catholics in Muna, came before Protestantism (Broesma, 1930:35; Zuhdi, Ohorella & Said, 1996; and Rabani, 2010:100).

Fifthly, *the Education Facilities*. This was what encouraged the Tolaki and Moronene people to enter *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) school and later embraced the religion of Christ, that was they wanted to be smart to get an education; their students stayed on the central of the town, like hotels near the church; and in that place, they were guaranteed between food, clothing, and other facilities. Those who meet basic requirements can enter the secondary school dormitory equipped with clothes, mats for sleeping (*nolgescholl*), and bathing needs. They entered the fourth grade of *Nolge School* in Mowewe (Klift, 1925). In this building that made students interested in going to school, because they got facilities; and stay on the central of the town to have bed, clothes, meals facilities, and so on (Klift, 1925; Melamba, 2017; and Sianipar, 2017).

Sixthly, *Curriculum*. The subjects given were Counting, Language, Beautiful Writing, Drawing, Reading (Pure Reading, Retelling, Explaining Words), Basic Counting, Geography, and Dictation. As well as the History of the *Gospel*, Church History and Islamic Knowledge, Palestinian Geography, and *Gospel Archeology*. During the last three months of *Gospel* education, students need to work in the church. Also this year, they

received short courses for wound care, skin healing, and childbirth cases. The first six Evangelist-nurses including three persons from Tomoronene that is the resort handled by Storm, later were graduated in May 1930 (cf Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba, 2017).

This teacher education also educated and prepared the teachers to be congregational laborers and other skills, such as leading, bamboo music training, and agriculture for irrigating rice fields (Boonde, 2016:11). The graduated students later was being taught in one-year of Bible Teaching, the History of Church and *Zending* (Protestant Missionary), General Religious Knowledge, Practical Knowledge of Islam, and also the Way of Praying for the Unhealthy People at the end of the year. The students take turns of teaching practice at Sunday schools; and after they had already completed the task, they would be sent as the School Principals at *Volk School* or auxiliary teacher (Klift, 1925). In addition, this course was only opened in *Zending* public schools. *Zending* received approval and subsidies for a two-year course (Klift, 1925; Boonde, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

The students received eighteen hours per week of study according to the Lesson Plan or Curriculum of Department in Language, Word Explanation, Drawing, Counting, Malay Language, Dictation, Education Methods, Geography, Pure Reading (both Latin and Arabic Letters), Repeating the Story they heard, Sing, Shape Lessons, and Smooth or Beautiful Writing. Their intermediate language was Tomoronene and Malay Language as the subject, meanwhile the students who had prospective would use Dutch Language (Melamba, 2017; and Nasution, 2018).

Since 1928, the children in *Zending* public school were being educated according to the Lesson Plan or Curriculum, which also consider the government guidelines. It was compiled by A.G. Klif-Snijder (1950) and the students for public school. The subjects were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Gospel History, Agricultural Subjects between Theory and Practice, Health, Singing, and Sports. Education both here and elsewhere was

given in Malay Language, except in Taubonto (Klif-Snijder, 1950; Zondervan, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

The main priority of *Zending* School was Reading, Counting, and Writing, which was same as the subjects in Village Schools. Hence, the differences between the *Zending* Protestant School and the Village School laid on the effort of introducing Protestant Christianity in *Zending* School and the Village School did not (Rabani, 2010:100; and Melamba, 2017).

At the school, they were also taught about the History of the Bible widely. They were also being educated of the General Knowledge about their religion, sacrament rules, and the prayer of our father that is read early in the morning and in the evening. In the teacher course school, the teachers were taught about the Bible widely, the Church History, and so on. This last *vak-vak*, speciality skill, was taught and be the subject in test and for the main *vak*, the score must not be less than the standard as well as the other *vak*, which belongs to the test. For the students who got the bad score, they had to repeat the lesson or expel themselves after graduated from *Normal Leergang*, then they had to follow the test for teacher in a *Volk School*, which appointed by the School Supervisor (Klift, 1925:125; Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; and Melamba, 2017).

The Pattern of Protestant Christian Education. The educational work, according to Franciscus van Lith (1921), was a means to realize faith (Lith, 1921). The term embodiment of faith meant giving emphasis to the practice or action of life that matches to the value of Christian faith (cf Lith, 1921; Rosariyanto, 1997; and Shokheh, 2014:209).

There were several patterns of education carried out by Protestant Christian *Zending* in Southeast Sulawesi, which were opening the school without establishing the church; and the school for a place to study about religion and praying. Where the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) school was opened, there will be also many members of church. Almost in every village where the *Zending* established the school, there would be also a Christian society, both in large numbers and small ones.

But, there were also some villages where the *Zending* school stood, but there was no resident who became Christian, which are: Benua (1926-1939), Motaha (1939), Tinondo (1927-1939), Tawanga-tua (1926-1942), and some villages located in Kolaka, Kendari, and also Poleang Rumbia (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Boonde, 2016:16; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

According to Husein A. Chalik *et al.* (1983/1984) stated as following here:

In 1939, there were also several Protestant churches in areas that were not occupied by Zending schools, including the village of Lamokuni (Pondidaha District), the village of Nohu-nohu (Wawotobi District), and Ambopi village (Tongauna District). The placement of churches in rural areas is based on the calculation in terms of vulnerability in the spread of Islam, which has already been activated (Chalik et al., 1983/1984:98).

The second pattern was by building the school and, at the same time, establishing churches. For example, the Wawolemo village, until now, the position of school and church was very near one and another. Almost in every village where *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) established some schools, there would be also Christian society both in large or small groups. The area where the *Zending* schools stood, there are also some Protestant churches and the Principals of *Zending* School were being the leader of their congregants. It could be seen also that among schools and churches had the paralel roles in order to preach Protestant Christianity in Kendari and its surroundings. The role of school teachers/ congregants was very important for the development of the *Gospel* message (Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984:99; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The last pattern was that the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendings Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) institution only built churches, which functions as a place to study or school. The school stood alone without a church. The schools were only intended to study, as for example in South Motaha Laiwoi Village (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Boonde, 2016; and interview with Respondent A, 7/1/2017).

Among those three education patterns which were applied, it could be seen according to the explanation of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and other scholars, whose stated that education, as an arena, was quite thick with the imposition of cultural arbitration, in at least three forms: firstly, the diffuse education which occurred in the process of interaction with the members of social formations who were considered competent in certain fields, such as informal study groups; secondly, the family education, in the smallest social space of agents; and thirdly, the institutional education, such as schools or colleges (*cf* Edwards, Holmes & de Graaff eds., 1973; Bourdieu, 1977:5; and Koppen, Lunt & Wulf, 2002).

The Obstacles of Christianity Education in Southeast Sulawesi. There were several obstacles faced in the form of availability of teachers, mentality of parents and students, the level of teacher attendance, the condition of distant schools, and also the absence of subsidies from the Dutch East Indies government. In 1926, there were 2 schools of the Christian community that were closed, which are in Ameroro and in Watumendonga, because the number and attendance of students did not qualify for government subsidies (Zlabbekoorn, 1928:32; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Jong, 2010b).

In this context, Zlabbekoorn (1928) and other scholars also explained that the presence of poor students was caused by various things, such as poor health conditions; in the rainy season, small roads could not be passed; the houses of students which were far from school were located miles away; and they are mostly living in the fields and helping people harvest season, so that they are not discipline (Zlabbekoorn, 1928:33; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019). This problem was also reported by A.G. Klif-Snijder (1950) as follows:

[...] because of the lack of awareness of the population of school education, the percentage of student attendance at school was only around 25-35%. This was due to the distance from the village to the school, so that the village created a policy that they would have their own school if

the population was more than 500 people. Hence, in 1925, only 4 schools were established and increased to 19 schools (Klif-Snijder, 1950).

At Taubonto District, Rumbia, and Moronene, since 1924, the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) was placed from NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) of Rotterdam. The number of people baptized now reaches 300 people. It seemed that Evangelism here was going well. The Moronene people in Poleang were otherwise heavily influenced by Islamic Bugis of South Sulawesi, who inhabited the entire coast. Under the *Zending* management, there were two public schools where one was subsidized by the government, which located in Taubonto District (Rumbia). This school contained of 61 students. Furthermore, the *Zending* could manage the school in Rompompo without subsidy from the government. This school accommodated 26 students (Vonk, 1937:54; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

Considering to the subsidies given, the Ministry of Education and Religion made strict rules. The subsidy was only given to three-year public schools, and the school with a curriculum of no less than fifteen students who regularly visited schools and with a longer study period of no less than 26 students (Jong, 2010b:83). The limitation of subsidy for the second teacher was for them, whose students were more than 60 pupils. The *Zending* was still often to hold the second teacher, whose students were less than 60 pupils. Besides they received no subsidy at all, they also had to cost their lives by themselves. Moreover, the government wanted those teachers to be educated by their own society too (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Jong, 2010b; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The Management and Policy in Education of the Dutch East Indies Government. The Dutch East Indies government put policies in the field of education as an integral or inseparable part of colonial religious politics. The Dutch colonial government handed over the management of the education sector to the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) schools to support

education programs for the son of the earth. Although the Dutch government itself did not like the church business to open schools on this way (Jongeling, 1976:3; Bhurhanudin, 1977/1978; and Melamba, 2017).

In the government point of view, the work of providing the education to the indigenous people was a very huge thing to be handled alone. By providing subsidies to the *Mission* (Catholic Missionary) schools, the government was possible to provide education services to a wider community, than if they took care of themselves (Stibbe, 1909; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Shokheh, 2014).

The indigenous education system began to be pushed down by a new education system introduced by the *Zending* and the Dutch government. The Dutch East Indies government directly handled the development and management of education in Tolaki and Moronene lands, especially in Kolaka, Kendari, Taubonto, Poleang, and its surroundings. The strategy of spreading the *Gospel* through educational services included establishing the *Zending* School, *Volk School* (Village School), *Vervolg School* (High School), *HIS (Hollandsche Inlandsche School)*, and *Normaal Leergang* (Teacher School). In the field of education, there are many opportunities to be developed, because the government does not pay attention to the indigenous people, especially for those living in the inland (Margana, Uddin & Faisol eds., 2017; Melamba, 2017; and Nasution, 2018).

The *Zending* activity in this area was opening the service in health sector. Mainly, it was aimed to the treatment and eradication of infectious diseases. The health development programs by *Zending* included: building polyclinics in Mowewe, Sanggona, Lambuya, Taubonto, and several *Zending* posts. Some branch clinics were opened in locations, where the schools stood. The small medical services and health counseling were carried out by the Principals and other Teachers (Klift, 1925; Jongeling, 1976; Anonymous, 1986; Zondervan, 2016; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The Dutch East Indies government entrusted the *Zending* to manage the

education for residents in this region. The *Zending*, as an executors of education, had an interest so that indigenous people could read and write in order to understand Christian teachings that were read from the *Gospels*. The schools that were opened from 1918-1942 included Rate-rate, Mowewe, Sanggona, Tinondo, Tawanga, Ameroro, Poli-polia, and Watumendonga, all from Kolaka, Lambuya, Waworaha, Uepai, Puriala, Wolasi, Wawolemo, Roraya, and Benua, all in Kendari (Busschers, 2011; Boonde, 2016; and Melamba, 2017).

And in the Buton, Moronene, Taubonto area, Rarongkeu, Liano, and Rompu-rompu were located in the Poleang section. In order to support the learning, the elementary school reading books in the Tolaki Language, *Sura Pobasaa* (Voice of Belief), made by Hendrik van der Klift (1925) was not good enough in spelling or wording, but it was the first book published in Tolaki. The *Sala Salamaa* (Way of Salvation)'s book with the scriptures of the Bible had been used more. The book was still used by old people; it also published with Arabic letters (*cf* Klift, 1925; Klif-Snijder, 1950; Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

Regarding the state of the Dutch East Indies school for Celebes and dependent regions, especially the Southeast Sulawesi region, the number of schools and students as of 31st July 1941, at the level of regional language basic education showed that the first grade Elementary Schools to the third grade for the country amounted 60 schools with students of 7,078 pupils (Harvey, 1989:81; and Melamba, 2017).²

There were 10 private schools with 598 students. This school got subsidies from the government. While grades 4-6 for the country amounted to 4 schools with a number of students 659 pupils (cited in Harvey, 1989:81). In addition, there are 74 Dutch-Language Primary Schools with 8,335 students. The data above was the condition of schools in Southeast Sulawesi, including *Zending* schools and schools managed by both Protestant and Catholic Missionaries (Harvey, 1989:81; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008;

Melamba, 2017; and *ibidem* with footnote 2).

The Dutch colonial government provided various facilities for both *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) and *Mission* (Catholic Missionary) movements. Data on this matter could be seen, firstly, from one of the staffs, who served as Governor of Sulawesi and surrounding areas in 1915, gave full support to the *Zending* work plans prepared by NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) for the Southeast Sulawesi region with his words as following here:

[...] with the confessing of the faith Christian society to the Islam society, which could be as the fortress to be able to control Bugis-Makassar Islam. Moreover, if there was an external threat to the island of Sulawesi as well as the church and Christianity, whose old people still worship to the statues, a term for people who still have traditional beliefs. In addition, people also had the notion that the colonial authorities used the Christianization pathway to create political stability and population loyalty (cited in MvO, 2015; and Jong, 2010b:2).

The policies in the education field, made by the Dutch East Indies government, were still centralized in this area. It could be seen even though they have graduated from the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) school, but the institution which would determine their graduation was from the government of Dutch East Indies in Batavia (Jakarta now). It was explained by Hendrik van der Klift (1925), who stated that there was no graduation which took the supervisor as the decision maker, but the Ministry of Education and Culture in Makassar would announce whoever would graduate (Klift, 1925).

The government urged the *Zending* to provide reports of people, who were educated by them for the benefit of the census. All school teachers were also included. This work must be prepared. For this reason, a study room in the dormitory was provided when the government assistant gave instructions to the youth. After the completion of this calculation in Mowewe, it was proven how this village showed population growth. Regrettably, the religious census was asked. In a special list, three columns were placed:

²See also, for example, *Volkstelling*, Volume V, 1930.

infidel, Islam, and Christian (Muller, 1955:49; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba, 2017).

In terms of funding of education, the Dutch East Indies government provided subsidies to Christian schools, both Protestant and Catholic. According to Karel A. Steenbrink (1984 and 2007), and other scholars, that within certain limits, Islamic institutions were also given government assistance and control. Private Islamic schools might be established and might teach Islam, which could be 100% subsidized as well as Catholic and Protestant schools, but their function must be also under the supervision of education inspection (Steenbrink, 1984 and 2007; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba, 2017).

It was further explained that it was also possible because of the Dutch displeasure of *Zending* to open schools in the inland was considered as planting seeds, which could be dangerous in the future by looking at the efforts of the movement in Java at that time, which generally consisted of educated people (Bhurhanuddin *et al.*, 1978/1979:81; and Melamba, 2017).

This implies a half-hearted policy adopted by the government towards Protestant *Zending* in Southeast Sulawesi, especially social and security issues. Regarding to the other policies, this was also seen from the attitude of the government, on the one hand, to provide assistance to *Zending* activities, for example in the village of Lambuya in *Onder-Afdeling* (Sub-District) of Kendari. The government provides assistance to the Religious Schools through various facilities in Lambuya, such as the construction of a canal or irrigation channel for rice fields and sports fields that are opened in the work of the congregation, and gives students freedom from communal work and compulsory work (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Jong, 2010b:33; and Melamba, 2017).

The government actually felt unhappy with the existence of *Zending* work in the Southeast Sulawesi region and for the *Zending* party after obtaining permission from the government to establish its *Zending* post, which for the first time gained many obstacles from the colonial government itself. This

can mainly occur because the social aspects of *Zending* work appeared to be carried out widely as well as the opening of health clinics and public schools (Velthoen, 2002; Jong, 2010b:14; and Clulow & Mostert eds., 2018).

During the period of J. Couveur as the Governor of Sulawesi and the surrounding area, on 25th June 1924, the problem of administering the school had changed its handling. He argued that the indigenous society was actually not ready to set up and manage their own schools. The government also seems not ready enough to do anything in education. Because education is felt to be important for the progress and development of the society, the government expresses its gratitude to the *Zending* as a partner in developing moral education and real support (cited in Klift, 1925; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba, 2017).

The simplest facility to make the indigenous people became Christian was by opening the Elementary School, and this is the most effective act which resulted the better progress in developing Christian. Mostly all of the Elementary School had the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of studying period with the school diplomas and many of them were being Christian (*cf* Klift, 1925; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Maarif, 2012; Setta & Shemie, 2015; and Smith, 2015).

The Christianity Education and Social Transformation. In an effort to improve the quality of education in the colonies, they wanted to form the Western-style education in Dutch as the medium of instruction, to give birth to a class of Western-educated indigenous elites who were bureaucratic, paternalistic, cooperative, secular, and could be role models for the lower classes of colonial land society (Stibbe, 1909; Suryo, 1996:3; and Woodberry, 2004).

The missionaries obtained a path to reach the isolated tribes that still embraced their tribal religion. The presence of these Evangelists brought two consequences, namely: Christianity and civilization. The impact of Christian education was in the form of religious conversion of indigenous people from the original religion to Christianity, or from Islam to Christianity (*cf* Charles,

2009; Abdullah & Lopian eds., 2012:205; and Okpalike & Nwadiakor, 2015).

Changes in social structure were marked by the creation of new social layers in cities and villages, called as the local European/Indo, Chinese, and other Asian society. New social coatings in the village were characterized by its religious functions, e.g. Pastor, *Pandita*, *Ponggawa*, *Tua Ngguru*, Teacher, Evangelist, Elder, Religion, and Congregation; and in government, e.g. District Head, Village Head, or *Kapala Kambo*, and others (Wertheim, 1999; Henley & Nordholt eds., 2015; and Gin & Tuan eds., 2016).

At first, the enforcement of the Dutch colonial government in Southeast Sulawesi, a European/Indo consisted of officials of the colonial government, businessmen, and priests. But around the 1930s, they were already there as farmers/breeders as did the colonists who settled in Kendari City, northern Kolaka, Poleang Rumbia (Moronene). Chinese people worked as traders, while others (including indigenous) consisted of traders, hunters, farmers, teachers, *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) teachers, and the Dutch colonial government employees (Jong, 2010a; Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba, 2017).

The social change would arise if the changes happened in the structure and function of the society (Poerwanto, 2010:143). There was a relation between the opinion above with the explanation of W.F. Wertheim (1999), which stated that changes in religion could open a way to raise social status in areas under the control of the company. In Batavia (Jakarta now), for example, Christians obtained special status, because many of them received sufficient education to enable them to fill various employee posts (Wertheim, 1999:156). This case also occurred in the Tolaki and Moronene communities as a result of the education, which was carried by Christians (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Pidani, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

Previously, the social structure of Tolaki and Moronene did not recognize educated or educated people (*to'onosikola* or *to'ono pindara*), with clergy (*pandita*) with old

pandita vocations. For example, Hendrik van der Klift (1925) was called an *old Mowewe* or an *old Danggo*; J. Schuumarns was called an *old Lambuia*; Goweloos was called an *old Sanggona*; and there were still many indigenous priests who were called as *Pandita Sir* or *Tuan Pendeta* (cited in Jong, n.y.; Klift, 1925; Bauto, 2013; Melamba, 2013; Ilmba, 2015; and Engglinga, 2018).

The teachers at the *Zending* school were called as *old ngguru*, meant the "master teacher". They only knew the class of traditional stakeholders, such as Puu Tobu, Pabitara, Tolea, religious groups such as *Oima* or *Imam* (Head), *Bilala* or *Bilal* (Praying Caller), and *Ododa* (Pelras, 1985; Ali, 2016; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019). After the arrival of Christianity, there were many educated groups from the lower classes (*tono'ono ngapa* or *to'ono dadio*), and they became teachers, employees, district heads, health officials, and priests. This was expressed by Bhurhanudin (1977/1978), and other scholars, that the emergence of *Zending* in 1915, and *Missions* (Catholic Missionary) operating in the inland, had their own influence in the context of social transformation (Bhurhanudin, 1977/1978; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The presence of the Dutch colonial government and the *Zending* in Southeast Sulawesi brought social changes in the lives of indigenous people. This change occurred because it was in line with the efforts made by the Dutch colonial government, and the Protestant *Zending*, through educational services in the form of opening *Zending* schools in Kendari, Kolaka, and Moronene. These efforts aimed to prepare administrative personnel to be placed in the structure of the colonial bureaucracy, including teachers in schools. In addition, the effort also gave birth to new social groups or new elite groups. This was in line with what was stated by Robert van Niel (1970), and other scholars, that the development of the Indonesian elite is traditionally cosmologically oriented and based on the descent of the modern elite oriented to the state of prosperity based on education (Niel, 1970; Meer, 2014; Cox, 2015;

Ilmba, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The following authors put forward several examples of ordinary people and elites, who experience development or circulation from ordinary people to new elite groups, as a result of the *Zending* education they received, they are: (1) *Dae Nicolas Boonde* became a teacher in Wawolemo 1930-1931, teacher di Puriala 1931-1938, and Lambuya 1938-1942; (2) *Hendrik Melewe* became a teacher in Ameroro, 1934-1935; (3) *Petrus Saleh Lode* became a teacher in Rompu-Rompu 1930-1935, teacher in Gambere 1935, and being a teacher in Rompu-rompu 1938-1942; (4) *Raoni Pandiri* became a teacher in Taubonto, 1926-1942; (5) *J.P. Rumono* became a teacher in Mowewe 1935-1936, Rate-rate-Woiha 1936-1939, and Poli-polia 1939-1942; (6) *Johanes Ta'olo* became a teacher in Ameroro 1933-1934 and in Mowewe 1934-1942; (7) *Frans Lapagadi* became a teacher in Tawanga 1935-1939 and Waworaha 1939-1942; (8) *Philips Lenohingide* became a teacher in Waworaha 1924-1934 and Wawoleme 1934; (9) *Arnold Nggi* became a teacher in Watumendonga Village and Waworaha; (10) *A.T. Poemba* became a teacher in Gambere and Tari-tari, 1935-1940; and so on (*cf* Jong, n.y.; Klif-Snijder, 1950; Pingak, 1963; Jongeling, 1976; Jong, 2010a; Melamba, 2013; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

Furthermore, from the other aristocracy (*anakia*) who experienced the expansion of the old elite into a new elite, as follows: *Luther L. Ndabio* became Ameroro teacher 1932-1934, Mowewe 1934-1936, Rate-rate 1936-1937, and Puriala 1938-1942; and *Nirahuwa* became the teacher of Tawanga 1934-1935, Lambuya 1935-1938, Puriala 1935, while teaching in Lambuya concurrently (Pingak, 1963; Jong, 2010a; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

At the *Zending* Conference in 1938, there was a report from the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) institution in Southeast Sulawesi during the period 1919-1942, concerning a number of indigenous people who were teachers. They act as Pastors, Church Teachers, and Teachers to help Pastors. The average graduation is educated in

Depok and Bandung, West Java; Minahasa and Mowewe, North Sulawesi. They are appointed as assistant educators armed with their respective diplomas (Pasuhuk, 1998; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The social changes, such as the raise of new degree as the old *Pandita* (Pastor), old *Ngguru* (Teacher) from the indigenous society, *Mantere* (Health Paramedics), and District Heads, from Mokole based on descent in certain cases, changed towards the level of education. One of them is what happened to *Johanes Ta'olo's* case at the Rate-rate (Idi, 2015; Pidani, 2015; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The youths who came from Minahasa, Ambon, and Sangir who worked as teachers were all well received by the society, and many of them were married to the daughters of family leaders and *Anakia* (Aristocracy) families. The wife of the *Zending* teachers was respected by the general public, they were called *Mistress* (in Portuguese means also *Mistress*), while the call *Mistress* was only shown to the wife of the Dutch Pastor or religious elite (Velthoen, 2002; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

According to Max Weber (1905), as cited also in Roland Robertson ed. (1995) and other scholars, in religion can find that a change in the socially determining the degree is usually very important. On the other hand, a type of religion, once validated, will usually always give a profound influence on the very heterogeneous degree of life behavior (Weber, 1905; Gollin, 1967; Barnes, 1978; Robertson ed., 1995:8-9; and Waters & Waters, 2015).

The Respons upon the Christianity Education. The service in the field of education, that was promoted by *Zending* (Protestant Missionary), received an unfavorable response from the Dutch East Indies government. This is explained that the *Zending* efforts in the field of education in the inland is actually not too favored by the Dutch government, because it can bring some kind of influence to the society so that the peace is in dangerous situation. The *Zending* is considered as the *onrust stoker* or making restless and chaotic (Jongeling, 1976:4; Bhurhanuddin *et al.*, 1978/1979:81; and

Melamba, 2017).

This lack of security is probably due to the characteristics of not accepting *Zending* activities by the Islamic society, especially because the *Zending* is considered as a Dutch business. For example, the *Zending* business in Palangga was forced to be banned by the Dutch government, because of the emergence of dislike from the local community towards the *Serani* or Christian people. The fact was that this actually happened only in the southern part of Palangga Konawe Village or South Laiwoi (cf Bhurhanuddin *et al.*, 1978/1979:81; Chalik *et al.*, 1983/1984; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

This was caused more on the displeasure of the Dutch to the effort of *Zending* in opening the schools in the inland area, which was thought as the way of planting the dangerous seeds in the future by seeing the movement in Java. Moreover, those movement was promoted by the intellectual persons. In addition, *Zending* schools did not restrict students from certain social structure degree, this policy caused many indigenous children to join with the *Zending* school (Bhurhanuddin *et al.*, 1978/1979:81; Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; and Melamba *et al.*, 2019).

The school took the role part as the “Fulcrum of Evangelism” (Schuermans, 1940). From the statement above, it could be seen that the students were prepared to continue their education in high school in Kolaka, Wawotobi, and Kendari. There, they would have the Islamic atmosphere – a fear which owned by both groups; the Muslim parents also refused to send their children to the *Zending* school, because they would get around with the “infidels” (Aritonang & Steenbrink eds., 2008; Ali, 2017; and Melamba, 2017).

CONCLUSION

The type of education applied in some regions was formal education through the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) schools, the Public Schools, *Normaal Leergang* (Teacher School), and HIS or *Hollandsche Inlandsche School* (Dutch medium primary school for the indigenous elite). *Gospel* dissemination

strategies carried out by *Zending* generally through education services included establishing the *Zending* School, *Volk School* (Village School), *Vervolq School* (High School), HIS, and *Normal Leergang*. The pattern of Christianity education included of three, which were: opening the school without the church which school also as the place to study about Christian and worship; opening the school and also the church; and the NZV (*Nederlandse Zendingen Vereniging* or Dutch Mission Association) institution only established the church whose function was to study or school. The pattern of the spreading of Protestant Christian consisted also of three arenas, they were: school, church, and family.

The Christian socio-religious institutions in the form of education provided an important contribution in introducing modern civilization to rural communities that missed from the government service. This was an opportunity for NZV institutions and Pastors in developing the *Zending* education. The NZV Christian socio-religious institutions and Pastors made important contributions in introducing the modern civilization.

The introduction of educational institutions was the beginning of changes in various lives that led to the progress. The Protestant Christianity contributed to social and cultural progress and change. Progress was seen after the introduction of education influenced the raise of new elites among students. Schools were relied upon as an effective place to climb the social levels. This was related to the idea of Pierre Bourdieu (1977 and 2016) on the reproduction occurring through education or school.³

³**Statement:** We, hereby, declare that our writing, this paper/article, is original and has never been submitted for publication in other journals, nor has it been reviewed and published by other scientific journals; and after receipt, it will not be withdrawn by the authors from this *TAWARIKH* journal. This paper is purely an idea, formulation, and our own research, without the assistance of other parties, except the quotations contained there in are quoted in accordance with applicable regulations. In this work, there are no works or opinions that have been written or published by other people, except in clearly written terms listed as References in the text with the name of the author mentioned and included in the Bibliography. Lastly, we made this statement truly; and if in the future, there are irregularities and untruths in this statement, then, we are willing to accept legal sanctions and in accordance with the norms applicable in higher education and journal management.

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(Source: <http://cerev.info>, 7/1/2019)

The indigenous education system began to be pushed down by a new education system introduced by the *Zending* (Protestant Missionary) and the Dutch government. The Dutch East Indies government directly handled the development and management of education in Tolaki and Moronene lands, especially in Kolaka, Kendari, Taubonto, Poleang, and its surroundings. The strategy of spreading the *Gospel* through educational services included establishing *Zending School*, *Volk School* (Village School), *Vervolg School* (High School), *HIS* (*Hollandsche Inlandsche School*), and *Normaal Leergang* (Teacher School). In the field of education, there are many opportunities to be developed, because the government does not pay attention to the indigenous people, especially for those living in the inland.