CHRISTIANITY IN IRIAN
(West Papua)

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The history of Christianity in Irian falls within the wider history of the expansion of the rulers of the territories to its west, and the desire of Christians in the Netherlands, the Americas, the Moluccas, and other parts of the world, to share the gospel with the people of New Guinea. Missionaries began coming in 1855, followed by the civil authorities after 1898. By 1942, most of the coastal villages had been contacted, and inland stations had been established near Merauke, Enarotali and present-day Jayapura. The Churches that were formed in the 1950s and 1960s have taken over the role of the missions, providing pastoral care for their members and continuing the task of evangelisation of both Papuans and Indonesians. The Christians of Irian have been challenged, firstly by traditional religious movements, then by the Japanese/American interregnum and, more recently, by the integration with Indonesia and the migration of Indonesian Christians and Muslims to Irian. The Christians have dealt with these changes by strengthening their theological positions as received from the missionaries, and adapting those elements of their traditional beliefs and customs that are not at variance with Christian teaching. The result is a growing body of Christians, who are striving to be true to their Christian heritage, their current political and social context, and their God.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.M.S.	Australian Baptist Missionary Society
A.C.C.	Australian Council of Churches
A.M.A.	Associated Mission Aviation
A.P.C.M.	Asia Pacific Christian Mission
B.K.A.G.	Badan Konsultasi dan Kerjasama Antar Gereja *Inter-Church Consultation and Cooperation Board*
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
Conford	Conference for Development
C.R.O.	Commissie voor Rechtsverkeer in Oorlogstijd *Commission (or Committee) for the Process of Law in Wartime*
D.G.I.	Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia *Council of Churches in Indonesia* Reborn as the PGI in 1984
D.P.I.	Dewan Pantekosta Indonesia *Council of Pentecostal Churches in Indonesia*
D.Z.R.	Doopsgezinde Zendingsraad *Mennonite Mission Council*
D.Z.V.	Doopsgezinde Zendings Vereniging *[Dutch] Mennonite Mission Society*
C.A.M.A.	Christian and Missionary Alliance (or C&MA)
C.C.W.	Het Comite van de Christen-Werkman *The Christian Workmen's Committee*
G.A.M.K.I.	Gerakan Angkatan Muda Kristen Indonesia *Indonesian Christian Youth Movement*
G.B.G.P.	Gereja Bethel Gereja Pantekosta *Bethel Pentecostal Church*
G.B.I.	Gereja Bethel Indonesia *Bethel Church of Indonesia*
G.B.I.J.	Gereja Baptis Irian Jaya *Baptist Church in Irian Jaya*
G.G.R.I.	Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya) *Reformed Churches in Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*
G.J.P.I.	Gereja Jemaat Protestan Indonesia *Indonesian Protestant Congregations Church*
G.I.D.I.	Gereja Injili di Indonesia *Evangelical Church of Indonesia*
G.K.I.	Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya *Evangelical Christian Church of Irian Jaya*
G.K.I.I.	Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia *Evangelical Tabernacle Church of Indonesia*
G.K.J.W.	Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan *Christian Church of East Java*
G.K.K.K.	Gereja Kristen Kalam Kudus *Christian Holy Word Church*
G.K.N.	Gereformeerde Kerken Nederland *Rereformed Churches in the Netherlands*
G.M.I.H.	Gereja Masehi Injil Halmahera *Evangelical Christian Church of Halmahera*
G.M.I.M.	Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa *Evangelical Christian Church of Minahasa*
G.M.K.I.	Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia *Indonesian Student Christian Movement*
G.P.D.I.	Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia *Pentecostal Church of Indonesia*
G.P.I.	Gereja Protestan Indonesia *Indonesian Protestant Church*
G.P.I.I.J.	Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Irian Jaya *Indonesian Protestant Church in Irian Jaya*
G.P.K.A.I.	Gereja Perseketuan Kristen Alkitab Indonesia *Indonesian Christian Bible Fellowship Church*
G.P.M.	Gereja Protestan Maluku *Moluccan Protestant Church*
G.P.P.S.	Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya *Pentecostal Church of Surabaya*
H.B.S.	Hoogere Burgerschool *Higher Citizens School*
H.K.B.P.	Huria Kristen Batak Protestan *Batak Christen Protestant Church*
I.C.C.O.	Interchurch Coordination Commission for Development Projects
J.D.F.	Irian Jaya Joint Development Fund
Kartidaya	Yayasan Karunia Bakti Budaya *Cultural Service Gifts Foundation*

K.K.N.	Kuliah Kerja Nyata *Field Work*. Since 1997 the initials have also been used in Indonesia to refer to Collusion, Corruption and Nepotism.
K.P.M.	Koningklijke Paketvaart Maatschapij *Royal Mail Steam Packet Company*
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.A.F.	Mission Aviation Fellowship
M.C.C.	Mennonite Central Committee
M.S.C.	Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis [Jesu] *Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Jesus)*
M.U.L.O.	Meer Uitgebreid Lagers School *Advanced Elementary School*
N.H.K.	Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk *Netherlands Reformed Church*
N.I.C.A.	Netherlands Indies Colonial Administration
N.N.G.P.M.	Nederlands Nieuw Guinca Petroleum Maatschapij *Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Company*
N.R.C.	Netherlands Reformed Congregations
N.T.M.	New Tribes Mission
O.D.O.	Opleidingsschool voor Dorpsonderwijzers *Village Teachers School*. The name of the OVVO after 1955
O.F.M.	Ordo Fratrum Minorum *Order of the Friars Minor* or the Franciscans
O.P.M.	Organisasi Papua Merdeka *Free Papua Movement*
O.S.C.	Ordo Sanctae Crucis *Order of the Sacred Cross*
O.V.V.O.	Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers *Community Teachers School*
P3W	Pusat Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Wanita *Centre for Women's Development and Training*
P.G.G.B.I.	Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Baptis Indonesia *Fellowship of Baptist Churches in Indonesia*. The name of the GBIJ after 1988.
P.G.I.	Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia *Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia*
P.G.I.W.	Perseketuan Gereja-Gercja Indonesia Wilayah *Regional PGI*
P.I.I.	Perseketuan Injili Indonesia *Evangelical Fellowship of Indonesia*
P.N.G.	Papua New Guinea
P.V.K.	Papuan Vrijwillegers Korps *Papuan Volunteer Corps*
R.B.M.U.	Regions Beyond Missionary Union
R.M.G.	Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft *Rhenish Mission Society*
S.A.M.	Sekolah Alkitab Makasar *Macassar Bible School*. Later the STT Jaffray
S.A.M.	Sekolah Alkitab Malam *Evening Bible School*
S.G.A.	Sekolah Guru Atas *Senior Teachers School*
S.G.B.	Sekolah Guru Bawah *Junior Teachers School*
S.I.K.N.G.	Stichting Immigratie en Kolonisatie Nieuw-Guinea *New Guinea Immigration and Colonisation Foundation*
S.I.L.	Summer Insitute of Linguistics
S.M.A.	Sekolah Menengah Atas *Senior High School*. Now often referred to as a General High School or SMU *Sekolah Menengah Umum*
S.M.E.K.	Schweiz. Mennonitische Evangelisations-Komitee *Swiss. Mennonite Evangelism Committee*
S.T.A.K.	Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen *Christian Religion College*
S.T.I.E.	Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi *Economics College*
S.T.F.T.	Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Teologi *Philosophical Theology College*
S.T.T.	Sekolah Tinggi Teologi *Theological College*
T.E.A.M.	The Evangelical Alliance Mission
T.M.F.	The Missions Fellowship

U.C.A.	Uniting Church in Australia
U.F.M.	Unevangelized Field Mission (see APCM)
U.Z.V.	Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging *Utrecht Mission Society*
V.E.M.	Vereinigen Evangelische Mission *United Evangelical Mission.* After a reorganisation in 1996, renamed the Vereinte Evangelische Mission, and is often known by its English name and initials, U.E.M.
V.K.N.G.	*Vereniging Kolonisatie Nieuw Guinea* New Guinea Colonisation Company
V.N.Z.	Verenigde Nederlandse Zendingscorporatsies *United Netherlands Mission Societies*
V.O.C.	Vcrecniging Oost Indies Companie *[Dutch] East India Company*
V.V.S.	Vervolgschool *Continuation School*
W.V.I.	World Vision International
Yajasi	Yayasan Jaars Indonesia *Indonesian Jaars Foundation*
Yakpesmi	Yayasan Kristen Pelayanan Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia *Indonesian Christian Community Social Welfare Foundation*
Yapis	Yayasan Pendidikan Islam *Muslim Education Foundation*
Yasanto	Yayasan Santo Antonius *St Anthony Foundation*
Y.K.B.	Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda *Bethesda Health Foundation*
Y.P.A.	Yayasan Pclayanan Antarbudaya *Intercultural Service Foundation*
Y.P.K.	Yayasan Persekolahan Kristen *Christian Schools Association*
Y.P.P.G.I.	Yayasan Persekolahan Persahabatan Gereja-Gereja Injili *Fellowship of Evangelical Churches Schools Association*
Y.P.P.K.	Yayasan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan Katolik *Catholic Education and Schools Association*
Y.P.P.T.	Yayasan Pelayanan Penerbangan Tariku *Tariku Air Service Foundation*
Z.G.G.	Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland en Noord Amerika *Mission Board of the Reformed Congregations in the Netherlands and North America* Often referred to as the NRC
Z.G.K.	Zending van de (Vrijgemaakte) Gereformeerde Kerken *Mission Board of the (Liberated) Reformed Churches*. Often referred to as the 'Vrijgemaakt'.
Z.G.K.N.	Zending de Gereformeerde Kerken Nederland *Mission Board of the Rereformed Churches in the Netherlands*.
Z.N.H.K.	Raad voor de Zending van de Nederlands Hervormd Kerk *Council of the Mission Board of the Netherlands Reformed Church*
Z.P.M.	Zending Protestan Maluku *Moluccan Protestant Mission*

PLACE NAMES and OTHER TERMS

Ambon	A small island in the central Moluccas. The island and the city of Ambon became the centre of Dutch activities in the Moluccas and New Guinea. The name is often used to refer to people from Ambon, Saparua, Ceram, Kei and other islands in the region.
Batavia	The capital of the Dutch East Indies until 1949. The Dutch first landed at the port of Sunda Kelapa, near the village of Jacatra. Since 1950 it has been called Jakarta.
Bestuur	A form of *Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur*. After WW II, a district head, similar to an Indonesian Bupati. Usually recruited and trained in the Netherlands.
Bird's Head	The western part of Irian, from Manokwari to the Arguni gulf. Called so due its resemblance on maps to the head of a bird, of which eastern Irian is the body.
Bupati	The Indonesian official in charge of a *Kabupaten* or Region. In Java, before the Dutch, he was the regional representative of the King or Sultan. Usually translated as Regent. By English speakers he (women rarely, if ever, reach this office) is occasionally equated with an English Mayor.
Camat	The head of a *Kecamatan*, or sub-district. The area controlled is similar in size to an English Shire.
Controleur	Before 1950, the Dutch official responsible for a district below that of a Resident. Often, but not always, recruited in the Indies. He had formal training, unlike a *Gezaghebber* ('one who had the say'), who did the same work in remote or frontier areas. Controleurs continued to be used after 1950, and often acted in the same way as Patrol Officers in Australian New Guinea. Eg., de Bruijn and others in Enarotali.
Geelvink Bay	Now known as Teluk Cenderawasih.
Governor	The ruler of a Province, under the both Dutch and Indonesians, although most Indonesian provinces are considerably smaller than their Dutch predecessors.
Hollandia	The Dutch name for Port Numbay.
Inlandsche Kerk	Literally the 'Natives Church'. In English it is usually translated as 'Indies Church'. The Church used Malay for worship and administration. It still exists as the *Gereja Protestan Indonesia* (GPI), which is an umbrella organisation for the GPM, GMIM, GMIST and other former Indies Churches. As Irian was not part of the *Inlandsche Kerk*, the GKI is not a member of the GPI. The GPI IJ, which was evangelised by missionaries from the GPM, is a member.
Irian	A name for New Guinea used by the people of Biak, and occasionally spelt 'Iriyan'. It means 'hot', and was used by them to refer to the areas outside Biak

	that they visited. This is the word usually used here for the western half of the island of New Guinea , which has been known variously as West New Guinea, Dutch New Guinea, West Irian, Irian Barat, Irian Jaya and 'the Province of Papua'. Local residents refer to the territory as West Papua.
Jayapura	Occupied by the Dutch in 1910 and called Hollandia until 1963.
Klasis	Under the NHK and GKI and similar denominations, a self-governing Church unit, smaller in size than a resort, but with essentially the same purpose. Usually translated as 'Presbytery'.
Koreri	A belief system of the Biak-speaking people, predating Christianity, that, in its various forms, looks forward to an approaching time of prosperity and freedom from social and religious stress. When a a *Koreri* movement arises it is often led by a *konoor*.
Melanesian	'From the black islands'. Here used to emphasise the commonalties of culture and people shared by the Papuans of Irian and other parts of Melanesia.
Papuan	Literally 'frizzy-haired'. Although a Malay word, it is used to refer to Melanesians from western New Guinea, as this is how they refer to themselves.
Parish Teacher	This is the term used to translate *guru injil*. The *guru injil* were theologically-trained teachers, who acted as teacher, evangelist and assistant minister. They were used extensively by the Dutch and Moluccan missions, and now by the GKI and GPI, as well as a number of the missions who entered Irian after 1950. The Catholic equivalent is the catechist and lay pastor.
Raja	Literally 'King'. In India a Raja governed a large area. In the Moluccas and western Irian he covered an area from a few villages to a small island. As long as token tribute was paid when demanded, he was generally independent of his nominal suzerain.
Resident	Under the Governor-General in Batavia, and above a Controleur. After reforms in 1926 the Residents of Ambon and Ternate came under the direct rule of the Governor of the Moluccas, based in Ambon.
Resort	Under the UZV, ZNHK and GKI, a large church unit strong enough to be self-supporting. Similar to a presbytery or district in other denominations. Usually translated as 'Resort' or 'Presbytery'.
Sukarnopura	The name for Jayapura immediatcly after the end of Dutch rule. Then the name was changed to 'Kota Baru, and finally, 'Jayapura'.
Teluk Cenderawasih	'Bird of Paradise Bay' = Geelvink Bay.
Walikota	The equivalent of a Bupati in an officially-proclaimed city or administrative city.

Andrew Herzen wrote:

> To know the ends you must also know the origins: no man can be understood unless you first understand the circumstances of his childhood and his youth[1].

So it is with Christianity in Irian : one must first understand the 'why' and the 'wherefore'. Only then will it be possible to see the 'whence' and the 'whither'.

1.Quoted in D. McKie, "OUP lets Herzen go out of print", *Guardian Weekly*, 10 Jan 1993, p. 28.

CHAPTER 1: New Guinea, West Papua and Irian Jaya

> If one should be careful in one's assertions, it must be concerning New-Guinea; that is one country where after all everybody is right![1]

The island of New Guinea has been known of and mentioned from ancient times. However, for most of the period that the political entities to its west were developing expansionist cultures and political groupings, New Guinea remained largely untouched. In prehistorical times iron-working was introduced, and Biak had gained a reputation as a centre for blacksmiths and the dissemination of iron products to the surrounding areas, and the art of pottery (although not the potter's wheel) had been developed[2]. There had been some spread of Islam in the Raja Ampat group, and in some of the villages in the western Bird's Head[3]. Despite this, New Guinea was largely seen as a place without much to offer except for the occasional trade in Bird of Paradise, bêche-de-mer, nutmeg, wood, or human beings. It was known that the people had frizzy hair, dark skin and a less than welcoming disposition to strangers. It was also assumed, until well into the twentieth century, that this was a comparatively poor place, only settled around its malarial fringes, with the interior too mountainous and distant to have significant numbers of inhabitants[4]. It was a land with perhaps great potential, but possessing no known wealth worth seeking or exploiting.

It was not seen as a place worthy of the active intervention of Javanese King, Malay Sultan, Spanish conquistador, English merchant or Dutch Viceroy, all of whom *had* conducted extensive commercial, colonial and religious enterprises within the islands to the west of New Guinea, such as the Kei, Aru and Tanimbar islands[5]. Only in the Raja Ampat and Biak islands, and the Onin Peninsula, had there been any long-term contact. Even this did not result in a sustained and permanent presence in the area, in the sense of the imposition of culture, language, people or the institutions of government, that could change dramatically the fundamental makeup and organisation of the people and their culture, until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Any contact with the people of New Guinea was incidental to larger enterprises, both commercial and military, that bordered them. For those from outside, this was a black place, a sick place, a feared place, a terra incognita, a place to be charted, claimed and occasionally plundered, but otherwise left alone[6].

From early in the Christian era the island of New Guinea was noted and included in the relations of the kingdoms in Java and elsewhere. Early Indian traders knew of its products and called it 'Samudrantana', or the Sea's Edge. A reference in the Indian epic poem, the Ramayana, to the 'Snowy Hills' of eastern Yawadwipa has been identified as a reference to the snow-capped peaks of New Guinea[7]. Sriwijaya, a kingdom in South Sumatra that lasted from ±700 to ±1275, claimed to have commercial relations with the island[8]. Its merchants called it 'Janggi' and included it within descriptions of their empire[9]. It was known of by the Chinese from the 8th century, who gave it the name 'Tung Ki'[10]. In 1365, the Nagarkertagama mentioned the area as being part of the Kingdom of Majapahit[11] (1275-1575) and the 1512 Bacan chronicles make the first mention of a Muslim ruler in the Raja Ampat islands, off the west coast of the island. Ternate, Tidore and Bacan maintained trading contacts with the western coast of New Guinea[12] and continued to contend for nominal suzerainty of the Halmahera and the Molluccas, which included rival claims to suzerainty over the known areas of New Guinea, in a series of wars that ended early in the 17th century with Tidore gaining control of Ceram and claiming the Raja Ampat group, while Ternate extended its control to Halmahera and Sulawesi[13]. Tidore, supported by the Dutch, continued making claims to the Raja Ampat group and the whole of the western half of the island well into the nineteenth century[14], claims that were reinforced by *hongi* raids that were, as Muller and others describe it, "unabashed exercises in pillage, rape and abduction"[15].

Chinese vessels sailed and traded along the coast, and they would certainly have been a source of trade goods, such as Chinese porcelains, for the people on the western and northern coasts[16], with these trading journeys extending even to the south coast, despite its paucity of tradeable goods. Ceram traders contacted the south coast and during the nineteenth century monopolised the trade with the Asmat and other tribes[17]. There was also limited interest from the European powers that were beginning to make their presence felt in the eastern Moluccas from the sixteenth century as the competition for spices, sandalwood and other trade goods increased, and Irian[18] was seen as a potential source for some of these products.

The contact was not totally one way only, with migrations from Sawai in the Biak language area to Halmahera occurring before 1500[19]. Raids from the Biak and Raja Ampat areas into the Moluccas and beyond for women and goods[20] became a feature of life and culture that introduced valuable ceremonial trade goods into western, and perhaps also eastern, New Guinea[21]. Le Maire, who travelled along the north coast of new Guinea in 1516, was attacked "during the last part of

the voyage", by men who probably came from Biak[22]. The Biak people were even involved in the, ultimately successful, rebellion of Prince Nuku from Tidore from 1780-1805[23]. Warfare and trade continued to be a feature of the contact between the people in the Geelvink/Cendrawasih Bay area and the islands which they settled, the Raja Ampat group and the peoples to their west. The Biak Numfor and Raja Ampat people had to provide tribute, trade goods and frequently slaves, either freely or as a result of war[24], but in return gained trade goods such as the *Kain Timur* ('Timorese Cloth'[25]) and porcelain plates that became part of the culture of the western coastlands and the inner Bird's Head, as well as brass and silver rings, beads and other items of apparel and trade[26]. As a result of their the ability to wage war against their neighbours[27] the Biak people gained a reputation as good negotiators and fierce fighters, as people who had to be dealt with with care, and, if needed, force.

Yet, despite this, only in the Raja Ampat group and the adjacent coast was there any noticeable change to the superficial structures of the society. Unlike the rest of Melanesia, the Raja Ampat people did have a stratified society, similar to that in the Moluccas, and Islam was introduced, albeit to a minority of villages[28]. Yet despite these influences, the people there still remained culturally Melanesian[29].

The first Europeans to 'discover' New Guinea were Portuguese and Spanish sailors[30]. The Portuguese Alvaro de Savedra in 1526 called it 'the land of the frizzy haired people'[31] and in 1545 the Spaniard, de Retez, made the first, unsuccessful, European attempt to claim the island. De Retez gave this new place the name 'Neuva Guinea', perhaps because of the country's alleged similarity to the Guinea coast of West Africa, or the similarity of the Papuans to the people of Guinea[32]. By 1569 New Guinea was being included on Mercator maps and Dutch and Spanish vessels were beginning to chart its coasts, noting features such as rivers, mountains and islands[33].

Further interest followed, particularly from explorers who travelled in search of new lands for commerce and national prestige. Torres mapped the south coast. Jansz discovered a people who were "wild, savage, black and uncivilised", and who killed several of his crew[34]. Le Maire, Schouten, Tasman, Dampier, Roggeveen, Carteret and Bougainville also made significant additions to European knowledge of New Guinea and its surrounding islands[35]. But no large-scale attempts were made to settle the land or engage its inhabitants[36].

The Dutch knew of the island and its products[37], but as Douglas puts it, they "evinced little interest in the island until it seemed that another European power had plans for opening trade stations and building a fort on the island"[38]. Beginning in the 1760s British merchants began to challenge the Dutch in the Moluccas and in Kalimantan. Between 1774 and 1775 a vessel of the British East India Company, based in Bencoolen[39], made an exploratory visit to the same general area[40]. The British East India Company, with the permission of Prince Nuku, who was at that stage waging his war against Tidore from Biak, set up a 'factory' or trading post in the Bird's Head area near Manokwari in 1793 and claimed the western half of New Guinea for George III[41]. While the Sultan of Tidore, at the instigation of the Dutch governor in Ternate, protested at this 'flagrant violation' by the British of his rights, the British withdrawal in 1795 was due more to disease, attacks from the locals and inducements from Prince Nuku[42], rather than political pressure from Tidore or Batavia.

The British continued to be interested in the Moluccas, to New Guinea's west, and did not finally relinquish their interest until 1817, when they withdrew from the all Dutch possessions in south-east Asia, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, and they expressed no further interest in New Guinea[43]. Interest in the area from other European nations and the British colonies in Australia quickened in the 19th century. In response to this and perhaps to secure their eastern borders from the stronger and wealthier states of Europe, the Dutch began to firmly stake their claim to western New Guinea[44]. Firstly the Dutch government gained British acknowledgement of their claims in West New Guinea through emphasising the claims of the Sultanates of Tidore and Ternate, which were by this time effectively controlled by the Dutch, leading to negotiations with the British that, in 1824, resulted in British acknowledgement of Dutch claims to the Western half of the island[45].

Sovereignty was declared over the area east to the 141st degree of longitude. To forestall the interest of any other European power, in 1828 a Dutch settlement was established at Fort Du Bus[46] in Triton Bay on the south coast near present-day Kaimana, which lasted for eight years, despite malaria, beri-beri and attacks from land and sea by the local people. In 1828 a naval expedition was mounted along the north coast which set up pillars proclaiming Dutch rule and, in the name of Tidore, (re)appointing village heads and punishing slave-trading and head-hunting. Despite the failure of the settlement, it did increase Dutch knowledge and interest in, and of, this part of New Guinea[47] and it strengthened Dutch claims to the western half of New Guinea. Formal

control was proclaimed in 1848, and was supplemented by efforts to accurately state, define and justify the areas claimed by the Dutch, after the British expressed concerns as to the exact areas under Dutch control throughout the archipelago[48].

After this, Dutch government interest increased, albeit slowly[49]. In 1855, with the permission of the Sultan of Ternate, the first permanent Christian mission station was established on Mansinam island, near present day Manokwari, and this encouraged other missions and missionaries to become interested in working in New Guinea. This period also saw the first scientific expeditions that increased European knowledge of the island[50]. In 1895 the British and Dutch governments formalised the border after a survey in 1893[51]. As part of a wider intensification of Dutch administrative control though the East Indies[52], government posts were founded at Manokwari and Fak-Fak in 1898, in Merauke in 1902, the latter at the request of the British in a effort to control raids of the Tugeri/Marind-anim tribe into British New Guinea[53], and in 1910 at Hollandia[54]. Control was then extended to those regions considered to be dangerous. Patrols were carried out by Controleurs and police, and the administration was extended through the appointment of Assistant Bestuurs[55]. In 1927 the Dutch established their first interior post at a camp at Tanah Merah on the south coast, in the upper reaches of the Digul River, which became famous as the 'Boven Digoel' internment camp for political prisoners in the 1930s and beyond[56]. However, for most of this period New Guinea was, as Lubis puts it, "a colonial no mans land, a place only of cannibals and birds of paradise"[57].

The number of scientific expeditions increased, particularly after the 1904 Lorentz and van Nouhuys expedition into the interior[58]. After 1914 there was increased commercial activity in West New Guinea, principally by Dutch companies, but also from Japanese investors[59]. In 1935 the New Guinea Petroleum Company began exploiting oil reserves in the Sorong area[60], and oil and mineral exploration was extended from the coastlands into the highlands, which was accompanied by improvements in maps and general knowledge of the physical layout of the land[61]. In 1936 this resulted in the Wissel Lakes region[62] being discovered by a pilot making an aerial survey for the Dutch oil company. In 1938 the Dutch government made its first interior post in this region[63]. In the same year the Archbold expedition discovered the Baliem Valley[64], putting to rest the myth that the interior was too mountainous and inhospitable for human habitation[65]. However, before the arrival of the Japanese in 1942, Dutch control was limited to the coastal fringe and the Wissel Lakes, and even then control was neither extensive nor complete[66]. As Scarr puts it, "Until the

1950s the Dutch left their western portion (of New Guinea) alone... to the continued attentions of Malay slave traders along the coast, and to warring and marrying of generations across the purely notional inland border".[67]

The Japanese invasion of the Dutch East Indies began in Java in January 1942. The Japanese reached Hollandia by April. Their occupation of Hollandia, Biak and several other strategic places ended in 1944[68]. The Japanese interned or force into exile all of the foreign mission and government personnel and caused major problems for the church, through persecutions and the climate of fear they engendered. But the Japanese largely limited their operations to the major population centres and rarely penetrated the interior[69]. Hence their influence was significant in some places but overall, very limited[70]. Mickelson, who was a CAMA missionary in the Wissel Lakes region, stated that, not only were they not contacted by the Japanese until August 1942, but it was the Dutch *Bestuur* in Kaimana "working for the Japanese at Fak-Fak" who told him, through Mickelson's bearers, whom he had met at the coast, that they were to "surrender immediately", which they did not, choosing retreat as the Japanese approached, and evacuation by flying boat to Merauke[71]. The American presence was stronger, but again was limited to a few locations. Flights over the Baliem by the Americans, however, did convince them that the interior was populated and that the land was suitable for air fields[72]. These flights created interest in Irian among Christian groups in the USA, that had results after the War.

With the forced departure of the Japanese from Hollandia, Biak and other centres in 1944 and finally, after their defeat and surrender in 1945, all of Irian, Dutch control was quickly reestablished and strengthened, although in the months after the proclamation of Indonesia's independence in August 1945 there were a number of flag-raisings of the Indonesian flag in Hollandia and Biak[73]. After the recognition of independence of Indonesia in December 1949, the Dutch determined to maintain Dutch New Guinea as a separate colony, governed from Hollandia[74], despite demands of Sukarno, the President of Indonesia, that *all* of the former Netherlands East Indies rightly formed an integral part of the new Indonesian republic. Beginning at the end of the Pacific War, there was also a movement among New Guinea nationalists, such as, among others, Frans Kaisiepo, Corinus Kre, Marthin and Lucas Indey and Silas Papare, for the inclusion of Dutch New Guinea or, as they called it, *Irian,* within Indonesia and one of them, Frans Kaisiepo, was involved in some of the early discussions between the Dutch and the Indonesian nationalists[75]. However, this nascent, pro-Indonesian, nationalist movement was not very strong and so did not

present a significant challenge to Dutch authority within Irian, although pro-Indonesia nationalists did continue to support Indonesia's efforts to gain control of Irian, giving the Indonesian manoeuvres during the 1950s a more acceptable face[76].

Despite Indonesia's apparent initial ambivalence to the inclusion or otherwise of Dutch New Guinea in the now independent Indonesia[77] the new government in Jakarta did not relinquish its claim that, due to the rights of the Sultan of Tidore, which the Dutch had reinforced through the granting of reparations for its 'loss' of New Guinea in 1900[78], and the fact that during the colonial period the Dutch had proclaimed that their rule in the Indies stretched 'van Sabang tot Merauke'[79], that Dutch New Guinea was an integral part of Indonesia, and should be included within the Indonesian republic. For the Indonesians, the issue of West New Guinea was notionally one of national unity. The Indonesian leaders saw the nation that they had inherited from the Dutch as a mixture of ethnic groups in which the people of Dutch New Guinea were simply one more. The people of Irian were seen as just one of the four main ethnic groups in Indonesia. The Indonesian leaders did not see their request for the incorporation of Irian as Indonesian colonialism, but rather as being a continuation of the struggle of the freeing of their brethren from the unwarranted and unwanted Dutch colonialisation, which had begun with the proclamation of Independence 1945, and which was not yet fully achieved[80].

The struggle for Irian, as the Indonesians called it, was a factor in the overall disintegration of relations with the Dutch government that involved various factors, such as the issue of the Netherlands Indies debt[81], the unilateral cutting of vestigial ties with Holland in the proclamation of the ending of the 'Federal Republic of Indonesia' in August 1950, the actions of anti-government activists and rebels in Indonesia, such as R. Westerling who let an uprising in West Java, the involvement of pro-Dutch Ambonese in the revolt in the Moluccas, the resentment of right-wing groups in the Netherlands, as well as the internal conflicts in Indonesia between the government, army and President[82]. The Papuans were not pawns in this process in any sense[83], but perhaps it was not their welfare that was uppermost in the minds of those dealing with their future, be they Dutch or Indonesian. The issues had taken on new meanings in the internal and external politics of the two principal players, and the future of the Papuans depended very much upon the conclusion of the on-going deterioration of relations between the governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia[84].

The Dutch were able to retain Dutch New Guinea after the grant of Indonesian independence in 1949 with the promise that its inclusion would be discussed "at a later date". From the subsequent actions and statements of both parties, it is clear that both the Dutch and Indonesian governments viewed the timing of these discussions differently. For the many in the Dutch government and electorate, 'later' meant 'hopefully never', and for the Indonesians, it was viewed by many as meaning 'as soon as practicable'[85]. This does not mean that there was a unity of vision on both sides of the political divide. Both the Dutch themselves and the Indonesian leadership seemed to have had some ambivalence as to whether New Guinea should be separate from, or part of, Indonesia[86]. Some in Holland, including many in the Churches, saw it as a place to put those Dutch and Eurasian people who were 'rooted' in Indonesia and who could not easily be absorbed by the Netherlands, and some active 'colonisation' of Indo-Europeans did take place[87]. There was also a fear that the new state of Indonesia would collapse under internal pressure and that New Guinea could be used a base for reentry into the former colony[88]. Others saw it as a potential source of (as yet undiscovered) resources, while others simply saw the retention of New Guinea as a way of placating opposition in the Netherlands to the granting of Indonesian independence[89], of proving, that the Netherlands was still strong despite the loss of its principle colony, and continued to be a power in Asia[90]. To strengthen their claim to Irian, and to justify their continued role, the government in Hollandia began producing materials in English and Dutch justifying their continued presence and countering the Indonesian argument that West New Guinea was a part of Indonesia and was suffering under the colonial yoke. They tried to convince the world that the only reason the Dutch were staying was to nurture and strengthen the New Guineans and improve their welfare, and not for any other reasons[91].

The Indonesian view came to be that the existence of Dutch New Guinea was in violation of the 1949 Round Table Conference[92]. They were opposed to any moves that would tie the territory to the Netherlands or grant it independence, as they were afraid that, if Irian were to be granted independence, then other areas of Indonesia, such as Aceh and the Moluccas, would use this as a pretext for their own independence claims, or at least greater autonomy within a federal, as opposed to unitary, republic[93]. Despite the internal problems that affected Indonesia throughout the 1950s, such as the economic decline, Muslim and regional rebellions and the growing tension between the military and the communists, the Indonesian government consistently pursued this issue with the Dutch government. After the failure of efforts in 1954 to negotiate with the Dutch, and repeated attempts to reach a successful outcome through the United Nations, the Indonesian

army and government began steps to force the Dutch to leave. In 1956 the Indonesians formed an autonomous province of West Irian, based at Tidore. In 1957 all Dutch assets in Indonesia were taken over by the military, and in 1960 all diplomatic ties were cut[94]. In 1961 the 'Trikora' Command was formed to formally retake Dutch New Guinea by force, or at least to put pressure on the Dutch by 'liberating' parts of the territory.

At the same time the Dutch were attempting to resolve the issue in other ways. From the 1950s there was an attempt to correct the perceived mistakes that had led to Indonesia rejecting Dutch rule, language and culture. Dutch money and personnel were used to improve the infrastructure of the main centres. Farming schemes were instigated, with patchy results, to improve the diet of the people and better integrate them into the market economy[95]. More attention was paid to academic research as a means of obtaining better information about what had been, until then, a colonial backwater[96] and the Dutch language and standards were given greater prominence in government and education than had been the case when they ruled from Batavia[97].

Politically, the Dutch attempted to increase contacts with Australian New Guinea as a counterweight to the Indonesians, and they began to increase the number of Papuans in the government, and promoted them to more senior positions. Training institutions were established in the territory that, by 1962, were beginning to produce potential leaders and technical personnel[98]. District Advisory Councils were established in 1955 and by March 1961 there was a 'general election' in which 100,000 voters elected sixteen of the twenty eight representatives to the New Guinea Council. The aim of the Council was to help govern the country, in preparation for the granting of full independence in or about 1970[99]. But, as Ryan points out, by this time there were already signs that the Dutch were prepared to leave West New Guinea, if an honourable way out could be found, and their Papuan supporters knew this, even though they continued making public comments that supported Dutch moves to West New Guinean independence [100].

Although the Trikora Command failed to win back West New Guinea[101], the threat of military action and the on-going instability in Indonesia that the campaign produced, convinced the American Kennedy administration that the Dutch should be pressured[102] into handing over the territory to a special 'United Nations Temporary Executive Authority' (UNTEA) rather than pursuing their idea of granting independence to the 'West Papuans', as they were beginning to call themselves[103]. In October 1962[104] the Dutch acquiesced, with the understanding that Dutch New

Guinea would be transferred to Indonesia in May 1963 with a face-saving 'Act of Free Choice', which followed in 1969[105]. In November 1969 the United Nations General Assembly confirmed the integration of West Irian into the Republic of Indonesia, despite widespread reports of irregularities in the voting procedures[106].

While Scarr's view that the "West Irian of the Dutch, the Indonesian's Irian Jaya, was absorbed without reference to its essentially despised inhabitants' wishes", is perhaps too harsh, the basic point, that the Irian question was part of larger political struggles being played out in Jakarta and the Hague, is essentially true[107]. But, despite the presence of an anti-integration movement known as the *Organisasi Papua Merdeka*[108], the 'reintegration' of Irian/West New Guinea has not been an issue in Indonesia's external relations, unlike its incorporation of East Timor in 1975[109]. However, the actions of the Indonesian army to quash continuing resistance to Indonesian rule have received intermittent international attention, due to the persistent reports of abuses of human rights that have occurred[110].

From 1963 Indonesia strengthened its role in Irian with the aim of 'integrating' the territory into Indonesia. Schooling was expanded, as was the role of the government and the military in communal life. More Papuans were employed in the lower levels of the administration in an effort to convince the people that they were part of Indonesia. Despite mistakes in the early years, that brought an increasing level of dissatisfaction with the government[111], the Indonesian government made a concerted attempt to win the people over to accepting what they believed was the inevitable[112], while at the same time strengthening the security and government apparatus to deal with anyone who opposed the new political reality.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the government and military changed the response to dissidence, from the heavy-handed approach of the 1960s and 1970s[113], which saw large scale military actions and imprisonment of dissidents, to a 'more peaceful approach'[114]. Indonesia improved relations with Papua New Guinea to secure the border, and extended the concept of 'ABRI Masuk Desa'[115] to include social welfare projects in Papuan villages. The quality of the soldiers being sent to Irian was improved, although this was not always apparent to those in Irian[116]. There was a deliberate policy of recruiting Papuans into the armed forces, thereby 'Irianising' the military to some degree, and so lessening the feeling that the army and the people of Irian were not the same[117].

Politically, representative government on the Indonesian model was quickly applied with a system of village government, Kecamatans and Kabupatens being part of an authority pyramid that extended through the Governor to the President in Jakarta. The coup of 1965 and the destruction of the Communist Party of Indonesia was welcomed by many Christians in Indonesia, as well as some mission leaders in Irian. But apart from a number of arrests, the events of 1965 had no immediate impact on Irian. From 1966 the New Order government of General Suharto gradually began to tighten central control of regional institutions. By the first New Order elections of 1972, Irian had the same model of government as the rest of Indonesia, with local advisory Councils, tiered layers of government departments and appointed village and regional heads. That process included the 'voluntary' disbanding of the pre-1963 political parties[118], and the promotion of the pro-Indonesian Papuan employees of the former colonial government[119].

Socially, the Indonesian language was extended, with education playing a leading role, particularly church-run schools which, even during the colonial period, used Malay, the predecessor of Indonesian, as the language of instruction[120]. Through the expansion of the towns and government, as well as a new education policy that stressed low level education for the masses rather than the Dutch concept of high quality education for the selected few[121], Indonesian has become the language of government, communal interaction and intellectual pursuit[122]. People living near major population centres have adopted Indonesian, and its cousin, Malay, as their language of interaction rather than their own ethnic language, as has happened in other parts of Indonesia. Attempts were made to deliberately 'civilise' (ie. clothe) the Papuans, with a degree of 'success', despite notable failures, from the Indonesian point of view, such as the 'Operation Koteka' in the highlands in 1971-73[123]. However, with economic development, Indonesian culture and practices (such as rice consumption[124]) have become more widespread, particularly in the cities where the process of acculturation has been fastest[125].

Economically, the United Nations was involved in the post-1963 development process through the 'Fundwi', which became the 'Irian Jaya Joint Development Fund' (JDF)[126]. The Indonesians increased spending on infrastructure such as roads[127], ports and medical facilities and expanded the work force through Indonesian business investment (notably, but not exclusively, in the resources extraction industry[128]). Many of these projects did not always benefit the Papuans due to their scale, and a new labour source that came through spontaneous and government-assisted, migration from other parts of Indonesia[129]. Yet, these developments have produced

positive change in the economic environment of the province, such that Irian did not suffered from the economic collapse of 1997-2000 to the same degree as Java[130].

The government encouraged the development of transmigration centres using both internal and international financing[131], as it has done in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi, with the aim of easing population pressure in Java, opening up 'unused' land in the outlying areas, increasing overall food production and strengthening the integration of the peripheral regions into the national cultural and political framework, through creating a more ethnically diverse population, with local people being encouraged to settle in transmigration centres in their region[132]. However, as Megawati Sukarnoputri admitted, this program, and the other programs of Suharto, resulted in Javanisation and not integration, causing resentment and alienation among those living in the provinces targeted for transmigration, including Irian[133].

Irian has long been known to the outside world. From the time of the early kingdoms in Java, its products were known and it was considered important enough to be noted down and even claimed as part of the territory of the royal chroniclers. However, interest in Irian stopped at that point. Not until the rise of the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in the early 1500s did outsiders begin to take more than a nominal interest in the area. Even then, the impact on the people and the land was minimal. Although Tidore and its successor, Ternate, made claims to the western half of New Guinea, their impact was limited to the Raja Ampat group and the adjacent coastline[134], where Muslim kings began to appear, and to the northern and southern coastal people, who traded with the outsiders, but resisted any attempts to establish control in any real form[135].

When the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch arrived in the Indies in the early sixteenth century they quickly established themselves in the Banda Islands, the source of the cloves and nutmeg that they desired. Despite the actions of some, nothing was ever done about the land mass just to the east of Banda. It was valueless, the nutmeg that grew there was low in quality and the land was hostile and gave no hint of having anything exploitable[136]. Some of the European traders thought that a profit could be found, but the results were never good enough for their home powers to encourage settlement and control. The only reason that the Dutch claimed the western half of the island was as a buffer against encroachment from their European rivals who were advancing their interests in the Pacific islands to the east , and who could cause difficulties for the Dutch in the Moluccas if they were allowed access to New Guinea. Although the Dutch claimed

the territory, until the time were about to leave it, they did nothing to it or for it. Like the Indonesians, who wished it to be part of the Republic, they came for reasons of politics and security rather than economics. They stayed not because they thought they could enrich themselves[137], but because to leave would cause difficulties in other areas, that were greater than any problems that governing the territory would bring. Even *after* the Dutch handed over control to the United Nations and ultimately to Indonesia, their subsidy of 100 million guilders continued, ensuring that, unlike the former Dutch East Indies, which had been important in making the Netherlands a wealthy nation, the territory was an impost upon the Dutch treasury[138]. As far as the Indonesians were concerned, they too would have to implement subsidies as well, despite the known presence of minerals. They did not want Irian for its riches. They needed Irian to confirm their right to govern *all* of the people of the former Dutch East Indies, of whom the Papuans were just a small and distant part, and so to be able to dampen separatist fires in Indonesia. The riches of the province, that now subsidise the national treasury, proved to be a bonus that was at best only wishful thinking in 1962[139].

Through all this the Churches were involved. It was the missions that made the first tentative steps to communicate with the people, not as traders (although some, such as Ottow and Geissler, had to support themselves through trading[140]), but as agents of change. In the period before 1942, it was a rare occurrence when the colonial government settled in a place before the missions arrived[141]. When the Japanese invaded in 1942, the church, despite being a target of the Japanese, became a focal point of social cohesion in trying times. After 1945, it was the missions, in this case largely, but not exclusively, American missions, who trekked into the highlands and made the landing strips and administration centres that the Dutch and Indonesian administrations made use of. While mission policies changed, it was they who began the process of bringing the Papuans into the outside world, that had finally decided it wanted to be involved with them, whether the Papuans liked it or not.

Much of the early economic development was church-sponsored, as were many of the projects in the isolated regions in the inland rivers systems and isolated highland regions. Most of the schools were mission-owned (although frequently subsidised by the government), and the people who became leaders in the government after 1949 were mission-trained and Christian. With the Dutch government in the Netherlands rapidly expanding its involvement in Irian after 1949, the missions and their influence were vital to the government's perceived role of making Dutch

New Guinea an outpost of Western capitalism and stability[142]. When the people reacted to the new found wealth and accompanying social disruption caused by rapid economic development in the form of messianic and adjustment movements, the church had to deal with these movements, explaining these new changes as best they could in terms the people could understand and deal with, in language that was still 'theologically orthodox'.

When the Indonesians took over in 1963, the Churches and their followers were important in the remaking of the people. When the effects of integration into Indonesia proved to be harder to deal with than had been expected, the Churches had to mediate between a disaffected people and their new political leaders, so that both could adjust to the new political and social order. Both those who supported, and those who opposed, the Indonesian government were active Christians and their leaders had to take a stand, which did not always put them on the side of the government or of the people. The church, in its various forms, was a member of, or involved in through church schools or Christian teachers, almost all of the villages of Irian and was in many places the only contact with the outside world and the only available interpreter of events in that world. It was Christianity that had introduced the desire for change and the means to obtain the goods that the missionaries, and later the government, brought into Irian in such apparently overwhelming quantities from places that the villagers could not conceive of. It was also the church and its agents that had the resources and the influence, both local and foreign, to make a positive change in the situation in the villages and in the territory as a whole. The role of the missions and the Churches was not always as constructive as it could have been. But the Churches and their leaders have played a vital role in the development of Irian and the understanding and acceptance of the wider political, social and economic decisions that were made in the name of the people of Irian.

The history of Irian is a history of slavers, traders, administrators, soldiers and missionaries. It is also a history of simple people spreading out to all the villages of the mainland and its surrounding islands, to bring them, for better or worse, a message that they saw as being so important to the New Guineans, for which they were willing to sacrifice their time, their money, and in far too many cases, their lives, so that the people in Irian could hear the gospel. The reception of that gospel, the way the Papuans interacted with the missionaries and the message of Christianity, and the form of Christianity that has emerged has changed the people of Irian, be they Melanesian, Indonesian or European, is at the core of the history of Irian since 1855. The history of Irian cannot be separated from the history of the spread of Christianity, from a few small

villages around Mansinam, to being the religion of almost all of the indigenous people, and the majority religion, of the region. Since 1855, the political history of Irian has been one of the imposition of government and the facilitation of trade. The social history of Irian has been the history of the interaction of the people of Irian and Christianity.

And ultimately it is not kings and generals who determine the course of history, but the people themselves.

1. Dr. Bijlmer, in 1920, quoted in J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, p. 2.

2. See S. Kooijman, "Introduction", in S. Greub (ed.), *Art of Northwest New Guinea: From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani,* Rizzoli, New York, 1992, pp. 11f. Kooijman also notes that weaving was known, but only in the Sarmi area, and that there was limited use of bark cloth. Biak may have been a transit point for ceramics and other goods as far as the Bismarck Archipelago, as well as the dissemination of the practice of stone carving from the Bird's Head region to eastern New Guinea. Dosedla, op cit, p. 3. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, p. 8, suggests that iron-making was brought to Biak after raids from Biak into Halmahera.

3. From the 15th century there was some contact. The first recorded Muslim settlement was on Misool in 1512. Contact increased with the rise in activity of the Muslim Sultanates in the Moluccas, particularly that of Tidore in the 19th century. E.A. Mili, 'Pekabaran Injil di Sorong: Suatu Tinjauan Historis Missiologis Terhadap Pekabaran Injil Di Lingkungan Orang Moi Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 78.

4. S.R. Jaarsma, "'Your Work Is of No Use To Us...': Administrative Interests in Ethnographic Research (West New Guinea, 1950-1962)", *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 29, No.2, 1994, pp. 154f. Even in the early 19th century estimates of the population were only around 100,000. By 1955, according to N.G.J. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, p. 4, it was estimated that in the whole of the island of New Guinea there were only two million inhabitants, with 700,000 being in the Dutch portion.

5.The island of Banda, for example, which became the source of the spice trade which the Dutch and Portuguese came from Europe to control, lay within a few days sail from present day Fak Fak and Kaimana in the western part of the south coast of New Guinea.

6. As Heldring said of New Guinea, as quoted in H. Reenders, *Mendalami Beberapa Pokok Sejarah Gereja,* STT GKI, Abepura, 1993, pp. 47f, "Pulau yang mengerikan itu, yang penuh malam dan bayang-bayang maut...." (That appalling island, full of night and phantoms).

7. See N.N. Douglas (ed.), *Pacific Islands Yearbook*, 16th ed. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1989, pp. 267f.

8. Which is supported in Koentjaraningrat & H.W. Bachtiar, *Penduduk Irian Barat*, Penerbitan Universitas, Jakarta[?], 1963, p. 55, with a reference to certain birds presented as tribute by a mission from Sriwijaya to the Chinese court, that were said to be from Irian.

9. as were other areas that it did not necessarily have control over.

10. See 'Meningkatkan Peran Serta Putra Daerah Irian Jaya Dalam Proses Pembangunan', Jayapura[?], n.d. J.F. Onim, 'The Regional History of the Village of Wersar at the Southwest Coast of the Bird's Head, Irian Jaya, Indonesia', Abepura, 1999, p. 3, states that Tungki and Janggi are derivatives of the Onin name for Irian, *Wwanin*. He also adds that, although Sriwijaya and Majapahit may have claimed a territorial relationship, the connection between western Irian and Java was more of an on-going trade relationship, in the same sense as other states in maritime Indonesia maintained trading links, and not formal political ties.

11. Probably the area they were claiming was the western tip of the Onin Peninsula. See van Schouwenburg, op cit, p. 3.

12. Traders from Ceram maintained contacts between the Raja Ampat islands and the south coast of Irian and Java/Bali, until the early twentieth century. See P.H.W. Haenen, *Weefsels van Wederkerigheid: Sociale Structur bij de Moi van Irian Jaya*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Biblioteek, the Hague, 1992, pp. 7f. In the nineteenth century their influence was particularly strong in the Bintuni gulf. The local king was not indigenous, and may therefore have been of Ceram decent. F. Slump, *Sejarah Penginjilan di Daerah Kapaur (1918-1930)*, translated by P. Muskita, May 1987, p. 2. The trade between the Ceram traders and the Asmat and Me tribes declined with the growth of Dutch government in Irian. Permission for the traders to enter the south coast of Irian was restricted to control slave trading. L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, p. 688.

13. Tidore and Ternate were Sultanates situated on islands off the west coast of Halmahera. Early after the beginning of the Portuguese and Spanish period, Ternate gained political dominance over Tidore.

14. See *Irian Jaya Dari Masa ke Masa*, KODAM XVII/Tjenderwasih, Jayapura[?], 1971, pp. 287ff. In 1667 the Dutch East India Company gave the Sultan of Tidore a monopoly over Papuan trade, according to Haenen, p. 11. In G.J. Held, *The Papuas of Waropen*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1957, p.17, it is mentioned that Claasz in a report on Tidore includes the Geelvink Bay as part of its territories, naming specific and identifiable places. In D.G. Stibbe, & F.J.W.H. Sandbergen (eds.), *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2nd ed., Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, vol. 8, 1939, p. 425, Tidorese claims over New Guinea are detailed. The reference to New Guinea in the encyclopaedia is part of the section dealing with Tidore, as New Guinea was then under the Resident of Ternate, and was technically still part of the 'inheritance' of Tidore.

15. Quoting a Dutch report of the activities of the Sultan of Tidore for 1850, in K. Muller, *Indonesian New Guinea Irian Jaya*, 2nd ed., Periplus, Singapore, 1994, p. 39. Koentjaraningrat op cit, states that the *hongi* raids were tax gathering ventures by the Sultan. The goods then collected were used by the Sultan as trade goods, which implies that they were used to circumvent the Dutch monopoly on spices by discovering an alternative supply. Hence, his view is that the *hongi* raids had positive results. In B.M. Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures: History, Comparison, Dialectic*, CUP, Cambridge, 1993. However, raiders from Gebe and east Halmahera, stating that they were commissioned by the Sultan, conducted independent raids. The last raid was in 1861. F.C. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 215. What is clear is that the raids were a form of punishment for the people of Biak, who resented the payments demanded by the Sultan, and were not always willing or able to bring the payments to Tidore. Van Schouwenburg, op cit, p.3, states that the first contact with the Dutch in 1616 was very similar to a hongi raid, in that after a number of Dutch sailors were killed by the Papuans, several of the attackers were taken as slaves to work for the East India Company on Banda.

16.See I. Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes: His Voyage and Life*, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1912, pp.181f, where it is assumed in an official British letter about 'New Albion' or the north coast of New Guinea, that Chinese traders are present. Captain Forrest in T. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Balambangan*, 2nd ed., G. Scott, London, 1780, p.106, states that the Dutch in Tidore actively forbade 'burghers' of Ternate and Tidore to trade along the New Guinea coast. But the Chinese vessels *were* allowed, as long as they did not trade in nutmeg, and flew Dutch colours.

17. P. Hastings, *New Guinea Problems and Prospects*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 38f. Despite this, Indonesian culture was not diffused along the south coast perhaps because, as Hastings suggests, the Asmat and others resented the Ceramese so much that they were reluctant to adopt their ways.

18. Here the term 'Irian' is used as it has been used to describe the area known as 'West New Guinea', 'Dutch New Guinea and 'Netherlands New Guinea' and more recently as 'West Irian', 'Irian Barat' (*Barat* = West) or 'Irian Jaya', all of which refer to Indonesian New Guinea. The name is from the Biak language for 'hot' and is the word the Biak people used to use in reference to the regions they visited outside Biak. The word is never used locally to refer to 'Papuan' New Guinea, which is usually referred to as 'Papua New Guinea' or 'PNG' (pronounced as in English), although Indonesians in Java occasionally will refer to PNG as 'East Irian'. Although the Biak people did sail as far as Wewak in present day PNG (see H.C. Dosedla, 'The Biak-Wewak-Connection', n.p., n.d., p. 1),

and in light of a decision to create three provinces from the Province of Irian Jaya, the term 'Irian' is used here to refer to Indonesian New Guinea. "Pemerintah Rampungkan RUU Pemekaran Irja", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 26 July 1999, p. 1.

19. Halmahera's languages are related to those in Melanesia. While it is possible that this indicates that Halmahera was a source of immigrants from Irian, it is more likely that Halmahera was a point of settlement for Melanesians from Irian, either as slaves or as part of an intentional westward push, part of which resulted in the occupation of the Raja Ampat islands by Biak people. See Hastings, op cit, pp. 40f.

20. Mentioned in Kamma, 1972, op cit, pp. 216ff. J. Mamoribo, *Benteng Jenbekaki dan Pergerakan Koreri*, n.p., Djajapura, 1971, p. 14, states that this may have changed the genetic make-up of the people of Raja Ampat. The Timorese word for 'pirate' is, according to Kamma, 'papua'. Kamma, 1972, op cit, pp. 8f.

21. Although the expansion of the European powers along the north coast of New Guinea ended this trade. Dosedla, op cit, pp. 1f. This may account for the fact that, although the Biak people were important agents for the spread of Christianity in West New Guinea, the negative impact of the Europeans on the journeys of Biak people eastward meant that they had no influence on the spread of Christianity in eastern New Guinea.

22. I. Cameron, *Lost Paradise: The Exploration of the Pacific*, Salem House, Topsfield, 1987, pp. 100-102. In the worst encounter, they Le Maire's ship, the *Eendracht,* was attacked. "10 or 12 were killed" and one of those captured also died of wounds.

23. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 215, adds that "Tidore and Ternate were conquered, but nothing of this is mentioned in the myths and legends, probably because the oarsmen of Nuku's fleet were sold as slaves afterwards."

24. J.V. de Bruyn, 'The Mansren Cult of Biak', *South Pacific*, vol. 5(1), March, 1951, p. 7. Slavery was a major issue for the people of Irian and continued into the early 20th century, with F. & B. Mambrasar, 'Sejarah Kepulauan Kofiau', Jayapura, 1977, p. 16, stating that trading in slaves continued into the 1940s in Kofiau, slaves from Irian being given in tribute or purchased and resold to Manado, Ambon, Ternate and Tidore. Their conditions were similar to slaves in other parts of the world: they could be traded and disposed of at will by the owner. See the comments of F.J.F. van Hasselt in S.C. Graaf van Randwijk, *Oegstgeest,* BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 243f.

25. Many of these cloths still exist and are part of the continuing exchange system in the coastal Bird's Head region, and are particularly in demand for bride payments, when it is known that a family *has* such an old cloth. See J.E. Elmberg, *Balance and Circulation: Tradition and Change Among the Meybrat of Irian Jaya*, Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, 1968, pp. 136-170. However, according to Flassy, op cit, p. 467, in 1955 and 1956, due to the festivities associated with the payment of the cloth as bride money and the influence upon the spiritual life of the Christians, the Protestant Church in the Ayamaru and Teminabuan areas, supported by the Dutch authorities, seized and destroyed a large number of these cloths, causing a change in the way bride price was paid (in 'shop cloth' instead, or money) and also increasing productivity and participation rates in schools, as the focus of life was no longer the gathering or materials to balance the *Kain Timur*, but rather raising living standards. See also D. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Kota Sorong dan Sekitarnya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 16, for a description of the influence of *Kain Timur* among the Moi, and van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 695f, for the attitude of the Catholics towards Kain Timur in the Kebar region. The Catholics saw it as a destructive waste of time, with disastrous consequences for food production in an area where producing food was already difficult.

26.Held, op cit, p. 15f, notes for the Waropen people that "all in all this traffic cannot have been very intensive as Waropen, and most of the coast ..., was still a dangerous place to visit."

27. Both Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 215f, and J. Miedema, *De Kebar*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 3-7, agree that the local people, in Miedema's view specifically the Amberbaken people, suffered more from the hands of the Biak-

Numfor raiders than the agents of Tidore.

28. Legend has it that the first of the Raja Ampat Kings, a Biak war leader named Kurabesi, was appointed by the Sultan of Tidore, and through him Islam entered Irian. *West Papua from Colonization to Reconciliation Papua Barat dari Kolonisasi ke Rekonsiliasi*, WESTPAC, n.p., 1999, p. 7. There is a possibility that individuals from the Malay areas penetrated as far as eastern New Guinea, and had a limited impact. D. Scarr, *History of the Pacific Islands: Kingdoms of the Reefs,* Macmillan, Melbourne, 1990, pp. 76-79, mentions a culture hero from the Motu area in Papua New Guinea, Edai Siabo, who, he states, could have been a Malay.

29. See E.K.M. Masinambow(ed.), *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat Konsep dan Strategi*, Bhratara Karya Aksara, Jakarta, 1980, pp. 17-23, 151-168. J.F. Onim, in 'Sejarah Pertemuan Gereja dan Islam di Kabupaten Fak-Fak Irian Jaya', Jayapura, 1997, p. 1, states that there Muslims were already present in the Fak Fak area in 1663. On p. 2, he adds that they were 'the majority' of the population among the coastal people when the missionaries arrived in 1912, indicating that there were at least significant numbers of Muslims in Fak Fak and Kokas by the turn of the 19th century. J.F. Onim, 'Soteriologi Agama Suku Tehit', B.Th. Long Essay, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1988, p. 32, states that the people around Teminabuan, near Fak Fak had resisted the entry of Islam prior to the arrival of the Dutch, despite trade and family links with the small Muslim communities in Fak Fak & Kokas and the fact that their King was a nominal Muslim. In 1988, due to this resistance and the ready acceptance of Christianity, the numbers of indigenous Muslims were small in comparison to the numbers of Protestants and Catholics. This is backed up by statistics provided in 'Sejarah Pertemuan', op cit, p. 2, where Muslims make up one third of the total population in Fak Fak. These Muslims, which must include civil servants, Bugis traders and Javanese migrants. According to Flassy, in D.A.L. Flassy, *Toror A Name Beyond Language and Culture Fusion: Doberai Peninsula New Guinea (Irian Jaya)*, Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat 1 Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1997, p. 462, in the Tehit region near Teminabuan, the numbers of indigenous Muslims declined rapidly with the introduction of Christianity. By the end of World War II there were no local Muslims left. In the Raja Ampat group most of the nominal Muslims converted to Christianity. Those who did not convert were those with closer family and trading ties to Tidore and Ternate.

30. In "Irian, Pulau", in H. Shadily (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Indonesia*, vol. 3, Ichtiar Baru - Van Hoeve, Jakarta, 1987, p. 1486, the Portuguese are credited with 'discovering' New Guinea.

31. "Ilhados Papuas". This name 'Papua' is from an old Malay word *pwa-pwa* or *papuha*, meaning 'frizzy haired' and has continued to be used, perhaps because it is easy to pronounce by both local Papuans, Indonesians and outsiders, and points to one of the main differences between the original inhabitants and later arrivals, many of whom were dark skinned, like the indigenous people, but had curly or straight hair, unlike all of the Melanesians, who are frizzy-haired, irrespective of body shape, skin colour or language group.

32. F.J.F. van Hasselt, *In het Land van de Papoea's*, Kemink & Zoon, Utrecht, 1926, pp. 5f.

33. K.W. Gallis, "Geschiendis", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, pp. 12-15. In Koentjaraningrat, op cit, p. 6, there is a map, dated to the 17th century, with notations in both Spanish and Dutch, purporting to show both the north and south coasts and definitely indicating 'snow mountains'. Clearly the increase in knowledge of the island was slow but steady.

34. Douglas, op cit, p. 268. Cook also lost some sailors, killed by canoe-travelling Asmat tribesmen.

35. Held, op cit, pp. 16f, notes that the Dutch name for the Teluk Cenderawasih comes from an official expedition in 1705 by Jacob Weyland. One of his three ships was the *Geelvink*, or the 'Yellow Finch'. Interestingly, another ship was the *Nova Guinea*. In this expedition, he took a group of six Papuans from Yapen and Waropen "who proved to live in enmity" with each other, three of whom went to Holland and who settled with 'civil rights' on Banda in 1710. One of the men who went to Holland was named as 'Johan Ariks', in J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten*

Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, p. 14.

36. However, as J. Garrett, "A History of the Church in Oceania", in L. Vischer (ed.), *Toward a History of the Church in the Third World*, Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, Bern, 1983, p. 33, states, "Pacific peoples, meeting them, could not fail to be aware of their Christian religion and worship". However, no known evangelisation took place in New Guinea as a result of these limited contacts.

37. In 1622 the Governor of Ambon knew of the southwest coast and quoted the Sultan of Tidore as saying that Papua "was a good place to get things", and notes that reports of the Onin area were very favourable. Van Eechoud, op cit, p. 14f.

38. Douglas, op cit, p. 268. Knauft, op cit, p. 34, makes a similar comment. Riccio, in R.M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850,* ANU, Canberra, 1981, pp.175ff, reporting from Manila to the Sacred Congregation on 4 June 1676, did mention that he had met with natives of the Great South Land who had been "made slaves by the Dutch who discovered parts of this south land". Presumably these could have been Papuans just as easily as Aboriginals, as there is no evidence that Dutch or Bugis travellers to Australia took Aboriginal slaves, but there is ample evidence that the Dutch and Tidorese traded in Papuan slaves. The map he provided clearly delineates the Bird's Head and the Mamberamo river.

39. now known as Bengkulu, in southern Sumatra.

40. But oddly enough did not mention the factory set up by the ship from Calcutta, which was not an official project of the East India Company. It is possible that he did not go into the harbour where they were or had been. The vessel was commanded by Thomas Forrest. J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, pp. 8f.

41. E. Utrecht, *Papuas in Opstand*, Ordeman, Rotterdam, 1978, p. 28. In *Irian Jaya Dari Masa ke Masa,* op cit, it is also claimed that there was an attempt in 1761 by the British to establish a trading post near Manokwari. However the only reliable account is of a fort and trading post founded in 1794, which is found in Lee, op cit, pp. 117ff. In Flassy op cit, p. 464, it is noted that the Kaibus River was known to the British as 'English Point' and was, at one time, claimed by them.

42. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 217, states, probably repeating the local oral history, that people from Numfor attacked the fort and sold the survivors as slaves. This is not supported by British accounts, in Lee, op cit, pp. 153-59, which state that, although two Indians and a number of Papuans were captured and sold into slavery, in 1794 there were still European survivors and a number of Indians, in a weakened state, who had only survived that long as they had been "dependent on the kindness of the natives" (ibid, p. 159). Although two of the Europeans were picked up by a ship in August 1794, the rest remained. These were removed by another British ship in June 1795 at the urging of Prince Nuku in Biak, who promised better trade opportunities at his base on Ceram. This ship, with envoys from Prince Nuku, then proceeded to Calcutta. Ibid, pp. 162-9.

43. Held, op cit, pp. 17ff, mentions an English expedition along the north coast in 1840, with further Dutch expeditions in 1869 and 1871 that explored the Yapen and Waropen areas, east of Geelvink Bay.

44. Thomas, in his voyage of 1794-5, op cit, p. 110, mentions that he made a man a 'Capitano' and fired off three guns 'this being the Dutch ceremony'. Clearly the people knew of the Dutch and were occasionally visited by their representatives, although the Sultanates of Bacan and Tidore still maintained independent contacts.

45. The Germans and British annexed the north-east and south-east coasts and nearby islands respectively in 1884 and 1885. E. Utrecht, *Papuas in Opstand*, Ordeman, Rotterdam, 1978, p. 30, and J. Ryan, *The Hot Land*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1969, p. 383. Ternate and Tidore continue as independent Sultanates, but since the 1860s

have been effectively under the control of the Dutch, then Indonesian, authorities. J. Haire, Letter, 21 Dec 1999.

46. M.C. Ricklefs, *A Modern History of Indonesia*, Macmillan, London, 1981, p. 130. It is also occasionally referred to as Fort Dubois. Dutch sources usually referred to it as Merkus-oord, or 'Merkus' Place' after the Governor of Ambon who, in 1827 and after reports that the British had established a post in New Guinea, first mooted the idea of a settlement on the south coast of Irian to stake a claim to New Guinea. See J.A. Overweel, *Irian Jaya Source Materials No. 8: Archival Sources Relating to Netherlands New Guinea History*, DSALCUL/IRIS, Leiden, 1994, pp. 14-21. Koentjaraningrat, op cit, pp. 57f, gives greater details, such as the fact that those present at the founding ceremony included officers, soldiers, scientists and local people. Koentjaraningrat also adds that the locals assisted with the initial camp construction, by supplying bamboo and grass thatch. Ricklefs also adds the comment: "It was soon concluded that, so far as could be seen, there was nothing there to attract anyone on this vast and remote island". This would generally seem to sum up the attitude of European and Moluccan traders and adventurers at this time as to settling New Guinea, although trading journeys continued and the Dutch government continued to consider the possibility of a new settlement. Eg. Overweel, op cit, p. 22.

47. See Lee, op cit, pp. 172f, footnote.

48. See Koentjaraningrat, op cit, pp. 58-62, who deals with the Dutch and British efforts to define the precise extent of the area that the Dutch ruled in the Moluccas and the islands to their east, in very great detail. He also stresses the way that the Dutch emphasised that their claims were based upon those of the Sultanates they had conquered. These claims were then used by Sukarno and his supporters to justify their intransigence over the return of the colony to Indonesia, although the Dutch at the time were very unsure as to the exact relationship between the claims of Tidore and the reality in New Guinea, which is a theme running through the early nineteenth century documents cited by Overweel, op cit.

49. Thus ensuring that there was continued interest from other powers in establishing posts in what was seen as uncontrolled territory, which could be claimed by anyone. In addition to the British and Dutch, schemes were floated by interests in France and the United States. Spain also claimed the Mapia islands, north of Biak, and the Dutch were required to deal with this claim, due to the raising of an American flag by a resident American trader, who must have thought the islands belonged to the USA as a result of the Spanish American War of 1898. Overweel, op cit, pp. 27-29, 111, 115. The history of the extension of the administration in Dutch New Guinea is succinctly covered in F. Huizinga, "De Bestuursvestiging op Nieuw-Guinea: een Verkening", in C. Baak, M. Bakker, D. van der & Meij (eds.), *Tales from a Concave World*, Leiden University, Leiden, 1995, pp. 368-70.

50. Scientific interest in New Guinea began with an Asmat artefact that reached Leiden in 1838. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 28. The first scientific expedition was that of L.M. d'Albertis who, in 1872, visited the Bird's Head and then the inland Fly River system. Utrecht, op cit, p. 30. His visit was followed by A.B. Meyer who went to the Geelvink Bay in 1873. Held, op cit, p.18. Other expeditions followed in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Koentjaraningrat op cit, pp. 5f, notes that "due to a certain desire" on the part of the Dutch, in the period from 1900 to 1914 there were 140 patrols, visits and expeditions that extended into the interior of the island from both the south and north coasts, by military, scientific and civilian groups, and produced maps, accounts of the people, and created more knowledge of the island and parts if its interior. The exploration of the West New Guinea is covered in greater detail in G. Souter, *New Guinea: the Last Unknown*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1963, Chapter 13. For a summary of the expeditions on the south coast that penetrated the southern foothills between 1911 and 1976, see J.A. Godschalk, *Sela Valley: an Ethnography of a Mek Society in the Eastern Highlands, Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, 1993, pp. 19-22.

51. In J. van Baal, G.K. Galis & R.M. Koentjaraningrat R.M., *West Irian: A Bibliography*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, p. 55, it is noted that the Dutch still had not completely dealt with the problem until the 1930s, due to an apparent lack of interest, despite problems arising from unintentional trespasses by missionaries and administrators. Ryan, op cit, pp. 87-99, explains that before the Dutch left in 1963, the border had only been imprecisely determined and concerted attempts to definitively define the border where not conducted until the Indonesians were firmly in control, perhaps due to Australian worries that the Indonesian military would misuse the lack of a clear border to

make incursions into the Papua New Guinea Territory, and the potential for mass movements of local people in the border area could be misconstrued as refugee movements, thus creating tensions where none would otherwise exist. Australian army engineers eventually surveyed the border and set up markers and signs to warn the local inhabitants of the presence of the border.

52. See G.D. Legge, *Indonesia*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1964, p. 80.

53. The British were in New Guinea after pressure from the Australian colonies. The British requested that the Dutch control the raids of the local tribesmen into the territory of Papua. On one raid, they apparently kidnapped a missionary from the British side, who was only rescued after the intervention of the captain of a KPM ship. G. van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani dalam Konteks Sejarah Agama-Agama Lain*, book 3, Obor, Jakarta, 1995, p. 172. The Tugeri tribe mentioned in early documents is the same as the Marind-anim ('Marind people') tribe still living in and east of Merauke. See van Eechoud, op cit, p. 18. Control during this period was frequently in the form of punitive expeditions, such as one in 1889 in the Wandamen area that involved the destruction of a number of villages. Held, op cit, pp. 20f. Other expeditions followed, accompanied by the appointment of village chiefs and the appointment of regional administrators. Utrecht, op cit, p. 31. By 1926 Waropen had an Assistant Bestuur. Other areas that were considered dangerous were Fak Fak and Manokwari. In November 1900 a war broke out between the Onin people and the Dutch government after the Dutch tried to intervene in a war between two tribes. The war was concluded with Muslim troops brought in from Ceram. See N. Wiryana, (Ketua Panitia), *Sejarah Kota Fakfak*, Panitia Penyusunan Sejarah Kota Fakfak, Fak Fak, 1991, pp. 20f. In 1906 there was another attack, which was repelled by the garrison. See also J. Bensley, 'The Dani Church of Irian Jaya and the Challenges Facing It Today', M.A. Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1994, p. 16. The Dutch problems in Merauke continued until an outbreak of Spanish flu, probably the pandemic that struck the entire world after World War I, which caused many deaths and brought "rapid and irreversible change" to the Marind. See C. Kaufman, "Paul Wirz and the Appreciation of New Guinea Art", in Greub, op cit, p. 142.

54. NB. The city today known as Jayapura was called 'Hollandia' by the Dutch, and after 1963 successively as 'Kota Baru', 'Sukarnopura' and most recently 'Jayapura'. The local name is 'Port Numbay'. Hollandia Binnen, inland of Hollandia, was called by the initials of the general cemetery, the *Allgemeene Geburtsplaats*, or 'AB' to which the Indonesians added 'pura', to make it 'Abepura'. Jayapura still has a number of names left by the Dutch and Americans, such as Polimak, APO, Dock 2, Dock 5, Dock 7, Dock 8 and Dock 9. The names Hollandia and Jayapura are used here interchangeably, depending on the period and perspective.

55. The Dutch system of administration underwent several changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until 1949 there was a Governor-General in Batavia. Under him was a system of provinces, some ruled by native rulers, others by Dutch officials. In areas with an existing native ruler, such as Java or Ternate, the Dutch official in that place was termed a Resident. In areas that did not, such as the Moluccas, he was known as a Governor. In the areas directly administered by the Dutch, under the Governor were districts, ruled by a Resident, a Controleur, a Postholder, or, occasionally, a *Gezaghebber*. Some areas were ruled by a *Hoofden van Plaatselijk Bestuur*, an Assistant Bestuur or an Assistant Controleur. Many of these lower ranks were filled by locally recruited staff, as opposed to those recruited and trained in the Netherlands. North Netherlands New Guinea came under an 'Assistant Resident' based at Manokwari, in 1902. In 1911, responsibility for New Guinea was transferred to the Resident in Ambon. Assistant Residents were appointed to Fak Fak and Merauke in 1912. North New Guinea was given to the Resident in Ternate. In 1919 New Guinea was made a separate province, but, after the death of the Resident, responsibility was returned to Ambon. In the 1926, after a reformation in the administration of the Netherlands East Indies that created a system of local government divided into three types, Binnenlandsch Bestuur, Indlandsch Bestuur and Bestuur over Vreemde Oosterlingen (Local Government, Native Government and Outer Regions Government), South New Guinea remained under the Resident in Ambon, North New Guinea came under the Resident in Ternate, within the 'Government of the Moluccas' ruled by a Governor in Ambon. Boven Digul was a separate military settlement. Despite changes in the 1930s, the basic system of Governor, Resident, Controleur and/or Gezaghebber remained in place until 1950. In 1950 Dutch New Guinea came under a Governor based in Hollandia. Under him were five Districts headed by a *Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur* (often called a Bestuur). These were divided into Under-Districts, ruled by Assistant Bestuurs, and Sub-Districts headed by Deputy Assistant Bestuurs. See A. Ipenburg, 'The Government Structure of Netherlands New Guinea 1828-1962', Sentani, 1999, pp. 1f, and J.S. Furnival, *Netherlands India: A Study of a Plural Economy*, CUP, Cambridge, 1939, pp. 265-80.

56. The first political prisoners sent to Irian were Javanese communists, who were exiled to Merauke in 1926. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 3. Koentjaraningrat, op cit, pp. 66ff, states that in 1927 there 823 political prisoners with their families were moved there. At one time this included two of the important post war independence leaders, M. Hatta and S. Sjahrir. Utrecht, op cit, p. 33, calls it a concentration camp. So saying, the camp was still preferred to the alternative, a camp on Buru island in the Moluccas (where alleged communists were sent after 1965).

57. M. Lubis, *Het Land Onder de Zon: Het Indonesië van Nu*, Verbeek & Verbeek, Eindhoven, 1981, p. 175.

58. See A. Ploeg, "First Contact, in the Highlands of Irian Jaya", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. XXX: 2, Dec. 1995, pp. 227-239, and Bensley, op cit, p. 17. The expeditions served to show that the interior was inhabited, and that the inhabitants, despite being extremely primitive and warlike, were also open to contact with the outside world. However, Ploeg, loc cit, p. 238, quoting the Governor of the Moluccas as saying that "the machinery of government can never furnish more than the setting for the economic development of a country", implies that the Dutch basically decided that the interior could not be exploited, despite the apparent existence of oil, coal and other minerals.

59. Utrecht, op cit, pp. 32ff.

60. Lubis, op cit, p. 175. The NNGPM or *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinee Petroleum Maatschappij* was a joint venture of Standard Oil, Shell and Atlantic Oil, formed to explore for, and extract, oil in Irian. R.W. Robson (ed.), *Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1935-36*, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 1937, p. 334. This company, in addition to employing Europeans, also brought in skilled people from 'Macassar, Bugis, and Buton' (all predominantly Muslim areas). Koentjaraningrat, op cit, pp. 68f. A large number of Christian Ambonese and Minahasans were also employed, as well as Catholic Muyu people.

61. P.W. van der Veur, "Dutch New Guinea", *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Sydney, 1970, pp. 280f. The first map, according to Koentjaraningrat, op cit, p. 7, was published after the military expedition of 1907-1915 and "is still in wide use" (in 1963).

62. Now known by its local name, the *Paniai* lakes and region.

63. Utrecht, op cit, p. 31.

64. Without actually entering it, although some contact was made with people from that area who presumably would have returned to the Baliem tribes with news of the people they had met. The same must have happened via the contacts made during the expeditions made by the Dutch and British from the south coast in the 1910s and 1920s.

65. Archbold did report that the people he saw had sophisticated agricultural methods. R. Wick, *God's Invasion*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, p. 30.

66. Manokwari, the Dutch centre for government in Irian before 1942, had only two telephones in 1936. Van Eechoud, op cit, p. 21. The contact was not always one sided. In Flassy, op cit, pp. 466f, an incident is mentioned where the Kaibus King (near Teminabuan) attacked a party of Dutch soldiers in 1934, as they trekked from Teminabuan to Ayamaru. All were killed, and the king was subsequently captured and sent to Ternate, with his supporters being distributed to prisons in other regions. The attack may have been caused by dissatisfaction with Dutch trading practices.

67. Scarr, op cit, p. 269.

68. But not Merauke and the Digul River system which remained in Dutch control, although the pro-independence political prisoners at Boven Digul *were* evacuated to Australia as a precaution.

69. However, as they experienced defeat they were forced into the country-side, fleeing from the Allies and foraging for food. H.J. Teutscher, "Some Mission Problems in Post-War Indonesia: Experiences in Dutch New Guinea", *The International Review of Missions*, vol. 37, no. 99, 1948, p. 415.

70. Although there are undocumented reports from the Fak Fak area that guerilla warfare was conducted against the Japanese by the local inhabitants..

71. He was only evacuated (with twenty four others) in January 1943, just ahead of a Japanese patrol sent to capture him. He returned after the War to help in opening the Baliem and Wissel Lakes regions. E.H. Mickelson, *God Can*, EH Mickelson, n.p., 1966, pp. 68, 73.

72. Wick, op cit, pp. 31f. P.H. Grocot, 'West Papuan Nationalism: an inside view', Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Canberra, 1978, p. 2, suggests that these nationalists supported Indonesia as a partner against the Dutch. Both the pro-Dutch and pro-Indonesian groups therefore had the same aim: "A free Papuan State".

73. J. Patiara, H. Renwarin, B. Soedharto, & M. Palangan, *Sejarah Perlawanan Terhadap Imperialisme dan Kolonialisme di Irian Jaya*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jakarta[?], 1984, p. 55.

74. Hollandia before the War, as is stated in H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, p.71 "hanja merupakan pos pemerintah tidak begitu berarti, terdiri dari tangsi polisi, kantor pos, rumah sakit dan 4 toko milik Tionghwa..... Djumlah penduduk hanja ada tigaratusan." (was only an unimportant government post, with a police barrack, post office, hospital and four Chinese shops. .... There were only about three hundred inhabitants.) Hollandia was codenamed during the war as 'Base G', and was developed from the outpost of 1942 to a major centre, with roads, docks, buildings, an increased population (Koentjaraningrat, op cit, p. 74, states that it reached "a quarter of a million" by 1945) and a major airfield, and remains the Indonesian provincial capital, Jayapura. 'Base G' is still used, in reference to the main recreational beach to the north of the city.

75. See M. Syamsuddin, *Asal Mula Nama Irian*, Kita Utama Murni, Jakarta, 1975, pp. 28-30. At the Malino conference, in July 1946, "muncullah nama IRIAN dihadapan para peserta" (the name IRIAN appeared before the participants). At Malino, there were both pro- and anti-Indonesia representatives from Irian. Hastings, op cit, p. 211.

76. See Patiara, op cit, pp. 58-68, for the Indonesian interpretation of the anti-Dutch movements of the 1940s and 1950s. The basic chronology of the struggle to regain Irian, from the Indonesian perspective, is covered in "Irian Jaya", in Shadily, op cit, p. 1488.

77. K. Lagerberg, in *West Irian and Jakarta Imperialism*, Hurst, London, 1979, pp. 15ff, makes the point that not only were six of the original sixty four promoters of Indonesian independence *not* in favour of including Dutch New Guinea, but the original definition of 'Indonesian' territory was 'from Atjeh to Ambon'. On ibid, p. 21, he also makes the point that even in 1948 Vice President Hatta stated that New Guinea could be excluded from the independence settlement. In K. Suter, *West Irian East Timor and Indonesia*, Minority Rights Group, Report No. 42, London, n.d, p. 14, it is mentioned that in the discussions among the nationalists, there were two points of view. One group, as Liem points out in "Indonesian Colonialism in the Pacific", in E.D. Robie, *Tu Galala: Social Change in the Pacific*, Bridge Williams Books, Wellington, 1992, pp.108f, was led by Vice President Hatta. This faction

wanted an ethnically unified Indonesia that would exclude West New Guinea but include what is now Malaysia. The other, led by President Sukarno, supported the notion that the new Indonesia would be geographically the same as the old Dutch East Indies, which included West New Guinea. Liem, loc cit, p. 108, points out that it was Hatta's consistent view that the New Guineans were different people and deserved independence.

78. Van Schie, op cit, p. 173, notes that the Dutch Government paid the Sultan of Tidore 6,000 guilders to settle his claims over Irian. However, the Sultan's former vassal in Salawati was still demanding tribute on behalf of Tidore twenty years later. This tribute included taxes and other payments. So great was their fear of the Raja of Salawati and his soldiers that, when approached by Frans van Hasselt in 1912, the people of Meossu rejected his offer of a teacher. Y. Kinho, 'Partisipasi Pribumi Karon Dalam Usaha Pekabaran Injil', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 47f.

79. 'From Sabang to Merauke'. In Indonesia it is declared with pride that Indonesia extends "Dari Sabang ke Merauke". Sabang is the island off the northwest coast of Aceh, Merauke is the town near the southeast border between Irian and Papua New Guinea.

80. *Indonesia 1985*, Dept. of Information, Jakarta, p. 24. The divisions used are; Melanesians: the people of Aceh through Java to Timor. Polynesians: the people of the Moluccas, and Proto-Austronesians: the people of Irian. Micronesians are the people of "tiny islets in Indonesia's eastern borders". This disagrees with most other authorities who agree with Scarr, that Melanesia, for example, begins in Irian and extends eastward to Fiji, and that the islands to the west of Irian belong to Asian peoples, who are distinct from the Melanesians. Micronesia is generally agreed as being those islands in the northern Pacific, stretching from Guam to Kiribati. "Irian Jaya", loc cit, p. 1487, the Melanesians of Irian *are* differentiated from the "Mongoloid-Melayu" (Mongoloid Malays) to their west. In H.A. Djajamihardja, "Irian Jaya: Its Past, Present and Future", *JAIA*, Oct 1984, pp. 4-6, the Melanesians of Irian are grouped together with the Ambonese and Halmaherans, and it is stated that the *Jong Ambon* (Young Ambon), founded in 1928, included the Papuans. School text books until at least 1981, used in all Indonesian schools, also stated that the Moluccans and Papuans were the same, with the people in Irian being culturally less advanced. *West Papua: the Obliteration of a People*, TAPOL, London, 1983, pp. 69f.

81. which Ricklefs, op cit, p. 220, acknowledges was mainly incurred in fighting the Independence War.

82. For the significance of the political impact of Westerling and the South Moluccans on the 'New Guinea question', see C. Smit, *De Dekolonisatie van Indonesië*, Internasa/Tjeenk Willink, Jakarta, 1976, pp. 44-46.

83. The anti-Dutch movement was supported by elements inside Dutch New Guinea, including people within the main, Dutch-supported and recognised GKI. For example, the Presbytery of the GKI in Inanwatan, in February 1962, asked that the New Guinean and Dutch Churches accept the agreement of 1949, that Dutch New Guinea become part of Indonesia, after a period of UN control. Clearly these issues were being discussed not only at the Government to Government level, but also by community leaders, despite Dutch government efforts to keep the Church out of politics. See D. Prawar, "Kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia ke-50 Sama dengan Pemberian Nama Irian," *Cenderawasih Pos*, Jayapura, 1 September 1995, p. 4.

84. These relations were complicated by the pro-Dutch rebellion in the Moluccas, that may have convinced Sukarno that the only solution to the internal problems of Indonesia was the expurgation of all Dutch influence in the Indies. That the Dutch funded social welfare programs and were funding a growing economy in a territory perceived by Indonesia as backward, that was literally in Indonesia's doorstep, would not have made Sukarno any less willing to compromise. However, the cost to Indonesia, was the expulsion of 15,000 Dutch nationals from Indonesia, who were running the plantation and trade sections of the economy, isolation from the world community, the alienation of Dutch-speaking Indonesians, such as the leaders of the Permesta rebellion in North Sulawesi, and the wrecking of the Indonesian economy, which resulted in more support for the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which, by 1965, was second only to the army in its spread and power.

85. The Indonesians' understanding in 1949 was that the Irian question would be dealt with "dalam waktu setahun sesudah tanggal penyerahan kedaulatan kepada Republic Indonesia Serikat" (within one year of the transfer of sovereignty to the Unitary Republic of Indonesia), M.D. Poesponegoro & N. Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia VI,* 6th ed., Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1990, p. 331, and *Penentuan Pendapat Rakjat (PEPERA) di Irian Barat 1969*, Pemerintah Daerah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat 1 Irian Jaya, Djajapura, 1972, p. 7. Indonesian publications consistently held to this date, but it would seem that the Dutch attitude was that this was a guideline rather than a fixed period of time.

86. and there was considerable opposition to the retention of New Guinea, not only from political parties and businessmen, but also from journalists and church leaders in the Netherlands. See *News and Views on West Irian (West New Guinea) Problem*, Indonesian Embassy, Canberra, 1957, pp. 27-31. The Churches may have been afraid that the retention of Irian would have a negative impact on their missions in Indonesia. As events showed, their fears were well-founded, with Dutch missionaries being forced to leave Indonesia as relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia deteriorated over the issue of Irian.

87. Van Eechoud, op cit, p. 19, states that this idea of using Irian to settle Indo-Europeans began to be mooted after 1919. F.J.F. van Hasselt, "Kolonisatie op Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea", in *Mededeelingin: Tijdschrift voor Zendelingswetenschap*, no. 74, 1930, pp. 34ff, states that the missions supported this, as colonisation would support Evangelisation. Hence, there had been plans from the missions for active colonisation from the first suggestion of Brother Arent in 1875 to colonise Irian with Christians from Sangir and Talaud, who would be mixed with Papuan people. A.T. Schalk in 1923 suggested that Indo-Europeans could be settled in Irian, and in 1926 the *Vereniging Kolonisatie Nieuw Guinea* (VKNG) was founded to promote the colonisation of Irian so that Irian could become the Fatherland for the Indo-Europeans. After 1933, the VKNG was influenced by the Dutch Nazis, who planned to turn Irian into a "land of whites". A tour was made of Irian and contact was made with Dutch and German colonists in Manokwari, Hollandia and the Waropen region, who had entered Irian in the 1920s and 1930s and, at that time, had moderately successful farming and plantation enterprises. Van der Veur, loc cit, p. 281. It was concluded that cotton and soya bean farming, together with gold mining and energy extraction, could provide a viable base for colonisation. B. Vrijburg, *Nieuw-Guinea in verband met Kolonisatie*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1934, pp. 63-70, and Utrecht, op cit, pp. 33f. However, the plan was not realised. Some settlement in the Kebar Valley was attempted by the *Stichting Immigratie en Kolonisatie Nieuw-Guinea* (SIKNG) in 1936. The settlement did not succeed due to the isolation of the Kebar and the Pacific War. J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkop van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, p. 25. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 15, mentions an expedition of a government surveyor from Bandung, Wentholt, in October 1940, who was looking for land suitable for rice cultivation in the Merauke region, using transmigrants from Java. He reported that he had found 40,000 ha. that he considered suitable. In van Hasselt op cit, pp.37f, other colonisation schemes in Dutch New Guinea are mentioned involving Australians, Italians and political deportees. It is clear that the missions remained in favour of any colonisation scheme. In R. Garnaut & C. Manning *Irian Jaya: the Transformation of a Melanesian Economy*, ANU, Canberra, 1974, pp. 10-14, it is stated that "several hundred" Dutch colonists arrived in Manokwari and Hollandia in the 1930s. Utrecht, op cit, p. 33, mentions that in 1930 two groups arrived, one sponsored by the Dutch government and the other by the VKNG. After 1949 there was another large inflow of Europeans and Eurasians (about 7,000), "one quarter" of whom became market gardeners. The idea that New Guinea could become a place for Indo-European colonisation was supported also by the Mission-Consulate in Batavia, which had been reactivated 1945 after the release of its leaders from internment. See H. van de Wal, "Profetische Stemmen uit Jakarta: het Zendings-Consulaat en de Decolonisatie van Indonesië," in *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, pp. 118f. Jaarsma, p. 155 points out that, before 1950, the schemes were at best experimental. However, after 1950, such schemes increased with the demands for rapid economic growth and the need for somewhere for Indo-Dutch refugees from Indonesia to live.

88. Osborne, op cit, p. 51.

89. See Suter, op cit, p. 14, and Smit, op cit, pp. 47-49. Conservatives in the Netherlands also felt goaded by the actions of Sukarno. They viewed him as a Japanese collaborator, and an enemy of the Dutch, who was incapable of gaining control of Irian. By retaining Dutch New Guinea, and beginning a process of Independence, they could

retain their pride and hurt Sukarno, or so they reasoned.

90. G.M. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Cornell, Ithaca, 1970, p. 444, and Patiara, op cit, pp. 76f.

91. Eg. *From the Stone Age to the 20th Century*, Governor of Netherlands New Guinea, Hollandia, 1960[?]. In J.M. van der Kroef, "The Future of West New Guinea", *Journal of Human Relations*, vol. 6, 1958, pp. 21-25, the reasons given for staying are positive (the Dutch give money and can afford to continue to subsidise the country, Dutch education stresses practical skills, and the Papuans like us) and negative (the Indonesian economy is in a mess, the civil service is bloated and inefficient, and the Papuans don't want to become part of Indonesia).

92. The Dutch used the same reasoning to justify staying, arguing that Indonesia by its unilateral withdrawal from the Unitary Republic, and hence its ties with Holland, had broken the Round Table agreement of 1949, and so the Dutch were not bound to discuss West New Guinea.

93. See Harry H. "Irian Jaya: a Very Personal View", *Catalyst*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1984, 3rd Quarter, Goroka, p. 230. In Sukarno, *Amanat Proklamasi III: 1956-1960*, Inti Indayu, Jakarta, 1986, p. 165, Sukarno said in so many words, "no compromise with the Darul Islam, no compromise with PRRI-Permesta, no compromise with the RMS", thereby setting the tone for his stand on other national issues. On ibid, p. 169, he continues saying that, while they may have stopped using the United Nations that year (1960), "other means" were being employed in every avenue available, including those most economically debilitating to the Dutch. In other words, no compromise also on Irian! Part of the reason for Sukarno's intransigence was that, with increasing political, social and economic turmoil, the return of Irian was the only issue the entire nation could agree on. D.W. Fryer, *Emerging Southeast Asia*, George Philip & Son, London, 1970, p. 4.

94. See Poesponegoro, op cit, pp. 332f. While other factors may have also been significant in this action, such as the power play that was developing between the army and President Sukarno, there is no doubt that the Dutch decision to hold on to West New Guinea had a direct and adverse effect upon their interests in Indonesia.

95. See Ryan, op cit, pp.188f. This was despite, "By this time the Dutch knew with certainty that they would get nothing out of West New Guinea and it would cost them millions to stay". Ibid, p. 188.

96. Jaarsma, op cit, p.155. As the title of the article, restated on ibid, p. 158, suggests, the Dutch position regarding the anthropologists was at best ambivalent.

97. So that "the Irianese would not be reminded of their unity with other parts of Indonesia" according to Subroto & Naibaho, op cit, pp. 29f. From 1950, only the Dutch language was used in high schools. The Papuans were promised a University and in the interim, scholarships were given for Papuans wishing and able to study in the Netherlands. In 1959, a Dutch-language primary school was opened in Wamena, in an area that had only been opened four years before. See F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI,. Jakarta, 1977, p. 265. This new policy made integration into the Dutch education system easier for those deemed capable of Dutch-level schooling, but made the missions, who controlled the school system, agents of Dutch colonial policy, in the eyes of the Indonesian government.

98. N. Jouwe, "Conflict at the Meeting Point of Melanesian and Asia," *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1978, pp. 13f, who stated that he was one of the graduates of the 'Native Civil Administration College' established by the Dutch at the close of World War II in Yoka, near Jayapura, lists a Police College in established 1947, a Seminary in 1948, a Medical College in 1950, an Agricultural College in 1953, a Maritime College in 1954, was well as two Technical Colleges, six junior high schools and a senior high school established in the same year. These schools followed the pattern of Dutch education of the period, of lower, post-primary schools, vocational schools, and high schools at the highest level, preparing students for Dutch-language tertiary education. Some of these institutions, such as the Seminary and the senior high school, were owned by the missions. The aim of these institutions was

to train Papuans who could replace the Dutch. According to *West Papua*, 1999, op cit, p. 17, the Dutch planned to have 100% of government posts occupied by Papuans by 1970 (the proposed date for full independence).

99. See Ryan, op cit, pp. 109, 189ff . While this scheme did not ultimately succeed in Dutch New Guinea, it did provide the impetus for the Australian government to begin to prepare the Eastern half of the island for ultimate independence, perhaps sooner than had been envisioned in Canberra. It also provided a vehicle for the expression of pro-Indonesian sentiment that was quickly banned. Jouwe, loc cit, p. 13, states that there were twenty five elected Papuans and five appointed non-Papuans at the session of the new Guinea Council on 5 April 1961, and that the members were being prepared for Independence. Note also, that not all Papuans supported the Dutch, with a number, particularly on Biak, supporting pro-Indonesian political parties that had been formed by Indonesians in Irian. See Osborne, op cit, pp. 51f.

100. And despite support for the notion of Papuan independence among some church leaders in Irian, both Papuan and Dutch. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 29.

101. That included purchasing arms from the USSR (which was apparently eager to use this issue as a way of getting involved in Indonesia), sending diplomatic missions to all of Indonesia's neighbours and sending in paratroopers, commandos and naval vessels. As Poesponegoro, op cit, pp. 334-5, points out, the Indonesians viewed the military part of their operation as a great success, despite the figures used by Ryan, op cit, pp. 197f, that of the 2,100 Indonesian troops sent to West New Guinea against the 12,000 Dutch troops supported by local policemen and villagers, 180 died or were killed, 800 were taken prisoner, 900 were not able to report in until after the cease-fire and 200 were lost. In E.J. Steiger, *Wings Over Shangri La*, E.J. Steiger, Everett, 1995, p. 201, these figures are given for the conflict from 1949-1962: Indonesian troops sent 2,082. Confirmed dead 173, prisoners-of-war 778, reporting-in after the cease-fire 926, missing 205. Dutch dead 8. This new element of military invasion must have been a consideration on the part of the Dutch despite their sinking of the 'Matjan Tutul' off the Aru Islands in January 1962 and the capture of many of the invading Indonesian troops. Hence, as *Indonesia 1963*, Dept. of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta[?], 1963, pp. 53-65, implies, the Indonesian military actions could be said to have been successful, if somewhat overstated by the Indonesians. Eg. although a photograph on ibid, p. 58, suggests that the Indonesians were able to set up 'a de facto administrative zone' no other evidence for this exists, although it may have been taken during the 'Aru Bay Incident' in January 1962, when a Dutch stronghold temporarily fell to the Indonesians. Douglas, op cit, p. 271. Indonesian soldiers that were captured during the campaign were taken to the Wundi Island, near Biak, where they were given pastoral care by the GKI. After 1963, the Indonesian armed forces expressed their appreciation for this care by accepting the GKI Chaplain, Alex Prawar (who was also the GKI General Secretary) as an Air Force chaplain with the honorary rank of Major. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 285.

102. by the United States in particular. Liem, loc cit, pp. 109f, stresses that, until the election of President Kennedy in 1960, the Americans were generally supportive of any anti-Sukarno revolts or movements. But as Bensley, op cit, p. 21, points out, the election of Kennedy brought a swift change of policy. The fears of Kennedy and his advisers may have been due to a perceived leaning to the left of the government in Jakarta and the growing ties between Indonesia and the Chinese and Russians, and speeches such as that of Sukarno's speech on 17 August 1962, Sukarno, *Indonesia's Political Manifesto 1959-1964*, Prapantja, Djakarta, 1964, pp. 189-226, that the Indonesians would never voluntarily end their campaign to regain Irian. However, A. Malik, *In the Service of the Republic*, Gunung Agung, Singapore, 1980, pp. 241, states that the aim of the military action was to get a bargaining tool in the diplomatic negotiations. The Indonesians were also building up their armed forces at a time that the Americans were facing growing resistance from the North Vietnamese. From 1959, Indonesian began seeking support and arms from the Russians, from whom they bought $400 million of arms for the invasion of Irian, as well as from the Chinese. Kennedy, supported by his brother and his special envoy, and Ellsworth Bunker, tried to counteract this communist influence by ending support for anti-Sukarno rebellions, and gradually favouring the Indonesian position, while putting pressure upon the Dutch to accept 'the inevitable'. See also Smit, op cit, p. 50, and *West Papua*, 1999, pp. 25-28, for a account of the discussions that took place, and some of the relevant documents.

103. See Harry H., loc cit, p. 231. Osborne, op cit, p. 52, notes that the name *Papua Barat* was chosen by five Papuan members of the New Guinea Council in 1961, and on 1 Dec 1961 the 'Morning Star' was raised side-by-

side with the Dutch flag. At the same time, Papuans began to take over some positions from Dutch officials. Eg. A. Mampioper became the head of the regional Biak-Numfor government in September 1962. A. Mampioper, *Mitologi dan Pengharapan Masyarakat Biak-Numfor*, n.pub., Jayapura, 1976, p. 113. As noted in B. Giay, "The Rebels and Cargoistic Ideas in Irian Jaya", *Catalyst*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 141ff, the Dutch created the expectation that the Papuans would have their own nation. The disappointment felt by the integration with Indonesia and its confirmation in 1969, was manifested in the OPM movement, and in a number of open anti-Indonesia revolts in the 1960s in Enarotali, Manokwari and Biak, and in sporadic and persistent resistance since.

104. The Indonesian Council of Churches (DGI) supported integration of Irian into Indonesia as part of the unification of the nation. D. Tarru, "Memahami Peran Gereja Sebagai Nabi, Imam Dan Raja", www.suarapembaruan.com/News/1998/07/150798/Buku/bk01/bk01.htmnl. In 1963, the Catholic hierarchy in Indonesia issued a pastoral letter to their congregations supporting the integration of Irian. Van Schie, op cit, p. 353.

105. The inclusion in the agreement of a referendum could be seen as merely a face-saving gesture to the departing Dutch. Most commentators, with Liem, op cit, p. 110, being but one, agree that Sukarno had no intention of holding such an referendum, nor abiding by the other sections of the Rome Agreement of 1962 (which had a number of clauses detailing the implementation of the New York Agreement), which would have led to the Indonesians leaving Irian in 1988. *West Papua*, 1999, op cit, pp. 31f. That the Pepera was held by the then President Suharto was surprising, but not the outcome, where the 1,025 local representatives who were allowed to vote had, as the United Nations reported "without dissent ... pronounced themselves in favour of the territory remaining within Indonesia". The Indonesians rejoined the UN in 1966. Ryan, op cit, p. 389, and Hastings, op cit, pp. 233-242. The Pepera has been generally recognised as a military-backed rubber stamp, supported by intimidation and vote buying. Many of the church leaders, now in their 40s and 50s, witnessed this event as children, and their memories add to the dissatisfaction felt at current Indonesian policies regarding Irian.

106. Including O. Sanz, the UN official in Irian at the time. "Sham 'act of choice' brought 30 years of bondage", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1999, http//www.smh.com.au/news/9905/ 29/world/world4.html.

107.Scarr, op cit, p. 289. G. Monbiot, *Poisoned Arrows*, Abacus, London, 1989, pp. 175, makes the same point when he quotes Sukarno, when discussing the difference between the situation in West Berlin and the takeover of West New Guinea, as saying: "That's an entirely different matter, there are two and a quarter million inhabitants ... those Papuans of yours are some seven hundred thousand and living in the Stone Age."

108. The OPM began in the Biak Numfor area in 1963, due to the dissatisfaction felt by those who had hoped that life under the Indonesians would be better than under the Dutch. Due to the unstable economic and political environment of Indonesia in the mid 1960s, that included high inflation, as well wholesale theft in Irian of school and office inventories by troops who entered after the UN left, the economic situation in Irian actually deteriorated after 1963, creating dissent among many Papuans. It was formally organised in 1965 after the rebellion of the Papuan battalion in Manokwari. The OPM continued small-scale military operations in Jayapura, Jayawijaya and Merauke from bases in PNG, and had active members from all parts of Irian, in particular Biak, Manokwari and Sorong. "Sham..." loc cit. Sympathy for Indonesia in Irian was not assisted by the paternalistic attitude of the Indonesian government adopted toward its newest territory. K.P. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1999, pp. 108f, and Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 286f. Initially the core of the OPM was the PVK (*Papuan Vrijwillegers Korps*) that was raised by the Dutch to fight the Indonesians.

109. Although for private individuals and non-government organisations, particularly in Papua New Guinea and Australia, the issue is still a current one. One example, among a large number of commentators, can be seen in comments such as Scarr's, op cit, p. 337, writing in 1989, where he described alleged Indonesian human rights abuses in emotive terms. The issue is also one of the many that organisations such as TAPOL in London and the Australia West Papua Association in Melbourne, try to keep before the world's notice, with limited success. Although it has an anti-Indonesia bias, the book by N. Sharp, *The Rule of the Sword*, Kibble, Malmsbury, 1977, is a good historical introduction to this question. Much of what she says is admitted to by R.G. Djopari, *Pemberontakkan Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, Grasindo, Jakarta, 1993, although this was not the case in 1977. Another good source for understanding the OPM is Osborne, op cit, pp. 45-53.

110. Human rights abuses have been documented in many places. The best known is the book by Sharp, op cit, passim.

111. There were rebellions in the Manokwari and Merauke areas as well as smaller scale revolts, dismissed initially, as "stomach politics -- the result of occasional hunger." Ryan, op cit, p. 209. In 1971, Papuan Independence was declared by the OPM group then in Biak, as reported in Osborne, op cit, pp. 54f. W.F. Wertheim, *Fissures in the Girdle of Emeralds*, James Cook Univ., Toowoomba, 1980, pp. 11-13, states that these activities amounted to an organised rebellion, with a proclaimed Government and operations in Merauke, the Baliem, the Bird's Head and Biak. While the political and human rights climate has improved in recent years, there is still evidence that the problems continue, as can be seen in an interim report to the Indonesia Fellowship of Churches (PGI) entitled *Irian Jaya Menjelang 30 Tahun Integrasi,* GKI di Irian Jaya, Jayapura[?], 1992, that details many of the problems still confronting the Church and the Government, including continuing dissatisfaction that was translated into support for OPM-related activities, which have continued, albeit not on the scale of the 1960s and 1970s.

112. Including appointing E. Bonay, a Papuan, as the first Indonesian Governor. Bonay criticised Indonesian policy in Irian, and was subsequently imprisoned. After escaping he fled from Indonesia. Succeeding Governors have included a number of non-Papuan Christians and Muslims. There is yet to be a Papuan Military Territorial Commander.

113. In 1977 there was a major conflict between the Indonesian military and the Dani in the Baliem. A leading Dani OPM leader was killed by the army. The Dani responded by killing six soldiers. The resulting conflict resulted in 600 Dani being killed as a direct consequence of the military actions, that included aerial bombing of Dani villages. C.E. Farhadian, 'REP Final Report', Berkeley, May 1999, op cit, p. 6. This has added to the distrust the Dani have toward the Indonesian military.

114. Although, as *Indonesia: Continuing Human Rights Violations in Irian Jaya,* Amnesty International, London, April 1991, passim, states, opposition is still being encountered and met with force and sentences for political acts that Amnesty does not see as being just. Interestingly, the report lists a number of people forcibly returned to Irian by Papua New Guinea.

115. 'The Armed Forces Enter the Village' which was a program aimed at improving relations between the military and the village people, while at the same time giving the army something to do.

116. Many of the soldiers sent in the 1960s and 1970s were young Javanese, and had an attitude of superiority toward to the local people that created open resentment to Indonesian rule. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 353f. However, some more recent events seem to indicate that attitudes have not changed. In June 1999 a Kemtuk man was shot and killed by a soldier, as the driver of the vehicle he was in would not stop for the soldier.

117. Frans Kasiepo, after a long career in the Indonesian civil service, was made a member of the Provincial Parliament. Syamsuddin, op. cit., p. 32. Other Papuans, such as Corinus Kre, were given visible places within the government. In November, F. Numberi, the then Governor of Irian Jaya, was given a position in the Wahid-Megawati cabinet. See also Djopari, op cit, pp. 162-4. The fact that Djopari's book was allowed to be published, with photographs, by the Suharto government, was in itself a positive sign of the change in attitude by the central government. It did not hinder the career of the author, who was made a Deputy Governor of Irian Jaya in June 1999.

118. see the statement issued by the central government in Djopari, op cit, pp. 72f, which established the political climate in West Irian.

119. 51% of the total according to Monbiot, op cit, p. 175.

120. Cenderawasih University was founded in late 1962 with United Nations funding. S. Poerbakawatja, 'Pendidikan Tinggi dan Masa Depan Irian Jaya', Speech at the Graduation Ceremony of Cenderawasih University, 19 December 1977, p. 16. By 1982 there were 1,479 primary schools and 148 secondary schools. G. Petocz, *Konservasi Alam dan Pembangunan di Irian Jaya*, Grafitpers, Jakarta Utara, 1987, p. 115f. Presumably this figure includes church schools, of which in 1994 there were 464 Protestant and 309 Catholic primary schools alone. See S. Lase & Y. Kapitarau, 'Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen (YPK)', STT IS Kijne, Abepura, 1994, p. 5, and Y. Kambu & R. Wabia, 'Yayasan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan Katholik (YPPK) di Irian Jaya', STT IS Kijne, Abepura, 1994, p. 15. The role of church schools in the education system, should not be underestimated, and their role is acknowledged in "Irian Jaya", loc cit, p. 1487.. According to Garnaut & Manning, op cit, pp. 16f, in 1961 there were already 496 unsubsidised (and low quality) mission-run primary schools, and the missions ran most of the 776 subsidised primary schools. However, there was just one senior high school with only 157 students, the majority of whom were non-Papuans.

121. The Dutch and Indonesians operated from a different philosophical basis. The Indonesian leaders acknowledged that the Dutch emphasis on languages, the arts and sciences produced quality leaders, but felt that it left the masses untouched. The Indonesians changed this policy, stressing mass education, with longer courses at the tertiary level to make up for the deficiencies of the system for those who needed higher education. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 265. Despite changes in the early 1980s, a first degree in an Indonesian university or tertiary college still takes five years on average.

122. As a result of pre-European contact such as trade, the expansion of Dutch and mission authority that used Malay-speaking Minahasans, Ambonese and Kei people. Malay was the language of evangelisation and worship by the Dutch missions, and the language of government of the Dutch East Indies. As a result Malay and its related language, Indonesian, was generally known and used along the coast and in some inland centres.

123.See Suter, op cit, p. 16. However, it should noted that the 'Operation Koteka' was accompanied by large-scale human rights abuses on the part of the Indonesian army and police. *West Papua*, op cit, pp. 63-66. That the Indonesian military has not accounted for this and other actions, continues to be a source of dissatisfaction with the government and a cause of concern for the churches.

124. In M. Kasiepo, S.K. Ishadi & A. Razak (eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Jaya*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1987, p. 103, there is a photograph of happy, and naked, Yapil boys receiving rice provided by the government.

125. See Djopari, op cit, p. 91, who sees this as a positive aspect of integration.

126. Fund of the United Nations for the Development of West Irian. Which has, since its transfer to the Provincial Government in 1996, not been able to carry out its role as in the past, and has now been formally disbanded.

127. As the maps in Petocz, op cit, pp. 117f, show, the plans are impressive, even if the implementation has been slow. For example, Wamena is still several years away from being connected by an all-weather road to the coast, despite the map on ibid, p. 119, stating that the road to Nabire is one of the "main roads in various stages of development". The Jayapura road, which at that time was still under construction from both the Jayapura and Wamena ends, is not mentioned at all.

128. Resource extraction companies were some of the first to enter Irian after 1963. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 265.

129. Suter, op cit, p. 15, writing before 1981, claims that there are '10,000-15,000' Indonesians. By this he probably means new immigrants as opposed to Papuans and non-Papuans residing in Irian before 1963. In Djopari, op cit, Table 15, p. 80, a breakdown is given of ethnic origin based upon the 1980 census. Of the total population of

1,107,222 in Irian (which did not include those living in isolated villages, where statistics would be hard to obtain, presumably), 94,570, or 8.5% of the total, were born in other parts of Indonesia. Monbiot, op cit, p. 181, who has an anti-Indonesian bias, states that there were 100,000 government-sponsored migrants and 180,000 spontaneous migrants by 1988. By 1990, according to Djopari, op cit, p. 81, the population had reached 1,586,236.

130. Suter, op cit, p. 17, states that despite its low population, Irian received "the highest per capita assistance of any of the provinces". However, this may be because Irian had a poor infrastructure in comparison to other islands, and had potential for economic exploitation and resettlement of migrants from other areas

131. in the *West Papua Update*, issue No. 8, June 1990, AWPA, Collingwood, p. 7, it is stated that the World Bank in 1989 lent $US154 million for transmigration development. It does not state if this is just for Irian, but that is its implication.

132. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 268f. As is outlined in *Irian Jaya Menjelang 30 Tahun Integrasi*, op. cit, pp. 25ff, this program was not always well received by the local people, despite statements such as that of the then Governor, Bas Suebu (from the Sentani tribe), who is quoted in *West Papua Update*, no. 8, op. cit., p. 7, as saying, when encouraging the people not to listen to foreign anti-Indonesian groups; "Transmigration is a government program and must be carried out". The government periodically feels the need to reiterate in the local mass media that the transmigration schemes are not 'Javanisation' or 'Islamisation' schemes, despite repeated, but undocumented, stories current in the transmigration areas of the difficulties experienced by those who are either Christian or non Javanese. Transmigration has been a central issue for the Christians in Indonesia and has been a source of separatist feelings in Irian. In dialogues with the government, transmigration is consistently brought forward as a program that must be stopped. Eg. "GMKI Jayapura Tolak Rencana Pemakaran", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 6 May 1999, pp. 1,7, in which the plan to divide Irian into three parts was rejected, as was transmigration. Of the parties campaigning in Irian in the June 1999 election, only the Catholic party rejected transmigration. However, the other parties all agreed that it was a problem that needed to be addressed. "Transmigrasi, HAM, DOM dan Papua/Irian di Mata Partai-Partai", *Tifa Irian*, Minggu Keempat, Mei 1999, p. 7. There were other plans to integrate Irian into Indonesia. The most notable scheme currently under consideration was a project to develop the Mamberamo River area, with a huge dam that will supply water to a hydro electric scheme, which will provide the energy needs of a number of transmigration schemes and a new industrial area. The plan was that the local people (most of whom are nominally Protestant Christians) would 'voluntarily' agree to relocation. See B. Giay, "Mega Proyek Mamberamo dan Masyarakat Mamberamo", *Ede Pede*, no. 3/1 October-December 1996, pp. 4-6, and D.A. Mampioper, "Bendungan Mamberamo Untuk Siapa?", *Ede Pede*, no. 4/1, January-March 1997, pp. 8f, as well as other articles in this journal.

133. T. McCarthy, "Megawati: 'No Radical Change' ",*Time*, 7 June 1999, p. 41.

134. Evidence of this was the prevalence of leprosy in the Raja Ampat group, which was limited to, but widespread in, the port towns. D. Osok, op cit, p. 20.

135. These descendants of these kings no longer use the title. But, in the Fak Fak region the descendant of the Patipi king (a Muslim) still had influence within the local community, to the point where he felt able to threaten the political position of the local Bupati. See "Anak Raja Fakfak Tolak Pencabutan Raja-Raja", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 26 Sept 1998, pp. 1,7. Apart from the Kings in the west, around Sentani a system of power based upon descent exists. The *ondoafi* (or clan chief) was able to pass on his, still very real, power to a male relative, usually a son or nephew. J.R. Mansoben, 'Kebinekaan Sistem Kepemimpian di Propinsi Irian Jaya', Paper presented at the Simposium Senat Mahasiswa STT-GKI, Jayapura, 25 October 1997, pp. 8-10, 18-20.

136. Which was true until after 1965, when foreign mining companies began taking an active interest in the territory, thereby proving that the interim finds of the Dutch in the 1930s could be realised. See Liem, loc cit, pp. 112f.

137. Van der Kroef, loc cit, p. 21, stated that after 1950 the Netherlands Government gave between twenty three and eighty three million guilders per annum to make up the West New Guinea budget deficit. In Djopari, op cit, Table 3, p. 41, it is seen that the deficit increased every year, beginning at ƒ15,572,099.38 in 1951, rising to ƒ91,523,000 by 1961. These figures are supported by trade balance figures for 1952-56 quoted in S. Latuputty, 'Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas Tradisi Zending dalam Pemahaman Iman Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Quezon City, 1999, p. 47, where it is stated that no more than 30% of imports were covered by exports. While the figures Djopari gives for the Indonesian period, Djopari, op cit, pp. 89f, are limited to 1971/2 & 1972/3, they still indicate that there was a large subsidy from the Central Government to the Irian Provincial Government. Only in recent years has this trend been reversed, but at the cost of slower infrastructure development when compared with Papuan New Guinea and other areas of Indonesia.

138. Lagerfeld, op cit, p. 147.

139. The oil wealth of Irian was known, as can be seen from the activities of the NNGPM in Sorong and Babo, but as late as 1962 it was not fully exploited or realised.

140. with the blessing of the Heldring, their promoter in Holland. See Reenders, op cit, pp. 46-47.

141. Two notable exceptions are Hollandia and Agats, where the government preceded the missions. Once the government was established, the aura of the government, the implied threat of its military might, and the access to the outside world would have assisted the missions. Once established, the missions depended upon the government to provide peace and security in the new mission fields.

142. Steiger, op cit, p. 224, describes the anxiety felt by the missions at the imminent departure of the Dutch in these terms: "A comfortable working relationship between the missionaries, MAF, and the government had been reached and they felt threatened by the change. Freedom to do what needed doing for the missions and cooperation with a friendly government was a privilege and was distressing to lose because of political pressure."

CHAPTER 2: The Beginnings to 1907

Gemeente des Heeren, onze werk is niet ijdel, God zij de eer[1].

The evangelisation of Irian began in 1855[2] with the arrival of two Germans supported from the Netherlands, who landed on the island of Mansinam, near present-day Manokwari, declaring to themselves and the islanders, "In the name of God we set foot on this land". They were followed by more Germans, and later by Dutch, Ambonese and Sangirese missionaries, who established mission stations in the surrounding areas, and visited the coastal villages further from their initial outposts. They did have a number of successes, with a small number being baptised, and larger numbers becoming regular attenders at worship. They introduced the basic tenets of Christianity and established Christianity as a factor in the life of the coastal villages around Mansinam. They did this by becoming personally involved in the villages in which they worked, by establishing schools and using teachers from the Christian regions to the west of Irian, and by encouraging the Dutch government to become actively involved in the region. But the missionaries from Europe and the Indies also suffered for their faith. The missionaries and their families experienced recurring sickness, and many died. In the period before 1907, few completed their careers in Irian, and were able to retire to their homelands. However, they persevered and established a Christian presence in Irian, that endured.

The beginnings of the mission effort in Irian fall within the broader framework of the missionary efforts then being undertaken in Holland and, to a lesser degree, Germany in the early and mid nineteenth century. The rise of Pietism in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the leadership of August Francke and the University of Halle in Germany[3], which spread to England and thence to the Netherlands in the form of the Revival[4], resulted in a greater emphasis being given to missions both within Europe, and in the expanding trading and colonial empires being established by the Protestant powers, particularly in those nations where Pietism had influenced the leadership of the Church[5], such as in Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany[6]. With the opening of the Protestant world to contact with Africa, the Americas and Asia, the vision of the Pietists was widened as they began to be aware that Christianity, in the form they accepted it, had a currency that was world-wide in its scope. The Pietest church leaders believed that they, as the leaders of the religion of the conquering and, as they saw it, civilising, power, had a God-given opportunity and responsibility to take care of, and evangelise, these territories[7] with whatever tools

they possessed, including that of the authority, and the military and economic might, of the conquering power, if such cooperation could be acquired[8]. With these tools they could then make known the 'light of Christianity' as opposed to the 'darkness of heathenism' that they perceived these, generally dark-skinned, people where living in.

As with England, which between 1792 and 1810 saw the foundation, amongst others, of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society(1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society(1804), concerned Christians in the Netherlands began to be aware of their responsibility not only to those within their borders whom they felt needed to be evangelised, but also to those beyond their shores, particularly in the areas in which the Netherlands was actively involved, in Asia, the Dutch West Indies and Dutch Guiana, and South Africa. One outcome was the formation, in 1797, in Rotterdam, of the first of the mission societies in the Netherlands, the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*[9] (NZG). This was followed by a number of other societies throughout the nineteenth century[10].

By the time of its bankruptcy in 1799 as a result of the disruptions caused by the Napoleonic Wars and increasing competition from independent merchants, the *Vereeniging Oost Indies Companie* (VOC) or [Dutch] East India Company[11], had already come to hold sway over strategic parts of the area that came to be known as the Netherlands East Indies (and later, after the recognition of its independence in 1949, as Indonesia). These territories had been brought within the zone of Dutch influence through trade, the support of certain princes in civil wars in Java, and, in a few cases, by outright conquest. With the return of the Indies to the Netherlands in 1816 by the British[12], the Dutch Protestants[13] realised that they had a unique mission field, one which had not been well administered during the period of the VOC, where care of the faithful, rather than evangelism, had been the primary focus of the few ministers accepted by the Company to work in its areas[14].

The beginning of the missions of the NZG[15] created an impetus for more missionary effort on the part of the Dutch Protestants. While numbers were comparatively small in comparison to the total population[16], interest was high among both those groups sending people and people wishing to be sent. As a consequence of theological disputes within the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, and differences of opinion as to the best method of evangelisation, other mission societies were subsequently formed by individual members of the church which, due to their

smaller size, tended to concentrate on particular areas of the Indies rather than trying to cover all the entire area as the NZG felt called, and able, to do. These mission societies were not schismatic bodies, as their founders emphasised that they would not establish congregations that would be independent of the Dutch Reformed Church[17]. In 1858 the *Nederlandsch Zendingsvereeniging* (NZV)[18] was formed, followed by the *Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging* (UZV)[19] and the *Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingsvereeniging* (NGZV) in 1859[20]. Smaller mission societies, related to other Churches and movements in the Netherlands, were also formed during this period, the most important, from the point of view of church history in New Guinea, being the *Comité van de Christen-Werkman* founded by Otto Heldring, in cooperation with J.E. Gossner in Berlin, that between 1850 and 1859 sent 'Christian Workmen' (and six women to become wives for some of them) to Java and the Eastern Indies[21], the *Doopsgezinde Zendingsvereniging* (DZV) in 1851, which sent missionaries to Java in the 1850s and, in the 1950s and 1960s, to the Bird's Head region of Irian[22],and the *Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland en Noord-America*, established in 1907, which was a union of two groups that had left the Dutch Reformed Church in 1834 and 1841, and which sent missionaries to the eastern highlands region of Irian from 1962[23].

The mission enterprise in Irian is celebrated by the local church as having begun with the arrival, on the 5th of February 1855, of Carl Ottow and Johan Geissler, German 'mechanics[24]' who were sent by the Christian Workmen Committee and became the first recorded Christian missionaries to work in Irian[25]. They had been sent by Gossner to Heldring, who had founded and ran the Committee, at the latter's request to be prepared and commissioned in the Netherlands. After a period of training, they were sent to the Indies, firstly to Batavia[26], and then to Ternate[27], with the ultimate intention of sending them to Doreh Bay in New Guinea[28]. This site had been decided upon after Heldring read positive reports of the area from an expedition by a Dutch government vessel in 1850[29]. The site was preferred as it was a 'black spot' on the mission map, and an area with economic potential, which was potentially open to Islamic penetration[30]. After waiting in Batavia, they were given leave to go to Ternate and, with the permission of the Sultan of Tidore[31], to establish a base in his territories in Western New Guinea, where they settled at the island of Mansinam, near present day Manokwari[32]. In 1862 they were joined by another Gossner missionary, G. Jaesrich with his wife Christine[33]. In 1858, Ottow went to Ternate where he married Augusta Letz, who had been sent by Heldring to be a 'missionary wife'.

In 1859, due to dissatisfaction with the NZG and the NZV, the UZV was formed by churchmen from a more rigidly pietist background[34]. Their intention was to send two kinds of mission personnel, those with higher theological training, who were ordained, as well as lay men with a more practical abilities, such as Heldring had already sent to Sangir-Talaud, New Guinea and elsewhere. Heldring supported the establishment of the UZV and hoped that the new mission organisation would take over his work in these two regions. Although this request was not met, some of Heldring's committee were admitted as members of the Board of the UZV and formed a special 'Christian Mechanics Committee' that sent several Gossner and Heldring missionaries to New Guinea under the auspices of the UZV[35].

The first of the new Gossner/UZV missionaries was Jan Kamps who worked from 1862-1871. He was followed by Franz Mosche, who worked in Meoswar from 1866 until his death in 1868[36], and Carl and Rudolph Beyer who arrived in 1866[37]. Unlike the missionaries sent out by Heldring, these Gossner/UZV missionaries had firmer financial and disciplinary support from the Netherlands, and in the case of Mosche and Beyer, were commissioned as full missionaries, and not just as support personnel[38]. At the same time the UZV also began preparing its own people to work in New Guinea. The first to be prepared specifically by the UZV and sent to New Guinea were J.L. van Hasselt, T.F. Klaasen[39] and W. Otterspoor[40], who arrived at Mansinam in 1863. They were followed by W.H. Woelders and N. Rinnooy in 1867. This period also saw the arrival of the first non-European missionary, C. Wijzer, who was sent in early 1866 by the *Genootschap van In- en Uitwendige Zending*[41], a mission society based in Batavia[42].

Ottow and Geissler, the first two missionaries, arrived with no formal welcome from the local inhabitants at Mansinam, despite bringing a letter from the Sultan of Tidore, and with no offer of help once it became obvious that they were staying. Upon landing and unloading their cargo[43] Ottow and Geissler immediately set about the task of building a boat[44], a house and a storage area for their goods and animals[45]. Within a few days they had surveyed a new location on the mainland near present day Kwawi and had begun planting the seeds they had brought with them. In effect they began doing what they had been called to do: supporting themselves without any further outside assistance and without immediate reliance upon the local people, while at the same time giving evidence of their Christian identity and their intention to stay.

The initial approach of the missionaries was one of a 'Christian presence', with patterns of evangelism used in Europe. They held a weekly Malay-language Sunday service[46], which included prayer, singing and a sermon with an offer of eternal salvation and threat of damnation to those who rejected their message. By 1861 they had already produced a song book in the language of Numfor, and by 1870 several parts of the Bible had been translated[47]. To encourage the people to attend the service they refused to trade on Sundays, insisting that medicines and tobacco would only be given to those who attended the Sunday meeting. Geissler used his weekly sermon to preach against the worship of the dead and the reverence given to statues and other sacred objects. This did not, however, produce any major change within the local people, who came as much for the tobacco[48] as for the sermon. From the point of view of the people of Mansinam and Kwawi, who attended the weekly services and accepted the presence of the missionaries, Ottow and Geissler came to be seen as a source of trade goods. Despite reservations on their part, the missionaries used this point of contact, such that it became common for Ottow and Geissler to always have a supply of tobacco, sugar, knives and other desired goods to encourage the local people to come to them[49].

Ottow and Geissler began schooling the village children, initially in Malay and then in Numfor, the local language[50]. The first formal school was set up by Mrs Ottow in 1858, as girls were not permitted within the local culture to be educated in the same place as boys[51], and lasted until 1862 when, after the death of her husband, she left New Guinea[52]. After his return in 1879 from a three year furlough in the Netherlands, J.L. van Hasselt brought the first Ambonese teacher, J.J.P. Tomahue, to work in Irian. Van Hasselt established a school at Mansinam that taught youths in the mornings, and illiterate adults in the afternoons. He was assisted by Mrs van Hasselt, who taught sewing, and worked with the village women[53]. The first Sangirese teacher, Andreas Palawey, was employed at Andai in 1881 to assist the mission[54]. Schools were established in Manokwari, Meoswar, Momi, Windesi, Jende and Roon[55]. During this period, the Dutch government provided subsidies for the schools in Mansinam and Andai[56].

The missionaries lived within the village environment, and despite the limitations of language and culture, were aware of some of the practices within it, many of which they perceived as in need of immediate change[57]. They opposed the practice of revenge killing of unrelated individuals who were blamed for the death of another, and tried to counteract the practices associated with the *Koreri* movement that appeared periodically. They voiced opposition to

initiation rites and other practices, that provided reassurance of the people's salvation[58], but which the missionaries perceived as 'causes of evil'[59]. The missionaries also provided a new focus for resolving conflicts between neighbours, and between slaves and their owners, when the slave could call upon the authority of the missionary to prevent a perceived injustice being inflicted upon them. When the government began punishing those involved in raids and killings, the missionaries were also called upon to defend the allegedly innocent, as well as the guilty. The missionaries were prepared to do this out of compassion for the individuals concerned, and as a way of influencing the community to be more Christ-like, and perhaps, in the long-term, Christian[60].

One of the problems faced by the early missionaries in this period was the issue of slavery. Ternate, Tidore and their vassal kings in the Raja Ampat group continued to exact tribute into the twentieth century and slaves were a sought after commodity[61]. Hongi raiders continued their activities and, in addition to demanding goods, kidnapped people for use as slaves. Slavery was endemic in the Doreh Bay area as a result of the almost continuous tribal wars that took place. The local people kept slaves for their own use, and were willing to sell them to the missionaries. Some of these slaves were redeemed by Ottow and Geissler and were educated and employed within their households as helpers and language assistants[62], with the hope that contact with, and dependence upon, the missionaries would result in conversion[63]. This policy was condoned by the UZV as a way of improving the life of the slaves, as long as the policy was for the benefit of the slaves and not the mission. The decision as to buy slaves was left up to the individual missionary, due to a degree of ambivalence with the UZV[64].

The missionaries were also involved in the external relations of the villages in which they lived. The local people resented being the object of slave raids and piracy and, as a result, sought revenge upon any whom they thought were involved in these attacks, including the crews of at least two European vessels, several of whom were, in one instance, saved by the missionaries[65]. Geissler also, on one occasion, pursued a slaving ship that had captured a number of people from the Kwawi region, and was able to rescue them. This action put the missions in good stead with the Dutch government, and the resistance of the missionaries to kidnapping and piracy improved their standing with the local people. The reputation of the missionaries was further enhanced by Geissler's response to a measles epidemic in 1861. This epidemic killed about one third of the local population. Despite Geissler's understanding of it in terms of God's punishment upon them due to their resistance to the gospel, he was still willing to give the people of Mansinam all the food

he had to aid them through this crisis[66]. This generosity, and his support against the slavers, had the effect of making him, and the other missionaries, more welcome.

On 9 November 1862 Ottow died of a fever and was buried at his mission station at Kwawi[67]. His wife left for Ternate in April 1863 to give birth. The station at Kwawi was taken over by Jaesrich, a new Gossner missionary, who had arrived in early 1863[68]. In 1864 the mission was affected by a new crisis. A major earthquake levelled several villages and also destroyed the mission housing, increasing the exposure of the missionaries to mosquitoes and malaria. The resulting fevers led to a mass exodus to Ternate[69] with only Geissler remaining at his post. It was during this period that Geissler began the first permanent church building, which had a capacity of 300, although there were only thirty regular attenders at Sunday worship at that time[70]. Despite a storm that almost destroyed the building, the *Kerk der Hopen*[71] was completed in the same year.

While there was some change within the attitude of the community of Mansinam and the surrounding people during the early period, there was considerable resistance to the acceptance of Christianity. They continued to engage in their traditional religious and ceremonial rites, although there was an attempt to integrate their own beliefs with those of the missionaries. At one stage they even offered to surrender their sacred objects, if the missionaries would first bring their dead back to life[72]. The earthquake and another outbreak of measles in 1864 was one example of this. After an initial hesitation, while they thought Geissler's departure was immanent[73], these two disasters motivated the people to revive many of the practices of their traditional religion, including building new worship centres and making more ancestor statues[74]. Despite opposition from Geissler, who saw this revival of traditional worship as a challenge to the gospel, the rebuilding of their *rumsram*, or their place of ancestor worship, continued, as they felt that it was vital to the restoration of their relationship with the ancestors, that they believed was the cause of the earthquake and sickness. In the end a compromise was reached with Geissler: the *rumsram* was rebuilt, but without the statues[75]. However, their religious beliefs were slowly changing. The Papuans continued to hold to the old ways, but were prepared to accept some of the new values, to attend Christian worship, and in time, to welcome the teachers and other missionaries sent to them[76].

The death of Ottow and the coming of the new Gossner and UZV missionaries, Klaasen, Otterspoor and van Hasselt[77] in 1863, resulted in a few changes in the style of evangelism. The

new missionaries put greater effort into primary evangelism. With more staff they were able to continue with two Sunday services, one at Kwawi, the other at Mansinam. Catechism classes were maintained and, with better support and more personnel from the Netherlands[78], they were able to devote their full attention to the task at hand, and expand their activities. The missionaries widened the area being evangelised, and were able to offer protection for the local people from their enemies[79]. With more missionaries, Geissler was offered the chance to return to Germany in 1866, but refused as he felt he still had work remaining. After baptising four more people, he returned to Germany for furlough in 1869, dying there in 1870 of tuberculosis[80].

From the base in and around Manokwari, the mission stations expanded, despite the lack of apparent success[81]. J.L. van Hasselt worked in Mansinam from 1863-1907. During this time he led the congregation at Mansinam, and acted, in effect, as the representative of the UZV in Irian[82]. By 1883, the congregation had sixteen baptised adults, of whom two assisted van Hasselt in church leadership[83]. G.L. Bink, a carpenter, was sent to assist the mission, serving from 1870-1899[84]. Kamps began agriculture extension work in Meoswar and then Andai, but died before any successes could be recorded[85]. He was replaced by Woelders, who worked there from 1868 to 1892, assisted by missionaries from Sangir[86]. During the same period, Mr. Ruys was sent with the aim of both evangelising and teaching the people how to trade with Chinese ships and others who were coming to their shores. In 1866 Mosche reported that he was received by the people of Meoswar with much joy and the people "listened to the words of teaching", perhaps because the mission represented protection from the stronger tribes around them[87]. A station was opened at the mouth of the Moom river by Meeuwig in 1871, but was closed in 1877[88]. Stations were established at Roon, Andai and Windesi to south in the 1880s, contact was made with other groups, and plans were made to establish posts in the Wandamen region in the southern Geelvink Bay area[89], as personnel and time allowed. Converts were made, and by 1894 the knowledge of Christianity had reached Biak, and by 1906 Christianity had been introduced to the Waropen people on the coast near Yapen[90].

The missionaries were able to expand the area that they could contact after the *Koningklijke Paketvaart Maatschapij* (KPM) began serving Irian in 1890[91]. In 1893 Bink visited Yotefa Bay and Lake Sentani (both near present-day Jayapura) and returned with two youths to stay with him at Roon[92]. F.J.F. van Hasselt followed in 1908[93]. As a result of these expeditions, the UZV decided to send a minister to the village of Tobati, but the decision was not immediately

followed through and a minister was not sent until after the Dutch government established a post[94]. The KPM service, as with the similar Burns Philp service in the Australian and British territories to the east, allowed the missions to expand faster than they would have done otherwise, permitting missionaries from the Netherlands to travel more quickly and directly to Irian, and allowed van Hasselt, for example, to send Jonathan Ariks to investigate the teachers school in Depok, in West Java[95].

The gradual expansion of the influence of the Dutch government gave the missionaries more prestige as the representatives of the 'white' power[96]. Although it gave them an instrument to enter new villages, it also meant that the villagers knew that the threat of force backed-up the message and person of the missionary[97]. This was reinforced by the establishment of permanent posts by the Dutch government, with Assistant Residents being placed in Manokwari and Fak Fak in 1898, and the gradual extension of Dutch power into villages that had either been free to rule themselves, or had been the victims of outsiders, be they pirates or traders[98]. One result of this was a program, beginning in 1900, to settle the people near main government centres into permanent villages, in the same way the missionaries had settled their converts in separate villages[99]. A regular shipping service also allowed more outsiders to come to Irian. From 1895, many Ambonese came and assisted the mission, both as workers and with their presence in the villages. However, this change was not always welcomed, as along with faithful Christians, came Muslims and Chinese traders, and the negative aspects of civilisation, such as prostitution and alcohol[100].

Due to a lack of success in Irian and the progress being made in neighbouring Halmahera, the UZV concentrated its efforts in this latter, but more productive, mission field[101]. By early 1906 only J.L. van Hasselt and van Balen, with their wives, remained in Irian, assisted by an Ambonese teacher on the island of Roon[102]. J.L. van Hasselt[103] returned to the Netherlands in 1906. D.B. Starrenburg came to replace him and, with Frans van Hasselt, who also returned to Irian in 1906, the UZV was able to maintain a minimal complement of missionaries in Irian.

Through all of this, the results were at best meagre. Some people did attend church, and the number of adherents steadily grew during this period[104]. But baptisms were few. Ottow and Geissler were reluctant to baptise someone until they were totally convinced that the new convert had a mature understanding of the faith[105]. Hence, the first baptism, of a women named Sarah, was not until 1 January 1865. This baptism was quickly followed by that of her daughter, named

Margaretha[106]. Both were redeemed slaves working for Geissler, but by being baptised they were not automatically admitted to Holy Communion[107]. This policy was continued by the missionaries that succeeded them. The first non-slave to be baptised was not until 1874, when Timoteus Wirie was baptised[108]. By 1890 there had only been twenty baptisms, of whom only fourteen were alive in that year. Seventeen missionaries or mission family members had died during the same period. Although local oral histories suggest that the evangelism of their regions was totally successful[109], between 1855 and 1905, when the UZV again voted to close the mission, there had only been about 150 baptisms[110], in Mansinam, Kwawi and Andai, and not all of these were of people local to that area[111]. It was not until 1885 that the first elder and deacon were appointed to the congregation in Mansinam, and not until 1898 that the first Papuan became an elder, a redeemed slave named Filipus. Despite good attendances at Sunday worship, there had not been the conversions that had been expected, and the people seemed to attend church for what they could get, in terms of goods, protection and contact with the outside world, and not for the spiritual reasons that motivated the missionaries[112].

Between 1862 and 1900, eighteen UZV missionaries were sent to Dutch New Guinea. However, the failure rate, both in terms of mission personnel who died or left the field, and in terms of the small number of converts, was so great and continuing, that the mission seriously considered withdrawing from the area[113]. Converts were few, the cost was great in terms of money and personnel, some of the missionaries had lost any hope that the mission would succeed and other fields, such as Halmahera and other parts of the Indies, promised greater rewards[114]. In 1864 the UZV formally decided to quit Irian, staying only after the intercession of Heldring[115], and perhaps *only* because of Heldring[116]. In 1888 there was a request from some of the missionaries in Irian to be recalled[117] and a vote in 1905 to cease the work in Irian was not carried out as conditions changed in the time it took for the decision to be realised. Despite the lack of success, a request from the Anglican mission in Papua in 1890 to work around Merauke was rejected due to Dutch government fear of British infiltration into an area in which they were not yet represented[118].

Initially the people on Mansinam and its surrounding areas were wary of these newcomers. They did not understand why the missionaries came and what was their purpose in being there[119]. The local people were prepared to help the missionaries, such as providing a canoe and their initial shelter, but otherwise they maintained their distance. Even when the missionaries became sick with

malaria, the people refused to believe that they were human, and so did not provide any help. The missionaries were perceived as being people from the west, from the land of the dead and so not fully human[120]. Attendance at the weekly Christian worship, which was led by the missionaries, only tended to confirm this belief. The missionaries said that the dead would come back to life. When they did not ultimately return, the people were convinced that the missionaries were not real people capable of making concrete promises[121]. The people perceived the missionaries as being wealthy. They had goods, they did not seem to have to work to support themselves, and they were able to buy slaves in large numbers[122], and this could only have confirmed the belief that these were not real people whose words were applicable to the community.

Although the missionaries were 'formally' not rejected or threatened, this did not mean that the community received the gospel message. The lack of success of the Heldring method was obvious and resulted in a new approach. The missionaries of the UZV used the same methods as the Gossner missionaries, and extended them. They changed their focus from the adults to the youth. Slaves were seen and as an object of evangelisation and were brought into the missionaries' homes. This effort was partially successful when adult former slaves, and those others who had been converted, were collected into 'Christian Villages'[123]. Among those who were the fruit of this approach were Petrus Kafiar and Filipus[124]. The missionaries also varied their style. J.L. van Hasselt, for example, began using a form of 'conversation with his listeners' rather than the more traditional sermon or exhortation, and began to treat local traditions a little more positively[125]. However, he and his colleagues still tried to change the culture of the Papuans, as this was seen as an impediment to the acceptance of the gospel, forbidding trading on Sundays, for one example. They also tried to win over the local people with new methods of agriculture and new products, such as tobacco, rice and coffee, for they saw their role as improving the lives of the Papuans, through sharing the gospel and improving their standard of living[126]. The approach was fairly successful for, though numbers of converts still remained small, the attitude of many others became more positive[127]. Van Hasselt and the other missionaries also made the village school an integral part of their approach, and then asked the Dutch government for help in subsidising the schools[128].

The early missionaries had an uncompromising attitude to traditional beliefs, regarding them all as pagan and therefore not worthy of consideration[129]. Kijne states that the missionaries and the people had different conceptions of the meaning of sin[130], for example, and these early

missionaries came with little understanding of the culture or climate of Irian[131]. This made understanding difficult, and no concerted attempt was made by the missionaries to systematically increase their understanding[132]. Van den End notes that those who were converted tended to be redeemed slaves, who were looked down upon by the 'free' people, and this also worked against the growth of congregations[133]. The missionaries' appeal to individuals to convert, and not the community as a whole, made it harder to gain converts[134]. The missionary method of only sending teachers to villages that requested one, meant that the mission only went to people knew of Christianity and who wanted a teacher. But, once there, the teacher was able to impose the mission's view on the local culture by treating the entire village as his pupil, without making any real attempt to engage the culture and find ways of using the culture to winning the hearts of the people to the gospel[135]. As a result, although church attendance rose, converts were still small in number, and the old religion remained strong.

As the missions perceived the situation, the reluctance of the Dutch government to establish a post in the Geelvink Bay area hindered the process of conversion and Christianisation[136]. They felt that the imposition of Dutch discipline would benefit the Papuans and would make them more open to Christianity[137].There was no Dutch post, and no consistent Dutch policing, nor was there a regular shipping service connecting New Guinea with other Dutch possessions until the end of the nineteenth century. Two UZV Committees formed in 1865 and 1867 recommended that the UZV contract a ship to serve New Guinea, while also urging the Dutch government to establish regular patrols[138]. This would have reduced the isolation of its workers and have opened up trade with the locals, at the same time making them more open to outside influences and more willing to use the mission for trading purposes, thus increasing the missions spiritual and financial role, and hence influence, in their lives. Trade, despite opposition from some quarters, such as A.R. Wallace, was also seen as a way of breaking down the barriers between the local tribes and increasing their prosperity. However, financial constraints on the UZV did not result in the hiring of a ship, despite Heldring's attempts to raise money for this purpose. The UZV's initially positive attitude to trading was seen in the appointment in 1873 of Carl Beyer as the official mission trader[139]. However, he did not last long. Although another mission trader, J. Meijwes, was appointed in 1891, raising money for the mission and enculturation of the Papuans through trade, he was not very successful, and no such missionaries were appointed after this. The introduction of new plant species and methods was also attempted, in the hope that the people would begin to eat better quality food, and have an excess they could use for commercial

purposes, but again, despite small-scale successes, the scheme did not attract much interest from the local people[140].

Although the UZV did not abandon the work in Irian, by 1907 the mission could be said to have, in effect, failed. Some mission stations had been opened, but clearly Christianity had not reached or attracted the majority of the people. Converts were few[141], the toll in mission expenditure and personnel had been heavy, and the deaths of mission personnel, and their families, had been excessive. Despite extensive contacts, the small numbers of converts had been largely drawn from the ranks of redeemed and converted slaves, who were looked down upon by the rest of the community. Missionary methods, which relied heavily on establishing a station and preaching to the gathered people[142], and which focussed on the salvation of the individual, had also failed. Where there had been successful contact with the local people, diseases such as smallpox and dysentery had intervened to cancel out these gains and make the people fearful of risking transferring their beliefs to the new God, who could no more control these outbreaks than could the old religion. The aura and impact of Western civilisation, and developments in the treatment of disease, that had assisted missions in other parts of the Dutch territories, and which was to play a significant part in the opening of the highlands, was not yet strong enough to sway a sufficient number of people to become believers, or to at least consider the offer of salvation made by the missionaries. That the mission had failed was evident to both the missionaries, their supporters in the Netherlands, and even some of their supporters in Irian[143].

Yet, the missionaries had prepared the way for the rapid expansion of the work in the twentieth century. They had contacted the principle tribal groups in the north coast, going as far east as what is now the Jayapura area. They had created an atmosphere where the missions were perceived positively through their involvement in disaster relief and rescuing kidnapped villagers[144]. They had not fled in the face of opposition, hostility, sickness or natural calamity, and several graves existed as a lasting sign of the commitment of the missionaries. Their message had been heard and considered as an alternative to the cycle of retribution and payback. They had learnt the local languages, and had produced sermons, hymns and catechetical materials in these languages[145]. Through their efforts, the knowledge and beliefs of Christianity had to have been diffused to other tribal groups, with whom contact was not made until the twentieth century, in the same way that knowledge of the white man and his products preceded the missions in the Baliem and the highlands of eastern New Guinea[146]. They had begun recruiting and training people to be teachers,

and had established the link between schools and Christianity[147]. By 1907 the first of the graduates of the Teachers' School in Depok had returned and more were being trained to be the new evangelists of Irian[148]. Their efforts were such that there were small group of Christians in a number of strategic locations on the north coast, who became the basis for a wider church movement. In retrospect, the Gossner and UZV missionaries had laid the framework for the later success of the missions and the acceptance of Christianity throughout Irian.

1. Brothers in the Lord, our work is not in vain, to God be the glory. F.J.F. van Hasselt, *Noemfor Eene Gescheidenis van Vijf Jaren Zendingsarbeid*, J.M. Bredee, n.p., n.d., p. 34.

2. In this dissertation, the basic periodisation is 1855 to 1907 (the arrival of Ottow and Geissler to the withdrawal of most of the missionaries by 1906), 1907 to 1942 (the prophecy of Yan Ayamiseba to the Pacific War), 1942-1945 (the Japanese and American occupations), 1945 to 1962 (the end of the War to the withdrawal of the Dutch), 1963-1999, (the integration of Irian into Indonesia). The exception to this scheme is that of the Evangelical missions in the highlands and the interior, which began in 1938 and, until about 1995, formed a distinct mission area. The division into Reformed, Catholic and Evangelical reflects the fact that these missions were largely independent of each other during the periods being discussed. The Adventists and Pentecostals, although theologically closer to the Evangelicals, until 1963 largely worked in the same areas as the Reformed missions, and so are included with them. This changed after 1963, and in the remaining three chapters the missions, the Churches that grew from them, and the Christian organisations from Indonesia, are treated together, as from this point the links and common characteristics that had their seed in the period before 1962, begin to be more evident, and a more 'Irianese' Christianity begins to emerge. Other divisions could be used, but, these seem to fit the religious and political context of Irian better than the alternatives.

3. In Britain the same movement was led by the Wesleys and others, but as the movement was rejected by the Anglican leadership, it grew largely outside the mainstream church.

4. Literally a 'Réveil'. Although Pietism came to the Netherlands via England, the terminology was French.

5. as opposed to its membership, as happened in Britain and the English-speaking colonies in the Americas.

6. which, until the 1870s, had no colonies of its own. The desire of the German pietists for overseas missions was then channelled through Dutch and Danish mission societies and colonies. This was also true for Swiss German efforts. See T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 35-43, for a detailed summary of these movements, particularly as they affected the Dutch possessions in the Indies.

7. One such theologian was J. Hoornbeek who, in 1662, stated that it was the duty of Christians to evangelise the heathen, as the heathen had made the Christians materially rich, and should therefore be repaid by being enriched spiritually. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 2, 1982, p. 134. As van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 143, puts it when discussing Dutch Pietism, "Rasa superioritas mereka terhadap orang-orang Indonesia pada masa itu lebih hebat lagi, tetapi dorongan untuk mengabarkan Injil ke antara mereka ini menjadi lebih kuat pula". (Their sense of superiority towards the Indonesians was even greater, but the motivation to spread the gospel among them became even stronger.)

8. In the case of the Netherlands East Indies, as well as other colonial territories, this was not always certain. While the Reformed Church was the established Church in the colony, as is pointed out in T. van den End, *Harta Dalam Bejana*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1992. p. 253, the government in Batavia had an official policy of strict neutrality in religious affairs, even if this meant, as happened in the Central Moluccas in 1842 after pressure from the local animist kings, the halting of all mission work. This policy was enforced by local officials, many of whom were at best ambivalent towards Christianity and Christian missionaries in their territories.

9. Netherlands Mission Society. The NZG worked in the Dutch East Indies during the Napoleonic wars under the auspices of the London Missionary Society (LMS). After 1916 the LMS sent missionaries to most parts of the Dutch possessions, except Irian. S. Neill, G.H. Anderson & J. Goodwin (eds.), *The Concise Dictionary of Christian World Mission*, USCL, London, 1970, pp. 278f. The NZG became the principal Dutch mission society in Indonesia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, concentrating all of its energies, after 1839, on Indonesia and becoming the principal planter of churches modelled on the Dutch Reformed Church as it was established by William I in 1816

upon his return from exile in England: theologically Calvinist and pietist, formally separate from the state but responsible to it, with an hierarchical structure, which resulted in leadership 'from above' as opposed to the more traditional system of church government in churches in the Calvinist tradition, which are centred upon a number of `interrelated councils' (to use the terminology of the Uniting Church in Australia) where the congregation has a significant, if not absolute, say in its own affairs. See H. Berkhof, & I.H. Enklaar, *Sejarah Gereja*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1992, pp. 296f, for a fuller explanation. Despite a major revision of the church order of the Nederlandsche Hervoormed Kerk (NHK) in 1950, that created a church that was more truly 'presbyteral-synodal' than that existing from 1816, which allowed for more participation 'from below', there was little impact upon the Indonesian Churches that the Dutch mission had founded. The most significant period of Dutch-sponsored church planting and building came before Indonesian independence in 1949. With independence came a distancing from the Dutch, that was reflected in all areas of national life, including that of the Churches. Therefore this change in the 'mother' church was not reflected in the, by then structurally, politically and increasingly financially, independent Indonesian Churches, and did not have much impact on the Church in Irian, which, while remaining under Dutch political and mission control, was by then being prepared for its independence, and already had the basis of a local leadership, which did not always view things as the new Dutch church leaders did. See van den End, *Harta*, op cit, p. 363. Therefore it has been the more authoritarian form of church government that has formed the basis of the church order of the Churches that were either founded in the nineteenth century by the Dutch missions, or which are products of the Dutch and German missionary enterprises of that period. This pattern has, however, also reflected the Indonesian and Melanesian culture, with their emphasis on obeying authority, particularly male authority, rather than making decisions based on the result of a debate and/or consensus, as is generally the case now in most Dutch Reformed Churches.

10. For a fuller account of the development of mission societies in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, see T.J. Bezemer, *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsche-Indie*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1921, pp. 623f, van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 16-22, T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 1: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1500-1860an*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta 1980, pp. 150f, and M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia', STT Erikson-Tritt, Manokwari, 1992, p. 32. It should be noted that, almost without exception, unlike the societies formed in Britain, the USA and Germany during this period, which sent missionaries to places with whom there was not necessarily a pre-existing colonial relationship, the mission societies of the Netherlands, after the withdrawal of the NZG from South Africa in 1839, focussed their activities on areas that came within the sphere of influence, or the direct control, of the Netherlands Kingdom. The main colonial territory of the Netherlands was the Netherlands East Indies, and hence received most of the attention of the Dutch mission societies until 1945. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 18.

11. the [Dutch] East India Company.

12. T. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1993, pp. 3-10, notes that the change was at least in part the result of the liberal policies of the British Governor, Stanford Raffles, who pursued a policy of religious freedom, which gave respect to the beliefs of the Muslims, but which also encouraged new mission societies to begin work in Java, which had previously been, in effect, closed to work within the non-Christian population (as opposed to those connected with the VOC). It was also Raffles who set a precedent of allowing in non-Dutch missions, by inviting the English Baptists to begin work in Java. They began in 1813 and by 1816 had sent ten missionaries.

13. The mission societies and activities frequently fell within the umbrella of an established church, but as with modern-day faith missions, this was not always the case.

14. Which could incite locals against the church and then the nominally Christian company and thereby disrupt trade, and administration. Generally, not upsetting Muslims was the primary concern of the VOC representatives, as this would interfere with profits, even if this meant limiting Christian missionary activity. After the return of the Dutch in 1817, there were cases where the government restricted the activities of the missions for political considerations, such as in 1841 when, according to van den End, *Harta*, op cit, p. 253, the missions were banned from the South Moluccas, followed in 1842 with a ban on activities in the Central Moluccas, due to protests from

the traditional 'adat' leaders that the mission activities were having a negative impact upon their traditional beliefs.

15. Which, due to the difficulties imposed by the Napoleonic wars in Europe, was unable to send any missionaries until 1813.

16. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 16, states that, although the between 1813 and 1894, the NZG sent missionaries to the Moluccas, Minahasa, Timor, East Java, Poso, and the Karo Batak area in Sumatra, the total number sent was only ninety five individuals, presumably not counting wives and children.

17. J. Haire, *The Character of the Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera, Indonesia, 1941-1979*, Peter D. Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, pp. 128ff. The UZV in particular was partially independent of the Netherlands Reformed Church, but was linked to it through its leaders, who represented those conservative elements who stayed within the Church, rather than founding new denominations.

18. Netherlands Missionary Society

19. Utrecht Mission Society. Before 1945, it limited its efforts to West New Guinea, Halmahera and the island of Buru. See M.T. Magany, *Bahtera Injil di Halmahera*, GMIH, Ambon, 1984, pp. 94ff, and H.D.J. Boissevain, *De Zending in Oost en West: Verleden en Heden*, vol. II, Zendingsstudie-Raad, Hoenderloo, 1943, pp. 21-24.

20. Netherlands Reformed Missionary Society. Haire, op cit, p. 125.

21. Christian Workmen Committee. Founded as a result of a brochure published by Heldring in 1847. See H. Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indië*, J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1991, pp. 108-111, H. Reenders, *Mendalami Beberapa Pokok Sejarah Gereja*. STT GKI, Abepura, 1993, pp. 38-43, and F.J.F. van Hasselt, *In het Land van de Papoea's*, Kemink & Zoon, Utrecht, 1926, pp. 63f, for a detailed account of the foundation of this committee. In addition to sending the first two missionaries to Irian, the Committee also sent workers to Java, Sangir, Talaud, Macassar and West Timor.

22. Mennonite Mission Society. In 1950 it was known as the Mennonite Mission Council. See J.J. Jesnath, 'Kehadiran Zending Mennonite (Doopsgezinde Zendingsveereniging) di Daerah Kepala Burung Irian Jaya Serta Dampaknya Bagi Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya', B.Th., Long Essay, STT IS Kijne, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 28f.

23. J. Louwerse, 'Una (West New Guinea) Worldview and a Reformed Model for Contextualising Cross Cultural Communication of the Gospel', Doctoral Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987, p. 26. There were three denominations that used the words *Gereformeerde Gemeenten* in their names. This was the largest. The background to the formation of the congregations is also recounted in T. ten Hove, 'Dari Mana Datangnya Gereformeerde Gemeenten atau Netherlands Reformed Congregations?', n.p., 1995, pp. 6-9. In Irian it is usually referred to by its English name, the NRC, or Netherlands Reformed Congregations. Its mission body is known by the initials ZGG.

24. or lay workers who could support themselves through labouring and living at the village level, or so it was hoped. In F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley, (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, p. 22, they are described as being skilled in carpentry, shoemaking, blacksmithing and agriculture, skills that were not eagerly sought after in Irian at the time.

25. As mentioned in chapters one and four, there were contacts with the people of Irian before 1855. Explorers travelled around Irian, and the Dutch and English attempts at settlement would have included Christians and have had regular Christian worship. Papuan slaves were also taken to Ternate, Batavia and other regions, where they may have been baptised. Technically Ottow and Geissler were not 'missionaries', but rather 'fraternal workers'.

'Missionaries' were those who were ordained, and so licensed to perform the sacraments. However, as the Evangelical missions and the local Christians do not have this distinction, and as all were 'servants of the Lord' concerned with evangelism, church planting and building up the church in general, in this work, this distinction is not made. Anyone who left their own area to spread the gospel is a 'missionary'.

26. where they taught for 1½ *years* in a school in Batavia. See J. Mamoribo, *Ottow dan Geissler*, n. pub., Djajapura, 1971, p. 11, and E. Baltin, *Morgenrothe auf Neu-Guinea: Mittheilungan aus dem Leben des Missionars Johann Gottlob Geißler*, Diakonissen Unstalt, Kaiserswerth am Rhein, 1878, pp. 27-31. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 113, notes that the delay may have been due to their being German nationals.

27. where their work was able to interest the UZV when it was deciding where to send workers in the Indies. Haire, op cit, p. 163.

28. or 'Dorei'

29. The *Circe*. The journey was one of establishing Dutch authority in the area. See F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, vol. 1, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1981, p. 86. As Kamma states, their visit was not long enough to learn from the locals of the fate of the previous attempt at a permanent European presence in their area.

30. See Reenders, 1993, op cit, pp. 45-6. One of Heldring's reasons for sending people there was to preempt foreign powers from taking over the area, as the British could do from Australia. In addition they felt the need to convert the people before they could be influenced by Islam. As van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 112, points out Islam had already penetrated parts of the Raja Ampat group, and this had to have been known by Heldring. Until 1907, Islam had limited successes in the west and around Manokwari. But they were few and, with the exception of the Raja Ampat islands where force was occasionally applied, were mainly the result of inter-marriage. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 108f.

31. By this it can be assumed the permission of the local Dutch Resident was also given, as Tidore was firmly part of the Dutch administered areas by this time. In 1872 the Sultan of Tidore ceded authority in New Guinea to the Dutch government, thus negating the need for permission from the Sultan. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 27.

32. The details, such as the ship, the captain and similar pieces of information are in A. Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden*, vol. 2, M. Nijhoff, the Hague, 1884, pp. 104ff. Mansinam was chosen as it was the trading centre for the Geelvink Bay. Newell op cit, p. 28.

33. See Haga, vol. 2, op cit, p. 160. Jaesrich left Irian in 1864 due to ill health and died in 1866.

34. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 39. The conservative nature of the UZV has tended to colour the congregations that it founded and has resulted in the GKI being theologically conservative.

35. Ottow and Geissler were not accepted by the UZV as its missionaries because the UZV would only accept those it had trained. See Reenders, 1993, pp. 49ff. For an fuller understanding of Heldring's break with the NZG and his relationship with the UZV, see Reenders, 1991, op cit, pp. 309-318.

36. See J. Mamoribo, *Sedjarah Ringkas Gereja Kristen Indjili di Irian Barat*, n. pub., Sukarnopura, 1965, p. 15. His widow married J.L. van Hasselt, one of the UZV missionaries.

37. Reenders, 1993, op cit, pp. 53f, has a succinct but complete list of names, dates and places of the Gossner missionaries. In this list there is also information about their wives and widows, including those who continued on after the death of their husbands.

38. i.e. they were ordained.

39. Both of whom were married.

40. Klaasen and Otterspoor only stayed two years, but van Hasselt remained and worked for 45 years. See N.G.J. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor de Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, p. 6. All three were described as 'broeders' or brothers, and not ministers.

41. The Society for Internal and External (in the sense of inside and outside Java) Missions.

42. See Kamma, 1981, op cit, p. 222. J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, p. 78, notes that he was an Indo-European who had known Geissler in Batavia. He assisted van Hasselt in the congregation in Mansinam, and was still there in 1896 when, according to Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 71, 108f, he was dismissed as an elder for permitting his wife to allow their daughter to marry a Muslim and convert to Islam.

43. Which included cattle and 'several smaller animals' and which had been supplied by the Society for Internal and External Mission in Batavia. See Mamoribo, 1971, op cit, p. 11. Their goods were stored in a warehouse left by earlier traders. G. van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani dalam Konteks Sejarah Agama-Agama Lain*, book 3, Obor, Jakarta, 1995, p. 159. The presence of a godown may have influenced their decision to settle at Mansinam, and not nearby Kwawi.

44. According to Kamma, 1981, op cit, p. 93, their attempts at obtaining a canoe only succeeded after the locals took pity on them and their fruitless attempts to make one, and made one for them, leaving it in a position where it could be seen. Ultimately it was purchased for twelve guilders.

45. The house and worship centre was not completed until 1856 when Geissler, returning after medical treatment in Ternate, brought five Muslim carpenters with him to do the work. Van Schie, op cit, p. 161.

46. C.W. Ottow, "Nachrichten aus dem holländischen Indien", *Die Biene*, 1958, p. 92. Mamoribo, 1971, op cit, p. 16, adds that when the missionaries had learnt enough of the local language, the Numfor language (or possibly the Biak language which was spoken on Numfor and Mansinam. Newell op cit, p. 28), and tried to preach in it, attendance at the service actually declined, "as they were embarrassed to hear that language" as the missionaries spoke it so poorly. Van Schie, op cit, p. 161, points out that this was equally true for their competency in Malay. This may have been a factor in their inability to effectively communicate the message they bore.

47. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 114.

48. F.J.S. Rumainum, *Sepuluh Tahun G.K.I, Sesudah Seratus Tahun Zending di Irian Barat*, Kantor Pusat GKI, Sukarnopura, 1966, p. 12, citing J.L. van Hasselt, who said that if there was no tobacco, no one went to the service.

49. A.F. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1986, p. 498, wrote, after observing the two missionaries first hand, that the issue of trading to sustain their mission had, in his opinion, compromised the efforts of the missionaries, by raising feelings of suspicion among the local people, when they sold

rice in the low season at a higher price than they had been paid in the high season. For Wallace, missionaries had to be prepared, and able, to give without expecting a return. This ultimately became the policy of the UZV.

50. Rumainum, op cit, p. 12, states that the reason for abandoning Malay in favour of the language of Numfor, was a fear in the community that the clever children who learnt Malay would then be used to deliver letters to the ships that came, as Malay was the trade language. But, closer contact with the ships brought the danger of the messenger being taken by the ship's captain to "Ternate, Betawi & Belanda". Hence, the reluctance to have their children acquire a good knowledge of Malay.

51. Ibid, p. 10.

52. Ottow married Augusta Metz in 1858 at Ternate. Heldring, after being asked by Ottow and Geissler, sent two women as missionary wives. The prospective bride of Geissler died en route. He later married a girl of mixed parentage from Ternate. Van Schie, op cit, p. 162.

53. The school initially had twenty five students. Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 230-33. A direct consequence of the success of the afternoon school was an increase in church attendance.

54. M.T. Mawene, "Dari L.J. van Hasselt Sampai Pdt. J. Mamoribo", *Peninjau*, xiv/2 & xv/1, 1990, pp. 5f. Palawey was on a ship travelling from Talaud to Minahasa, that drifted to Irian. Despite the death of his wife during childbirth, he stayed with Woelders for twelve years. The role of the Ambonese and Sangirese teachers was central to the success of the mission before 1942. See Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 283, 300, Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 156-162, and Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 8. To assist the school at Andai, Woelders employed a woman from Numfor, Sorbari (baptised as Yohanna), for *f*6 a month. She could control the children as she was free-born "and thus had the charisma" to control the students.

55. M.C. Malamuk, 'Sejarah Berdirinya Sekolah Injil sampai dengan Berdirinya Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Izaak Samuel Kijne', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 9. The school established by van Balen at Windesi had fifty three students in 1893, twenty seven boys and twenty six girls. Rauws, op cit, p. 95.

56. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 7.

57. Geissler and Ottow did spend time asking questions about the local culture, but in the end could not see anything positive it. Van Schie, op cit, p. 161.

58. which is in keeping with Ottow's and Geissler's Pietistic background. See van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 114.

59. Ibid, p. 114. Van den End takes a more positive attitude to these ceremonies, providing the point of view of the people for holding these dances and other rites

60. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 84-86, gives two examples, one involving a slave who did not want to be given to the Hattam people, and other involving a divorce. Woelders also intervened in the activities of the people he worked among, with their tacit consent. Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 84ff. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 104-6, notes that the missionaries were called upon to act as intermediaries, and as a result, Metz received eight requests for baptism in 1899.

61. See S.C. Graaf van Randwijk, *Oegstgeest*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, p. 243. In 1860 the Dutch government banned slavery and in 1861 forbade the Sultan of Tidore from taking tribute. However, the trade in

slaves continued until 1879, when the Dutch government formally bought all the slaves in Tidore and Ternate, and freed them. Van Schie, op cit, p. 161. Despite this, the Dutch were still buying slaves from the king of Salawati in 1918, and settling them on Kofiau island, on the extreme western edge of Melanesia, where they intermarried with the local population. B. Mambrasar, *Sagu Menurut Orang Betew*, Ayumas, Jayapura, 1984, pp. 61f.

62. Mamoribo, 1965, op cit, pp. 15f, and E.A. Mili, 'Pekabaran Injil di Sorong: Suatu Tinjauan Historis Missiologis Terhadap Pekabaran Injil Di Lingkungan Orang Moi Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 35. Van den End ,*Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 114f, notes that this policy was continued by the UZV missionaries and resulted in a number of important church workers, notably Filipus and Petrus Kafrar.

63. Following the example of Gossner, the *Rheinische Missiongesellschaft* (RMG) bought thousands of slaves in southern Kalimantan between 1842 and 1859.

64. See Reenders, 1993, op cit, p. 52. Van Schie, op cit, p. 161, points out that by buying slaves the missionaries may have been encouraging the further taking of slaves, as their purchases reduced the supply available to the local people and increased their price. F.C. Kamma, "Zending en Messianisme in de Geelvinkbaai", *Vox Theologia*, no. 5, Sept. 1972, vol. 24, p. 255, suggests that the use of slaves as pupils was a major mistake, as it handicapped the mission's efforts to attract non-slaves to the schools. However, L.M. D'Albertis, *New Guinea: What I Did and What I Saw*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge, 1881, pp. 71-74, took a more positive attitude when he visited van Hasselt and saw the Papuan children in the house, some of whom must have been slaves. He said "the children are destined to form the nucleus of converts to Christianity". At Andai he saw that this was not going to be easy, as there were then no living converts, but at least the condition of the children in the care of Woelders was seen as beneficial.

65. Thereby earning a pension from the Dutch government of ƒ50 per month, as well as more sympathy from the local people. See van Schouwenburg, op cit, p. 6, and Boissevain, op cit, p. 24. A. Haga, *Nederlandsche Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden*, vol. 1, M. Nijhoff, the Hague, 1884, p. 159, states that it was a sum of ƒ1,000 p.a. But, this was probably a reference to a payment of ƒ1,000 p.a. that the Dutch government proposed be given to missionaries working in areas where it was not yet represented. J.A. Overweel, *Irian Jaya Source Materials No. 8: Archival Sources Relating to Netherlands New Guinea History*, DSALCUL/IRIS, Leiden, 1994, p. 29.

66. See Mamoribo, 1965, op cit, pp. 16f.

67. The first of a long string of 'premature' missionary deaths that included two of Ottow's children, who died before him. The death rate only declined with improved health care methods and practices in the 1920s. Although this is discussed in a later chapter, it is interesting to note that the locals interpreted his death as retribution for his excessive efforts in trying tp evangelise them, which also accorded with Geissler's theology of divine punishment, voiced during the 1861 measles epidemic, and their own understanding of death as being connected to external events or people, and not to 'natural' causes such as 'acts of God', accidents, old age or disease. Ibid, p. 18.

68. It is interesting to note that he bought the belongings of Mrs Ottow and, according to Rumainum, op cit, p. 10, *rented* the dwelling at Kwawi. This would have been reasonable, as the Gossner missionaries were considered to be self-supporting, and so presumably held their dwellings as private property, and not as mission housing.

69. Ibid, p. 19. By this time several other missionaries from Gossner and the UZV had arrived.

70. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 19.

71. The 'Church of Hope'.

72. See Mamoribo, 1965, op cit, pp. 15f.

73. which ended when they realised that it would be another three months before a ship could come for him.

74. Which Geissler interpreted as a evidence of their hardness of heart and a return to their original sinful ways, rather than as evidence that for them, the new religion did not, at least as yet, provide satisfactory answers to the crises that beset them. Apparently statue making was an aspect of local culture. In Rumainum, op cit, p. 15, there is a case of a wedding, where a man took a widow as his second wife. As part of the ceremony a statue was used, representing the widow's first husband. The whole ceremony was viewed as a challenge to the missionaries, as the participants were attenders at the Christian church.

75. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 166f. The site where Ottow and several others are buried has now been developed into a *rumsram*. This is, perhaps, evidence that the *rumsram* concept could be accommodated by later generations within their Christian belief and practice.

76. R.N. Kawyan, 'Peranan Ibadah Perseketuan Keluarga dalam Membangunan Kehidupan Anggota Keluarga', B.Th. Long Essay, STFT-GKI, Abepura, 1997, p.17, states that while they believed in the old spirits, they also accorded some power to the Christian God. L. Jenbise, 'Amberbaken: A Short History', Sekolah Tinggi Theologia GKI 'I.S. Kijne', Jayapura, 1997, p. ll, states that the Amberbaken people, west of Manokwari, basically rejected the missionaries. However, the problem seemed to be not a lack of acceptance of the new faith, but rather that in accepting the new faith, they would have to change their way of life as expressed in their traditional practices.

77. Baltin, op cit, pp. 90-93, and Rumainum, op cit, p. 10.

78. Which enabled them to concentrate on evangelism and church planting, rather than having to be concerned about supporting themselves, as Ottow, Geissler and Jaesrich needed to, by trading. On the contrary, they were forbidden to engage in trade.

79. Mili, op cit, pp. 35f. The idea being, perhaps, that if a European missionary was located in a particular area, wars could be averted, pirates would be more reluctant to attack, and therefore the missionary and his message would be more readily accepted.

80. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 167f.

81. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 115f. However, no permanent station was established at the government post at Manokwari. Rauws, op cit, p. 94. This was probably because Mansinam and Kwawi were so close (the latter being a fifteen minute walk from the harbour at Manokwari, or twenty minutes by canoe from Mansinam).

82. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 4. According to Mawene, one reason for the problems that the missionaries faced in Irian during this period was the fact that leadership of the mission in the Netherlands did not give the missionaries in the field permission to adjust their mission strategies to the situation where they worked.

83. The members of the congregation came from Irian (twelve), Java (one), Sangir (one) and Halmahera (two). There were also sixteen baptised children. Ibid, p. 5.

84. Bink, although a workman, was ordained in 1892. Van Schie, op cit, p. 171.

85. See Rumainum, op cit, pp. 10ff.

86. Rauws, op cit, pp. 91ff. According to Kamma, 1982, op cit, p. 83, the ship contained thirty two people, among them Palawey. Woelders took fourteen to Andai, but only Palawey, with his wife and children, decided to stay.

87. I.S. Kijne, *Alasan Jang Hidup*, Raad voor de Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, n.d., p. 23. Mosche died in 1868, a year after saying that they had to cease their dancing and surrendered their *korwar* or ancestor statues. If the statues had more power than the Christian God then Mosche said he would die. His death soon after, according to van Schie, op cit, p. 167, confirmed their belief.

88. Rauws, op cit, p. 93.

89. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 145f. The plan did not succeed, due to van der Roest's transfer to Halmahera.

90. Rumainum, op cit, p. 18. In 1898 a Sangirese ship washed ashore at Maudori, on Biak. The survivors were held for ransom, and a group went to Manokwari to discuss this with F.J.F. van Hasselt. Van Hasselt paid them with 'valuable presents and money' and sent Petrus Kafiar, who was the first Papuan teacher, and from Maudori, to complete the transaction. In this journey Kafiar also visited Numfor (which would have been en route if he island-hopped). Held reports an oral tradition of the Ambumi people near Serui, that they requested a teacher from A. van Balen. Success in terms of conversion came during the period of van Balen's successor, D.B. Starrenburg. Probably reporting an oral tradition, Held stated that by 1906 the area was Christian. This seems unlikely, as he then states that the area was not considered to be safe until 1938, when the last of the Waropen tribes had accepted Christianity. Held, op cit, pp. 20-22.

91. the Dutch merchant marine company, which in the Dutch territories served the same role that Burns Philp served in Australian and British possessions in the Pacific, providing services for the main centres as well as isolated ports and regions. As J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, p. 21, it is noted that the service expanded during the 1930s with regular services connecting the main centres of Irian with Batavia and Macassar (now Ujung Pandang).

92. Van Schie, op cit, p. 171. Waro Itar assisted Bink with translation (of the Tobati language?) at Roon. Hamadijo died soon after arriving at the carpenter's school.

93. S. Kooijman & J. Hoogerbrugge, "Art of Wakde-Yamna Area, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani", in S. Greub (ed.), *Art of Northwest New Guinea: From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani*, Rizzoli, New York, 1992, p. 59, note that Bink was sent at the request of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society. F.J.F. van Hasselt was the son of J.L. van Hasselt. After schooling in the Netherlands, he returned to Irian as a missionary from 1896 to 1904, before going to Halmahera. He returned to Irian in 1907, retiring in 1931. He died in the Netherlands in 1939. Boissevain, op cit, p. 27, and Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 409, 447.

94. At the mouth of Yotefa Bay. Kijne, op cit, p. 24.

95. The first new missionaries to arrive at Mansinam by steamship were in 1893. Ariks was a redeemed slave, who was the father of the second Papuan graduate from the school, Willem Rumainum, and the grandfather of the first Moderator of the GKI. He died, after assisting at Mansinam and opening a number of other posts, while accompanying the van Hasselt family and his own family on a holiday to Java. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 53,82, 189.

96. Funds were provided for the missionaries and their schools, as stated above, and in the later 1880s the Resident

in Ternate began touring Irian, visiting places such as Mansinam. Kamma, 1982, op cit, p. 290.

97. During a visit to Filipus on Numfor, van Hasselt was attacked. In a meeting with the villagers after he landed, he warned the people that he and his property were protected by the Dutch government. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 63f. This influence was positive in the sense that the missionaries could enter villages with greater confidence, but there was also a negative impact, that was reflected in cultic activity that was both anti-mission and anti-government, in Waar in 1898, Numfor in 1910, and Yapen in 1925. G.W. Trompf, *Payback*, CUP, Cambridge, 1994, p. 197.

98. After much debate in the Dutch parliament, ƒ115,000 was sent aside for this purpose. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 94. See also Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 23. Dutch New Guinea was divided into two districts, North New Guinea, based in Manokwari, and South and West New Guinea based in Fak Fak. S. Latuputty, 'Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas Tradisi Zending dalam Pemahaman Iman Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Quezon City, 1999, pp. 33f.

99. E. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Daerah Sorong dan Raja Ampat', Sorong, 1992, pp. 4f, states that in the Sorong region the campaign to resettle people was extended into the Raja Ampat group. It culminated in 1925 with the establishment in the Sorong area of five villages, which still form the main groupings of the Moi people.

100. Van Schie, op cit, p. 172.

101. In 1864, a number of the missionaries and their families were evacuated to Ternate after the big earthquake in Manokwari. Due to poor results in Irian, the UZV decided to retain the missionaries there and use them to reopen the mission in Halmahera. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 126. In 1897 there was a smallpox epidemic and a number, as a consequence of which van der Roest, who worked with van Balen in Windesi, was withdrawn to Roon, and finally to Halmahera. Rauws, op cit, p. 96. See also T. Müller-Krüger, *Der Protestantismus in Indonesien*, Evangelisches Verlagswerk, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 155.

102. Kijne, op cit, p. 25.Van Schouwenburg, op cit, pp. 6f, states that Roon attracted a lot of attention during the initial phase of evangelism, receiving at one time or another, Bink, van Splunder, Mrs Jens and Mrs Beyer, and finally F.J.F. van Hasselt, ('the younger van Hasselt'), who settled there in 1907. Rauws, op cit, pp. 88-90.

103. The son of Johannes and more proficient in the Biak Numfor language than his father, according to Kijne, op cit, p. 24, presumably as he had learnt the language as a child.

104. D'Albertis, op cit, pp. 79f., notes that on Sundays the people oiled themselves and put hibiscus flowers in their hair. D'Albertis' companion in Andai was an unconverted Papuan named David.

105. Latuputty, op cit, p. 123. J.L. Van Hasselt's first baptism was not until 1872, of a child of a redeemed slave who had been baptised by Geissler. Kamma, 1982, op cit, p. 97.

106. By Geissler.

107. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 166f. Van Hasselt and the other UZV missionaries, however, allowed for the participation in Holy Communion of baptised adults, until about 1905, when the policy of only baptising indigenous adults was changed to allow for the baptising of youths and children. Latuputty, op cit, pp. 125-6, 149-50. Geissler, therefore, also rejected the concept of communal baptisms, as suggested by the people living on Mansinam. This issue of communal and individual conversion was also a concern for the Evangelical missions in the highlands in the early 1960s.

108. Van Schie, op cit, p. 170. Slowly this pattern was changing. After 1895, J.L. van Hasselt reported that the majority asking for baptism were free people, and not slaves. Eg. On Palm Sunday 1903, six of the eight people baptised were non-slaves. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 121.

109. In the Windesi region the oral history is that the people sought out the missionaries at Mansinam. When van Balen arrived in August 1888 he was welcomed with palm fronds and other decorations. See T. Urbinas & J. Tiblola, 'Laporan Pengabdian dan Pelayanan Klasis GKI Wondama Lingkungan III Jemaat GKI van Balen Windesi, STT GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 22.

110. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p.116, and K. Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*, R. Brockhaus, Wuppertal & Zürich, 1995, pp. 329f. Rumainum, pp.16f, gives a year by year breakdown from 1865-1900. The greatest total (including children) was in 1895, when twenty one were baptised. Of this twenty one, only nine were adults. The greatest number of adults baptised (eleven) was in 1886 and 1888. Ukur and Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 23, give slightly different figures, stating that by 1900, 209 adults and children had been baptised. Newell, op cit, p. 38, gives an annual breakdown that indicates that by 1900, 231 had been baptised. No source is given, and it is stated this figure does not include the children of missionaries and non-Papuans.

111. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 23.

112. Mili, op cit, pp. 36f. Metz, who came in 1893, reported that at Andai, despite the presence of the store that was an alternative source of goods, church attendances continued unchanged. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 58f.

113.See Reenders, 1993, op cit, pp. 47-8, and F.L. Cooley, *Indonesia: Church and Society*, Friendship Press, New York, 1988, p. 61.

114. By 1900 van Balen and Metz had both expressed their sense of failure of their work, despite the sacrifice of missionaries such as Bink. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 146f, 153.

115. See Reenders, 1993, op cit, p. 47.

116. Who died in 1876.

117. Overweel, op cit, p. 87.

118. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 181f.

119. Mili, op cit, p. 33.

120. Ibid, p. 13.

121. See Mamoribo, 1965, op cit, pp. 13f.

122. Kijne, op cit, p. 23, points out, slaves were redeemed with Dutch government and mission money, and were taught the Christian faith rather than being used only as servants.

123. The issue of 'Christian villages' was debated both among the missionaries, the leaders in Utrecht, and the

Papuans. The expectation that new converts *had* to move to the Christian village was an impediment to the acceptance of baptism by many church members. However, some justified their move to these villages, as they wanted the benefits of close contact with the missionaries that baptism would bring. But they still desired the proximity to traditional sources of power, that remaining in their village would ensure, and so maintained close ties with their old village. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 114f, and Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 72f. The first Christian village in the Dutch East Indies was founded in 1848 in Mojowarno, and van Dijken in Halmahera followed a similar strategy, with mixed results. See Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 269-77 for a fuller discussion of this issue. Three villages were created in Irian, at Mansinam, Andai and Windesi. Although the villages produced a number of Christian workers, they tended to isolate and alienate the Christians from their neighbours, and did not produce the Christian utopia that was expected.

124. Filipus was accepted a as parish teacher in 1900, to work in the congregation at Mansinam. However, his status as a redeemed slave prevented him being able to work effectively. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 172f.

125. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 115. But, as van den End points out, this was a matter of degree. The missionaries of this period continued to be conservative 19th century Pietists.

126. Gossner's attempt to plant tobacco failed. Rice cultivation and coffee was introduced, but was not continued after his death. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 121. There was an inherent resistance to a form of agriculture that required consistent attention, that the early missionaries were not able to overcome. However, the missionaries persisted, and new methods and crops *were* accepted eventually. Kamma, 1972, op cit, pp. 270f.

127. The oral history from Windesi, mentioned by Urbinas & Tiblola, op cit, p. 22, must have a basis in fact. At the very least it indicates that the local clan leader was eager to have a missionary, for whatever reason, and the station would only have been maintained if it was considered viable.

128. which was given for some schools. See Overweel, op cit, p. 101.

129. In Randwijk, op cit, p. 391, F.J.F. van Hasselt is quoted as saying that, as far as his father, J.L. van Hasselt, was concerned, "...een heiden was een heiden, en de Bijbel vertelde niet veel goeds van heidenen en heidendom". (a heathen is a heathen , and the Bible does not say good things about heathens and heathenism).

130. Kijne, op cit, p. 24. Basically, sin for them was the result of doing something wrong. When they did something wrong, it was compensated for through a payment. They asked "How can the minister know we have sinned if he knows nothing about us?" In other words, they rejected the concept of general sin, which was one of the mainstays of the European pietist understanding of the relationship between God and humanity. They said as much to the missionaries. Latuputty, op cit, pp. 119, 154-6.

131. Mili, op cit, p. 33. In the defence of the early missionaries, when they arrived, there was virtually nothing available to help them understand Irian. They had to produce the first dictionaries and linguistic studies themselves, and were, by default, the first anthropologists. Kamma, 1982, p. 181, notes that J.L. van Hasselt produced a dictionary of the Numfor language, that in 1893 was into its second printing. Even into the 1990s, the missionaries were often the only interpreters of the culture and beliefs of newly contacted groups to the outside world. The work C.W. Ottow & J.G. Geissler, 'A Brief Survey of the Land and People of the Northeast Coast of New Guinea', Handwritten manuscript 1857 (translated by J. Godschalk), is interesting in its own right, and truly impressive if one remembers that there was no study of the Mansinam people, nor any other groups in Irian, before this.

132. This was Kamma's plaint as mentioned in Randwijk, op cit, pp. 305f, where Kamma states that their dedication and suffering was total, but their lack of understanding prevented them from being about to approach the people. It needs to be noted that, before 1895, the missionaries to Irian, and other parts of the Indies, went without any ethnological or linguistic training. Their task was to spread the gospel and serve the existing congregations, and not to indulge in anthropological research. However, their writings did touch upon the

traditional beliefs and practices of the people of Mansinam and Kwawi, and they did begin the anthropological study of Irian, as noted above. Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 37-40, mentions the early work N. Rinnooy, who had a positive attitude to local celebrations. His attitude was not shared by his colleagues. In 1905 a school for missionaries in the Netherlands, the *Nederlands Zendingsschool*, was founded that provided a more comprehensive training for the new missionaries, and increased their level of professionalism. See Randwijk, op cit, pp. 585-589, van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 29f, and Boissevain, op cit, p. 23.The school was moved from Rotterdam to Oegstgeest in 1917, and its director was made a Professor in the nearby University of Leiden.

133. Jenbise, op cit, pp. 11f, notes that in May 1893 Bink baptised five people at Roon. All were redeemed slaves and had been living with Bink. However, this did not help the mission to the Amberbaken people, from whom two of these slaves came. After a trading journey to Amberbaken in 1894, one of the two converts was killed. In a later expedition in which they attempted to spread the Christian message, and which also used redeemed slaves from the region, in this case sent out by van Hasselt, they reported to J.L. van Hasselt, "This is impossible, as people say: you are black like us, and then you want to convince us?" Or: "You follow the religion of the foreigners, and are therefore the same as traitors, so keep your mouth shut. What is more, [we are] still slaves and are regarded as upsetting the peace of the community."

134. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 117. Despite this tendency, van Balen did begin confirmation classes in 1905. F. Slump, *De Zending op West Nieuw-Guinee*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, 1935, p. 5.

135. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, p. 226.

136. There were a number of requests from the UZV for the government to establish posts in the areas they were active, to control tribal wars that would have affected the safety of both the missionaries and their congregations. Eg. Overweel, op cit, p. 108.

137. Ottow & Geissler, op cit, p. 44.

138. Overweel, op cit, p. 85. The request was apparently heeded, as it accorded with government thinking.

139. Wallace was in the area in 1858. As Reenders, 1993, op cit, p. 51, points out, Beyer's appointment was a way of having an official mission trader, without officially involving the 'missionaries'. His status was only that of an 'assistant' to the mission. As there was no mission boat, and there was a reluctance of the missionaries to be engaged in trade, Beyer was withdrawn in 1878.

140. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 95f.

141. According to Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 142, there were 231 converts in 1900.

142. H.P. Peach, *A Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, vol. 1, Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, New York, 1901, pp. 194f.

143. In 1903 the *Perkumpulan Penelaahan Alkitab dan Doa* (Bible Study and Prayer Fellowship) was founded by Ariks. One of its first actions was to request that the UZV remain in Irian. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 122f.

144. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 116f.

145. Latuputty, op cit, pp. 150-3.

146. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 116f.

147. Bezemer, op cit, p. 625.

148. Petrus Kafiar and Timotius Awendu graduated as parish and school teachers in 1896. In addition to being taught to lead a congregation, they were given basic medical, carpentry and sewing training. See Rumainum, op cit, p. 66. The second graduate was Willem Rumainum, who was sent to Depok in 1904 and returned to Irian in 1908. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 5.

CHAPTER 3: The Protestants 1907 to 1942

Jangan memberi laporan yang membunga-bungai![1]

As stated in chapters one and two, from 1900 Irian began receiving more attention from the outside world. Permanent Dutch government posts were gradually established at strategic locations, with the aim of forestalling other powers from entering Irian. There was Dutch civil and military expansion, as well as increased scientific and economic interest in Irian, with more people coming to Irian for the purposes of research, economic exploitation and service in the Dutch administration. This resulted in an increase in knowledge about Irian from the point of view of the Europeans and the peoples to the west of Irian[2]. By 1890 there was sufficient economic and government activity for the Dutch steamship company, the KPM, to begin a regular service to ports in Irian, in particular to Manokwari, where a post run by a Controleur, was opened in 1898. Transport links were good enough, so that in 1906 the UZV was able to survey the Yotefa Bay and Sentani Lake area[3]. Although this did not result in a permanent mission presence at the time, the mission had shown that it could expand its work, to the limit of the Dutch territories.

Despite this increase in economic activity and government interest in the 1890s, mission activity until 1900 was basically limited to the initial mission outreach in the Doreh/Geelvink Bay area, around Mansinam, Kwawi, Andai, Windesi and Roon with some influence beyond that. The decision of the UZV, taken in 1905, to redirect resources from Irian to neighbouring Halmahera, where there had been greater successes for less investment of time and personnel, further limited the mission. By the end of 1906 the only remaining missionaries were Frans van Hasselt, van Balen, Starrenburg and an Ambonese teacher on Roon, as is noted at the end of chapter two[4]. This situation, however, began to change in 1907. By 1920, most of the coastal areas and islands had been contacted and the beginnings of a church organisation had been established by the Protestants in the north, and the by the Catholics in the south. In 1907 there were only 300 Protestants in six congregations. There were reported to be 25,000 baptised members in 1931, and by 1940 this had risen to 80,000[5].

The significant event in the evangelisation of the north coast of Irian came in 1907. In the 1890s there has been a number of *koreri*-related movements around the Geelvink Bay, that

had gradually taken on a Christian character, with elements of Christian belief being blended with the hopes for *koreri*[6]. There had also been a growing interest in Christianity in and around Roon, held back only by the lack of a resident European missionary, by the desire of the people for a suitable compromise with their traditional religion[7].This interest in Christianity was seen in a larger than usual number of enrollments in the catechism class at Roon in 1906. In the Karawani region, near Roon, there had been pressure to abandon their old religion and adopt Islam. As they did not want to, they felt that only one option remained, Christianity[8]. Other villages on the fringes of the Geelvink Bay also began coming to Mansinam and Roon asking for teachers. Then, in the last few days of December 1907, Yan Ayamiseba, a redeemed, but unbaptised, slave living on the island of Roon, who had been taken in by Bink, and had worked in the household of his successor Metz, was critically injured in an accident. Three days before this accident, he had had a vision of going to heaven along a golden stairway leading to a golden room. But once there he was told to return temporarily, being told that he would be recalled 'in three days'[9].

His tale was couched in the concepts of the local myths, which had a concept of a golden place where the dead would go. According to traditional belief, Yan Ayamiseba, being a former slave, could not enter this place, but as he had been miraculously given the message, his words became a call to those who came to visit him as he lay dying, to accept this new religion, through the 'golden steps' so that they could enter heaven, the 'golden room'. Three days after his vision, as predicted, he died of his injuries. His vision was supported by a dream of Mrs Apituley, the wife of the teacher on Roon, who had seen angels taking Ayamiseba to heaven[10]. The significance of this event, as van den End put it, was that, "Kini amanat Kristen dibawakan oleh seorang Irian dan berhasil diungkapkan dalam bentuk dan sesuai dengan agama dan kebudayaan Irian."[11]

The direct consequence of this event was a positive change in attitude of the people of Roon towards Christianity, who began coming to the house of the missionary "in droves"[12] to hand over their sacred objects, which were burnt on New Year's Day 1908. The number of pupils in the catechism class rose to 230, evenly divided between male and female[13]. The movement quickly spread to the surrounding areas. News reached the nearby mainland, then Mansinam, Numfor and as far away as Biak, which had trade and family links with Roon, as well as the Biak language, which was both a trading language and the language of Biak

immigrants in these areas. Ayamiseba's vision came at a time of increasing influence of both the missions and the government in the affairs of the surrounding regions. The missionaries had contacted most of the villages in the areas surrounding Roon, spreading the knowledge of Christianity, and several congregations and schools had been established. The government was slowly establishing itself and was beginning to make its presence felt, through enforcing an end to tribal warfare and providing subsidies for mission schools. Peace, trade, government and Christianity together combined to bring more contact and communication between neighbouring tribal groups, while at the same time undermining the basic foundations of the traditional religion. When the vision of Ayamiseba resolved the conflict between the traditional religion and Christianity, the people of Roon and the north coast of Irian were then able to accept the gospel on their own terms. As a result, the reception of Christianity became dramatic, and its consequences far-reaching, as Roon, Windesi, Biak and Mansinam became centres for Christianity and evangelisation[14].

Starrenburg began receiving requests for teachers to be sent to the villages in the Roon area. The people in the Nabire region sent a delegation to Starrenburg on Roon requesting that a teacher be sent to them. In 1909 a post was opened at Kekwatisore and teachers from Roon were sent to begin the mission in this region[15]. Mansinam continued to be the centre for the spread of the gospel in the northern Geelvink Bay, initially through the Dutch missionaries, but also through others, who came from and through Mansinam and moved to other parts of Irian. In 1908 van Hasselt and Kafiar went to Kafiar's village of Maudori, in west Biak, via Numfor[16]. From Maudori contacts were made with the rest of Biak and a post was established on Supiori[17]. In 1909 van Hasselt was able to hold a meeting attended by 1,000 people from six tribal groups, including those from Numfor and Biak. As a direct result of the visit of van Hasselt, teachers began to be sent to other villages on Numfor and Supiori, followed by north and east Biak from 1910[18]. Jens and van Hasselt toured Biak and Supiori in 1910, culminating in Jens setting up a post at Bosnik in 1914[19]. A teacher was placed there, and by 1924 the post was big enough to warrant a Dutch missionary, H.J. Agter. Other areas also began to be opened. In 1917, evangelists were sent to the island of Yapen from Roon[20]. The first baptism was in 1922[21] and in 1924 the mission established a station at Serui, in what became the regional mission and government centre. By 1918 there had been 6,000 baptisms in the Geelvink and Doreh Bay regions, with more having contact through the school system then being developed, and through attendance at regular worship services. By 1931 it was estimated

that there were 25,000 Christians in the Protestant areas, rising to 80,000 by 1938[22]. Despite opposition from some of the Biak people[23], by 1940 Biak was effectively Christianised[24].

The expansion of the Dutch government and the mission was mutually beneficial[25]. Dutch military expeditions between 1907-1915, as well as the pre-War scientific expeditions, increased the knowledge the of Irian and established contacts, usually favourable, with the local people that benefited the missionaries. Pacification programs and the presence of Dutch officials in increasing numbers and localities allowed the missionaries to travel with a greater sense of security to more isolated areas, aware that if they had difficulties, Dutch policeman could be called upon. Reports from the missions were also important sources of information for the colonial authorities. Many Dutch government representatives also actively supported the mission. In Bintuni, for example, Major Jense, a Papuan appointed as the titular head of the Bintuni region, in 1905 requested teachers. In response to Jense's request, and in light of the spread of Islam in the Bintuni region, van Balen and Starrenburg visited the area in 1910, where they received requests for teachers from the villages of Idoor and Yakati[26]. Teachers were sent in 1910 and became the pioneers in the mission to the Bintuni gulf and the south coast, including Inanwatan and the southern coast of the Bird's Head[27]. Inanwatan was established as a base for the UZV with the placement of a teacher in 1925, followed by the transfer of Rev. J. Wetstein from Fak Fak[28]. Although Kokas was considered as a possible centre for the evangelism of the south coast[29], Fak Fak was opened in 1912 with the appointment of D. van Muylwijk, who was succeeded by D.C.A. Bout and Wetstein[30]. The UZV placed four Ambonese teachers in villages in and around Fak Fak. After the mission conference of 1914 the number of teachers was increased to sixteen and, after van Muylwijk toured the Arguni Gulf, a station was opened in Kaimana[31]. From these beginnings schools and mission stations were opened in the Arguni Gulf, Kokas and surrounding villages[32]. In 1927 the Raja of Kaibus in the Onin area, on the south coast of the Bird's Head, asked Wetstein in Inanwatan for a teacher "to teach the gospel and teach the school children"[33]. Wetstein responded by placing two teachers in Teminabuan, A. Wattimena and Siahiaan, in 1927, who became the founders of the church among the Tehit people[34].

Manokwari was opened as a station in 1917, after Köhler moved there from Ternate. He was assisted by several teachers from Ambon and a women from Minahasa, Mrs Joesoef-Tascyam, who was sent to work specifically with the women around Manokwari[35]. The

establishment of a post at present day Jayapura in 1910 by the Dutch military opened up the possibility of a new mission, which was investigated by F.J.F. van Hasselt. From 1910-1925 the government encouraged the people near Sorong to settle in larger villages, where contact and control could be easier. By 1925, the six major clans near Sorong had, at the instigation of the government, each settled in a single village[36]. At the same time Dutch oil and plantation enterprises were begun in Sorong, Bintuni and other centres. The employees of these companies occasionally became agents of the gospel, as they combined their activities as company employees with evangelism and church planting.

The spread of Christianity was assisted by a new element within the missionary effort: the role of those who were not professional missionaries[37], but who were willing to share what they knew about Christianity. From Roon, indigenous evangelists began moving to non-Christian villages where they undertook the role of educator, encouraging the villagers to request trained parish teachers from the UZV stations, and assisting those teachers when they came. Others also played a role in spreading the knowledge of Christianity. When van Hasselt arrived in Hollandia, the local people stated that they already knew of the Christian religion through the Dutch soldiers there, and the Ternate traders, who had travelled via Manokwari and told them of the church there[38]. It is also possible that a Dutch military expedition, which was followed by European traders who ventured into Arso in the early twentieth century, may have made the reception of Christianity easier as well[39]. The information about Christianity from these sources, together with the favourable treatment of the locals by the Dutch army and government, made the subsequent reception of the missionaries, and Christianity, easier, by providing basic knowledge about the new faith, and a positive attitude towards Western and non-indigenous people who later educated them in the faith[40].

The growth of KPM steamer services made contact and evangelisation easier, and allowed more non-Papuans to enter Irian, and more students, Papuans as well as Ambonese and Sangirese, to be sent to the missions schools in Depok and Tobelo[41]. The missionaries realised the need for schools, as a way of attracting people to the Christianity, to help in teaching the gospel, and to enable people to be able to read the Bible and lead the congregation, which they could not do without basic levels of literacy and numeracy. In 1917, van Hasselt set up a school in at Mansinam to train young men[42] to assist the mission as teachers, after students from Irian were rejected by the teachers school in Tobelo[43]. As van Hasselt could not give the school

sufficient attention, I.S. Kijne was made its director when he arrived in Mansinam in 1923. At the suggestion of Bout and Starrenburg, Kijne moved the school to Miei in 1925, from which time it received a government subsidy[44]. The first graduates were in 1927, and by 1938 the school had a capacity of 120 indigenous students, and provided schooling for classes four and five, as well as training for primary school teachers and parish teachers[45]. Ambonese and Sangirese youths who wanted to train as teachers continued to be sent to Halmahera and Java[46]. On the same site an evangelists school was founded in 1933[47]. Although many of the graduates of these schools worked in the government, they were able to provide a core of committed and educated church leaders who could complement the Dutch missionaries at the village level[48]. However, the supply of teachers from the schools was insufficient. In 1926 the UZV received twenty two teachers sent from the *Inlandsche Kerk* in Ambon[49]. In 1921 another school was opened at Miei to train Papuan youths as carpenters, farmers and tailors. Although the school had a number of graduates, it closed in 1932 due to the loss of government revenue during the Great Depression[50]. The graduates of the carpenters' school were used to expand the parish teachers complex and the hospital in Serui[51]. The graduates from the parish teachers schools were used to evangelise the areas contacted by the Dutch missionaries[52]. For example, the first post on the island of Yapen was opened at Kamanap by a Papuan, Stevanus Rumbewas, who was a graduate of the school at Miei. Another graduate, Corneles Bonay, opened a post at Serui in 1920, which enabled the Church to grow in this region. It was not until January 1924 that a Dutch missionary, D.C.A. Bout, was stationed in Serui to serve the Yapen and Waropen regions[53]. The graduates from the schools in Depok, Tobelo and Miei had a lower level of education than the Dutch missionaries, but were willing to live in isolated villages, where their role as ministerial assistants, evangelists and teachers of Christianity was significant. Most came from the Moluccas and Sangir and were, like the Dutch UZV missionaries, extremely conservative in the expression of their faith, which reflected the way Christianity was practised in their home churches. One of the early Ambonese missionaries was Laurens Tanamal, who worked in Irian from 1906 to his retirement in 1944, rising to the position of assistant minister[54].

The area around Jayapura was opened in 1911 with the appointment of teachers to the islands of Wakde, Yamna and Podena, near Sarmi[55]. Requests went to Yamna from Tablanusu in the Tanah Merah bay region and a teacher, A. Pasalbessy, was sent[56]. In 1916, J. Bijkerk was appointed to Dempta, west of Hollandia. In 1920 he was joined by G. Schneider, a German

who had worked in German New Guinea. After a survey of Genyem, inland of Dempta, in 1924, Schneider was stationed there in 1925, assisted by two evangelists from Roon[57]. A.J. de Neef was stationed at Sarmi in 1925, to serve the Mamberamo and the neighbouring islands. From Sarmi he was later moved to the island of Yapen[58]. In 1925 a teacher was stationed at Ormu, near Hollandia. From Ormu, Schneider received a group of 6,000-7,000 men led by a village leader named Pamai, who requested teachers for the Sentani region[59]. A teacher was sent to Ifaar in 1927, and the following year the first school on the lake was begun[60]. In 1925, in response to further requests from Sentani and Nimboran, Bijkerk moved to Hollandia[61]. In the 1920s congregations were established in the villages on the edge of Hollandia, at Tobati, Enggros and Kayu Pulau, as well as most of the villages in the Tanah Merah region[62]. Due to growth in Genyem, the focus of the mission moved there, and a number of local youths from Genyem, Sentani and Hollandia were sent to Miei for training as teachers and carpenters to assist in the growth of congregations in the area[63]. By 1928 there was a congregation in Ayapo, on Lake Sentani, which was the chief village of the Deda clan, one of the influential clans in the western half of the lake[64].

From about 1910 there was a change in the demography of Irian. There had already been small numbers of Moluccans, Arabs and Chinese in the main centres, who settled mainly in the latter half of the nineteenth century. With the expansion and penetration of Dutch colonial administration, more outsiders began to enter Irian[65]. These immigrants joined the local congregations that were being founded by the teachers from their own ethnic groups brought in by the mission, and also formed organisations that were ethnically based and recognised by the mission[66].

The western Birds Head and Raja Ampat group were largely left untouched by the mission enterprise before 1920, despite the government having opened a post on Doom, and the activities of the workers there[67]. In 1913, van Hasselt toured the Sorong and Raja Ampat region, and placed an Ambonese teacher, M.E. Tamtelahitu, on the island of Doom, as the first teacher to the area[68]. The school was opened on Doom in 1914, prompting the Moi people in the Sorong area to begin asking that teachers be sent to them. In 1913 the Raja of Salawati asked for a teacher to be sent from Mansinam[69]. In 1913 Christianity spread from Salawati to Meossu island (also in the Raja Ampat group, west of Sausapor). By 1914 alone seven new schools were opened, at the request of local leaders, at Yefman, Samate, Saunek, Meossu,

Sailolof, Siam and Efnu[70]. In 1913 a teacher, Yonas Nandissa, was sent to Salawati, where he met people from Meossu, who were taking tribute to the Raja, and from there was able to begin the evangelisation of that area[71]. From Meossu, Christianity was taken to Sausapor by villagers who moved there in 1930[72]. In 1927, Gonof, the Raja of Malibala in the Raja Ampat group[73], asked van Hasselt and the local Dutch administrator, Vink, to send a teacher to the Moi people, around Sorong. B.W. Wagum was sent to the village of Manooi to establish a school and begin evangelisation. In 1930, one hundred were baptised and a congregation was established[74]. In about 1930 several people in the Ayau islands north of Waigeo sent a request to Manokwari for a teacher. In 1932, Alfons Awom was sent by Kamma from Manokwari to the Ayau village of Yengkawir. This teacher's example encouraged others in the islands to convert, and request a teacher, so that a teacher was sent to Rutum in 1935 and Dorekhar in 1936[75]. Julius Fenanlaber was sent to Kofiau, in the western Raja Ampat, in 1935, after several years working on other islands in the group[76]. After moving to another island in 1936, he was ordered back to Kofiau and worked there in 1937 and 1938. Although he was only there for a short time, he began a village school, introduced hymns and prayers, and taught the basic concepts of Christianity, using the local Biak language, establishing a basic understanding that his successors built upon[77]. The work of Fenanlaber and the other teachers was well received, despite their frequently paternalistic manner.

During the 1920s the impact of Christianity and the perceived benefits of Western education began to have an impact on the local people, with more villages asking the mission for teachers. The expansion of the colonial government may have also been a factor in this, as with a growth in government there was a growth in the size of strategic towns such as Manokwari, Doom, Fak Fak and others, where the people from the surrounding villages could see Western education and civilisation at work[78]. In 1921 a Resident for Irian was appointed, residing at Manokwari, and government influence increased[79]. From 1920 the mission was sufficiently well-established that the UZV could begin to send specialist missionaries. It was after this time that missionary teachers, doctors and nurses were sent to Irian to concentrate on particular tasks, rather than trying to do everything in their locality. The UZV was also able to begin establishing a more efficient church organisation. In 1916 the UZV had established eight resorts, with six Dutch missionaries and 124 Ambonese, Sangirese and indigenous assistants[80]. By 1924 there were sufficient Dutch, Ambonese and Sangirese workers, as well as indigenous Christians, to have eleven resorts, each with at least one Dutch minister as the

leader, assisted by teachers at the congregational level[81]. Over these was the Mission Conference, which was instituted to give more effective control to the missionaries in the field. The conference met annually at Kwawi, near Manokwari, which was centrally located in the Geelvink Bay. Matters that arose between meetings were dealt with by the Mission Chairman, who was usually the most senior missionary[82]. In the 1930s the UZV created resorts based in Manokwari, Roon, Sentani and Nimboran[83]. Because the resorts were very large, effective church government lay with the congregational church councils. By 1938 the 80,000 Protestant Christians were gathered in 400 congregations, with over 100 of them having their own elected, and occasionally appointed by the resident missionary, elders[84]. In addition to the elders, there were some 325 workers at the congregational level, of whom 239 had the duel role of 'parish teachers' as well as 'school teachers'[85]. Over all of these were sixteen UZV missionaries. The Mission Conference was still the highest church body in Irian before 1942. There had been moves to widen the number of ministers, so in 1930 the rank of assistant minister was created, allowing the mission to better reach the congregations and serve them with the sacraments[86]. However, the leadership of the church was firmly in the hands of the ordained Dutch and German (and in Paniai, American) missionaries. This facilitated relations with the government, which during the entire Dutch colonial period were close, but created problems when the Dutch ministers were interned by the Japanese in 1942, leaving no one with the authority to lead the Church above the congregational level[87].

The UZV system of schools began with a three-year village or people's school. Successful graduates went from there to an advanced primary school of three years, and a small number went on to the School in Miei or to schools in Java[88]. These schools became one of the most effective tools of the mission. In areas where Christianity was welcomed they provided education for the members of the nascent Christian community. In many areas, particularly away from the coast or in areas where the influence of Islam or traditional beliefs was strong, the school were seen as a way of entering a village otherwise closed to Christianity, and of a way of evangelising the children and lessening the strength of the adult opposition[89]. In 1915 there were eighty nine Protestant schools, of which twenty nine had a government subsidy[90]. By 1921 there were 7,000 pupils in 109 village schools[91], increasing by the end of 1937 to 203 lower primary schools (grades 1-3), with 10,000 pupils, 38% of whom were female[92]. There was one upper primary school (grades 4-5) with fifty male students and one vocational school with nine students.

The mission experienced difficulties during this period. In many of the newly evangelised areas the traditional religion remained strong, despite the number of conversions and baptisms[93]. There was opposition from some of the traditional rulers, particularly in the Sorong Raja Ampat area, where the Raja of Salawati was a Muslim, who actively promoted Islam in his area[94]. In some areas, such as Biak, there was strong opposition to the parish teachers who arrived to school and convert them[95], and at least one of the teachers was killed because of his evangelisation work[96]. The outbreak of Spanish Influenza in 1919 killed many in Irian, ended the enthusiasm for the program of concentrating in villages where the mission could evangelise and influence them. The situation was only saved through intensive medical care and education[97]. As a direct consequence of the influenza pandemic, the people in the Arguni region returned to trusting in their sacred objects and resisted the influence of Christianity, perhaps as they saw a link between the pandemic and Christianity. As the number of congregations increased, there was a shortage of teachers and ministers who could serve the new converts, and who knew the local language[98]. The Great Depression of the 1930s also affected the mission in Irian. The ending of government subsidies due to cost-cutting resulted in the closure of the carpenter's school in Miei, other schools were shut and some churches could not continue to operate[99].

However the missionary work continued to expand, with new areas of involvement being explored, helped by an expansion in the number of Dutch, Ambonese and local mission personnel[100]. Kamma was placed in Sorong in 1933[101], Inanwatan was opened and a number of teachers were brought from Ambon and Sangir, such that "ditiap kampung jang agak besar dipesisir pantai ditempatkan Pengindjil atau Guru Djemaat jang membuka sekolah dan membentuk bakal djemaat atau djemaat"[102]. A consequence of this that, in 1928, Waropen, one of the earliest places to be surveyed by the mission, began to be consistently evangelised from an initial post at Waren, founded by the parish teacher on Serui, Corneles Bonay[103]. The coastal people were outwardly Christianised, the quality of village schools improved[104], elders councils were gradually established in most congregations and the basic institutions of the church were established.

The Dutch mission felt unable to give sufficient attention to the Protestants on the south coast, particularly after the Catholics had begun working in Fak Fak. Discussions were held between the UZV, the Indies Church and the Governor in Ambon. As a result, the mission

in Kaimana and Fak Fak was given to the Moluccan Church in 1930[105]. The Indies Church in the Moluccas had already begun to be involved in Fak Fak from 1926, and so the Moluccans were prepared to take responsibility for this mission field[106]. After the establishment of the *Gereja Protestan Maluku* (GPM) the mission on the south coast of Irian became part of the church, with two presbyteries created, the 'South Papua' presbytery covering the Merauke area and the 'West Papua' presbytery covering Fak Fak and Sorong[107]. The Moluccans acted quickly to send more teachers and evangelists and establish new congregations. The number of schools in Fak Fak increased, and schools and congregations were established in the Catholic areas of Mimika and Merauke[108]. By 1937 there were seventy six congregations and posts in the 'West Papua' presbytery and three in the 'South Papua' presbytery[109]. In addition to the Moluccan mission, in 1935[110] Armand Mirino and Jesaja Pupela, with the encouragement of the UZV and the support of the congregation on the island of Meossu (which had been a centre for the spread of Christianity), established a mission, the *Badan Pekabaran Injil Eltoto.* This mission raised its own funds locally, and sent missionaries to the Karon and Biak people in the Sausapor and Raja Ampat areas[111].

One of the issues that the Protestant mission had to face was the growing strength of the Catholic mission, which had begun in the Merauke region and which by 1925 was beginning to expand into areas that the Protestants thought were theirs, in particular Fak Fak, but also into the north coast as Catholic numbers increased through migration schemes of Indo-Europeans and the use of Catholic public servants, policemen and workers in Dutch enterprises[112]. In 1927, after protests from the Catholics that were heard in the Dutch parliament, the Governor in Ambon was compelled by the Governor-General in Batavia to allow the missions to compete, in a 'double mission' as it was known. Although this allowed the Protestant mission to work in 'Catholic' areas, the Catholics were able to expand into Fak Fak, Kokas and the Bintuni Gulf. To counter this the Protestants had the support of the Resident in Ambon, B. Haga[113], who during the 1930s, and despite protests from the Catholics, continued to impede their progress with a series of suggestions that the Catholics and Protestants continue to divide up Irian, with the Catholics limited to Merauke and surrounding areas. In 1935 Haga prevented the Catholic mission from entering the Arguni and Etna regions and continued attempts to limit the Catholics, such as trying to prevent the implementation of the Indies Church's decision, announced by Rev. Tutuarima in May 1937, that the Protestants would unilaterally withdraw from 'Catholic' areas in the south[114].

In addition to the UZV, GPI and Catholics, other denominations entered Irian during this period. The Mission Consulate in Jakarta suggested that the CAMA begin working in Misool, as an extension of their work on nearby Selayar (in the Moluccas). In 1936 and 1937, two students from the *Sekolah Alkitab Makasar* (SAM) in Ujung Pandang were stationed there, and fifty one people were baptised before the students were withdrawn[115]. In 1936 the Paniai Lakes / Wisselmeeren were discovered and a mission station was established by the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) in 1938[116], followed by the Catholics, who entered Enarotali in 1938 as a natural expansion of their contact with the adjoining Amungme people on the south coast[117]. Jonathan Itaar received permission from the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies to begin a Pentecostal Church in Fak Fak and Manokwari in 1941, but did not begin work because of commitments in Minahasa, and the turmoil of the Pacific War[118].

The mission began using new methods of evangelisation and revised the existing church order as the numbers of believers increased. Prior to 1907, all baptised believers had the right to receive communion[119]. However, the understanding of the communicants was not always as hoped by the missionaries, particularly after the rise in numbers requesting baptisms after 1907, and so a requirement was made that baptised members would need to undertake catechism classes for a period of two years, before they could be confirmed[120]. As the number of individuals requesting baptism increased, as well as the number of posts giving catechism classes, individual baptisms were abandoned in favour of mass baptisms, administered when a minister could come and perform them. Local languages were used where the missionaries knew them, although this was not always the case in many areas, such as Sarmi, where the language groups were too small and numerous to be learnt by a single person. The use of Ambonese and Sangirese teachers accentuated a trend that had begun with Ottow and Geissler, whereby the preacher used Malay as the language of worship. Where Malay was not well known, the service would be translated into the local language by a local elder, who had discussed the content of the sermon the day before with the preacher. Singing was in the local language where such songs existed, or hymns were taken from the Malay hymnal of Schröder, *Mazmur dan Tahlil*, which was published in 1923[121]. Some languages had translations of the Gospels, that were used in addition to the Malay bible. In addition to the Sunday morning worship, there were Sunday afternoon services, prayers at the beginning of the day and regular activities involving the all members of the community, the youth, women and men[122].

Medical work was a feature of the mission. The Geelvink Bay region was routinely affected by outbreaks of disease, brought by ships from other parts of the Indies. Despite requests from F. van Hasselt for smallpox vaccine, the Dutch government did not supply sufficient quantities for large-scale vaccinations until 1908, when van Hasselt was able to visit the Hollandia region, and vaccinate many people affected by a smallpox outbreak in the region[123].The missionaries routinely dispensed medicines and medical care from their houses and in 1909 and 1910 were assisted by a Dutch military doctor in Kwawi[124]. Starrenburg, for example, provided limited medical care at his station, assisted by the local teacher and a nurse named Sugono[125]. A hospital staffed by a Dutch nurse was founded in Serui in 1910, but did not continue after the nurse returned to the Netherlands in 1914. The hospital was reopened by Bout, and was enlarged in 1930 when a Dutch nurse was posted to Serui. She was joined by a doctor in 1932. A smaller hospital was opened at Korido in western Biak, which was moved to Biak in 1945[126]. In 1936, a Leprosy Foundation was set up to cope with the increase in this disease[127]. However, a lack of funds from the UZV, and no support from the government, meant that medical work was limited during this period[128].

To assist the mission, provide additional funds and influence the local people to be more productive, economic activities were initiated, that were a continuation of the attempts of the earlier missionaries to introduce new crops and farming practices. Coconut plantations were established in the 1920s to provide extra funds for the expanding mission needs. When these scheme failed to provide sufficient funds for the mission, some teachers such as Petrus Kafiar thought that coconut production could provide for the needs of the destitute in the local congregation. These schemes too largely failed. The main lasting influence of the missions before 1942 was in building technology, the making of clothing commonplace, through carpenters who were sent to the villages, and through the sewing school that was, for a short period, held in Miei, and in the establishment of permanent settlements centred upon the church, where Christianity became the norm against which other religions and influences were judged[129]. By the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the UZV and GPM had established a network of village congregations and schools, that was supported by the schools in Miei, and was governed by teachers at the village level, and ministers and assistant ministers in the urban centres, who provided oversight, performed the basic sacraments, and administered the Church in the name of their superiors in the Netherlands and the Moluccas. Despite the turmoil of the

War, the congregations were able to survive the Japanese, the Americans and the revival of traditional expectations that flourished before, during, and after the War.

1. (Don't give flowery reports.) Mrs Starrenburg, quoted in F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, p. 331.

2. 'Indonesians' for want of a better term, although the notion of the people of the Dutch East Indies as being part of a single trans-ethnic entity was at this time only at its incipient stage, and did not find its popular expression until the trial of Sukarno in 1930 and its use by the nationalists. See R.K. Paget (ed.), *Indonesia Accuses! Sukarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930*, OUP, London, 1975, passim.

3. Present day Jayapura. According to See I.S. Kijne, *Alasan Jang Hidup: Gereja Kristen Indjili di Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor de Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, n.d., p. 24, Bink visited the area in 1893 and was surprised that the Papuans in this area were different to those in the Geelvink Bay area.

4. Ibid, pp. 24f. Van Balen returned to the Netherlands in 1912. M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia', STT Erikson-Tritt, Manokwari, 1992, p. 36.

5. As T.J. Bezemer, *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsche-Indie*, Martinus Nijhoff & E.J. Brill, the Hague & Leiden, 1921, p. 625, states, the beginnings of 'Christendom' actual begin in late 1906 and early 1907. F.L. Cooley, *Indonesia: Church and Society*, Friendship Press, New York, 1968, p. 61. In F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya,* LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, p. 142, slightly different statistics are given. In 1924 it is stated that there were 40,000 members in more than 100 congregations. By 1942 this had risen to 130,000 in 400 congregations. Even if allowance is made for inaccuracy in the pre-War statistics, this still points to a dramatic rise in both membership and congregations, which is reflected in the number of 'non-missionary' (ie. not ordained Dutch ministers) personnel, which in 1924 only numbered about 100, but which by 1942 had grown to over 400, or one for every congregation.

6. Mansren was identified with Christ. In a later movement the *konoor*, Marisi, who had been a foster-child of the, by then late, missionary Bink, said that Mansren would soon return from heaven and bring the coins and cotton they desired. He also used forms of Christian baptism and communion. Marisi had an oil that he claimed could cure disease. He died of a smallpox outbreak that struck Roon in 1907. Unlike many others on the island, he had refused inoculation. J.A. Godschalk, 'Where the Twain Shall Meet', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1977, p. 15.

7. A.B. Apituley had been temporarily replaced by D. Huwae in 1906, but no replacement had been found for Metz, due to the concentration of the UZV's efforts on Halmahera. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 173-6.

8. In mid 1907, van Balen reported that the number of pupils in the catechism class rose to eighty, from thirty eight active participants beforehand. Ibid, pp. 178-81.

9. As, according to T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, pp.117f, "his name was not yet entered into the big book there". Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 202, calls him Ariks. Van den End named him as Yan Ayamiseba (or Jan Ajamiseba in the pre-1972 spelling), and, as Ariks was a name related to the area he was enslaved in, Ayamiseba is more likely to have been his correct name.

10. Ibid, pp. 202f.

11. (Now the Christian message was being carried by an Irianese and succeeded in being stated in the form of and according to the religion and culture of Irian). Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 117. L.Y. D'Albertis, *New Guinea: What I Did and What I Saw*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge, 1881, pp. 8f, asked his companion, David, why he had not converted. David replied that he was waiting for Jesus to come and talk to them. "If He wanted us, He ought to have come himself", rather than sending the white missionaries. Through Ayamiseba's

vision, the people understood that perhaps He had.

12. "mereka berduyung-duyung datang ke rumah zendeling". (they came in throngs to the house of the missionary). Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 118.

13. However, only eight were baptised in 1908 (equal to the number in catechism classes in 1906) and the new pupils had to study for two years. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 215.

14. S. Kapissa, *Pakreki: Pintu Gerbang Pekabaran Injil (PI) di Pulau Numfor*, Panitia Pembangunan Tugu Peringatan P.I. di Jemaat Pakreki Klasis Numfor, Biak, 1990, p. 7, suggests that the presence of the government post at Manokwari was instrumental in the evangelisation of Numfor, and so presumably the other parts of the Geelvink Bay. As noted in chapter two, from 1898 there had been an active pacification campaign. The people of Numfor were so afraid of the Assistant Resident at the time that they went to Mansinam and asked van Hasselt what they should do.

15. See F. Lie, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Jemaat GKI "Eltekon" Wanggar Klasis Paniai-Nabire', STFT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 11. The teachers were Willem Issiri and Firlep Sanoi, accompanied by the latter's wife, Tina. According to Y. Dimara, 'Peranan Gerakan Keesaan dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Jemaat-Jemaat Kristen di Desa Yaur, Pantai Barat, Klasis GKI Paniai Kab. Paniai', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, Abepura, 1999, pp. 29f, two teachers were also sent to Yaur in 1909, Yoseph Ayamiseba and Wahamuri. They were sent at the request of a women, Aripani, who had visited Roon and was converted after witnessing the services there. She returned to her village and convinced the local people to send a delegation to Roon to ask for a teacher.

16. To rescue some Sangirese who were stranded there. Newell, op cit, p. 39.

17. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, p. 9.

18. L. Sawor, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Jemaat 'Baithesda' Moos Klasis Biak Utara', STT-GKI , Jayapura, 1998, p. 14. The first teacher to North Biak was Nikolas Huway, who began the evangelisation of the area after establishing a post at Manwor. See K. Krenak, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) Klasis Biak Utara Jemaat GKI Eklesia Wari', STT-GKI , Jayapura, 1998, pp.13f. According to J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, pp. 139-143, teachers were sent to Pakriki, Wansra, Maudori, Bawe, Amberparem, Manggari, Kornasoren, Yenmano, Kameri, Warido, Namber, Anggores, Sowek and Korido. The schools ranged in size from 500 pupils in Sowek to two students in Warido. Numfor, being close to Mansinam, was an area where the mission had a particular interest. The first teacher, Willem Rumainum, was placed there in 1908, and by 1913 Numfor had a flourishing church. F.J.F. van Hasselt, *Noemfor Eene Gescheidenis van Vijf Jaren Zendingsarbeid*, J.M. Bredee, n.p., n.d., pp. 21-34.

19. Rauws, op cit, p. 143. A teacher was placed in Bosnik, but apparently he was implicated in the killing of a Bosnik man by a Dutch officer. He was withdrawn to Mansinam, and a new teacher was sent in 1912. Consistent with mission practices, a Dutch missionary would have followed when it was seen that the school was established and the station was in a strategic location. J.A. Rumbaray, 'Kaisubu dan Julians Abrams', Bosnik[?], 1985, pp. 21-23. Bosnik, in east Biak, was the main administrative centre of Biak until integration with Indonesia. See F.J.S. Rumainum, *Sepuluh Tahun GKI Sesudah Seratus Tahun Zending di Irian Barat*, GKI, Sukarnopura, 1966, pp. 20f, and F. Rumbarar, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Bulan Februari-Juni Semester Genap Tahun 1997/1998', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 13. Jens stayed until 1920, when he was moved to West Biak and was replaced by Rev. Duyvendak, thence Agter and subsequently ten Haft.

20. Starrenburg sent the teachers after being given responsibility for the region. One of the teachers was Soegoendo, from Java. Rauws, op cit, pp. 146f. Others came from Sangir, Manado and Ambon and were used in Yapen and other new mission fields. D.C.A. Bout, *Bloeiende Arbeid op Jappen*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, n.d. (c.1930),

pp. 52f.

21. A mass baptism. Ibid, p. 13.

22. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 118.

23. A teacher, Laurens Watilette, in Dwar-Marur, was killed in January 1915. Sawor, 1998, op cit, p. 14.

24. The speed at which Christianity was accepted in Biak might have something to do with the fact that Biak was the most 'Westernised' part of Irian, as it was the region with the greatest openness to the outside world, due to its trade and kinship contacts with its surrounding area, and as far away as Ternate and eastern New Guinea. J.V. de Bruyn, "The Mansren Cult of Biak", *South Pacific*, vol. 5(1), March 1951, p. 9.

25. Although not in the Kebar. The first government post was established in 1938, and some colonisation of Indo-Europeans was attempted, but an evangelist was not sent until 1948. J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkopf van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 25-27.

26. F. Slump, *De Zending op West Nieuw-Guinee*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, 1935, pp. 5-10. Jense played an important role in instigating the mission in the Bintuni region. His function was similar to that of a Raja, as were others appointed as a 'Major'. He was dismissed in 1911, after criticism of his pacification methods. Ultimately he was exiled to Babo in 1925, where he built a mosque. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 289, 419f. After teachers were sent, and began gathering students from neighbouring villages, the king of Ati-Ati copied their methods and began bringing 'kafir' children to Ati-Ati to be taught Islam. Arab traders in the area desired the schooling the mission offered, but objected to the 'religion' that was integral to the curriculum. These and other conflicts with the Muslims made progress in the region very slow. F. Slump, *Sejarah Penginjilan di Daerah Kapaur (1918-1930)*, translated by P. Muskita, May 1987, pp. 3f.

27. Rauws, op cit, pp. 160-7. One of these teachers was Pattinasarany, who was among the teachers raised to the rank of assistant minister in 1930. Slump, 1935, op cit, p. 5.

28. J.F. Onim, "Injil Masuk ke Teminabuan Atas Keinginan Kuat Masyarakat Tehit", *Cenderawasih Pos,* 25 Jan 1997, p. 3. Wetstein was replaced in Fak Fak by Slump in 1923. Slump, 1935, op cit, p. 90.

29. Starrenburg toured the area in 1911. Ibid, p. 16.

30. Fak Fak was opened after a decision taken by the Dutch Governor-General, G.J. Idenburg, in response to Catholic and UZV requests to establish mission posts in the Fak Fak, Inanwatan and Bintuni regions, which at that time were untouched by the missions, but in which Islam was having some success. See L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, pp. 668f. The UZV responded quickly to these new developments to forestall the Catholics. Slump, 1935, op cit, p. 19. A teacher, Fasalbesi, was placed there and soon after conducted the first baptism, a Papuan woman who had converted to Islam after marrying a Muslim. She was instrumental in requesting Fasalbesi to come to her village. When she was baptised at Air Besar, she changed her name from Rengan to Hanna. From this beginning Fasalbesi began contacting other villages in the region. Y. Enthong, 'Sejarah Jemaat GKI Hanna Air Besar Klasis Fak Fak', STFT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 1. Bout stayed until 1924, when he went to the Wandamen region, south of Manokwari. Rauws, op cit, pp. 162f. Wetstein arrived in Fak Fak in 1915, and did not take a furlough in the Netherlands until 1923, after the arrival of Eygendaal. Slump, 1935, op cit, pp. 25, 90.

31. Ibid, pp. 20-23.

32. The impetus came from the young men, who were brought from more isolated villages and taught in the regional centre. Many of them were baptised and became the foundation of new congregations, which then asked for their own schools. Slump, 1987, op cit, pp. 4f.

33. J.F. Onim, 'A Regional History of Desa Wersar Kecamatan Teminabuan', Abepura, 1997, p. 11.

34. J.F. Onim, "Dari Lapangan Pekabaran Injil ke Gereja Mandiri", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Jan 1997, p. 3.The first two teachers failed as they could not accustom themselves to the region. They were succeeded by a number of locally-recruited teachers, many of whom were from the extended Thesia family. D.J. Kaigere, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Teminabuan', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1989, p. 4.

35. Rauws, op cit, p. 132.

36. E.A. Mili, 'Pekabaran Injil di Sorong: Suatu Tinjauan Historis Missiologis Terhadap Pekabaran Injil Di Lingkungan Orang Moi Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 51f.

37. Professional in the sense that they were specifically commissioned and sponsored, such as the Gossner missionaries and the Evangelicals in the interior, or paid a salary, such as the UZV ministers and teachers.

38. J.C. Mamoribo, 'Dikala Bunda Mengeluh: Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Lingkungan Hidup di Kawasan Kelapa Dua Entrop-Jayapura', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Abepura, 1997, p. 53. Presumably the Ternate traders were Muslims, who were not evangelising the people, but merely passing the time of day with stories from foreign lands, although some could have been Christians, as by then the Christianity was well established in Halmahera. See M.T. Magany, *Bahtera Injil di Halmahera*, GMIH, Ambon, 1984, pp. 94-104.

39. See D. Rumbekwan, 'Peranan Karyawan PT. Perkebunan Nusantara II Yang Beragama Kristen Dalam Proses Pekabaran Injil Di Daerah Arso', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 26f, and P.W. Rombouts, *50 Tahun Misi Katolik di Daerah Perbatasan: Mulai di Arso 22-05-1939 22-05-1989*, Jayapura, 1994[?], pp. 40f.

40. According to Rumbekwan, op cit, pp. 27ff, there were a number of military expeditions along the Tami River, on the border between Dutch and German New Guinea, in or about 1910. This left a very positive feeling amongst the locals. In 1936 Stüber was appointed as the head of the Dutch government in the area, and was received well by the local people. There are no accounts of mistreatment of the local people in these areas, which could have led toward feelings of antipathy, as happened on the south coast.

41. As stated in chapter two, the first graduates were Petrus Kafiar and Timotius Awendu, who graduated from the school in Depok in 1896. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, pp. 18f, 66. The UZV opened a carpentry school in Tobelo in 1911, followed by a parish teachers school in 1912, to which five men were sent from Roon. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 339.

42. from Irian as well as Ambon and Sangir.

43. I.S. Kijne, 'Sekolah Pendidikan Guru-Guru Papua di Miei 1925-1941', translated by L. Jenbise, Abepura, 1994 from 'De Opleidingsschool voor Papoese Voorgangersonderwijzers' Amsterdam, 1948, p. 3. Van Hasselt was assisted by Jonatan Ariks and Gosal, the latter from Minahasa. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 474.

44. See E.P. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1999, p. 105, and Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 24.

45. S. Latuputty, 'Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas Tradisi Zending dalam Pemahaman Iman Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Quezon City, 1999, p. 146, and Rumainum, 1966, op cit, pp. 66f. General teacher training was given to all of the students. Those who wished and were able to, were given an extra nine months of instruction to qualify them to be parish teachers. M.C. Malamuk, 'Sejarah Berdirinya Sekolah Injil sampai dengan Berdirinya Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Izaak Samuel Kijne', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 4.

46. Kijne, 1948, op cit, p. 5, and Malamuk, op cit, p. 10. At this time the school in Miei provided the highest level of education in Irian. P.W. van der Veur, "Dutch New Guinea", *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Sydney, 1970, p. 280.

47. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 433. Bijkerk was brought to Miei to teach in the school.

48. As many became civil servants, a new school was opened at Yoka in 1946, specifically to cater for those who wished to work in the government or related services. The teachers' school was reopened in Serui in 1950. It was moved to the campus of Theological College in 1962 in Hollandia, and from there was moved to Manokwari, where it is now. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, pp. 67f.

49. The Indies Church. E. Wanma, 'Latar Belakang Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Bagian Selatan Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, 1994, p. 2.

50. N.G.G. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, pp. 8f. According to Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 20, from 1925 the school received recognition, and a subsidy from the Dutch government. According to S. Lase & Y.K. Kapitarau, 'Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen (YPK)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 3, these were all taught in a single school with three separate streams. This was consistent with Dutch government policy. However, this supervision occasionally produced dissatisfaction among the missionaries, who could not control the curriculum in subsidised schools. See W.J.H. Kouwenhoven, *Nimboran*, n.pub, n.p., 1956, pp. 46f. Despite this, the UZV continued to accept subsidies for its schools

51. Van Schouwenburg, op cit, p. 8.

52. The school in Miei also became a centre of 'enculturation' in the sense that the graduates applied the standards of village design and public health in the school to the villages they served. See Kijne, 1948, op cit, pp. 8-10, and *A Brief Look at the History and Development of Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya*, Badan Pengurus Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1994, p. 1.

53. See P. Mayor, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Bethel Mereruni Klasis GKI Yapen Timur', Abepura, 1996, p. 13. In 1927, a post was opened in the Sumberbaba district. A teacher, Johanis Diaz, an Ambonese, was placed in one of the coastal villages. The village was abandoned in 1935 due to drought and sickness, but the congregation grew at the new site. In 1930, 150 were baptised and by 1933 the congregation had 200 members. See Y. Iba, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Injil Kristus di Teluk Sumberbaba Tahun 1927-1956', Runi, op cit, p. 1.

54. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 119, 416, and F.C. Kamma (ed.), *De Roepstem Volgend: Autobiografie van Goeroe Laurens Tanamal*, J.N. Voorhoeve, the Hague, 1952, pp. 14f, 22-29.. He was made a *guru besar* or assistant minister in 1930. Others promoted to this rank in the same year, as mentioned by Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 22, and Newell, op cit, p. 40, were J. Pattinasarany at Nabire, J. Latuputty at Kwawi, M.E. Tamtelahitu at Raja Ampat and, in 1940, J. Jacobs at Serui.

55. Rauws, op cit, pp. 156f.

56. Two men went to Yamna and arranged for the teacher to come by steamship. When the ship entered the bay with the teacher, the two men and their canoe, the people in the surrounding villages fled in panic until reassured by the calls of the Tanah Merah men on the ship. The first evangelist from Tanah Merah was Barnabas Yufuway, who was trained in Depok and was then stationed at Demoikisi in 1922. Z. Oyaitouw, *Sejarah Ringkas Berdirinya Klasis Yakari*, Panitia Peresmian Tugu Klasis Yakari, Demoikisi, 1993, pp. 8-11.

57. At the request of one of the tribal leaders. Kouwenhoven, op cit, 1955[?], p. 45, A. Mayor, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Elim Berap Klasis Nimboran', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 7, and Newell, op cit, p. 39. As F.C. Kamma, "Zending", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, p. 108, notes, that the station in Genyem was the first inland post of the UZV in Irian.

58. Made possible by a government grant for schools, begun in 1910. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 18. However, van Hasselt stipulated that a parish teacher would not be sent to Yamna island until the sacred men's house was demolished. See S. Kooijman & J. Hoogerbrugge, "Art of Wakde-Yamna Area, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani" in S. Greub, (ed.), *Art of Northwest New Guinea: From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani*, Rizzoli, New York, 1992, p.70 (photo caption). De Neef published his observations in A.J. de Neef, *Heidendom op Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, 1935[?], pp. 3-23. Van Hasselt imposed similar conditions in other areas, such as in the Armati region, near Sarmi, where van Neef and van Hasselt were said to have burnt the sacred houses. E.D. Sefa, *Mengenal Suku Armati di Pedalaman Sarmi Irian Jaya Bagian Utara*, Aurora, Jakarta, 1995, p. 30. For a teacher to be sent, first a house had to be built and the *korwars* burnt. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 335.

59. G.J. Schneider, "Sentani Ontwaakt", *Nederlands Zendingsblad*, 13, 1929, p. 108. Pamai was received well by Schneider, who interpreted his request as a work of the Holy Spirit.

60. By a Moluccan teacher evangelist. C. Land, *Werk in Uitvoering: Structuuren Dynamiek van het Ontwikkelingswerk*, Boom, Meppel, 1970, p. 229.

61. After an initial posting in Dempta in 1916. Rauws, op cit, p. 158, Oyaitouw, op cit, p. 11. See also Schneider, loc cit, p. 109, and G. Schneider, "Schwärmerei in Hollandisch Neuguinea", *Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt*, 29 (8), Aug. 1939, p. 64. Nimboran was first contacted by hunters of the Bird-of-Paradise. These contacts increased after 1900. There was a military patrol in 1910, which was followed by 'pacification' in 1917. Contact was made with the mission in Dempta after the local people noted that the resident Bird-of Paradise hunters could write. When asked how they could learn, they were encouraged to contact the mission at Dempta. M.T. Mawene, "Mengenal Keadaan Jemaat-Jemaat Dari Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI) di Irian Jaya Dalam Wilayah Pelayanan Klasis Nimboran", *Peninjau*, Year 5, no. 2, 1978, p. 140. Bijkerk reported that by 1929 there were 3,000 Christians in the Nimboran/Genyem region. Land, op cit, pp. 225-9. However, A. Griapon & J. Nasategay-Udam, *Nimboran dan Sekitarnya: Antara Dongeng dan Kebenaran*, Litbang GKI, Jayapura, 1987, p. 31, state that large-scale baptisms in the Nimboran region did not take place until the early 1930s. If the 'Christians' reported by Bijkerk were actually 'adherents', these statements are both consistent.

62. Oyaitouw, op cit, pp. 12f. The first baptism at Kayu Pulau, which is now a suburb of Jayapura, was in 1937. S. Motowy, 'Laporan Hasil KKN 1993', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, p. 3.

63. Oyaitouw, op cit, pp. 13f. One of the reasons that Christianity may have been so readily accepted in the Nimboran/Genyem region was the presence of a messianic movement, founded by Waliklem. He had stressed that all would die and rise again, that he could raise the dead, that there was a relationship between the living and the dead and that when Waliklem returned from the dead peace and prosperity would come. Waliklem had also been white and tall. When the story of Jesus was presented to them they equated Waliklem and his message with Jesus,

thus making the Nimboran people accept the gospel more readily. Strehlan & Godschalk, op cit, p. 41.

64. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 407f.

65. As in other areas, the Dutch government used immigrant workers in their administration and commercial enterprises. The growth in the Sorong area after 1910, brought a concurrent increase in the numbers of people from Ambon, Halmahera and Minahasa. For example, one of the early local government heads on Doom was one Mr. Wowor, a Minahasan. See E. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Daerah Sorong dan Raja Ampat', Sorong, 1992, pp. 3f. Despite this, even into the 1950s the number of Asians in Netherlands New Guinea was comparatively small, and may not have exceeded 4% of the total population. However, they were concentrated in the urban areas, and were strong enough in some centres by the 1950s, to require special pastoral care from the missions. Eg. The GPI was allowed to establish congregations in UZV areas on the north coast after 1950, to serve Ambonese Christians.

66. The best known was the *Perseketuan Pemuda Ambon* (Ambonese Youth Fellowship) founded in 1912 on Doom. The Fellowship had an organisation and funds, and asked F.J.F. van Hasselt to send a teacher to Sorong. After receiving the letter, van Hasselt sent two people to Sorong, who recommended that a teacher be sent. M.E. Tamtelahitu was stationed in 1913 on Doom as the first parish teacher in the area. See Osok ,1992, op cit, pp. 4f.

67. Mili, op cit, pp. 51-54.

68. C.Y. Mirino, 'Meossu Pintu Masuk Pekabaran Injil di Tanah Karon', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1997, p. 51. At this time Doom was the main centre for the church and government for what is now called the Sorong region, as it was easily accessible by ship and canoe to the surrounding coastal villages.

69. Rauws, op cit, pp. 136f.

70. Osok, 1992, op cit, p. 6, and Rauws, op cit, p. 138.

71. Nandissa came as the result of a request from M.E. Tamtelahittu at Doom, to the Church in Ambon, for workers in Irian. He travelled on a trading expedition with a group from Biak to Salawati, but found that the influence of Islam limited what he could do. From there they went to Meossu, where they had a service, and began evangelising the locals. From Meossu Christianity spread to the other parts of the Raja Ampat group and the mainland near Sausapor, which had a mixed Biak/Karon population. See E. Ulimpa, 'Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Kasus Pengaruh Islam di Sausapor Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 30f. The first baptisms were in 1924 during a visit of van Hasselt and Jens. The church building was not commissioned until 1934, during a visit of F.C. Kamma. See R. Yesnath-Rumansara, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Meossu Tanah Karon', Sorong, 1995, pp. 16-18. Nandissa was moved to Numfor in 1921.

72. After a murder that caused civil disturbance and intervention by the authorities in Manokwari. The first local to be trained as a teacher was Frits Mirino, who lived with Kamma at Doom, and was trained at the school for parish teachers in Miei. In 1954 he became one of the first to be trained for the ministry at the Theological College, then at Serui, graduating and being ordained in 1956. In 1960 he was made a teacher in the parish teachers school, by then in Ransiki. Ibid, pp. 19-22. The need to combat Islam was one factor contributing to the attention paid to the Karon and Amberbaken areas by the UZV. C.Y. Mirino, 'Yonas Nandisa', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 5.

73. Gonof, or *Sangaji* Gonof, was a Muslim, who was appointed as the Raja for the Moi people. However, he opposed the rule of the sultans of Ternate and Tidore and their vassals in the Raja Ampat group. He gained support from the rajas of Sauggrai, Arefi, Ayau, Seget and Sausapor in his effort to free himself. Part of his effort involved closer involvement with the Dutch government and the UZV. His support for the concentration of the Moi people into stable villages, and his request for Christian teachers, was instrumental in the conversion of the Moi people to Christianity. Gonof did not convert, but, according to anecdotal evidence, his descendants are Christian. See D.

Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Kota Sorong dan Sekitarnya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 25-28.

74. See H. Mobalen, 'Suatu Studi Tentang Keterlibatan Keluarga Kristen Asal Suku Moi Dalam Kegiatan Pembinaan Warga Jemaat GKI Eklesia Klasaman Klasis Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1997, pp. 35f. Osok, 1992, op cit, p. 7, states that it was 1926 and the teacher's name was Wagunu. It is interesting that Gonof approached both the mission and the government, as it indicates that he recognised both the importance of these two bodies, and the cooperation that existed between them. It is also possible that he was under pressure from Ternate to conform to their wishes, and this was one way of asserting his authority. Mili, op cit, pp. 55-57, asserts, without footnotes, that from 1913 onwards the 'Sultan of Tidore' (Ternate?) ordered his followers to convert to Islam to counter the activities of the Christians. By encouraging the mission and the government to enter his area, Gonof was in effect asserting his independence of Ternate. Mili makes this point on ibid, p. 59, with a quote from Rev. E. Osok, who states that this was the aim of Raja Gonof. Apparently the rajas who represented the, by then powerless, sultans, still had influence as late as 1955, when Y. Fenanlaber and M.G. Hallatu had to report to the Kasim raja before going to Fiawat, one of the villages in his territory. Mili, op cit, p. 80.

75. K. Tanawani, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI 'Bethania' Rutum di Klasis GKI Raja Ampat', Abepura, 1996, p. 19, and E.O. Patay, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Jemaat GKI Silo Dorekhar Klasis GKI Raja Ampat', Abepura, 1998, p. 17. Of the teachers who were sent to Ayau, on the northwestern frontier of Irian, all but one were Papuans, not Ambonese, as in Meossu, for example. Ayau's geographical isolation may have played a part in this.

76. F. & B. Mambrasar, 'Yulius Fenanlaber: Perintis Pekabaran Injil di Kepulauan Kofiau Raja Ampat', Sorong, 1985, pp. 14-19.

77. O. Watem, 'Pekabaran Injil di Kepulauan Kofiau', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 42-44, and D.B. Jenbise, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Immanuel Tolobi di Lingkungan Kofiau Klasis GKI Raja Ampat', Abepura, 1996, pp. 9f. In 1936 Fenanlaber was sent to Urbinasopen in Waigeo. In A.C. van der Leeden, "Report on Anthropological Field Research at the Northern Raja Ampat Islands, March-June 1979", in E.K.M.(ed.) Mansinambow, *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat: Konsep dan Strategi Penelitian*, Bhratara Karya Aksara, Jakarta, 1980, pp. 207f, states that the northern Raja Ampat was evangelised from Solol in the far west after 1930. From there Christianity spread east through kinship ties. This ties in with other reports that indicate that there was no single definable starting point for the evangelisation of the Raja Ampat islands.

78. Mili, op cit, pp. 54f.

79. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 25.

80. For example, Kijne came to lead the school on Mansinam, and in 1927 the Netherlands Bible Society entered Irian. G. Hoogendoorn, 'De Missionaire Arbeid van de Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Irian Jaya', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1993, p. 33.

81. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 24. Those listed are Hollandia (1916), Sarmi (1924), South Biak (1913), Supiori (1913), Yapen (1915), Miei (1917), Manokwari (1863), Numfor (after 1908), Raja Ampat (after 1913), Inanwatan (1924) and Babo/Fak Fak (1924 & 1912). To ensure that there *was* at least one missionary in each resort, a number of transfers were needed in the 1930s, resulting in a lack of continuity in leadership. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 425.

82. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 25. Rumainum ,1966, op cit, pp. 31f, states that indigenous missionaries were not invited because the language used was Dutch. The exception was the 75th anniversary of the mission in 1930, to which several senior indigenous church workers were invited, and Malay was used. However, as M.T. Mawene, "Dari L.J. van Hasselt Sampai Pdt. J. Mamoribo", *Peninjau*, xiv/2 & xv/1, 1990, pp. 7-9, notes, their status was still only that of 'guest'. The issue of language, according to Mawene, was only a pretext to exclude them from

decision-making within the Conference. Between 1907 and 1942 the chairmen were : F.J.F. van Hasselt (1907-31), D.B. Starrenburg (1931-38) and J. Wetstein (1938-42).

83. Boissevain, op cit, pp. 31-34.

84. The first elder who was elected by the congregation was at Mansinam in 1916. In *The Cross Across the Pacific*, National Missionary Councils of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1948, pp. 46f, it is stated that in 1937 Dutch New Guinea (including the islands of Kei, Aru and Tanimbar) had an estimated population of 312,000. Of these, in 1940, there were 87,500 Protestants on the north coast, served by seventeen (UZV) missionaries, assisted by 300 native pastors and teachers, with 157 schools and 8,650 students. In 1933 it was reported that there were also 584 Protestants on the south coast, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance by 1942 had three American missionaries and ten Indonesian missionaries. This is compared to 42,678 Catholics on the south coast, served by forty four priests, twenty five brothers and thirty four sisters. However, in Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 142f, quoting GKI sources, in 1942 there were ±130,000 Protestants in ± 300 congregations being served by 400+ evangelists and parish teachers.

85. The mission instituted three types of assistants, the *Guru Jemaat*, or parish teachers, who acted as lay pastors, and frequently also ran the village school until the appointment of a full-time teacher, and who could be promoted to *Guru Besar* or assistant minister, and the *Guru Sekolah*, or school teacher, whose primary role was to teach in the local primary school. The *Guru Besar* had considerable authority over the teachers and congregations in his region, and could decide to open new posts without reference to a higher authority. Slump, 1987, op cit, p. 12.

86. The assistant minister was permitted to perform baptisms and weddings, which could also be conducted by a parish teacher, and assist a minister in the Eucharist. They occasionally used the Dutch title 'Dominee' (Ds.), but were usually referred to by the people as a 'Pendeta' (Pdt.). Both Dominee and Pendeta are translated in English with the descriptive noun modifier 'Reverend'. The people referred to both the ministers and assistant ministers as Pendeta. In each resort there were at least one minister and an assistant minister. The ministers were remembered as concentrating on supervising the schools, while the assistant ministers did most of the congregational visitation, and performed baptisms, etc. As van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 119, points out, by 1942 there were no Papuan assistant ministers.

87. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 283, and Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 10.

88. Erari, 1999, op cit, p. 105. Secondary schools in Irian were only opened after the Pacific War.

89. Osok, 1992, op cit, pp. 6f, speaks of this in positive terms of enabling the children to be more advanced than their parents. In ibid, p. 57, there is a description of how Yonas Nandissa taught. In addition to teaching the children Malay, addition and subtraction, reading and writing, and drawing, he also taught Religion and singing, presumably using Christian hymns.

90. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 8.

91. D.G. Stibbe, (ed.), *Encyclopædie van Nederlansch-Indië*, 2nd ed., Martinus Nijhoff & E.J. Brill, the Hague & Leiden, vol. 4, 1921, p. 848.

92. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 120f.

93. As in many parts of the world, people in Irian accepted Christianity, while continuing with many of the beliefs of their traditional religion. In at least one place, Roon, a *konoor* of the local *koreri* movement was converted to

Christianity. J. Metz, "Op Roon Begint Victorie (I&II)", *Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap*, 84, 1940, pp. 319-325. That Roon still had a leader of the traditional religion in 1940 is significant in that it indicates the strength of the religion in an area that was also a centre for the evangelisation of its neighbours.

94. As early as 1906 the Sultan of Tidore had ordered his vassals in Raja Ampat to force their people to convert to Islam. They did not for various economic considerations, including the impact that it would have on their diet, as pork was still a significant source of protein and wealth in the islands. The influence of Islam in the Raja Ampat group was a factor in the reception of Christianity in the period before 1945. Osok, 1999, op cit, p. 20.

95. The first missionary teacher to North Biak, N. Huway, said that he was "entering the jaws of a wolf" by going to Manwor, the village in which he began. Krenak, op cit, p. 14.

96. Laurens Watilette, an Ambonese teacher in Dwar-Marur, in North Biak, who was killed in January 1914. Sawor, op cit, p. 14. Rauws, op cit, pp. 144f, states that he was killed in January 1915. His death prompted a military expedition, led by a Lieutenant de Bruin, who had killed a villager in Bosnik in 1910, and who was remembered as 'kejam' or vicious. J.H. Wayangkau, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Biak Utara', Abepura, 1988, p. 8.

97. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 422. The 'Spanish' flu began in South Africa, and spread to Europe where it affected 500,000 Germans soldiers. From Europe it spread with the returning allied soldiers to the rest of the world. J. Keegan, *The First World War*, Hutchinson, London, 1998, pp. 437f. The sickness killed large numbers of people, with only a few isolated islands in the Pacific, some of whom quarantined themselves, escaping.

98. See Mirino, 1997, op cit, pp. 52f. Malay was widely known, but not by every person nor in every village. However, the fractured nature of Melanesian society and the resultant variety of languages meant that, when a local language was used in the school, it was as a bridge to Malay which became the dominant language of education. Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 41f.

99. This was part of a larger-scale reduction of government funding for mission schools, that resulted in the closure of a number of schools. Ibid, p. 44.

100. Before 1927, teachers from Ambon were few in number, particularly in the period before 1916. The influence of the Muslim Kings was still significant, and the supply of teachers from the Moluccas was not great. See E. Mili, K. Padwa & P. Solissa, 'Guru-Guru Injil Yang Bekerja di Sorong-Raja Ampat', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 5-7. As Mirino, 1997, op cit, pp. 62-64, shows, for the Karon area, by the 1930s there were enough teachers to be able to rotate them every two to four years. The number of locally recruited and trained teachers also increased, and they were used them to expand into Karon villages on the mainland in the interior of Sausapor. The teachers were products of the school run by Kijne at Miei. Ibid, pp. 65-66.

101. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 22. Kamma arrived in Irian in 1932, and was posted to Kwawi. P.H.W. Haenen, *Weefsels van Wederkerigheid: Sociale Structur bij de Moi van Irian Jaya*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Biblioteek, den Haag, 1992, pp. 61f, and Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 245. Haenen makes the point that Kamma's task was not the same as that of the missionaries of the past, to engage in primary evangelism in a region with no experience of Christianity, but rather he was to open the second stage of mission work, the strengthening of existing congregations and the opening of new posts on the fringes of existing stations and congregations.

102. (In every reasonably sized village on the coast an Evangelist or Teacher was placed to open the school and form a proto congregation or congregation). Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 22.

103. See R.E.P..Lewerissa, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Jemaat GKI Bethania Waren', STT GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 15. In the list she gives of evangelists and teachers placed in Waren between 1932 and 1992, most are Papuans.

104. When an acceptable standard was achieved, the school could be recognised by the government and receive a certified teacher. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 22.

105. Ibid, p. 27. As G. van Klinken, 'Peacemaker and Defender of the People', Commission for World Mission Uniting Church in Australia, Salatiga, 1985, p. 3, suggests, the funding problems after 1929 may have influenced the UZV to surrender its congregations, so hastening a process that had already begun. However, it could also be argued that, by surrendering the work to a new mission organisation, the UZV could argue that the Catholics be excluded from their areas on the north coast, as the UZV was not working in any Catholic regions. The Moluccans were able to finance the mission from their own funds, and donations from Moluccans in Java. The meeting was attended by van Hasselt, Starrenburg, Bout and other long-term UZV missionaries. *Hikajat Geredja Protestant Maloeka*, Geredja Protestan Maloeka, Ambon, 1949, pp. 61f. The Moluccans then sent eight new teachers to Fak Fak and thirteen to Kaimana, and existing UZV teachers were given the choice to stay at their posts, or move to UZV presbyteries. Slump, 1987, op cit, pp. 15f.

106. Slump, 1935, op cit, pp. 51f, 90.

107. The Moluccan Protestant Church. Wanma, op cit, p. 2. The GPM was the first of the independent Indies Churches founded from congregations of the Dutch Reformed missions. See also *Hikajat*, op cit, p. 50.

108. The GPM deliberately targeted the area of Mimika, which is centred on Kokonau, as the Catholics were only recently established, and there was a possibility that the Protestants could outpace them. Hence, teachers were sent, 'bearing gifts' with which to encourage the villagers to accept teachers, forcing the Catholics to match the Protestant efforts. The Catholics 'won' due to demands for GPM teachers elsewhere, and a funding crisis in 1937. J. Pouwer, *Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika Cultuur*, translated by P. Muskita, May 1987, pp. 231-3.

109. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 675-7, and *Hikajat*, op cit, p. 50. As mentioned in chapter four, the GPM withdrew its teachers from Merauke due to a shortage of money. However, many of the congregations survived with the help of retired teachers resident in Merauke, assisted by church members, who formed the *Zending Protestan Maluku* (ZPM). The ZPM was able to sustain the congregations until 1939, when the GPM returned to Merauke. *Hikajat*, op cit, p. 61, and P. Muskita, 'Tambahan Gereja Protestan Maluku', Fak Fak, 1987, p. 18.

110. 5 February, the day of the landing of Ottow and Geissler at Mansinam.

111. Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, pp. 25-30. The mission board was revived after the Pacific War and expanded its activities. According to Osok, 1999, op cit, p. 37, the organisation was founded simultaneously at Doom and Sausapor. However, he gives no account of any activity in Doom, so it may be concluded that the branch in Doom, then the regional centre, did not continue, as it could not compete with the Dutch mission in the Sorong area. The name 'Eltoto' is probably from the Greek 'Eltheto' or 'Your Kingdom Come'.

112. The first Catholic priest on the north coast was Father M. Neyens who was sent to minister to Catholics in the Manokwari area in 1935. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 1, Sukarnapura, 1967, p. 13. The NNGPM provided a subsidy for the missions of 50/50. It was applied equally to both Catholics and Protestants, and enabled the Catholics to build at least one school in a NNGPM area. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 460.

113. He was not related to the early writer on Irian, A. Haga, who died in 1902.

114. H. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 8-15, and vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, pp. 2f. After the first Ambonese teachers returned to Ambon from Merauke, there was a reaction from church people in Ambon, voiced in their magazine 'Ambon Baru', such that the division of Irian between Catholics and Protestants again failed.

115. (Macassar Bible School). The students were not authorised to baptise, and this may have been a factor in the mission in Misool and Selayar not continuing. R. Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia: Sejarah Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia Sejak 1930*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1995, p. 382.

116. At the urging of Jaffray, who organised the initial expedition and sent Russell Diebler. D. Diebler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1988, pp. 5-7. The CAMA mission in the Paniai lakes is dealt with in chapter seven.

117. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 25f. The Catholic mission in Paniai is dealt with in more detail in chapter eight.

118. L. Upessy & N. Korwa, 'Gereja Bethel Gereja Pantekosta', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 3.

119. as the missionaries prior to 1907 had been reluctant to baptise a new convert until they were certain that their understanding was orthodox. This became harder to ascertain after 1907, as the numbers of those wishing to convert rose. Hence the need for catechism classes to follow baptism. The Evangelicals in the highlands in the 1950s and 1960s had similar concerns, and delayed the first baptisms until the missionary was satisfied that the converts understood what they were asking for.

120. This work was usually carried out by the local teacher, using the Heidelberg Catechism. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 120.

121. 'Psalms and Songs of Praise'. C.C.J. Schröder, 1862-1926, collected and edited the hymnals of Graafland, Langevoort, Moens and his own previous hymnal into one edition. He also produced the hymnal known as the *Dua Sahabat Lama*, which was used throughout the churches in the Dutch areas, and is still known and its hymns sung, although it has not been in print for over twenty years and copies are rare. The hymns are largely sung from memory, often during the waiting period before a funeral. See van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 82,120,414. Hymns in the local language, often accompanied by a *tifa*, were used, but after 1945 the success if the *koreri* movement in Biak and its neighbours was blamed on the use of these hymns in worship. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 508. Similar thoughts were expressed in Sangir to the use of local instruments in worship in the early 1980s.

122. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 120. He does not state into which languages portions of the Bible had been translated. Prior to 1945, the Malay edition preferred by the Moluccan missionaries was Leijdecker's translation, first published in 1733, which used the Muslim word for God, 'Allah', in place of the Portuguese 'Deos' used in earlier translations. As the translation was out of print by the 1850s, many missionaries used the newer, but harder to understand, Klinckert version of 1879. T. van den End, *Ragi Carita: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1500-1860an*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta 1980, pp. 118f, and van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 66.

123. Kamma, 1953, loc cit, p. 105, and Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 215.

124. Rauws, op cit, p. 134. Between pp. 164-5, there is a photograph of Bout dispensing medicines to two Papuans.

125. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 433.

126. *Atlas van de Terreinen der Protestantsche Zending in Nederlandsch Oost-en West Indie*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, 1937, p. 19, and Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 10.

127. According to van Schouwenburg, op cit, p.11, the first case of leprosy in Irian was reported in an Ambonese

man in 1934. After this a mission doctor, Dr. Beirdrager, who was in the hospital in Serui, reported sixty positive cases in Serui, and that one village had 16% of its numbers diagnosed with leprosy. This gave the mission a new focus, as it took on the role of combatting leprosy, along with the basic task of primary evangelism.

128. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 121, states that leprosy was brought in through the increased contact with the rest of the Dutch areas.

129. Ibid, pp. 121f.

CHAPTER 4: The Catholics to 1942

> The Catholic community is a people of faith who by divine grace strive to put their faith into practice as fully and effectively as possible.[1]

The Catholic missions in the East Indies preceded Dutch control and influence, with extensive Catholic missionary activities having been undertaken in the Moluccas, North Sulawesi and the islands around Timor before the Dutch arrived and began to supplant the Catholic Portuguese and Spanish. Some interest in New Guinea had been shown by Catholics in the region, but nothing was done[2]. Even with the establishment of Dutch rule and the arrival of Dutch Protestant ministers to serve the Dutch and indigenous Christians, Catholic activity continued, particularly in the remote islands of and near Timor, and in places such as Aceh and Kalimantan, which were beyond the effective control of the Dutch, or had existing Catholic communities that the Dutch allowed to be served by Catholic missionaries[3]. Despite the difficulties imposed by the loss of Spanish and Portuguese influence in the region, the Catholic orders in Asia, supported by Rome, continued to be interested in expanding their mission efforts to the nearby islands of the western Pacific, including New Guinea, to evangelise new people who had not heard of Christianity, and to circumvent the Protestants. It is within this context that the history of the Catholic mission in Irian lies.

During the Napoleonic wars in Europe, Catholicism in the Netherlands was granted the same rights as Protestantism[4]. These laws were extended to the Dutch East Indies in 1807, where they were enforced by the new Governor-General, Daendels, who arrived ion 1808[5]. As a result, Pope Pius VII approved the establishment of an Apostolic Prefecture[6] for the Dutch East Indies, based in Batavia. In 1809 the first two Catholic missionaries to officially enter the Dutch East Indies, with salaries paid by the colonial government, arrived in Batavia[7]. The Catholic Church was separated administratively from the Dutch colonial government in 1847, and in 1848 a new Bishop was appointed, after consultation with the Dutch government[8]. Pope Gregory XVI established an Apostolic Vicariate, covering the Melanesian islands of 'Nova Guinea, Tobia, William, Schouten, Duo Vesset, Timollant, Arriou, Amirauté', and others[9]. The Vicariate of Melanesia immediately sent missionaries to the Solomon Islands and, for a brief time, missionaries were sent to eastern New Guinea. In 1881 Leo XIII established a Vicariate of Melanesia and Micronesia, and gave it to the newly formed Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), who later became the main order in Dutch New Guinea. Through their efforts in the British, German and Dutch possessions, by

1890 the Catholics had missions and congregations in most of present-day Indonesia, including the Southern Moluccas and the Kei Islands, bordering New Guinea, as well as in eastern New Guinea and the western Pacific[10]. The only region in which they did not have missionaries was Dutch New Guinea.

The Jesuits opened a station at Tual in the Kei Islands in 1888, and in 1889 founded the station at Langgur, which became the main staging post for Catholic missions in the Moluccas and the south coast of Irian[11]. The Dutch government gave them permission to work in southern Dutch New Guinea in 1891, and the first visit was made in the same year. In 1892 a missionary who went with a party of Dutch policemen, selected a village on the south coast, but the site was rejected as not being safe enough[12]. In 1894 a Dutch Jesuit, C.F.C. L'Cocq D'Armandville, settled at Skroe, near Fak Fak. In 1895, with the help of two monks, a new post was built on the mainland near Fak Fak, which included a school run by an Ambonese Protestant, C. Pelletimu[13]. L'Cocq quickly began baptising children and evangelising the local people[14]. But, due to his death by drowning in 1896[15] and the general lack of success, the station was closed and Pelletimu was withdrawn to teach in Langgur[16].

The Catholics attempted to establish a post at the government post of Merauke in 1902, but did not establish a permanent station until 1905, the year after the mission in Dutch New Guinea was given to the Sacred Heart Order or MSC, which was the principal Catholic order in Irian until 1937, when the Franciscans (OFM) entered[17]. Once established, more priests were sent and began expanding their mission, while leaning the Marind language. In 1909 they had a post at Wendu, and a station at Okaba was established in 1911[18]. The first permanent building at Merauke in 1910 was built by brothers brought in from Kei[19] followed by another at Okaba in the same year. As the Catholics wanted to expand their stations beyond Merauke, in 1910, Neyens formally requested permission from the government to establish posts in the Fak Fak, Inanwatan and the Bintuni regions. With the exception of the eastern Bintuni region, they knew of no Protestant plans to open these areas, and the Catholics were aware of the expansion of Islam there[20]. However, in 1911, the UZV made a similar request[21]. In 1912 the Dutch colonial government divided Irian between the Catholics and Dutch Protestants, with the Catholics being given the south coast, but not the areas around Fak Fak and Bintuni[22]. However, a shortage of personnel due to the war in Europe, meant that the Catholic mission could not expand even into the areas allocated to them, despite the subsidy from the Dutch government of *f*50 per annum per

child in hostel care that was given at the time[23]. This shortage meant that, by 1916, they were limited to serving the Kei and Papuan Catholics in Merauke, and visiting outlying stations such as Okaba and Wendu[24]. The need for medical assistance was recognised, but due to the War, only one doctor was sent and extra personnel were unavailable[25].

In 1902 the Apostolic Prefecture of New Guinea (based in Langgur in the Moluccas) was separated from the Bishop in Batavia[26]. In that year there were only 250 Catholics in Irian, made up of people from the Marind tribe, Kei and the Netherlands. Although child baptisms were common, the first adult baptisms did not take place until 1922[27]. From 1920 more personnel were sent, and stations such as Okaba and Wendu received a priest, and the number of adult baptisms increased[28]. In 1920 the Apostolic Prefecture was raised to an Apostolic Vicariate, based at Langgur[29]. This allowed the Catholics to bring in more missionaries and to permanently reestablish themselves in several centres that had been neglected[30].

In 1924, a delegation came from Fak Fak to Langgur saying that they "wanted to adopt the religion of Father L'Cocq", and asked for a teacher[31]. A teacher and priest were sent in 1925 and, despite opposition from the Assistant Resident in Fak Fak, were able to establish a school, but the priest, Father Cappers, was forced to leave[32]. In response, Cappers sent letters of protest to the Governor in Ambon and his superiors in the Netherlands. Ultimately the issue was discussed in the Dutch Parliament, and in 1927 the Governor-General in Batavia instructed the Governor in Ambon to allow more than one mission in one location[33]. Conversations instigated by the Governor in Ambon about a 'dividing line' continued, but the policy, that the missions could compete, became fixed[34]. In December 1928, Cappers was formally allowed into Fak Fak to teach religion and, in 1929, was able to open several schools and to expand contacts in the Kokas region[35]. In 1931 the first baptisms in the Fak Fak area since L'Cocq were performed[36]. The change in government policy also allowed the Catholics to expand into the upper Digul area around Mindiptana and Tanah Merah, and along the coast toward Mimika and Kokonau, where they set up schools and hostels[37]. A station was established at Tanah Merah by C. Meuwese, from which the upper Digul was explored and tribes contacted[38].Their efforts were such that by 1933 there were more than 7,000 Catholics in Irian[39]. But in other areas they experienced difficulties. Until 1936, the entry of the Catholic Church, as opposed to individuals, to new areas was based on a verbal agreement with the Resident in Ambon. This arrangement was legalised in 1936, but Resident Haga did not allow the Catholics to formally establish church institutions in these new

areas. It was not until Bishop Aerts complained to the Governor-General in Batavia, that the situation changed, after which they were allowed greater access to villages in Fak Fak, and were permitted to enter the hinterland of Hollandia[40]. However, after the UZV gave its work on the south coast to the Moluccan Church, the Protestants were able to strengthen their schools in Fak Fak and, for a time, expand into Catholic areas around Merauke and Kokonau, compelling the Catholics to direct resources to these regions that could have been used elsewhere[41].

During the 1930s more missionaries from the Netherlands continued to arrive. They were able to reestablish a presence in Ternate and the adjacent parts of Halmahera. After establishing Ternate and Tobelo as centres of the Catholic Church, the leader of the Franciscans, S. van Egmond, decided to expand to the north coast of Irian, after an invitation from the MSC. Despite hindrance from the Governor in Ambon, in 1935 he was allowed to send a priest to Manokwari to care for Catholics there[42]. In 1936 the Governor-General formally permitted the Catholic Church unrestricted access to all of Irian, beginning in 1937[43]. The MSC was able to take advantage of this with help from the OFM, who began sending personnel to the north coast of Irian on a regular basis after 1937[44].

Despite sickness, and a number of deaths of teachers as well as priests and brothers, the Catholics continued founding schools in the region inland of Merauke[45]. These schools, with the resident teacher, and his wife, became the centre for the evangelisation of these areas[46]. However, they were often prevented from consolidating their work when sickness attacked the villagers. In the 1937 and 1938 there were several epidemics of grip and influenza, which resulted in many deaths in the Digul river system, and up to 500 on Kimaan Island. The people responded by fleeing to the forest or to Australian New Guinea, with the result that mission and school activities were interrupted or hampered[47].

During the 1930s the Dutch began exploring the Bintuni gulf for oil, and in 1935 established Babo as their centre for exploration and exploitation. Over one hundred workers were brought from the Kei islands, and many of these were Catholic. The number of Catholics was sufficient to warrant a priest and a number of teachers, to provide pastoral care and begin evangelising the Papuan villages in the area. By 1937 they had set up nine schools in the Babo district. Student numbers were low, with an average enrollment of only twenty in each school, but

they were enough for the Catholic mission to continue expanding the schools and their evangelism efforts to the tribes around Babo and along the north coast of the gulf, in the Steenkol region[48].

In the same period, 150 colonists of mixed Indo-European parentage were sent to farm in the Manokwari area[49]. These colonists were cared for by an OFM priest and a brother based in Manokwari, who were able to establish a school[50]. But the Catholics were not allowed to extend the scope of their efforts, as the north coast was officially recognised as Protestant. Numbers remained small, and the majority of the congregation were Indo-Europeans[51]. There were also a few Catholics in the Hollandia region, who were also part of another Dutch settlement scheme for those of mixed parentage. The priest in Manokwari, Frankenmolen, was able to visit them in 1939. During his visit he was asked by the people in Nafri to establish a school[52]. This prompted discussions with the local government representative, who suggested that Waris, inland of Hollandia, should be investigated as a possible station instead, and Frankenmolen journeyed to Arso, between Waris and the coast[53]. The result was the stationing of a teacher in Arso 1940. Due to an exodus of Catholic settlers from Manokwari, and the promise of a new mission field in Arso, Frankenmolen moved to Hollandia soon after, and built a house there as a basis for the work in the interior[54].

The Wissel or Paniai Lakes were noted by outsiders in 1937. The Me tribe around the lakes extended to the Amungme people in Mimika region, where the Catholics were working. In December 1935, a Dutch anthropologist, T.J. Bijlmer, led an expedition inland from Mimika, and was later joined by H. Tillemans, the Catholic missionary in the region. When the expedition arrived in Mapia, they met Weakebo, a Me leader who had gone to Mapia to meet the expedition, and who told them about the large interior lake he lived on[55]. As a result of this contact, Catholic mission activity increased in the interior of Mimika[56]. The withdrawal of GPM teachers from Mimika in 1937 gave the Catholics more freedom to expand into the villages inland of Mimika, as well as to Kokonau and Uta along the adjacent coast[57]. Thirty five teachers were placed in this region along with three priests, but the Bishop in Merauke felt unable to extend the work without assistance from another order[58]. In 1937 and 1938 the government in Fak Fak sent expeditions to the Paniai region, led by Dr. Cator and Jan van Eechoud respectively[59]. Tillemans was asked to join van Eechoud's party, and arrived in Paniai in June. Upon arriving Tillemans requested permission to send seven teachers to establish schools in the Paniai region. His request was rejected by the authorities on the grounds that government control had not been established and

soon after, due to food shortages, he had to return to Mimika. As the CAMA mission was allowed to establish a base at Enarotali, Tillemans returned there in January 1939 with three teachers and, in the next two years, continued exploring the territory between Enarotali and Mimika[60]. By 1941 the Catholics had nine stations around Paniai and Tigi.

The Catholic missionaries used a variety of methods to approach and convert people, from direct evangelism, to schools, and even the liturgy itself which, unlike Protestant worship, involved more outward ceremony, and required from the congregation acceptance rather than understanding[61]. Where the government was slow to build posts, they established contact with villagers along major transport routes[62]. Although the government contacted some of the southern coastal tribes during the 1920s and 1930s, establishing posts at Mimika, Agats and Kimaan Island, and some trade in Bird-of-Paradise hunters and several exploratory expeditions entered the river systems, before 1942 there was little-large scale penetration of this region apart from the missionaries[63]. The Catholics provided pastoral oversight for their members in government centres, as on the north coast and at Babo, where they were part of government schemes or had found employment in Protestant areas. In many places, particularly Fak Fak, they came with an explicit invitation from the local people. They selected strategic villages for their posts from which a wider area could be contacted, where churches and schools were established as quickly as possible, together with hostels so that children could be educated more effectively. The schools they founded were able to attract government subsidies, which lessened the financial burden on the mission[64]. The Catholics were willing to accept government subsidies for their schools if such was available, and were prepared to accommodate the wishes of the government to obtain these subsidies[65]. They used teachers initially from the school in Langgur, and later from other dioceses, particularly that of Manado which had a growing and enthusiastic number of Catholics, to serve in these village schools. With the aid of subsidies, and through their own funds, the Catholic were able to establish an extensive system of schools[66]. The teachers and the missionaries were complemented by a number of carpenters who were brought from Langgur, as well as the Netherlands. They built the infrastructure of the mission, and assisted the teachers and priests by witnessing to their faith and assisting with Christian education and worship outside of the Sunday service[67]. The Catholics also instituted medical work to combat diseases[68] bringing in medical personal to determine local needs and set up medical posts[69]. They learnt the local languages and produced materials in them[70]. Although the mass used Latin as its medium, the missionaries acquired sufficient knowledge of local languages to be able to evangelise in them. In some areas

hymns were also translated and used in worship. During the period before the Pacific War, no indigenous people were trained as priests, but in August 1939 the first indigenous novice nuns were accepted into the convent in Merauke.

The Catholic missionaries went to Irian to spread the gospel, and to forestall the Protestants, in a era in which the post-Reformation sense of intense competition was still a factor in Catholic-Protestant relations. They interpreted the widespread diseases and social dislocation in the villages that they served as being the result of a community untouched by the gospel. They then intervened in those communities in ways that they perceived would make the Papuans more Christian, and also healthier. To this end they began founding model villages. They gathered together the inhabitants of several hamlets, that were larger than the traditional villages found on the south coast, were permanent, and afforded the teacher or priest greater interaction with the children, and better control over the adults. These new villages offered the prospect of preventing epidemics, such as the Spanish flu that reached the Merauke district in 1920, and providing better services, from both the government and the church[71]. For example, the condoning of multiple sexual partners resulted in widespread venereal disease, that could only be contained with a change of sexual and social practices, and improved medications. The Church believed that the most effective way to do this was to relocate the tribe in a smaller number of permanent villages with access to transport, and to be directly involved in the life of these villages[72]. By 1939, the authority of the Church was such that the missionaries were able to begin intervening in family matters, and so, for example, several priests went to Onggai to resolve the problem of marriages, which had been arranged without weddings being carried out[73]. The consumption of alcohol, which was endemic to the south coast, was also a social problem that could reemerge as soon as the control of the Church slackened, and could bring negative social consequences[74]. Hence social intervention was seen as not only in accordance with the gospel, but also desirable for the community, even if, as in the matter of head-hunting and inter-clan warfare, this intervention required assistance from the police[75].

The strength of the Catholic mission was that they generally worked in teams[76], with priests being the dominant figures, assisted by monks and nuns from Europe and the Indies, such as the Moluccas and Minahasa , as well as teachers and catechists recruited locally, and from other areas in Irian[77]. For the Catholics, the priest was the 'missionary', but the hierarchy was aware that without the brothers, sisters, teachers, wives and indigenous workers, the church could not have

functioned and the work of evangelisation could not have been maintained in the isolated regions, particularly during the times when money and people were in short supply. For example, the station at Okaba was opened by three Dutch missionaries, two priests and a brother, and Fak Fak was initially manned by a priest and a teacher[78]. These workers, lay and ordained, expatriate and local, continued the task of evangelisation and Christianisation, that became the basis for the Catholic Church in Irian after the trauma of the war against the Japanesé.

1. *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, quoted in F.L. Cooley, *The Growing Seed*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1981, p. 55.

2. In 1550 an expedition to Irian reported that there were Christians there. The earliest known interest in evangelising Irian was in 1663 when Fernandez, a Jesuit at Ambon, proposed to go to 'the ports of Papua' and evangelise them. In 1669, a 'Papuan King' visited Bacan, and said to the Catholic priest there that many wanted to be baptised. The arrival of the Dutch and their expulsion of the Jesuits prevented his endeavour from taking place. M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia', STT Erikson-Tritt, Manokwari, 1992, p. 28. In 1676, Victorio Riccio reported to the Vatican, upon his election as the prior of Saint Dominic monastery in Manilla. In his report he requested permission to evangelise 'Terra Australis', as he had seen slaves that the Dutch had brought to Manilla. His journey would pass through 'Papua' and 'New Guinea'. The letter was received in 1681. His request was acceded to and a reply, with letters ensuring the Spanish Governor in Manilla would fund his journey, was sent immediately. By the time the letters arrived in Manilla in 1685, Riccio was dead (of old age, as by 1685 he would have been in the Asia for forty two years), and the mission did not proceed. R.M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850,* ANU, Canberra, 1981, pp. 170-178.

3. G. van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani dalam Konteks Sejarah Agama-Agama Lain*, book 3, Obor, Jakarta, 1995, pp. 13-15.

4. As a result of the 'Batavian Revolution' of 1798, which was influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution and supported by French soldiers.

5. M.P.M. Muskens, *Partner in Nation Building; the Catholic Church in Indonesia*, Missio Aktuell, Aachen, 1979, p. 42.

6. In the Catholic system, an Apostolic Prefecture is a new mission field under the care of a particular order, led by a priest. When the mission is considered successful enough, the Apostolic Prefecture can be raised to the level of an Apostolic Vicariate, with a titular Bishop but under the direct care of the Pope. An Apostolic Vicariate is not considered capable of being self-governing. When it is considered capable of being fully self-governing, it can be raised to a full Diocese with a Bishop as its leader, within a Province headed by an Archbishop. There are several exceptions to this, such as the two dioceses in East Timor which were, for political reasons, under the direct care of Rome. A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Gereja*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, vol. 1, 1991, p. 36, vol. 2, 1992, pp. 357f, vol. 5, 1995, p. 77.

7. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 68f, and A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Populer tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 158f. During the time of the VOC, the only recognised religion was that of the Dutch Reformed Church. Catholicism had been vigorously opposed, for reasons of regional stability as well as political concerns, as the Spanish and Portuguese continued their active presence in areas in which the VOC operated.

8. After thirty years of arguments with the government in the Netherlands. The final point of conflict with the Governor-General in Batavia was over the dismissal of four priests in 1845. The ending of support, and control, of the government, then freed their ministers to serve and propagate the faith in ways that were not open to the Protestants until 1935, and the movement by the Dutch Protestants to create locally-based Churches in all the regions of Indonesia. See T. Müller-Krüger, *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1966, pp. 256f. The general history of the Catholic Church in Indonesia is summarised well in Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 102-144, and van Schie, op cit, pp. 11f, 68-82, 95-106, 125-129. Despite the separation of Church and state, small salaries continued to be paid to the priests by the Dutch government, with a pension upon completion of service, as well as assistance for travel and housing.

9. New Guinea, Biak, Yapen, Waigeo, Tanimbar, Aru and perhaps Kei. A. Vriens, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974,

p. 608. There is no evidence that New Guinea was evangelised as a direct result of this decision.

10. J. Verschuren, "De Katolieke Missie", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, p. 160.

11. A teacher's school was opened at Langgur, which supplied teachers for the schools that the missionaries established in Irian.

12. The eastern half of the island was entered by the Marists in 1848. An unplanned visit was made to the western half in 1891, when a Catholic missionary on a trading vessel, which caught on fire, had to put in to a port on the south coast. Van Schie, op cit, p. 173.

13. Which is interesting in light of the attitudes then current that generally precluded cooperation between Catholics and Protestants. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 1, Sukarnopura, 1967, p. 3.

14. The baptism of children was considered to be a priority by the missionaries throughout their missions, as the rate of infant deaths was high and, by baptising the children, they could at least ensure that the child achieved eternal salvation. In 1668, when the Spanish Jesuits began working on Guam, 13,000 people were baptised in the first year. In 1669, the baptism of a child of a lapsed convert by the mission leader, Sanvitores, sparked the Chamorro wars. During the war, Sanvitores died, as did 95,000 of the original 100,000 inhabitants of the Marianas. See J. Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*, WCC, Geneva and Suva, 1982, pp. 2f. L'Cocq is said to have baptised seventy children during his first ten-day stay at Seberu. At the new school at Bomfia, in addition to treating the sick, he baptised eighty more children. Van Schie, op cit, pp. 174f.

15. At Mimika. Heuken, 1989, p.175. Heuken 1989, p. 236, also makes a case that L'Cocq may have been killed, as the crew of the ship he was on, when asked, were able to produce his chests, which were locked but empty. However, in W. van Niewendorff, *Pater Le Cocq d'Armandville von der Gesellschaft Jesu. Skizze aus dem Missionsleben von Niederl. Ostindien*, J. Habbel, Regensburg, 1902, pp. 229-233, the death of L'Cocq is recounted, and it appears that van Niewendorf thought it was a simple case of misjudgement on the part of the captain of the ship, Pieter Solomon, and L'Cocq.

16. See N.G.J. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, p. 4. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 3, states that there were over one hundred Catholics. However, as L'Cocq baptised seventy three people within ten days of arriving in Skroe, it is likely that the level of understanding of those baptised was not very great. So saying, Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 236, reports that Father Neyens, travelling inland of Fak Fak in 1910, met several youths who acknowledged that they had been baptised by L'Cocq. After Pelletimu's withdrawal to Langgur he continued as a teacher in the Catholic mission. Several of his pupils were used as Catholic teachers in Irian from 1906 onwards. L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, pp. 667f.

17. The MSC were given the task of developing Irian in 1904, after an approach to the Catholic hierarchy by the local Assistant Resident in Merauke. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 115, 269, and B. Maran & A. Ayawaila, 'Gereja Katolik', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 3. They were willing to do so, as in 1894, when the Dutch MSC accepted responsibility for the area around Rabaul, in German New Guinea, this was on the condition that, if work was opened in Dutch New Guinea, it would be given to them. Vriens, loc cit, p. 611. On 12 March 1955 the 50th anniversary of the entry of the mission was celebrated. See Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 35. For the Franciscans, see van Schie, op cit, p. 355, and Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 152.

18. Haripranata, 1970, op cit, pp. 113-7, and Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 269.

19. It was a Presbytery, or residence for the priests, which also served as a chapel. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 4.

20. According to Dutch colonial regulations, the missions had to request permission to enter a new region. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 669.

21. J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, p. 161. Starrenburg knew of the Catholic request, but felt that he had a case, as the Bintuni area was already considered to be part of the Protestant area, as it had teachers there.

22. Haripranata, vol.1, op cit, p. 5. According to Rauws, op cit, p. 162, the dividing line was 4° 30' south latitude, basically following the visible mountain range.

23. This subsidy eased the financial burden of the Church, but was still not enough to secure the future of the mission, which was very much in doubt due to the apparent lack of success. Haripranata, 1970, op cit, pp. 158-60.

24. which did not have a priest. Maran, & Ayawaila op cit, p. 3, and Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 5f. In Okaba they stationed a Filipino teacher, Liberato Ga.

25. The War in Europe disrupted transport lines with the Netherlands, meaning that fewer people and less freight could come to Irian. The Catholics in Merauke, who were accustomed to eating rice, were reduced to eating sago. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 1, n.p., n.d., p. 9.

26. M.P.M. Muskens, *Indonesie: Een Strijd om Nationale Identiteit*, 2nd ed., Paul Brand, Bussum, 1970, pp. 310f, Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 269, and Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 152. The Moluccas was the first region in the Dutch East Indies to be separated from Batavia. Muskens, 1979, op cit, p. 93.

27. Of fifteen adults and fourteen boys. "Seluruh penduduk Merauke, baik Tionghwa maupun orang Islam ikut serta meriahkan". (All of the people of Merauke, Chinese as well as Muslims joined in celebrating it). The afternoon service was followed by dancing 'into the night'. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 7.

28. The first baptisms of adult women were in 1924. Haripranata, vol.1, op cit, p. 8.

29. Van Schie, op cit, p. 354.

30. Vriens, loc cit, p. 619.

31. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 8. The delegation was led by a man named Suni, who was baptised as a Catholic in 1937. At about the same time a similar request were being put to the Protestants in Fak Fak. Fak Fak was close enough to Langgur that a number of people from there had already been educated by the Catholics in Langgur, and several teachers from the Kei islands were already working in and around Fak Fak. Aerts had tried to gain permission to enter Fak Fak in a meeting with the Colonial Secretary in Bogor, West Java, in 1921, without success. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 671f, 682f.

32. Despite the presence of Father Cappers, they were prevented from stationing a priest. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 270, and van de Berg, loc cit, p. 672. The government representative was supported by the local UZV teachers, who did not want the Catholics in Fak Fak. F. Slump, *De Zending op West Nieuw-Guinee*, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, 1935, op cit, p. 35. This was despite there being a tradition of priests from Langgur visiting Fak Fak, at government

expense, to minister to the Catholic civil servants. F. Slump, *Sejarah Penginjilan di Daerah Kapaur (1918-1930)*, translated by P. Muskita, May 1987, p. 5. The opposition in Fak Fak took the form of the demolishing of the house built for the Catholic priest in Sakertimin. Cappers had to leave Fak Fak, but Maritius Rettob remained and was able to found a school. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 8f.

33. Not by changing the law but by reinterpreting it. However, it seems that the Protestants (Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 175, states that it was only the Dutch Protestant mission, the UZV, although it is likely that the anti-Catholic pressure came from local Christians as well) continued to try to limit the spread of the Catholics. The problem that plagued the Catholic mission until 1942 was the interpretation of article 177 of the 1925 Netherlands Indies Constitution, that was used by groups who wanted to limit the spread of the Catholics. Muskens, 1979, op cit, p. 93.

34. Who was probably being pressured by the Protestants in the Moluccas who, even at the first Catholic mission conference, where the Government and Protestants had a representative, raised the issue of the 'double mission'. For this reason the Catholic mission was forbidden to enter the Arguni-Kaimana-Etna region in 1935. In 1935 the Dutch Resident suggested a territorial division between the Protestant and Catholic missions. Bishop Aerts rejected the proposal, presumably as it would then have allowed the government to further restrict the spread of the Catholics. Later in 1935 the Central Mission Bureau in Batavia also complained, asking what right the government had to deny a community a teacher or priest when they had asked for one? Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 12ff. The answer was that, according to regulations issued in 1854 and 1925, the Catholics were limited to certain parts of the Dutch East Indies. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 90f. It would have been understandable if local authorities, for whatever reason, would have interpreted these regulations as allowing them to limit the Catholics to particular localities in Irian, ideally those where there was no established Protestant presence. The debate continued in Batavia through the 1930s, when the Bishop of Batavia insisted that the Catholic missionaries be given unrestricted access to all of the Indies.

35. Cappers was invited into Fak Fak by the Governor-General. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 10.

36. of forty school children. The first permanent church building was in 1932. Ibid, pp. 11f.

37. J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, pp. 2-6. Some Asmat villages were contacted and teachers were sent. A school specifically for Asmat children was also founded in Mimika. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", in D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 28. Mauritius Rettob, who had gone with Cappers to Fak Fak, was one of those involved in establishing schools in the Kokonau region. By 1931 there were seventeen schools, with twenty teachers and 634 students, male and female. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 9. The decision also allowed the Protestants into these areas after the Catholics had established schools and congregations. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 23f, give a story of competition between the Protestants and Catholics, where the Protestants gained the upper hand with a distribution of clothing. The Catholics appealed for clothing from Catholics in the Netherlands, with the result that "Domba-domba yang tersesat pulang ke kandang yang benar" (The straying sheep returned to the true stall), and the Protestants withdrew.

38. Unevenly, according to J.H.M.C. Boelaars, *Head-Hunters about Themselves*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1981, p. 5. For journeys outside his station he was dependent upon local canoes. The paddlers were very reluctant to visit villages of their traditional enemies, and found excuses not to go there.

39. E. Utrecht, *Papuas in Opstand*, Ordeman, Rotterdam, 1978, p. 32.

40. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 175. In 1928, a meeting was held between the Catholics, the UZV and the government. Despite the regulation permitting free access, the Catholics were still refused access to the north coast. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 674-5, 679-80.

41. Ibid, p. 677. Between 1930-37, the Protestant Moluccan teachers who were sent to the south coast had some successes in the hinterland of some of the Catholic centres. But the difficulties of life in this region, as well as the expense of maintaining them there, led to their withdrawal, after which the Catholics were free to penetrate these areas. Heuken 1993, op cit, p. 152.

42. The post began with a manse built by a brother and used for worship. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 683f.

43. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 14. The Resident continued to try to limit the Catholic presence, despite this, and was successfully opposed by Mgr. Aerts. However, in 1937, the Resident, Haga, said that the Protestants would withdraw from Merauke as, according to Rev. Tutuarima, "the schools in the Protestant villages were not equal to the expense and the teachers could not be supervised sufficiently". The Catholics saw this as another attempt to limit them to Merauke, and were supported by a deposition to Haga and Tutuarima in Ambon. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat,* Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, pp. 2f. See also Heuken, 1994, op cit, p. 264.

44. In 1937 the OFM took responsibility for the work on the north coast of Irian from the MSC. The first missionaries were stationed in Fak Fak, Babo and Manokwari, with the superior in Ternate. P.W. Rombouts, *50 Tahun Misi Katolik di Daerah Perbatasan: Mulai di Arso 22-05-1939 22-05-1989*, Jayapura, 1994[?], pp. 108f, and Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 58.

45. The first death of a monk was that of Brother Oomen, who died of typhus in 1906 at Merauke. H. Haripranata, *Ceritera Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Kei dan di Irian Barat*, n.pub., Jayapura [?], 1970, pp. 104f.

46. Vriens, loc cit, p. 624.

47. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 7.

48. van de Berg, loc cit, p. 682, and Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 61, 92. Steenkol was, technically, within the UZV's area.

49. Catholic Indo-European transmigrants and policemen. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 13.

50. The Catholics were part of a colonisation project of mixed Javanese-Dutch background. Maran & Ayawaila, op cit, p. 4. The first priest, Z. Moors, suffered badly from malaria. J. Frankenmoelen was appointed to assist him, and visit Catholics in the Hollandia region. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 684.

51. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 62, 66. By 1938 the congregation numbered 232, of whom 159 were Europeans.

52. The request was rejected by the government as there was already a Protestant church in the village. Maran & Ayawaila, op cit, p. 4.

53. Arso had been contacted by the Protestants, but apparently nothing had been done about evangelising the region. Rombouts, op cit, p. 110.

54. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 71-73, Maran & Ayawaila, op cit, p. 4, and van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 684-7. Arso at that time was a two day walk from Hollandia. The school, founded by Otto Suarubun, had fifty students, who studied in a building constructed by the local villagers. Frankenmolen used Hollandia as a base to visit other interior villages and government posts. When the Japanese occupied Hollandia, he was in Arso, and remained there until

sickness forced him to go the Japanese doctor in Hollandia, from where he was sent to Ambon and interned. Rombouts, op cit, pp. 113f.

55. G. Giay, "The Conversion of Weakebo: A Big Man of the Me Community in the 1930's", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, p. 182. Weakebo was baptised a Catholic before the War, but changed to the CAMA church when they returned before the Catholics. Ibid, p. 184.

56. B. Giay, "The Rebels and Cargoistic Ideas in Irian Jaya", *Catalyst,* vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, p. 132.

57. Uta later became the staging post for the pre-War CAMA treks to Enarotali.

58. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 688f.

59. Giay, 1999, loc cit, p. 182. Van Eechoud's expedition had 385 members, most of them bearers. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 689f.

60. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 9, 68. According to the Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 175, the teachers were from the Kei Islands. One was posted to Enarotali, one to Kugapa and the third to Yaba. The Catholic mission, as with the Protestants, did not receive any direct government assistance. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 690f.

61. as it was in Latin and was highly ritualised, even in the camp settings. Haripranata consistently mentions the celebration of the mass as an important part of any visit or tour.

62. In B.M. Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures: History, Comparison, Dialectic*, CUP, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 31ff, there is a good summary of contacts of outsiders with the people on the south coast, and in particular the early ethnography of the region.

63.Ibid, pp. 34f. However, the foreigners that came brought disease with them. Diseases of unknown origin, as well as venereal disease (introduced from Queensland, so the Marind claimed), reduced their numbers from 20,000 in 1900 to 9,000 in 1920. This was one reason why they were reluctant to accept the Christian message. They reasoned that if they accepted Christianity they would have to give up their ceremonies. Without the ceremonies they would die. Sadly, they died anyway. Vriens, loc cit, p. 615. The Asmat were also contacted during the period. After raids from the Asmat region in Mimika in the 1920s and 1930s, Agats was founded in 1939. Wassing, loc cit, pp. 28f.

64. Until 1931 many of their schools received the subsidy, although they did not meet Dutch government standards. In 1937 a compromise was reached, whereby schools in the more isolated areas could be classed as 'civilising schools', and hence could be given a special subsidy. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 624-7. The schools were graded from 'civilising school', to 'village school' and the highest, 'people's school', and were at the same level as similar schools in other parts of the Dutch East Indies. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 48.

65. In 1939 a number of schools in the Merauke area received subsidies. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 11.

66. According to Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 49, in the Catholic schools in Merauke, Mimika, Fak Fak and their surrounding stations, in 1934 there were 103 schools, or which thirty one received a subsidy, served by 115 teachers, with 3,302 pupils and 7,134 attending catechism classes.

67. B. Renwarin, 'Peranan Guru-Guru Kei dan Tanimbar Sebagai Pewarta Injil Di Daerah Merauke Menurut Pandangan Beberapa Orang Dari Antara Mereka', STFT, Jayapura, 1977, pp. 22-25.

68. The number of these teachers increased during the 1930s as the Catholic presence expanded around Fak Fak, Kokas and inland of Merauke.

69. The first visit, by two doctors, was in 1916. This early pattern of establishing new villages was partly the result of new diseases introduced by outsiders seeking Bird-of-Paradise and other products, who came with complaints that caused epidemics and drastic population reductions among the Papuans, threatening the existence of some tribes, such as the Marind. Father Vertenten selected new village sites and collected the survivors into these new places. See Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 269f.

70. Sermons were translated into the local language in the early period, and materials continued to be produced on an individual basis, until Pieter Drabbe was sent by Aerts to work in several areas on the south coast. Between 1935 and 1940 Drabbe studied and produced materials, including dictionaries, grammars, Catechisms, Prayer Books and Gospel books, for the use of teachers, in the languages of Mimika, Kamoro, Otokwa, Asmat, Yakai and Auyu, as well as three languages in the Kimaan area (the latter on his way home to Langgur). J.F.L.M. Cornelissen, *Pater en Papoea*, J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1988, p. 255, and Vriens, loc cit, p. 630.

71. Which was probably part of the world-wide influenza pandemic that killed large numbers throughout the Pacific after World War I. Due to indifference from the Dutch authorities, Vertenten wrote to the *Java Post.* His plea for a doctor was discussed in the Dutch parliament. The result was a doctor, who was sent in 1921, and a government-sponsored mission health care program. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 9-11. Catholics used the existing media to promote their work From 1915 the Catholics began to regularly publish articles in the *Java Post,* and the use of the Dutch media was a factor in the pressure put upon the colonial government to allow freedom of evangelisation in Irian. The report of Cappers protesting at his ill-treatment in Fak Fak was published in *De Tijd*, and was then taken up by a member of the Upper House in the Netherlands, Dr Moller, who was presumably Catholic. Haripranata, vol 1, op cit, p. 9.

72. As suggested by Father Vertenten to the Governor-General in Batavia in 1921. Ibid, p. 7. In 1937 Father Verschuren, to counter a festival called 'Sosom-bomberi' that included unrestrained sexual intercourse, founded a number of 'special houses' in villages along the Kumbe River, which were for Catholic youths, and were controlled by the resident teacher. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 3. See also Renwarin, op cit, pp. 28-30.

73. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 11.

74. One of the negative effects of the War was an "increase in drunkenness amongst Catholic villagers". The source of the alcohol was not stated, but as drunkenness was a recurring issue for the Catholics, presumably it was produced locally, and not imported.

75. On at least one occasion resulting in the death of a villager who, in an action in 1913, objected to the removal of the heads. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 5.

76. Apart from the issue of efficiency and the division of labour, other factors may have prompted this, such as the need to say mass on a daily basis, which required a community, the need for support in isolated regions, that the Protestants, who had spouses, did not suffer from isolation to the same degree. There was also the issue of maintaining their vows of celibacy, in a region where sexuality was integral to the local culture.

77. In ibid, p. 12, the first Papuans mentioned are Ninati, Jibi, Kamakbon and Okemkapa. Their tribal origin is not noted. The first Minahasan mentioned is Alex Palit who began work in Tanah Merah in 1934, among the Muyu. After World War II, Palit moved to Hollandia and, according to his sons, worked for the colonial government. In 1935, three brothers were sent from Manado, Cantius and Donatus Tuyu, and Alfons Meteray. The monks and nuns were used to care for hostels and technical schools, as well as providing pastoral care in existing congregations, assisted by the catechists and teachers. Vriens, loc cit, p. 628. On ibid, p. 642, is a photograph of A. Tuyu and wife

"who have served the Catholic Church in Southern Irian Jaya since 1923". According to Renwarin, op cit, p. 20, Tuyu and his wife opened the school at Keiburses. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 13-15, speak highly of them, but state they went to Irian in 1927. The name is unusual, and so he may have been related to the other Tuyu workers sent at about the same time.

78. Haripranata, vol. 1, op cit, p. 5. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 26-28, give an example of a brother who worked in many parts of the south coast, constructing buildings, altars and statues of the Holy Heart.

CHAPTER 5: Japan, America and Netherlands New Guinea 1940-1945

> The Pacific war of 1942-45 swept over the islands like a tropical hurricane, uprooting and destroying. In the islands toward the east and south it was an uprooting power. In those to the west and north it was also a destroying power[1].

The Pacific War marked a turning point in both the history of Dutch possessions in what became Indonesia, and in the history of the Christians in Irian. Throughout the region the Japanese displaced the Dutch and began influencing the population to oppose the nations at war with Japan, and to actively support the Japanese war effort[2]. The Dutch and other nationals fled, were killed, or were interned. Dutch rule was replaced with a regime that demanded absolute obedience and loyalty, with anyone who offended the Japanese occupiers in any way being immediately punished or executed. In the former Dutch East Indies the churches were treated unevenly, with some assistance being given by local commanders, and by Churches in Japan. But in the main, the Christians in the areas under Japanese rule suffered as a result of their treatment by the Japanese, and the actions of the allied forces to cripple the Japanese ability to wage war. The Christians were isolated from their foreign leaders, church property was often used by the Japanese for military purposes, and Christians in general were regarded as potential agents of the Americans, British and Dutch armies. Although the work of the church continued, evangelism was halted in the areas under the Japanese, and communication with other Christians was limited. Yet, the Christians survived the War, with most of their congregations intact, and with a new understanding of their place in the church and the wider society[3].

Dutch control of most of its colonies in what is now Indonesia ended with the Japanese invasion and occupation of Dutch, American, British and Australian territories in Southeast Asia and the western Pacific. This began in late 1941, with the simultaneous assaults on Hawaii and the Philippines, followed by an invasion of Southeast Asia and the islands of the Pacific[4]. With the fall of Singapore in February 1942, the collapse of British and Commonwealth forces, and the invasion of the Dutch East Indies in March at many locations, Dutch forces could at best only offer token resistance to the advancing Japanese, who quickly interned the Dutch and other enemy foreigners, "subjecting Indonesia to the most oppressive and devastating colonial regime in its history"[5].

The Dutch had begun preparations for possible involvement in war soon after the declaration of hostilities between the Allied and Axis powers in September 1939. These

preparations were intensified after the invasion of the Netherlands by Germany in May 1940. German mission workers throughout the Indies were interned, including one in Irian[6]. At the same time that military preparations were made, and the civilian population was prepared for war. Government officials at Enarotali, for example, were warned to be ready to leave 'at a moment's notice' and all foreigners were required to be properly documented[7]. In May 1940 the government post at Enarotali was temporarily closed, and in June the mission stations were closed. However, in October 1940, the Dutch Controleur, J.V. de Bruijn, reopened the post and the CAMA mission was allowed to return[8] until forced to flee ahead of advancing Japanese troops[9].

During the intervening period between the outbreak of war in Europe and the Japanese invasion, mission work continued. In Java a new body, the *Commissie voor Rechtsverkeer in Oorlogstijd* (CRO[10]) was established to handle those mission groups that had lost contact with their mission societies in the Netherlands. The CRO appointed Rev. J. Wetstein as the *Zendingsnoodbestuur* for Irian[11]. Despite these preparations, mission work in general continued. The Catholic priest, Father Vugts, for example, was able to make a journey along the north coast from Sorong to the Hollandia, and Kijne felt safe enough to holiday in Java[12]. The new work in Paniai, begun by Russell Diebler and Walter Post, was maintained with the stationing of Einar Mickelson, who began expanding the evangelisation work until after the invasion of Irian[13]. With the eight parish teachers and several others, Post and Mickelson were finally evacuated to Merauke in 1943[14].

The Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies declared war with Japan on 8 December 1941. By the 17th the Japanese were bombing Ternate[15]. The Japanese invasion of the Dutch East Indies began with series of landings in January 1942, with the invasion of Irian beginning in April in the Bird's Head[16]. The Dutch officially surrendered on 8 March 1942, although many of their soldiers carried out guerilla campaigns[17]. After the collapse of the British and Dutch forces in Southeast Asia, their colonies were divided into two administrative regions, with the Japanese Navy being given the eastern areas, including West New Guinea, and the Seventh and Seventeenth Armies being given responsibility for the west, including Java, Sumatra, Malaya and British and Dutch Borneo[18]. However, unlike Java and Sumatra, where there were comparatively enlightened approaches taken to the local population, "the area under naval control was regarded as politically primitive and economically essential to Japan; it was governed in the most repressive manner of all"[19].

The Pacific War had negative consequences for the churches and missions in the Dutch East Indies. Most of the leaders were expatriate missionaries[20] and the churches were still dependent on the missions[21], particularly for the payment of the wages of local staff, such as teachers[22]. The entry of the Japanese and the disruption that resulted meant that, often for the first time, congregations had to meet the total cost of their leaders and teachers. In addition they could not receive outside supervision or financial help[23]. This often meant that the teachers had to use their students to produce food, or they had to leave for the cities where food and employment were more readily available[24]. Japanese rule was harsh, and aimed at ridding the areas under their control of the influence of the former colonial forces. The Christian churches were seen as part of these remnants. Japanese policy discriminated against the Christians[25] and in favour of the Muslims, the latter of whom were seen as anti-Western, and hence potentially pro-Japanese[26]. Although restrictions on Christian activity were not uniformly applied, basically, for the Japanese, "wat met de kerk te maken heeft is suspect"[27]. Throughout the Dutch East Indies, Dutch and other enemy church leaders were imprisoned, and some were killed immediately[28]. Citizens of nations allied with the Japanese who had been interned by the Dutch were released, but they were few in number, and were regarded with suspicion by the Japanese[29].

Within the political and economic turmoil that was caused by the Japanese invasion, the Christian churches in the areas occupied by the Japanese, and in particular in Irian, continued to function, although rarely at a level above that of the congregation. The local Christians were seen as being the products of a pro-Dutch institution. Many were gaoled or threatened if they did not deny their faith[30]. The church was pressured into making the same compromises that had been forced upon the Churches in Japan, Korea and elsewhere: to pray for the success of the Japanese campaigns and to praise the Emperor[31]. Dutch was forbidden as a language of teaching and Japanese was substituted as the second language in schools[32].

For Irian, the imprisonment and/or evacuation of Dutch mission personnel was, in the short-term at least, disastrous[33]. The Japanese occupied the entire north coast of New Guinea and the south coast as far as Kaimana, areas where the Protestant missions predominated. The Japanese arrested about 300 Dutch citizens in occupied Irian, and took them to Ternate, then to a camps in Ambon and South Sulawesi[34]. Unlike other areas within the responsibility of the Dutch mission, Irian had no recognised local church leadership, Protestant or Catholic, in the sense that there were no fully-ordained ministers to replace the interned Dutch leaders, and there were few

indigenous elders and assistant ministers[35]. While there had been some graduates from the Protestant seminary in Jakarta by 1942, their numbers were not enough to offset the adverse effects of the Japanese occupation. The assistant ministers who had the right to administer communion were not many, and were generally located in the major population centres, which were occupied by the Japanese. Also, unlike several other parts of the Dutch East Indies, no ministers were sent from Japan to care for the congregations in Irian[36]. So, for many parts of Irian, and in particular those in isolated regions, church work slowed down, or even stopped[37].

Other pressures were also placed upon the Church. Mission buildings such as offices and hospitals were confiscated as enemy property, schools were closed, teachers were not permitted to lead congregations and many suffered[38], being either forced to, or choosing to, leave their congregations, usually seeking refuge and safety in the cities, or other areas[39]. Many, but not all, church schools were also nationalised and turned into 'People's Schools'. Although some school districts were able to function, many experienced difficulties[40]. The parish teachers, who had earlier been both school teacher and congregation leader, were no longer allowed to maintain this dual role[41]. Their replacements in the leadership of the churches were often elders, who did not always have the training or level of education required to effectively lead the congregations[42].

For the Catholics the situation was a little better, as they had fewer congregations and church workers in the areas occupied by the Japanese, although Fak Fak was one of their important centres. From January 1942, as the situation began to deteriorate, some reorganisation was undertaken and evacuations were made of children in hostels and homes in the Merauke area to safer locations outside the town[43]. School attendances declined, and teachers were allowed to supplement their food supply by working in their gardens during school hours and organising their pupils to grow food[44]. In October 1942, a report was received by the Catholics in Merauke that the Bishop in Langgur, Y. Aerts, had been murdered, along with five priests and eight brothers, in July. The Pope therefore appointed Y. Gent as the Apostolic Administrator for Irian[45]. Limited Protestant activities in the Merauke region also continued. The GPM employed four of the CAMA teachers brought from Enarotali, and their congregations in Merauke continued to function[46].

Despite this, the work of the church in the occupied parts of Irian continued. In some of the Catholic areas parishioners organised prayer, witnessed marriages and buried the dead. Many of the teachers from Kei and Langgur in the Japanese and uncontrolled areas were able to continue

teaching, depending upon their pupils for food and other supplies[47]. Some expansion of Catholic work did take place, particularly among the Muyu people in the Upper Fly River, where, by 1944, fourteen new Catholic villages had been founded, with churches and subsidised schools. This work was carried out by twenty six youths who had been trained 'to teach religion and other subjects' at the primary school level. They used the Muyu language to teach, as well as materials in the Muyu language produced by Pieter Drabbe[48]. Work continued in the Mimika and Paniai region where, despite local police support for the Japanese, Fathers Laaper and Tillemans were able to continue to serve the interior congregations, as were others such as Father Meuwerse in the Mujak area. Japanese pressure, from their forces in Kaimana, forced the closure of the government post and the evacuation of Protestant and Catholic mission personnel in May 1943[49]. Mimika was occupied by the Japanese in December 1942. Merauke was heavily bombed, as were most of the posts between the Japanese and Dutch-held territories, resulting in the extensive destruction of church property[50]. A number of monks and nuns were evacuated to Australia[51], with the priests remaining, but living outside Merauke. Despite this, Catholic teachers in the region generally remained in their posts, due in part to a fear that of they did not, the Protestants would replace them. Five Catholic teachers, who had come from Paniai and Agats, could not be used by the church, and so sought work with the Military Administration[52]. From 1944 onwards, the situation had improved to the point that a number of the priests were able to take furloughs in Australia, and visits could be conducted to outlying congregations in the Merauke and Hollandia regions[53]. The American army also began to pay for the church buildings they had occupied and, with the Australians, assisted the Church through gifts of clothing, transport and the bringing in of worship supplies from Australia.[54] They were, with the assistance of Catholic officers and the approval of the Dutch colonial government, able to (re)establish schools in Merauke and Hollandia and to begin the process of rebuilding their infrastructure[55].

Although the War was seen as a calamity for the citizens of the allied powers, this was not always the case for the people of Irian. Many had had no contact with the outside world and so did not know why the aircraft crossed their territory and occasionally crashed in their forests. For others the War was only marked by a brief period when the white outsiders and their Asian assistants ceased to live in their villages and teach their children this new religion and new way of learning[56]. Among those who lived in the towns and villages that were occupied by the Japanese or bombed by the allies, who were directly affected by the War, there was at first acceptance of the Japanese. During the 1920s and 1930s the Dutch government had used Asians from other parts

of the Indies, which had caused a degree of resentment against the Dutch and the non-Papuans[57]. In 1938 there had also been a resurgence of the *Koreri* movement that began in the Biak area and spread to Yapen and the Raja Ampat islands, which had taken on an anti-colonial character[58]. After the surrender of the Dutch, those villagers that had rejected the leadership of the *Koreri* movement in Biak, particularly many Christians, sought protection from the Japanese, and a number of them were resettled in Manokwari by the Japanese[59].

The Japanese at first encouraged the *Koreri* movement and tried to win over the general population, by announcing that they were messengers from the ancestors, and that they would bring cars, horses and ships if the people worked for the Japanese. These arguments were accepted by some people, who received the Japanese well and cooperated with them[60]. However, this positive attitude to the Japanese soon changed to opposition as the nature of Japanese rule became apparent. Japanese troops plundered sago croplands, and the War itself severely disrupted the local economy. Forced labour was introduced, including labouring on Sundays, which both undermined the teaching of the church concerning the sanctity if the Sabbath, and reduced the time that the local people could spend tending their own gardens. As a result, diseases caused by malnutrition became more common and deaths increased. Local women were violated by both Japanese soldiers and their local supporters, which increased antipathy to Japanese. In many places coastal dwellers fled inland after the invasion, seeking refuge in the mountains. In the Sausapor region, near Sorong, many of the people fled to Numfor and Babo or inland[61], only returning in 1945 after the Japanese defeat, thereby effectively abandoning the town[62]. However, after the War's end, the material left by the invaders, both Japanese and Allied, was so great that some of those living on the islands near Sorong and Sausapor abandoned their villages and moved to the mainland, where they could utilise the left-over iron and fuel, thus reestablishing Sausapor as a regional centre[63].

In the Protestant areas, bibles were burned, many Ambonese teachers and members of their families were tortured and killed, presumably for suspicion that they were assisting the Americans[64], or died as a result of the difficulties they faced[65]. Church buildings were often used by the Japanese as warehouses, offices or dwellings, or were destroyed by Japanese and American bombing[66]. The Japanese restrictions on the teaching of Christianity meant that, in some areas, the church-related activity was limited to Sunday school, with worship services being replaced by Japanese lessons. Consistent with this policy, in May 1942 the teachers school at Miei was closed, and the pupils were sent to Biak to work for the Japanese. In some areas the teachers were

required to organise their pupils into work groups to feed and house Japanese soldiers or to work for the Japanese, resulting in many schools ceasing to function[67]. Pressure was put upon the church leaders and members to cooperate with the Japanese. Frequently church leaders were coopted into the Japanese government and police, leaving a residue of resentment against the non-indigenous teachers, that lasted after the Japanese defeat[68].

Resentment against the Japanese found its strongest voice in the *Koreri* movement in Biak and Numfor, which changed from an anti-Dutch movement into an anti-Japanese movement after the Japanese began to lose to the Americans[69]. The movement was finally suppressed by the Japanese with a number of massacres during 1944[70]. *Koreri*-related movements that were anti-Japanese also occurred in Mansinam, Yapen and Sentani[71]. The Simson movement in the Mamberamo region between 1940-1944, while not initially specifically anti-colonial, took on an anti-Japanese character after its leader, Simson Somlena, told his followers to free themselves from foreign control. He was executed by the Japanese in 1944 and a number of his followers were taken to Hollandia, where they were only saved from execution by the American invasion[72]. Opposition to the Japanese also occurred in other parts of Irian, in particular Yapen and Manokwari[73]. The spirit of opposition to outsiders instigated by the *Koreri* movements during the War found its expression in the *Partai Kemerdekaan Irian* founded in 1945[74].

In April 1944 the Americans, supported by Australian and other allied forces, conquered Hollandia[75]. Once that base was secured, Sarmi, Yamna, Numfor, Biak and Meossu were progressively invaded, effectively retaking control of the north coast of New Guinea. Japanese troops were left in Manokwari, Sorong and Fak-Fak[76], but they were never able to challenge the Americans[77]. To weaken them further, they were subjected to bombing raids and other attacks until the unconditional surrender of all Japanese forces on 15 August 1945[78]. After the Americans took Biak, they established an airfield on Meoskorwar, 'Koreri Island', and unloaded food and war materials from ships and planes, thus confirming the local belief that the time of prosperity had arrived[79]. As Kamma states, "Because of that they were not reluctant to assist the Allies, capture the Japanese or kill them"[80].

Although the people were freed from the Japanese, the cost was the large-scale destruction of church buildings and local housing. Included in this was the GPM boat bought in 1941, and the five Catholic mission boats in Babo that had survived for most of the War[81]. The cost in church

growth was also great. During the War messianic and political movements grew, at the cost of a decrease in some area for support for the established Churches and their interpretation of spiritual needs[82].

In their bases Americans established a vast military apparatus that was better supplied than the Dutch administration had been[83]. The result of contact with American (and Australian) soldiers and the increase in wealth, both through expanded infrastructure construction and work opportunities, as well as gifts of clothing and food, was a change in the understanding of the Papuans, and the creation of new needs[84]. One form of this was the growth of several messianic movements in Biak and in the Hollandia area which have, in altered forms, persisted and have presented all of the Churches with a major challenge[85]. Another was a heightened political and religious awareness of those who had the most contact with the Americans, which was seen by the Dutch and recognised in the new political and mission policies after the end of the War[86].

The War also brought a change in the political administration of Irian. Prior to 1942 the Dutch capital had been Manokwari, which was near where the Protestant mission had begun, and was geographically in the centre of the north coast[87]. After Hollandia was retaken in 1944 and made the main American base, with improved infrastructure and transport links, the Dutch decided to move their capital there[88]. The establishment of Hollandia as a major centre, and the disrupting of connections with Ambon, meant that Irian became less dependent upon Ambon, and matters pertaining to Irian began to be dealt with internally without reference to outside centres of authority[89].

With the liberation of several parts of the north coast two Dutch UZV ministers, J.C. Volk and H. Visser, who had escaped to Australia from Ambon, were able to visit several congregations and teachers. They appointed H. Tomatala (an Ambonese teacher) as the contact between the church and the NICA[90]. However, as they had little prior experience of Irian, and spent most of their time inspecting the Protestant posts, their influence was very limited[91]. The missions and local Christians were not able to take full advantage of the departure of the Japanese due to the danger of travelling in Irian, as the Japanese continued occupying several major centres. Although the Allies provided some assistance for the rebuilding of church property, this was not a priority, and so the task of rebuilding both the physical and staffing infrastructure of the missions was delayed[92]. The Allies also continued the Japanese policy of using parish teachers as civil servants in their

administration, rather than freeing them to serve the congregations, thus hampering the reestablishment of an active church leadership in Irian. However, at the local level, a number of parish teachers and assistant ministers were able to begin the process of contacting their congregations and reorganising their districts, and some assistance was given by the Americans and Australian for restoring church buildings[93].

The destruction of property, through bombing and deliberate destruction, the loss of Dutch and local church leadership, who were interned, forced to flee, or were denied the ability to serve their congregations, as well as the murder of many church leaders and their family members by the Japanese, effectively stopped church work in Irian, with the exception of the Catholic areas in and around Merauke, and some limited work in Arso during 1944[94]. The War also resulted in the disaffection of many of the members with their church. Hence the period 1942-1945 could be described as a 'dark age' of the church. Although there was a strengthening of the sense of identity of the people, and new insights into the ways of the outside world[95], for the churches, as the Board of the Christian Education Foundation put it, the main consequence of the War was that "the little results that remained visible for the long difficult efforts of almost a century, had become a disordered mess"[96].

1. C.W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century,* Orbis, Maryknoll, 1982, p. 138.

2. In Java and Sumatra the Christians generally supported the independence movement that the Japanese had encouraged. In Irian, Christian leaders began demanding a greater role for indigenous leaders in the future of the church and government in Irian, rather than political independence, although, as stated in chapter one, there were a number of Papuans in the early anti-Dutch campaigns in the 1940s. But it is unclear as to whether they wanted independence within Indonesia, or separate from it.

3. See T.E. Jensma, *Doopsgezinde Zending in Indonesie*, Boekencentrum, the Hague, 1968, p. 156.

4. The Japanese tried to obtain concessions from the Dutch, and only invaded after these negotiations failed. J. Haire, *The Character of the Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera, Indonesia, 1941-1979*, Peter D. Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, pp. 14f. However, they were clearly prepared for invasion as can been seen from oral reports current in North Sulawesi, where Japanese nationals working there in menial positions, disappeared in 1941 and returned as Japanese officers in 1942. NB. Although Merauke was not occupied, a number of isolated mission and government posts inland and west of Merauke were abandoned.

5. M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Macmillan, London, 1981, p. 188. One estimate is that 10% of Indonesia's population of 100 million died during the Japanese occupation. H.J. Teutscher, "Some Mission Problems in Post-War Indonesia: Experiences in Dutch New Guinea", *The International Review of Missions*, vol, 37, no. 99, 1948, p. 410. Dutch resistance was not great, and the only battle undertaken was a naval engagement in the Java Sea. The name of the 'hero' of that battle, Karel Doorman, was later given to one of the ships that was used to prevent an Indonesian invasion of Dutch New Guinea.

6. B.B.B. Pandeirot-Lengkong, 'The Protestant Churches and the Missionary Fields During the Japanese Occupation in Indonesia 1942-1945 in the Japanese Navy Controlled Areas: A Bibliographical Survey', D.Th. Dissertation, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Jakarta 1996, pp. 52f. Japanese and Italian nationals were also interned, until released by the advancing Japanese.

7. D. Diebler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1988, pp. 31-33.

8. The Catholics were not allowed to return at this time as the authorities considered that they did not have enough teachers. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, p. 73.

9. Mickelson was evacuated in March 1943. Until his evacuation in July 1944, with a number of Me followers, including Zakheus Pakage, de Bruijn organised a resistance movement that successfully attacked the Japanese in the Paniai region, even after de Bruijn was forced to retreat to the Moni areas, where Weakebo continued to support him with cowrie shells to buy food. B. Giay, "The Conversion of Weakebo: A Big Man of the Me Community in the 1930's", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, pp. 183f. Information gathered by Weakebo, de Bruijn and Bujani, enabled the Americans to bomb Enarotali and Bujani was involved in a short-lived revolt against the Japanese in Enarotali. However, this resulted in the deaths of a number of Me people, to which they responded by attacking the Japanese whenever the opportunity arose. R. Wick, *God's Invasion,* Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, pp. 46f. The experiences of the War made the Me people much more wary of any kind of foreigner, who were all seen as *ogai*. See B. Giay, *Zakheus Pakage and His Communities: Indigenous Religious Discourse, Socio-political Resistance, and Ethnohistory of the Me of Irian Jaya*, VU University Press, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 49, 58f. De Bruijn and his followers were evacuated by Catalina. C. van den Hoogenband, "De Tweede Wereldoorlog", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea,* Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 3, 1954, pp. 357f.

10. Commission (or Committee) for the Process of Law in Wartime.

11. Leader of the Emergency Government of the Mission. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 55, 63.

12. Where he was captured by the Japanese. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 73.

13. After the Japanese cut of their supply lines to Uta and the Mimika region, the mission and government workers were supplied by air from Merauke. R. Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia: Sejarah Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia Sejak 1930*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1995, pp. 391f.

14. Merauke, and its hinterland, was the only part of the Dutch East Indies not occupied by the Japanese. The Japanese did not enter any parts of Irian that were not already part of the Dutch colonial system. Hence, with the exception of the Paniai region, the highlands were largely untouched by the War. Ibid, pp. 395f.

15. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 17f.

16. Troops entered the Paniai region in May. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 230, and E. Utrecht, *Papuas in Opstand*, Ordeman, Rotterdam, 1978, pp. 34f.

17. There was also local resistance in other parts of the Indies, including the Manokwari region, where Captain Willem Geeroms and thirty one soldiers [presumably from the Indies army, or KNIL] opposed the Japanese until evacuated to Australia in August 1944. *Het Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger in der Strijd tegen Japan*, Leiter-Nypels, Maastricht, n.d., pp. 48-53, and Utrecht, op cit, p. 35.

18. Haire, op cit, p. 15.

19. Ricklefs, op cit, p.188. An example of the tactics used by the Japanese navy was the public execution of seventy eight Dutch citizens at Klandesen, in Kalimantan, as punishment for the destruction of oil facilities near Balikpapan by the Dutch colonial army. Among the dead were three Catholic priests and at least one Protestant minister. Pandeirot-Lengkong op cit, pp. 98f. The Japanese needed Irian for two reasons: they had significant pre-War rubber and coconut plantations and other businesses in New Guinea, which they required for their war effort. They also needed airfields closer to their area of operations in the Pacific and Australia. Irian also had established oil extraction facilities on its western coast. Utrecht, op cit, pp. 32f, and P.W. van der Veur, "Dutch New Guinea", *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Sydney, 1970, pp. 280f. During their occupation of Irian, these plantations were worked by coolies brought in from Java and South Sulawesi. J. Patiara, H. Renwarin, B. Soedharto & M. Palangan, *Sejarah Perlawanan Terhadap Imperialisme dan Kolonialisme di Irian Jaya*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jakarta[?], 1984, p. 37.

20. Germans and Italians were interned by the Dutch in 1940, and were released by the Japanese in 1942. Outside Irian one or two Dutch priests were allowed to continue serving their congregations, such as Mgr. Levens in Sumba and Flores, and Mgr. Willekens in Jakarta, whose claim to be the Papal representative was accepted by the Japanese. See A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Popular tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 91, 122f. Despite this, the Japanese were suspicious of even friendly Europeans. Towards the end of the War many citizens of neutral countries working in Japanese parts of the Indies were put under house arrest, interned or killed by the Japanese, under suspicion that they were spies of the Allies. See Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 257.

21. despite efforts in the 1930s to create indigenous Churches, such as the *Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa* (GMIM) and the *Gereja Protestan Maluku* (GPM), they had, as T. Müller-Krüger, *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia*, BPK

Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1966, p. 80, notes, considerable freedom, which did not, however, extend to staff members. The first indigenous Moderator of the GMIM, for example, was Rev. A.Z.R. Weenas, who was only promoted from Deputy-Moderator to Moderator after all of the Dutch mission personnel were interned in 1942. Weenas was displaced for a brief time after the Dutch returned by a Dutch Moderator. This period is covered in T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 324ff.

22. In particular there was serious disruption of the system of collection and payment of money from the congregations to the teachers. D.A. ten Haaft, 'Verslag Betreffende het Zendingswerk in de Periode 1941-1946', UZV Ressort Japen Waropen, Biak, 1949, pp. 3-5.

23. See Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 259f. The Dutch had paid the wages of the church leaders. The Japanese ended this practice, and then used the preachers as forced labourers and as agents of the Japanese to collect taxes, etc. Teutscher, loc cit, p. 412.

24. See F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, p. 27. In Arso where there was a Catholic school, as soon as the Japanese entered the region, the villagers fled to the surrounding hills, together with the Kei teacher. P.W. Rombouts, *50 Tahun Misi Katolik di Daerah Perbatasan: Mulai di Arso 22-05-1939 22-05-1989*, Jayapura, 1994[?], p. 114.

25. Official Japanese sentiment was anti-Christian before the invasion of Asia, with its extensive Christian minorities, as Christians were seen as agents of the West, opposed to the imperial cult and, in many cases, opposed to war in general. See Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 83f. This anti-Christian policy was continued and intensified in Indonesia for both sentimental and political reasons.

26. In 1939, after a world congress on Islam held in Tokyo and Osaka, a Japanese expert on Islam visited the Dutch East Indies, and by 1939 most of the Islamic political groups in the Indies were pro-Japanese. Pandeirot-Lengkong op cit, pp. 90f. After the invasion, the Japanese continued this pro-Islamic policy by encouraging the formation of pro-Japanese Muslim organisations, as in J.F. Onim, 'Sejarah Pertemuan Gereja dan Islam di Kabupaten Faffak Irian Jaya', Jayapura, 1997, p. 3, where it is noted that the Japanese created a centralised Muslim body, called the 'Djimyah Islamyah Ceram', which included Muslims in Irian. In the Kei islands Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 80, reports that the Japanese supported efforts by the Muslims to convert Christians to Islam by punishing those Christians who would not convert when threatened to do so. In Babo, Antonius Harbelubun was shot for preventing his pupils from converting to Islam. Ibid., pp. 82f. According to L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, Arnoldus, Ende, vol. 3a, 1974, p. 692, before the Japanese invasion, Harbelubun was working in an area with an activist Muslim local government representative. After the Japanese arrival, this official continued working for the Japanese (as did many other non-Dutch civil servants). He is said to have resented the presence of the Catholic teacher, and so used the coming of the Japanese to accuse Harbelubun of being an American spy. In the Sorong area there was also an Islamisation program sponsored by the Japanese. Christian worship was banned, despite the protests of E. Osok and Tamtelahit, directed to the Japanese commander. Osok and Tamtelahit refused to obey the order to cease worship, and continued to serve the Christians who fled Sorong. D. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Kota Sorong dan Sekitarnya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 38f. Patiara, op cit, 1984, p. 33, states that Muslims in Hollandia were not bothered by Japanese soldiers "mungkin disebabkan oleh para pemimpinnya adalah orang Indonesia" (perhaps because their leaders were Indonesians).

27. (Whatever was done by the church was suspect). J.C. Hoekendijk, *Zending in Indonesië: Verslag Rapporten van de Zendingsconferentie te Batavia Gehouden van 10 tot 20 Augustus 1946*, Boekencentrum, the Hague, 1946, p. 6. Christianity was accused by the Japanese of being the "Dutch Religion" or "Agama Belanda", Ibid, p. 5. In the footnote on p. 6, it is noted that many of the teachers were killed. In response to the Japanese actions, some of the Protestant teachers formed the "Obadja" Society to protect the remaining Dutch mission personnel. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 232, notes that in some places the local Japanese commander promoted Sunday schools to replace the Christian instruction that had formerly been available through the formal schools, but this seems to have been exceptional and, according to F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 427f, in Irian was mainly in the areas where the commander was a Christian. According to Kamma, some

Japanese officers occasionally led Sunday worship. However, details are not given.

28. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, pp. 330-31. An example of one who was killed as soon as the Japanese arrived was Father Guikers, in Ransiki, who was accused of hiding the keys to the plantation where he was staying and, despite the defence of his colleague, was killed on the beach. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 76. Similar events unfolded in the Australian territory to the east, where German and Australian mission personnel were interned or killed in an almost random fashion. See Forman, op cit, pp. 140f.

29. The Japanese found it difficult to distinguish between Europeans of nations opposed to them and other nations, perhaps as, for most of the War, physical contacts between the Japanese and the Germans was very limited. Hence, for the Japanese, someone with a European face was an enemy. By the end of the War in 1945, over fifty European male missionaries had been killed by the Japanese or had died in internment camps in the Dutch East Indies, along with numerous women and children. Notable for Irian among those who died were Russel Diebler and Robert Jaffray from CAMA, both of whom had been instrumental in beginning the American mission in Irian, who died in the camp in South Sulawesi. The Catholics in the Dutch East Indies also lost 160 sisters, seventy four priests, forty seven brothers and several teachers. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 123, 175. Of those that survived, many returned to enjoy successful careers in their original mission fields, but equally, a large number were so traumatised that they had to return to their land of origin. One was F.C. Kamma, who had to return to the Netherlands, and wrote his doctoral dissertation on the *Koreri* movement during his convalescence.

30. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 175. No examples are given.

31. See T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 51, and T. van den End, *Harta Dalam Bejana*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1993, pp. 282f.

32. Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 51. In the early part of their occupation Dutch was still used. Some Japanese bank notes, for example, used Dutch language and denominations.

33. Another complication was that the missionaries from Irian were taken to camps in South Sulawesi, thus negating any communication at all with the Christians in Irian, unlike the situation in other parts of the Pacific, where a limited communication between local Christians and the missionaries in the nearby camp could continue. See F.J.S. Rumainum, *Sepuluh Tahun GKI. Sesudah Seratus Tahun Zending di Irian Barat*, GKI, Sukarnopura, 1966, p. 23.

34. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 230, and F.C. Kamma, "Zending", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, pp. 124f. At least one child was killed during an Allied bombing raid. I.S. Kijne was not among the missionaries, as he had escaped from Java to Sumatra after the Japanese invasion and was finally interned in North Sumatra. Of the missionaries from Irian who were interned, seven missionaries and missionary wives died, together with several children.

35. This was also true for other areas, such as Sangir-Talaud, Poso and Toraja. See van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 324.

36. The history of the efforts of the Japanese Christians to serve the church in the former Dutch colony is covered well by Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp.101-107. In eastern Indonesia, in addition to Irian, Halmahera, Sangihe-Talaud, Bali, Timor and Sumba also did not receive any assistance from the Japanese Church. In Flores there was limited help given to the Catholics from the Catholic Church in Japan. Ibid. pp. 274f.

37. Eg. in Kofiau, in the extreme southwest of the Raja Ampat group. O. Watem, 'Pekabaran Injil di Kepulauan

Kofiau', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 58. Sorong and Biak also experienced difficulties during this time, with members fleeing and congregational life being severely disrupted.

38. Van den End, *Harta,* op cit, pp. 282f. This was also the case in Australian New Guinea. According to Forman, op cit, p. 141, church life was almost impossible, due the demands of the Japanese and the dislocation of war.

39. Rumainum, 1966, op cit, p. 23.

40. In the Sarmi area, schools continued functioning normally until the Americans invaded Wakde and Sarmi and compelled the local villagers to work for them. A number fled to the jungles rather than work for the Americans, including Thontje Meset and his pupils. "Thontje Meset Tiada, Irja Kehilangan Tokoh Pendidikan", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 9 Jan 1995, p. 2. For the situation in Yapen, which was complicated by the *Koreri* movement and the murder of a Japanese officer, see F.C. Kamma (ed.), *De Roepstem Volgend: Autbiografie van Goeroe Laurens Tanamal*, J.N. Voorhoeve, the Hague, 1952, pp. 37f.

41. Although they continued as members of the local congregation. This may account for the execution of many parish teachers and their families, particularly on the south coast around Fak Fak and Kokas.

42. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 263. In the congregation of Waupnor in Biak, the parish teacher and the school teacher were arrested by the Japanese. The congregation continued under the care of one of the elders, M. Sada. H. Awawata, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Klasis Biak Selatan Jemaat GKI "Effata" Waupnor', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 18.

43. For example, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart appointed a new Superintendent, who was not able to move to Langgur, and who therefore transferred the centre for their activities outside Merauke, into Merauke itself. See Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 18. In contrast to the Catholics in Merauke, the Australian government in Papua ordered the evacuation of missionaries in its territories east of Merauke, against the wishes of the missionaries themselves. Forman, op cit, pp. 139f.

44. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 19, states that, in April 1942, the budget to pay all the teachers was only *f*150 a month, hence many went unpaid. In addition, the supply of rice and other imported products declined, necessitating the growing of food.

45. A. Vriens, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, Arnoldus, Ende, vol. 3a, 1974, p. 631. Apparently they were killed on the beach by the vanguard of the Japanese army. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 693.

46. Lewis, op cit, p. 396. The four Dayaks evacuated to Merauke joined the Dutch army.

47. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 80. H.J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi: Het Omvormingsproces van de Katholieke Kerk In Indonesië Tot De Indonesische Katholieke Kerk*, J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1991, p. 404, suggests that the Catholic community was maintained by the catechists. There may be an element of truth in this for the congregations in Irian.

48. Kandam, op cit, pp. 6-8, Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 56f, and Vriens, loc cit, pp. 630f. According to Vriens, the Muyu congregations grew from 643 members at the beginning of the War, to over 4,000 by its end.

49. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 27.

50. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 1, n.p, n.d., pp. 50f.

51. Several returned in September 1943. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 31.

52. In January, before the final evacuation of Paniai. Ibid, p. 28.

53. By this time Hollandia had been occupied by the Americans. The Japanese were driven out of the hinterland, whence they fled, and air transport links were established between Sentani and Merauke, which the Catholic mission took advantage of. After 1944 the Catholic leaders in Merauke felt confident enough to begin giving attention to the role of their schools in the inland areas, and called the teachers into Merauke for further training. Verschueren also began a new school at Sula, near Merauke, to train youths in farming methods. The school was closed in 1950. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 634f.

54. Haripranata, vol. 2 ,op cit, pp. 33-35.

55. The school in Hollandia was a technical school, and was founded in September 1944 by van Eechoud, a Catholic police officer. The school was commissioned by the Superintendent of the MSC in Irian, Father Grent, in February 1945, when he brought two teachers from Merauke to Arso and Waris, near Hollandia. There he met the Kei teacher from Arso, who was by then in Hollandia. When they arrived in Arso, they learnt that the government had employed a Protestant teacher in the school. See Rombouts, op cit, pp. 114f, and Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 34f.

56. This applied to many regions, such as Nimboran, which had been 'Christianised', but which was largely left in peace by the Japanese, who only visited occasionally and left the non-Dutch civil administration in place. The worst crime committed by the Japanese was the killing of pigs by these patrols. W.J.H. Kouwenhoven, *Nimboran*, n.pub, n.p., 1956, p. 50.

57. R. Osborne, "OPM and the Quest for West Papua Loyalty", in R.J. May (ed.), *Between Two Nations: the Indonesia - Papua New Guinea Border and West Papua Nationalism*, Robert Brown & Associates, Bathurst, 1986, p. 50.

58. The movement was initially led by Angganetha Manufandu. After her exile to Serui in 1942, Stephanus Simopiaref took over the leadership. The movement became opposed to the church and government, despite considerable coopting of Christian and Dutch symbols, as the leaders of the movement resented any interference from the authorities. Only when the presence of the movement was reported to the Dutch authorities by the local Christians and church leaders, prompting government intervention to control the movement, did the leaders become anti-Christian and anti-colonial. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, p. 220, and J. Mamoribo, *Benteng Jenbekaki dan Pergerakan Koreri*, n.p., Djajapura, 1971, p. 34. This could also be concluded from the account in P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound,* Paladin, London, 1970, pp. 148f, as Angganetha only became well-known after her arrest. The resulting popularity made her begin preaching resistance to the Dutch.

59. Christians were not threatened per se by the movement. But, church leaders saw the konoor as a threat to their leadership, and so reported the *Koreri* leaders to the authorities. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 220. The move to Manokwari meant that they suffered during American bombing raids that took place after 1944. See Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 497. The *Koreri* movement in Biak became stronger after the Dutch defeat in Europe, which showed the weakness of the Dutch. Teutscher, loc cit, p. 414.

60. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 221. A follower of Simopiaref, Stephanus Dawan, prophesied that with the Japanese "goods in abundance" would appear. Worsley, op cit, pp. 134f, 150f. A similar movement arose in the Madang

district in Australian New Guinea, where the Japanese were welcomed as agents of ridding New Guinea of the whites, and bringing cargo to its inhabitants. As with the Biak *Koreri* movement, it included elements of Christianity, and like the Biak movement, eventually turned into an anti-Japanese movement. G.W. Trompf, "Micea Eliade and the Interpretation of Cargo Cults", *Religious Traditions*, 12, (1989), pp. 39f.

61. voluntarily and forcibly. See R. Yesnath-Rumansara, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Meossu Tanah Karon', Sorong, 1995, p. 41.

62. Y. Kinho, 'Partisipasi Pribumi Karon Dalam Usaha Pekabaran Injil', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 54f, and Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, pp. 27, 33. Sausapor was not reestablished as a government post until 1952.

63. See C.Y. Mirino, 'Meossu Pintu Masuk Pekabaran Injil di Tanah Karon', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1997, p. 70.

64. Some died at the hands of *Koreri* supporters for not supporting them. Worsley, op cit, p. 153. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 511, reports Eygendaal as saying that of the wives of the twenty five teachers in West New Guinea, almost all were killed by the Japanese for praying that the Allies would win, after the Americans began defeating the Japanese. Onim, 'Sejarah Pertemuan', op cit, p. 3, lists four teachers by name who, with their families, were killed by the Japanese in the village of Patipi. N.G.J. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, pp. 11f, mentions four missionaries being killed near Manokwari, and others seem to have been killed in Serui. Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 51f. At Kokas, near Fak Fak, there is a memorial to fifty teachers and their families who were killed during the Japanese occupation. See also Rumainum 1966, op cit, p. 24. Forman, op cit, pp. 141f, also notes that the internment and execution of catechists and parish teachers was also common in Eastern New Guinea, as they were seen as agents of the Western powers.

65. This seems to have been the case in Babo where a number of Catholic teachers died during the War. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 80.

66. Babo was deliberately wrecked by the Japanese, perhaps to prevent it falling into the hands of the Americans. The destruction of property was so great that after the War the Dutch oil company decided to reestablish its base in Sorong rather than rebuild Babo. Ibid, p. 81.

67. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 231, and Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 52f. From 1943, the Americans were able to effect a blockade of Japanese forces in Irian that compelled the Japanese to demand more food deliveries from the local people. As there was then no widespread tradition of producing for the market, they had to be compelled to feed the Japanese, thus increasing antipathy to the occupiers. Van den Hoogenband, loc cit, p. 367.

68. See Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 443f, 510f. Kamma mentions that it was felt that the Ambonese teachers in many areas had misused the authority given to them by the Japanese to enrich themselves at their parishioners' expense.

69. A. Mampioper, *Mitologi dan Pengharapan Masyarakat Biak-Numfor*, n.pub., Jayapura, 1976, pp. 56-64. Initially Simopiaref had great hopes for the Japanese, as he had seen how the Dutch operated in Ambon and Java, and so accepted the Japanese as liberators rather than invaders.

70. C.S.I.J. Lagerberg, *Japen van Reconstructie: Nieuw-Guinea van 1948 tot 1961*, Zuid-Nederlandsche Drukkerij, s'Hertogenbosch, 1962, pp. 42f, states that 365 were killed at the airfield. See also Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 232. The site is now empty land at the end of the Biak airport, and the action of the Japanese is still remembered and retold, and this is given as the reason that a road has not been built across the land. Worsley, op cit, pp. 153f, stated that 500 were machine-gunned by the Japanese. Further resistance in Biak and Serui was put down by the Japanese soldiers, wiping out one village, relocating others, beheading and torturing as they went.

71. S. Lekahema, "De Manseren-Beweging", *Nieuw Guinea*, 8(4), 1947, pp. 44f. The movement on Mansinam initially welcomed the Japanese. Nimrod, the Konoor on Yapen, was executed for resisting the Japanese. After Japanese cruelty turned them against the Japanese, thousands in Yapen were killed. C. Marjen, "Cargo Cult Movement, Biak", *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, 1(2), 1967, p. 64.

72. Worsley, op cit, p. 155, and Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 232f.

73. M.D. Sagimun, *Perlawanan Rakyat Indonesia Terhadap Fasisme Jepang*, Inti Idayu Press, Jakarta, 1985, pp. 85f, states that Silas Papare in Yapen was aided by arms from the Allies.

74. Irian Independence Party. Lagerberg, op cit, p. 45.

75. A Dutch military government had already been established in Merauke in July 1942, and American forces were stationed in Merauke from August 1942, with Australian forces following in December. The Americans invaded Hollandia from the west and east in March and April 1944. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 22, 25, 27, 81, and van de Berg, loc cit, p. 692.

76. 1,000 Japanese soldiers, retreating from Hollandia went, via the Idenburg River, to Sarmi, of whom about 100 arrived, after being killed in attacks by American troops, disease, starvation, and by the local people. Japanese who simply fled to the jungle were recaptured by Papuans through a bounty system. In Biak one Dutch guilder was given for each pair of Japanese ears brought in. Worsley, op cit, p. 154. In Hollandia the price was half a guilder for a Japanese 'alive or dead', and later, as the local people became active in seeking Japanese soldiers in the jungles, for a pair of ears. Rombouts, op cot, p. 114. The quick defeat of the Japanese at Hollandia and elsewhere in Irian destroyed their reputation as jungle fighters. See J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, pp. 161-168, for a personal view of what happened in this area at the end of the War. Although it is not stated, van Eechoud is said by Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 34, and elsewhere, to have been a Dutch officer in this campaign. In areas beyond Allied control, the local people were encouraged to attack the Japanese, and there are many unconfirmed reports that on the south coast, for example, numbers of Japanese were killed by locals. Resistance to the Japanese in Enarotali resulted in the local people killing 100 Japanese soldiers. Lewis, op cit, p. 395. In early 1942, local police in the Mimika area used the power vacuum caused by the War to arrest a number of Asmat men and misuse their women. When the men escaped, a number of these policemen where killed in revenge attacks. Similar events took place in Mimika between the surrender of the Japanese and their disarmament by Australian soldiers, when those who had raped local women were shot to death with arrows. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 19f, 37.

77. This period is well summarised in K. Muller, *Indonesian New Guinea Irian Jaya*, 2nd ed., Periplus, Singapore, 1994, pp. 44f.

78. Airfields were established at Numfor and Meossu from which the Japanese in Sorong, Fak Fak and the Moluccas were bombed to the point where they could not retaliate. Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, p. 27. See also Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 28. Sorong was not occupied by the Dutch until December 1945. Osok, 1992, op cit, p. 39.

79. Mampioper, op cit, p. 97, and Worsley, op cit, p. 154.

80. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 457.

81. *Hikajat Geredja Protestant Maloeka*, Geredja Protestan Maloeka, Ambon, 1949, p. 62. Four mission motor boats were also taken by the Japanese forces. Kamma, 1953, lo cit, p. 124. The loss of these boats made visiting congregations during the War impossible, and recovery after the War slower than it could otherwise have been.

Numfor suffered particularly badly in terms of property damaged. See Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 233f.

82. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 27f.

83. Kouwenhoven, op cit, p. 51, states that, "Hollandia ... was entirely blasted from the earth ... [and was] changed into a tremendous war-base almost overnight". The Americans built barracks, canteens, hospitals, recreation facilities and even built a town water system. Utrecht, op cit, p. 35. As is pointed out, by an admittedly anti-Dutch observer, N.H. Subroto & M. Naibaho, *Fakta-Fakta dari Kehidupan di Irian Barat*, Universitas Rakjat, Djakarta, 1963, p. 40f, that the Dutch had not developed Irian very well, in the sense of infrastructure. Infrastructure was the priority for the Americans, inasmuch as it supported their war effort. Eg., the road from Kotaraja to Jayapura was built by the Americans without thought to long-term maintenance, resulting in continuing problems of erosion. However, many of the pre-fabricated buildings the Americans brought were still in use in 1999, including the cinema in Sentani, and a large number of quonset huts used as residences and warehouses.

84. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 264. As it is stated in *The Cross Across the Pacific*, National Missionary Councils of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1948, p. 47, "This created an economic revolution and new standards of values but does not imply a spiritual revival". In other words, the churches were not the beneficiaries of these developments.

85. The Dutch military ordered compulsory civilian service near main military centres. One third of eligible males were forced to work for periods of one to three months, and were then rotated. Those who returned to the village brought back large quantities of utensils and war supplies, that had been bought or scrounged. Kouwenhoven, op cit, p. 51. The abundance and availability of these goods brought by the Americans was interpreted as gifts from the ancestors, which would continue to come if the correct beliefs and rituals were maintained. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", *In Depth Indonesia*, no. 8, Aug. 1977, Commission for Mission, UCA, Sydney, p. 5.

86. As noted in *The Cross*, op cit, p. 48, the Mansren cult, and others, began as religious movements, but changed during the War into a political movements, which the Dutch needed to deal with when they resumed full control.

87. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 112.

88. As Manokwari was still under Japanese control until their surrender in August 1945, it made strategic and economic sense to relocate the colonial capital to the one city in Irian that was safe from Japanese threat, which had already been improved by the Japanese due to its location in the centre of the northen coast of New Guinea and its two excellent harbours, the main one facing east and another only fifty kilometres away facing west, and which, for similar reasons, was also being developed by the Americans as a major base, with roads, airfields and other infrastructure projects, which at the War's end were sold to the Dutch for a minimal sum.

89. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 692f.

90. Netherlands Indies Civil Administration, which was headquartered near Hollandia. Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, p. 234. The NICA took over responsibility for paying the wages of the parish teachers as soon as an area was liberated. Ten Haaft, op cit, p. 6.

91. Their journey extended to Serui, where Tanamal was given the task of governing the church there until the return of the UZV. A missionary, D.A. ten Haaft, did not arrive until 1946. Tanamal admitted that the visit of Volk was not very useful. Kamma, 1952, op cit, pp. 37-39.

92. With the exception of a *Papua Institute* that was based in Hollandia and had a three-year, post-primary, course and which educated many of the leaders in the period after 1950. See Pandeirot-Lengkong, op cit, pp. 234f.

93. Ten Haaft, op cit, pp. 6f.

94. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 283.

95. Forman, op cit, p. 144, is not writing specifically of the church in Irian, but his words could have an application to Irian, as many of their experiences were similar to those in the eastern half of the island.

96. *A Brief Look at the History and Development of Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya*, Badan Pengurus Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1994, p. 2.

CHAPTER 6: Reformed, Mennonite and Pentecostal 1945 to 1963

> The Queen looks upon you as her children, and will not allow anyone to harm you[1].

The UZV, GPM and CAMA returned to Irian in 1946[2], to be confronted with the physical and psychological consequences of the Japanese and American occupation[3]. Church membership remained strong, but church property had suffered badly and needed to be restored and rebuilt, and some congregations had to be restarted in the new villages where their members had moved[4]. Despite the sufferings and depredations of the war years, there was a new sense of confidence and identity amongst the Christians that came from their having survived the War, and having actively participated in its successful conclusion[5]. The experiences of the European missionaries, who had spent the War in the camps, and the Indonesian and indigenous missionaries and teachers who had continued living in Irian, combined with a new understanding of the church that placed greater emphasis upon participation of indigenous leaders, produced a determination among the church leaders and members that the time had come for a new approach to how the church in Irian was run, with the aim that, if the Europeans were not available again, the church in Irian could still live and work, without the difficulties it had faced under the Japanese[6]. The Dutch missionaries returned to Irian with two aims: the consolidation of the evangelism effort, and the preparation of the Papuan church for independence[7]. Congregations would have to be prepared for independence from the missions, and the number of locally-recruited church leaders needed to be increased. The stress was to be on 'self-government, self-sufficiency and self-propagation', defined in terms of funding and personnel[8].

For this more workers were required in the short term. These were brought from Holland, the Moluccas and Sangir-Talaud, as in the past, and the Americans were permitted to return[9]. There was also a new policy of appointing assistant-ministers from among the local teachers, both Papuan and non-Papuan, as well as allowing a limited number of parish teachers the right to perform the sacraments[10]. At the same time young men were sought to pursue higher theological training outside Irian[11]. The first of these men, F.J.S. Rumainum, was sent to Kupang in 1947[12]. In 1950 nine assistant-ministers were ordained as full ministers, with the same responsibilities as European-trained ministers. However, at the Mission Conference called in the same year to discuss the formation of a Church in Irian, the shortage of trained ministers was seen as a major

impediment to this plan[13]. In 1952, Rumainum graduated from the Theological College in Macassar as the first Papuan minister with full theological training[14].

With more workers, the structure of the church could be changed. The number of resorts was increased, and in some cases the central office was moved to the towns that had emerged during the War[15]. At least one Dutch minister was placed in each resort, with one or more assistant-ministers[16], and regular resort meetings were held in the regional centre[17]. Within the Reformed Church in the Netherlands there was also change. As part of the reordering of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1950, the UZV was reformed as the *Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (ZNHK) and made into a semi-independent institution of the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK)[18]. These changes were part of an on-going process of ecumenical cooperation within the Dutch churches and mission societies, and a growing sense of understanding of the developments within the Churches founded in the mission fields[19].

However, even with the increase in the number of mission and church personnel, the Dutch Mission felt unable to serve all the new areas that had been discovered before and during the War, such as the Baliem and the inland Bird's Head[20]. A decision was taken to allow other missions to help in the evangelisation of Irian, including some Dutch, American and Australian missions that had been previously excluded. The first agreement was with the *Doopsgezinde Zendings Vereniging* (DZV)[21], who accepted responsibility for the existing UZV resorts in Teminabuan and Inanwatan, from 1950[22]. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) was allowed to return to Paniai and to expand into the Baliem, and through the 1950s other mission societies were permitted to enter Irian, being allotted areas where existing missions were weak or unrepresented. Other new mission organisations that came in during this period were from the *Mission Aviation Fellowship* (MAF), the *Unevangelized Fields Mission* (UFM), *Regions Beyond Missionary Union* (RBMU) and *The Evangelical Alliance Mission* (TEAM) from North America, the *Australian Baptist Mission Society* (ABMS) from Australia, the ZGK, NRC and Adventists from the Netherlands and North America and, at the end of Dutch rule in Irian, the *Vereinigen Evangelische Mission* (VEM) from Germany[23].

Primary evangelism throughout Irian continued at the level of the congregation, supported by the higher levels of the Church. Posts that had been abandoned during the War, such as Genyem, were opened and from 1948 the number of new posts began to increase, a trend that

continued after the formation of the *Gereja Kristen Injili* (GKI)[24]. During the 1950s the work of the Church expanded. Between 1952 and 1962 the region around Lereh was evangelised from Nimboran[25]. In 1953 Ransiki, south of Manokwari, was established as a mission centre using teacher evangelists, after evangelism at the village level that had been carried out from Miei beginning in 1945[26]. The region inland of Inanwatan and Teminabuan was opened after 1950 using Moluccan teachers. Despite initial difficulties, evangelism posts were established in the Ayamaru and Aitinyu regions in 1948 which, with the nearby Aifat region, were successfully evangelised during the 1950s[27]. Although the foreign missions predominated, the one local mission organisation, the Eltoto mission, was reformed in 1947 to serve the GKI communities in Sausapor and the western Bird's Head. In 1948 Eltoto began to reopen posts that had been abandoned during the Japanese occupation, and sought new villages that could be evangelised. The Eltoto mission used locally-recruited teachers and evangelists and did not seek funds from the Dutch mission, although it did cooperate with it. During the 1930s, and 1950s Eltoto missionaries were able to evangelise large numbers of Biak and Karon people in the Sausapor and Raja Ampat regions[28]. However, after anti-Indonesian activities in the late 1960s in the Sausapor area, the mission ceased to function, although individual members continued to have careers within the GKI churches and schools.

Of the ZNHK congregations formed or in existence at this time, almost all used Malay as the medium of worship and service, with a number of local exceptions. Congregations using the languages of Numfor and Biak existed in the Biak, Manokwari and Sorong areas. There were also congregations using other local languages, in the Wandamen, Windesi, Idora and Bintuni areas[29]. In addition, the Dutch mission also allowed a number of congregations to use local languages in addition to Malay in their worship and church life. With the increase in the number of Dutch soldiers, civil servants and settlers after 1945, congregations using Dutch were also formed, in Hollandia, Sentani, Biak, Manokwari, Sorong, Fak Fak and Merauke[30]. Until 1963, the Dutch missionaries and congregations continued to have a major say in the running of the GKI, as they had the same status as a presbytery, were wealthy, and had influential positions within the government. Several of the other early office bearers before 1963 were Dutch, when the majority of the Dutch mission and government workers left Irian as it was turned over to Indonesia[31].

When the Pacific War, ended, more migrants from Minahasa, Ambon and Timor came to Irian, as civil servants and, after Indonesia became independent in 1950, as settlers[32]. To cater for

these immigrants, the GPM was allowed to establish congregations on the north coast, that existed alongside the congregations of the 'GKI in formation'[33]. In 1947 the GPM sent the first Protestant minister to Merauke, from which a few teachers were sent to the Digul region and several congregations were founded or became Protestant[34]. The congregations of the GPM in Irian were formed into two GPM presbyteries in 1949[35]. The Dutch mission had always assumed that the Moluccan presbyteries would join with the GKI when it was finally formed. Conversations were held with the GPM between 1950 and 1956, in Ambon and Serui in the hope that the GPM would allow its presbyteries in Irian to join the GKI, without result[36]. However, in 1950 the GPM did agree to surrender its congregations on the north coast of Irian to the UZV and later the GKI in formation[37].

The Dutch missionaries maintained their own organisation, and met on a yearly basis to discuss all matters relating to the mission. In the meetings in 1951 and 1954, Malay-speaking ministers were admitted to the Mission Conference as full members and were involved in the discussions that were then taking place to found a Church in Irian[38]. The resulting 'work orders' of the Mission Conference became the basis for the church order of the GKI[39]. The Mission Conference in Irian had been based in Kwawi, near Manokwari. After the War the centre of colonial government was moved to Hollandia, to which the Mission Conference was also moved[40]. The resorts acted like small Mission Conferences, as they were headed by a Dutch minister and were responsible for all of the activities of the mission within their area[41]. With an improvement in the level of institutional organisation, from the congregation to the newly formed resorts, the ZNHK felt confident that a Church in Irian could be self-reliant and self-governing. There had been suggestions from the 1930s that such a step was needed, with teachers in the 1930s gradually being given greater responsibility for the congregations. These moves had been supported by Starrenburg and F. van Hasselt, but the problems caused by Pacific War, and the Indonesian independence struggle, had delayed any firm action[42]. After the War congregations were strengthened, and in 1946 the first resort-level meeting was held, in Biak. A proto-Synod was held in 1954, at a meeting in Serui, with representatives from the resorts, institutions within the church (such as the schools and theological college) and invited guests[43].

In 1956 the *Gereja Kristen Indjili di Nederlands Nieuw Guinea* (GKI)[44] was formed from amongst the resorts of the ZNHK and DZR congregations on the north coast and Bird's Head, as a consequence of the discussions that had begun in 1946/47[45]. The Church was officially

inaugurated at a service in the Harapan congregation in Hollandia Binnen[46] on 26 October 1956[47]. The central office was located in Hollandia Binnen as F.C. Kamma, the Mission Chairman, and hence automatically GKI General-Secretary, was living at the Theological College which had recently been moved to Hollandia[48]. Other members were from the Hollandia region, although the new Moderator, Rev. F.J.S. Rumainum, continued as the head of the resort in Biak until 1957, when he moved to a congregation in Jayapura[49]. The first indigenous Treasurer, Rev. S. Liborang, was appointed in 1961. The first indigenous General Secretary, Rev. M. Koibur, was appointed in February 1963, replacing Rev. Ritgers, who resigned as Mission Chairman after Irian came under the authority of Indonesia[50].

The GKI members saw the formation of an independent church as the beginning of a change in the direction of the church, from primary evangelism from without, to church growth from within[51]. The GKI continued the policies and directions of the mission, encouraging and supporting evangelism within the congregation, as well as the uncontacted groups such as Muslims and animists. Changes were also made in the way the congregations were organised. After 1956 the composition of elders councils was changed to require deacons to be elected and the councils were given more responsibility for oversight and leadership of their congregations[52].

The entrance of the CAMA into the Wamena area and the growth of government and transport links to the area increased interest on the part of the GKI towards the interior, particularly due to the increase in the number of government workers who were GKI or NHK members, and who were eager to be served by the GKI and to take part in the evangelisation of the areas near Wamena in the name of the GKI. In 1959, N. van der Stoep, the teacher in the Baptist school in Tiom, had a furlough in the Netherlands[53]. He talked to the ZNHK about working in the Yali region[54]. Rumainum also began to seek ways of being involved in the interior[55]. From November 1959 to April 1960, he travelled to the Netherlands and Germany to discuss issues relating to the Church and evangelisation in Irian. He realised that in his discussions in Europe he needed to be able to say that the GKI was already making an effort to move into the highlands, and to that end, in October 1959, he sent the newly-ordained Z. Rumere to serve the GKI policemen, soldiers and civil servants in Wamena[56]. Rumere went to serve the Protestants in Wamena with the blessing of the government, as the Catholics were already being served by a priest and several sisters, and the other Protestant missions were centred away from Wamena[57].

In response to the requests of van der Stoep and Rumainum, the ZNHK approached the *Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft* (RMG) in Barmen Germany[58], who agreed to work with the GKI to develop this region[59]. Work was continued among the government employees in Wamena by the GKI. Other ministers and teachers followed, and by 1962 the GKI had opened stations at Kurima and Mugwi, with the agreement of the CAMA mission[60]. In addition to GKI members from the coast, several local people began attending the Wamena congregation and forty baptisms were recorded[61]. From this the people in Kurima (Polimo), Hom Hom, Woma and Wesaput requested, and received, GKI teachers[62]. In October 1973 an airstrip was completed at Polimo[63].

In 1960 surveys were made using MAF aircraft. In 1961 S. Zöllner and Dr. W. Vriend, together with Rev. J. Yoku, Evangelist M. Maban and a carpenter, G. Mambrisauw, entered the Yali region, after being received well by the villages along the route. Angguruk was seen to offer the best possibilities after ground surveys, and a station was established there in 1962 as soon as an airstrip was constructed by Vriend and local Yali men[64]. Further stations were built at Apahapsili, and the surrounding valleys were contacted. The mission adopted a comprehensive approach to evangelism, with primary evangelism, schools, literacy programs (initiated by Mrs Zöllner), health care and agricultural development[65]. The first GKI baptism in the Yali region was not until 1972, followed in 1973 by 800 people in Angguruk, who received baptism, by total immersion[66]. A. Roth also made contact with people in the western Baliem, around Kurima. Although the VEM and GKI stationed a number of missionaries in the Baliem and Yali regions, language difficulties required that the evangelism effort had to be supported by the local people, who knew the language and customs of the Yali and the Dani[67]. As a consequence of this, the GKI congregations in the highlands have been reliant upon locally-trained evangelists, rather than teachers trained outside the region.

In 1956 the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in Enschede[68], a congregation of one of the smaller reformed denominations in the Netherlands, sent M.K. Drost to Irian to investigate the possibility of establishing a mission. The area of the upper Digul was suggested by the ZNHK leaders in Hollandia, as the tribes were still essentially nomadic and had not been approached[69]. In 1957 Drost established a base at Tanah Merah, with the help of the existing Moluccan congregation, and with J. Klamer from the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in Spakenburg, then made a series of surveys in rivers inland of Tanah Merah, making contact with a number of villages. A station was established at Kouh in 1958, which became the centre for the evangelisation of the Digul system[70]. In addition

to Enschede, congregations in Spakenburg, Groningen and Toronto (Canada) assumed responsibility for other parts of the mission field, with an umbrella organisation, the *de Zending van de (Vrijgemaakte) Gereformeerde Kerken* (ZGK), which also coordinated their schools and medical work[71]. Due to the small size of the language groups in the area and the resulting difficulties of communication between mission posts, Malay was used as the language of the mission, as in the GKI[72]. Tribal warfare broke out repeatedly in the Bomakia area, and church property was often the first thing attacked. The situation only improved after the intervention of the Dutch government. As a result of the expulsion of ZGK personnel from Indonesia in 1962, a number of ZGK missionaries moved to Irian, and helped the ZGK expand from its original base[73]. The *Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland en Noord Amerika* (ZGG, often referred to in Irian by it English name, the *Netherlands Reformed Congregations* or NRC) in the person of G. Kuyt, also entered Irian as the Dutch were leaving and, with the cooperation of Aring and Zöllner, investigated the valleys east of the VEM station at Kosarek[74].

In addition to the Reformed missions, the Pentecostal movement began in the main coastal towns of Irian. Jonathan Itaar, from Tobati, near Hollandia, who had been serving several Pentecostal congregations in Manado, was called to Irian to serve a small group of Pentecostals, arriving in Sorong in 1948[75]. Governor van Baal gave the Pentecostals permission to work in New Guinea in 1950. This allowed congregations to be established at Base G in Hollandia, Biak and Yapen, and a congregation was begun in Manokwari by Sister Alt from the Dutch Pentecostal Mission[76]. With the growth of the Pentecostal congregations, Itaar became the de facto leader of the Pentecostal Church in Irian[77]. In 1954, F.G. van Gessel, one of the founders of the Pentecostal movement in Java, moved to Irian and established the *Bethel Pinksterkerk*[78]. After the death of van Gessel in 1957, his son-in-law, C. Totaya, moved from Surabaya and took over the congregation in Hollandia. The entry of the *Bethel Pinksterkerk* convinced Itaar that an official organisation was needed for the Pentecostal movement. After a meeting with other Pentecostal leaders in Irian, in 1955, the *Bethel Kerk de Pinkster Kerk* was founded, and was established by government decree on 17 October 1956[79]. Itaar moved to Hollandia in 1961 to continue his work of firmly establishing the Pentecostals in Irian.

The NICA[80] administration, and the Dutch colonial government that succeeded it, recognised the need for schools and teachers for those schools. A Normal School in Yoka, on Lake Sentani, was founded in February 1945. To meet the needs of the expansion in the number

of village schools, teachers were accepted with lower academic standards[81]. A school for boys, the *Jongens Vervolgschool* (JVVS[82]), was founded at Yoka, with others at Miei, Korido, Serui and Saoka, near Sorong[83]. To cater for girls, schools known as the *Meisjes Vervolgschool* (MVVS) were established in Genyem, near Hollandia, Serui, Fak Fak, Sorong, Korido and Merauke[84]. In addition to the schools in Irian being rebuilt and renewed[85], the varieties of schools were also increased. A Teachers' College (OVVO) was opened in Serui in 1948, with other Colleges in Fak Fak and Tiom[86]. Vocational schools were also opened during the 1950s, supported by the government, but usually run by the church[87]. Government policy was to provide education at the level of the learners, hence the variety of schools, from low level Malay-language schools preparing students to be village teachers, lower level civil servants and technicians, to those providing instruction in Dutch, preparing students for entry to Dutch universities[88]. By 1952 there were 300 formal schools[89] and 200 village schools, with 650 teachers, of whom 270 were Papuans, with instruction at varied levels, from basic village schools teaching in Malay to schools catering for children preparing to enter the Dutch education system[90]. There were 24,500 students, 14,500 in Protestant schools, 8,500 in Catholic schools and 1,500 in government schools. About 40% of total enrolments were female[91]. There were also hostels, such as the one operated by the Dutch mission at Yoka, near Jayapura as part of a Junior High School for Papuans, and another operated by the Catholics at Merauke[92]. Scholarships were also established with funds raised for the celebration of 100 years of Christianity in Irian in 1955 that enabled many Protestant students to study in Hollandia, with some going to the Netherlands to complete their high school studies[93]. A number of those who had passed the Junior High School in Kotaraja were given scholarships from this fund to attend Senior High School in the Netherlands.

In 1955, the Dutch government provided for a full subsidy for church-owned primary and junior high schools and began employing more teachers, both locally recruited and from the Netherlands[94]. This enabled the Churches to expand their school systems, although at the cost of allowing greater government involvement in school policy and curriculums. However, the Dutch government basically entrusted education to the Churches[95], such that in 1963 the number of government schools was extremely small[96]. Lower level schools used Malay, with secondary schools adopting the government policy of using Dutch as the medium of instruction[97].

In 1946 the church schools were separated from the direct care of the mission[98]. A Christian Education Board was founded in 1957 to cover all Protestant Schools in Irian, and

included representatives from the GKI the ZNHK, the GPM, the DZR and the ABMS[99]. This Board, together with its Catholic equivalent, controlled almost all of the schools in Irian prior to 1963. In addition to subsidies, the Dutch government also provided most of the teaching staff to these schools[100]. Despite this, by 1960 there were only twelve secondary schools in Irian, all of which were fully subsidised by the government, which oversaw the curriculum[101].

In addition to new primary schools, the ZNHK upgraded the *Sekolah Guru Jemaat* or 'School for Parish Teachers' into a *Sekolah Teologi Menengah* or 'Middle Theological School', which was opened in 1954 in Serui with Kijne as its Rector, which became, in 1965, the *Sekolah Tinggi Theologia*, based in Abepura[102]. In addition, the 'Lachai Roi' Parish Teacher's school was improved, and moved from Miei to Serui in 1951, thence to Ransiki in 1957, and eventually, after a brief time in Abepura, to its current location at Manokwari[103]. In addition to the GKI and Catholics, the ZGK opened schools in its congregations. These schools were different to those of the GKI and Catholics, in that they catered for both children and adults[104]. The ZGK opened a Teachers School in 1961 to supply teachers for their schools[105]. The Pentecostals also quickly established Bible Schools, which gave limited training to church members who felt called to establish congregations. The first was in Sorong in 1957[106].

Secondary evangelism was made through a radio station, and congregational activities. Help was received from Gospel Recordings, who briefly came to Irian and produced recordings of gospel messages in local languages[107]. Medical and social services were also expanded. A hospital was opened in Yoka, and the hospital in Serui was reopened. Clinics were established, with government assistance, in a number of rural centres, to provide basic health care and as part of a campaign to combat leprosy. Nurses were sent to Macassar for further training and women's work was expanded[108].

For many Christians in Irian, the period before 1963 is remembered as the high point of the Church, where Christianity was the religion of government and people, the population was predominantly Papuan, and the other religious and ethnic groups that existed were minorities that had to adjust to the mainstream Papuan and Christian majority. The GKI and the other Papuan-based Churches, such as the GKII and GIDI, were visible examples of an unspoken reality, strengthened by their links to the ecumenical bodies in the Pacific and their place in the forefront of society and government[109]. However, even as the position of the missions and the Churches

strengthened and more Papuans were contacted and evangelised, the uncertainties of the period leading up to the agreement of the Dutch to surrender Irian to Indonesia led many of the missions to begin preparing for an Indonesian invasion, and mission personnel began to be withdrawn or not sent in the same numbers as before 1960[110]. After 1963 the situation for the Churches and the missions changed dramatically, with the government actively employing many non-Papuans from outside Irian, whose faith and ways of acting were different and not always acceptable to the Christians or the Papuans. Papuan Christianity continued as a major force within the society and government of Irian, but from 1963 it had to compete with Islam, Indonesian nationalism as formulated by the government, and non-Papuan Christian influences from outside Irian.

1. Commodore J.E. Erskine, Port Moresby, 6 November 1894, quoted in P. Hastings, *New Guinea Problems and Prospects*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1969, p. 36.

2. In the person of Revs I.S. Kijne, J. Wetstein, D.A. ten Haaft, H. Spreeuwenberg, P.J. Grondel and H.J. Teutscher. F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, p. 28.

3. This included a change in the attitude of many of the Christians, who had suffered much under the Japanese, and who realised that they *were* able to be Christians without the Dutch. By the time the missionaries returned, the local leaders were already beginning to rebuild their congregations, both in membership and in terms of restoring buildings damaged during the War. H.J. Teutscher,"Some Mission Problems in Post-War Indonesia: Experiences in Dutch New Guinea", *The International Review of Missions*, vol, 37, no. 99, 1948, pp. 414-9. Some congregations, such as Waupnor, near the main harbour of Biak, used facilities left behind by the allies. The mechanics shop they used was not replaced with a permanent structure until 1973. H. Awawata, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Klasis Biak Selatan Jemaat GKI "Effata" Waupnor', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 23.

4. According to Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 143, in 1946 there were 125,000 Protestants in Irian (down from 130,000 in 1942) served by ten missionaries and ten evangelists and parish teachers. C.Y. Mirino, 'Meossu Pintu Masuk Pekabaran Injil di Tanah Karon', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1997, p. 70, states that one congregation near Sausapor moved from their island to the mainland upon their return from voluntary exile in 1945.

5. G.W. Trompf, *Payback*, CUP, Cambridge, 1994, p. 208. This sense of confidence in their identity was seen throughout the parts of Melanesia that had been directly affected by the War.

6. M.T. Mawene, "Dari L.J. van Hasselt Sampai Pdt. J. Mamoribo", *Peninjau*, xiv/2 & xv/1, 1990, p. 12.

7. H. Saud, 'Hiduplah Sebagai Anak-Anak Terang', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, 1995, p. 172, and F.J.S. Rumainum, *Sepuluh Tahun GKI Sesudah Seratus Tahun Zending di Irian Barat*, GKI, Sukarnopura, 1966, p. 25. At the mission meeting in Batavia in August 1946, at which two missionaries from Irian was present, I.S. Kijne and D.A. ten Haaft, it was stated that what was required was not 'restauratie' or restoration, but rather 'reconstructie' or reconstruction. J.C. Hoekendijk, *Zending in Indonesië: Verslag Rapporten van de Zendingsconferentie te Batavia Gehouden van 10 tot 20 Augustus 1946*, Boekencentrum, the Hague, 1946, p. 7. As can be seen in the following pages of the report, and indeed throughout the entire document, the War had a major impact on the thinking of the missionaries. As is stated on ibid, p. 10, the time in the internment camps had been used to discuss the future of the Indies Churches, a process that had already begun in the 1920s and 1930s, but which had been halted by the Japanese occupation. By 1946 the UZV was ready to begin to develop ecumenical links among the missions to create an independent Church in Irian. The Church that was to be founded would have strong local leadership and support. See also W.S. Rumsarwir, "Injil dan Kebudayaan dalam Sejarah GKI Irian Jaya", in F. Duim & D. Sulistyo (eds.), *Dengan Segenap Hatimu*, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1988, pp. 29-32, for a discussion of the thinking and actions of the pre-War missionaries towards an independent church in Irian.

8. *Beknopt Overzicht*, Verenigde Nederlandse Zendingscorporatsies, Oegstgeest, 1948, pp. 47f.

9. In November 1948, forty one Ambonese teachers were sent to Irian on a chartered ship, to serve in Sorong, Manokwari, Serui and Hollandia. E.A. Mili, K. Padwa & P. Solissa, 'Guru-Guru Injil Yang Bekerja di Sorong-Raja Ampat', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 8. According to *Hikajat Geredja Protestant Maloeka*, Geredja Protestan Maloeka, Ambon, 1949, p. 62, seventy teachers were sent from Ambon to serve in the GPM presbytery in Fak Fak. From 1951, an air service was begun from the Netherlands to Sydney, Australia, via Biak, that facilitated the entry of missionaries to Irian. A. Mampioper, *Mitologi dan Pengharapan Masyarakat Biak-Numfor*, n.pub., Jayapura, 1976, p. 113.

10. Between 1945 and 1958, some of the teachers who were made 'ministers' were: J. Passalbessy in Hollandia, S. Samal in Tanah Merah, S. Liborang in Sentani, H. Morimuzendi in Sarmi, M. Abaa, F. Huwae, C. Fatahan, D. Auparay, F. Liklikwazil and B.J. Giay in Yapen and Waropen, A. Worisyo and J. Ruhkail, in Windesi, E. Samadua in Babo, B. Burwos, M. Jewun and R. Rumsaur in Manokwari, E. Osok and J. Fenanlaber in Sorong, Titihereuw and Nibaelly in Teminabuan, and E. Wattimury, M. Marlisa and L. Parinussa in Inanwatan. M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia', STT Erikson-Tritt, Manokwari, 1992, p. 42, and Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 12-14.

11. Rumainum, op cit, pp. 25ff, and Saud, 1995, op cit, p. 172. For example, E. Osok, who only retired in 1993, and who died in 1998, was an important parish teacher in the pre-War period. He was ordained as a minister in 1949, and continued working among the Moi people around Sorong. D. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Kota Sorong dan Sekitarnya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 45. Part of the impetus for these changes, and in particular the promotion of indigenous teachers and ministers, was a perceived antipathy to *amberi* ie. Ambonese and Sangirese, teachers that became apparent when the UZV returned in 1945. D.A. ten Haaft, 'Rapport Over de Anti-vreemdelingen stemming op Noord Nieuw Guinea voornamelyk op de Schouten Eildanden', UZV Ressort Biak and Numfor, Biak, Dec. 1946, passim, and in particular p. 8, when he concluded that they would continue employing these teachers, but would also increase the number of indigenous workers. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, p. 432, suggests that the reason for the feeling against the non-indigenous teachers was a perceived sympathetic attitude to the Japanese on their part during the War.

12. D.J. Sariwating, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) Jemaat GKI Ebenhaizer Ridge', STFT GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 6. Rumainum's full name was 'Filip Jakob Spener Rumainum'. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 518.

13. T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, p. 122, and H. Awom, 'Kepelayanan dan Kepimpinan Pendeta dalam Gereja dan Masyarakat Irian Jaya', STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1992, pp. 19f. Of these nine new ministers, seven were Papuans. Despite their status as ministers, they were only invited to the 1950 Mission Conference as 'guests'. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 15.

14. The East Indonesia Theological College was founded in Soe, West Timor. Between 1952-1954 classes were relocated to the city of Macassar, now known as Ujung Pandang. See P.N. Holtrop, *Dari Malino ke Makassar: Dasawarsa Pertama STT Intim Ujung Pandang 1947-1957*, Institut Sejarah Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia Timur, Ujung Pandang, 1982, pp. 158-163.

15. For example, in 1946, the Resort of Biak Numfor was moved from Korido, on Supiori, to Biak town. Before the War, Korido was the port for a large farming area. But during the War, Biak was developed by both the Japanese and Americans as an important military base and port, and so overtook the role of Korido and the former Dutch regional centre, Bosnik, several kilometres to the east. See Sariwating, op cit, p. 6.

16. A Resort was similar to a Presbytery, although it covered a wider area. Rumainum, op cit, pp. 25-27, lists them resort by resort. While many of the names of the leaders are of Ambonese origin, there are also a number of Papuan names. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 30, give a list of the nine resorts existing in 1947, with details of Dutch ministers and assistants. Each resort had an average of two Dutch ministers, assisted by at least two parish teachers. By 1954 the number of Dutch ministers was about the same, but there were more locally-recruited ministers and teachers. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 14f.

17. For example, the Yapen Waropen resort was founded in a meeting in Serui in 1947. See P. Mayor, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Bethel Mereruni Klasis GKI Yapen Timur', Abepura, 1996, p. 13. By 1954 and the 'proto-Synod' of the GKI there were 24,000 Christians in the Yapen Waropen area.

18. *Raad voor de Zending van de Nederlands Hervormd Kerk* Council of the Mission Board of the Netherlands Reformed Church. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 29, and Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 12. The UZV mission in Irian was incorporated as the *Verenigde Nederlandse Zendingscorporatsies* (VNZ) or United Netherlands

Mission Societies in 1946, and became part of the new mission society. The new church order of the NHK came into effect in June 1951. F.C. Kamma, "Zending", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea,* Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, p. 125.

19. Due to the interaction that the UZV gained with less conservative church leaders and missionaries such as Gunning, Adriani and Kruyt, through the participation of the UZV in the *Zendingsconsulaat* (Mission Consulate), that operated from 1906-1953 to handle relations between the missions and the government, the *Zendingsstudieraad* (Mission Study Council), founded in 1919, and the *Nederlandsche Zendingsschool* (Netherlands Mission School) which was established 1905 and which eventually involved eight mission bodies in the *Zendingsgenootschap der Samenwerkende Zendingscorporaties* (Mission Society of Cooperating Mission Bodies), based in Oegstgeest, near Leiden. S. Neill, G.H. Anderson & J. Goodwin (eds.), *The Concise Dictionary of Christian World Mission*, USCL. London, 1970, p. 280, Haire, op cit, pp. 139f, and T.J. Bezemer, *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsche-Indie*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1921, p. 627.

20. Although only an evangelist, Rumander, was sent in 1948 by the UZV, and worked to establish the church, and rid the area of practices he saw as opposed to the spread of the gospel, such as the *kain timur*. J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkopf van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 26-28.

21. The (Dutch) Mennonite Mission Society. It operated in Irian under the *Doopsgezinde Zendingsraad* (DZR), or Mennonite Mission Council. T.E. Jensma, *Doopsgezinde Zending in Indonesie*, Boekencentrum, the Hague, 1968, pp. 168ff.

22. The Mennonites accepted responsibility for the presbyteries in 1949. The minister responsible for Teminabuan was Rev. H.E.R. Marcus, the leader of the Mennonite mission in Irian, who arrived in 1950. The Resorts of Fak Fak and Kaimana had been given to the Moluccan Church in 1930. Jensma, op cit, pp. 153f. J.F. Onim, "Matatula dan Jotley Berperan dalam Pekabaran Injil di Teminabuan", *Cenderawasih Pos,* 27 Jan 1997, p. 3, and Jensma, op cit, p. 157, state that Slump, who went to Fak Fak in 1925, was interned by the Japanese, and returned to Irian in 1945, conducted the formal hand-over of responsibility. Slump retired in 1951. According to *125 Jahre Zusammenarbeit in der Mennonitischen Mission 1847 bis 1972*, EMEK, n.p., 1972, pp. 10, 23f, the DZV sent twenty eight missionaries and support personnel to Irian before 1972, of whom two retired in Irian (Ruth and Lydia Bähler, who were sent by the *Schweiz. Mennonitische Evangelisations-Komitee* (SMEK), and later married Indonesians, settling in Teminabuan and Sorong respectively. See L. Mambor-Bähler, Letter 16 Mar 1994, p. 2, and J. Baumann, Letter, 24 Sep 1993). Of these missionaries, the majority were classed as 'teachers', who presumably taught within the government-subsidised school system. Several were also nurses or doctors, including Mrs Marcus, who was a doctor. Only four were classed as 'missionaries', including a Javanese, Siswojo. The majority of the DZV personnel had gone by 1963, although several new people were sent, the last of whom left in 1987, and some financial assistance was provided to the presbytery in Teminabuan. A. Hoekema, Letter, 27 Oct 1993.

23. United Evangelical Mission. The Adventists officially entered Irian in 1951, when a congregation was established in Sorong. The CAMA, Adventists and other Evangelical missions are dealt with in chapter seven.

24. Kamma, 1953, loc cit, p. 128. Mirino, 1997, op cit, pp.71-73, in her history of the Karon people, notes that a number of new posts were opened in the Sausapor region, using locally-recruited teachers. The teachers used the traditional school-based method of evangelism, and baptised a large number of new converts within a short time..

25. Known also as Genyem. M. Lahimudin, 'Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Kehidupan Warga Jemaat di Lereh', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 26f. The teachers were withdrawn on the orders of the Dutch government after general unrest sparked by a killing. They returned in 1964.

26. See J. Morin, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Jemaat GKI Solagratia Kaprus Klasis Ransiki', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, pp. 10, 15, 17. The first minister, J. Marisan, was not appointed until 1972.

27. W.Y. Pagurian, 'Hasil KKN Klasis A-Tiga', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1989, p. 5, and Jensma, op cit, p. 157.

28. R. Yesnath-Rumansara, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Meossu Tanah Karon', Sorong, 1995, pp. 31f. The Eltoto mission raised funds from the local congregations, and was based in Sausapor.

29. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 43.

30. Rumainum, op cit, pp. 28f. The Dutch-language congregations obtained their own ministers and had the status of separate resorts within the GKI, which gave them an influential voice at the Synodal level. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 20. The ministers came from the NHK and GKN, both Reformed Churches. The first congregation in the city of Sorong, 'Imanuel' was founded by Osok, Middag and Sapakua and had separate Moi, Dutch and Ambonese congregations. Osok, 1999, op cit, p. 46. It is now the largest congregation in Sorong. The Dutch-language congregation was founded by Rev. Droost in 1958 in Dock 5, a suburb of Hollandia, where the senior Dutch civil servants lived, from an existing Chapel. It is now one of the leading GKI congregations. K.S. Burdam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Jemaat GKI Paulus Dok V', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, pp. 1f.

31. Saud, 1995, op cit, p.176, and Burdam, 1995, op cit, p. 1. These Dutch congregations were also active. The congregation in Hollandia provided ƒ10,000 over two years for the work of the Synod, which was equal to 5% of the Synod's total budget, as well as distributing leaflets about the GKI to inbound passengers landing at Biak and supporting the GKI journal *Serikat*. Its members were also involved in importing and censoring films. 'Geredja Kristen Indjili di Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea: Perhimpunan Synode Umum jang Kedua', Manokwari, 8-17 August 1960, p. 27, and Appendix 13a.

32. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", *In Depth Indonesia*, no. 8, Aug. 1977, Commission for Mission, UCA, Sydney, p. 5.

33. Rumainum, op cit, p. 28. The agreement to allow the GPM to serve the Malay-speaking and immigrant congregations was taken at a meeting of the GPI in Bogor in 1948. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 43.

34. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, p. 49. The Catholics resented the intrusion of this "false religion", and some of its methods. Despite protests from the Bestuur, the GPM teachers were allowed to remain and expand their mission. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, p. IV.17.

35. M.J. Wattimena, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Fak-Fak', Abepura 1989, p. 10.

36. E. Wanma, 'Latar Belakang Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Bagian Selatan Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, 1994, p. 3. The reasons given were varied. In 1950 Ambon was at the centre of the South Moluccas rebellion. After 1950, it was obvious that the Dutch would not be leaving Irian. This was used by the GPM to delay a decision on its mission in Irian.

37. Wanma, op cit, p. 6. The lone exception was the Elim congregation in Hollandia, which refused to accept the decision, and in 1999 was still the sole GPI IJ congregation in Jayapura. Requests have been made by GPI IJ sympathisers in other towns on the north coast as late as July 1999, but were rejected due to potential antipathy from local GKI members. Only two new congregations were established in GKI areas, both in Sorong.

38. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 15f.

39. Rumainum, op cit, p. 32.

40. To Yoka, near Hollandia Binnen/Abepura. The post-War Chairmen were: J. Wetstein, 1945-48, I.S. Kijne, 1948-53, R.G. ten Kate, 1953-55, F.C. Kamma, 1955-56, A. de Ritgers, 1956-62. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 13, 25, 28.

41. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 43. The Mission Conference was disbanded in 1956 and the leader of the mission became the General-Secretary of the new GKI Church.

42. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 499-508.

43. Rumainum, op cit, pp. 34-37. Only the resorts of Sarmi and Biak Numfor did not have a Dutch missionary in charge, and that only from Sarmi was there no Dutch representative. Among the guests were representatives from the MAF, UFM, RBMU, TEAM and GPI. The Dutch Mennonites were part of this proto-Synod, with Rev. Marcus and wife (Dr. Marcus) officially representing the Resort of Teminabuan.

44. Now known as the *Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya*, in accordance with changes to the spelling of Indonesian and the new name of Irian, changed from *Irian Barat* to *Irian Jaya* in 1972. In English it is translated as *the Evangelical Christian Church in Irian Jaya*. It is frequently shortened to 'GKI' or 'GKI Irja', but is not to be confused with several other churches in Java with the same initials such as the GKI Jabar, or *Gereja Kristen Indonesia Jawa Barat*. In a conversation with the Moderator of the GKI, Rev. H. Saud, on 5 Dec 1999 at the STT-GKI, he mentioned that at a PGI meeting in November, the delegates from the GKI wished to be referred to as the 'GKI in West Papua'. The PGI leaders rejected this request due to 'legal difficulties'. Saud then reminded them that the changes to the name of the GKI were not legislated. Hence, it is possible that the GKI is still, officially, the 'GKI in Netherlands New Guinea'.

45. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 44.

46. Now Abepura.

47. It was officially established by an order of the Governor-General on 8 Feb 1957. The GKI reported that in 1956 it had 135,000 members, 500 congregations, 400 parish teachers, 150 evangelists, eighteen ministers and thirteen ordained Dutch missionaries. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 31-32.

48. Rumainum, op cit, p. 43.

49. F.C. Kamma, *Dit Wonderlijke Werk: Het Probleem van de Communicatie tussen Oost en West Gebaseerd op de Ervaringen in het Zendingswerk op Nieuw-Guinea (Irian Jaya) 1955-1972. Een Socio-misiiologsische Benadering*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., Raad voor de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1977, p. 812. In 1956 Rumainum was the only non-Dutch minister in Irian with a Dutch-standard theological education, and hence the only candidate for the position. Succeeding Moderators, such as Rev. J. Mamoribo, were all trained in Irian.

50. as the Mission Conference Secretary had been ex-officio the Synod General-Secretary. In the original Synod meeting in 1956, Manokwari, Miei, Biak, and Inanwatan had no Dutch representatives, and in Teminabuan the head was an Ambonese, J.S. Titiheruw. There was clearly a trend even between 1954 and 1956 to indigenise the church, which accelerated after the Dutch government decided to leave Irian in 1962. In the makeup of the Synod

office bearers at the end of 1963, the year of integration with Indonesia, there were no Dutch members, one Ambonese, one Minahasan and four Papuans. Rumainum, op cit, pp. 43-47.

51. Saud, op cit, p. 174.

52. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 18-20.

53. Van der Stoep was in responsible for all non-CAMA schools in the highlands. As the Baptists were then participating with the GKI, this school would have been what became a YPK school. *Jaarverslag 1961*, Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Oegstgeest, pp. 32f.

54. As he had heard that the CAMA mission was planning to extend its mission to this area. Y. Walianggen, 'Pengabdian dan Pelayanan Zending VEM di Klasis GKI Balim-Yalimo', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 28.

55. The mission was ready to leave the highlands to the Evangelicals, but Rumainum insisted that the GKI had to have a role in the region. F. Tometen, 'GKI dan Misinya di Daerah Balim-Yalimo: Disusun oleh Pdt. F. Tometen atas Naskah dari Pdt. P. Sawen', Apahapsili, 15/1/94, p. 4.

56. Z. Rumere, 'Asal Pekabaran Injil di Lembah Balim', Manokwari, n.d., pp. 2-6. Perhaps deliberately, Rumere arrived on the 25th of October, the day before the GKI's third anniversary. He stayed for twelve months before being recalled to Hollandia, and was succeeded by Rev. Aring from the VEM, and Rev. Yoku from the GKI. F. Mambrasar, *Kisah Perjumpaan Injil dengan Kebudayaan Dani dan Yali di Balim/Yalimo: Suatu Kenang-Kenangan dalam Memperingati Yubelium 25 Tahun Pekabaran Injil di Klasis GKI Balim/Yalimo*, Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Sorong, 1988, p. 23.

57. Rumere's task was to be a GKI presence, as a way of saying to the Europeans: 'we have started the task, you help us to carry it on'. Part of his duties was to get to know the local people. On one visit to a village outside Wamena, he was almost killed, as he was perceived as being a friend of the Papuan police, who had a very bad reputation amongst the Dani. Z. Rumere, Interview, Manokwari, 27 Oct 1997.

58. Rhine Mission Society, which soon after joined with other mission societies in Germany to form the VEM.

59. The RMG had worked in German New Guinea in the 1880s and 1890s, which may have made them willing to return to New Guinea, albeit Netherlands New Guinea. J. Friederichs, *Aufbruch nach Jalimo*, Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, Wuppertal, n.d., pp. 3f. The Germans agreed to supply workers for evangelism and the Dutch agreed to supply and fund a doctor, W. Vriend. Walianggen, op cit, p. 29. Vriend was reluctant to return to a "colonial situation" after several years in Kupang. But, after assurances from Rumainum that Irian would soon become part of Indonesia, he agreed to go to the highlands. E.J. Steiger, *Wings Over Shangri La*, n.p., 1995, pp. 137f. Towards the end of his time in Irian, Dr. Vriend, who was by then working in the government hospital in Wamena, received limited support from the UCA. 'A seed planted: Indonesia', Uniting Church World Mission, Sydney, 1989.

60. G.R. Monim, 'Suatu Studi Tentang Perkembangan Islam di Daerah Kabupaten Jayawijaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, pp. 20f. By 1992 the GKI had twenty two congregations in the central highlands.

61. Many of these were of Dani women who had married coastal men, but also included several men, 'Yordan, Paulus and Alberth'. Tometen, op cit, p. 4.

62. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 31f.

63. In December there was a large scale burning of sacred objects in the area. Walianggen, op cit, p. 33, does not connect these two events, but it is likely that regular flights would have convinced them that the time had come to abandon the old ways. The following year there were a large number of baptisms. Polimo was the station for two VEM nurses. Ibid, pp. 34f.

64. Vriend was supplied by air drops. Tometen, op cit, p. 5. Before their families could come, the basic infrastructure had to be completed. This entailed building housing, the basic hospital building, a warehouse and a school. Dr. Vriend built up the health care work, and Rev. Zöllner concentrated on contacting the surrounding villages, and evangelism. They were supported in Sentani by Rev. P. Aring. See *De M.A.F.*, Zending Gereformeerde Gemeenten, Rotterdam, 1977, passim, and 'Zending op Irian Jaya en de M.A.F.', passim. The mission in Angguruk could not have happened without the MAF, who helped survey the area, certified the air field and flew in the parts of the hospital and mission station. Steiger, op cit, pp. 137-9. Zöllner returned to Germany in 1970. He was succeeded by K. Reuter and G. Kreis. Walianggen, op cit, p. 37. A first-hand account of the early VEM contacts in the Yali region and the support given by the MAF, is found in E. Hofius, *Sie Fliegen für Gott*, Brunnquell-Verlag der Bibel- und Missions-Stiftung, Metzingen, 1976, pp. 40-47.

65. For the literacy programs, materials were produced in Yali in ten volumes, entitled *Nare-Nare*. To complement this program, Bible picture books were produced for the older people who could not read. Tometen, op cit, pp. 6, 8.

66. As opposed to sprinkling which was usual even for adult baptisms amongst GKI congregations on the coast. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 153. In the Yali areas, and in the parts of the Mamberamo that were evangelised by Yali evangelists, mass baptisms of adults were the norm in the early contact phase, as the decision to convert was usually a communal decision, and was announced to the missionary as "Kami menerima Injil Yesus Kristus sebagai Tuhan dan Juru Selamat kita". (We accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ as our Lord and Saviour). The baptisms issue was discussed at a presbytery meeting in Wamena in 1971, when the presbytery decided against child baptisms on the grounds of rationality and theology. N.J.T. Matruty, 'Injil dan Kebudayaan: Suatu Tinjauan Teologis Terhadap Praktek Pembakaran Hobat-Hobatan Sebagai Pra-Syarat Pembaptisan Kudus di Klasis GKI Balim Yalimo', B.Th. Long Essay, Universitas Kristen Indonesia Tomohon, Tomohon, 1993, pp. 43f. At the meeting adult baptism was decreed as the standard form for baptism in the Baliem-Yalimo Presbytery, and was to be considered as including confirmation. Hence, the baptism service would be followed with communion. Tometen, op cit, p. 10. Mambrasar, op cit, pp. 31f, gives other reasons for only having adult baptism, including the traditional rite of initiation in Yali society, when a male child, at about age seven, was offered to the god *Yowi*. Hence, baptism could not be performed at an age earlier than this. Child baptisms only became common in the Elelim area after Tometen performed a number after 1989. Walianggen, op cit, p. 43. Zöllner suggested that the first baptisms in the Angguruk area be made in the local river. The Yali objected, insisting that they be in a well (or pond), as well water was used to heal pigs, and so had symbolic significance for baptism. G. Yoal, 'Konsep Keselamatan Menurut Orang Yali dan Penerimaan Injil', Dip. Theol. Long Essay, STT-GKI, 1996, p. 28. In *Aus der Frauenarbeit der Vereinigten Evangelischen Mission*, Year 22, August 1992, p. 17, there is a photograph of a mass baptism in a GKI area in the highlands. The men are waist-deep in a pool, with the baptisers, some clothed some not, squatting on the bank about to push the baptismal candidates under the water. At least 1,000 people are watching. Comments from GKI ministers who have worked in the Balim-Yalimo region confirm that this is the style of baptism in GKI congregations in the highlands, unlike the Evangelical congregations where both minister and candidate stand breast-deep in the water. The Baliem-Yalimo presbytery first began commissioning leaders in the Yali areas in 1969, when twenty were commissioned in Angguruk. This was before the first baptisms. Tometen, op cit, p. 8. NB. Friederich Tometen was ordained as a minister by the GKI after coming to Irian. In the Bird's Head, where Mennonites worked during the 1950s, the Mennonite ministers were not allowed to baptise children, and could baptise adults who had been baptised as children, on their own initiative. However, Moluccan teachers assisting the Mennonites were free to baptise children. Jensma, op cit, p. 181.

67. Y. Tablaseray, 'Laporan KKN di Kabupaten Jayawijaya', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1987, p. 11. Contact between the Yali and the people in the western Baliem was also a significant factor in the decision to convert. Tometen, op cit, p. 9. Local villagers also improved the paths between their villages to facilitate evangelism. Walianggen, op cit, p. 40.

68. The Reformed Church, part of the *Vrijgemaakt* (see below). This denomination was a one of the large number of Reformed denominations in the Netherlands. The *Vrijgemaakt* was more conservative than the NHK, and similar in its theology and church order to the Congregational Churches in England, as each congregation was responsible for its own support and mission activities.

69. Newell, 1992, op cit, pp. 65f. The Catholics heard that a new mission was interested in establishing itself on the south coast, and tried to establish stations around Mindiptana, using Muyu teachers. The Muyu were reluctant to go, as the local tribe, the Jair, were their traditional enemies. However, some of the Jair villages were contacted and a number of them enrolled in the school in Tanah Merah. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 2, n.p., n.d., pp. IV.5-7.

70. An agreement was made with the Catholics to delimit the areas in which they worked. But as the ZGK area was more than a day's journey from Tanah Merah, a post was opened in the village of Kowage, within the Catholic zone, which attracted a number of actual and potential Catholics, such that the region became Protestant. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, pp. IV.7f

71. Mission Board of the (Liberated) Reformed Churches. O. Mahuze, O. Rumi, Y.S. Sarwa, & A.K., T'Korop, *Sejarah Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*, Deputat-Deputat Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (IRJA), Bomakia, 1982, pp. 8-10, and L. Simbiak & M. Erari, 'Hasil Penelitian Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Irian Jaya (Yowcha)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 1. The first baptisms were at Kouh in 1967. By 1981 they had 54,000 members in the Digul region. Of the ten tribes they worked in, four were in areas where other missions operated.

72. Mahuze, op cit, p. 11.

73. Ibid, p. 16. The ZGK continued supporting the Theological Colleges in Sumba and Sabu. Newell, 1992, p. 65.

74. Mission Board of the Reformed Congregations in the Netherlands and North America. 'Gereja Jemaat Protestan', loc cit, p. 2, and G. Hoogendoorn, 'De Missionaire Arbeid van de Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Irian Jaya', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1993, p. 43.

75. L. Upessy & N. Korwa, 'Gereja Bethel Gereja Pantekosta', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 4. Apparently the Protestants and Catholics did not accept his presence at Doom, and attempted to get rid of him. He was able to remain with assistance of the Muslim village head, who provided him with a dwelling. Ibid, p. 5.

76. The congregation in Base G was the result of evangelism carried out by P.D. Mariar, who worked in the Police Academy there. Ibid, pp. 6f.

77. In 1951 he made a journey to Hollandia to commission the congregations there. Ibid, p. 7.

78. Dutch for Bethel Pentecostal Church. Hadi Wibowo & P. Mayor, 'Gereja Bethel Indonesia', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1995, p. 2.

79. The Bethel Pentecostal Church. Upessy & Korwa, op cit, p. 8, and Newell, 1992, op cit, pp. 78f.

80. Netherlands Indies Colonial Administration, which had formal control over liberated parts of the Dutch East Indies, and which was based in Nolokla (then named 'Kota NICA') near Sentani after the Americans regained control of Jayapura in 1944.

81. In 1947. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 9.

82. or Boys Upper Primary School. The JVVS in Yoka was also referred to as the 'Yoka Institute'. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 158.

83. K.P. Erari, 'Our Land, Our Life', Doctoral Dissertation, Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology, Jakarta, 1997, p. 154.

84. Girls Upper Primary School. S. Lase & Y.K. Kapitarau, 'Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen (YPK)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 4, Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 64. The MVVS in Genyem was located outside the town centre. It closed in 1963 when the teachers returned to the Netherlands, and now only the foundations remain.

85. *A Brief Look at the History and Development of Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya*, Badan Pengurus Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1994, p. 2. According to Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 56, the UZV and Catholic missions only sent teachers to villages when both the school and the teacher's house were rebuilt or restored.

86. *Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers*. Community Teachers School. The school in Serui was originally opened in Yoka, then moved by the UZV to Serui. In 1955 the name was changed to *Opleidingsschool voor Dorpsonderwijzers* (ODO). Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 11.

87. The ZNHK opened a Technical School in Kotaraja in 1951, as did the Catholics in Merauke. Another ZNHK school was opened in Biak in 1957. The NNGPM also opened a Technical school in Sorong in 1954. Ibid, pp. 12, 73f. Unlike the government school in Hollandia, these schools had hostels. From 1950, the Dutch government provided more funds for the development of Irian, which included funding for church-run schools and hospitals. *125 Jahre Zusammenarbeit*, p.10. With these funds, agriculture schools were established were in Serui, Hollandia and Biak. Lase & Kapitarau, op cit, p. 4. One exception to the vocational schools was the government *Zeevaartschool*, (Seamen's School) which was established at Hamadi in 1955, with a hostel. A chaplain was appointed to the hostel, D.D. Haay, who was from Kayu Pulau, the traditional landowners. He established a congregation in the hostel, which eventually grew into one of the larger GKI congregations. A. Rumbewas, S.P. Usior & M. Afasedanja, 'Laporan Penelitian Jemaat GKI "Immanuel" Hamadi', Abepura, 1987, p. 1.

88. Erari, 1997, op cit, pp. 155f, and M.C. Malamuk, 'Sejarah Berdirinya Sekolah Injil sampai dengan Berdirinya Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Izaak Samuel Kijne', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, pp. 3f.

89. *Beschavingsscholen*, literally 'civilising schools'. See J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, pp. 212f. Unlike 'village schools' where students were taught to count to 1,000, pupils in the 'civilising schools' were only required to be able to count to 300. Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 59.

90. Kartawidjaya, ibid, p. 58, gives slightly different statistics for village schools for 1951. ZNHK and DZR: 251. Catholic orders: 199. CAMA: 3. GPM: 72. Total: 525.

91. As can be seen from the list of schools in *A Brief History*, op cit, pp. 2f, most of the schools opened during this period were for boys. However, there were *Vervolg* Schools for girls in addition to the Nurses' School. Girls were also taught with boys in primary and general secondary schools.

92. Van Eechoud, op cit, pp. 213ff.

93. *A Brief Look*, op cit, p. 3. ƒ50,000 was raised in Irian, with a further ƒ50,000 raised in the Netherlands. Malamuk, op cit, p. 10.

94. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 158. Until this time, only some schools received a subsidy. Those that did not were funded from the internal sources of the mission concerned. In 1961, there were 496 mission schools, with 20,000 pupils, that were not subsidised, and 776 schools, with 450,000 pupils, that received a subsidy. T. Kustim, et al, *Masalah Irian Jaya dalam Hubungan Negara-Negara Pasifik Daya dengan Indonesia*, LEKNAS-LIPI, Jakarta, 1985, p. 42. The government provided funds for the school and exercised supervision. Other than that, the schools were free to determine their own teaching content. Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 60f.

95. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 29.

96. Several higher-level schools and a number of vocational and technical schools. In 1955 the NNGPM also began two kindergartens. Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 64-68, 76-78.

97. N.H. Subroto & M. Naibaho, *Fakta-Fakta dari Kehidupan di Irian Barat*, Universitas Rakjat, Djakarta, 1963, p. 30.

98. Malamuk, op cit, p. 11.

99. The original name was the *Stichting voor Christelijk Onderwijs* (SCO). In 1962 its name was changed to the *Yayasan Persekolahan Kristen* (YPK), and it was given all the schools belonging to these three missions and the Gereja Kristen Injili. In 1963 the Australian Baptists withdrew from the YPK, as did the ZNHK (which ceased to have an organisation in Irian after the withdrawal of the Dutch government). The GPI withdrew in 1988, and in 1991 the GPM schools were formally handed over to the YPK, and the YPK became a body within the GKI in Irian known as the *Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen*. See *A Brief Look*, op cit, pp. 5f. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 158, state that it was founded in 1946, but this is clearly inaccurate. Perhaps an Education Board *was* founded to oversee mission schools, which later became the YPK. See also Lase & Kapitarau, op cit, p. 5, and W. Lewaherila, "Sekilas Mengenal Perintis Pendidikan di Irja", *Cenderawasih Pos*, no. 1, 8 Mar 1995, p. 3.

100. *A Brief Look*, op cit, p. 20.

101. *Jongens Vervolgschool, Meisjes Vervolgschool, Primaere Middlebare School* and *Hoogere Burgerschool*, in Hollandia, Serui, Korido, Sorong, Teminabuan and Fak Fak. The GPM ran two of these schools. Only the last of these was a Senior High School, preparing students for tertiary education. This is in addition to the tertiary level Theological colleges operated by the GKI and Catholics. See Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, pp. 23-25.

102. The Theological College was opened on 21 September 1954. See Saud, op cit, p. 172, Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 29, and van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 357. The first eighteen graduates were ordained as ministers in 1958. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 16. Of these eighteen, five were still alive in October 1999. The high death rate may be accounted for by the fact that most of them were former teachers, who were given the opportunity to study. Hence, they would have been in their mid-twenties before they began their theological studies. This pattern of training parish teachers to be ministers continued into the 1960s, and is maintained with scholarships being given to a small number of parish teachers who have shown aptitude in the field, to study at the STT-GKI.

103. After a brief time on the campus of the Theological College in Abepura. See Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, p. 22, and Malamuk, op cit, pp.1,5. The school is equivalent to a Senior High School. Although a small number of students enter as adults, the majority are accepted directly from Junior High School.

104. Mahuze, op cit, p. 18. The schools have played a similar role to the Bible Schools in the highlands, where literacy and the Bible were taught along with more conventional subjects.

105. An ODO. Mahuze, op cit, p. 18.

106. which was founded by 'Brother Michael' from the USA at the instigation of Jonathan Itaar. Upessy & Korwa, op cit, p. 8.

107. Rumainum, op cit, p. 57.

108. *Beknopt Overzicht*, op cit, p. 46. On Mansinam in 1950, for example, two sisters were stationed to combat leprosy. Kamma, 1953, loc cit, pp. 127f.

109. Eg. In the late 1950s delegates were sent to meetings of the Pacific Conference of Churches, and Kamma was appointed as an advisor to the Governor-General of Netherlands New Guinea. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, p. 25.

110. R. Wick, *God's Invasion,* Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, p. 123, notes that in the event of an Indonesian invasion, CAMA planned to evacuate its missionaries on the coast *to the interior* (my italics).

CHAPTER 7: The Evangelicals

> We will see what happens. If ... our gardens keep yielding sweet potatoes, our wives keep bearing children, our pigs continue to multiply, and we keep healthy ... we too will burn our sacred ancestral *kuguwak*....[1]

As outlined in chapter six, the Dutch UZV found that it was unable to evangelise all of Irian alone. The Catholics and the GPM were active on the south coast, and the UZV had established a station inland of Dempta[2]. From the 1930s onwards, the coastal regions and the rivers and valleys that opened to the coast, came into the orbit of one or the other of the Christian churches or missions, even if penetration and conversion did not immediately follow. Despite the decision of the Dutch government in 1928 to allow the missions unrestricted access to areas in which other missions had been instigators of missionary activity, the missions had not made any substantive move into the interior before the Japanese occupation[3]. With Dutch government permission, the penetration of these regions did not begin in earnest until after the Pacific War, when American and Australian Evangelical missions, closely followed by missions and missionaries from other nations, such as Canada and the Netherlands, came to open the interior of Irian, which they viewed as a new, and perhaps last, mission field one earth.

In 1937[4] the Wissel/Paniai Lakes region was seen from the by air, and a large population was observed. In 1938 the Archbold expedition to the highest mountain in Irian reported that there was a large population in the western Baliem[5]. These two reports resulted in a movement within the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) in the United States to expand its existing work in northern and eastern Indonesia to include these new areas of New Guinea[6]. The Dutch government welcomed these new missionary activities, and supported them by expanding the system of government posts, and by beginning the regulation of areas that the missions would be allowed to penetrate[7].

In December 1938 and January 1939 CAMA missionaries made an exploratory expedition to the Paniai lakes by foot from Uta, on the south coast[8]. This expedition was led by Russell Diebler, accompanied by ten porters[9]. His visit was followed later that year by another he made with Walter Post, supported by twenty Christian Dayak carriers, a Dayak translator named Padjak, a Batak teacher, Saragih, and Pattipelohij, an Ambonese teacher. Once at the government post at Enarotali, established by van Eechoud in May 1938 with the assistance of a local big man,

Weakebo[10], they began erecting buildings for a mission station, making canoes, visiting nearby villages and starting a school[11]. Diebler, between journeys to Ambon for supplies[12], began to explore the valleys surrounding the lakes, becoming the first outsider to enter the Kemandora valley, east of the Paniai lakes, and begin working on the local language. Viola Post and Darlene Diebler followed in February 1940. Their presence proved to the Me people that the missionaries were real people with wives, and were not spirits[13]. Because of the invasion of the Netherlands by Germany, the government closed the post at Enarotali, and all mission and government personnel were evacuated. The government post was reopened in November[14]. The missionaries, including Post, and a number of students from the SAM, returned in 1941 at the behest of the Dutch government, using a Dutch military aircraft. They began acquiring land for schools and establishing posts in villages outside Enarotali[15]. Despite the Japanese invasion, the work began to expand, with the government and mission centre at Enarotali reopened, and a new CAMA mission station set up by Einar Mickelson at Homeyo, in the Moni region of the western Baliem in 1943[16]. The post was only abandoned due to the threat posed by the advance of Japanese soldiers into Enarotali[17]. By the time Mickelson and the other remaining missionaries left in May 1943[18], there were 1,000 regular attenders at worship, and sixteen converts[19].

After 1945 there was a change in the attitude of the Dutch government and the new generation of mission personnel. Before the War, the policy of conversion and 'Christianisation' was that of the traditional approach, of establishing schools, hospitals and other institutions, of building churches, training leaders (but *not* fully ordained ministers) and slowly evangelising the general community. The Dutch government had allowed other missions to enter, but by 1945 only the UZV, GPM, CAMA and Catholics had been allowed to work in the territory[20]. The new post-war missionaries were more open to allowing local church leaders to play an active role in the leadership of their churches[21] and moves began to be made, as part of a shift in missiological thinking that had already begun in the 1930s, to establish a self-governing Church in Irian, in the same way that mission fields west of Irian had been allowed to become self-governing[22]. The Dutch government consistently supported the missions, seeing the role of the Christianity as a civilising one, which had the possibility to bring the Papuans into their Indies Empire as full members. However, the Dutch had previously limited the access of the Evangelical missions in potential mission fields in New Guinea[23] as their security could not be guaranteed.

The War had effectively halted mission activity in the areas occupied by the Japanese[24], be it the established Dutch Protestant and Catholic missions, as well as the nascent CAMA mission in the Paniai region. One positive outcome of the war against the Japanese, was renewed interest in Irian, built upon the knowledge provided by the Archbold expedition of 1938, which had shown that the interior was populated, and sight-seeing flights to the Baliem that were made from Hollandia toward the end of the War. One of these planes crashed, prompting a dramatic rescue that received wide coverage in American newspapers[25] and kindled intense interest amongst the American Evangelicals, who were captivated by the descriptions of the new 'Shangrila' in New Guinea[26].

The Dutch missionaries began returning from 1945[27], and CAMA returned to the Paniai region in October 1946[28]. Despite opposition from some of the local Me people[29], CAMA was able to reestablish the mission there[30]. By the end of 1947, seventeen people had been baptised[31] and the station was sufficiently well established that Mrs Mickelson was able to join her husband, and another couple, the Troutmans, assisted by two single women, were added to the numbers of resident missionaries[32]. In July 1947 a Bible School was opened to help the local churches and train missionaries for the surrounding valleys[33]. By 1953, there were twenty three CAMA workers in the region. They had sufficient numbers to reopen the Homeyo and Lake Tigi stations, as well as set up a number of outstations[34]. With the exception of some exploratory treks into the western Baliem, CAMA activities were restricted to the Me people and the tribes near them[35]. The mission was supported by the government, and particularly by police patrols. The police were Papuans from the coast, who provided security for the missionaries, both American and local. They maintained the peace and also reenforced the Christian content of the missionaries' message, as the police were active Protestant Christians, albeit from a different tradition[36].

After the initial fear of the return of the mission, the Me welcomed the government and the mission. In addition to the new faith, the missionaries brought the possibility of access to traditional wealth in the form of cowrie shells, and new wealth in the form of axes and other industrial products. When the missionaries visited a new area, the Me carriers were able to visit their traditional trading partners in peace, and were paid by the mission for their efforts. However, the missionaries did not always allow their employees to trade, and the bearers and labourers, who initially worked enthusiastically, felt they were paid badly. Compounding this sense of dissatisfaction was the role of the government and its local agents, who often compelled people

to provide materials and labour without payment. This, and other problems, such as tapeworm infestation that entered the Paniai region, with the importation of pigs from the coast, and which resulted in the death of large numbers of pigs, resulting in the loss of prestige of many of the older people, precipitated an attack on the foreigners in November 1956 centred at Obano. A number of people were killed, a newly-commissioned Cessna aircraft was wrecked, and the mission compound was burnt to the ground[37]. Other villages joined in attacking the town of Enarotali, forcing the evacuation of CAMA personnel and the closure of outlying posts. The government responded with police reinforcements from Biak, and defeated the Me involved[38].

The direct consequence of the return of the mission was a loss of esteem on the part of the old men who opposed the mission, and a subsequent 'period of responsiveness and cooperation' (as the missionaries put it) as power passed to the younger, and more responsive, men. It also created an atmosphere whereby communal ties became important in conversion, as whole villages tended to convert. Those who were not yet convinced to join were pressured to accept the new faith[39]. The response of the government aided the reception of Christianity, as more schools were built and the graduates were employed in the civil service. This gave people the hope that, with education and acculturation to the outside, including acceptance of the newly introduced religion, their economic future would be secured, as education and acceptance of the new order provided access to outside goods, opened markets for local products, and promised the hope of employment by the mission and government[40].

In response to the conflict with Indonesia, and the desire of the Dutch to control all of Irian, thus preempting Indonesian claims, Dutch government policy changed after 1949, with new missions being invited to enter Irian, including Evangelical missions from the USA, Canada and Australia[41]. Those that initially responded saw this as an opportunity to expand into Irian from their bases in Australian New Guinea, and so were quickly able to send missionaries[42]. These missions, both Protestant and Catholic, were also allowed by the government to make contact with tribes that had not yet been contacted (and therefore not yet deemed 'safe') if they gave a written undertaking that the government would not be held responsible for their safety[43], and new missions were invited to participate in the evangelisation of the untouched regions in the interior[44]. This policy change enabled the missions to expand more rapidly and into areas beyond the reach of the government, and to more effectively use the contact that their church members had with people in neighbouring valleys and tribal groups, without having to obtain government approval to follow

up these contacts[45]. From the base in Paniai, CAMA missionaries began exploring the western Baliem, and others began to establish posts in the northern foothills[46]. This push into the Baliem was the ultimate aim of several North American and Australian organisations when they began working in Irian. Although CAMA was the first mission organisation into the interior, it was quickly followed by the Australian and North American UFM[47], the ABMS, RBMU[48], ZGK and ZGG[49]. D. Richter from Gospel Recordings began working in Irian in 1955, beginning in the Senggi region, recording languages and making bible stories and other materials for evangelism, as languages became known and understood, throughout most of the Protestant mission fields of Irian[50].

This evangelisation of Irian was supported by the MAF, which had been formed in 1946[51]. Several discussions in late 1951 and early 1952 were held between the leaders of the MAF in the USA and representatives of the missions then working in Irian, concerning the entry of the MAF[52]. Surveys were made to and over the Baliem from the MAF base in Wewak, in Australian New Guinea[53]. Despite the presence of the CAMA aeroplane, contacts were made with the ZNHK and the government, and the desire of the MAF to enter Irian was welcomed. In response to the activities of TEAM missionaries in the Bird's Head and the island of Numfor[54], operations were gradually extended, beginning with the move of the Mellis family from Wewak to Sentani, in 1954. The MAF was registered in Dutch New Guinea, after which a plane capable of using both floats and wheels was imported and based at Sentani. At the same time housing was built near the airport in Sentani, and new personnel arrived[55]. Flights began in early 1955 with a medical evacuation from Lake Archbold.

Although the Paniai region was opened with relative ease, the Baliem itself proved much harder to enter. Access was difficult and permission from the Dutch authorities in Hollandia was not initially granted, as it was seen as an 'uncontrolled and therefore unsafe' area[56]. Although foot surveys by K. Troutman, G. Rose and F. Titaheleuw were undertaken in 1951[57], permission to enter the Baliem was only granted in 1954. A survey flight by the MAF was made and, as a result, the request was made for the plane mentioned above, capable of landing on the Baliem River[58]. The plane was approved and three families were established in Hollandia to begin the work of evangelisation[59]. At the same time exploratory treks were made from the Paniai stations into the western Baliem. The first treks continued during 1953-56. While the MAF and CAMA were

making aerial surveys of the eastern Baliem, the penetration from the Paniai region continued, using Me workers and evangelists, as well as expatriate personnel[60].

Before any significant penetration took place the missions agreed to divide the region into zones of activity, to prevent any overlap[61]. In the subsequent development of the missions, these general divisions were generally respected, with the exception of the work of the VEM amongst the Yali people around Angguruk[62]. The entire Yali people were seen by CAMA as falling within its sphere, and discussions were needed before the VEM could begin work there[63]. The UFM also gave its mission in Senggi, in the foothills inland of Hollandia, to the ZNHK, as it felt overextended[64].

In September 1956, G. Larson and D. Gibbons, assisted by a number of missionaries from the Me congregations, established posts east of the Paniai lakes in the western Baliem, and airstrips were made[65]. The entry of the missionaries was greeted with a number of spontaneous burning and destruction of sacred objects in the western Baliem, in 1957 and 1958, accompanied by an increase in the number attending worship and asking for baptism[66]. The movement was slow but gradual, with small groups following the lead of the other valleys, but by the end of 1962 several thousand had burnt their sacred objects and, after instruction from graduates of the Witness Schools, which had been established in the main mission stations, over 800 had been baptised in the Ilaga valley[67]. As a result of this activity, Gibbons opened a station in the Beoga valley in 1960 and by the end of 1962 had baptised 1,960 people[68].

Evangelisation was carried out by expatriate missionaries, 'Witness School men' and other new converts who were deliberately sent out[69], and by Me traders who had been converted, who were able to move more freely into, and settle in, the new areas after the presence of the mission guaranteed they could do so safely, where they shared what they knew of Christianity with those with whom the they dealt[70]. As result the Ilaga and Beoga valleys were evangelised, and a station was established at Jila in 1961. By 1962, there were thirteen congregations within a fledgling church organisation[71]. From these congregations Damal missionaries contacted the Amungme people, near present-day Timika, and established congregations in the coastal regions amongst the Komoro people, as well as among the Dani who shared their valley[72].

From the Ilaga, contact was made with the 'western' Dani, who had kinship ties with the Damal. In 1958 there were some burnings of sacred objects, which caused a 'chain reaction' among the Ilaga valley Dani. News quickly spread and resulted in visits from other Dani groups, with consequent spread of interest in the new religion. In December 1959 a Makki man[73] went home with the task to tell his people that a group would be coming, led by Larson, that the Dani should make peace, and that they should be ready to burn their sacred objects[74].In early 1960, Larson and Bromley went with a group of Ilaga Danis, and were well received, with large numbers of people burning their sacred objects, and attending worship services, as members of the group moved from Makki to Pyramid and other stations, frequently by air[75]. Similar events occurred in the Nduga areas of Akimuga and Mapnduma, where conversions occurred before van der Bijl visited the region to establish a station[76]. By 1962, there had been significant increases in the number of adherents and converts, in Pyramid, Kelila and the other mission stations[77].

In September 1959, at the instigation of missionaries from CAMA and the UFM, Gospel Recordings[78] arranged for two Dani Christians from the Ilaga area[79], Jimbutu and Mijamakame, to approach the Swart Valley tribes, as they saw that in this way the evangelism of the region could be accomplished effectively. The Swart Valley people heard the story of how the Ilaga people had destroyed their sacred objects, and were then prepared to listen to the gospel stories as interpreted by these two Ilaga men. After three days the leader of the group proclaimed his acceptance of this new message and their willingness to burn their sacred objects. Despite attacks from their enemies, the conversions were maintained, and more regular church planting was carried out[80].

The first attempt to enter the central Baliem was in 1950 when Mickelson tried walking into it from the Paniai region[81]. When the Dutch government realised what he was planning, permission to enter the Baliem ahead of a government survey was refused. After discussions with the government, the first entry into the eastern Baliem was made on 20 April 1954, with the entry of Einar Mickelson, Lloyd Van Stone and Elisa and Ruth Gobay[82], who were landed at Minimo from the amphibious plane brought in by CAMA and flown from Lake Sentani[83]. The following day Myron Bromley came together with a 'Biaker' named Adrian and a Me man named Topituma[84]. The team landed on a part of the Baliem River that did not have any nearby inhabitants, and they were thus able to make camp and begin the establishment of a station[85]. From this camp they moved to the village of Hepuba, five kilometres from present-day Wamena, where

the task of evangelisation began, with Elisa Gobay taking an influential role, as he knew the related western Dani language. Using this language, as well as signs and presents, contact was made, and from this first camp, treks were then made into the surrounding area to ascertain the number of villages and the general population size. Despite the perceived danger, several women were allowed to join their husbands in the Baliem. However, they were withdrawn in 1955 until the government established a post in 1956 and allowed them to return. The establishment of the government post convinced the CAMA leaders that more missionaries could be sent and more posts established, and so from 1956 the number of missionaries increased[86].

The CAMA-owned seaplane crashed in April 1955[87]. From this point the MAF became the principal supplier of air transport for the interior missions and congregations. With the responsibilities of supplying the CAMA posts in the Paniai Lakes and Baliem valley, as well as the other mission posts, a new base was opened at Nabire using an abandoned Japanese airfield, followed by a base at Manokwari[88]. Work had already begun on an airstrip in Wamena before the crash of the CAMA seaplane, and the work was quickly completed, allowing the MAF to continue supplying the mission to the Baliem. The CAMA plane that was bought to replace the seaplane was destroyed in the Obano uprising of 1956. Rather than buying another plane, CAMA asked the MAF to be the sole provider of air support for its work in Irian[89]. The experience of the stations in the Baliem proved the effectiveness of air transport, and from that time the task of building an airstrip became one of the first tasks of each new missionary[90].

In 1955 the UFM established a base at Bokondini, followed by CAMA stations at Ilaga and Pyramid and a Baptist station at Tiom in 1956[91]. From 1957 the active 'occupation' of the highlands began, with CAMA, ABMS, UFM and RBMU stations being opened in various parts of the Eastern Dani and Western Dani, Amungme, Moni and Damal areas[92]. There was opposition to the missionaries from the Eastern Dani, with attacks and challenges being a feature of the expeditions. One tribal leader in particular, Ukumhearik, was influential in limiting the reception of Christianity in the 1960s and 1970s. But the missionaries, both American and Me, were persistent and were able to expand into Pass Valley, the Ibele valley and Hetigima, and small numbers converted in the central Baliem. With these successes, coupled with the suppression of war imposed by the Dutch and Indonesian police, Ukumhearik was outflanked and Christianity was slowly adopted in the villages in his area[93]. By 1960 the number of Christians was large enough for CAMA to begin to focus on developing a trained leadership[94]. Part of this process was

the ending of subsidies for indigenous ministers and evangelists in 1961. By 1970 most of their older congregations were self-supporting and self-propagating[95].

The RBMU opened a number of stations in the western Baliem and among the Yali and Lani tribes on the southern side of the Baliem. From these posts they extended their work southward to the Sawi and Komoro tribes inland of Merauke, and northward into the Mamberamo. The UFM concentrated on the Paniai region, in villages such as Oksibil and Mulia, in Sengge in the south, as well as beginning work in nominally GKI areas such as Yapen and Waropen. The APCM opened Bokondini and Kelila in 1956, and from these posts began contacting surrounding areas[96].

The ABMS sent Norman and Jean Draper from Papua New Guinea to Irian in 1956, followed by Victor White, and established a base at Sentani[97]. After an aerial survey was done of the north Baliem, Tiom was selected as the site for an airstrip, and in 1957 a station was established there following the arrival of more missionaries from Australia [98]. From this village the missionaries contacted villages around Makki, Yugwa and Pit River[99]. The Dani and Lani in this area accepted Christianity after one of their war leaders, Nawimban, professed the faith. This was soon followed by the burning of sacred objects and implements of war. The first baptism was not performed until 1962, when thirty were baptised at Makki and thirty one at Tiom[100]. However, in the same year Tiom and Makki were attacked by those opposed to the entry of the mission, and a number of Christians were killed. Mission property was also destroyed[101]. Despite this, the evangelism of the area was continued, and by the end of 1962 the Baptists had stations in Tiom, Makki, Yugwa and Pit River[102].

As stated in chapter six, the Yali area east and north of Wamena had not been fully opened due to the reputation of the Yali as head-hunters. The GKI and the VEM entered Wamena and established posts in nearby villages in 1959 and 1960. From these posts work was expanded to the western Baliem around Kurima and the Yali areas. They were followed by the NRC, who entered Irian in 1962 and opened posts amongst the western Yali[103]. To assist the Evangelical missions in their relations with the government, as well as provide more practical help, the Missions Fellowship (TMF) was established in 1962 in Hollandia. In addition to assisting with visas and other matters for its members and associate members, CAMA, World Team, ABMS, TEAM, APCM, ZGK, and NRC, the TMF provided practical assistance related to the work of its

members[104]. Through the contact gained as members of the TMF, the missions also ensured that they had no overlapping of their mission fields, and cooperated in some matters, such as Bible translations[105]. As is outlined in chapter eight, the Catholics also sent missionaries to the Baliem. In 1958 they established their first post, at Hepuba, near the initial CAMA landing place[106].

Some missions, such as TEAM, moved into areas in which contacts had been made either by the Dutch government or another mission. The first TEAM missionary, Walter Erikson, made a survey of Irian in 1951, with the help of the CAMA and UFM missions, and settled upon Manokwari as the initial station for the TEAM, with the intention of reaching out to the uncontacted tribes in the inland areas in the Bird's Head[107]. Despite opposition from the ZNHK, approval was given by the Dutch government to work in selected areas[108]. Erikson was joined in July 1952 by Edward Tritt. In September 1952 both were killed by their bearers during an exploratory journey inland of Manokwari[109]. They were succeeded by the Lovestrands in 1952, who concentrated on building up the station in Manokwari and made their first convert[110]. The first inland post was at Testega in 1954, which was moved to the Anggi Lakes in 1955[111], and in 1958 a station was established in the Hattam tribe by Richard Griffiths and Dominggus Mayor, assisted by Dominggus Iwou, followed by posts among the Meah, Sough and east Karon tribes[112].

At the time that the Baliem valleys were being contacted, TEAM conducted a survey on the south coast. In 1955 the Prestons and Fraziers settled in the Catholic centre of Agats, and more missionaries came to assist them. A station was set up to evangelise the Asmat, at Ayam, inland of Agats, in 1956[113]. In the same year, the Lovestrands expanded the work to the nominally Catholic Mimika people around Kokonau. Despite initial successes, results were few and were affected by the murders of two evangelists, Nimrod Rumpou and Yonas Faidiban, at Sampero[114]. In 1959 Dr. K. Dresser set up a hospital at Pirimapun, which was within the Asmat area[115]. In 1960, work was begun by Jack Manly inland of Merauke in the Senggo district. The station was abandoned a year later, due to health problems, and only reestablished in 1969 by Martinus Moren. A post was established among the Auyu people, near Merauke, in 1960[116]. In the Bird's Head, the Hattam people, inland of Manokwari, were approached by Dominggus Mayor and Richard Griffiths, and a station was established at Minyambo in 1959. By 1966 the Meah mission was successful enough that the people founded their own grouping of congregations along linguistic grounds[117]. More American TEAM missionaries entered the south coast after 1959, with new villages inland of Merauke and Agats being approached. Stations were also established in

Yaosakor and Saman, as well as in smaller villages. Occasionally the stations were established in villages that already had a government post, but in most places the mission was established in villages that had not had outsiders living in them[118]. In 1973 the Moskona, in the southern Bird's Head, and in 1978 the Brazza on the south coast were approached and churches begun[119].

The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Irian began with the visit of two Indonesian Adventists, who came to Irian selling books, and made some initial converts. They were followed in 1948 by two ministers who were sent to Sorong and Manokwari. The granting of independence to Indonesia in 1949 resulted in a large number of Dutch Adventists moving to Irian. The growth in the number of Adventists was such that by 1951 they were able to establish their first congregation, in Sorong. In 1954 the Division in Singapore established a hierarchy for Irian based in Hollandia, with Klaas Tilstra as the first leader. By 1962, the Seventh Day Adventist Church had congregations in Sorong, Hollandia, Serui, Sarmi and the surrounding areas[120]. From Sarmi and Hollandia they moved into the Mamberamo region inland of Jayapura[121].

Most stations were established through initial contact by foot or boat (the exception being that in the Wamena area where a seaplane was used to enter the region). Once a contact had been made and it was agreed that a station could be established, the missionaries usually constructed a temporary dwelling. Often during this initial phase they were supplied through air drops. As soon as a temporary post was established, the construction of an airstrip was usually the next priority. The missionary selected the most appropriate place for the airfield, then, after negotiations with local village leaders, often using translators from neighbouring tribes, began the task of levelling the ground, in consultation with the pilots who would later land there[122]. Local residents were used as labourers and were paid in trade goods, and later in money, as at first money was unknown, and goods that could be exchanged for guilders or rupiah were few. For the missionaries to have labour and to be able to obtain food locally, an acceptable form of payment was needed. In the initial stages, traditional items of barter were used, such as axes, cowrie shells and salt, but the supply quickly exceeded demand[123]. To deal with this, more varied trade goods were introduced by the missions. With time however, and particularly after 1963 and the Indonesian takeover, money began to be introduced to replace the existing barter system. However, the supply of money was limited. To solve this problem, some of the missionaries resorted to making promissory notes that could be redeemed for goods at the mission store[124] and slowly changed this system to one

of paying with Indonesian money, which could be exchanged at the mission shop, and later at private and cooperative stores as they were established[125].

In addition to establishing mission stations in areas considered to be untouched by the Christian faith[126], there was also the beginning of the work of Church building. Most of the foreign missions established Bible Schools after the first converts were made, which became their main instrument for evangelisation. These schools served to evangelise and educate the people in the area, with students being taught through the week, then retelling these lessons in their home villages on the weekends[127]. The most enthusiastic converts were taught basic literacy, and the students were used in the initial stages of Bible translation[128]. As the Evangelicals stressed the rapid development of local leadership within the new congregations, the local Bible School also became a source of evangelists and teachers, who were selected from the interested students and then given special training[129]. In 1959, TEAM established a Bible School at Manokwari to train local church leaders[130]. In 1962, a Bible School was opened at Pyramid by Larsen. The school trained evangelists and church leaders for the entire Baliem region[131]. In 1967 a Bible School was founded at Agats by D. Eager and Martin Rumbiak[132], and in 1974 a Bible School was founded by P. Fillmore for the Sougb people[133], inland of Manokwari. In 1988, W. Kennedy established a Hattam Bible School. The NRC operated Bible Schools at Moban, Ulusi, Logomobel and Landikma[134]. At least one 'introductory level' Bible School was founded by the Dani and Me missionaries to the Sinak region of the Baliem, in 1959/60. Those who progressed well were sent to the Ilaga Bible School for more intensive training before returning to evangelise the Sinak and surrounding valleys[135]. The converts came from the younger people, particularly from those who were educated in the Bible School at Enarotali and the Continuation School at Obano[136]. To train church leaders for their mission areas, indigenous missionaries from the UFM/RBMU church, with support from the missions, founded Bible Schools in Kelila, Mulia, Karubaga, Wolo, Borme, Apimbak and Kobakma[137]. The GKI had two Bible schools, the *Sekolah Alkitab Apahapsili* (SAA) which was opened in 1976 in Apahapsili, and a smaller Bible school founded in Ibiroma[138]. Although the graduates from these highland Bible schools were not always well received, they were able to quickly contact the people in their own, and well as nearby, villages and through them the churches quickly became 'self-supporting and self-propagating', at least at the local level[139]. By training local people in a central location, the schools produced a concentrated group of native speakers who could be used as language and translation assistants, who then took the gospel outward to the villages with they had contact and family ties[140]. This then freed the expatriate

missionaries to concentrate on producing literacy materials and dictionaries, and translating the Bible into local languages. The Bible tracts and more complete editions were given away, or sold at a subsidised price, to the newly converted. Together, the local and expatriate missionaries were able to more quickly and effectively evangelise these new areas.

The initial approach of the missions was simply to obtain information and make contact with the people in the new area. Locations were selected that offered the best hope for a landing strip. Once contact was made and a missionary or local worker was placed, their first priorities were to make somewhere to live, and build an airstrip[141]. While this went on, they slowly began to build a level of trust between themselves and the local people. In some areas, such as those contacted by the Evangelical missions, direct evangelism, in the sense of verbally convincing people to accept Christianity, was seen as being the best way to begin the process of conversion. In other stations, less direct methods were initially used, with medical help being an important part of this[142]. Where clinics were not established quickly, the missionaries usually dispensed medicines and medical care on an ad hoc basis[143]. At the same time this contact was used to evangelise the local people[144]. As stated above, in 1971 TEAM began medical work in the Senggo area under the direction of Dr. Dresser. The RBMU developed a number of clinics, with a hospital at Karubaga[145]. CAMA also brought doctors to Irian, among them Dr. Smit and Dr. Powell[146]. In 1959, the ABMS established a small hospital at Pit River, with an number of related village clinics[147]. Medical services were vital in evangelising isolated tribes as, in addition to serving as a contact with the local people, medicines and medical care for the missionaries and their families enabled them to remain in places that they would otherwise have been reluctant to live in[148].

The reception given to the missionaries varied considerably. In the Paniai region the missionaries were generally accepted, but in the Baliem, particularly the eastern and central Dani areas, large-scale conversions did not occur until the 1970s, after most of the villages had been contacted[149]. Although professional missionaries from the West, Ambon and other parts of Irian, such as Biak and Paniai, did play an important role, frequently their families that accompanied them were able to win the confidence of the people in ways that the 'missionary' was not[150]. In many areas the people were receptive to the new faith, but in others the local people were openly hostile or would not easily convert[151]. Several of the early evangelists were attacked by tribes that did not want them in their territories[152]. In addition to the destruction of existing posts such as Nipsan in the northern Yali region, Obano in Paniai and Ilugua in the Baliem[153], expatriate

missionaries were also attacked. As well as Erikson and Tritt, Stan Dale and Phil Masters were killed near Ninia in 1968. W. Turner was attacked as was K. Benz[154]. Indigenous Christians also suffered as a direct result of their involvement in Christianity[155]. The Mapnduma mission was closed soon after its opening in 1962, as several of the early converts died, which created anger at the mission, and the evangelists and teachers who had been placed in the region[156]. Political turmoil that grew out of the integration of Irian with Indonesia, led to congregations being involved in anti-Indonesian activities, with the resulting intervention of Indonesian security forces. This had a largely negative impact on the work of the TEAM mission in the Bird's Head, where anti-Indonesian activities spread from Manokwari to the Hattam, Sough and Meah peoples[157] that resulted in the arrest of Harold Lovestrand in 1964 and the placement of soldiers in disaffected villages[158]. Revolts in the late 1970s that were sparked by the grant of independence to Papua New Guinea by Australia[159], also resulted in the deaths of large numbers of Christians, although the missionaries tended to side with the government in order to protect their members from counter-insurgency actions of the military, and to lessen disruption to their congregations caused by anti-military campaigns[160]. In 1974 in the Ilugua region, for example, thirteen Christians were killed and two church buildings were destroyed[161]. Occasionally tribal wars affected the reception of the gospel, such as the war among the Meah people in 1974[162]. Accidents also resulted in missionary deaths. An MAF plane flown by Menno Voth carrying the Newman family, crashed in a valley belonging to the southern Yali people[163]. Only the son, Paul, survived. He was cared for by one of the people who had been part of the group that had killed Dale and Masters shortly beforehand[164]. Another pilot, Martin Kehle, was killed in July 1971 and, in August 1977, an MAF plane carrying a number of CAMA workers, crashed in Tangma[165]. The Catholics also lost an aeroplane and its pilot, when H.E. Vergouwen crashed near Yamas, on the south coast, in 1963[166].

Each mission had a different attitude to schools. For the public denominations, they were important tools of contact and conversion, but for CAMA and other Evangelical missions, schools were seen as less important than direct evangelism. This being so, CAMA supported village schools in the Paniai and other regions, and brought in teachers from the Moluccas and the Netherlands to staff the schools[167]. However, parents in newly evangelised regions did not always welcome the establishment of these schools, as the children that entered the schools were of the age that they could add to their family's food production, which they could not do if they were in school. However, with time, the parents came to see the usefulness of allowing the children to attend the schools, and with greater student numbers, more and better teachers could be brought

in, and the value of the schools then became more evident as the students gained employment and access to the material wealth from outside[168].

The missions used other methods to attract new members and maintain the faith of existing members. Conferences brought church leaders together, and often spurred them to greater effort in their own areas[169]. Local crusades were undertaken using leaders from other tribal areas[170]. The missionaries began Sunday Schools, Youth Groups, with concomitant training for those interested in taking the ideas to their home villages[171]. Literacy programs were also an integral part of the efforts of the missionaries, although the success of such programs before the introduction of state-sponsored primary schooling was uneven[172].

Although the foreign missionaries were often the pioneers in contact with the inland local tribes, the missionary effort was not an exclusively a expatriate effort. The missions used the graduates from their schools to evangelise and teach. Initially the early graduates of the schools evangelised those from the same village or language area. Once their faith was determined by the resident missionary to be of sufficient strength, they were used to evangelise other villages within the mission's field of operations[173]. Both Dominggus Mayor and Alex Rumbiak were early converts who were used to evangelise new areas. In 1969, an unnamed man from the TEAM Bible School in Manokwari was sent to Senggo to work there[174]. In the Bird's Head the Hattam people were, by the late 1970s, beginning to evangelise the tribes on their borders, in particular the Moskona people, where several families moved to help with the evangelisation[175]. In the 1980s the Hattam Church also sent 'several missionary families' to the eastern Kebar, under the supervision of the resident American missionary[176].

Using locally-recruited missionaries and expatriates, TEAM and its national organisation, the *Gereja Perseketuan Kristen Alkitab Indonesia* (GPKAI[177]), extended their activities into the new transmigration areas around Manokwari. Evangelism was also undertaken in towns and villages dominated by the Reformed churches and the Catholics, on the south and north coasts. This caused some concern and ill feeling on the part of the dominant mission and many of their local members[178]. In particular the spread of the mission to the island of Numfor in 1975 resulted in opposition from the GKI leaders and members on the island[179]. In 1970 the GPKAI was recognised by the Indonesian government[180]. In 1976 the first ministers were ordained amongst the Meah[181]. In 1970, W. Hekman, who had worked as a TEAM missionary in Irian, established

a mission in Java that grew into the Bible Christian Churches of Indonesia, that was related, for a time, to the Church in Irian[182].

MAF activities expanded as did the mission activities through the period of instability of the years before and after the integration of Irian to Indonesia[183]. In 1976 a helicopter was purchased for areas without airstrips[184]. Despite the development of commercial air services, the MAF's role in establishing transport links with the major towns, and between related but distant villages, has been important[185]. Many missions could not have worked without the MAF, such as the opening of the ZGK mission field in the upper Digul and the VEM's evangelism in the Yali areas[186]. The MAF also continued to conduct areal surveys of regions untouched by the missions, and encourage other missions to help evangelise these regions, supporting the expansion of airfields and the use of radios[187].

As stated above, conversion and acceptance of the Christian message was not always automatic. In many places, Christianity was rejected until the missionary took decisive action. For example, in 1962, after seven years of little success among the people around the Anggi Lake system in the Bird's Head, mass conversions only began to occur, as the missionaries reported, after the resident missionary challenged the people to decide between the old ways and the new[188]. Among the eastern Dani, conversions did not take place in large numbers until there was a body of Dani missionaries who were able to couch the faith in terms that the local people could accept[189]. The Churches in Irian that grew from Evangelical missions have, along with the Reformed and Catholic Churches, experienced difficulties with maintaining the faith and participation of their converts, both those who had converted directly from the traditional religion, as well as those of the second and succeeding generations. Many have not felt satisfied with the new faith and this has been seen in the a revival of polygamy. Some have returned to traditional beliefs, and small numbers in the Baliem have converted to Islam[190]. Urbanisation and the movement to the coast have also affected the faith of the converts, which has been reflected in fluctuating church attendance and participation in extra-church activities. This may have occurred because of the narrowness of their appeal, which emphasised personal conversion at the expense of depth of understanding, and witnessing at the expense of health, education and agricultural extension. Thus results in terms of the quality of understanding and commitment have not been as deep as expected, and Islam has also been able to gain a foothold in the Baliem[191]. This being so, the Evangelical missionaries, both Western, and local, with their willingness to live in isolated

valleys and to approach tribes before they had been pacified by the government, supported by individuals and organisations in their sponsoring churches and countries, have left a legacy of denominations and congregations that encourage and are supported by a trained indigenous leadership, that are capable of maintaining the faith of their members in both rural and urban contexts, who can support and determine the course of their church organisations, and which are capable of evangelising regions beyond the own locality.

1. Tabeeme, quoted by G.F. Larson, "Immortality Restored: The Early Phase of the Conversion Movement to Christianity Among the Western Dani of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, 1957-1963", Paper originally presented to the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, 21st Annual Meeting, New Orleans, February 19-23, 1992. Revised March 18, 1996, p. 2.

2. From 1930 the UZV had already given the work around Fak Fak to the GPM See E.A. Wanma, 'Latar Belakang Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Bagian Selatan Irian Jaya', STT IS Kijne, Abepura, 1994, p. 2.

3. 1928 was also the year that the CAMA began its work in the Netherlands East Indies.

4. According to B. Giay, "The Rebels and Cargoistic Ideas in Irian Jaya", *Catalyst,* vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, p. 131, the date was 31 December 1936. The report would have been made, therefore, in 1937.

5. Interest in the USA in Irian was heightened by pictures from the 1938-39 Archbold expedition published in the *National Geographic* in 1941. See J. Bensley, 'The Dani Church of Irian Jaya and the Challenges Facing It Today', M.A. Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1994, p. 18.

6. CAMA began work in East Kalimantan in 1929 with the permission of the Dutch government, and gradually expanded their work to include the Southeast Islands (*Nusatenggara Timur*) and South Sulawesi. See T. Müller-Krüger, *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1966, pp. 250f, and R.L. Niklaus, J.S. Sawin, & S.J. Stoesz, *All For Jesus: God at Work in the Christian and Missionary Alliance Over One Hundred Years*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1986, pp. 178f. During the 1950s it brought several people from the Netherlands to work in Irian, among them Dr. Smit, who with his wife worked in Hetigima, Adriaan and Mijo van de Bijl in Mapunduma, as well as Peter Akse and his wife, Nel, who was the younger sister of Elze Stringer. E. Stringer, 'Catatan', n.pub., Jayapura[?], 1996, pp. 16, 18. Mijo van de Bijl died in Mapunduma in 1986 and was buried there. Wick, op cit, p. 214.

7. Although a system of patrols similar to Australian New Guinea was never introduced in any systematic way. The Dutch government seemed to be content to allow the missions to make the initial contacts, and only restrict their activities when the area being entered was known to be averse to outside contact. Police were only placed in existing centres.

8. With the approval of the Dutch government, who were interested in having a mission in the region. R. Wick, *God's Invasion,* Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, p. 38.

9. D. Diebler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1988, pp. 8-16.

10. The government post preceded the mission station. Its establishment was assisted by Weakebo, who was taken to Ambon by sea-plane, whence he returned with 8,000 cowrie shells, establishing him as the wealthiest man in the Paniai district, and ensuring that he was a faithful friend of both the government and the CAMA missionaries. B. Giay, "The Conversion of Weakebo: A Big Man of the Me Community in the 1930's", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, pp. 182f.

11. The canoes were built by the Dayaks, who also helped build the houses and brought supplies from the coast, and who also made the initial walks to acquaint themselves with the locality. See Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 134, and R. Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia: Sejarah Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia Sejak 1930*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1995, pp. 383-6. Dayaks were used by CAMA in Southern Sumatra, the highlands of Bangka and, in the early stages, the highlands of Irian. T. Müller-Krüger, *Der Protestantismus in Indonesien*, Evangelisches Verlagswerk, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 317. However, local people also contributed food and building materials. In Rose, op cit, after p. 84, there is a photo of Darlene Diebler (Rose) partially captioned "The walls were woven by the Kapaukus".

Kapauku was the word then used for the Me. The initial language of the mission was Malay, which was used in the school and mixed into the Me language as the missionaries learnt Me. Rose, op cit, pp. 31f.

12. The Dayaks, who were used to fish and rice, found the local diet of sweet potatoes difficult, and became sick as a result. It was the need for food for the Dayak workers, as much as any other consideration, that required Post and Diebler to go to Ambon for supplies. Rose, op cit, pp. 19f. The six months they spent in Enarotali were long enough to establish a relationship with the Me people, who then replaced the Dayaks as carriers, when needed. Ibid, p. 26.

13. Darlene Diebler Rose recounts that to prove their theory, a government patrol was attacked by the local people. If the Dutch policemen died in the attack, then they could be considered human. The result was the death of several of the attackers. None of the Dutch policemen were killed in the attack. Ibid, p. 23. The women were the first 'white women' to visit. Their presence satisfied the local leaders that the missionaries truly were men like themselves, and not spirits as had been suspected. Ibid, pp. 26-30.

14. Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 133. Diebler did not return to Enarotali, as he was elected by the Field Conference to assist Jaffray in Ujung Pandang. He was there in 1942, and was interned by the Japanese in the same camp as Jaffray. Diebler died in the camp near Pare Pare in mid-1943. See Rose, op cit, pp. 34f, 109.

15. Lewis, op cit, pp. 387-9, and Giay 1989, loc cit, p. 134. The schools were, according to Giay, subsidised by the government, which accords with the policy of the Dutch in other parts of Irian. In 1941, T. Tasing died of a liver complaint, and so became the first missionary to be buried in Enarotali. Lewis, op cit, p. 389. There is little evidence at least in the early stages, that land was generally paid for, although Wick, op cit, p. 44, states that Post bought 'parcels of land' in the Paniai region. Mickelson also paid for land at Homeyo, but, as subsequent payments were required, it is possible that the local leaders did not see this as surrendering ownership of the land, but as more a payment to allow the mission to use the land. Lewis, op cit, p. 391.The attitude of the missionaries, and frequently the local people, was that, if the newcomer needed the land, they could use it. This accorded with traditional land usage, but created problems when the land later acquired an economic value. However, in L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, p. 698, one of the tasks of a priest in the Paniai region was that of 'paying for land'. If the Catholics were aware of this problem from the beginning, that could account for their relative freedom from conflicts over land since, in the Paniai region as well as other parts of Irian. Land issues continue to be a problem in Irian. In November, 1999, for example, the church, school and airfield in Doyo Baru near Jayapura, belonging to the Adventists, was occupied by youths from the local village, who claimed 6 billion rupiahs for the land that the Adventists claimed was paid for many years before. "Tuntut Ganti Rugi, 30 Pemuda Duduki Gereja", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 4 Nov 199, p. 2. The youths were of mixed Pentecostal and Reformed background. They were mollified with s smaller payment and promises to continue discussions.

16. Mickelson left the USA in September 1941, and was in Enarotali when the Pacific War began. Wick, op cit, pp. 43f.

17. R.T. Hitt, *Cannibal Valley*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, p. 16, and Sunda, op cit, pp. 2f. The order to surrender was sent by radio in August 1942, and came from the Assistant Resident in Kaimana, who was a Papuan. Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 134.

18. Enarotali was evacuated in July 1944 after de Bruijn heard reports of Japanese troops in Mapia. Several Me converts were also evacuated, among them Karel Gobay and Zakheus Pakage. From Merauke they went to Australia (for several weeks). They returned to the Paniai region in 1950 after studying in Ujung Pandang, and were influential in the mission in Paniai. B. Giay, *Zakheus Pakage and His Communities: Indigenous Religious Discourse, Socio-political Resistance, and Ethnohistory of the Me of Irian Jaya*, VU University Press, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 56-61. E.H. Mickelson, *God Can*, Private publication, n.p., 1966, p. 92, mentions two Me men who accompanied him when he returned to Enarotali in 1947. According to Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 60, they had gone with Gobai and Pakage to the SAM in Ujung Pandang, but returned before completing their studies.

19. Sunda, op cit, p. 9.

20. The Australian Missionary Council in 1948 stated that the Dutch mission was prepared to allow the Australians control "from Manokwari to Hollandia". *The Cross Across the Pacific*, National Missionary Councils of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1948, p. 47. Although it is unlikely that the Dutch would ever have made such a sweeping offer, the fact that the Australians thought it possible indicates that an approach must have come from the UZV for some form of cooperation. The area mentioned included the Mamberamo river system, which at that time had only been penetrated on its coastal fringe.

21. At the same time, more locally-trained workers were available, through the schools that produced catechists for the Catholics, and parish teachers and assistant ministers for the Reformed Protestants.

22. Which eventually resulted in the formation of the GKI in 1956. Although not part of Indonesia at this time, the establishment if the GKI was part of a post-war trend that saw the establishment of self-governing Churches in Toraja, Sangir-Talaud, Timor, Halmahera, all near Irian and supported by the ZNHK. See B.B.B. Pandeirot-Lengkong, 'The Protestant Churches and the Missionary Fields During the Japanese Occupation in Indonesia 1942-1945 in the Japanese Navy Controlled Areas: A Bibliographical Survey', D.Th. Dissertation, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Jakarta, 1996, p. 276.

23. CAMA and the Methodist Church from the USA had been active in Kalimantan, Sumatra and Sulawesi from the 1920s, with colonial government approval. See Y. Inaury & M.O.S. Semboor, 'Gereja Kingmi/GKII', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 6f.

24. Work continued in the Catholic areas around Merauke. But expatriate personnel were withdrawn due to the expectation that the Japanese would continue their push southward. Despite the efforts of non-ordained staff, the quality of pastoral care offered declined.

25. See D.G. Buss, & A.F. Glasser, *Giving Wings to the Gospel: the Remarkable Story of Mission Aviation Fellowship*, Baker Books, Grand Rapids, 1995, pp. 149f. One of the survivors, Dina Reimeyer, married and, in 1958, returned with her husband as a UFM missionary. S. Horne, *An Hour to the Stone Age*, Moody Press, Chicago, 1973, p. 104.

26. The first pilot to over fly the Baliem was Myron Grimes. Two reporters who flew with him, G. Lait and H. Patterson, called the *Shangri-La* in their report. E.J. Steiger, *Wings Over Shangri La*, n.p., 1995, p. 6. This use of this name influenced the imagination of those in the USA. See Bensley, op cit, p. 19.

27. Beginning with the reestablishment of the Mission Consulate in Batavia/Jakarta as soon as the Japanese surrendered, and the return of the first interned missionaries to Irian. See H. van de Wal, "Profetische Stemmen uit Jakarta: het Zendings-Consulaat en de Dekolonisatie van Indonesië," *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending in Overzeese Kerken*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, p. 111.

28. Einar Mickelson with four Indonesian assistants, including Pettipelohy and Teringan, followed by Ken Troutman in December. See Sunda, op cit, p. 9, K.W.J. Boelen, *Dokter aan de Wisselmeeren*, Bosch & Keuning, Baarn, 1951[?], p. 18, and A. Rumaseb, *Sejarah Masuk & Berkembangnya Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia di Irian Jaya 1938-1994*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1997, p.16. The government apparatus, including a doctor, followed in 1948 with the appointment of, according to Boelen, a *Bestuur*, a *Controleur* and the undertaking of a police patrol.

29. Enarotali had been occupied by the Japanese in 1942. The Me had suffered from Japanese patrols and de Bruijn's activities. See Boelen, op cit, pp. 14-17, and B. Giay, *Gembalakanlah Umatku*, Deiyai, Jayapura, 1998, p. 5. The local people feared that a return of the American mission and Dutch officials would again be followed

by Japanese soldiers. There initial question was, 'What guarantee can you give us that after you come the Japanese will not follow?' Boelen, op cit, p.18. See also Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 136. Although the mission was able to resume work, there was still opposition to the return of the foreigners, which was seen in plans to kill Mickelson after his return, and a revolt against the Dutch government in the Aga Valley in 1953-54. Giay, 1995, op cit, pp. 49-51, and Stringer, 1996, op cit, p. 3.

30. In addition to the American missionaries, CAMA used Indonesians and Papuans from outside Paniai. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 5. Weakebo was an important figure in the reception of the CAMA missionaries, as he started a congregation in his village of Yaba, and led the Sunday service. Giay, 1999, loc cit, p. 184.

31. The first was in May 1947. Stringer, 1996, op cit, p. 3. Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 6, notes that among them were several 'influential tribal leaders'. It was the conversion of these men that influenced others to also convert and to stop the 'cold war' that, according to Wick, op cit, pp. 53f, was being waged against the mission.

32. The single women were M. Doble and M. McIlrath. Lewis, op cit, p. 404. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, p. 99.

33. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 5f. The first ten graduates were in 1952. Wick, op cit, p. 58. In the interim, the mission depended upon students and graduates from the SAM in Ujung Pandang, who made up the bulk of the missionaries in the early period. Among them was Paksoal, who had been evacuated to Merauke and had worked for the GPM, and is referred to by Lewis as 'Rev.' Paksoal. Lewis, op cit, pp. 404f. After the War, he went to the SAM, and was ordained in 1948. Despite the murder of one of his children at Obano, he continued working in the Paniai region until 1962, when he was elected as the leader of the GKII in Irian and moved to Hollandia. He held this position until 1975. Ibid, pp. 432f.

34. Homeyo was opened in 1947, near the Wandai station which had been abandoned in 1943. Sunda, op cit, p. 46. In 1949 the number of missionaries was strengthened, with several Ambonese teachers and ministers being sent. M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia', STT Erikson-Tritt, Manokwari, 1992, p. 46. According to Giay 1998, op cit, p. 6, by 1960 CAMA had ordained Me men such as Rev. Yosia Tebay and Rev. Simon Tebay, who were sent to Siriwo and the nearby tribes, to evangelise and establish churches.

35. Sunda, op cit, pp. 3f. Rose, a Dutch policeman and a Dutch Controleur made a trek to Lake Habema in 1952, but they were refused permission to enter the Baliem due to safety concerns. Wick, op cit, p. 59.

36. Giay, 1989, op cit, p. 136. The police were often Biak people. By 1945 Biak was firmly within the UZV/ZNHK mission area, and the Biak people saw their identity as linked to the Christianity.

37. Sunda, op cit, p. 10, mentions the name of a teacher, Ruland Lesnussa, but not a Biak carpenter he says was also killed. Four more Indonesian workers and eleven missionaries, who had been there the day before for the dedication of the new CAMA aircraft, had left for Enarotali. He states, quoting Walter Post in the *Alliance Weekly*, that the action was due to a pig disease that the villagers attributed to the spirits who were opposed to the new religion, and the loss of authority felt by the old men. This reaction would have fitted well within traditional ways of understanding and responding to natural disasters and changing cultural patterns. Steiger, op cit, pp. 68f, agrees, saying that the attack may have been caused by sickness among their pigs, which the attackers blamed on disturbances in the spirit world, caused by the intrusion of the foreigners and the conversion of many Me people to Christianity. Lewis, op cit, pp. 425f, lists, in addition to the issue of disease, the loss of prestige of the older men, the interference of the government in Me life, payments for land and the sexual misconduct of a non-CAMA teacher. Giay 1989, loc cit, pp. 138ff, is an account from the point of view of the villagers themselves. Giay mentions that in addition to the Rev. Lesnussa and his wife, two mission children also died, as well as a policeman and four Catholics, a teacher and his wife, and the wife and daughter of another teacher. It is possible that Sunda's information about the carpenter was in error, as Newell 1992, op cit, p. 47, also does not mention this. Lesnussa's son survived and returned to Irian as a CAMA missionary in the Kebo Bible School. J. Lesnussa, "The Oil of

Gladness for Mourning", *Behind the Ranges*, vol. VIII, no. 1, May 1973, p. 14.

38. Wick, op cit, pp. 127f. The rising at Obano and its consequences are covered in Hitt, op cit, pp. 158-62.

39. Sunda, op cit, pp. 10f. He notes on ibid, p. 11, that the 1,524 baptised believers in the Paniai region were located in only thirty two villages, indicating that the process of conversion was becoming a matter for the community and not the individual, although the individual could still refuse. This is supported by statements such as the caption under the photo of Nokogi "... a powerful chief ... [whose] example led many tribesmen to reject pagan superstition and follow Christ". Hitt, op cit, between pp. 192-3.

40. Giay, 1989, loc cit, p. 140.

41. The founder of the RBMU, Rev. E. Vine, made a number of trips to Irian between 1949-53, to arrange permission for his mission to enter Irian. His requests were rejected by the Dutch authorities, due to the alleged difficulty of the terrain and the savagery of the inhabitants. P. Koibur & F. Dimara, 'Laporan Hasil Penelitian pada Kantor Sinode Gereja Injili di Indonesia', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, p. 2.

42. The Australian UFM leaders were asked in June 1949 to enter Irian. In September 1950, R. Story and F. Dawson were sent via Port Moresby and Wewak to Hollandia, where they established a base a Yoka and began considering which regions to evangelise. They finally moved to Genyem, thence to Senggi. J. Parman, *Sejarah Gereja Injili di Indonesia (GIDI)*, APCM, Abepura, 1996, pp. 4f.

43. Bensley, op cit, p. 22. Under both the Dutch and Indonesian governments, missions could only enter Irian with government permission. The government then determined whether a particular area could be approached and stations established, although the missions were still free to enter areas bordering existing mission posts. This did not affect the division of responsibly, nor could the government prevent individuals from establishing churches in urban areas or untouched rural districts, but government approval was, and still is, a factor that the missions and Churches have had to consider. The restrictions were eased after Catholic protests, in July 1952, over the refusal of the government to allow them access to the Baliem. Permission was granted only after Catholic leaders contacted the Catholic political party in the Netherlands, who successfully presented a bill to the parliament allowing Catholic missionaries into the interior. Horne, op cit, p. 29.

44. Z. Kiryoma & S. Waiwowy, 'Hasil Penelitian Badan Zending Asia Pacific Christian Mission (APCM)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 5.

45. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 3, Djajapura, 1970, p. 21.

46. Although not emphasised in mission publications, the Evangelicals entered these regions at the same time as the Catholics, who also had mission stations in Paniai and, after CAMA opened the way, the central Baliem.

47. Which was originally a combined effort from its branches in the USA and Australia. However, experience in the field in Irian was unsatisfactory, and the Australians continued their work under their own organisation, the *Australia Pacific Christian Mission* (APCM). The two organisations have continued to cooperate and their congregations and the congregations of the RBMU were eventually joined within the GIDI denomination. R. Korwa, 'Asia Pacific Christian Mission', STT IS Kijne, Abepura, 1995, pp. 1, 6.

48. See also G. Hoogendoorn, 'De Missionaire Arbeid van de Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Irian Jaya', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1993, p. 37. The UFM and RBMU joined in 1995 to form the *World Team*, with branches in the USA, Canada and Australia.

49. In 1956. F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 202f. There is a good summary of the initial stages of the expansion of the missions in J.A. Godschalk & A.E. Dumatubun, 'Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua', Universitas Cenderawasih & Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1988-1989, pp. 20f. The ZGK is the mission body of one of the smaller Reformed denominations in the Netherlands, and developed posts mainly on the south coast, inland of Merauke. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 40.

50. S.M. Barlow, *Arrows of His Bow*, Moody Press, Chicago, 1960, pp. 125-8. From 1959-61 Richter worked in the rivers on the south coast, between Etna, Teminabuan and Babo, all Reformed Protestant mission fields. From 1961 Richter and his wife worked in Australian New Guinea. Steiger, op cit, pp. 143f. The languages of New Guinea were not easily understood, and the missions quickly realised the need for specialist translators. The Catholics on the south coast used Pieter Drabbe before and after the War. Myron Bromley performed a similar role for the Evangelicals in the highlands in the 1950s and 1960s. R.A. Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, 1983, pp. 367-70. On ibid, p. 482, Carol Richardson outlined the numerous ways the nuances of one, allegedly simple, English word ('open') could be translated into the Sawi language.

51. The American MAF was the first MAF to buy and fly a plane, but the organisations in Britain, the USA and Australia were all initiated at about the same time. See Buss & Glasser, op cit, pp. 32-53.

52. See ibid, pp. 149-152. The UFM in particular was eager for the MAF to help them. Their base at Senggi had not been the jumping-off point for the Baliem that they had hoped it would be, and they saw that the interior could only be opened by air. D.J. Hayward, *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, Regions Press, Sentani, 1980, pp. 120f.

53. This base, for a short time, also supplied the UFM station at Senggi, through air drops. Horne, op cit, p. 24. However, plans to support missions in Irian from Wewak were not welcomed by the Dutch authorities, and so the base in Hollandia was established. Steiger, op cit, pp. 26f.

54. Which was nominally GKI, but which began to be a focus of TEAM mission efforts from their base in Manokwari during the late 1960s and early 1970s. See M.B. Lagerborg, *Incessant Drumbeat: Triumph and Tragedy in Irian Jaya*, Christian Literature Crusade, Fort Washington, 1992, pp. 163ff.

55. Pilot Dave Steiger and family.

56. Niklaus, op cit, p. 204. Buss & Glasser, op cit, p. 150, say that "Domine (= Rev.) Kline, the representative of the Dutch state church, dismissed all visa applications for American missionaries applying for service in Dutch New Guinea", implying that there was resistance from the Dutch missionaries to American interest in Irian.

57. Bensley, op cit, pp. 21f. The two missionaries were accompanied by two Dutch officials, who forbade them to enter the Baliem as the region was still off limits. In this expedition they rediscovered Lake Habema, which had been used by Archbold to land a float plane. The expedition inspired Baptists in Australia to consider work in Irian as an extension of their existing efforts in Australian New Guinea. C. Hawae, 'Sejarah Masuknya Baptis di Irian Jaya', Jayapura, 1994, p. 2. Some of the early UFM and MAF missionaries had prior experience in Australian New Guinea. Horne, op cit, pp. 28, 58. Darlene Diebler married Gerry Rose in 1948, and returned with him to the Paniai lakes in 1949. After serving in a station in the Baliem, they moved to Australian New Guinea, and finally retired to Australia. Rose, op cit, p. 223.

58. Confirming the initial suggestion of Rose that this was the best short-term way of supplying a station in the eastern Baliem valley. Rumaseb, op cit, p. 17f.

59. Sunda, op cit, p. 4.

60. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 6. It was Me workers who built the posts among the Moni at Hitadipa and Homeyo, and who made contacts with the people, which were then developed by the professional missionaries such as Cutts and Titaheleuw.

61. Bensley, op cit, p. 22. On p. 24, Bensley notes that the divisions were: ABMS the upper Northern Baliem, APCM Northern Habliflurie River system, RBMU Swart Valley, UFM upper Rouffaer/Nogolo River systems, CAMA Central and Southern Baliem, Ilaga and Sinak valleys. Some overlapping occurred as missionaries, both indigenous and expatriate, contacted neighbouring valleys, which may have been assigned to another mission. Eg. the Ilaga valley was a CAMA area, but the Baptists contacted several Ilaga villages by foot. For several years CAMA denied the Baptists use of their airfield to prevent them encroaching on CAMA territory. P. Temple, *Nawok*, J.M. Dent & Sons, Letchworth, 1962, pp. 19, 27, 174. Both the Baptists and the UFM had difficulties in the early period, with CAMA insisting upon prior rights to large parts of the highlands. Eg. when the CAMA leadership heard of Baptist plans to enter the Baliem, CAMA claimed the region from Enarotali to the south end of the Baliem river as their mission field. This covered the entire Baliem river system. Steiger, op cit, p. 58.

62. United Evangelical Mission. The VEM was not part of these discussions, as it entered Irian later.

63. Y. Walianggen, 'Pengabdian dan Pelayanan Zending VEM di Klasis GKI Balim-Yalimo', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 30. The MAF then asked the GKI to establish its Christian credentials, which they did by citing their church order. The Yali are now served by the GKI, GJPI and GKII, each the inheritors of the VEM, NRC and CAMA activities respectively.

64. Steiger, op cit, p. 137.

65. Giay 1998, op cit, pp. 7, 25, and Wick, op cit, pp. 83-86. Among the missionaries was a Damal teacher, Moses Kilangin, who had been trained in the Catholic Teachers School in Fak Fak, and hence knew Indonesian, and so could act as an interpreter for the Americans. Kilangin had been sent to the Damal region by the Catholics, and had immediately proclaimed the coming of *hai* to his fellow Damal. For this he was reprimanded and withdrawn, although a number of Damal areas did later become Catholic. Hayward, op cit, pp. 128f.

66. The burnings may have been influenced by similar burnings in the area to the south in 1956 among groups related to the Ilaga and Beoga valley people, where contact had been made with Catholic missionaries who made it clear that the burning of sacred objects was required before they could be accepted as Christians. Sunda, op cit, pp. 22f. It is also likely that a major tribal war between two rival alliances, that was coming to its conclusion as the missionaries arrived, may have had an impact. The people were ready for peace and, because of the ceremonies related to *yewam*, or payback, payments, they came in larger than usual numbers to the Ilaga valley. Larson, loc cit, p. 5.

67. Sunda, op cit, pp. 16f. It should be noted that the missionaries, while pleased with the success of their efforts, were initially reluctant to allow them to do this, as they were unsure of their motives. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 25, states that the Damal people in the Ilaga region were the first tribe in Irian to completely accept Christianity. The prevalence of Christianity in many of the GKI areas, such as Biak, Sentani and Sorong, and the fact that Biak teachers were used extensively by the Dutch and American missions in all parts of Irian, seems to belie this statement. The Damal are in early texts referred to as the 'Uhunduni', following Hayward, op cit, p. 118, footnote 2.

68. Sunda, op cit, pp. 17.f. These were people who had burnt their sacred objects in the two years prior to the establishment of the station. Wick, op cit, p. 96, claims that during this period 34,000 people burned their sacred objects.

69. 'laymen' is the term used by Sunda, op cit, p. 18. 'Non-laymen' presumably being those from the School. Graduates of Witness Schools were also used by the UFM and RBMU in the early period of their evangelisation. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 38.

70. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 7-9. Giay, ibid, pp. 25f, gives an example of a trader, Widiyaibiwode, who was important in the conversion of the Damal, as he convinced the tribal leaders to come to a Christian service and abandon their old religion.

71. Sunda, op cit, p. 23.

72. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 8, 26f.

73. Yambonep Kogoya. Godschalk & Dumatubun, op cit, p. 28.

74. Sunda, op cit, pp. 25f.

75. See ibid, pp. 31-35. The ability to travel by air enabled the Dani evangelists to avoid hostile groups, thus circumventing them. The interest in Christianity and the burning of sacred objects were in areas of the Baptist, UFM and RBMU missions. According to Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 27, one of the reasons the missionaries were so well received was because of Yambonep, who couched his understanding of Christianity in terms of the messianic hopes of the people. As Yambonep remembered, twenty years later, he told them the basic concepts of Christianity and connected these teachings to the hope for *napalan kapalan*, thus sparking a *napalan kapalan* movement in the northern Baliem. Godschalk & Dumatubun, op cit, pp. 28-30.

76. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 11.

77. According to Giay, ibid., p. 28, in February 1960, 8,000 Dani gathered at Pyramid and expressed their desire to receive baptism.

78. G. Larson from CAMA, W. Mallon and D. Martin from RBMU, and E. Richter from Gospel Recordings. See Buss & Glasser, op cit, pp. 234f.

79.which had a similar language to the Swart Valley people.

80. This period between 1958 and 1962 was a significant period for mass conversions and in particular the burning of sacred objects, often called 'fetishes' in mission-related literature. In addition to the Baliem region, similar events occurred in the Kebar area. In 1962 people from the Sougb and Hattam tribes destroyed their sacred objects. P. Rhoads, 'The History of The Evangelical Alliance Mission in Irian Jaya', 1988, p. 3, and Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 16. The practice continued in newly-opened GKI station among the Yali, between 1974 and 1980, due to the influence of two workers in the hospital in Angguruk, who came from Bokondini and had explained the benefits of destroying the sacred objects, as well as men who came from Abenaho, in the Pass Valley. In the Catholic areas and the GKI areas on the coast, this was not a feature of the conversion to Christianity, as the Dutch Catholics and Protestants felt that the better course was to leave the objects alone, and wait for them lose their power. F. Mambrasar, *Kisah Perjumpaan Injil dengan Kebudayaan Dani dan Yali di Balim/Yalimo: Suatu Kenang-Kenangan dalam Memperingati Yubelium 25 Tahun Pekabaran Injil di Klasis GKI Balim/Yalimo*, Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Sorong, 1988, pp. 47f. This was perhaps the reasoning behind Zöllner's refusal in 1969 to let the Yali burn their objects. His opinion was ignored and the people around Angguruk burnt their sacred objects. Within a few days (the time it takes to walk) villages such as Waniyok, Apahapsili and Muhumu had also destroyed these objects. F. Tometen, 'GKI dan Misinya di Daerah Balim-Yalimo: Disusun oleh Pdt. F. Tometen atas Naskah dari Pdt. P.

Sawen', Apahapsili, 15/1/94, p. 9.

81. Wick, op cit, p. 102. The journey failed due to a shortage of food and unexplained 'morals problems' among the bearers.

82. Elisa Gobai was one of the most successful of the CAMA missionaries. He was from Enarotali and had led the evangelisation of the western Baliem. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 13. Niklaus, p. 204, states the reason for taking the Me family was 'to demonstrate their peaceful intentions' to the Dani. Although this may be so, it also made sense to take a family from a related tribal group, who may have had some common language and culture with the Dani, who had already worked in a related Dani tribe and who, after their experience with the Americans in the evangelisation of the western Baliem, would have knowledge of the language and culture of the Americans, and hence would be able to facilitate contact and evangelism of the Baliem tribes. Van Stone's interest in Irian had begun during his service as a soldier in New Guinea during World War II. Many of the early missionaries and missionary pilots had military backgrounds, and had served in the Pacific.

83. Hitt, op cit, p. 16. The seaplane was bought after the Australian government refused permission for a Qantas plane from PNG to be chartered for a landing on Lake Habema. Wick, op cit, p. 103.

84. Bromley was sent to begin working on the language of the central Dani. Hitt, op cit, pp. 18f, and Wick, op cit, pp. 107ff.

85. They deplaned on the traditional battleground of the area. But, they moved their camp across the river when an armed group of men approached them. The group, led by a leading shaman in the region, turned out to be friendly. Ibid, pp. 106f.

86. The parties were challenged and Mickelson was wounded with an arrow. Later in the year, two Dani visiting the mission station were killed by enemies of the mission. A later expedition in 1955 to the Pass Valley was also attacked. To frighten the attackers guns were fired, and one Dani was killed. The CAMA directors then decreed that missionaries were no longer permitted the use of guns for personal protection. Ibid, pp. 110-13.

87. A. Lewis, CAMA's pilot, was killed. See Buss & Glasser, op cit, pp. 170, 222, and Stringer, 1996, op cit, pp. 15f.

88. It could be argued that Nabire was built by the MAF, as when they arrived there was little more than the old airfield and a trader's hut on the beach. Steiger, op cit, pp. 48-50. Nabire was chosen as the airfield could be readied for landing small planes, and ships were already unloading at the end of the airfield.

89. Wick, op cit, p. 111.

90. Ibid, pp. 114-6. In the eastern central highlands in 1962 there were twelve stations established by various missions. Each had an airstrip. D. O'Brien & A. Ploeg, "Acculturation Movements Among the Western Dani", *The American Anthropologist*, 66(4)-2 (1964), p. 283.

91. Sunda, op cit, pp. 4f. According to Bensley, op cit, p. 22, missionaries from the APCM, ABMS and RBMU went together to Lake Archbold by MAF seaplane. From there they walked to a site that had been surveyed from the air and was thought a likely place for an airstrip. This site eventually became the APCM station of Bokondini. Bokondini was subsequently chosen by the Dutch government for its first post in the region. O'Brien & Ploeg, loc cit, p. 283.

92. Sunda, op cit, pp. 6f, and Hitt, op cit, pp. 123f.

93. Wick, op cit, pp. 143-151. He asked for a missionary in 1980 after contracting hepatitis, and died in 1981 in the house of one of his Christian wives, the night after his death-bed confession of faith, and instructions to his family to "follow the gospel". Ibid, pp. 186, 208. There is a good photograph of him, facing Hitt, op cit, p. 128.

94. By 1962 there were 29,000 adherents and 7,700 baptised members of the CAMA congregations. Wick, op cit, pp. 121-3.

95. Ibid, p. 126.

96. Koibur & Dimara, op cit, pp. 3f, 44, and Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 37f.

97. E. Wambrauw, N. Baransano, T. Awom & Y. Wabia, "Gereja Baptis di Irian Jaya", in D.J. Neilson (ed.), *Gereja-Gereja di Irian Jaya*, n. pub., Abepura, 1996, p. 7.

98. Norman Draper, Ian Gruber, Hein Nordÿk, John Betteridge and Gil MacArthur. Hawae, op cit, p.1, and "Into the Baliem", *Vision*, November 1981, pp. 4-5.

99. Bensley, op cit, pp. 23f.

100. Wambrauw, loc cit, p. 7.

101. J.K. Karetji, 'Sejarah Singkat Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Baptis Irian Jaya (PGBIJ)', n.p., n.d., p. 3, and Wambrauw, loc cit, p. 7.

102. Hawae, op cit, p. 2.

103. *Rapport Missie naar Irian Jaya*, Vergaderjaar 1985-86, 2e Kamer, de Staten-Generaal, the Hague[?], p. 38.

104. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 202f, Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 41f, and T.S. de Vries (ed.), *Een Plek in Het Ourwoud: Evanglieverkondiging aan het Volk van Irian Jaya*, De Vuurbaak, Groningen, 1983, p. 148.

105. J. Dekker & L. Neely, *Torches of Joy*, 2nd ed., Crossway Books, Westchester, 1985, p. 164.

106. G.R. Monim, 'Suatu Studi Tentang Perkembangan Islam di Daerah Kabupaten Jayawijaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, p. 20.

107. See Rhoads, op cit, p. 30.

108. Ibid, p. 4. The opposition is said by Rhoads to have been doctrinal. While this may have been the case for Erikson, it is possible the Dutch missionaries, who were thinking ahead to the formation of a single Protestant Church in Irian, which could have included the TEAM converts, wanted a prior understanding that TEAM would not establish a separate denomination. They already had such an understanding with the Dutch Mennonites, who were given a ZNHK presbytery in the Bird's Head, which later became part of the GKI. By approving the entry of the TEAM without the support of the ZNHK, the Dutch authorities, intentionally or otherwise, thwarted the attempt

of the Dutch mission to create a unified church in Irian.

109. See M.J. Newell, 'Sejarah Singkat Tahun 1951-1986 Perseketuan Kristen Alkitab Indonesia', Manokwari, 1986, pp. 3f, and P.H. Sheetz, *The Sovereign Hand*, TEAM, Wheaton, 1971, p. 128. They are buried side-by-side in the general cemetery at Pasir Putih, Manokwari.

110. Dominggus Mayor. Manokwari was technically a ZNHK/GKI area. Rhoads, op cit, p. 5.

111. As it was too mountainous to build an airstrip. The area was also discovered to be a region where two language groups met, making evangelism harder. Ibid, p. 5.

112. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 50, and J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkopf van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 29f. The Karon extend from the coast around Sausapor inland to the Kebar. They were evangelised by the UZV/ZNHK, the Catholics, and in the eastern part of their area, TEAM.

113. To assist the mission, Frazier brought a cabin cruiser from the United States. Steiger, op cit, pp. 164f. The boat was named the 'Pengindjil' (Evangelist). B. & D. Frazier, *Our Passionate Journey*, Toccoa Falls College Press, Toccoa Falls, 1994, pp. 16ff.

114. Frazier, ibid, pp. 265f, calls the village Sumapero. He describes them as teachers. In addition to the two teachers, the rebels also kidnapped one of their wives, who was the daughter of Dominggus Mayor, a GPKAI leader in Manokwari.

115. and which had also been the object of prior Catholic evangelism. But, as the Father van Kessel complained, for seven years he had not been given a catechist to assist him, or a motor boat to ease his tiredness from using his own arms to paddle from post to post. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 2, n.p., n.d., p. II.29. Dresser was assisted by Frazier, who was a vocational nurse, and conducted basic medical care on his tours of the villages. Frazier, op cit, pp. 75-78. The hospital at Pirimapun was moved to Senggo in 1971, due to coastal erosion and a need to be closer to the centre of TEAM's growing number of congregations. C.K. Dresser, Letter, 14 Oct 1993, p. 2.

116. Newell, 1986, op cit, pp. 3-4.

117. Sheetz, op cit, p. 132.

118. Rhoads, op cit, p. 7.

119. Newell, 1992, op cit, pp. 30f.

120. See E.D. Akihary & I.M. Gifelem, 'Gereja Advent Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 6ff.

121. M. Lahimudin, 'Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Kehidupan Warga Jemaat di Lereh', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 27f. In the Lereh area they came into conflict with the existing GKI church. To resolve the conflict, the Adventists founded a new village, Soar.

122. For example the RBMU missionaries in Kanggime in 1960, selected the valley because it was suitable for an landing strip, which became their first priority. H.V. Fonataba, 'Analisa Pekerjaan PI Zending RBMU di

Kanggime', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, p. 6. When Elelim, a half-day walk from Apahapsili in the upper Mamberamo, was founded as a GKI village in 1989, the first priority of the GKI evangelist was to build an airfield. Then a worship centre was built, followed by other structures. Only after planes could come in did the government follow. Walianggen, op cit, p. 44. The airfield usually became a hub-point for roads to the surrounding area, as it was a gateway to the outside world, and usually the mission station was placed next to it. As transport links improved, these roads were up-graded by the government and became entry points to these regions. Eg. Next to or near the now-abandoned airfield at Genyem is the market, church, schools and government offices in what is now the centre of a large and expanding region. Hayward, op cit, p. 180.

123. T. Yoteni, 'Interview', 29 August 1996, notes that the GKI/VEM mission decided to pay a bag of salt per day, against the advice of the Reuter, the missionary in Angguruk, who suggested that one teaspoon was sufficient. Yoteni's decision, while fairer, quickly produced an oversupply of salt, necessitating new items of payment. Cowrie shells were also a valued commodity, but the missions were able to bring them into the highlands by the sackful, so devaluing them. Mickelson, for example, imported 50,000 cowrie shells into Enarotali in 1942. As a result, the inflation rate increased by 100%, with a 'tin' of sweet potatoes going from one to two shells. Lewis, op cit, p. 390. Cutts, op cit, pp. 82f, paid in axe heads. However, once the market had been satisfied, the supply of labourers declined. Workers willing to be paid in axes were brought in from outlying villages, but for Cutts labour was his main obstacle, probably due to his inability to determine what trade goods were needed. However, his ability to quickly satisfy local demand for the goods he had to offer would also have complicated his situation.

124. See Yoteni, op cit, and Cutts, op cit, pp. 104-5.

125. Yoteni, op cit, said that the congregation in Kosarek welcomed the establishment of a store. The missionaries were worried about creating a climate of dependence by the people upon the church and mission. However, as H. Rijksen, *Mission on Irian Jaya: Church Building and View of the Development and Destruction of the Nipsan Station*, Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Congregations, n.p., 1973, p. 99, suggests, by providing a way of exchanging traditional products for outside wares, the mission was enabling their members to access these goods, and to become accustomed to the concept of money and buying a selling goods at real, and not subsidised, prices. This was also the motivation of the Catholics in the Kebar. J.W. Schoorl, *Mensem van de Ayfat*, Catholic University of Nijmegen, Nijmegen, 1979, p. 150. Hayward, op cit, pp. 166-9, states that one way of getting the Dani to accept these new foods, was by commercialising them. They sold for the market, and became accustomed to eating what would not sell. Despite successes such as these, failures also occurred. J.A. Godschalk, *Sela Valley: an Ethnography of a Mek Society in the Eastern Highlands, Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, 1993, pp. 117f, notes that the cooperative store in Langda, that was established by the local church, failed as it sucked money out of the region, rather than circulating wealth as in the traditional system. When money from the mission declined, there was no alternative way of obtaining funds to buy the goods in the store.

126. Although some of these areas, such as Manokwari, Numfor and Agats were 'claimed' by the GKI and Catholics as falling within their spheres of influence. In the Raschers, for example, when they moved to Kokonau on the south coast, settled in an area which had a government post and a strong Catholic presence, as well as a Protestant church made up of people from areas evangelised by the GPM mission. However, they felt that the lack of commitment to evangelical Christianity, as they understood it, gave them the right to compete with the existing missions and churches. TEAM and the Catholics competed on the south coast, where their villages were often close to each other. From the perspective of the Catholics, the Evangelicals were narrow-minded fanatics. The TEAM missionaries viewed the Catholics as encouraging syncretism, and bribing the Asmat with tobacco. Frazier, op cit, pp. 111-16. Apparently Frazier had a Catholic catechist and school in his village of Yaosakor. As the Catholics were first, they repeatedly encouraged the villagers to follow the teaching of the priest and attend the Catholic school, and abjure the Fraziers and the Protestant school. Ibid, pp. 125-31.

127. T. Fiak, "Former Spiritist Now Translates Scripture", *TEAM Horizons*, September/October 1987, p. 10. However, their understanding of what they learnt was not always perfect. Eg. On the issue of bride payments, they heard that humanity had been 'bought' with the blood of Christ. The understanding arose in the Karubaga area in the early 1960s that, therefore, brides would be 'bought' with the blood of Christ as well. If that was the case, they reasoned, then bride payments were wrong. O'Brien & Ploeg, loc cit, pp. 287f. Bride payments and associated

ceremonies were a significant element in Melanesian culture. However, the missionaries generally opposed the practice, as they felt that it was costly and involved pre-marital sexual relations. The Dani at Kanggime were initially reluctant to abandon the practice, but did eventually with encouragement from the missionary. A new system was introduced, that required the women to *write a note* to the man she desired, who would then respond in the same way. Therefore, bride payments declined, and literacy and the use of paper rose. Both of these developments had far-reaching consequences for the Dani. Dekker & Neely, op cit, pp. 101f.

128. Translation of the Bible was seen as essential to the Evangelical missions, as they generally operated in areas where local languages, and not Indonesian, were used. CAMA in particular emphasised this, using American and local linguists. By 1964 they had published the Me New Testament and other languages were also translated, among others the Western Dani New Testament, of which 10,000 copies were produced in 1984. Wick, op cit, pp. 126, 202. By 1986 the GKII was said to have translated the New Testament, or Bible passages, into the main languages they served, the Me, Moni, Damal, Western Dani, Central Dani, Upper Dani, Nduga, Wosi and Southern Ngalik language groups. They also said that by that year "40% of the population of Irian Jaya already had the entire New Testament". Lewis, op cit, p. 454. As the coastal languages were not uniformly translated, due to the emphasis of the GKI and Catholics on the use of Malay/Indonesian, this claim seems unlikely, and may be only referring to language groups covered by the Evangelical missions. The RBMU missionaries began translating the Bible into the southern Yali language in 1961. Despite the death of Stan Dale, the project was completed in 1999. 'The Southern Yali Bible Project Summary', World Team, n.p., 1999, p. 1. TEAM also emphasised translation of the Bible into the languages of the groups they had evangelised. Using TEAM missionaries, SIL workers and bilingual native speakers, four language groups had the New Testament in their own language, and many others had some materials. "Translation Tally and Targets", *TEAM Horizons*, November/ December 1984, pp. 8-9. The GKI and VEM in the highlands, translated the Bible and materials such as the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. They also translated hymns and created new hymns using Yali rhythms. Christianity was promoted with films, pictures and other media. Walianggen, op cit, p. 51, and Tometen, op cit, p. 7. As can be seen from the Southern Yali Bible mentioned above, although many of these translations were begun in the initial contact phase, publication and distribution was not realised until the 1980s and 1990s. Eg. The Lani Bible, begun in the 1960s, was completed in 1973 but not published until 1980. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 60. In addition to these efforts, translations have also been carried out by the SIL in disparate parts of Irian, and the NRC in the Yali region. Rijksen, op cit, p. 95. The Yali New Testament was officially commissioned by the then GKI Moderator, W.F. Rumsarwir, in Angguruk, in 1988. "Nachrichten und Kurzberichte", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 27, July/August 1991, pp. 19f. The full version was completed in 1991. Tometen, op cit, p. 10.

129. Indigenous Christians and church leaders played an important role in Bible translations. The Moni, Damal, Me, Western Dani, Nduga and Central Dani translations were all initiated by Christians from those language groups, who had acquired sufficient Indonesian to begin to systematically translate the Bible. Western missionaries also played a significant role, as did the Bible Societies in the USA and Indonesia. Lewis, op cit, pp. 453-5.

130. The school, known as the 'Erikson-Tritt Bible Institute' used Malay and later Indonesian. Rhoads, op cit, p. 6. In the 1980s the school was upgraded, and in 1989 was raised to a tertiary-level college. Rhoads, op cit, p. 14, Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 55, and T.F. Randa, "Perkembangan dan Kendala STT Erikson Tritt Manokwari", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Jan 1997, p. 3.

131. The school was moved to Wamena and became an Indonesian-language Bible School. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 12-14.

132. See Rhoads, op cit, pp. 9f. Rumbiak became the headmaster of the school which was moved to Nohon later in that year. Sheetz, op cit, p. 133.

133. Rhoads, op cit, p. 12.

134. 'Zending op Irian Jaya', op cit.

135. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 12f.

136. This was true for other areas. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 50f, states that the old people in the Yali areas initially rejected Christianity, as that reasoned that by leaving the old ways, they would surely die. When the young people accepted the gospel, the old people were angry at them. However, this changed when the young people did *not* die.

137. Y. Nanthy & A. Pigome, 'Mengenal Gereja Injili di Indonesia (GIDI)', Abepura, 1994, p. 3, Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 60, and Parman, 1996, op cit, pp. 17f. The school in Wolo was opened in Eragayam in 1975 by Ndimbulu Medlama, and moved to Wolo in 1978. The School in Apimbak was opened by Bambile Payokwa in 1976, but was destroyed in 1977 by "a group from the Baliem". The school in Kelila was opened by K. Payokwa, a graduate from Malang, assisted by John Riley from the APCM in New Zealand, Yum Weya and Maria Karoba

138. This school is only mentioned in Tometen, op cit, p. 11, and seems to have been founded, by A. Sawaki, to evangelise the Dani people around Mugwi and Kurima.

139. This being so, by 1962 40,000 of the estimated 60,000 Me had *not* converted. Sunda, op cit, pp. 13f. Of these estimated 20,000 Christians, half were Catholics.

140. This was one of the first priorities of Cutts, who, with others and after ten years, was still working on his translation. Cutts, op cit, pp. 88f.

141. When Stan Dale and Bruno de Leeuw arrived at Ninia, they surveyed the valley for a landing strip, set up camp, and, after discussions with the land owners, began levelling the ground. H. Manning, *To Perish for Their Saving*, Victory Press, London, 1969, pp. 28f.

142. For example, the GKII had fifty six village clinics. But these were given to the government in the 1990s. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 14.

143. In visits to Apahapsili in 1994 and 1996, Barbara Tometen, from the VEM, was observed regularly diagnosing and treating numerous common ailments, including malaria. See also B. Tometen, "Das Schwerige Leben einer Yali-Frau", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, p. 18. Stringer, 1996, op cit, p. 19, also had to do a lot of routine nursing during her time in Gakokebo. The Catholic priests and teachers in the Paniai region did so much health care work that they were seen by the Me as sources of medicines and health care. P. Degei, 'Perkembangan Umat Katolik Paroki Waghete Serta Latar Belakangnya', STTK, Jayapura, 1977, p. 34.

144. The task tended to fall to the missionary wives, who had to teach themselves midwifery and basic medical skills. The missionary husbands were more active in direct evangelism, and projects such as improving farming and aquiculture methods. Fonataba, 1992, op cit, p. 6. This care was not confined to the Evangelical missionaries nor to the highlands. Eg. Mrs van Hasselt, the wife of J.L. van Hasselt, used her kitchen behind her house at Mansinam, to talk to the wives of the villagers and the teachers, and to dispense medicines. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, p. 74.

145. Fonataba, 1992, op cit, p. 9, and Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 38. In the 1970s the RBMU also had a doctor at Soba, Dr. E. Cousins. Her husband was the resident evangelist. Frazier, op cit, p. 24. In the 1990s the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) also had two doctors in based Jayapura. One lost his government sponsorship after the SIL's relationship with the Universitas Cenderawasih ended. After he left in 1994, another came with her husband, but only stayed for a short term. Hence, they were only able to serve the expatriate community, technically in an advisory capacity only.

146. Stringer, 1996, op cit, pp. 17-19. Smit's salary was paid by the Dutch government. Wick, op cit, p. 113.

147. 'Partners in Evangelism', Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Hawthorn, n.d., and E.C. Smith, *Perkembangan Geredja2 Baptis*, ST Baptis, Semarang, n.d., pp. 130f.

148. The Bauzi region, in the upper Mamberamo, accepted a missionary, on the condition that they received social help. Resistance to the missionaries among the Bauzi was apparently due to the inability of the mission to help with medical needs. 'Irian Jaya: Untouched Regions', MAF-PRD #1159, December 1994, pp. 3f. Help was then provided in the form of medical care and training by Dr Ken Dresser and Lois Belsey, and as a result the mission was accepted. 'Daerah-Daerah Terisolasi Yang Belum Diinjili', Missions Aviation Fellowship, Sentani, Mission Aviation Fellowship, Jayapura, rev. Oct. 98, p. 2.

149. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 13. This may be part of a wider cultural pattern. K.G. Heider, "Societal Intensification and Cultural Stress as Determining Factors in the Innovation and Conservation of Two Dani Cultures", *Oceania*, 46(1), 1975, p. 55, notes that while the western Dani and their neighbours, the Me, accepted foreign products, such as tobacco, body armour and corn, the Grand Valley (or eastern) Dani were resistant to these innovations. This reluctance to accept foreign influences was also seen in their acceptance of Christianity, and later their acceptance of foreign rule.

150. Yoteni, op cit, mentions that through the interest of his sons in soccer, until then an unknown game in Kosarek, he was able to gather together ten boys, who became the initial group in the church school.

151. Among the Grand Valley Dani, according to Heider, loc cit, p. 56, many only allowed their children to attend school after pressure from the Indonesian army and police.

152. Buss & Glasser, op cit, pp. 327f, states that "In Irian Jaya ... during one year alone, thirty Indonesian missionaries lost their lives in various circumstances while bringing the gospel to neighbouring tribes". Which year and from which missions is not explained.

153. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 12. Ilugua was attacked in 1974 and a number of nearby churches were destroyed. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 63.

154. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 57. The account of the attack on Dale and Masters is recounted in D. Richardson, *Lords of the Earth*, Regal Books, Ventura 1977, pp. 290-306, in a novel-type form, and in Manning, op cit, passim. In addition to the Australian and the American, a Lani, Ndenggeh, was also killed. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 63. The reason for the attack is still unclear, as shortly afterwards a crash survivor was cared for, and in 1961 Vriend, Zöllner and Johanson (of the MAF) were able to cross the same territory without incident. Steiger, op cit, p. 138. However, it is clear that the attack was part of a pattern of resentment to the presence of the missionaries and their converts, that included an attack on two Dani teachers in May 1966. This was followed by a police patrol to investigate what had happened, during which Dale was wounded by an arrow. Manning, op cit, pp. 65-68. Dale and Masters were killed by the same group two years later during a trek between their respective stations. Ibid, pp. 94-96. R.A. Tucker, *Guardians of the Great Commission*, Academie Books, Grand Rapids, 1988, p. 216, suggests that Dale's uncompromising attitude to the villagers may have contributed to a general feeling of antipathy to him that was expressed in the attacks on him, the last of which was successful. Pat Dale remained in Irian to complete the translation of Mark's Gospel, begun by her husband. 'The Southern Yali', op cit, p. 1. Master's daughter, Crissie, returned to Irian with her husband and worked for the MAF for a number of years in the 1990s. According to Yali villagers in Apahapsili, Benz was wounded in an attack near Apahapsili, as part of an attack upon his bearers. In response, the village of the attackers was razed by the Christians of Apahapsili.

155. "Behind the Ranges", *Irian Jaya*, vol. XIII, no. 2, Fall, 1978, p. 4, suggests that some of the reasons may have been that the Christians refused to exchange pigs in feasts to the spirits, and would not marry non-Christian girls,

engendering resentment among the non-Christians.

156. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, p. 294. The station was reopened in 1965. Mapnduma continues to be a centre of the OPM and resistance to the Indonesians.

157. The Sougb and Hattam tribes had better contact with Manokwari, where the rebellion was centred. The Meah tribe was largely unaffected as, "The ministry had not reached much beyond the Testega area". Rhoads, op cit, p. 18. However, in the Testega area, interest in Christianity was delayed due to the rebellion, which ended in 1970. Rhoads, op cit, p. 19.

158. Ibid, p. 9. Lovestrand was arrested and taken to Jakarta where he was released in 1967. His experiences are detailed in H. Lovestrand, *Hostage in Djakarta*, Moody Press, Chicago, 1967, passim. He was suspected as he had a radio, used to contact the outlying stations, and he had had early contact with the rebels, who had approached him. However, as with many of the expatriate missionaries in Irian when confronted with anti-government activities, he rejected all political involvement, basically supporting the status quo in the interests of peace and church growth. When the Bupati of Manokwari suggested that he not get involved in political matters, he rejected any notion that he was thinking about such things. Ibid, p. 15. Nonetheless he still spent more than a year in detention for alleged involvement in the 1964 rebellion, after which he was deported.

159. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 37.

160. Degei, op cit, p. 38, states that during the Obano uprising, for example, the Waghete people sided with the Dutch government, and as a result suffered at the hands of those who supported the action. Wick, op cit, pp. 180ff, lists a number of these anti-government and anti-Christian incidents. During this time, many Christians turned to traditional beliefs or left the church to fight the government. Sheetz, op cit, p. 132. The movement affected most of the congregations in the Paniai and Baliem regions, to varying degrees. No Western missionaries were killed as a result of these activities, but a number of indigenous missionaries were wounded and killed. Lewis, op cit, pp. 442-4, 447f. Dekker & Neely, op cit, pp. 169-71, stated that where the missionaries were allowed to intervene in anti-Indonesian revolts, the number of deaths were fewer.

161. Koibur & Dimara, op cit, p. 4.

162. Rhoads, op cit, p. 12.

163. in December 1969.

164. The killing of Masters and Dale, and the subsequent crash of the MAF plane, caused a change in attitude of the Seng Valley people, who asked for missionaries when they returned Paul Newman to the search party. Manning, op cit, pp. 116-20.

165. Buss & Glasser, op cit, pp. 300-303, and Stringer, 1996, op cit, p. 22. One of the dead was Stringer's sister, Nel. The Newman family, who also died in the accident, are remembered in the name of the English-language congregation in Sentani, the 'Newman Memorial Chapel'.

166. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 711.

167. Stringer, 1996, op cit, pp. 4,6. Stringer herself went to work in the Paniai after seeing an advertisement in a Dutch Christian newspaper.

168. Yoteni, op cit, initially won the parents over by 'paying' for the children with an axe each. After three years of receiving thirty new boys a year the practice was discontinued, due to two factors: a fear of creating dependency and the acceptance of schooling on the part of the parents. This latter factor was enhanced by his giving chalk to the pupils, so they could explain what was happening in the classroom to the parents. This would have also spread the classroom learning to the parents and other siblings.

169. As happened during a meeting where the Meah leaders realised that the numbers of Meah Christians were less than those in comparable tribes. Rhoads, op cit, p. 25.

170. Pastor Penaibi from the Hattam Church Council led a series of 'Bible Conferences' in the Meah area in 1987, which increased church numbers. Ibid, p. 25.

171. Ibid, pp. 25f. The missionaries were also willing to take their courses to the villages, as in the case of a Bible Institute Course conducted by P. and T. Rhoads amongst the Meah in 1986.

172. Ibid, p. 26, comments that literacy efforts amongst the Meah were generally not successful, with only ministers responding well. Perhaps this is because only the ministers needed to be able to read and write, and only they could glimpse the world that awaited those with access to books and other materials. This can been seen on Ibid, p. 26, when it is noted that interest *was* great among the Meah on the coast, where the impact of the outside world was greater.

173. For example, the Eagers in the Meah area near Manokwari, had a number of activities "which included linguistic study, Church planting, training church leaders, teaching literacy classes and handling medical needs". Ibid, p. 20.

174. Ibid, p. 10.

175. 'To the Moskona with love", *TEAM Horizons*, July/August 1983, pp. 6-7, and Rhoads, op cit, p. 11.

176. Ibid, pp. 13f.

177. Indonesian Christian Bible Fellowship Church

178. From 1984, for example, students from the Erikson-Tritt Theological school, in addition to serving the transmigration areas, also attracted new members from existing congregations in Manokwari. This is reflected in the names of two of the leaders of the GPKAI, A. Baransano and N. Rumbino, both names from people in traditionally GKI areas. Ibid, p. 14.

179. Ibid, pp. 12, 20f. The mission was not intentional. In 1975 a leader from Numfor, Paulus Moktis, visited relatives of his wife in the Meah village of Sedey. There he was 'led to the Lord' and invited TEAM workers back to Numfor. Two congregations were quickly founded, despite local opposition, and were visited from Manokwari.

180. Ibid, p. 12, states that "this national church organization has continued to work hand in hand with the mission". The mission also rented a portion of the GPKAI office building, which was built by the TEAM and given to the GPKAI for its activities.

181. Twelve men. The Meah also established congregations in Manokwari. Ibid, p. 22.

182. They joined with the Church in Irian to form a national denomination. This relationship was dissolved in 1986, after leadership disputes. Ibid, p. 14.

183. Its role was recognised by the award of the Order of Orange-Nassau to D. Steiger. Steiger, op cit, pp. 124-9. During this time the original MAF pilot, Betty Greene, filled-in for twenty months.

184. Buss & Glasser, op cit, p. 327. The helicopter was decommissioned in 1998, just before Helimission entered Irian. The newly-arrived MAF helicopter pilot then transferred to Helimission, with the permission his sponsoring body, MAF Germany.

185. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 60. In addition to the Christian air services, Merpati, Airfast, Trigana and a number of smaller companies connect the major cities and towns of Irian. However, even the government is dependent upon the Christian missions for links to many of their own administrative centres, particularly as Indonesia's economic crisis after 1997 affected the number of Merpati planes and the supply of spare parts. J. Pattipi, 'Pembangunan Daerah Irian Jaya', 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 24 October 1994, p. 12.

186. O. Mahuze, O. Rumi, Y.S. Sarwa, & A.K. T'Korop, *Sejarah Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*, Deputat-Deputat Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (IRJA), Bomakia, 1982, pp. 16f.

187. Eg. the series on unevangelised areas in Irian. Originally in English, it is now in published in Indonesian. The MAF regularly supplied CB radios for use in isolated areas. 'Daerah-Daerah Terisolasi Yang Belum Diinjili', Mission Aviation Fellowship, Jayapura, rev. Oct. 98, p. 6, where mention is made of airfields being built at the urging of the MAF. They also say that radios were given to people in some parts of Irian. Short Side Band (SSB) radios were used extensively by Churches to maintain contacts with isolated centres. Eg. in 1995 the GKI paid licences fees for sixteen SSB radios, scattered throughout Irian. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, p. 14.

188. Ibid, p. 8. The conversions were accompanied by fetish burnings and, in some cases the burnings of bows and arrows, that extended to areas that did not have a resident missionary. Rhoads does not give a fuller explanation for the timing of the conversions.

189. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 14.

190. Rhoads, op cit, p. 24, cites cases of people using the traditional method boiling water to discern the one responsible for a death. He also notes that among those who took second wives were three ministers.

191. Monim, op cit, pp. 43-45. By 1988 there were about 200,000 Christians in the highlands and in areas evangelised by the Evangelical and Reformed missions. T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, p. 123.

CHAPTER 8: The Catholics 1945 to 1963

> This coast is dotted with little Roman Catholic Schools. .... They attract the boys by offering them education in iron buildings, and our men, by telling them to keep their ghost worship and do very much as they like. It is such an easy religion that the people are greatly attracted.[1]

The impact of World War II upon the Catholic mission in Irian was similar to that upon the Protestant missions. Although the main centre of the Catholic mission was on the south coast at Merauke, which was not occupied by the Japanese, many of the Catholic areas west of Merauke, as well as the Catholic mission on the north coast at Arso, had been occupied. Outside of Merauke, those posts that had not been taken over by the Japanese, were abandoned out of fear of the Japanese or due to government pressure[2]. The Catholics were able to continue their work around Merauke, but were only able to reenter the areas they had formerly worked in after 1944. Stations were reopened and expanded inland of Merauke, and the areas inland of Hollandia were visited. Other areas in Irian could not be entered until after the end of the War. During the 1950s, the Catholics expanded their administration as the number of congregations and church workers increased. They developed schools and training centres, and opened congregations in areas their members moved to. By 1962 the Catholic Church was represented in most of the towns then existing in Irian, and were ready for the changes that integration with Indonesia was to bring.

At the beginning of the Pacific War the mission in Irian was still under the Bishop in Langgur. The disruption of contact with Langgur and the subsequent news that he had been murdered by the Japanese, forced the development of a hierarchy for Irian, which was confirmed after the War. There had been severe disruption of Catholic school and mission activities and several stations on the south coast had been afflicted by the War. Churches and other buildings in areas outside Merauke had been wrecked and many needed to be rebuilt[3]. Kokonau in 1945, for example, was in chaos with its schools closed and the church buildings in disrepair. During the War many of the Catholic missionaries in areas under Japanese control were interned, and did not immediately return to their posts in 1945[4]. At the time of the Japanese surrender, Fak Fak did not have a priest, and in 1946 only six of the Franciscan priests working in Irian before 1942 were physically able to continue working[5]. As with the Protestants, this shortage of personnel meant that they could not immediately reestablish all of their pre-War mission posts[6].

The ability of the Catholics to continue their work at Merauke and to quickly reestablish their efforts in Arso, enabled the Church to build on the efforts of the 1930s and 1940s, in a way that the Protestants could not. Instead of having to rebuild their mission stations and renew their relationship with the congregations, the Catholics after 1946 were, in many areas, already an accepted part of the local community, with a working organisation, and a functioning complex in Merauke from which to guide these activities. They were thus well positioned to serve their congregations and begin to plan for the future. In 1946, lay 'Religious Leaders' were appointed in each Catholic village and were given training in how to pray and lead their congregations. This planning and building program was aided by the return of mission personnel from the camps in Sulawesi and the Moluccas, and new missionaries from Europe[7]. These missionaries were used to gradually reopen posts as they were occupied by Dutch and Australian troops. The newly arrived teachers and priests also began involving themselves with the local disputes, thus remaking the Church into an integral part of these communities[8]. After being released by the Japanese, N. Louter and Frankenmoelen settled in Hollandia[9]. Teachers were sent from Merauke to Hollandia to reopen schools in Arso and the developing towns inland of Hollandia, and a number of students from the carpentry and farming schools, founded in Arso in 1945, were sent for further training to Merauke[10]. In Biak there was no official Catholic representative, but the Catholic chaplains serving the Dutch army were able to serve the local Catholics until a more permanent arrangement was made[11].

After the War Irian became a separate region, with Hollandia as its capital. The Dutch government began expanding its administrative apparatus and with a better infrastructure than had existed before the War. This gave all the missions, including the Catholics, greater opportunities to expand their work. In light of the changed political realities after 1945, the leader of the Franciscans moved to Hollandia and more priests began to be sent there. A parish was founded in Hollandia Binnen[12] and a centre inland of Hollandia was established in the Arso area at Wembi[13]. Due to its political importance, Hollandia became the point of entry for new missionaries for Irian, and it was from Hollandia that plans began to be made to enter the Baliem[14]. On the south coast, Mimika was given to the diocese in Hollandia in 1950, and the Hollandia diocese began paying more attention to the largely untouched Asmat tribe, which bordered Mimika.

From 1947 the flow of new personnel from the Netherlands increased[15]. More, and better qualified, nuns were sent to Irian. They were used initially as teachers and nurses in Merauke and

its surrounding areas. There were enough of them to open a convent in Merauke and begin working in Sorong and Fak Fak, giving courses in sewing and teaching in schools[16]. In 1949, sisters were able to open new hospitals in Mimika and Kokonau, and in 1956 they established a hostel and clinic at Atsy (in the Asmat region)[17]. The number of nuns from a variety of orders continued to grow through the 1950s. They took charge of hostels, medical work and social services throughout Irian[18]. Monks also began to be sent in greater numbers, principally as tradesmen to develop the infrastructure of the mission[19].

After the War the Dutch began developing Sorong as a centre for oil production, as the former centre at Babo had been destroyed. By 1947 there were 12,000 people in the town, including many from the Catholic areas in Kei and Merauke[20]. Father van Leeuwen built a house there in 1947 and began ministering to the local Catholics, assisted by more priests from 1948[21]. From Sorong the mission received a request from Ayamaru for a teacher. In the hope that they could forestall the Protestant mission, Father Rombouts and Matias Teniwut were sent to investigate the possibility of setting up a mission centre. As the area already had a Protestant Church they were told to leave, as the Controleur in Inanwatan did not permit the existence of a 'double mission'[22]. Having failed in Ayamaru, Rombouts sent teachers to Aitinyu and into the area east of Sausapor. Although only one teacher was able to establish a school, it was the beginning of the penetration of the Karon tribe, and other teachers followed[23]. Sufficient success was seen in the Aitinyu region that Teminabuan was chosen as the Catholic centre for the interior Bird's Head region, with support coming from AMA after 1959, from a base at the airport in Manokwari[24].

Tillemans was prepared to reenter Enarotali in 1946, by land from Mimika. However, permission from the government was not granted until 1949, and only through an air link from Biak[25]. Tillemans, who had been active among the coastal Amungme people before the Japanese invasion, arrived on a Dutch navy Catalina with two teachers in March 1949. With the help of the local government they were able to survey the area and, after his return to the coast, the Franciscans sent more teachers and priests[26]. Despite the fact that CAMA had reestablished their station two years beforehand, the Catholics were able to reenter Paniai and expand their network of schools[27]. Once established, the work was officially given over to the Franciscans in 1950, and by 1952 the mission had expanded to serve six villages[28]. However, those requesting baptisms were few. The first baptism was in 1952, and in 1953 only two were baptised[29]. Numbers increased

slightly thereafter, but were affected by the Obano revolt of 1956-57 and the Paniai revolt of 1967-69. Only in the years after this did the numbers of baptised Catholics increase, with the end of the disturbances, and after an effort aimed at improving the training and understanding of the resident teachers[30].

Asmat villagers moved into the Mimika district in large numbers after 1945, creating tensions between them and the Mimikan people, but also providing an opportunity for the missionaries, as it was obvious that the Asmat were more willing to have contact with their neighbours than in the past[31]. In 1950 G. Zegwaard and A. Welling from the MSC conducted a survey of the area and left a number of catechists from nearby Mimika. However, due to problems with the teachers, and a lack of security, it was felt that a permanent station was needed[32]. Two priests were placed in Agats in 1953, and by 1954 they had baptised fifty youths, despite internecine war, and were able to expand their work[33]. Requests were made for the government to establish a post and bring in police to end the killings, but nothing was done, resulting in problems for the missions when teachers fled from their posts and had to be replaced by new teachers[34]. In early 1958 the first missionary of the American Order of the Sacred Cross (Crosiers or OSC) arrived to continue the mission among the Asmat. In 1961 the work was formerly given to the Crosiers. In 1968 their leader in Irian, A. Sowada, was made the Bishop of Agats, which was raised to a full diocese in 1969[35].

After the recognition of Indonesian independence in 1949, Netherlands New Guinea continued as an overseas territory of the Netherlands, ruled by a Governor-General based in Hollandia. The changing political situation and the growing number of Catholics who had moved from the south coast and Catholic regions of the former Netherlands East Indies, as well as those who were evangelised in the Hollandia and Merauke regions during the War, resulted in administrative changes in the Catholic Church in Irian. In 1950 Irian was officially separated from the diocese of Langgur[36]. Merauke was raised to an Apostolic Vicariate with Tillemans as its first Bishop[37]. In 1950 Hollandia was established as a separate Apostolic Prefecture under the care of the Franciscans[38], covering the north coast of Irian, with Father van Leeuwen as the first Bishop[39]. In 1953 Hollandia was given the Paniai region, due to better transport links with Hollandia. In 1954 Hollandia was raised to the level of Apostolic Vicariate with Mgr. Cremers as the Administrator[40]. In January 1960, the Bird's Head was separated from the Vicariate in Hollandia and made into an Apostolic Vicariate centred in Sorong[41]. The process was completed in 1966,

after the integration into Indonesia, when Irian was made an independent ecclesiastical province, headed by an Archbishop in Merauke, with dioceses in Sukarnopura and Sorong[42].

School programs continued as an important instrument for evangelism and Church growth[43]. Teachers, supported by priests, were sent into the Arso area to reestablish and expand the system of Catholic schools and stations there[44]. A *Volksschool* was opened in Merauke in 1946, that gathered pupils from the village schools to prepare them for higher education[45]. In 1948 the Catholics established a *Vervolgschool* (VVS) in Merauke and another in Fak Fak[46]. These were followed by lower level Teachers Schools in 1949 in Merauke, and 1951 in Fak Fak[47]. Many of the graduates went on from these schools to train as nurses, teachers and agricultural and technical tradesmen, to work in the Catholic stations in the south[48]. In 1950 the first MULO was founded in Sorong with twelve students, and some of the Catholic primary schools were improved from three-year, to four-year courses[49]. In 1953 a kindergarten in Hollandia was set up in an old mosque near the harbour[50]. Secondary-level Teacher's Colleges were established in Merauke and Mindiptana in 1963 to cater for the expanding system of primary schools[51]. There were some problems, such as a conflict between the teachers and priests in Enarotali over the perceived lack of work-effectiveness of the teachers, but generally the school program developed without interruption, and began preparing young Catholics to take part in the new economy of Irian[52]. Students from Enarotali and Mimika were sent to the VVS in Fak Fak for further education. Vocational schools were also opened, including a Home Economics School in Merauke in 1957[53]. In 1951 the Catholics were invited to join the Council for Public Education and, using teachers brought in from the Netherlands[54], founded a HBS in Hollandia in 1953[55]. In mid 1952 the first five teachers of religion graduated from the school in Fak Fak, and in the same year the first 'proto-seminary' in Irian was founded, in Fak Fak[56]. A Novitiate was opened in Merauke in 1951 for those wishing to become nuns. In 1956 two junior high-level schools were founded in Merauke to train prospective nuns and priests[57]. This effort to recruit and train local youths who wished to become monks, priests or nuns was integrated into the schooling system. In 1958 land was bought in Sentani to train brothers and in 1959 a training system was approved, whereby those who felt called could be sent to the to High School in Hollandia and, if the call was sustained, could be given special training in a school established by the Franciscans in Hollandia Binnen[58].

Hostels were an important part of the school program. Priests were encouraged to send children to the hostels that were established in main centres, and nuns were brought in from the

Netherlands specifically to run them. One accepted sign of the success of the evangelisation program in a particular area was that there were significant numbers being boarded in the hostels, which were helped by continuing government[59]. Catholic (and Protestant) schools that achieved an acceptable teaching standard were given subsidies that ranged from partial to full subsidies. These subsidies enabled the Catholics to support schools in difficult locations, such as the Baliem, where the first school was established in 1959, with the government paying the salary of the Principal[60].

To support and complement their schooling strategy, the Catholic missionaries recognised the need for materials in the local languages. In the pre-War period there had been some catechetical materials and hymns translated into the several of the local languages at the initiative of the local priest or by Pieter Drabbe[61]. This practice continued after the War in the Paniai region, with systematic language studies and translations, together with the production of reading and teaching materials, in the local Ekari/Me and Moni languages. Schooling was also given in the indigenous languages, which enabled the missionaries, both Catholic (and CAMA) to reach the parents[62].

The Catholic mission, as with the Protestants, was active in medical work, with a system of clinics and hospitals in each diocese[63]. These clinics were supported by nuns brought in specifically for this purpose. These nuns were willing to work in government hospitals, and did so in Merauke and Fak Fak[64]. From 1956 the Catholics were helped by a change in government policy. Prior to this, general health policy had been directed at treating symptoms. From 1956, doctors were sent to the isolated areas the Catholics worked in to combat diseases such as TB and leprosy. As a direct result, the general level of health care in Catholic areas was raised and with that the status of the Catholic church improved[65].

In September 1952, C. Kammerer was reported killed during a trek in the Ilaga valley. Before he reappeared, news of his alleged disappearance had reached the Netherlands, prompting much grieving. When he returned for a furlough in 1955, his visit was used to promote the need for improving transport links for the Catholics in Irian[66]. As a direct result of the reports that had reached the Netherlands, funds were raised and in 1956 the Catholics were able to buy their first aircraft, with the *f*150,000 was raised in the Netherlands. With an aeroplane airfields began to be a consideration in the establishment of new posts and in developing the infrastructure of existing

stations[67]. They also began training pilots in the Netherlands specifically for the work in Irian[68]. By 1959, Associated Mission Aviation (AMA) was able to begin supplying Ubrub and other stations inland of Hollandia, and was used to assist the expansion of the mission into the Kebar region, inland of Manokwari. The availability of air transport also enabled regular contact with the posts in the Paniai district and Agats[69].

Relations with the government continued to affect the activities of the mission. After 1945 there had been few government patrols in some of the outlying regions, or the patrols that had taken place only made the situation for the mission more difficult by alienating the local people. Head-hunting, for example, had resumed in the Kepi region, as had the kidnapping of women for brides. Hence parents became more reluctant to send their children to school for fear that on the way there or back the children would be attacked. Many other areas on the south coast, such as the Asmat region, were considered too dangerous to enter as a consequence of the absence of outside control during the war years. As a result the effectiveness of the schools declined and the work of the mission was hampered or could not proceed at all in these districts. With the appointment of a new Assistant Bestuur in Merauke in 1947, who was sympathetic to and supportive of, the Catholics, the situation improved[70]. As the situation became to improve, the government began giving land to the mission and supported its activities. For example, after the reopening of the government post in Enarotali, the only practical way to get there was by the government Catalina from Biak[71]. In some places, such as Fak Fak, the attitude of (Protestant) officials from Ambon limited the activities of the mission or compelled them to commit personnel that they would have preferred to have elsewhere[72]. However, this did not prevent nuns from working in the government hospital in Fak Fak, using this as a base to visit outlying villages where they were able to provide limited medical care[73].

Complicating the relationship with the government was the at times uneasy relationship with the other missions. From the 1910s and 1920s, relations with the government were dependent upon the attitude of the local government official. When the official was Catholic or at least sympathetic to the Catholics, the mission could expand and often received government assistance to do so. However, if the local government representative was hostile to the Catholics, as Haga. for example, had been, this tended to strain relations between the government and the Catholics[74]. Where the official was fiercely Protestant or influenced by those opposed to the presence of the Catholic mission, the Catholics found it harder to get government approval or material assistance,

or had, as in Fak Fak, to work harder to make their presence felt[75]. This was seen in the issue of the 'double mission' which local officials tried to establish as a policy, despite being consistently overruled by their superiors in Ambon or, after 1945, Hollandia. By the 1950s the mission was stronger and, while the Catholics welcomed subsidies for their schools and other help from the government, the Church was effectively independent of the state and so was able to continue working when hampered by local officials. The Catholics were often seen as the enemy by the Protestants, and this may have been why they were refused permission to enter Inanwatan, where a priest and teacher were sent to gain a foothold. The attitude of the Catholics to the other missions also changed. By the 1950s they were more open to cooperation with the Protestants. In October 1950, for example, Father Kammerer approached Ken Troutman from CAMA to establish a dividing line in Enarotali, delineating where each mission could work. The idea was rejected by Troutman's superiors in Ujung Pandang, but the first step in cooperation with the Protestants had been made[76].

In July 1952 there was a change in government policy regarding the activities of the missions, whether Protestant or Catholic, in areas not yet secured by the government. From this time on the missions were allowed to be the pioneers in contact with unknown areas. This policy enabled all the missions to expand more rapidly and into areas beyond the reach of the government[77]. However, by being allowed to pioneer new areas, there was a risk of increased violence against the missionaries by local people[78]. This change of policy was reflected in other ways. At the end of 1954 the government invited representatives from all the missions to Hollandia so that their opinions on various matters could be heard[79]. From this time onwards the government's attitude towards the Catholics was positive, and they no longer reported problems with the government at the regional or local level. The Catholics were able to conduct extensive explorations of the interior of the Bird's Head and the region inland of Hollandia, without any limitations imposed by the government, as had happened in the past[80]. They were also allowed to expand their operations in the Baliem Valley from 1958 to include the eastern and central Baliem, where the CAMA had begun operations. They initially sent two brothers and two nuns to begin the mission there[81].

The Catholics were also assisted by their willingness to be involved in wider social issues, including the problems associated with the refugees who fled to PNG in the 1970s and 1980s, and the problems that many of their members had with the activities of the Indonesian government in

their areas[82]. Where possible they encouraged their members to settle in permanent villages that were accessible to transportation. Specialists were sent to teach long-term agricultural practices, including planting coconut and rubber trees and creating fish ponds, in the hope that the villages would become fixed, and the people would be able to resist the social disruption that was already beginning to be felt with increasing pressure from outside[83]. To improve communications between the Muyu villages, between 1956 and 1967, they built a 65 km road connecting Mindiptana and Ninati, that was passable to wheeled traffic[84]. In 1952 they established a Labour Union. which was followed by a Clerical Workers Union, that was affiliated to its equivalent in the Netherlands in 1955, and Catholics were involved in other political movements during the 1950s[85]. Their school program received a boost through the participation of two representatives from Irian in a UNESCO conference in 1953, that motivated the participants and their leaders in Irian to revitalise the village teachers program, by making them part of wider community development programs[86]. In 1953, a chaplain was appointed for the Indonesian-speaking congregations in Hollandia.

During the late 1950s the Catholic Church began to consolidate its activities. From Hollandia the mission in the north had reached Ubrub (in the centre, near the PNG border)[87]. They had a number of stations in the Baliem and Paniai river valleys, and were increasing the number of congregations on the south coast. Hence the bishops decided that the time had come for catechumens to insist that their adherents make decisions to be baptised and confirmed. More staff were sent to the inland areas, and were assisted by linguists, so that a better understanding could be arrived at of the condition of their parishioners, and materials could be produced in local languages. The Catholics also brought in specialists in anthropology and ethnology, the first priest specifically trained and sent to Irian being Father A. van Nunen[88]. He was followed by others, such as J. Boelaars. These specialists worked in the Theological College in Abepura and the Museum in Agats, as well as in the congregations[89]. The dioceses also began to accept offers from other orders to assist them, such as the Augustinians and the SVD[90]. Although Catholic numbers remained small when compared to the Reformed Protestants, the Catholics had congregations throughout Irian, and were a visible presence in these centres, with churches, schools, and institutions such as hospitals and convents. This presence continued into the Indonesian period as most of the Catholic missionaries and workers stayed in Irian, as there were insufficient locally-trained peopled, and as, by being celibate and under a system that enforced authority, considerations of family and career were not a factor in determining whether they would stay or leave. In the succeeding years, many stayed to serve the church in Irian, and became Indonesian

citizens when that was required for them to continue working, providing continuity of leadership and ensuring that the models of the church and the ministry were maintained into the Indonesian period, and enculturated within their congregations.

1. Bishop Wilson of the (Anglican) Melanesian Mission, in 1909, quoted in D.L. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, William Carey Library, Pasadena, 1983, p. 175.

2. such as the post at Agats, which had only been opened in 1939, and was abandoned shortly after the Japanese invasion began.

3. Kokonau is on the south coast, west of Merauke. Fak Fak is the major town on the southern Bird's Head, and had a significant pre-war Catholic presence. Babo was a major oil town in the MacCluer/Berau Gulf, and was the centre of an intensive Catholic mission to the people in the eastern part of the gulf. See Chapter 4.

4. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 2, Djajapura, 1969, pp. 36f ,85. Among them was Father van Egmond.

5. L.Y. van de Berg, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, p. 693.

6. A. Heuken (ed.),*Ensiklopedi Populer tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia,* Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 175f. Agats, for example, was only officially reopened in 1953, after Father Gerard Zegwaard reestablished the mission post there. B.M. Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures: History, Comparison, Dialectic*, CUP, Cambridge, 1993, p. 34. However, there was a request from some of the local people in the 1940s, for the government to enter the region. Hence, there was clearly a desire for the reestablishment of an outside influence. See A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Gereja*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, vol. 1, 1991, p. 59. In some areas, such as near Mimika and Mappi, the return of the mission was complicated by problems such as a return to the old ways that had taken place, and the weakening of social controls from the government and the mission. These problems could not be dealt with until the end of the War allowed more workers to reenter the more distant stations. Thus, in addition to reestablishing themselves, the local Catholic missionaries had to quickly assert their authority and enforce church discipline. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 1, n.p., n.d., pp. 50f. One way of dealing with errant members was, as Tillemans did, to deny them the sacrament of Confession. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 39. In Enarotali the CAMA missionaries began again in 1946. Tillemans and Zegwaard were refused permission to reenter the area before 1947, as the government felt the Catholic mission did not have teachers or materials ready to begin reestablishing their schools. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 43,85. A priest, Father Moors, was appointed to Fak Fak in 1946. However, he died of a stomach complaint in the same year. Ibid, pp. 87f.

7. Into the early 1950s a number of ex-China missionaries were sent to Irian, as the Chinese communists gradually expelled foreign church workers. These included three brothers who had been expelled by the Communists in China in 1948, who were sent to Merauke. Ibid, p. 55.

8. Ibid, p. 39. As van de Berg, loc cit, p. 693, "di mana-mana penduduk memperlihatkan rasa gembira karena kembalinya para misionaris" (everywhere the people showed their joy at the return of missionaries).

9. Frankenmoelen was back in Arso by December, but had to return to the Netherlands in 1947 due to illness. P.W. Rombouts, *50 Tahun Misi Katolik di Daerah Perbatasan: Mulai di Arso 22-05-1939 22-05-1989*, Jayapura, 1994[?], pp. 115, 132.

10. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 693, and Rombouts, op cit, pp. 115f.

11. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 87.

12. In 1948 the Presbytery was run by Mrs Jamco. Before her, Mrs Ang had funded the house and also a hostel for children through selling orchids. Ibid, p. 94. Mrs Jamco ran the hostel and home for children until it was moved to Sorong in 1951. H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 3, p. 15.

13. With limited success. At least one teacher fled, after conflict with the local people, and was succeeded by a Protestant teacher. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 97f.

14. Ibid, pp. 84f. As early as 1946 the Catholics were thinking about entering the Baliem.

15. Twenty Franciscans, for example, were sent from the Netherlands in that year. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 694. As with the Protestants, the Catholics were assisted by the government's policy of paying full salaries for teaching and medical staff.

16. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 44f, 95-97.

17. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 703.

18. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 17, 176. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 50. The Tienray sisters, who were sent to Fak Fak and Sorong after 1948, helped in the schools as well as leprosy work. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 695. The cholera epidemic from 1962-63 that affected the Asmat region resulted in large numbers of deaths. Although the TEAM hospital in Pirimapun was able to bear some of the load, and assistance from the Dutch and Australian governments helped in the short-term, the main responsibility for dealing with the problem fell upon the local priest. As a result, the Catholics gained a lot of goodwill, such that when they made subsequent visits "tidak seorang pun minta tembakau" (not a single one of them asked for tobacco). Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, p. II.31.

19. As in the period before the Pacific War, the use of monks and nuns was vital to the growth of the Catholic Church in Irian, along with the priests and lay teachers and catechists. Ibid, pp. VIII.5-7.

20. J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, p. 10.

21. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 694. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 90, 95.

22. This issue had been settled before the War, in theory. However, it is clear that local officials still had the power to limit the activities of the Catholic missionaries. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 95f. Eg. to avoid suspicion, Rombouts at first said he was an 'ethnographer' rather than admitting he was a priest. Y. Kinho, 'Partisipasi Pribumi Karon Dalam Usaha Pekabaran Injil', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 62.

23. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 695, and Haripranata, vol. 2, op it, p.100. Aitinyu and the interior Karon people were selected, as the areas could be reached from the coast, and there were a number of villages that had not been contacted by the Protestants. The history of Catholic evangelisation in the interior of the Bird's Head is detailed in Kinho, op cit, pp. 61-69. Although Rombouts was the driving force behind the program, the teachers conducted most of the direct evangelisation. Despite the presence of the UZV, the Catholics were welcomed as the UZV had done little more than contact the Karon villages and establish congregations. As the Catholics were prepared to send teachers and establish schools and provide other services, many Karon villages, up until as late as 1990, changed from being Protestant to be being Catholic, including Kinho's own village.

24. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 696, and J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkopf van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, p. 29.

25. P. Degei, 'Perkembangan Umat Katolik Paroki Waghete Serta Latar Belakangnya', STTK, Jayapura, 1977, pp. 25f.

26. Fathers Kammerer and Boersma together with G. Ohoiwutun and B. Welerubun. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 49f, and van de Berg, loc cit, p. 696. With Tillemans acting as an advisor, the Franciscans were asked by Bishop Grent in Merauke to take over the Paniai region in 1948, as they were already in Ternate and could service Biak and Enarotali from there more readily. Degei, op cit, p. 25. The Catalina could carry 1500 kgs per trip. As the Catholic chartered the plane twice, this would mean that they brought in just under three tonnes of equipment and baggage!

27. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 99f.

28. Degei, op cit, p. 26f, and Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 53f. Tillemans was made the Bishop in June 1950. This was probably why he left Enarotali in May. He remained in Irian as the Bishop, then Archbishop, of Merauke until 1972, when he retired "and continued his work as a pastor". A. Vriens, 'Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats', in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, p. 661.

29. B. Giay, "The Conversion of Weakebo: A Big Man of the Me Community in the 1930's", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, p. 184, mentions that Weakebo was baptised a Catholic before the War. No date is given, and it is possible that he was baptised in one of the stations in the Amungme region, and not in Paniai.

30. Degei, op cit, pp. 38f.

31. 6,000 Asmat moved to the Mimika area, where there were only 10,000 Mimikans. In 1949 they were, peacefully, returned to their villages by Dutch authorities. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", in D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 29.

32. Vriens, loc cit, p. 649. Wassing, loc cit, pp. 30f, cites the theft of tobacco by the Asmat, and sexual improprieties on the part of some teachers, as social factors that could only be dealt with through a permanent presence.

33. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p.17, and Heuken, 1991, op cit, p. 60.

34. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, pp. II.11-15. Soon after a post was established at Ayam, an invitation was sent from the local people to their neighbours, the Jipair, who were already Catholic. They were attacked and thirty one Jipair people were killed. The resident priest was so traumatised by the incident that he had to be replaced. De Brouwer, from the Catholic mission, blamed the situation on lack of interest from the government. Ibid, pp. II.20f.

35. Father B. Miscke made an exploratory journey, which resulted in Agats being given to them in 1961. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 54, Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp.17f, and Heuken, 1991, op cit, p. 60. See also G. van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani dalam Konteks Sejarah Agama-Agama Lain*, book 3, Obor, Jakarta, 1995, pp. 355f.

36. Langgur was the centre for the evangelisation of Irian until the Japanese occupied it in 1942 and murdered the Bishop and most of his priests and brothers. See van Schie, op cit, p. 355. Vriens, pp. 636f, states that Y. Grent was

made the Apostolic Vicar in 1947 and that Irian was separated from Langgur in 1949. The decision came into effect in 1950, with Tillemans appointed as the Bishop.

37. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 53, and vol. 3, op cit, p. 9.

38. Its status was raised to Apostolic Vicariate in 1954. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp.175f. However, van Schie states that this happened in 1949. It is possible that, de facto, Hollandia had a higher status, as, in 1947, twenty Franciscans came to join the six that were there in 1945, and so, under effective Franciscan control, would have become independent of Langgur, to be formally recognised in 1954.

39. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 28, 175f. The diocese actually covered the area from current day Jayapura through the Baliem Valley to Paniai. Mimika, on the southwest coast, was added to the diocese in 1953.

40. Cremers was the leader of the Franciscans and was based in Hollandia. His influence on the growth and work of the Church was significant and positive. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 33. Cremers was replaced by the newly-appointed Bishop Staverman, in late 1956. Ibid. pp.45f.

41. On the orders of the Nuncio in Jakarta. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 74. See also A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Gereja*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, vol. 4, 1994, p. 264, who adds that in addition to Manokwari, Bintuni and Sorong, the diocese was given Fak Fak in 1963, thereby becoming responsible for the entire Bird's Head region.

42. Vriens, loc cit, p. 659.

43. One example of the continuing importance of teachers as agents of the church was in the Numba valley, in the highlands northwest of Merauke, in which lived an Amungme group. In 1957, two priests visited the area and were asked to send teachers. After reporting to the Bishop in Merauke a teacher was sent and this teacher reorganised the villagers into six permanent villages, and so was able to forestall the CAMA mission in this area. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 47f.

44. Rombouts, op cit, pp. 125f.

45. Literally a 'People's School'. Vriens, loc cit, p. 635.

46. Continuation School. Fak Fak had a significant concentration of Catholics. It was near existing Catholic areas in Mimika, Kokonau and Langgur, the people had been very receptive to the establishment of Catholic schools, and it had a sentimental attachment for the Catholics, as it was the first part of Irian to be evangelised. The VVS in Fak Fak was run by an Irianese, Markus Warpoper. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 694.

47. From 1951 these schools were upgraded so that the graduates could receive a government-recognised diploma. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 635f.

48. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 57. The Catholics have continued to stress technical education with a number of schools in Merauke, Jayapura and Paniai, such as the Agriculture School established in Meranke in 1950 that was upgraded in 1953 to a Technical School with a Brother, Gervasius, in charge. Vriens, loc cit, p. 635.

49. *Meer Uitgebreid Lagers School*. A sort of Junior High School. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 11. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 694f, states that the school was founded before 1948. However, its is likely that Haripranata is correct, as the MULO was an extension of the six-year primary school that is mentioned by van de Berg.

50. It had sixty two children and was run by Mrs Martens-Pieters, probably an Ambonese. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp.27ff. Between 1951 and 1962 both the Protestants and Catholics founded a number of kindergartens throughout Irian. T. Kartawidjaya (team moderator), *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Irian Jaya (1855-1980)*, Dept. of Education & Culture, Jayapura[?], 1981, p. 68.

51. The school in Merauke was a *Sekolah Guru Atas* and that in Mindiptana a *Sekolah Guru Bawah*. The SGA was equivalent to a Senior Teachers High School, the SGB to a Junior Teachers High School. Both produced primary school teachers. Heuken, 1989, p. 271, and Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 153.

52. In 1950 the teachers in Enarotali were accused of not working hard enough. They complained and threatened to resign. In August a number of them left for Biak, resulting in the closure of eleven schools, forcing three priests to teach full time. Several returned a year later after being influenced by Willem Renwarin, a teacher who was moved from Waris to solve the problems of the schools in the Paniai region. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 698, and Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 11-16.

53. Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 74.

54. as did the Protestants, in accord with Dutch government policy and with government funding.

55. *Raad voor Volksopvoeding*. Hollandia, because of its transformation into the centre of government administration, became the centre for higher level schools (although Merauke, with its greater numbers, became the leading diocese). See Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 177. The government had opened a MULO in Abepura in 1950, ahead of the Catholics, perhaps invigorating them to found the Senior High School. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 15-17. The MULO, or Junior High School, and *Hoogere Burgerschool* HBS, or Senior High School, used Dutch as the medium of instruction and were expected to be at the same level as the equivalent school in the Netherlands. Hence they did not distinguish between Dutch and local students and accepted all who had the sufficient level of linguistic and academic ability. The HBS in Hollandia, was founded in 1953 as a three-year school, and was expanded to a four-year program in 1957. Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 12. The Catholic HBS was the first senior high school in Irian. See K.P. Erari, 'Our Land, Our Life', Doctoral Dissertation, Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology, Jakarta, 1997, p. 155. When the Catholics founded this school there were protests from the Protestants, as the school was seen as a form of 'Romanisation' of a Protestant area. As the government pointed out, Hollandia by 1951 was a cosmopolitan city, with a sizeable Catholic population, and so the Catholics had every right to found a HBS. In 1955, after the government in Hollandia expressed a desire to build a second HBS, discussions were held in the Dutch parliament and in Irian. The results were that the Catholic HBS would be improved and converted into an ecumenical school under the *Stichting Bijzondere HBS* Hollandia. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 704f. It is still a Catholic/GKI joint venture, known as the *SMA Gabungan* (Combined SMA) on its original site on the harbour at Dock 5. K.P. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1999, p. 106.

56. It had four students who were given Latin lessons. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 21.

57. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 271, Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 153, and Vriens, loc cit, p. 641. Although called a seminary, this did not imply a firm commitment to a career in the priesthood. Frequently such schools were regarded by the parents as just a high school for boys.

58. The school was founded in 1959, and the first ten aspirants were accepted in August of that year. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 70f.

59. Ibid, p. 58, states that the resident missionary, Blokdijk, "began to achieve success" as he had eighteen youths sleeping in his bivouac, who would be the initial class in the yet-to-be-founded school in Wamena. This rating of success was also true for Fak Fak and other areas.

60. In June 1959 the Catholics had ninety four subsidised schools at all levels, and 101 non-subsidised school, 100 of which were basic level primary schools staffed by indigenous (as opposed to European) teachers. In the subsidised schools, there were sixty European and 140 indigenous teachers. Ibid, pp. 73-75.

61. Drabbe returned to Irian after the War, and was important in the evangelisation of the Mappi region, around Tanah Merah. J. Boelaars, *Tot Mensen Gezonden*, Week for Netherlands Missionaries, Oegstgeest, 1986, pp. 11-14. He produced a Mappi grammar, and did linguistic studies of the surrounding ethnic groups. J.H.M.C. Boelaars, *Head-Hunters about Themselves*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1981, pp. 5f. He also produced the first catechism for the Asmat, that was intended to be memorised by Asmat school children. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, p. II.14.

62. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 175f, and van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 698f.

63. Heuken, 1994, op cit, pp. 264ff, notes that in Sorong it was put under the control of the Augustine Foundation. The Augustinian Order, which first entered Irian in 1953, was given responsibility for Sorong in 1988.

64. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 636, 642.

65. Ibid, p. 644.

66.This news, brought by bearers who had panicked when they realised the local Dani had plans to kill them, was seen as false when Kammerer walked into Enarotali a month later, unaware of the reports of his demise. Apparently the news reached the Netherlands before he reappeared and caused many people to enter into a time of mourning for him. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 699, and Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 22-24. He died in 1970, of natural causes, and is buried in Abepura.

67. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 43, 48, 55. The plane arrived in April 1958. From 1957 they began developing airstrips in the Paniai region and inland of Hollandia, which at that time had no road system outside of the immediate urban area. When they began building in new areas, they were assisted by the local people. When Father Smits began to build an airstrip at Modio, for example, he was assisted by 259 adults. Ibid, p. 54.

68. Of the first four who gained their licences in 1957, three were Franciscans. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 50. However, despite efforts to train local pilots, the Catholics have been dependent upon expatriate contracted pilots to fly its planes. The MAF, the main Protestant provider of air transport, has experienced similar difficulties, and has continued to depend upon expatriates, or Indonesians with foreign sponsorship, to fly and service their planes. The Adventists in 1999 had an American pilot, assisted by two Indonesian mechanics, one of whom was being trained as a pilot.

69. AMA was established specifically to work in Irian and is based in Jayapura. See Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 23. The Catholics did not use the MAF due to MAF policy at the time limiting the assistance that could be provided to Catholics.

70. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, p. 43.

71. Land was given for schools and agricultural projects at the behest of both the Bestuur and the Resident. Ibid, p. 52.

72. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 1-3. Catholic numbers in Fak Fak only warranted one priest, but because of the

opposition they encountered they had to have four priests. There was pressure upon the priests to send children to the hostel in Fak Fak, despite the small number of local Catholics.

73. Ibid, p. 5.

74. Van Baal was sympathetic to the Catholics, as were many of the colonial representatives in Merauke. Eg, in a letter translated in Haripranata, 1970, op cit, p. 168, the Catholic mission is praised for its good works. But occasionally a Resident such as Haga or a *Bestuur* would campaign against the Catholics and hamper their work. On example was that of Assistant Bestuur Pierson in Muting in 1937 who, the Catholics claimed, sent damaging reports to Merauke about their activities. Haripranata, vol. 2, op cit, pp. 5f. The Catholics into the 1950s continued to complain that the local government was not always impartial.

75. In Agats, one Catholic priest, J.P. Smit, was killed by the local Dutch administrator, because of 'emotion'. Heuken, 1991, op cit, p. 50. Apparently the official concerned did not like being opposed in his quest to nationalise the local church-run schools. *Sedjarah Geredja Katolik di Indonesia*, Kursus Kader Katolik, Djakarta, 1971, p. 89.

76. This was because Zacheus Pakage, who had gone to Australia with Mickelson, and was still working with the CAMA, wanted to minister in his own village, which was in the area being evangelised by the Catholics. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp.12f. In effect what Kammerer was trying to do was prevent a situation where there was a 'double mission', as, in this case, it would work against the Catholics. This idea was pursued despite the Catholic opposition to the concept of 'one Field one Mission' having being applied to them in other areas to prevent them working in nominally Protestant mission fields. In this, Kammerer were opposed by Weakebo in the village of Yaba, who had been baptised a Catholic, established and led a CAMA congregation, and wanted to have both Catholic and Protestants in his village. In the end, some of Weakebo's wives were ordered to be Protestant, and two were told to become Catholic. Giay, 1999, loc cit, pp. 184f. At the congregational level there were disputes, particularly when the Catholics were first. B.& D. Frazier, *Our Passionate Journey*, Toccoa Falls College Press, Toccoa Falls, 1994, pp. 125ff, recount their difficulties with the Catholic catechist in Yaosakor, which could only be resolved after the local Dutch authorities in Agats intervened, and told the Catholic catechist to accept the presence of the Protestant clinic and missionary.

77. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 21.

78. As stated in chapter seven, in late 1956 there was a disturbance in Obano, in the Paniai region, and a Catholic teacher, Tirinta, and his family disappeared, and were presumed killed. The next month twelve teachers were killed near the border with Papua New Guinea "as they brought bad spirits". and Heuken, 1989, op cit. p. 18, and Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 44f.

79. Ibid, pp. 35f. The missions that were invited to join were the Catholics, the ZNHK, the GPM and the CAMA.

80. Many of these explorations were not very successful. Haripranata mentions two expeditions in the Numba region and along the Idenburg River. They met new people, but the numbers in these regions were not seen as enough to justify setting up mission stations. One of these expeditions, along the Idenburg River, was carried out together with the Dutch Oil Company, the *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea Petroleum Maatschapij* (NNGPM), which was looking for new oil fields. Later in 1959 the oil company actively sought a Catholic group to accompany their exploration team in the Mamberamo river system. Ibid, pp. 61-68.

81. According to Z. Rumere, 'Interview', 27 Oct 1997, the Catholics were invited to enter Wamena in 1958 by a sympathetic Controleur, (van Eechoud). However, it is possible that the displeasure at this decision among the Protestants, prevented him from becoming the Governor-General of Netherlands New Guinea. According to the Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 177, when they arrived in Wamena they were limited in what they could do by a tribal war that broke out at that time so, as he puts it, "they tended to the wounded" instead.

82. With government approval, the Catholic Church helped refugees, who had fled to PNG from Muyu areas in 1984-85, to resettle on the Indonesian side of the border. However, their efforts were not always welcomed, due to the difficulty the Churches had of guaranteeing the safety of the refugees. *Indonesia Mirror*, No. 6, Indonesia Publications, Lanham-Seabrook, August 1987, pp. 9f. In the early 1980s, Sowada, invited a reporter from the Catholic-owned national daily *Kompas* to see what the government was doing in the Asmat region, particularly in relation to the logging operations of Indonesian companies, officials and military personnel. The articles produced anger on the part of the authorities and some short-lived reforms in the logging industry. T. Schneebaum, *Where the Spirits Dwell*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1988, pp. 134-6, 158-60.

83.Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 153. In Kimaan and Kolopon islands in the mid 1950s, they tried to get the people to move away from the coast, which suffered from annual flooding, to the higher ground inland. Their efforts only began to succeed in the 1970s, when people began moving to dryer ground in the north. There they were assisted with new plant varieties and infrastructure improvements. Vriens, loc cit, p. 645, and Boelaars & Vriens, op cit, pp. VI.26f. This policy of relocating people into new villages was supported by the Dutch government, despite objections from some, such as the Muyu. J.M. van der Kroef, "Culture Contact and Culture Conflict in Western New Guinea", *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 32, no.1, 1959, p. 141.

84. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 644f. A similar project was undertaken in Pyramid by the CAMA. The local congregations requested a bridge across the Baliem strong enough to take a small truck. A site was selected near the village of Burume (which also had the local Bible School). US Aid, World Vision, the World Relief Corporation and Freeport Mining agreed to provide money and materials. D. Sunda, son of the Sundas, who spoke Dani, returned to Irian to be the foreman. By the end of 1983 the bridge was completed, using American money and expertise, and locally recruited labour (100 men were needed to bring in each 800 kg cable the 40+ kms from Wamena). R. Wick, *God's Invasion*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, pp. 204-6.

85. The union was the *Katholieke Arbeiders Vereeniging* or Catholic Workers Union. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, p. 20. It was formed in response to the formation of a Protestant Labour Union, called the PERSEKEDING, which had a branch in Merauke. Vriens, loc cit, p. 641. Within a short time, this union had 1,200 members in Irian, of whom 250 were permanent residents of Irian. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 705.

86. Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 26ff.

87. In this area they were in competition with the UFM, who had opened posts in a number of villages. However, by visiting the villages and extending gifts to a number of important people, they were received well and allowed by the local village leaders to establish a number of posts. Rombouts, op cit, pp. 155-7.

88. Part of the impetus for this was the situation that confronted the mission when it entered the Asmat region. The Asmat had a way of life that emphasised rituals and ceremonies, many of which, such as their understanding of conception and child-rearing and the importance placed upon head-hunting, were perceived by the Catholic missionaries as having a negative impact on Asmat society. In the Mappi area, the Dutch government agreed to support the Catholic school system, on the condition that the local culture was accorded a place, including the encouragement of traditional ceremonies and dances. The local culture needed to be understood, so that the missionaries could have a way of countering, and including, the traditional religion in their evangelisation, as well as obtaining government funding. Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, pp. II.15f, V.6.

89. Van de Berg, loc cit, pp. 707-9. Van Nunen was sent to Sydney for extra education, where he obtained an MA. He arrived in Hollandia in 1953, Haripranata, vol. 3, op cit, pp. 28-31. In 1999, he still lived in the Franciscan centre in the Jayapura suburb of APO and taught occasionally at the Seminary in Abepura.

90. The SVD or *Societas Verbi Divini* (Society of the Divine Word), entered Irian in 1969. See Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 416-420, and van de Berg, loc cit, p. 710. The Catholic Church grew very quickly during this period. In

1952 there were 31,472 Catholics in Irian. By 1972, the Catholic Church in Irian had 133,672 members. Per diocese: 31,560 in Jayapura, 10,753 in Manokwari, 75,807 in Merauke, and 15,352 in Agats. M.P.M. Muskens, *Partner in Nation Building; the Catholic Church in Indonesia*, Missio Aktuell, Aachen, 1979, p. 95, van Schie, op cit, p. 356, and van de Berg, loc cit, p. 711. By 1999 they numbered 592,344, with Merauke and the Baliem having the greatest numbers (193,159 in Merauke and 189,505 in and around Wamena). N.S. Jelman, 'Data Umat Katolik Propinsi Irian Jaya Tahun 1999', Department of Religious Affairs, Jayapura, 1999.

CHAPTER 9: A Province of Indonesia 1963 to 1999

> Hanja goeroe jang benar-benar Rasul Kebangsaan dapat membawa anak kedalam alam kebangsaan.[1]

In 1963, Irian became part of Indonesia. After a decade of economic and political pressure from the Indonesians, that had resulted in the expulsion of the Dutch residents of Indonesia, the destruction of the Indonesian economy and the rise of the military as an independent economic and political force, and which culminated in military harassment and a state of undeclared war between Indonesia and Netherlands New Guinea, the Dutch capitulated to American diplomatic pressure and surrendered Irian to Indonesia[2]. By May of 1963 the Dutch military and civil apparatus in Irian was gone. With it went the Dutch doctors, teachers, technicians, soldiers and settlers who had sustained the economic and political life of Irian. A number of indigenous and residents of Irian, who preferred exile in the Netherlands to life in Indonesia, either left Irian with the Dutch, or stayed in the Netherlands where they were studying. These people formed the core of the exile groups that continued supporting the cause of West Papuan independence. Irian changed after 1963. Government subsidies were withdrawn, and the church had to stand alone in a nation dominated by Islam, Indonesian nationalism and, until 1965 and its replacement with militarism, communism. Immigrants from all parts of Indonesia entered Irian as labourers, teachers, technicians and government and military leaders. Many of them were Christians, who joined the existing Churches in Irian. Most were neutral in terms of their relationship with the Papuans and their faith. A minority came to exploit the land and its people for their own religious and material benefit, without thought given to the interests of the local people, whose needs were still determined by those outside Irian. Both the Indonesians and the Dutch were paternalistic in their attitude to the Papuans. The difference was that the Indonesians did not see themselves as being different to the local population, and the Indonesians were determined to stay, and integrate Irian into their pan-ethnic nation-state.

The Churches were generally prepared for this change. The *Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya*[3] and other Reformed missions had a common language with the Churches in Indonesia, as well as shared resources such as a Bible, hymn books and other materials[4]. The GKI had already begun looking for missionaries who were prepared to help them through the transition from Dutch to Indonesian rule, and the other Churches understood that the

Indonesians would be coming, eventually. Hence, the activities of the Churches who were already in Irian by 1963 generally continued on uninterrupted through the time of transition[5]. Before integration, a GKI congregation was established on the harbour at Hollandia as a tangible sign that the GKI was committed to Irian whatever happened politically[6]. In terms of contact with the Indonesian Churches, the GKI had already begun to seek working relationships. To this end, F. Rumainum and D. Prawar had visited Jakarta in September and October of 1962 and had been welcomed by the Indonesian Council of Churches (the DGI)[7]. The GKI became a full member of the DGI in 1964 at its Fifth General Assembly[8]. The other denominations in Irian realised the need for better organisation, and they began preparing their congregations to become independent denominations. In 1962 the *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia* (GKII) in Irian was founded from the CAMA congregations[9]. Denominations were formed from the congregations of other missions in the years after 1963. In 1966, the *Gereja Baptis di Irian Jaya* was founded from congregations of the ABMS[10]. In 1972 the *Gereja Injili di Indonesia* (GIDI) was formed from the congregations established by the RBMU, APCM and UFM[11]. The *Gereja Perseketuan Kristen Alkitab Indonesia* (GPKAI) was founded from TEAM congregations in the Bird's Head and on the south coast, in 1973[12]. After a meeting at Kawagit in August 1976, the ZGK congregations formed the *Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)* (GGRI)[13]. The last of the denominations formed from congregations of an expatriate mission was the *Gereja Jemaat Protestan di Irian Jaya* (GJPI), which held its first General Synod in 1984 in Pass Valley[14].

By the time the Dutch left on 1 May 1963, most of the Dutch ministers and their parishioners had left Irian[15]. Although this sudden departure created some problems for the churches, the loss of Dutch personnel was balanced by more workers, who could, with better transport links to Indonesia, come from the Moluccas, Flores and other parts of Indonesia, and were able to assist the remaining expatriate and indigenous missionaries and church workers, as well as expand the work of their denomination in what became Indonesian New Guinea[16]. These new workers assisted the existing locally-trained ministers and teachers to carry on the work of the church[17]. Although expatriate ministers continued to have a role after 1963, particularly within the Catholic Church and also within the newer Protestant Churches, for the GKI at least, expatriates ceased to have a direct leadership role in church government, and this trend continued in the other denominations as foreign ministers were slowly replaced by indigenous leaders[18].

The Churches that were in Irian before 1963 had to deal with an influx of religious and ethnic groups that had either never existed in Irian, or had been very poorly represented[19]. These new immigrants, both Christian and Muslim, often looked upon the Papuans as backward which, in terms of Indonesianisation, they were. In addition to new Christian groups, Islam received new vigour as the religion of the majority, and not the minority, as had been the case under the Dutch, as Islam was the majority religion of 100 million Indonesians, supported by a nominally secular state, which was becoming increasingly intolerant of the Christians, and which was eager to support the activities of Islam in a region that, under Dutch rule, had been heavily supported and influenced by the Churches. Mosques appeared in unprecedented numbers, and the Muslim call to prayer gradually became an accepted part of urban life[20]. Muslim schools were founded and in 1973 there were sufficient schools to found the *Yayasan Pendidikan Islam* (Yapis)[21]. The growth of Islam was mainly due to the increase in the number of Muslims who entered Irian after 1963, although there were significant numbers of indigenous Muslims around Kaimana, Fak Fak and in the Raja Ampat islands, as well as a small number of Muslims who entered Irian as migrant labourers and traders before and during the Pacific War[22]. In 1965 the first Muslim group entered Wamena, and by 1968 had won several converts from among the Dani[23]. The government helped them by supplying funds for mosques and schools at the expense of programs directed at the majority Christians, enabling them to increase in visibility and influence[24]. Muslims were also active in providing money for children's homes and scholarships for disadvantaged children[25]. The military was helpful in this process, as Giay claims, due to its control of the economic, political and social life of Irian[26]. Muslims rapidly increased in number and were perceived as dominating both the economy and the government apparatus[27]. Efforts to limit Muslim activities in Christian areas were undertaken, usually unsuccessfully, although evangelisation of Muslims in transmigration and urban centres was, in some areas, successful due to the stresses of life in Irian, and the perceived concern of Christians for the welfare of the Muslim migrants[28].

Despite the number of overseas missions that entered Irian before 1963 that were, at best, intolerant of the ZNHK, the GKI and the Catholics[29], the Dutch missionaries had initially hoped that there could be a single Christian church in Irian formed from the congregations founded by the various Evangelical and Reformed missions[30]. This hope became less and less of a reality with the increase in the number of denominations and missions from outside Irian, and the desire of the more conservative missions already in Irian to establish Churches, that

were either independent of, or loosely linked to, existing denominations in Indonesia[31]. With a burgeoning economy and improved transport links[32] new denominations and congregations of existing denominations were able to expand their congregations in what were previously religiously uniform districts[33]. Many Catholics from the south coast, Kei and other parts of Indonesia moved to the north coast seeking employment, or were employed in the south and transferred to Sorong and other developing centres[34]. This meant that Catholic parishes began to grow in formerly Protestant areas. In 1963, for example, a catechist was appointed to serve the Catholics in Biak. By 1973 there were sufficient Catholics in Biak to need a permanent church building and two Sunday masses[35]. During the succeeding two decades the Catholics opened new congregations in most of the main centres of Irian. The GPKAI also established a congregation in Biak in 1970[36]. As these and other groups have penetrated GKI and Catholic areas, the religious geography of Irian has become much harder to determine[37].

The ZGK congregations on the south coast grew. After establishing a centre at Kouh, near Tanah Merah, congregations were established in the Bomakia and Kawagit areas. The first baptisms were at Kouh in 1967, prompting spontaneous evangelism of more isolated villages by the new converts. By 1981 they claimed to have 54,000 members in the Digul region in sixty six congregations[38]. During the 1980s, a number of their members moved to Jayapura to continue their studies. Initially they joined with GPI and GKI congregations, but in 1986, with the agreement of the ZGK, a congregation and Synod office were built in Yoka, near Jayapura[39]. As with the Evangelical missions, the ZGK laid great emphasis on training local men as evangelists and church planters. Almost all of their congregations were founded and led by local people, as the ZGK saw that this was the most effective way of establishing congregations[40].

The NRC, which entered Irian in 1962, opened a post among the Yali in Abenaho in 1963, followed by Pass Valley and Landikma, and in 1971 opened a post at Nipsan, which was destroyed by local people in 1974. Langda and Bomela, in the southern highlands, were opened in 1973 and 1976 respectively[41]. The first baptism in Pass Valley was in 1969, followed by large-scale baptisms in the Yali areas[42]. Some difficulties were encountered. In addition to the slow rate of baptisms before 1969, some tribes initially rejected the presence of the NRC[43]. The most notable of these was the destruction of the mission station at Nipsan, and the deaths of the Biak mission assistant and a number of Abenaho evangelists. The event, although seen at

the time as a major setback for the NRC, motivated their supporters in the Netherlands to provide more funds and personnel for Irian[44]. Nipsan itself was rebuilt in 1978, with extensive evangelisation of the surrounding villages in 1981, and the provision of social services, such as a clinic[45]. In 1981 the area around Siridala, in the southern lowlands, was opened by Yali evangelists based in Langda[46]. Despite there being sixty six congregations and twenty one posts in 1997, numbers remained comparatively small[47].

GKI evangelism continued after 1963, despite the demands of integration on the Church organisations and members, and the GKI continued to be the largest religious organisation in Irian. Teacher evangelists returned to outlying regions such as Lereh, despite difficulties caused by anti-Indonesian activities and a lack of resources from the local presbytery and the GKI Synod[48]. Evangelism in the regions bordering large urban centres were mainly supported by the larger GKI congregations, who had active evangelisation and church-planting programs in the congregations of the hinterlands of the principle urban centres. Organisations such as the SIL and the MCC, which were active in GKI areas, encouraged new Christians to join local GKI congregations, and programs such as the 'Satuan Pelayanan' and Field Work (KKN) programs of the Theological College in Abepura, in which students conducted campaigns and evangelism, provided pastoral care and assisted church growth in isolated presbyteries and congregations.

The GKI continued the work of the missions, including education, training, evangelism, administration, social and community welfare and women's issues, despite difficulties during the years between 1963 and 1971, when, according to Saud, the work of the GKI stalled[49] due to the political difficulties after the integration of Irian into Indonesia, and as expatriate mission personnel were withdrawn without proper preparation of their successors[50]. Part of the GKI's response to these problems was a reorganisation in 1971, that divided the presbyteries into smaller units of responsibility[51]. This was with the aim of enabling the people of Irian to adjust from the past under the Dutch, to the more challenging future within Indonesia. At the same time the reorganisation put more pressure on isolated and poorer presbyteries to be self-supporting and self-propagating[52]. The GKI, being the largest Church in Irian, was often in the difficult position of having to stand between the people and the government, as dissatisfaction with the new situation was expressed in anti-Indonesian movements in the 1960s and 1970s, which were suppressed vigorously by the Indonesian military[53]. The Catholics also worked in a similar way to the GKI. However, among the Evangelical Churches there was a reluctance

to be involved in activities not explicitly related or linked to primary evangelism[54]. As a direct result there was a degree of unevenness among the Churches in Irian in relation to supporting programs that were not directly related to conversions, but which nonetheless aimed at improving the quality of life of the common people of Irian[55].

Integration within the Indonesian state produced a crisis of identity among many Christians in Irian. Not all Papuans shared in the new wealth and political opportunities that were created after integration, and many began to feel marginalised in their own country[56]. Some members of the GKI, for example, felt that the church did not provide the leadership that was needed. Many church leaders sought to cope with their loss of leadership and economic potential within the wider community by using the church as an avenue of advancement. This resulted in power blocks within the GKI that have been along broader ethnic lines, as one group tried to counter the perceived undue influence of another[57]. This process of instability within the GKI reached its peak in the Synod meeting in Serui in 1979, when the then Moderator was forced to resign[58]. Despite the pressures of integration and a revision of its rules in 1984, the GKI remained essentially the same as it was when it was founded: nominally presbyteral, with a centralised administration, at the congregational, presbyteral and synodal level, with strong leadership at the congregational level that often overshadows the higher levels of authority. However, the desire has been for a stronger centralised organisation, still run by the clergy but with greater accountability to the GKI members. Opposed to this has been a tendency to paternalism typical of the Dutch mission period, and in accord with the models of authority typical of Indonesian communal and political life, where individuals have a greater say than the church as a whole, as expressed through its councils and general synods.

As stated in chapter eight, after 1963 the Catholic dioceses in Irian came under the Indonesian hierarchy, and in 1966 the Catholics, in response to the new political situation in Irian, raised the status of their hierarchies[59]. The Bishop in Merauke was raised to the level of Archbishop, with responsibility for the new Province of Irian, with separate Dioceses in Jayapura and Manokwari[60]. Agats was raised to the status of Diocese in 1969[61]. In 1966 the reforms that were a result of the second Vatican Council (1962-1965) began to be implemented. The language of worship was changed, with Latin being replaced by Indonesian and local languages, and there was a greater emphasis on contextualising the worship and pastoral care of the church[62]. There was also a strengthening of the trend towards greater

intermixing of the orders, that had already begun in the 1950s, with a diocese perhaps being the responsibility of one order, but assisted by other orders, both male and female[63]. More diocesesan priests were trained[64].The leadership in Irian was also intentionally involved in national deliberations, such as the debate regarding the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy to the New Order government, that took place in Jakarta in 1966[65].

Initially the GKI was open to cooperating with other missions as well as outsiders wishing to come to Irian for short periods to host evangelistic crusades and similar events. As the Evangelical missions had moved into the interior, they needed Papuan teachers and evangelists. In 1956, for example, the GKI had allowed students from its schools on the coast to train as teachers in the Baptist school in Tiom, after which they were employed in Baptist stations[66]. The GKI also provided many teachers for the other missions in the highlands during their initial stages[67]. In the years immediately following the integration of Irian, there was a spirit of goodwill between the Churches. Their members participated in the *Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen* (GMKI) and the *Gerakan Angkatan Muda Kristen Indonesia* (GAMKI), and most Churches supported the activities of these organisations[68].The GKI was initially open to supporting evangelists from Java and elsewhere, who began coming in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, they soon realised that the activities of some of these freelance crusaders tended to create divisions with the GKI congregations and encourage the movement of GKI members to less ecumenically-minded denominations[69]. This being so, Indonesian groups that were been willing to work with the public[70] Churches have generally still been welcomed and assisted in their work in Irian[71]. In 1997 the GKI, GKII, GBI and Catholic Churches sponsored an ecumenical crusade, which was led by a German evangelist, and was attended by Christians from Jayapura and its surrounding areas, as well as Wutung and Vanimo in PNG. Between the Catholics and the GKI there have been on-going and cordial ecumenical contacts. This has not always been the case with the smaller Evangelical Churches, despite the creation of regional bodies called the *Badan Konsultasi dan Kerjasama Antar Gereja* (BKAG) by the Department of Religious Affairs[72]. In addition to cooperation in political matters, the Churches occasionally celebrated Christian holy days and made ecumenical statements together[73]. The GKI and Catholics cooperated in founding a number of schools, as in Biak and Jayapura, and their theological colleges in Jayapura maintained a tradition of sharing lecturers and allowing student to use each other's libraries[74]. Unstructured contact at the congregational level was also a feature of the religious life of Irian. It was common for GKI, Catholic and Pentecostal

parishioners to invite each other to celebrations at weekly house church meetings, and in some places they have shared church buildings[75]. Members of the GKI, GPI and Pentecostal Churches occasionally attend each other's Sunday services, or asked ministers from other denominations to lead non-Sunday worship and, despite tensions in some areas, have continued to cooperate at both the congregational and synodal levels[76]. Ecumenicism was also promoted through weekly worship times held in government and military offices during the time mandated by the government for Muslim Friday worship, through kinship and social ties, in the form of gatherings of indigenous groups comprised of immigrants from outside the particular region, who met in village and clan gatherings on a regular basis, and in Christmas, Easter and 'hero day' celebrations, which often took on a trans-ethnic aspect, with those from other ethnic groups being involved. Although these groups were not legally constituted nor formally linked to a particular denomination, they were Christian in form, and ecumenical in orientation and outlook[77].

In other respects the GKI welcomed contact with outside Church and ecumenical bodies, and has had a number of partnerships with foreign Churches in the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, Ireland, Canada and the United States, as well as Indonesian Churches in the Moluccas, Minahasa and Java[78]. By joining the DGI the GKI gained contacts with other Churches in Indonesia, as well as ecumenical bodies that had, prior to 1963, had no involvement in Irian[79]. From 1962 the DGI and several of its member Churches supported the GKI with scholarships and people. In the period until 1995, the provided personnel for theological training, medical and agricultural work, including funds for the Training Centre (*Puspenka*) in Sentani and, in the 1960s, pastoral work[80]. The Dutch missions, such as the ZNHK, the *Zending de Gereformeerde Kerken Nederland* (ZGKN), and for a period the DZR, continued to fund the programs of the GKI at the Synodal level, and to provide personnel in key areas, in particular the Theological College in Abepura[81]. Assistance in terms of personnel, and some funds, was also provided to the GKI by a large number of Churches and ecumenical bodies[82]. Despite funding from outside for projects at the provincial level, funding at the presbytery level was largely from funds provided by the local congregations, with the exception of the GKI Presbytery in the central highlands, that was funded by the VEM, which opened the region in 1965, and which continued to provide workers in several inland centres[83]. In addition, support funds for the Synod and several presbyteries for general operations were given. The Basel Mission and ZNHK supplied support funds for the Theological College[84]. In the early

1990s an agricultural extension worker was sent by the Basel Mission to Baitanisa in the isolated Wandamen region[85]. The Presbyterian Church of the USA also supplied a lecturer to the Theological College in the late 1980s and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Australia provided three ministers to the GKI between 1977 and 1986[86]. More general assistance came from the Conference for Development (Conford), which was established in the mid 1980s to coordinate project assistance for the GKI from its foreign mission partners[87], and from non-church organisations such as *Brot für die Welt*, *Kindernothilfe*, and other international social welfare organisations, as well as the Dutch government which, through the Interchurch Coordination Commission for Development Projects (ICCO), provided scholarship and development assistance to the Churches in Irian between 1985 and 1992[88]. Mission bodies from outside Irian also continued to support the other Churches in Irian. The GKII continued receiving support from the CAMA in the USA, particularly for its evangelisation programs[89]. The *Gereja Bethel Indonesia* (GBI) also received assistance from partners in the USA and the Netherlands[90]. The Mennonite Central Committee in the USA, since the early 1980s, worked with the Cenderawasih University, at their campus in Manokwari, supplying lecturers. The programs they supported, such as malaria programs and village water systems, were intentionally, but not exclusively, directed at GKI areas and congregations. Much of what they did was directed to the Kebar region, inland of Manokwari, which had a strong GKI presence, but where other denominations were also present. The MCC provided scholarships and supported youth work within the GKI[91]. These organisations have assisted the Churches in Irian and several of the church-sponsored institutions in their perceived role of sponsoring and supporting social welfare programs aimed at improving living standards for their people and assisting those in need[92].

The issue of Islam, the relationship to the government and growing geographical proximity of their congregations, has resulted in increasing ecumenical contacts, at both the congregational and institutional level[93]. In 1994 the Indonesian Fellowship (nee Council) of Churches or PGI[94], held its General Assembly in Jayapura[95]. In 1993, a new regional Council, the *Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia Wilayah Irian Jaya* (PGIW Irian Jaya) was established, that included members of the PGI in Irian, among them the GKI, GBI, GPPS and the GKKK[96]. At the meeting of the PGI in 2000 the GPI IJ and GKII will be accepted as members of the PGI, and this will increase ecumenical cooperation between these Churches and the other member Churches of the PGI in Irian[97].

The GKI hoped that there could be a resolution to the problem of the three Moluccan presbyteries on the south coast of Irian, that had not joined with the GKI in 1956, due to a number of political and practical considerations. The GKI joined a regional council of Churches that encompassed the Moluccas and Irian and in 1965 restarted talks with the GPM. No progress was made on the issue, so in 1970 GKI supporters (including a number of ordained ministers) on the south coast, who were frustrated at the lack of progress of integrating the GPM presbyteries into the GKI, declared themselves independent of the GPM. GKI congregations were created from existing GPM congregations and members in all of the GPM presbyteries in Irian, using existing church buildings, borrowed classrooms and halls or temporary shelters[98]. In the General Synod meeting of the GKI in 1971 a resolution to the problem was arrived at, and a new GKI presbytery of Fak Fak was officially recognised. However, local tensions and misunderstandings continued at the congregational level[99]. In 1972 the, by then four, GPM presbyteries in Irian joined together to form their own Church[100]. After repeated requests to the GPM in Ambon, this was agreed to, and the new organisation was sanctioned by the GPM. Despite many and on-going discussions between the GKI and the GPM, as well as protests from GKI members, both on the south coast and at General Synod meetings[101] the GPM ratified the formation of the *Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Irian Jaya* (GPI IJ) as a Church that was fully independent of the GPM, based in Fak Fak[102]. The GPI IJ established presbyteries in Kaimana, Arguni, Fak Fak and Merauke, but did not expand to the north coast, where there were a number of sympathisers, particularly among the urban Moluccan community, due to discussions between the GKI and GPI in 1990, where both agreed not to found new congregations in the areas where the other worked. The discussion were formalised in the GKI General Synod meeting in Serui in 1992, when the GKI recognised the GPI as one of its partners[103].

The Churches have expanded the number of their ministers and other congregational leaders. As stated above, in 1971 at the seventh General Synod of the GKI, the resorts that covered large areas were abandoned in favour of smaller presbyteries[104]. At that time a shortage of personnel meant that some of these new presbyteries were still very large. As more ministers and teachers were trained, the number of presbyteries was increased, and ministers were freed for pastoral work in the congregations[105]. The Baptists, GKII and other Evangelical Churches improved the quality and quantity of their leaders, lessening their dependence upon foreigners for evangelism or congregational leadership, becoming strong enough to accept or reject

mission advice and initiatives, and to organise themselves at the presbytery and congregational level[106]. This was true too for the Catholic Church, which, in addition to training Papuans, also brought priests, monks and nuns from Flores and other parts of Indonesia[107]. However, all of the larger Churches continued to receive expatriate personnel. While their numbers declined after 1973, when there were reported to be 265 expatriate workers serving in all Churches in Irian[108], there were still enough expatriate missionaries working in Irian to continue to need a Kindergarten to Year 12 International school. The school was a continuation of the CAMA school founded in Sentani in 1958, when the number of missionaries with school-age children was increasing. The school was independent of any local denomination, and used an American-based, but internationally-biassed, curriculum, and was open for the children of all expatriates resident in Irian. Teachers were provided by several of the Evangelical missions, assisted by Indonesian teachers and support staff, and parents, with funding from school fees[109].

The expansion of the number of congregations after 1963 created some tension between the longer-established Churches, such as the GKI and Catholics, and the newer missions and Churches, when one denomination established congregations in areas dominated by another mission or denomination. The impetus for new church-planting came in part from the movement of members of one denomination to the areas dominated by another. Teachers and civil servants who were transferred to a region in which their denomination was not represented often promoted their form of worship and theology in the areas in which they lived, and so built up congregations that became affiliated to their home denomination[110]. Many of the Evangelical missions also deliberately targeted the congregations of the denominations that they perceived were less than pure in their Christianity. This caused much tension in nominally GKI and Catholic areas. Some denominations from Java also established branches in Irian. Rev. P. Wongso visited APCM congregations and Jayapura in 1972. Discussions during this visit convinced him that there was a possibility to work among the Chinese business community in Jayapura. In 1973 he sent Y. Citra to Jayapura. Citra contacted the people who had met Wongso during his visit, as well as a Prayer Group founded by Grace Chang, an ethnic Chinese from the USA, who was then working in Jayapura. From this beginning, Citra was able to establish a congregation that began meeting in the houses of its members. On Christmas Day 1976 the congregation was recognised as a member of the *Gereja Kristen Kalam Kudus* (GKKK)[111]. In 1979 and 1985 congregations were formed in Sorong and Jayapura respectively, followed by congregations in Biak, Manokwari and Merauke, that wished to be 'non-

denominational' in the sense that all varieties of liturgy were welcomed as long as they 'praised the Lord'. The congregations called themselves the *Gereja Kristen Oikumene*. Despite recognition from the local Churches, the provincial government refused to recognise these independent congregations. To resolve this conflict, they joined the Synod of the *Gereja Oikumene*, based in Depok, near Jakarta[112].

In addition to new GKI churches in the highlands and the south coast, there was an expansion in the number of congregations from missions and denominations that were initially only found in the interior or in other parts of Irian. When the Baptists entered the Bird's Head after 1962, they found a number of congregations that described themselves as 'Baptist', having been established by the DZR[113]. These congregations asked for pastoral care, which the GBIJ provided[114]. The GIDI and other denominations have established congregations in many major urban centres, which have then sponsored evangelists to the surrounding villages and transmigration areas, where the GKI or Catholics felt they had primary responsibility[115]. In addition to the growth of GKPIA congregations around Manokwari, and other centres, GKII congregations were also established in Jayapura, Merauke and eventually all of the major towns of Irian, as Me and Dani people sought education and employment in the cities. The GKII Theological College in Sentani has also been used as a source of evangelists and ministers in areas poorly served by the existing denomination. In Sarmi, for example, the GKII opened a number of congregations in the 1970s[116]. These new congregations were formed to serve GKII members from Irian and other parts of Indonesia, and they were successful in attracting members of other denominations[117]. This movement of members from one denomination to another created some tension, as in Numfor and around Manokwari, for example, when GKPIA congregations were established in GKI areas, occasionally against the wishes of the local GKI parish[118]. Tensions have also been a factor of the establishment of GKI congregations in the Arso region, inland of Jayapura, where the existing Catholic congregations did not immediately welcome attempts to establish GKI congregations[119].

The movement of GKII members out of their original areas, began in the 1950s when Me people began moving to towns such as Jayapura and Nabire for education, work, trading opportunities and better land for farming[120]. The CAMA missionaries in Hollandia/Jayapura helped them establish their own congregations, rather than joining with existing GKI congregations. In 1953 Mickelson helped establish a congregation in Post 7, in Sentani, using

Indonesian as the language of worship. In 1958, the congregation was cared for by a Me teacher who was posted, by the government, to the island of Ifar Kecil in Lake Sentani, as well as an MAF pilot[121]. The congregation was also cared for by missionaries in the CAMA Field Office, which was moved to Hollandia in 1960[122]. In 1962 the Kingmi/GKII Church in Irian was formed, with the Rev. Paksoal as the first Moderator[123]. He moved to Jayapura in 1963, where he began a Sunday School and small congregation. This congregation finally built a church building in Sentani in 1970, with another building in Jayapura competed in 1971. A number of congregations were subsequently founded in Jayapura[124]. Between 1970 and 1980, congregations were also founded in Serui, Merauke, Sorong, Fak Fak, Nabire and Biak, as well as ethnic congregations in Wamena[125]. Many of these new congregations were in areas traditionally belonging to the GKI or the GPM/GPI[126]. When the Nabire transmigration was expanded in 1976, the local government representative invited the GKII to establish four congregations, and offered to assist with building materials[127]. In addition, Me and Amungme missionaries entered Tembagapura and Timika to both serve their existing members and evangelise the newly established transmigration schemes. They also began evangelising the nominally GKI areas in the Nabire and Yapen areas, where Me people had established a number of new villages[128]. The only region in which the GKII did not initially establish a congregation was Manokwari, as it was felt inappropriate to take members from the local TEAM congregations, although this policy subsequently changed with the establishment of a congregation[129].

The expansion of GKI and other Reformed denominations in the Baliem region and the Evangelical Churches on the coast has had a beneficial effect upon the Churches in Irian, as kinship ties began to be seen as more important than artificial denominational differences. Cooperation was enhanced through their mutual dependence upon the MAF and the Helimission[130]. By 1973 the GKI had congregations in the highlands grouped around Kurima, Apahapsili, Angguruk and Kosarek, which were supported by resident German and GKI missionaries and regularly serviced by the MAF. The support of the MAF enabled the GKI to evangelise the upper Mamberamo, around Gilika, Pagai and the new village of Elelim, using Yali evangelists who had graduated from the Bible School in Apahapsili[131]. The development of Elelim opened new contacts with other Churches in the highlands, such as the GIDI, who also sent people to the settlement and established a congregation[132]. The contacts with more than one mission occasionally gave a positive impetus to the acceptance of Christianity. In the

early 1960s, the people of the Jila region, near Ilaga, were encouraged by the Catholic mission to move to Akimuga. Due to a perceived increased death rate in the new location, many did not want to move, nor to have any more contact with the Catholics. Approaches were then made to the CAMA mission in Ilaga, who sent Me and Damal missionaries to evangelise the region[133]. The fear of a new mission moving into areas on the fringes of the Catholic congregations north of Tanah Merah encouraged the local Catholic workers to work harder to forestall the Protestants. The efforts were fruitless, but they did expand the number of their congregations and educated more teachers, some of whom were then employed by the ZGK and GGRI as Protestant missionaries in the areas where both the Catholic and Protestants were working[134].

The military allowed worship centres in its housing complexes, where there was no nearby mosque or church. In Irian these 'categorial' congregations have been given to the care of the largest denomination in the local area, as part of the military's policy of cooperating with the dominant Church in a particular region. On the coast this has meant the GKI has generally been given responsibility for these congregations, which have adopted the GKI order of service. There were a number of these congregations throughout Irian, some using the resident military chaplain or ministers working in the civil service[135].

The *Summer Institute of Linguistics* (SIL) entered Irian in 1972 and began working under an agreement with the Cenderawasih University, that lasted from 1975 until 1992[136]. The SIL saw its task as translating the Bible into local languages and instilling basic literacy in the targeted language group, so that the grammars and translated materials that were produced leading up to a translation could be read and understood by the native-speakers. Until the agreement was terminated by the University in 1992, SIL members engaged in contacting isolated tribes and doing basic language work, in addition to teaching linguistics and English at the University campuses in Manokwari and Jayapura[137]. Since 1992 they concentrated on village development, and have ceased working with the University, as the end of support from the University compelled them to seek sponsorship from other government departments[138]. The SIL and its affiliated organisations were deliberately not tied to any denomination, and so were free to operate in all of the regions of Irian, often bringing together members of competing denominations. In Indonesia the SIL received support from the *Yayasan Karunia Bakti Budaya* (Kartidaya), which was founded in Jakarta to combine the work of the Wickliffe and SIL organisations, as well as instigate social welfare programs. Kartidaya sent its first translator to

Irian in 1973 to translate the Yale language[139]. The *Yayasan Pelayanan Antarbudaya* (YPA) was formed in 1991 by several Indonesian and expatriate former SIL workers, to facilitate Bible translation and social welfare development, and has been able to fund itself and engage in village development[140]. In 1983 the *Yayasan Perseketuan Pekabaran Injil Indonesia* (YPPII) entered Irian as an inter-denominational evangelism organisation, with a series of gatherings in Jayapura and Wamena led by P. Octavianus[141]. Other organisations, such as the *Yayasan Nehemia* (Yanem) and the *Yayasan Laskar Kristus Irian Jaya,* have been established by local Christians in Irian to evangelise people not being reached by the churches[142].

The Reformed, Evangelical and Catholic Churches have been challenged by the denominations and groups that lay greater emphasis on the outward forms of the Holy Spirit. After integration with Indonesia in 1963, the *Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia* (GPDI), with the encouragement of the Indonesian authorities, attempted to include the GBGP in its organisation[143]. The union dissolved after a dispute in 1966, and the GBGP organisation and name was revived. Both denominations established congregations throughout Irian, as have a number of other Pentecostal and charismatic denominations. From 1963 the GBIS began to send missionaries to Irian. Initially these missionaries cooperated with the existing[144] until, in 1965, the GBIS established its own organisation for Irian. After a split in the GBIS at the national level in 1969-70, all of the congregations in Irian joined the new organisation, the GBI[145]. Although numbers remain relatively small, the GBI is represented in all of the main urban areas of Irian[146]. Other Pentecostal denominations also began working in Irian, including the *Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya* (GPPS)[147], the *Gereja Kalvari Missi Pantekosta*[148] and the *Gereja Sidang-Sidang Allah*[149]. The Pentecostals grew as the number of immigrants from other parts of Indonesia increased, and often after successful campaigns in the towns and rural areas under the guise of 'ecumenical' crusades[150].

The Jehovah's Witnesses entered Irian in the late 1980s. They were reported to be active in many centres in Irian and rural villages in Biak. As they were banned in 1977 by the Indonesian government, their activities have been small-scale and circumspect, as their leaders and members were under constant threat of being arrested and imprisoned[151].

One the of main extra-denominational charismatic groups has been the *Yayasan Pekabaran Injil* (YPI), which had extensive activities in the main centres of Irian[152]. The

Perseketuan Doa also worked within the congregations of other denominations since at least 1967, at the same having independent services and an independent organisation[153]. The presence of the YPI and the *Perseketuan Doa,* despite their publicly acknowledged willingness to work together with the existing denominations, frequently led to internal conflicts within congregations in which they worked, due to their emphasis on charismatic renewal and the role of the individual, which was not always acceptable to the more conservative and traditional congregational members, who saw the form of worship, leadership and theology of the charismatic groups as disruptive and divisive[154].

These charismatic and Pentecostal groups were successful due to their emphasis on acquiring the power of the Spirit, their freer forms of worship which were more attractive than the more formal and ritualised forms of religion of the Catholics, Reformed and Evangelicals, and their apparently classless organisation with its superficial emphasis on ability, as opposed to education, as the primary condition for congregational leadership[155]. The theology of the charismatics and Pentecostals was also simpler, and hence more attractive, to those without a high degree of learning, and their teaching was often seen as more practical, as it tried to address the daily concerns of their members[156]. There were also been 'push' factors, such as the excessive control exercised by some churches over their members, and by the attractiveness of a religion that was 'different'[157]. Despite increasing ecumenical contacts, as well as intermarriage and other interactions, the question of movement from one denomination continued to cause social friction, in rural areas in particular, but also within ethnic fellowships in the urban areas, particularly when the members of the 'traditional' denomination resented the movement of their members to the newer denomination or affiliation[158].

The Catholics broadened the range of church workers to include varieties of non-priestly workers, such as monks and nuns, as well as 'lay pastors', who have run congregations in the absence of a priest, and who have been allowed to lead the local congregation, with the limitation that they were not allowed to perform the sacraments[159]. With assistance from the Dutch government, the Catholics established an Agriculture Training Centre at Kepi in 1956. They also created a number of plantation schemes in the 1960s, that were hoped would produce income for the farmers and the church, and they have been involved in schemes that would develop village infrastructure[160]. In 1989, the *Yayasan Santo Antonius* (Yasanto) was

established to continue these programs, as transmigration from Java, Flores and Timor became a factor in the lives of Papuan Catholics[161].

The integration of Irian into Indonesia in 1963 affected the education system. Until 1962, most of the schools were owned by the Churches, but subsidised by the government. This scheme assisted the Dutch government and the missions, both Catholic and Protestant, to rapidly expand the school system. When the Indonesians took over Irian in 1963, it took time for the repercussions of this new regime to be fully appreciated[162]. Dutch policy had been to support the missions by monitoring and subsidising their schools, setting the curriculum, but only intervening in education when the missions could not meet a need, such as with a number of technical schools that were founded in the 1950s. Under the Dutch, education was Christian and multi-layered, enabling students to study at the level that accorded with their abilities, determined through a selection process. The Indonesians were more concerned with providing education that was universal in its effect and which would facilitate the integration of Irian into Indonesia. Hence education was nationalistic, and all levels were open to those with sufficient language skills and funds, but the education system allowed for fewer choices[163].With the new policies introduced by the Indonesian government, many of the vocational schools were closed, and primary education was extended to six years in all primary and basic schools. State schools were established throughout Irian and the total number of schools at all levels increased dramatically. To staff these schools, teachers were brought from Java and other parts of Indonesia, most of whom were Muslims[164]. The Indonesian government continued supplying teachers and limited funds for the church schools, but with more schools owned and operated by the government being opened in Irian, and with official government support for the Churches, per se, ending, subsidies were reduced, effectively ending in 1973[165]. Despite some renewed support in the form of project grants and making some teachers public employees, who were then seconded on full pay to church schools, by 1983 church schools were only able to meet between 60-80% of their needs from government sources and school fees. It was up to each school to make up the shortfall in funds, which was difficult, as there was still an expectation among pupils and parents that funds would come from the church or another outside source[166]. Some help came from the ICCO for building projects, but this aid was not sufficient to restore the situation. The GKI, in two of its General Assemblies in 1984 and 1992, attempted to rectify the funding problems of the church schools[167], but basically the schools have had to find their own funds. This being so, the network of schools of the YPK has been

maintained[168]. The Catholics established the *Yayasan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan Katolik* (YPPK) in 1974 with the aim of standardising their schools and improving relations with the government. To run their schools they trained teachers in Irian, and brought in teachers from Java and Sulawesi[169]. Other denominations also created school systems. The Evangelical Churches established their own education board, the *Yayasan Persekolahan Persahabatan Gereja-Gereja Injili* (YPPGI) in 1963[170]. The ZGK joined this body in 1966, enabling a number of its schools to receive recognition from the Indonesian government. The ZGK continued to develop schools, some within the YPPGI and others as mission schools, but eventually gave these schools to the government, due to funding difficulties[171]. The Adventist Church emphasised schools as a tool of evangelism and church building. By 1994 they had primary and secondary schools in all the main cities of Irian. In addition there was a Training Centre and High School near Sentani[172]. The GKI opened a tertiary level Economics College in Kotaraja in 1981, with the aim of counteracting the influence of the *Yapis* Economics College in Jayapura, producing more tertiary-educated Christians for the business and government sectors, and fostering rural and urban development[173]. Assistance for education in Irian has also come from outside Irian. The Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga provided scholarships and support for the GKI and, more recently, the GPI. There were sufficient students in Salatiga that the GKI opened a hostel for Papuan students[174]. The *Universitas Kristen Indonesia Tomohon* (UKIT) also provided limited financial support for Papuan students studying there.

Training for the ministry was improved[175]. In 1969, nine fully-trained men from the GKI Theological Academy in Abepura graduated and were accepted within the GKI[176]. In 1968 the Academy was upgraded, and from 1974 was made into a full tertiary-level College offering a standard degree program[177]. One of the early graduates was Augustin Iwanggin, the first woman ordained as a GKI minister, who graduated and was ordained in December 1972[178]. In 1973 the GKI Theological College, the STT-GKI 'I.S. Kijne', had twenty two men and five women training for the ministry[179]. In 1998 this had risen to 261 men and 110 women training to be both ministers and teachers of religion, including a small number of students from other denominations[180]. The GKI also provided scholarships for ministers and parish teachers to study toward a full bachelors degree, as well as higher degrees, in the STT in Abepura and in other colleges[181]. In addition the GKI continued to support the Parish Teachers (High) School in Manokwari and the Bible School in Apahapsili, that was founded in 1976[182]. The graduates were employed as parish teachers, evangelists and as leaders in congregations too small or

remote to support a minister. The GKI at the presbytery level also commissioned some local school teachers as parish teachers, offering them the responsibility for the congregations in their area, along with a small stipend in addition to their teacher's salary[183]. To meet demands for lay education, the GKI opened a *Sekolah Alkitab Malam* (SAM) in Abepura in 1999[184]. The need for church leaders, both lay and ordained, with better education was also recognised by the other Churches. In 1972 the GKII opened the 'Ruland Lesnussa' Bible School[185] in Jayapura, and lower and higher level Theological Colleges were opened in Nabire, Sorong, Wamena, Timika, Kebo, Pyramid, Ilaga, Hitadipa and the Paniai region[186]. In 1986 the Walter Post Theological College was opened in Jayapura, and in 1999 moved to a new campus at Sentani[187]. By 1997 the first graduates with full theological degrees were sent to the GKII congregations in the Paniai region[188]. The Baptists opened a Theological College in Kotaraja, near Jayapura in 1979, which received support from the ABMS[189]. The GPKAI college in Manokwari received recognition as a tertiary institution in 1991[190]. The Stakin was founded in Sentani in 1973 by the RBMU, APCM and UFM, and many of the Evangelical Churches have used the Stakin to train their ministers[191].The response of the ZGK for better trained leaders was initially to entrust education to the local minister or missionary. This system was seen as inefficient as it depended upon the competence and availability of the local congregational leader. So, in 1972, a Central Bible School was established at Bomakia, which offered two year courses[192]. Teachers were still drawn from the ranks of ministers in the congregations, but their teaching load was reduced. Those who agreed to teach promised to give one full month a year to the school. Apart from this they were free to serve their congregations[193]. In 1978, a Middle Theological College was begun for those who had completed Junior High School. This school specifically trained ministers in a four year program[194]. The NRC established a graded system of church leaders, trained in schools using Indonesian as the language of instruction. Primary Bible Schools were established in Landikma, Nipsan, Lelanbo, Ikok, Bomela, Langda, Sumtamon and Moroman. A Central Bible School in was founded in Pass Valley in 1979, which served as the Theological College of the GJPI, taking selected graduates of the Bible Schools in each main station (Nipsan, Landikma, Langda,) to train them as ministers[195].The first minister of the GJPI was Y. Kombo, who graduated from the STT-GKI in Abepura in 1981[196]. The Pentecostals also saw the need for schools to educate church leaders. Jonathan Itaar ran a Bible School when he was in Sorong, and established another when he moved to Hollandia. The schools were small and totally dependent upon the local congregation, but they were able to train evangelists and church workers for the GBGP in Irian[197]. Schools were established by

other Pentecostal denominations in Genyem, Biak and Jayapura, that trained both church leaders and provided vocational education for church members[198]. The GPI IJ opened a lower-level theological college in Fak Fak in 1973, using GPI IJ and GKI ministers resident in Fak Fak, and sent those seeking higher education to Ambon and Jayapura[199]. In 1996 the *Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen* (STAK), was founded in Sentani as an inter-denominational school training Protestant teachers of religion. The school was established as a state-owned school in 1999, and enrolments for religious education in the Protestant theological colleges in Jayapura were directed to the STAK, as of the 1999-2000 academic year[200].

The Catholics were able to continue to expand their school system despite the changed political climate, perhaps because they relied less on support for their schools from the government, and because they continued to view schools and hostels as an important tool for evangelisation and social acceptance, and so budgeted for school programs. Their activities elsewhere continued to expand, in particular Jayapura, which gained a secondary-level teachers college and more hostels[201]. In 1964 a seminary was opened in Abepura to train men for the priesthood. The school was closed in 1967[202], and reopened in 1969 as a Theological College with a broader role, to train men for the priesthood, as well as men and women for pastoral and teaching roles[203].

The system of hospitals, medical care and social services was expanded. In 1951 a leprosy hospital was established by the ZNHK in Wasior and was given to the GKI in 1962. The DZR sent two Swiss nurses to the government leprosy hospital in Sorong and the Leprosy Mission from Australia began working directly with the government. In addition to leprosy work, other general medical work continued. In 1962 a hospital was opened in the GKI post at Angguruk by Dr. W. Vriend, supported by a Dutch nurse[204]. In 1971 a medical service was provided for the lake Sentani region from the GKI clinic in Yoka and the medical work of the GKI in the Baliem, the Bird's head and Sentani regions received support from the Dutch missions, the ZNHK and ZGKN, and the Indonesian GMIM[205]. As mentioned in chapter seven, CAMA sent two doctors to the highlands in the late 1950s, and common diseases were actively combatted by professional medical missionaries as well as other workers[206]. In 1961, Dr Marjorie Bromley, the wife of Myron Bromley[207], began coordinating and extending the medical work of the CAMA and GKII, assisted by nurses from the USA, Canada and the Netherlands. They trained local women and men as nurses[208]. The ZGK opened a clinic at

Kawagit in 1959, followed by others at Butiptiri[209] and Bomakia, and in 1960 a hospital was opened at Kouh to complement the TEAM hospital at Senggo and the sixty clinics it served[210]. A doctor was sent in 1976 to work in the ZGK areas around Tanah Merah, due to the prevalence of tuberculosis, and the ZGK sent nurses to care for mothers and carry out general health care in the villages[211]. Nurses were stationed in Landikma by the NRC from 1970 to continue the clinic set up there by the resident missionaries, the Fahners, the year before, and these nurses extended the network of clinics to other NRC villages in Langda, Bommela and Nipsan[212].Under the Yakpesmi, the medical work was extended in the 1980s and 1990s, with six clinics and twenty five first-aid post in the highlands[213]. The Catholics opened hospitals in Jayapura and Timika in the 1990s, despite the improvements made to the existing government hospitals, the founding of new government and military hospitals and the taking-over of some church-run clinics by the government[214]. Initially the medical work of the churches was carried out by expatriate medical workers, who were slowly supplemented, and then replaced by, locally-trained nurses and doctors. The wives of local missionaries also carried out limited medical work from their homes. In the early stages, all of these medical services were paid for by the missions and their foreign supporters, but with increasing incomes and rising medical costs, payment for health care became more dependent upon the patients themselves or government subsidies[215]. Despite this, the Catholics and ZGK, in particular, continued to seek funds from outside for health care programs and their health centres, as they were often working in areas that were isolated, in need of health care, but outside the money economy[216]. Medical work was conducted by the New Tribes Mission and the SIL, the latter of which in the 1980s and early 1990s, in cooperation with the Cenderawasih University, trained village health care workers, produced booklets, gave medical equipment and provided medical care through clinics that were not supported by government funds[217].

To buy and distribute medicines and medical supplies more effectively, provide health care services across denominational lines and obtain permits for medical workers, the *Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda* was founded in 1978, with representatives from the GKI, Catholic and GKII Churches, and later from the medical foundations of the GBIJ, GGRI and GJPI[218]. Although the *Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda* was independent of the government, civil servants worked for it at various times with the blessing of their immediate superiors. It coordinated health work of its members as well as providing medical supplies, including basic equipment

and medicines to church-run clinics and health workers throughout Irian at prices lower than that of commercial concerns[219].

The Churches, Reformed, Catholic and Pentecostal, opened and operated children's homes and hostels[220]. Hostels were seen as a way of helping young people from the rural areas and the interior, who have come to the cities seeking work and employment. The aim of the hostels was to provide a stable environment as they adjusted to the ways of the cities, within a structured Christian environment with active pastoral care from the church, unlike the government-owned hostels, which where cheaper, but only provided a place to sleep.

Training in farming practices was seen as an important part of helping the new converts to remain in permanent settlements, where pastoral care and supervision was easier, and where nutrition levels could be raised by growing more and higher quality food, using traditional methods as well as new farming practices and methods of animal husbandry in permanent gardens[221]. To aid this endeavour, the missions, supported by the government, introduced new plant and animal species into the areas they evangelised[222]. In addition to new vegetable and fruit varieties, the Catholics and others also introduced chickens and ducks in areas that did not know of them[223]. To facilitate these programs, the missions employed specialists in agriculture. The ZGK, for example, saw the need for better and more food production to support the new permanent villages they had helped found. H. Griffoen, a Dutch agriculturalist, worked in the Kawagit region from 1972-80, where he introduced coconuts, passionfruit and starfruit, as well as marketable products such as palm oil, coffee and cloves. New methods of planting were attempted, if not always successfully[224]. Griffoen introduced fish farming into villages in upper Digul, using two local men, A. Weremba and D. Morumore[225]. There was reluctance to accept new crops and methods, but this did not stop the introduction of these crops and their commercial exploitation[226]. All of the Churches working in rural areas in Irian had agriculture work of some sort. Some brought in expatriate animal husbandry experts, while others used the gardens on the campuses of their theological colleges as part of the process of equipping students for life in isolated villages. The GPI IJ even included reafforestation within their agricultural extension program. The GKI operated a number of congregation-level cooperatives, that succeeded due to strong local support[227].

In addition to expertise in farming, mechanics and technicians were also required by the missions, and the government and business enterprises that were entering the rural areas[228]. To train local men, the GKI opened a carpentry workshop in Abepura, which was later moved to Apahapsili[229]. From 1960-70 the ZGK operated a workshop in Kouh to train mechanics and technicians who could repair the equipment of the mission. The graduates were trained to repair the ZGK mission boat and outboard motors as well as maintain the communication equipment. In 1982 C.J. de Wolf changed the direction of the program to include village development, such as new buildings, as well as carpentry skills[230]. Welfare work, such as education programs, including schools not covered by the YPPGI, and skills training programs, as well as the medical program, were placed under the *Yayasan Pembinaan Pelayaan Reformasi* (Yapper) in 1979[231]. The creation of the Yapper allowed the GGRI to seek assistance from organisations such as World Vision International (WVI), as well as expand its social welfare and village development programs[232]. This example was followed by the NRC, who founded the *Yayasan Kristen Pelayanan Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia* (Yakpesmi) in 1982 as an organisation separate from the NRC. In 1984, as part of the founding of the GJPI, the Yakpesmi became an institution within the new Church[233].

The Churches continued the work of their missions in the area of women's affairs. From the beginning of the evangelisation of Irian women, principally wives of teachers and ministers, had a positive role in the missionary work of the Churches, and in 1929 the first women's organisation was founded in Irian[234]. However, little was done specifically for women, although most missions did have some women's work at the congregational level[235]. In 1962 the ZNHK established a centre in Abepura, where women were brought from their villages for practical training. This work continued as the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pelatihan Wanita* (P3W) and since 1971 was the responsibility of the GKI[236]. Special attention to the status of women was also carried out through the 'loan' of Sophie Patty by the DGI to the GKI, and the formation of organisations specifically aimed at uniting the women of Irian and raising their awareness, coordinated by a special desk in the GKI Synod[237]. Youth work and economic development have also been stressed as ways of meeting the needs of the members in all of the denominations present in Irian. All of the Churches conduct women's and youth work in one form or another[238]. The Churches have tried to deal with the social problems in the community, from drunkenness, to sexual immorality and corruption, with discussions at the Synodal level, and through their training and education units[239].

The GKI started its own printing press in 1969, which, due to financial problems, continued as a body related to the Church but not directly a part of it. The Catholics had a printing press, as did the Evangelicals in Sentani[240]. The Catholics began producing a newspaper in 1954, the *Tifa*, which began as a weekly, published in Hollandia[241]. Christian bookshops of varying size and quality, from small kiosks to large, well-equipped, stores were founded to supply books and worship materials to local Christians. The GKI founded a bookshop in Hollandia in 1960. After integration, the Catholics established a bookshop, near the harbour in Jayapura. The GKII opened bookshops in Abepura, Wamena, Timika and Enarotali[242]. The Catholic and GKII bookshops continue as the two main suppliers of general and Christian books in Jayapura. The GIDI had a number of regional bookshops and a publishing house to produce books and resources for its congregations[243]. While the aim of the enterprises was to evangelise and equip church members, the lack of commercial bookshops meant that the church bookshops had to cater for general interests, such as novels and school text books, which was seen as opening a new avenue for evangelism. The market for Christian books was such that Christian literature and worship materials were sold in night markets in the main urban centres, alongside sellers of Muslim literature. As in other parts of Indonesia, Christian music was readily available in most shopping centres and markets, including music produced in Java, Ambon and Minahasa, as well as cassettes recorded locally.

Other means of evangelism and service continued. Transmigration schemes were given a high priority by the Indonesian authorities. Although many saw this as a threat to the existence of a Papuan and Christian Irian, others have seen the transmigrants as objects of evangelism[244]. In each transmigration scheme, and frequently in towns founded by mining and logging companies, the government required that a mosque and a church be built. These church buildings became the foci for the evangelism of the new non-Christian settlers, and all of the larger denominations have conducted evangelism in transmigration schemes near urban areas where they were strong[245]. In at least one transmigration area, direct evangelism and the settlement of Christians seeking work opportunities was successful in making Christianity the majority religion of the settlement[246].

The Churches and their institutions have continued within the framework of ecumenical organisation and activity, albeit in different ecumenical bodies. In addition to becoming a member of the Indonesian Council of Churches, the GKI was also involved in Asian and Pacific

regional ecumenical bodies, as well as world-wide ecumenical institutions, such as the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), although, as Ukur and Cooley observed, ecumenical involvement at the national or international level was not always translated to the congregations[247]. The Catholic province is part of the Indonesian Council of Bishops, and, as stated above, was open to approaches from the other denominations on theological as well as political matters. The Evangelical denominations, such as the GKII and GIDI, joined the *Perseketuan Injili Indonesia* (PII)[248]. The Pentecostal Churches have tended to be part of the *Dewan Pentekosta Indonesia* (DPI)[249], with some, such as the GBI and GPPS also joining the PGI[250]. The Adventist Church, while maintaining that there is only one world-wide Adventist body, acts like an ecumenical body, with each region being self-supporting, while also receiving assistance from the USA and other regions. This is particularly so for Irian, which received ministers from outside, and had an air service supported from the USA. Other denominations, such as the GBI, GPDI, GKKK, GPPS and GKII were also part of larger denominations, yet had considerable freedom to govern themselves and make independent decisions regarding their work in Irian[251]. The GGRI were independent congregations, but since 1976 have strengthened their ties with other ZGK-founded denominations in Sumba and Kalimantan[252].

Although many of the denominations in Irian still receive assistance from their founding missions, other mission partners, and government and non-government agencies, from both within and outside Indonesia, the Churches in Irian have largely succeeded in being self-supporting and self-propagating[253]. They have managed to maintain cordial relations with their founding missions and denominations, while establishing independent policies and forging partnerships with new bodies. There are now Christians in all but the most isolated regions of Irian, and Christians are represented in all levels of government and business. Competition, both within Christianity and with Islam, has had some negative consequences for the Christian community, with denominational divisions and conflicts being carried into the communal life. Competition has, however, also produced positive results, with congregational members taking denominational loyalty more seriously, and so enhancing their evangelism and pastoral care, to maintain their existing membership, and encourage people from other denominations and religions to join. As a direct result, the Churches have had to broaden their level of ecumenical understanding and cooperation. This has been seen in ecumenical programs at the Synodal level, and in toleration and interaction at the congregational and individual level. There is hope

for the Christians in Irian, that they will be able to continue to build a Church that is varied in church order and worship styles, true to the gospel that was brought by its founders, and tolerant, if not accepting, of all who share the same vision of the place of the God of Jesus in Irian.

1. (Only a teacher who is truly an Apostle to the Nation can bring [his] children into the realm of nationality). Sukarno, "Menjadi Goeroe Dimasa Kebangsaan", in Sukarno, *Dibawah Bendera Revolusi*, Panitia Penerbit Dibawah Bendera Revolusi, Djakarta, 1965, p. 613.

2. Technically Irian was given to the United Nations, not Indonesia. But, the Indonesians and the Dutch understood that the territory was being handed over to Indonesia. Dutch government property was sold to Indonesia, and Indonesian officials took over from the departing Dutch.

3. Irian was, until 1973, known as West Irian or *Irian Barat*. When the new name was officially proclaimed as 'Irian Jaya' by the Indonesian government, the GKI followed and changed its name to the 'GKI in Irian Jaya'. F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 38.

4. T. Müller-Krüger, *Der Protestantismus in Indonesien*, Evangelisches Verlagswerk, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 154.

5. Two German missionaries, Aring and Zöllner, were sent in 1960 as a result of this request, along with Dr. W. Vriend from the ZNHK. See Z. Rumere, Interview, Manokwari, 27 Oct 1997. However, this does not mean that the notion of integration into Indonesia was universally accepted. As Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 32f, point out, the leadership of the mission in the Netherlands accepted the reality of Irian's integration (and may have pressured the Dutch government to accept it also. S. Bajema, "West Irian: A Neo-Colonial Dilemma", *Pacific Perspective*, vol. 9, no. 2, Suva, 1980, p. 78), while at the same time the mission leaders in Irian, such as Kijne, Kamma, Kabel and ten Kate, were preparing the GKI to be the main Church in an independent nation of West Papua. This difference of policy between the mission and the missionaries produced tension within the GKI itself.

6. 'Irian Jaya Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian', GKI, Jayapura, 1991, p. 1. This congregation, the *Pengharapan* (Hope) church, has become the central and largest GKI congregation in Jayapura, and was only one of two church buildings in Irian wired for broadcasting its services by the Indonesian Radio (the other was the Catholic Cathedral in Jayapura).

7. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 35f. Rev. D. Prawar was then the General-Secretary of the GKI. Rumainum continued as the Moderator until his death in January 1968, after which he was replaced by J. Mamoribo. Mamoribo graduated from the Theological College, then in Serui, in 1958. After being employed as a teacher, he was able to continue his theological studies in the Netherlands. From 1962-1968 he had several positions in the GKI Synod, the last being Moderator from 1968-71. Mamoribo became the Deputy-Governor of Irian in 1971, and still held this position when he died in 1976. E. Ulimpa, 'Tokoh Gereja di GKI Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 1-4.

8. The GKI's membership of the DGI and WCC may have been the reason that it was viewed with some suspicion by the Evangelicals, as the WCC in particular was viewed as anti-Christian, due to its tolerance of communism and diverse understandings of spirituality, such as those of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", *In Depth Indonesia*, no.8, Aug. 1977, Commission for Mission, UCA, Sydney, p. 7. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 536f, notes that the GKI attempted to create a united Inter-Mission Conference, but failed due to differences over church order, baptism, finances, and the GKI's toleration of the use of alcohol and tobacco.

9. It was originally the *Kemah Injil Gereja Masehi* (often shortened to *Kingmi*). The name was changed to the GKII in 1983 at a national conference in Ujung Pandang. A. Rumaseb, *Sejarah Masuk & Berkembangnya Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia di Irian Jaya 1938-1994*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1997, pp. 25f, and Y. Inaury & M.O.S. Semboor, 'Gereja Kingmi/GKII', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 3. The GKII was a federation of eight Conferences in Indonesia, which had the same overall name, and which met regularly, but which were otherwise self-supporting and self-governing. All received support from the 'mother' Church, the CAMA in the USA. The Conference in

Irian was supported by the separate 'CAMA Irian Jaya Mission', which was separated from the mission in Indonesia in 1951, due to emerging differences in currency and language as a consequence of the continuation of Dutch rule in Irian. R. Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia: Sejarah Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia Sejak 1930*, Kalam Hidup, Bandung, 1995, p. 414. The other seven Conferences were supported by the 'CAMA Indonesia Mission'. E.Y. Bernhard, 'The Program of Developing Organizational Leaders in the Kingmi Church of Irian Jaya', M.A. Paper, Wheaton College, Wheaton, 1980, p. 21.

10. Baptist Church in Irian Jaya. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 200ff, E. Wambrauw, N. Baransano, T. Awom & Y. Wabia, "Gereja Baptis di Irian Jaya", in D.J. Neilson (ed.), *Gereja-Gereja di Irian Jaya*, n. pub., Abepura, 1996, p. 7, and C. Hawae, 'Sejarah Masuknya Baptis di Irian Jaya', Jayapura, 1994, p. 2. However, there were problems registering the Church with the Department of Religious Affairs, and it was not formally recognised until 1975, with J.K. Karetji as the Moderator (Karetji had just returned from studies in Sydney). J.K. Karetji, 'Sejarah Singkat Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Baptis Irian Jaya (PGBIJ)', n.p., n.d., p. 4. After a restructuring in 1988, the Church was renamed the *Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Baptis Indonesia* (PGGBI) or 'Fellowship of the Baptist Churches in Irian Jaya'. Wambrauw, loc cit, p. 7. However this name is rarely used and it is normally referred to as the Baptist Church. Reports in late 1999 point to a potential split between Baptist congregations in the Bird's Head, that were established by the DVR, and those in the Baliem/Jayapura region, which were founded by the ABMS.

11. The Church structure was initiated in Bokondini in 1963. The Synod office moved to Sentani in 1982. It was initially called the *Gereja Injili di Irian Barat* (GIIB), and was changed to the *Gereja Injili Irian Jaya* (GIIJ). The name was changed again in 1988, after Papuan students in Java evangelised some of their neighbours and established a congregation of the GIIJ. Y. Nanthy & A. Pigome, 'Mengenal Gereja Injili di Indonesia (GIDI)', Abepura, 1994, p. 1, and P. Koibur & F. Dimara, 'Laporan Hasil Penelitian pada Kantor Sinode Gereja Injili di Indonesia', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, p. 20. In 1992 the GIDI had twelve congregations in and around Yogyakarta and Bandung. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 63, and J. Parman, *Sejarah Gereja Injili di Indonesia (GIDI)*, APCM, Abepura, 1996, p. 18.

12. Bible Fellowship Church of Indonesia. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 48. In 1970, a former TEAM missionary from Irian moved to Java and began a Church that was initially connected to the GPKAI. In 1978 the congregations in Java established their own Church structure, the *Gereja Kristen Alkitab Indonesia* (GKAI). Ibid, pp. 51, 53f. From 1981-86 the two Churches cooperated under the GKAI name. However, dissatisfaction with the way the union functioned resulted in the GPKAI congregations deciding to work as independent organisation. They could do this as there had not been a union of the assets of the two Churches. Several congregations in the Manokwari area chose to continue within the GKAI. C. Gillett, 'GPKAI', Manokwari, 17 Oct 1999. These congregations may be the twelve congregations that were still included in the 1994 GPKAI statistics. 'Data Statistik Gereja untuk Tahun 1994', Gereja Perseketuan Alkitab Indonesia -GPKAI-, Manokwari, 1995, pp 1, 21.

13. The Reformed Churches of Indonesia. The GGRI has a structure similar to other reformed Churches, with a synod, presbyteries and congregations. But a congregation can only become a member when it is self-supporting. Decisions cannot be reached between Synod meetings, reflecting the background of their mission, the ZGK, where the congregation is the central institution of the Church, and not the Synod as in other Reformed denominations. O. Mahuze, O. Rumi, Y.S. Sarwa, & A.K. T'Korop, *Sejarah Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*, Deputat-Deputat Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (IRJA), Bomakia, 1982, pp. 33-35.

14. after the formation of the first NRC presbytery in 1979. G. Hoogendoorn, 'De Missionaire Arbeid van de Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Irian Jaya', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1993, p. 50, "Gereja Jemaat Protestan di Irian Jaya", *Kerken Oversee*, no. 242, November 1997, p. 2, and C.G. Vreugdenhil, *Medeburgers der Heiligen*, Den Hertog, Houten/Utrecht, 1983, pp. 27ff. The Synod is discussed in detail in C.G. Vreugdenhil, *Vreemdelingen en Huisgenoten*, Den Hertog, Houten, 1991, pp. 18-42. The meeting was attended by C. Nainggolan, the then (Christian) head of the provincial Department of Religious Affairs.

15. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 285. Dutch congregations, such as the GKI Paulus congregation in Dock 5, Jayapura, lost all of their Dutch members and became Indonesian-language congregations. K.S. Burdam, 'Sejarah

Perkembangan Jemaat GKI Paulus Dok V', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, p. 2. The positive aspect of the loss of the Dutch congregations was that the GKI was freed from the strong influence that these congregations had brought to bear on the GKI. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 28f. However, this came at the cost of a loss of income for the GKI and support for its peripheral programs. This exodus of Dutch-speaking Christians also affected the Pentecostal Church, which had a Dutch-language service in the church in Abepura. In 1963 the service was closed. However, the former members began their own Pentecostal Church in the Netherlands, the *Bethel Pinksterkerk*, which continued to support their former Church in Irian. Hadi Wibowo & P. Mayor, 'Gereja Bethel Indonesia', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1995, p. 3.

16. Although the quality of the new workers was not always as hoped. The existing Catholic missionaries in the south felt that many of the new missionaries from Flores and Java could not cope with conditions in the more isolated posts, and this was why they chose to work for the government in the urban areas. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 2, n.p., n.d., pp. V.10f.

17. The Moderator elected for the period 1996-2000 at a General Synod meeting in Fak Fak was Rev. H. Saud, who was from the Ayamaru region, and so not from one of the dominant ethnic groups in the GKI.

18. The last ZNHK Mission Chairman, de Ritgers, resigned as the GKI General-Secretary in mid-1962, soon after the announcement of the hand-over of Irian to Indonesia, and was replaced by M. Koibur. M.T. Mawene, "Dari L.J. van Hasselt Sampai Pdt. J. Mamoribo", *Peninjau*, xiv/2 & xv/1, 1990, p. 28.

19. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 144, note that this included large numbers of Christians from other parts of Indonesia, who tended to settle in major towns. Denominations other than that of the GKI also received these immigrants as members, with varying degrees of acceptance. As S. Sumihe, 'Kerajaan Allah: Analisis Sistematik Visi Teologi GKI di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1990, pp. 28f, admits, the GKI as an institution has received these immigrants as members, but existing GKI members have been slow to give them full acceptance within their congregations. The exception has been in new congregations, such as the 'Kanaan' congregation in the new Abepura suburb of Perumnas 4, which had no nearby Papuan village, and congregations such as Paulus Dock 5 and Immanuel Sorong, which were comprised largely of immigrants.

20. E.P. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1999, p. 110. The first mosque in the previously Christian Kebar region, for example, was built in 1980. J. Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980: Sociale Structuur en Religie in de Vogelkopf van West-Nieuw-Guinea*, Foris, Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 29f. Many older people date their disillusionment with Indonesia from the completion of the central mosque in Biak, which convinced them that Sukarno's promises, that Irian would not be a target of Muslim settlement and evangelism, were valueless. When the mosque was flattened by an earthquake in February 1996, despite extensive destruction of church buildings, it was one of the first worship centres to be restored.

21. The Muslim Education Foundation. The *Yapis* was active in opening schools and Islamic centres in areas considered Christian, such as Baliem region. With the support of Muslim businessmen and the government, Dani Muslims were given scholarships for education in Jayapura and Java. See G.R. Monim, 'Suatu Studi Tentang Perkembangan Islam di Daerah Kabupaten Jayawijaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, pp. 27f. They were encouraged to convert by being allowed to eat pork. The thinking among many Muslims seemed to be 'we will convert this generation and purify the next'.

22. S. Roosman, "Notes on Irian Jaya", *Papua New Guinea Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, February 1977, p. 20.

23. Monim, op cit, p. 24.

24. B. Giay, *Gembalakanlah Umatku*, Deiyai, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 84ff, notes that in 1995 the Muslims began

building a mosque in Beoga. Local GKII leaders complained, but the government officials, who were sponsoring the mosque, refused to comply and the mosque was built. As a result of these complaints, an agreement was reached not to build any mosques outside the regional government centre. However, the building of mosques in other centres in the Baliem continued, despite protests from local church leaders.

25. Giay, ibid, pp. 79-81, gives an example of a GKII member who converted to Islam in the 1970s, whose civil service career then moved faster than his Christian colleagues. Some may have converted to gain material benefits and support. Giay also gives the example of the GKII minister in Nabire, who converted after working for World Vision in Nabire (WVI), and who was feted in Ujung Pandang and given financial support. The conclusion that Giay comes to is that he needed to account for the WVI money he had been given, and could only do so with the support of powerful Muslims. This does not mean, though, this is the only reason Christians have converted to Islam. Many converted to marry, as did the Muslims to Christianity, and many must have been genuine conversions.

26. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 78f. The military used direct and indirect (through businesses in Irian) funding of church buildings and activities to improve its standing among the religious groups in Irian. Eg. In 1995 a new Catholic church was opened in Arso, that had been built with wood from the nearby logging company, local labour, and Army funding. "Gereja Mungil dan Patung Yesus Pemberian Pangab", *Cenderawasih Pos"*, 1 Feb 1995, p. 1. In 1983 the *Yapis* founded the first tertiary level Economics College in Irian, the STIE *Yapis*. See K.P. Erari, 'Our Land, Our Life', Doctoral Dissertation, Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology, Jakarta, 1997, p. 163 and footnote 11.

27. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 303-305.

28. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 84-89. In transmigration locations in Sorong and Jayapura several congregations have been strengthened by new converts. A. van Klinken & N. Marsh, 'Confidential Report to Indonesia by Arie van Klinken and Neville Marsh August 1991', n.p., October 1991, p. 2.

29. For example, in 1974 one Evangelical mission stated that there were 30,000 baptised Christians in Irian, by implication excluding the GKI, GPM, ZGK and Catholic Christians, all of whom accepted the validity of child baptism. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 533. In reference to an area on the south coast, in 'Irian Jaya: Untouched Regions', MAF-PRD #1159, December 1994, p. 3, it is stated that "Some villages claim to be Catholic, but no change in their lifestyles and beliefs speaks otherwise. Hence, the region is considered open to evangelism by the Protestants". Similar sentiments have been expressed in reference to Biak people, most of whom were nominally GKI members; "... the entire tribe labels itself 'Christian'. But the state of the Church is an example of dead orthodoxy and syncretism. Very few Biakers understand what personal salvation through Jesus Christ means." M. Newell, "Koreri or Christianity?", *TEAM Horizons*, July/August 1985, p. 8. NB: the Evangelical missions, including TEAM, used GKI parish teachers, many from Biak, during the initial phases of their evangelisation and church-planting, and GKI policemen supported the witness of the CAMA missionaries in Enarotali during the early stages of the mission there.

30. This was an ideal, which despite the reluctance of the GPM mission to join the GKI, and the presence of various missions such as the Baptists and CAMA, who did not have a history of cooperation with other non-Evangelical denominations, still persisted into the 1970s, and may be behind the GKI's reluctance to agree to sponsor the GPI in Irian Jaya, formed from the presbyteries of the Moluccan mission, in its bid to join the PGI, as such acknowledgement meant the end of the dream of a united Protestant movement in Irian.

31. For example, the GKII in Irian.

32. due in part to the efforts of the Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF), which connected Jayapura with the highlands, thus enabling missions to succeed in these areas, and also allowing the new converts access to the coast, where they have settled in significant numbers. Apart from the MAF, the Catholics operate Associated Mission

Aviation (AMA), which was more commercial in its nature and employed pilots, rather than their being supported by individual Christians in other countries. The RBMU/World Team (through the *Yayasan Pelayanan Penerbangan Tariku* (YPPT), which was formerly known as 'Regions Wings') in 1999 had four expatriate pilots and three aircraft. N. Kawengian, Interview, Sentani, 29 Oct 1999. SIL (under the *Yajasi* Foundation) and Adventist Aviation also had planes based in Sentani (the Adventists had their own airfield at Doyo Baru, near Sentani). Although primarily to serve members of their mission, each of these organisations provided air services to the general public and the government.

33. As the GKI analysed the situation, reported in Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 144f, they lost members due to poor pastoral care, the attractiveness of other denominations and social factors such as marriage or family connections. They also had to deal with fundamentalist evangelists who were not interested in cooperating with nascent GKI congregations in newly opened areas. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, p. 5.

34. Eg. in the 1950s the NNGPM, the Dutch oil company, sought Muyu, Marind, Kimaan, Mappi and Asmat workers for its activities in Sorong. A. Vriens, 'Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats', in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, Arnoldus, Ende, vol. 3a, 1974, p. 638, and J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, p. 10. This began a migration of Muyu people to Merauke, Sorong, Hollandia and other urban centers in Irian, thus increasing the number of Catholics in these, previously Protestant, regions.

35. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 208f.

36. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 52. In 1994 the congregation in Biak had 100 members. ''Data 1994', op cit, p. 6.

37. The reverse was also true, even in the 1950s. In 'Geredja Kristen Indjili di Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea: Perhimpunan Synode Umum jang Kedua', Manokwari, 8-17 August 1960, p. 37, the congregations in the Paniai Lakes are discussed. Statistics are not given, but it is obvious that, even then, GKI congregations existed in what was nominally a CAMA and Catholic mission field.

38. As population density was low and their congregations were small, this figure is unlikely to be accurate. 10,000 may be a truer figure. L. Simbiak & M. Erari, 'Hasil Penelitian Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Irian Jaya (Yowcha)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 1, 4-5. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 28f. Some areas were not successfully evangelised, in particular the Korowai area, which was the enemy of the neighbouring Kombai people, who refused to enter the Korowai area as they said that it was the region of their God, Rafafu. If disturbed from his rest disaster would befall them. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 66.

39. Simbiak & Erari, op cit, p. 2. The term 'synod' in this case is perhaps a misnomer, as the office was established to deal with the government and the other denominations, and did not have the power to make major policy decisions without the prior approval of an assembly of representatives from all the congregations.

40. As is indicated by the list of congregations and names of the founders, in ibid, pp. 4f. See also Mahuze, op cit, pp. 14f.

41. The entry of the NRC, or ZGG, is mentioned in chapter six. See also 'Gereja Jemaat Protestan di Irian Jaya', *Kerken Oversee*, no. 242, November 1997, p. 2. Langda was chosen as it was in the centre of a large untouched region and was suitable for an airstrip. H. Rijksen, *Mission on Irian Jaya: Church Building and View of the Development and Destruction of the Nipsan Station*, Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Congregations, n.p., 1973, pp. 101-3.

42. E. Karay, 'Hasil KKN Gereja Jemaat Protestan (GJPII) Jemaat Ulinikma Pass Valley', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1988, p. 12.

43. The Mek people, for example, at the time they were approached, were preparing for a large traditional ceremony. Missionaries would have interfered with the atmosphere of the 'mystery'. To overcome resistance, the missionaries used a number of strategies, principally distributing axes, salt and other goods, and taking in children, who then became pioneers for the gospel. Karay, op cit, p. 10.

44. Rijksen, op cit, pp. 21, 155-65. In addition to the Biak assistant minister and the Abenaho evangelists, a number of their wives and children were also killed. Survivors fled to the VEM post at Kosarek, from whence they were air-lifted to Angguruk for medical treatment. The event took place the day after the NRC missionary, G. Kuyt, and his family left for a furlough. Police were sent, but were attacked and forced to withdraw. H. Benz, *Lebenzeichen Aus. der Steinzeit: Missionarische Pionierarbiet in Irian-Jaya*, VEM, Wuppertal, 1989, pp. 1f. When the party from the NRC in the Netherlands arrived to investigate the situation, they were accompanied by soldiers. Rijksen, op cit, pp. 169-73.

45. Kuyt, using a MAF helicopter, visited the surrounding valleys, and left fifteen indigenous evangelists. Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 54-56.

46. J. Louwerse, 'Una (West New Guinea) Worldview and a Reformed Model for Contextualising Cross Cultural Communication of the Gospel', Doctoral Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987, p. 28.

47. 'Zending op Irian Jaya', n.p., n.d.

48. M. Lahimudin, 'Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Kehidupan Warga Jemaat di Lereh', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 28f

49. "mengalami kemacetan berat". H. Saud, 'Hiduplah Sebagai Anak-Anak Terang', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, 1995, p. 179.

50. Saud, ibid, p.182, says that the GKI responded to the challenges of integration by "panicking". While this may not be strictly-speaking true, it points to problems within the church leadership after the death of Rumainum, who was the staunchest advocate within the leadership of the church in Irian for integration.

51. K. Krenak, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) Klasis Biak Utara Jemaat GKI Eklesia Wari', STT-GKI "IS Kijne", Jayapura, 1998, p. 15, and Saud, op cit, p. 184. As Krenak points out, the reorganisation made the GKI better able to respond to the needs of its members, and enabled the congregations to be able to be more self-reliant. The GKI has undergone a number of major changes to its church order since the first church order in 1956. Sumihe, op cit, p. 11, footnote 1, lists new church orders in 1956, 1968, 1971, 1977 and 1984.

52. Miedema, op cit, pp. 34f.

53. The dissatisfaction with the government began in 1963 with a series of armed revolts in largely GKI areas on the north coast. The level of anti-Indonesian violence increased after the PEPERA or 'Act of Free Choice' that took place in 1969. The Indonesian government interpreted the PEPERA as a pro forma act to complete the process of the integration of Irian. However, the people saw it as their last chance to voice their dissatisfaction with the situation in Irian in the presence of international scrutiny. Many also believed what had been said in 1962, that they would have the right to choose independence, or at least genuine regional autonomy. Rumainum and Mamoribo were influential in bringing calm to the situation in the mid 1960s. Mawene, 1990, loc cit, pp. 28-33. Saud, op cit, pp. 180ff, deals at length with this period, and the involvement of the GKI in the political events of the time.

54. Including agriculture projects aimed at improving the life or church members or providing on-going funds for

the Church. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 137-141. He states that there is a tendency for the church to live for today and not to worry about tomorrow. This is true for the other Protestant churches, including the GKI, which had continual trouble meeting its obligations, due to a lack of reserve funds. Giay, ibid, p. 90, states that this is one reason why Islam was more readily accepted in the interior, as Islam offered material inducements that the missions had not thought of primary importance. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 58f, warns that if assistance from outside, including medicines, is not distributed evenly, and if more people were not brought in to assist the development of the local communities, the 'others' (presumably Muslims) would be sought for these things.

55. "Pelayanan Gereja-Gereja di Irian Jaya dan 5 Februari", *Serikat*, no. 5, Year 1, March 1995, p. 4. The writer states that these differing attitudes to social and economic development are complicated by differences in dogma, and relations with supporters outside Irian.

56. Saud, op cit, p.186f, labels the Muslims from South Sulawesi as being the ethnic group that has caused the most resentment. He says that the Papuans have also been marginalised by the urban centres that have grown since 1963, and the new values that have become acceptable in them, such as reserved areas for prostitution, government corruption and the display of excessive wealth. According to Saud, their culture has been devalued, and with it their Christian values. This has turned Christians, such as Saud himself, from being favourable to Indonesia to being opposed, as they do not feel included within the Indonesian nation. S. Thoenes, "Anger in Irian Jaya Points to Trouble", *Financial Times*, 26 March 1999, kabar-irian@irja.org. There *has* been discrimination against the Papuans, from delayed payments for land to being denied opportunities for further education, despite having equal qualifications to Indonesians. 'Irian Jaya Untuk Keadilan', op cit, pp. 4-8.

57. Saud, op cit, pp. 188ff. Although Saud states that this is a thing of the past, in the election for the Moderator at the meeting in Fak Fak in July 1996, in which he was elected, it was reported at the time that the consistent number of invalid votes was because some electors from one disappointed ethnic group consistently voted for their candidate, despite his disqualification before voting began.

58. Ibid, p.190f. A new moderator was chosen in the General Assembly in 1980. Saud was elected as the General-Secretary at that meeting.

59. M.P.M. Muskens, *Partner in Nation Building; the Catholic Church in Indonesia*, Missio Aktuell, Aachen, 1979, p. 93, and A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Populer tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 18, 177, 125.

60. The seat of the Diocese of Manokwari was moved to Sorong in 1974, and the diocese was renamed 'Sorong-Manokwari'. Muskens, 1979, op cit, p. 94.

61. A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensisklopedi Gereja*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, vol. 1, 1991, p. 60, vol. 2, 1992, p. 153, and vol. 3, 1993, p. 151.

62. Such as dealing with problems of enculturation and training more lay pastors. Heuken, 1991, op cit, p. 60. Due to the difficulties with training priests, the Catholics in Irian laid great stress on lay pastors. L.N. Mercado, "The Abepura Programme: An Alternative Seminary Model for Melanesia?", *Catalyst*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1989, pp. 25-28.

63. Jayapura, despite having a mix of orders represented within it, is the rèsponsibility of the Franciscans. Yet its Seminary in Abepura also trains priests from the other dioceses in Irian including, for a few years in the 1980s and 1990s, PNG. At the time of the founding of the Diocese of Agats in 1969, although it was the responsibility of the Crosiers to supply the Bishop, they were assisted by MSC, Mary Hill and Maryknoll priests, Crosier brothers and Maria Mediatrix and Ursulin sisters. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp.18, 80f. M.K. Borlak, 'Pintu-Pintu Inkulturasi dalam Gereja: Beberapa Usaha di Keuskupan Sorong', STFT Fajar Timur, Abepura, 1992, p. 16, lists orders that have sent workers to Irian between 1964 and 1988. They included orders of nuns, as well as the Jesuits.

64. The first was in 1978. Ibid, p. 16.

65. Van Schie, op cit, p. 377.

66. E.J. Steiger, *Wings Over Shangri La*, n.p., 1995, pp. 132-6, and Kartawidjaya, op cit, p. 73. The school was run by N. van der Stoep and his wife. Van der Stoep, as stated in chapter six, had an important role in instigating the VEM/ZNHK/GKI mission in the highlands. In the photo accompanying B. Brown, "Some Recent Baptisms", *Vision*, November 1981, p. 6, Eli Rumi, who is shown baptising his wife, "had been a lay pastor in the G.K.I. (Dutch Reformed; national) church ... [who] was baptised in 1980 at Tiom".

67. Herman Imbab, who was killed at Nipsan, was a nephew of the F. Rumainum, the first GKI Moderator. He worked with the NRC after a request from Kuyt to the GKI for teachers. Rijksen, op cit, p. 185.

68. GMKI: Indonesian Student Christian Movement. GAMKI: Indonesian Christian Youth Movement. R. Weohao came to Irian to be the leader of the GAMKI, and was commissioned by Rumainum, the then Moderator of the GKI, in 1965. Weohao, op cit.

69. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 155. R. Wick, *God's Invasion*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, pp. 168f, says that after one three-week campaign in 1969, 2,900 people 'responded to the salvation invitations'. This was followed-up in 1970 with another crusade by an evangelist from Timor, Mel Tari, after which some GKI members moved to the GKII. The GKI has also lost members to Pentecostal denominations, after open-air campaigns.

70. The term is attributed to Martin Marty, in B.L. Shelley, *Church History in Plain Language*, 2nd ed., Word, Dallas, 1995, p. 431, to describe mainline denominations, with a major public profile. If 'public' denominations are those who have institutions such as children's homes, who have medical work and other general services and who make statements on communal issues, then in Irian only the GKI and the Catholics could be truly described as 'public', as they are the ones with a voice and presence that is acknowledged beyond the confines of their own membership. The profile of the GKII is changing, as some of its leaders become more involved in community issues and programs, and so could also be described as a 'public' Church.

71. One example being the *Yayasan Gerbang Indah Irian Jaya*, which was based in and funded from Jakarta, and was recognised by the PGI. See 'Introducing Yasgrin', pamphlet, Jakarta, n.d.

72. (Inter-Church Consultation and Cooperation Board). In Biak, the BKAG gathered together the local registered denominations, the GKI, GKII, Catholic, GPDI, GBI, GPPS, Adventist, Calvary, GPKAI, and Tabernacle Churches. J.M. Leunufna, A.S. Mandibondibo & J. Kbarek, 'Kabupaten Biak Numfor Menyongsong Pertemuan Raya Wanita Gereja Pra Sidang Raya XII Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia (PGI) di Biak Irian Jaya Tanggal 11 s/d 16 Oktober 1994, Panitia Pertemuan Raya Wanita Gereja Pra Sidang Raya XII PGI di Biak, Biak, 1994, pp. 19-21. However, contacts through the BKAG have not been very successful in fostering regional ecumenical cooperation. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, p. 13.

73. Such as the Christmas message, P. Sawen, & H.F.M. Muninghoff, 'Pesan Natal Bersama', Jayapura, 1985, which was read out in GKI and Catholic congregations. In this, and succeeding joint pastoral letters, the GKI and Catholics have asked their members to refrain from large pre-Christmas celebrations. These pleas have been largely ignored by the Protestants, for whom these celebrations are an integral part of the celebration of Christmas (at the suggestion of Rev. O. Rondonuwu, the Minahasan community found a way around this by describing their Christmas celebrations in 1998 and 1999 as an *Ibadah Menyongsong Natal* 'Celebration Welcoming Christmas'). The human rights abuses that accompanied demands for Independence after 1998 also brought the Churches together, as many of their members were arrested and intimidated. In July 1998, GKI, GKII and Catholic church leaders issued a statement calling for the end to military actions in Biak, then taking place after a flag-raising. The

statement was addressed to the Indonesian military and government, as well as international church bodies, such as the WCC, Vatican and CAMA in the USA. "3 Warga Sipil Tewas Tertembak Seruan Gereja Irja: ABRI Jangan Gunakan Kekerasan", *Suara Pembaruan*, 9 Juli 1998, suarapembaruan.com/News/1998/07/090798/Headline/hl02/hl02.html.

74. M.T. Mawene, 'Hubungan Kerjasama Oikumenis STT GKI "I.S. Kijne" - STFT "Fajar Timur": Suatu Catatan Sejarah', paper presented to the Week of Ecumenical Prayer, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 1f. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 209. At the Synodal level, the GKI and Catholic churches have acknowledged each other's baptismal rites since the 1950s, and had consulted in matters of disagreement. "Sekilas Sejarah Kerjasama antara Katolik dan GKI", *Tifa Irian*, Week 1, February 1995, p. 7. At the level of Theological Colleges there has been more cooperation than at the Synodal level. Eg. Despite a decline in contacts between the Catholic and GKI Colleges (Mawene, loc cit, pp. 3f), there was an informal discussion group that met regularly in 1997-1998, that included staff and students from the Catholic, GKI and GKII theological colleges in Abepura and Sentani. There was also cooperation at the congregational level. In at least one case, a GKI congregation inland of Jayapura asked to become Catholic. After discussions, the request was rejected by the Catholics, but the GKI cooperated in allowing a Catholic school in the region. A similar scheme developed in Biak. In some isolated areas where their numbers were insufficient for continuous pastoral care, Catholics were encouraged to worship in the local Protestant congregation. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, pp. 13f.

75. In Biak, between 1955 and 1962, the Catholics used the Protestant building for their services. D.N. Nebaele, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Biak Selatan', Abepura, 1988, p. 5.

76. Eg. M. Mauri, Lecture, 16 May 1997, who stated that he was frequently called upon by GKI congregations to assist at special events. In the Genyem district the Pentecostals are the second largest group of churches. They have cooperated at the congregational level with the GKI, frequently because family links between the congregations have remained strong. M.T. Mawene, "Mengenal Keadaan Jemaat-Jemaat Dari Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI) di Irian Jaya Dalam Wilayah Pelayanan Klasis Nimboran", *Peninjau*, Year 5, no. 2, 1978, p. 144.

77. As these groups are not registered, numbers are difficult to ascertain. In 1999 in the Jayapura region, there were at least fifty Minahasan village-focussed groups, each with about thirty families, as well as groups from the Batak, Toraja, Sangir and Moluccan immigrant ethnic groups. Indigenous Papuan village gatherings also met, from the Biak, Sorong, Arguni and other regions. They usually meet on a monthly basis, with a short service, a meal and fellowship. The Bataks maintained their wider kinship organisations, which met on a less regular basis, but which existed to conduct Batak-style worship, and to maintain their clan links. Some, such as the Bataks, Minahasans and Moluccans, had non-denominational Christmas, Easter and 'regional hero' celebrations, usually held in an central location, and often led by people from outside the ethnic group who had family ties with the ethnic group. Eg., the motivators for the 1999 Minahasan Christmas celebration included a Batak and a Dayak, and the committee was headed by an army officer. The celebration involved Minahasans, as well as ethnically-mixed students from the Cenderawasih University and the STT-GKI.

78. L. Lewerissa, 'Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', translated by D. Neilson, July 1993, pp. 2f. In 1985, two leaders of the GKI visited Australia and Papua New Guinea to strengthen bilateral ties with the Churches and church councils in these two countries. K.P.H. Erari & G.M. Satya, 'Menata Masa Depan Kerjasama Oikumenis GKI di Kawasan Pasifik', Jayapura, 1985, passim. In the 1980s the Australian Council of Churches (ACC) also provided chaplaincy services for the refugees who crossed to Papua New Guinea and also provided the GKI with funds for development programs. 'The Australian Council of Churches in Partnership', ACC, Sydney[?], 1990, pp. 7f. In 1986 $A50,000, for example, was supplied for the development programs of the GKI. S. Blamey, Letter, 27 May 1986. Ties between the GKI and the UCA have continued to grow, especially in the late 1990s, with ties being made at both the Assembly and State Synod level with the GKI. S. Lichfield, Letter, 29 Nov 1999.

79. The *Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia*. Contacts had occurred beforehand. There was a delegation from Irian at the first General Assembly in 1950, and in 1962 Rumainum had discussions with the Indonesian representatives at the WCC meeting in New Delhi. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 210.

80. The DGI sponsored a number of people, such as K.M. Tjakraatmadja, who in 1964 was sent to be the Rector of the Theological College, and David Sulistyo, who worked in the GKI Synod office in the late 1980s. M.C. Malamuk, 'Sejarah Berdirinya Sekolah Injil sampai dengan Berdirinya Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Izaak Samuel Kijne', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 7. Between 1960 and 1971 the Pasundan, GPIB and GPM Churches supplied lecturers for the Theological College in Abepura. The GMIM, supported by the ZNHK, supplied nurses for the hospital in Angguruk, and a doctor for wider medical work of the GKI, and the HKBP in North Sumatra sent a doctor to Manokwari. G. van Klinken, 'Peacemaker and Defender of the People', Commission for World Mission Uniting Church in Australia, Salatiga, 1985, pp. 5f. During the same period, the ZNHK also sent a doctor, S. Sengkerij. D.F.C. van der Hoeven, 'Reisverlag Indonesie, 10 May 1990-1 June 1990', p. 1. The GKI also cooperated with the government in a number of rural clinics. L.J. Hursepuny, 'Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya: Pelayanan dan Tantangannya', paper presented to the Forum Konsultasi Universitas Satya Wacana dengan Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Salatiga, 1986, p. 7. Since the end of 1995, no further medical staff have been sent by foreign or Indonesian Churches. The *Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan* (GKJW) has also sent ministers to serve in Irian, and in 1999 had two ministers working in the transmigration areas outside Jayapura. See Ukur and Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 206f , 'Evaluation of the Yayasan Diakonia (Yadi) in Irian Jaya', Jayapura, passim, and Y. Walianggen, 'Pengabdian dan Pelayanan Zending VEM di Klasis GKI Balim-Yalimo', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 38, and W.F. Rumsarwir & S.H. Rumboirussi, 'Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Badan Pekerja Am Sinode', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, p. 21. The *Puspenka* also received funds from *Brot Für die Welt*. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 212.

81. Mission Board of the Rereformed Churches in the Netherlands. The ZGKN began its involvement in the GKI in 1961, when K.A. Schippers began teaching in the Theological College in Abepura. *De Zending in 1967*, GKN, Leusden, 1967, pp. 60f.

82. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, pp. 99-101, lists, among others, the ZNHK, the UCA, the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, VEM, Ekumindo, and the National Church Councils in the USA and Australia. Some bodies provided funds or people, others aided theological education or economic development projects. A number of GKI partner Churches commissioned a report, N. Kana, et al, 'Integrated Development Programme, Evangelical Christian Church of Irian Jaya (GKI Irian Jaya)', Salatiga, 1990, in particular pp. 25-28, to discuss their project support, past and future. Despite a number of acknowledged failures, the conclusions were very positive.

83. Saud, op cit, p. 177. The most recent German missionary was Rev. F. Tometen who left in June 1997. A former VEM missionary, K. Reuter, planned to return in early 2000, to work in the *Puspenka*. Funding was available as A. Kusch completed his contract in the STIE in Kotaraja at the end of 1999.

84. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 211. This being so, by the end of 1999, the ZNHK, ZGKN and VEM were only supplying lecturers, scholarship funds and some project funds. The STT-GKI was able to find all of its funds from students fees, funds from the Synod, and a small subsidy from the provincial government. S. Loupatty-Latuputty, 'Laporan Keuangan STT-GKI "I.S. Kijne" Tahun Anggaran 1999/2000 (April 1999-September 1999), STT-GKI, Abepura, Nov 1999, p. 1.

85. See O. Schupbach, 'Projekt Baitanisa/Kwanehe in Irian Jaya', mid 1988, Serui, and O. Schupbach, 'Baita-Nisa', Basel, 21 Nov 1988.

86. The CMS sent members of the Anglican Church in Australia. They worked in the STT-GKI, the parish teachers school in Manokwari, as a University chaplain in Jayapura, and as nurses. K. Frewer, Letter, 28 April 1993. The UCA supplied a lecturer to the STT-GKI between 1992-2000 and provided other assistance. D.J. Neilson, 'Sidang Sinode XIII GKI di Irian Jaya', Fak Fak, 1996.

87. According to Kana, op cit, p. 21, Conford produced few tangible results. It ceased to meet after 1993, due to an apparent unwillingness of the GKI leadership to support the concept.

88. "Irian Jaya Dukung Kebijakan Pemerintah", *Berita Oikumene*, July 1992, p. 14. Dutch aid was unilaterally suspended due to a conflict with the Indonesian government, and was not reinstated, at the request of the President Suharto. GKI students on scholarships were particularly affected by the loss of Dutch government support, that had been funnelled through the GKI. See P. Mares, "Killing Several Birds With One Stone", *Inside Indonesia*, June 1992, p. 32. The ICCO also funded NRC social welfare projects. Vreugdenhil, 1991, op cit, pp. 109f.

89. In 1978, CAMA announced that they would continue funding medical, schooling and translations projects, as well as providing administrative support, but the missionaries who would be sent would be for the support of the GKII, and would not be engaging in primary evangelism independent of the local church. Lewis, op cit, p. 459. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 173f, questions the use of CAMA funding, suggesting that the impetus came from CAMA, and not from a realistic evaluation of the needs of the GKII and the people being evangelised. This issue of the independence of the Evangelical missions continued to be an concern for the Evangelical denominations and the new generation of church leaders, who acknowledged the assistance of the missions in evangelising Irian, but who resented the continued perceived interference of the missions in the life of the church. The TMF continued to assist the missions and provide them with support separate from their local church. There was a tendency for the Evangelicals to not be actively involved in local congregations, as can be seen in the continued health of the Newman Chapel, established in Post 7 in the 1950s, which was English-speaking, independent of an existing denomination (although it was Evangelical in its church order and liturgy, and very supportive of CAMA activities), and, in late 1999, had an active membership of about sixty expatriate families. There was no Reformed, Catholic, or Dutch-speaking equivalent elsewhere in Irian after 1963, as missionaries with these backgrounds tended to identify with, and be involved in, the local church, or joined the Newman Chapel. Eg. Henry & Rose Moore, who worked for the SIL, were Presbyterians from the USA, and were active in the GKI congregation in Sentani, rather than the Newman Chapel. There was an English-language service in the Baptist 'Santa Rosa' congregation in Jayapura, attended by local people, and between 1981 and 1988 there was an English-language service in the GKI Pengharapan parish in central Jayapura, that catered to foreign tourists and students wishing to improve their English. Anecdotal evidence suggests that up to half of the congregation may have been Muslims, who came for the practice in English.

90. Indonesian Bethel Church. Hadi Wibowo & Mayor, op cit, p. 3.

91. Some of their projects in the Kebar have been together with the UCA and ZNHK. P. Shires, Indonesia: Country Profile', Jakarta[?], 30 Nov 1998, pp. 2ff. See also K. Hoffman, Indonesia: Country Profile', Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, 25/11/97, pp. 3f. One project was a community centre in Anjai in the Kebar. The workers were local, Australian and American. All items that needed to be purchased were paid for by the UCA, MCC and SIL, and transported using an MAF plane. A. Matthews, "Return to the Kebar", *World Mission Partners*, December 1996, pp. 12f.

92. B. Eckerskorn, 'Discussion with GKI Representatives in the KNH Office on September 16, 1994', Duisburg, 18 Oct 1994, p. 2, and F. Tometen, "Kultur Zwischen Segen und Fluch", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, p. 14. Tometen also mentions the support of German aid organisations for GKI programs. However, as Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 212, point out, the support of the ZNHK, ZGKN and the VEM has been greater and more consistent than the other missions and Churches that have supported the GKI and its institutions.

93. Monim, op cit, pp. 47f. Eg. the GKI has encouraged contacts between GKI presbyteries and regional presbyteries and Synods in Germany and Australia. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, p. 19. H. Keßler "Wachsende Verbundenheit", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, pp. 32-36, details one such visit. The fruit of another is detailed in Matthews, loc cit.

94. *Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia*. The organisation was reformed and renamed at the 10th General Assembly in Ambon. See C. de Jonge, *Menuju Keesaan Gereja*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1990, pp. 87f.

95. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, pp. 19f.

96. Regional PGI. I.S. Karundeng & D.J. Neilson, *Irian Jaya Welcomes the 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Communion of Churches*, PGI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 15. The first Chairman was P. Sawen, a former Moderator of the GKI. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, p. 16. These denominations have all expressed their desire to work with other Christian Churches in Indonesia, including the Catholics,. R. Weohao, 'Address by Rev. R. Weohao Moderator in Irian Jaya of the Gereja Bethel Indonesia', Abepura, 25 April 1997.

97. The GPI IJ officially became a full member of the PGI in 1996 but could not participate in the General Assembly until 2000. J.M. Pattiasina, Letter, 18 Nov 1994.

98. M.J. Wattimena, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Fak-Fak', Abepura 1989, p. 10, and Apaseray, op cit, p. 6. Many of the new GKI congregations were formed by members and minsters with Papuan backgrounds, who left the GPM and founded their own congregations, using public buildings and temporary structures until permanent church buildings could be constructed. This process has continued in GKI and GPI areas on the south coast. "Berdirinya GPI di Irian Jaya, Suatu Langkah Mundur Dalam Gerakan Keesaan", *Serikat*, no. 1, June 1985, pp. 1, 6.

99. See Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 204-207, and Apaseray, op cit, p. 19.

100. 'Selayang Pandang Sejarah Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Irian Jaya', Panitia HUT 11 GPI Irja, n.p., 1996, p. 3.

101. This included blocking the application of the GPI IJ to join the PGI. However, at the GKI Assembly in Serui in 1992, this decision was reversed. Wanma, op cit, pp. 8,11. The GKI adopted this attitude, in part due to acceptance by the DGI in its meeting in 1964, of the GKI's stand that other Churches that were members of the DGI could not be established in Irian. W. Rumainum & Y. Iba, 'Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Selatan Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, p. 6. This stand was reiterated in several subsequent meetings, such as the 'Church and Community Conference', in Biak in 1985, in which it was stated that no new Churches in Irian were permitted. P. Sawen & E.P. Erari, 'Message of the Church and Community Conference Irian Jaya', Biak, 1985, p. 1. On the basis of this agreement other PGI denominations have not supported their former members when they have expressed a wish to establish branches of their home denomination in Irian. The best example is the 'Nommensen' congregation that was founded in the early 1990s in Jayapura as a congregation of the *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* (HKBP). After many protests from the GKI to the PGI as well as the regional government, the Church was founded as an independent Batak-speaking congregation, without any formal ties to the HKBP. See "Sekitar Persoalan HKBP dan GPI", *Serikat*, no. 5, Year 1, March 1995, pp. 9-10.

102. The Indonesian Protestant Church in Irian. Originally called the *Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Bagian Selatan Irian Jaya* or 'Protestant Church in the Southern Part of Irian Jaya'. E. Wanma, 'Latar Belakang Berdirinya Gereja Protestan Indonesia di Bagian Selatan Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, 1994, p. 5, and Rumainum & Iba, op cit, p. 8. This caused some disturbances in Fak Fak, between GKI and GPI IJ members. "Kawasan Irja Selatan Masih Hangat: Upaya Apa Yang Mesti Ditempuh?", *Serikat*, no. 2, July 1985, p. 2. Of the larger denominations in Irian, the GPI IJ is alone in not having a central office in Jayapura. However, the Deputy-Moderator resides in Jayapura, to care for GPI IJ members there and to deal with the provincial government.

103. Rumainum & Iba, op cit, p. 4, and "Sekitar Persoalan", loc cit, p. 10. Tension between the two denominations continue at the denominational level. M. Tjoe,'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN)', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1998[?], pp. 14f, cites a case on Karas Island, near Fak Fak, where tensions between GKI members and the GPI minister, resulted in the minister being forced from his pulpit during a Sunday service, and expelled from the island on the same day. Tensions were resolved with the GKI members worshipping in the building in the morning, and the GPI members at night. Both groups employed parish teachers to carry on the work of their congregations. Despite the agreement in 1992, which was given weight by a visit of the then GKI Moderator, W. Rumsarwir, to the GKI presbytery in Kaimana, GKI congregations continued to multiply in the neighbouring Arguni region. The GPI also founded a congregation in Manokwari, which was served by a minister and four parish teachers. .D.A. Ruba, 'Data Umat Beragama Kristen Protestan, Rohaniawan dan Tempat Ibadah di Kabupaten Manokwari Tahun 1997',

Department of Religious Affairs, Manokwari, 1998.

104. A resort was a division of the GKI that covered a large area. A *klasis* is, as the name implies, a smaller division, more akin to Presbyterian presbytery or Methodist district. Eleven resorts were restructured into 32 presbyteries. The process of making the GKI hierarchy closer to the members of the GKI was part of an on-going process. For example, the resort in Miei originally covered the entire southern part of the Geelvink Bay, as far as the nascent town of Nabire. In 1959 it was divided into two, with the Napan presbytery covering Nabire. In 1962 a government administrative centre area was set up at Nabire, whence the presbytery office moved. In 1964 a separate resort was founded at Nabire which lasted until 1971 (see footnote below) and the founding of the current presbytery. See F. Lie, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Jemaat GKI "Eltekon" Wanggar Klasis Paniai-Nabire', STFT-GKI "IS Kijne", Jayapura, 1998, pp. 11f. The GKI felt that another level needed to be reintroduced to ensure that there was adequate control over larger areas, so eight regional Synods were established. They did not have a permanent office or staff, and served to coordinate the activities of the presbyteries in their region. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, p. 7.

105. An example is the presbytery formed in 1972, covering Sorong and Raja Ampat. Since then, the presbytery has been divided into two, with a possibility that the Raja Ampat presbytery may also have to be split. See F. Yotha, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Klasis Sorong Jemaat GKI Pniel Malawele', STT IS Kijne, Jayapura, 1998, p. 10. The creation of more presbyteries required a larger bureaucracy to run them, which resulted in some ministers seeing their role as administering the presbyteries, rather than caring for the congregations directly.

106. J. Bensley, *The Dani Church of Irian Jaya and the Challenges Facing It Today*, M.A. Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1994, p. 56. Some of the missions, such as those cooperating with the GKI, did not maintain a separate organisation in Irian. Others, such as the CAMA, TEAM, World Team and Baptists, were not part of the local church, and owned property in their own right. They usually cooperated solely with the denominations they founded. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 4. Pentecostal congregations tended to be self-supporting, while being part of their larger church organisation. They were open to receiving evangelists from outside Irian, and frequently hosted evangelistic crusades and other public worship services led by preachers from Java, Minahasa as well as Irian.

107. This was perhaps as much for political reasons as pastoral. In A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensisklopedi Gereja*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, vol. 4, 1994, p. 265, the oversight of Sorong Manokwari was, in 1993, given to the (Javanese) Bishop in Malang, assisted by a mixture of priests, as well a number of pastoral assistants with theological training. In addition, there were also sisters from a number of orders, both expatriate and Indonesian. It has since been given its own Bishop.

108. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 198f. In the same year there were 3,212 Indonesian church workers.

109. The school began as an inter-mission school at Post 7, run by CAMA, with schooling to Year 8. From Year 9, students then went to Papua New Guinea, Malaysia or the Philippines to complete their studies. In 1987 a Year 9-12 school was founded at Post 4 by the SIL, which was renamed the 'Hillcrest International School' in 1995. The two schools were formally joined in 1997, operating under an ecumenical foundation headed by Rev. J. Parman, an APCM missionary then working for the GKI. The two schools began operating from a single campus, at the High School complex at Post 4, in August 1999. Satellite schools were begun in Wamena and Nabire in 1994. A. Valley, Letter, 17 August 1999, and *Tifa '99*, Hillcrest International School, Sentani, 1999, pp. 2, 8f, 34f. In the 1980s and early 1990s there was a Dutch-language Primary School, based at Post 7, with a branch in the highlands. In Landikma, the branch school was run by Mrs Vreugdenhil. A. Vergunst, *Een Foto-Verslag van Een Reis op Irian Jaya*, De Boon, Rotterdam, n.d., p. 87. The International schools tended to act as a focus for the expatriate mission community, and engendered ecumenical contacts and understanding within the expatriate mission community.

110. Eg., in Sarmi, the evangelist was aided by a local civil servant. However, the congregation in Sarmi only lasted from 1976 until 1980, perhaps because he was transferred elsewhere. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 23. The evangelism

program was restarted in 1984, as an official GKII program. Despite a number of deaths from sickness, and the return of several evangelists to the highlands, the GKII was able to establish a congregation in Sarmi. E. Stringer, 'Catatan', n.pub, Jayapura[?], 1996, pp. 32-34.

111. M. Sada & O. Sawaki, 'Mengenai Gereja Kristen Kalam Kudus', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 4. Citra was then raised in rank from 'Evangelist' to 'Reverend'.

112. Ecumenical Church. L. Hutapea & J. Ramandei, 'Hasil Penelitian pada Jemaat Gereja Oikumene di Waena', STT-GKI, n.p., 1994, 6-12.

113. Part of the reason for the confusion may have been that the Mennonites *were* different to the GKI, despite the agreement of the DZR to join the ZNHK congregations in founding the GKI. L. Mambor-Bähler, Letter 16 Mar 1994, p. 2. The Mennonites were said to have described themselves as 'Anabaptists', which their converts would have understood as being similar to the 'Baptists' from Australia. For these reasons, some congregations may have felt as if they did not belong to the GKI, and so were willing to join the Baptists when they visited the region.

114. Wambrauw, loc cit, p. 7.

115. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 61. Eg. The GIDI now has a congregation in Genyem, which is traditionally a GKI area, and another in Arso, which is traditionally a Catholic area.

116. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 20f. In Sarmi, the GKII initially worshipped in a disused GBI building, with the permission of the leader of the Bethel congregations in Irian, R. Weohao. At the time Weohao was also the head of the Indonesian government's Department of Religious Affairs in Jayapura.

117. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 155, and Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 15.

118. As stated in chapter 7, the mission was not initially an intentional evangelisation, but it was supported by the Raschers, once new TEAM members on Numfor asked for support. The Raschers purchased a boat for the mission to Numfor and led a number of visits there. See P. Rhoads, 'The History of the Evangelical Alliance Mission in Irian Jaya', 1988[?], pp. 12, 20f. From this beginning, evangelists were sent to Biak and Numfor, who planted churches and conducted open air campaigns, despite consistent local opposition. Newell, 1985, loc cit, p. 9.

119. H.F.Y. Osok, 'Pola dan Strategi Pembinaan Warga Gereja di Jemaat GKI "Efata" Arso Pir', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 40-42. Despite opposition from the local Catholic congregation from 1982-84, who claimed that Arso was traditionally Catholic, GKI members in the area gathered together the Protestants and began worshipping in a hall until the Catholics relented and allowed a church to be built in 1985. The congregation was assisted by one of the urban congregations in Jayapura. They were initially served by a parish teacher, and in 1993 were given an ordained minister. The Catholics gained three congregations in the Genyem district, which converted after a dispute with the GKI. Mawene, 1978, loc cit, p. 144.

120. According to L. Pospisil, *The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea*, 2nd ed., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1978, pp. 99f, 104f, 118, the Me were one of the first groups to appreciate the advantages of the new Western communication link, and cooperated in constructing roads and bridges within their region. One of the tribes they particularly liked to trade with were the Muyu, inland of Merauke, who were too far away to be traditional trading partners, but who were, according to his Me contacts, "business-oriented and money-concerned as we are". By 1962 Pospisil could use Me translators to talk to Indonesian-speakers in a number of centres outside the Paniai region. J.W. Schoorl, "Mobility and Migration in Muyu Culture", *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, vol. 144, 1988, pp. 542f, states that this drive to accumulate wealth and experience new things was reflected in their culture, religion and attitude to work. It made them eager for trade, and willing to seek employment in Sorong and other centres, where their attitude to work was valued.

121. The service was discontinued in 1962. But other congregations grew from it as more Me, Damal and other GKII members moved to the coast.

122. Wick, op cit, p. 168.

123. Bernhard, op cit, p. 15.

124. See Rumaseb, op cit, pp. 21f, and Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 17-19.

125. B. Giay, 'Address to STT Students', Abepura, 9 May 1997. The congregation in Biak was a Me language congregation. Wick, op cit, p. 188. There were four GKII congregations in Wamena in 1982, comprised of Me, West Dani, Dani, and Indonesian-language speakers. Lewis, op cit, p. 451.

126. These congregations were founded both by laymen and evangelists. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 15-19, says that Kemtuk Gresik, for example, was considered as an area belonging to the GKI. This did not stop Andreas Kwano, in the mid 1970s, a student from the Jaffray Theological College in Ujung Pandang then in Jayapura, from encouraging Kemtuk youths in Jayapura to evangelise their home region. A GKII congregation in Serui was begun after a GKII layman moved there, and began approaching his neighbours. Despite opposition, and perhaps because of it, the congregation had seventy members within three months of beginning. Wick, op cit, pp. 171f.

127. Ibid, p. 188.

128. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 9, 24. The establishment of congregations at the mining town of Tembagapura was at the instigation of local GKII members. Developments in the town from other denominations, such as the GKI and Catholics, have also been at the behest of members working for Freeport Mining, the main employer. Timika and Tembagapura may be the first region in Irian to have been evangelised without the active assistance of foreign money or support personnel. A structured, but very positive, chronology of the expansion of GKII congregations in Irian in the 1970s and 1980s, is in Lewis, op cit, pp. 462-7.

129. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 18, 23. The congregation at Manokwari was originally founded by two GKII ministers returning to Jayapura from Fak Fak in 1986. Initially the congregation was given to the GPKAI in Manokwari, but now has its own GKII minister and identity.

130. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 207f, and F. Mambrasar, *Kisah Perjumpaan Injil dengan Kebudayaan Dani dan Yali di Balim/Yalimo: Suatu Kenang-Kenangan dalam Memperingati Yubelium 25 Tahun Pekabaran Injil di Klasis GKI Balim/Yalimo*, Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Sorong, 1988, p. 24. The Helimission entered Irian in 1998 to supplement the work of the MAF in providing drought relief. A helicopter was brought in from Australia, and they are expanding their work to assistant relief organisations and the missions. E. Schneider, Letter, 16 July 1999.

131. *Menschen Zwischen Erwartung und Evangelium: Chronik der 30-jährigen Zusammenbeit von Vereinigter Evangelischer Mission (VEM) und Evangelischer Kirche van Irian-Jaya (GKI)*, Vereinigte Evangelische Mission, Wuppertal, 1992, p. 125, and Walianggen, op cit, pp. 42-44. For example, the congregation in Gilika was founded in 1989 by three GKI Yali evangelists. Elelim was established by a GKI evangelist, Yakup Hisage, as part of a scheme to give people from Apahapsili better land for permanent settlement. The efforts in the Mamberamo were successful enough for the GKI to create a new presbytery for the region. K. Reuter, "Bericht aus Irian-Jaya", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 13, no. 5/77, p. 82.

132. F. Tometen "Hoch über unserem neuem Lebensraum und Arbeitsgebiet", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 26,

Jan/Feb 1990, pp. 21f.

133. As Wick, op cit, p. 92, puts it, "About half of the people stayed with the Roman Catholic Church teaching and agreed to move. The other half of the tribe chose to follow the gospel teaching of the witness men and remained in their mountain homes". See also Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 9-11. The initial response to the request was a group who brought a gramophone and recording, presumably supplied by Gospel Recordings, to introduce the new faith.

134. Mahuze, op cit, p. 18, and Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, pp. IV.6f.

135. O. Ballan & D. Mambrasar, 'Jemaat Kategorial ABRI', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1995, p. 7 Details are few for these congregations. Their primary purpose was to serve the military and their families, but others working for the military or living in the local area were allowed to join, and even lead them.

136. L. Kabra & R. Wamafma, 'Summer Institute of Linguistics', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, pp.1-4, and Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 42. The SIL was, with many of the Evangelical missions, a faith mission, where the members sought support from their home congregations. However, its members came from a variety of denominational backgrounds, both Reformed and Evangelical. In Irian in 1994, the SIL had members and associates from the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Korea, Japan, Germany and Finland, working as translators, pilots, support staff and teachers (in the International School in Sentani).

137. See 'Laporan Tahunan (1 April 1988-31 Maret 1989 dan Rencana Kerja (1 April 1989-31 Maret 1990)', SIL, Jayapura, 1989, pp. 1-13, where it is noted that the SIL had been involved in seminars and teaching with the University, translation and publication of materials, and village projects such as technology transfer. They also mapped the languages of Irian and did other basic linguistic and anthropological studies. Eg. P.J. Silzer, H. Heikkinnen & D. Clouse, *Peta Lokasi Bahasa-Bahasa Daerah di Propinsi Irian Jaya*, UNCEN/SIL, Jayapura, 1986. These are listed in detail in R. Hugoniot (ed.), 'Summer Institute of Linguistics Five Year Report', SIL, Abepura, 1985, pp. 4-55, supported by copies of documents that were produced during the period, that run to several hundred pages.

138. The SIL has received sponsorship from the Indonesian Home Affairs, Social Welfare and External Affairs departments as well as other government-linked bodies. It also cooperated with a number of non-government organisations. 'Gambaran Singkat 1999-2000', SIL Internasional Cabang Indonesia, Jakarta, n.d., pp. 3-5.

139. K. Ringenberg, et al, 'Biliteracy in Rural Settings: A Look at Some Irian Jaya Literacy Programs', Paper presented at the International Conference on New Guinea Languages and Linguistics, Jayapura, September 1995, p. 9. The ending of the connection with the Cenderawasih University was very difficult for the SIL in the short-term, and a number of SIL members had to permanently leave Irian. However, the *Yayasan Jaars Indonesia* (Yajasi) was formed to conduct and expand the work of the SIL air arm, greater importance was given to *Kartidaya*, and, in order to obtain recommendations from other government departments, SIL workers began paying more attention to village development projects, while still producing the academic and linguistic materials they had previously written in cooperation with the University. Yovitarea, 'Yayasan Jaars Indonesia (Yajasi)', April 1993, and 'Gambaran Singkat', op cit, p. 11. See also Kabra & Wamafma, op cit, p. 5, and *Berita Kartidaya*, 3rd Quarter, 1995, which both promoted the *Kartidaya* and noted on its difficulties. Kartidaya also sent other translators to Irian and ran training programs. Until 1997 *Kartidaya* in Irian received limited funds from the UCA and other organisations for these programs. 'Laporan Tahunan 1995', Yayasan Karunia Bakti Budaya Cabang Irian Jaya, n.p., January 1996, pp. 2f, 20f, 23f. Since then, difficulties in recruiting Indonesians as translators (temporarily?) ended *Kartidaya* activities in Irian, although the organisation still had activities in other parts of Indonesia.

140. Intercultural Service Foundation. J. Brantley, Letter, 8 Dec 99, pp. 1f. Although sponsoring an American former SIL couple, it locally funded and owned.

141. A. Kaumfu, Y. Rumbrar & M. Moktis, 'Yayasan Perseketuan Pekabaran Injil Indonesia (YPPII)', STT-GKI,

Jayapura, 1994, p.12, and R. Sigarlaki (ed.), *Pujilah Tuhan Hai Jiwaku*, YPPII, Batu-Malang, 1985, pp. 94-101. The YPPII was founded in Batu Malang in 1957, and was behind the 'Indonesian Missionary Fellowship' that visited Irian in 1970 and had a number of open-air meetings. They also sponsored a Timorese evangelist who was reported to have succeeded in converting six Mamberamo tribes, where Western missionaries been unsuccessful. D. Crawford, *Miracles in Indonesia*, Tyndale House, Wheaton, 1972, pp. 72-76, 152.

142. The Yanem was founded in 1990 in Jayapura from GKI members, including the then GKI Synod Moderator. Apart from visiting people in their homes, its members also had campaigns in the Papuan villages around Jayapura J. Lumenta & Y. Kurube, 'Yayasan Pelayan Nehemia (YANEM)', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, pp.1-4. The *Yayasan Laskar Kristus* was established by J.S. Saparua, in 1990, with the aim of addressing problems of social welfare in Irian, in particular in the Baliem and Paniai regions, as well as assisting the building of places of worship. Y.M. Wamafma & Y. Seranik, 'Yayasan Laskar Kristus', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, pp.1-4.

143. Itaar, who moved to Hollandia in 1961, was given a ticket to go to Jakarta to bring a delegation from the GPDI, that was coming to Irian at the behest of the Indonesian government. Jonathan Itaar died in 1994, and is buried next to the church. He was succeeded in the Abepura congregation by his son. Upessy & Korwa, op cit, pp. 9-11.

144. *Gereja Bethel Injil Sepenuh* (GBIS). *Gereja Bethel Gereja Pantekosta* (GBGP). *Gereja Bethel Indonesia* (GBI).

145. Hadi Wibowo & P. Mayor, op cit, p. 4.

146. Despite the comments of Weohao, op cit, that the GBI did not evangelise Christian areas, the GBI has occasionally taken members from the GKI when the local GKI presbytery has not provided adequate attention to its members, as happened in the Makbusun transmigration area near Sorong in the early 1990s. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, p. 23. According to Hadi Wibowo & Mayor, op cit, p. 4, in 1994 the GBI had 15,645 members in 180 congregations and posts.

147. Surabaya Pentecostal Church. A congregation of the GPPS was founded in Manokwari in 1968 by T. Elkana. In 1994 it claimed to have 3,000 members and three centres in and around Manokwari. Karundeng & Neilson, op cit, p. 17. In 1998 a small congregation was opened in central Jayapura.

148. Calvary Pentecostal Mission Church. In 1998 it had two congregations in Jayapura, both near the city centre. 'Daftar Nama-Nama Gereja / Jemaat di Kotamadya Jayapura', Seksi Bimas (Kristen) Protestan Kandep. Agama Kodya Jayapura, Jayapura, 1998, p. 4.

149. Assemblies of God. The Calvary Pentecostal Mission Church and the Assemblies of God were products of the same American Assemblies of God mission. The Calvary Church, based in Ternate, was given responsibility for Eastern Indonesia, and the Assemblies of God, based in Jakarta, was given Western Indonesia. However, as more of their members entered Irian, the Assemblies of God established congregations in Jayapura and other centres. Through the *Yayasan Bethania* these congregations have been able to sponsor several expatriate missionaries, such as K. Kugler and J. Yost, who sought their sponsorship after ceasing to be involved with their original missions.

150. J.F. Onim, *Soteriologi Agama Suku Tehit*, B.Th. Long Essay, STT Jakarta, 1988, p. 86, stated that their successes have not been even. In the Bird's Head, the Ayamaru region has had more Pentecostal penetration than other areas. He also states that one reason for their success has been support from government officials, which would fit with the growth in the Pentecostal movement paralleling increased numbers of immigrants in Irian. Ibid, p. 33. Mauri, op cit, stated that there are now 320 GPDI congregations in Irian, of varying size.

151. "Vonis 10 Bulan Penjara, Ditolak Pengikut Jahova", *Tifa Irian*, Week 5, July 1994, p. 10. P.J. Akobiarek,

'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Pniel-Korem Klasis Biak Utara', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 21. Since the change of government in Indonesia in 1998, the position of the Jehovah's witnesses has improved. Despite occasional difficulties with local authorities, they now have a central office outside Jakarta, and are able to openly support congregations in other parts of Indonesia. For example, unconfirmed reports suggest that the Eastern Indonesian Region representative has provided building funds for at least one congregation in Irian.

152. The 'Evangelisation Foundation'.

153. The 'Prayer Group', sometimes called the *Perseketuan Doa* or 'Prayer Fellowship'. The movement began in Java in the 1960s. It nominally works within established Churches or across denominational lines. Its organisation in Irian was established in 1972, with branches in Biak, Merauke, Wamena, Manokwari, Teminabuan, Nabire, Serui, Fak Fak Timika and Jayapura. N. Korwa & D. Tarumaselly, 'Perseketuan Doa', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, pp. 2, 4f.

154. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 63-66, gives and example of the activities of the YPI in Nabire, which resulted in internal conflicts over worship and the proper credentials for church leadership. Despite being disbanded in the 1980s, the group in Nabire reformed and attracted members from the other Evangelical congregations in the area. Examples also exist of their role, often positive but occasionally negative, of the YPI in GKI congregations. See also Onim, 1988, op cit, p. 87.

155. Including dancing, worshipping in places other than the church building, and accepting the importance of dreams and prophesy. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 101-105.

156. Ibid, pp. 106f. GKI members acknowledged that their assumption that evangelism can only be conducted by those with status in the congregation, such as elders or ministers, or those with a high level of education, gave an opening to groups who emphasised individual ability only. D.N. Nebaele, 'Hasil KKN Klasis Biak Selatan', Abepura, 1988, pp. 15-19. Nebaele dealt with the challenge of the *Kelompok Doa* at such length that it can be concluded that it was a major challenge for the urban congregations in Biak at the time.

157. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 107f. However, these denominations laid great emphasis on the God-given authority of the minister. This may be one reason for the continued success of the more democratic, and less theocratic, denominations, such as the GKI and GKII.

158. Y. Dimara, 'Peranan Gerakan Keesaan dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Jemaat-Jemaat Kristen di Desa Yaur, Pantai Barat, Klasis GKI Paniai Kab. Paniai', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 32, gives a list of the families and individuals that have left the GKI since the GBI entered Yaur, near Nabire, in 1969. Some left because they were related to the new Pentecostal minister. Some left after being disciplined by the GKI, and others married members of the GBI congregation. This movement of members was also between the Pentecostal congregations, due to theological and ideological differences among the members. Ibid. pp. 45ff. The Catholics and the GKI felt that they were deliberately targeted by the Evangelicals, and the Catholics in the south, in particular, felt threatened by the activities of Evangelical missionaries and their foreign supporters. Eg. the activities of Bitbet in the Asmat region, successfully challenged the authority of the local Catholic leaders. J. Dekker & L. Neely, *Torches of Joy*, 2nd ed., Crossway Books, Westchester, 1985, pp. 139-46. Within the Minahasan ethnic association, the 'Kumawangkoan', at least one family left after changing allegiance to a Pentecostal congregation, as they said they did not feel comfortable in a GKI-based group. Despite this, the membership of this village-based group was equally divided between those with Pentecostal and Reformed backgrounds.

159. In 1987 the diocese of Jayapura had a Bishop (Muninghoff), assisted by seven secular priests, eighteen Franciscan priests, five nuns, and fourteen lay pastors. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 177. Catechists or lay pastors are recognised as playing an important role in evangelism, church-planting and congregational growth, as they did not require the same level of education as a priest, were willing to be placed in isolated villages in the first stage of evangelisation, and had wives who could assist them. Vriens, loc cit, pp. 646-8. Muninghoff was succeeded by an

Indonesian from Flores, Leo Ladjar, in September 1997.

160. Such as drainage projects. *Rapport Missie naar Irian Jaya*, Vergaderjaar 1985-86, 2e Kamer, de Staten-Generaal, the Hague[?], p. 37, and Vriens, loc cit, pp. 644f.

161. St. Anthony Foundation. Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 153. In addition to assisting with agricultural development for isolated communities, marketing advice was also provided. 'Irian Jaya Provincial Development Fund', Government of Indonesia, May 1989, p. XIV-1.

162. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 158f.

163. Erari, 1999, op cit, p. 107, and S. Poerbakawatja, 'Pendidikan Tinggi dan Masa Depan Irian Jaya', Speech at the Graduation Ceremony of Cenderawasih University, 19 December 1977, p. 18.

164. Kartawidjaya, op cit, pp. 82-86. Students from the lower-level teachers' schools in Irian were also licensed to teach, rather than completing their training in a higher level school.

165. and what government money was available was, in the early stages, slow in arriving, such that, from 1963, the church schools in effect had to be self-supporting. "GKI Irja dan Kemandirian di Bidang Daya", *Tifa Irian*, Week 1, February 1995, p. 9. The ending of subsidies for the church schools freed funds for the increase in the number of government-owned schools. T. Kustim, et al, *Masalah Irian Jaya dalam Hubungan Negara-Negara Pasifik Daya dengan Indonesia*, LEKNAS-LIPI, Jakarta, 1985, p. 42. This was reflected in an expansion of government schools in all parts of Irian, particularly in the interior. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 48f. While the government may not have been deliberately challenging the preeminence of the Churches, the government became an alternative source of wealth, of ideas and, by using Muslim teachers and workers from Java and other parts of Indonesia, of religion.

166. *A Brief Look at the History and Development of Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya*, Badan Pengurus Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen di Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 20f.

167. In 1984 by devolving responsibility for funding the schools to the local congregation. However, few of the congregations heeded this decision of the General Assembly. Many of the schools were also in villages where there is either no GKI congregation, or where the school teachers make up the bulk of the GKI members. See ibid, pp. 20f. In the Arguni gulf, disaffected members of the GPI IJ have founded small congregations, led by resident GKI school teachers, in what was formerly a GPM area.

168. In 1973, according to Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 162, in 1973 the YPK had 555 primary schools, thirty two junior high schools, and seven senior high schools. Of these, the majority received a subsidy from the government. A *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG), or teachers school, was built in Biak in 1985 with the assistance of Satya Wacana Christian University to train YPK teachers, but was closed soon after due to a change in government education policy that transferred teacher training to tertiary institutions. N. Schulte-Nordholt, 'Outline of an Integrated Development Plan of the Evangelical Christian Church (GKI) in Irian Jaya, on Behalf of the People of Irian Jaya', n.p., 1985, p. 6. In 1994 the YPK had ten kindergartens, 468 primary schools, twenty two junior high schools, and fourteen senior high schools. In 1993 there were 63,398 pupils, 2,300 teachers supplied by the government, fourteen paid by the YPK and 442 teachers receiving honorariums, with an additional nine staff in the central office in Jayapura. There were also several regional offices with eighteen permanent staff. *A Brief Look*, op cit, p. 18. This compares to 1,187 state-owned primary schools, 185 junior high schools and thirty nine senior high schools, with 224,759 students, staffed by 11,537 permanent teachers in the 1993/1994 academic year. A. Kafiar, 'Peranan dan Tanggung Jawab Gereja Dalam Pembangunan Nasional di Irian Jaya Dengan Fokus Pembangunan Sumber Daya Manusia', paper presented to the 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 1994, p. 9. The existence of the YPK has been undermined by the 'Inpres' program of schools. Inpres schools, (*Instruksi Presiden* or schools established with a special Presidential Instruction) have often

been built close to YPK schools. The teachers were generally better paid, and the facilities better funded than PK and other church-run schools, which depend upon contributions from parents. Inpres schools have attracted numbers of children away from church-owned schools. Schulte-Nordholt, op cit, p. 6. Inpres schools have also been a vehicle whereby Muslims have entered Christian areas as government teachers, as happened in the Kebar in the 1970s. Miedema, op cit, p. 35. Many church schools have become 'semi-government' schools, with the government supplying the teachers and covering other expenditures, with the parents only having to find the 'extras', such as furniture. S. Latuputty, 'Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas Tradisi Zending dalam Pemahaman Iman Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Quezon City, 1999, pp. 52f. In some cases, such as Kemiri, near Jayapura, the YPK school has been made into an Inpres School (since 1973 according to the sign outside the school). S. Lase & Y.K. Kapitarau, 'Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen (YPK)', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 5.

169. Catholic Education and Schools Foundation. R. Olua & D. Kalilago, 'Yayasan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan Katolik (YPPK) di Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, pp. 2f, and L.Y. van de Berg, 'Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Jayapura dan Keuskupan Manokwari', in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, vol. 3a, Arnoldus, Ende, 1974, pp. 710f. In 1995 the YPPK had 33 kindergartens, 303 primary schools, 34 high schools and 52,000 students. The YPPK was also founded to overcome the negative impact that the church leaders saw the schools were having upon their students. Schooling had been aimed at educating people rather than preparing them for life in their villages, and therefore needed to be integrated into the wider work of the church. A. Sowada, "A Mission's Search for an Integrated Policy", *Irian*, vol. 2, no.1, Feb. 1973, pp. 11-16. The YPPK was one way of giving the schools a place in the consciousness of the church.

170. The Fellowship of Evangelical Churches Schools Association. Stringer, 1996, op cit, pp. 14f. Lewis, op cit, p. 407, implies that it was formed before 1955, yet states that the YPPGI's head office was in Sukarnopura, the name of Jayapura in 1963.

171. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 18f. In the 1950s and 1960s the ZGK received funds from *De Verre Naaste* (the Distant Neighbour) in the Netherlands for its schooling and health-care programs.

172. E.D. Akihary & I.M. Gifelem, 'Gereja Advent Irian Jaya', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1995, pp. 8f. The school also had a Bible Course that trained evangelists. See also *1999 Yearbook*, General Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventists, Silver Spring, 1999, p. 433. The school was run and staffed by Indonesians.

173. Y. Walilo & Y. Padwa, 'Laporan Penelitian Tentang Latar Belakang, Sejarah dan Perkembangan Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi Ottow & Geissler Jayapura', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 1-3. By 1994 it had 1,300 students.

174. "Pimpinan Gereja Harus Aktif", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 13 July 1999, p. 5, mentions that the university was providing training for GPI leaders in the area of management.

175. The GKI and Catholic Churches accepted for the ministry those who had completed a recognised course of tertiary study. They had then to apply to the Synod or Diocese for ordination and placement. In the 1950s and 1960s the GKI ordained students at the completion of their studies. In the 1980s the GKI changed to a system that required a preparatory period must be undertaken at the direction of the Synod and under the care of a local presbytery, known as a 'vicariate'. Ministers could then be placed in any presbytery in Irian at the discretion of the Synod. The presbytery in which they were placed determined where they would work, and paid them a stipend, at rates determined by the Synod. In the GKII, after undertaking theological study, the person returns to the district which sponsored them, and which supports them and employs them in that district. This occasionally produces problems if there are more workers than employment. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 145.

176. Fully-trained in the sense that they had completed a course of three years, as opposed those who had been given short courses of nine months or less in the years before this. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 35.

177. Ibid, p. 277.

178. A. Iwanggin, Letter, 1 Dec 1994. According to W.F. Rumsarwir, 'Pembinaan Terhadap Kemajuan Wanita Irian Jaya Dalam Kaitan Partisipasi Gereja Dalam Pembangunan Irian Jaya", paper presented at the 'Seminar Concerning the Influence of Adat Law Towards the Progress of Women in Irian Jaya', held at Cenderawasih University, Jayapura, 26-28 February 1990, p. 9, there were several woman parish teachers trained and employed during the 1950s. Iwanggin was accepted into the degree program at the request of the other, male, students who protested to the GKI Synod when her application to be a student was rejected due to her gender. When she successfully completed the course she was ordained after representations made by the other students, among them Noriwari and Saud. L. Noriwari, Interview, Abepura, 14 Dec 1994. In 1996 she was elected to the Synod, as the second female Assistant General-Secretary, and in 1999 resigned to join the Provincial Parliament. The next intake of women candidates was in 1969, when two women were accepted. M.T. Mawene, 'Peranan Pendeta Perempuan dalam GKI di Irian Jaya', paper presented to the Seminar on Women, STT-GKI, Jayapura, May 1998, p. 1. There does not seem to have been a divisive theological debate within the GKI, as has happened in Western Churches, such as the Australian Presbyterian Church. The GKI Synod, after initially rejecting Iwanggin's request for ordination, accepted the argument of her fellow students that she was equally trained and should therefore be equally treated. The earliest record of a woman leading a Sunday service is on 21 July 1881, when Mrs Woelders led the worship at Andai, as her husband was dealing with the death of the wife of the Sangirese teacher. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 2, 1982, p. 283.

179. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 81.

180. Mawene, loc cit, p. 1. The VEM began supporting the College in 1977, through the provision of a lecturer. *Menschen Zwischen*, op cit, pp. 133f.

181. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, pp. 104f. In February 1997 the STT-GKI had 745 students broken down as follows; men: 425, women: 320, training for the ministry: 406, training to be teachers: 339. They were taught by twenty five full-time lecturers (of whom ten were on study-leave), and nineteen part-time lecturers. L. Noriwari, 'Laporan Ketua STFT GKI "IS Kijne" Jayapura pada Upacara Wisuda VI / Wisuda Negara II Lulusan Stratum Satu (S1) dan Diploma (S0) Rabu 5 Februari 1997', Abepura, 4 February 1997, pp. 1f.

182. Although the school in Manokwari was not supported with funding. Rumsarwir & Rumboirussi, op cit, p. 30. The school in Manokwari was a continuation of the Evangelists School founded in Miei in 1933. From Miei it was moved to Ransiki, then Abepura and, in the early 1970s, to its current location. Kamma, 1994, op cit, pp. 478f. The Bible School in Apahapsili was founded by the VEM to train Yali evangelists. F. Tometen, 'GKI dan Misinya di Daerah Balim-Yalimo: Disusun oleh Pdt. F. Tometen atas Naskah dari Pdt. P. Sawen', Apahapsili, 15/1/94, p. 7. In more recent years the Bible School has also trained evangelists from the Mamberamo and other GKI congregations in the Baliem-Yalimo presbytery. K. Reuter, "Flucht in den Dschungel", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 18, 3/4/82, p. 62. As a result, teaching is in both Indonesian and Yali.

183. Locally-commissioned parish teachers and evangelists were usually only recognised within the presbytery that called them.

184. In Sorong there was also a STAK, which received support from GKI members and ministers. One difficulty that lay people in the Churches have faced is the legacy of the history of theological education, which has, out of necessity, been vocational, with those who have obtained theological qualifications being generally accepted by their Church. Hence, theological and bible colleges have not catered for lay people, eager to improve their understanding, without a view to being professional church leaders, and have not been prepared to open their colleges to lay people for fear that, once trained, they will expect employment within the Church.

185. In 1972 it was renamed after one of the missionaries killed in Obano in 1956. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 12, and Lewis, op cit, p. 439. The school remained at the campus at Nolokla, near Sentani, despite the move of the Theological College to the site of the former International Primary School at Post 7, in Sentani.

186. The history of the founding of the Nabire school is covered in Stringer, 1996, op cit, pp. 26f. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 15, give a list of the GKII theological/bible schools in Irian. Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 80, mentions the school in Nabire, but no details are given as to the date it was founded, nor the level of education given. However, in an informal discussion with the author on 24 May 1999, it was explained that the GKII has three levels of theological training: the Bible School, the regional Theological Schools, such as the one in Nabire, and the Ruland Lesnussa College in Jayapura (which shared courses with the Walter Post Theological College), and the Theological College in Sentani. There was also a Theological College in Sorong, the STT 'Doulos', which provided lay and vocational theological training. After a time in the congregations, graduates of any of these institutions can be ordained to the ministry, depending on ability and the need at the time. Bernhard, op cit, p. 56, gives a list of the GKII schools used tp train church leaders. The Bible Schools in Tigi, Hitadipa, Beoga, Mapnduma, Pyramid and Hetigima were primary school level, and used the local language. The school in Kebo, the *Sekolah Tinggi Pertama* (First Theological School), was a junior high school level and used Indonesian. Indonesian was also the language of the senior high school level schools in Abepura (later moved to Sentani), Wamena and Nabire. See also Lewis, op cit, p. 439.

187. The first Dean was B. Giay, who was influential in its establishment. Lewis, op cit, p. 449. The CAMA had wanted all GKII students to be trained in the STT Jaffray, where Giay had been a lecturer.

188. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 19-20, 32-33, 178-180. The College was supported by the congregations in Jayapura and CAMA who, since 1990, supplied two lecturers, B. & P. Jordan. It also received support from the Newman Chapel Outreach fund (as did a number of other students and congregations from Evangelical backgrounds). 'Proposed Budget for Fiscal 1999-2000', Newman Memorial Chapel, n.p., May 1999. In 1997 it had 145 students, training to be ministers and teachers of religion. To cover the gap between the older ministers and evangelists, who had not been highly trained, and the increasing needs of the congregations, from 1979 the GKII conducted a number of seminars and courses for church workers, including theological extension courses. CAMA offered limited scholarships for more advanced education in Irian, Ujung Pandang, Malang and Manilla. Lewis, op cit, pp. 439f. Similar programs have not been conducted by other Churches, although the GKI and GPI have provided scholarships for ministers and parish teachers to gain (higher) degrees. In the 1980s and 1990s, the ZNHK, ZGKN and VEM supplied a small number of scholarships for the post-graduate studies of GKI ministers, in Indonesia, the Netherlands, Australia and the Philippines.

189. The *Institut Theologia Baptis Irian Jaya*, (Baptist Theological Institute of Irian Jaya). Karetji, op cit, pp. 5f. The school received full government accreditation for its Bachelor of Theology (S.Th.) Program in 1998, and changed its name to the STT Baptis. It continues to receive funding from Australian Baptist World Aid (Abwaid), who, in 1998 and 1999, provided eighty scholarships. However, these students complained that the funds had not been given for two semesters. "Mahasiswa Baptis Mempertanyakan Beasiswanya", *Tifa Irian*, no. 2498, Year 43, December 1999, p. 5.

190. T.F. Randa, 'Perkembangan dan Kendala STT Erikson Tritt Manokwari', *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Jan 1997, p. 3.

191. *Sekolah Tinggi Alkitab dan Keguruan*. The school was founded as a low-level theological school. It was slowly upgraded to be able to offer degrees in theology. H.V. Fonataba, 'Analisa Pekerjaan PI Zending RBMU di Kanggime', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, p. 10. The GIDI had several types of congregational leaders: Evangelists with minimal training, parish teachers who have passed a three year Bible School course in their own language, and ministers with at least four years of theological training in Indonesian. To be considered for election as the Moderator, a minister had to have a degree in Theology. Koibur & Dimara, op cit, p. 14.

192. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 40, and T.S. de Vries (ed.), *Een Plek in Het Ourwoud: Evangelieverkondiging aan het Volk van Irian Jaya*, De Vuurbaak, Groningen, 1983, pp. 131-4.

193. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 29-31. The school had a two year program at a post-primary school level. The first year concentrated on Indonesian, with Bible knowledge in the second year. There was a full-time staff of three, assisted by congregational ministers.

194. De Vries, op cit, pp. 134-7, and Mahuze, op cit, pp. 38-40. Numbers were not large. In 1982 it had two full-time (and one part-time) teachers. The four year course had twelve students. As there was no senior high school in GGRI areas, the school did not cater for those wanting a degree. In 1994 it had three full-time staff, plus two part-timers, and eleven students, including three from Biak. P.R. Baas, *Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*, Kedeputaten GGRI-HUPEM, Amazu, 1991, p. 49. Due to the small size of the language groups in the ZGK areas, Indonesian was, and is, the language of study and church organisation. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 67. In the 1980s, some GJPI students studied in the STT-GKI in Abepura, and in the in the 1980s and 1990s a small number of GGRI students also studied in the GKI and GKII Colleges in Jayapura. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 50.

195. 'Gereja Jemaat Protestan di Irian Jaya', *Kerken Oversee*, no. 242, November 1997, p. 2, and Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 50, 80ff.

196. Karay, op cit, p. 12, and Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 82.

197. W. Rottie, "Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia", in Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 76. In July 1999 the *Sekolah Tinggi Missi Irian Jaya* advertised itself as a branch of a Pentecostal Theological School in Jakarta. No Church affiliation was given.

198. The GBI noted that it had a low level 'Practical Theology School' in Abepura. Its location and history was not stated. H.L. Senduk, *Sejarah GBI Suatu Gereja Nasional Yang Termuda*, n.p. n.d., pp. 77, 162. Those who sought higher qualifications could go to the GBI Theological Colleges in Java and Kalimantan.

199. W. Rumainum, 'Menuju Kerjasama Oikumenis Gereja Protestan Indonesia dengan Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Abepura, 1997, p. 53, and 'Selayang Pandang', op cit, p. 3.

200. R.S. Soengkono, 'Proposal Pendirian Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen (STAK) Sentani-Irian Jaya', Kepala Kantor Wilayah Dep. Agama, Jayapura, 1996, pp. 2f, and G.Y. Gainau, 'Laporan Pendirian dan Pengembangan', Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen (STAK) Sentani-Irian Jaya, Sentani, 1998, pp. 2f. The College was funded by its founding institution and the government, but as of the 1999-2000 academic year did not have a permanent campus. The Stak offered degree and diploma programs, and listed among its teachers the regional chairmen of the three ecumenical bodies in Irian, the PII, PGI and DPI. However, concerns within the STT-GKI over surrendering control for religious education to a government-owned institution, resulted in a decision to reopen the Religious Education stream of the STT-GKI, beginning with the 2000-2001 academic year.

201. In 1967 they opened a new teachers high school in Agats. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp.18, 177.

202. As it was deemed 'old fashioned', and had too few students to justify its existence. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 710.

203. Roles such as teachers of religion in schools, deacons, catechists and lay church leaders were emphasised as part of the reforms after Vatican II. The school was established to train workers for the Diocese of Jayapura, and now trains men and women from all of Irian, with staff from each of the orders training students. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 74, 177. The men received did not have to make a prior commitment to celibacy and the priesthood. This

decision was taken nearer the end of the course, after which they could take special preparation classes if they wished to enter the priesthood. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, pp. 12f. Thus there was a two-tiered course preparing both clerical and lay workers, giving greater career options to the students. Mercado, loc cit, p. 23.

204. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 170f. The building itself was prefabricated and flown in by the MAF, as were many other mission buildings in the interior. Similar buildings were also built in Abepura and Sentani. This was a complete hospital, with a laboratory, operating room and hydro-electric power. Hydro-electric power plants were also built in several interior locations, using parts cannibalised from crashed American bombers, and later from parts imported by air especially for the purpose. One system was at Mulia which, in 1984, was still operational. Steiger, op cit, p. 107, and footnote.

205. *Rapport Missie,* op cit, p. 37, and A. Tjahja, 'Introspeksi Yayasan Diakonia di Irian Jaya dan Kegiatan Koordinator Medis Selama Periode Juli 1992 s/d 1996', March 1996, pp. 14-16. In 1984, the VEM continued the employment of Trijnjte Huistra, who had first gone to Irian in 1969 to work in the ZNHK hospital in Angguruk. With the VEM she worked in the village of Polimo, where the VEM also stationed a German nurse, Käthe Glücks. The missionaries worked with women in the GKI areas in the highlands, as well as dealing with general primary health care concerns. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 528, and *Menschen Zwischen*, op cit, pp. 173, 179, 187, 189, 193.

206. In addition to a hospital in Pyramid, clinics were established in the main centres of the mission. The Indonesian medical workers were accepted as full civil servants in the Department of Health in 1983. Lewis, op cit, pp. 414-17.

207. Marjorie Bromley was from Melbourne, Australia. R.T. Hitt, *Cannibal Valley*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, p. 201.

208. By 1972 they had made more than 365,000 individual consultations. Wick, op cit, p. 125. Their work was complicated by an outbreak of tapeworm that began in Wamena in 1972, and which quickly spread through the Baliem and Paniai regions (but not the northern Yali, who were tapeworm-free due to strict prohibition on the importing of pigs from the Baliem). The tapeworms were probably introduced from pigs brought in from the coast. The infestation spread quickly to other pigs and to humans, causing sickness and death in both.

209. Butiptiri was originally a Catholic village. In or about 1975 it decided to ask for pastoral care from the ZGK, who entrusted the congregation to the congregation from Toronto, Canada. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 68.

210. 'Field Survey - Far East: Indonesia - Irian Jaya', TEAM, 6/90, p. 2.

211. "Geneest de zieken, predikt het evangelie", *Zendingswerk*, n.d., pp. 8-12, Mahuze, op cit, pp. 20f, and for a detailed account of ZGK medical work, de Vries, op cit, pp. 173-97.

212. *Rapport Missie,* op cit, p. 38. Vreugdenhil, 1983, op cit, pp. 301-35, covers the medical work of the NRC in their mission field in detail.

213. Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 49f, 88-90.

214. The Catholics in 1987 also had a hospital at Ayawasi. A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Populer tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, p. 435. In 1981, there were nineteen hospitals in Irian, ten run by the government, five by private bodies (presumably the Churches) and four by the military. Kustim, op cit, p. 44. However, at the time the CAMA clinics were being given to the government, with CAMA and the GKII eventually only providing health care in isolated areas where the government could not provide health care. *Minutes of the General Assembly 1987 and Annual Report for 1986*, C&MA, Nyack, 1987, p. 134.

215. Mahuze, op cit, p. 20.

216. Sisters working in Ayawasi, thirty minutes inland of Sorong by Cessna, admitted that they needed Rp. 1,000 from each patient to cover the costs of medical treatment. But the patients found even Rp. 100 hard to obtain, so they were often treated on a 'pay-as-you-can' basis. "Maria di tengah Belantara Irian Jaya", *Tifa Irian*, Week 2, April 1995, p. 6.

217. E.J. Swartzentruber, *Summer Institute of Linguistics Laporan Tahunan kepada Universitas Cendrawasih*, 1986/1987, 1987/1988, UNCEN-SIL, Abepura, pp. 7. The SIL was allowed to have a doctor operating from its office in Abepura in the late 1980s and early 1990s. After the return of the doctor to the USA, the clinic was staffed by an Indonesian nurse. The New Tribes Mission also sent a nurse to Irian in 1999. 'Irian Jaya Journal', ntm.org/contigo/iijteam.html, 3 July 1999.

218. The *Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda* was originally a Catholic organisation called the *Yayasan Biro Medis*, which began in early 1974. Late in 1974 it was made into an inter-denominational institution. With a widening of the scope of the organisation it was renamed the *Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda* (YKB) in 1984 and partnerships were established with a number of organisations outside Irian. "Kisah Singkat Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda", *Warta UKP Irian Jaya*, Year 2, No. 4, December-January 1992, pp. 4-5, 8. Schulte-Nordholt, op cit, pp. 7f, notes that there were ten members, but does not list them.

219. including clinics such as the one operated out of the SIL office in Abepura.

220. One of the earliest was in Hollandia Binnen / Abepura. Pentecostal members of the GBGP established the home next to the church. In 1962 the home was given to Frida Itaar, the wife of Jonathan Itaar. In 1969 it was expanded with help from the Indonesian Navy. Continuing support for the home has come from a number of sources, including a Pentecostal congregation in Port Moresby, PNG. Upessy & Korwa, op cit, pp. 9-11. The Catholic Children's Home in Sentani received occasional support from the International School and Newman Chapel in Sentani and, together with the GBGP Children's Home, and a number of GKI hostels in Abepura and Waena, received substantial support from various Protestant congregations and groups in the weeks leading up to Christmas.

221. Pospisil, op cit, pp. 113f. In the Lereh region, for example, agriculture extension was sponsored by the GKI Synod. However, the program was less than successful. When the Jayapura presbytery took over responsibility for the region, spiritual needs were emphasised at the expense of material needs. Lahimudin, op cit, pp. 28f.

222. Plants introduced included cassava, bananas and coconuts, as well as crops suited to particular climatic zones, such as cabbages, carrots and other European vegetables in the colder regions, and peanuts and other crops suitable for the tropical lowlands. The introduction of new plant species in Irian has a long history, beginning with traders who introduced tobacco, sweet potatoes and other plant species that had been brought to the Moluccas by Portuguese and Spanish traders. Other plants, such as the banana which was brought from Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, also preceded the missionaries into the highlands. Eg. The first UFM team into Bokondini were given, in addition to pork, sugar cane and bananas. Parman, 1996, op cit, p. 9. The missionaries continued this pattern of introducing new plants. Ottow and Geissler brought seeds of unknown type to plant, and Woelders planted kidney beans and potatoes, between 1867 and 1902. Newell, 1992, op cit, p. 36. Other plants and trees from western Indonesia were also introduced, such as rambutan, mangosteens and durians, and their extent widened as the missions entered new regions. Erari, 1999, op cit, p. 105. As the missions began to be established, the crops they introduced also moved to adjacent, and unevangelised, areas. Eg. the Catholics introduced corn to the Me people, who shared it with their western Dani neighbours, who had not yet been contacted by Westerners. K.G. Heider, "Societal Intensification and Cultural Stress as Determining Factors in the Innovation and Conservation of Two Dani Cultures", *Oceania*, 46(1), 1975, p. 52. The Dutch administration encouraged the introduction of new plant species, and also the training of workers on plantations, as a way of integrating the new areas into the wider administration. These developments were supported with infrastructure developments. This being so, schemes prior

to the Pacific War were not as successful as hoped. Kouwenhoven, *Nimboran*, n.pub, n.p., 1956, pp. 50f.

223. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 30. The VEM, for example, sent an agricultural specialist to work in Angguruk in 1963 as part of a comprehensive program, combining health care and improving diet and nutrition. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 529. The program has been continued, with the hospital seeing its role as a dual one, with health education being combined with advice on crops and farming methods. In 1994, of its thirty five employees, the hospital in Angguruk had five nurses and four agricultural workers. A. Tjahja, 'Evaluation of the Yayasan Diakonia (Yadi) in Irian Jaya', translated by D.J. Neilson, 7 Nov 1995, p. 5.

224. Yoteni, op cit, mentions that he was only able to rear rabbits better than the locals. Although he had the advantage of prior knowledge of the new plants and animal species, the local farmers knew their area better, and quickly learnt how to farm the introduced plants and animals.

225. Mahuze, op cit, p. 21. The fish farm was the most successful enterprise, due to a reluctance on the part of many of the people to farm in areas belonging to the gods (which Griffioen presumably saw as empty land that could be utilised without interrupting day-to-day farming), together with a reluctance to accept new methods and implements.

226. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 49f, says that the people already knew how to plant and what to eat, having learnt this from their ancestors. New crops and methods were not always seen as beneficial, as they could supplant the traditional food sources and farming practices. This thinking has not been applied to new animals, such as cattle, sheep, poultry, goats and rabbits. However, marketing these animals was not easy, so pigs and dogs continued as the principle source of protein, and additional income. To encourage the economies of the interior villages, the MAF subsidised the carrying of farm products.

227. 'Irian Jaya Provincial Development Fund', op cit, pp. XIV-2f.

228. Although there was a practical element to this program, there was also a theological basis, where the gospel message is not just limited to the spiritual realm. The witness of the Bible, as the ZGK missionaries saw it, encompassed the whole life of the people, including health, education, farming and other skills. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 22f.

229. In 1973, under the care of a German, and later his Biak assistant. Walianggen, op cit, p. 41, and *Menschen Zwischen*, op cit, pp. 110, 177. The school originally operated on land that is now part of the STT-GKI. The buildings were demolished to make way for new student hostels and staff housing in the mid 1990s.

230. The program resulted in the wider use and production of furniture. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 21-23.

231. 'The Reformed Foundation for Service and Training'. De Vries, op cit, p. 157, and Mahuze, op cit, pp. 41f.

232. De Vries, op cit, pp. 158-60.

233. Hoogendoorn, op cit, pp. 51, 86.

234. An association of Women Missionaries. Rumsarwir, 1990, op cit, p. 5.

235. Ibid, pp. 8f. In more isolated congregations, such as Apahapsili, the work involved Bible study and sharing, as in coastal congregations, but also had a more practical thrust, with courses being given in sewing, child care and

cooking. B. Tometen, "Das Schwerige Leben einer Yali-Frau", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, p. 18.

236. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 173ff, 277. 'Centre for Women's Development and Training', The Evangelical Christian Church in Irian Jaya (GKI) Department of Ministry and Congregation Services, n.p., n.d. The P3W established branches in Teminabuan and Kurima, in the Baliem. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', op cit, pp. 65-73. The P3W has cooperated with the Dutch and German missions, who subsidised some of its activities, as well as institutions in Java and Papua New Guinea. It has also received some support from the Churches in Australia and New Zealand.

237. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 175f. In most congregations there is a women's group. These groups were integrated within the higher structures of the Church, and were coordinated by the Synod. 'Organisasi Perseketuan Wanita Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya', n.p., n.d., pp. 5f. The GKI Women's Fellowship was founded in 1966. Similar organisations at the congregational and synodal level existed for youth work and activities. Sophie Patty was still active in the GKI in 1999. She was ordained in 1984, and is now retired. Despite the recognition of the importance of raising the level of awareness of women in the GKI, this has not been matched with funds from the Synod. Eg., in 1996 the Women's Desk was still seeking funds from outside donors for the P3W for buildings and wages. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', op cit, p. 73. One body that responded was the UCA, who provided funds to buy furniture for the new complex.

238. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 476-479. The smaller Churches tended to emphasise large, irregular, gatherings, or women's work at the congregational, rather than the regional or synodal level. This was also true for work with the youth. In 1982 and 1983, the GKII had the first retreat for women, followed in 1987 and 1988, with conferences for women attended by 600 delegates. In the same years it held eight large youth meetings. Lewis, op cit, pp. 451f, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1988 and Annual Report for 1987*, C&MA, Nyack, 1988, p. 124, and *Minutes of the General Assembly 1989 and Annual Report for 1988*, C&MA, Nyack, 1989, p. 127. In 1983 the *Perseketuan Wanita Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia* (Perkawan) was established in Irian with Ruth Gobay as the first Coordinator. Youth work was centred in Nabire, and through a Jayapura-based group known as 'Tim Yosua' (Team Joshua), which, from 1986, conducted youth meetings and produced materials for youth work. Lewis, op cit, pp. 435f, 452f.

239. Saud, op cit, pp. 191f, quotes from the minutes of the Synod meeting in Biak in 1970, where the Synod formally decided to tackle these matters in a deliberate manner at the Synodal level. It could be inferred that Saud saw little difference between political, social or sexual immorality. However, as his table on ibid. p. 193, shows, the principle reason for dismissal of ministers by the GKI was for sexual misconduct. In 1982 four were dismissed for belonging to the Parliament. Saud admits that, in terms of church discipline, many improvements could still be made, particularly in regard to fairness and evenness in its application.

240. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 180.

241. Van de Berg, loc cit, p. 705. The newspaper, published by Dutch Catholics under the authority of the Catholic Press Association, was about Irian, and news was relayed to Hollandia from all over Irian via radio. Once a week its contents were read out over Dutch Radio to the people in Irian outside the main centres. It is still a weekly, and is still published in Jayapura, under the name *Tifa Irian*. A 'Tifa' is a narrow-waisted drum used throughout Irian. Eg. In a photograph in J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, p. 27, a group from the Raja Ampat group are clothed like Ambonese, but are playing large, narrow-waisted, drums.

242. Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 15.

243. Koibur & Dimara, op cit, p. 15. In the *1999 Yearbook*, op cit, p. 324, the Adventists said the Irian Jaya Mission also had a bookshop and publishing house, although no specific details were given.

244. The GKKK has a central congregation in Jayapura. Of its seven posts in 1994, six were in the Arso transmigration areas. Sada & Sawaki, op cit, p. 6. TEAM in Manokwari has also deliberately evangelised Javanese transmigrants around Manokwari, using GPKAI members living in the new areas as the starting point. D. Spencer, "Uprooted Javanese Open to the Gospel", *TEAM Horizons*, March/April 1987, pp. 8f. GKI members have also successfully conducted evangelism efforts in transmigration areas. These efforts have come from existing congregations and Christians who have been locally recruited. H.V. Fonataba, 'Laporan Hasil KKN Tahun 1993 (Pada Jemaat "Kanaan" Koya-Barat di Klasis Jayapura', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 6f. The CAMA encouraged the GKII to take advantage of the opportunity that the transmigrants represented for evangelism, and provided "cross-cultural training" for those planning to work with transmigrants. Wick, op cit, pp. 216f, and *Minutes of the General Assembly 1989 and Annual Report for 1988*, C&MA, Nyack, 1989, p. 130. CAMA in the 1980s also sponsored a number of workers, both CAMA and GKII, to work in transmigration areas. Lewis, op cit, pp. 456f.

245. In at least one Muslim area, on the island of Karas, mentioned above, a logging company built a church in a village that was previously entirely Muslim, despite having a YPK school. Tjoe, op cit, pp. 13f.

246. D. Rumbekwan, 'Peranan Karyawan PT. Perkebunan Nusantara II Yang Beragama Kristen Dalam Proses Pekabaran Injil Di Daerah Arso', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 22. Statistics for the Kecamatan of Arso are given. There were 3,213 Muslims, 2,487 Protestants and 2,110 Catholics. It is possible that many of these were local people who were already Christian before the transmigrants arrived. But, as Rumbekwan points out on ibid, pp. 37ff, the Christian employees of the plantation company operating in Arso have been successful in converting Muslim transmigrants.

247. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 36, 213.

248. Evangelical Fellowship of Indonesia, which was founded in 1956 by CAMA.

249. Council of Pentecostal Churches in Indonesia.

250. The GBI joined the PGI in 1989. A. Oraplean & S. Imanona, 'Gereja Bethel Indonesia', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 5. The GBI also belongs to the PII, and in effect acts as bridge between these three ecumenical organisations.

251. The GKII in Indonesia encompasses six regional Churches, including the GKII in Irian. D. Kaumfu, 'Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia', STT-GKI, 1995, p. 4.

252. Mahuze, op cit, pp. 35f, and de Vries op cit, pp. 118f.

253. In 1990 the GKI had 660,000 members and adherents, in 1,056 congregations and posts, divided into thirty one presbyteries, served by 208 ministers and over 300 parish teachers and evangelists, as well as a number of expatriate missionaries. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 35. This was an increase from 360,000 in 1982, and represented about 40% of the total population of Irian. A. Ipenburg, 'Een Kerk van Migranten. Een Kerk van het Volk Tegenstellingen in de Kerk van Irian Jaya', Sentani, 1999, p. 2. By 1997, the number of ministers had risen to 309 in thirty four presbyteries. Jayapura had the highest number of ministers with fifty, and Kebar, inland of Manokwari, had the lowest with just one. P. Parinussa, 'Data Pendeta GKI s/d tanggal 01 Oktober 1997', Bagian Personalia Kantor Sinode GKI, October 1997, p. 1. At that time the GKI also had three expatriate ministers, from Australia, the Netherlands and Germany. Ibid, p. 2. The GKI was not alone in this respect. In the 1990s the GKII had expatriate workers from the USA and Indonesia. The GGRI an GJPI also had workers from the Netherlands, Canada and Indonesia working with them in 1999. The GKII in 1992 had 913 congregations, divided into 34 presbyteries served by 516 ministers and 1,100 evangelists Inaury & Semboor, op cit, p. 14, and Y. Suruan, 'Laporan Kunjungan Gerejawi pada Jemaat "Bethesda" (GKII)', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 1. Hoogendoorn, op cit, p. 37, gives slightly different figures for 1988, when he noted they 738 congregations and posts, and 1,200

indigenous staff serving 150,000 members and adherents. The GBIJ in 1976 had 110 congregations, 75,000 members and 86 congregational leaders. The GIDI had 364 congregations in the southern and northern coastlands as well as the Baliem and Paniai regions in 1988, with 200,000 members and adherents, served by 672 ministers and 472 evangelists. Ibid, pp. 37-9. According to Koibur & Dimara, op cit, pp. 5f, they had 177,450 members in 1994. In the *Rapport Missie*, op cit, p. 38, the GGRI in 1985 is said to have had about 15,000 members, although no figures are given for ministers and other church workers. In 1994, the GPKAI had 345 churches, 33 posts, with 42,759 members, served by 769 pastors, 1,224 elders, 195 evangelists and 20 ministers. The GPKAI also had 7 Bible schools and 2 Theological Colleges. C. Gillet, Letter, 4 Nov 1999. The GBI in Irian in 1991 had 117 ministers and evangelists in 104 congregations, with a membership of 21,707. Senduk, op cit, p. 89. In 1995 the Adventists had about 15,000 baptised members and adherents in sixty congregations. Akihary & Gifelem, op cit, p. 9. The Catholic Province of Irian Jaya had, in 1987, 238,000 members, in 93 parishes and 376 posts, served by 67 priests, as well as monks, nuns, lay pastors and catechists. Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 18, 177, 272, 435.

CHAPTER 10: Contact and Interaction

> Even with Christians of long standing and intensive education, the changes effected are loosely superficial.... Instinct and habit remain under the required culture like fire under the embers. They smolder on, only to break out again into flame under the mind of changed circumstances[1].

Contact with the outside world has produced change within the religious structures and publicly proclaimed beliefs of the people of Irian. Contact has also influenced the world-view of the local communities, as they have coped with the coming of new people, new technology and different ways of perceiving both the material and spiritual world. These new ways were frequently at variance with the traditional world-view of the Papuans. Yet, the Papuans were able to make sense of these intrusions and concepts within the context of their own place and understanding. This process of assimilating the new theology and practices, and integrating them into their world-view and religious practice, was a dynamic one, that began before the first initial contacts of the missions and the later permanent presence of the Dutch missions and government, and continued with increased rapidity with the movement of the people and government of Indonesia into areas that were previously either totally isolated, or very sheltered from, outside contact, in the name of integrating all of Irian into the wider Indonesian nation[2].

What contact with the wider world that did exist before 1855, was largely in terms of trade, and did not involve widespread conceptual adjustments within the general population. Islam had been gradually accepted in some villages in the west, Biak people had reached Halmahera and other islands to their south, east and west, and some of the trade goods which had been introduced, such as the sweet potato, had resulted in significant economic and population developments in the highlands[3]. But the contact did not change the basic mind-set of the Papuan people. The religious attitudes of the Papuans in 1855 did not vary greatly from the attitudes and understandings received from the past[4]. Despite regional and linguistic differences, they were recognisably Melanesian, in terms of their religion and their social structures, be they Muslims in Raja Ampat or animists in the Baliem.

This changed with the coming of the missionaries[5].

The missions entered an area that had a rich religious culture, which in many aspects was similar to other traditional religious belief systems in Indonesia[6]. Melanesian traditional religion was, and is, dynamic. Through their rituals and beliefs the people hoped to control the natural and supernatural forces around them, and thereby attain abundant life, in the sense of an improvement in their material welfare here and now[7]. For them, the forces of life were immediate. Sickness and death, drought and flood were not philosophical concepts, to be debated and studied. They were real, and had to be dealt with. Hence, their faith had to be pragmatic, and had to be seen to bring results[8]. For their life to be at peace, the forces around them had to be placated or overcome, with rituals, worship and powerful and sacred objects. The outward signs of their beliefs were their ceremonies, and the inner reality was maintained through the objects and the secret knowledge that was passed from one generation to another. They had a sense of a world of which they could only be a part through the passage of death. This world could and did interact with their world. If they were not consistent in offering attention to the ancestors and the spirits, the results could be catastrophic, as the equilibrium of their world and the world of the spirits and the dead would be disturbed. Yet, if their practices were correct, the balance could be restored, salvation assured, and blessings would flow from that world into this one[9].

Many of the tribes of Irian had beliefs in gods or legendary figures that were superficially similar to that of the Christian God, or one of more elements of the Trinity, which in some cases aided the acceptance of Christianity[10]. For some, such as the Yali in the eastern highlands, a High God existed who could be transformed into the God of the missionaries[11]. For the Biak people there was a belief in a god, *Mansren Nanggi*, who gave the rain and stars, and could be identified with the tales of God that the missionaries told. A number of tribes had messianic or Christ-like figures, who were seen as having traits similar to aspects of the Christian God. Among the Biak people was a tradition of the *konoor*, a person who was often seen as an earthly Christ-like figure and was a leader of a *Koreri* movement. Mangundi was awaited in Biak, Dema was a figure for the Marind and the Me believed in Koyeidaba[12]. In the Sausapor region, the Christian Creator God was identified with Yamambrauw, the devil with Jamapi, and Jesus with Yamambrauw's son, Yakweis[13]. This was so for other groups, who often equated their understanding of a higher being with an element of the Christian Trinity[14]. In some tribes there were traditions that a new teaching would come, and this was often understood has being fulfilled in the Christianity brought by the missionaries[15]. Among the Uhunduni, in the Ilaga and Beoga valleys, there was a concept of *hai*, of a place in the sky with no more death, sickness and war, a place that was temporarily

inaccessible until the coming of Christianity. There was also at least one case where the coming of the whites was seen as the realisation of a prophecy[16]. When the missionaries came, Christianity was readily accepted, as the missionaries were heard to be preaching eternal life, or *hai*[17]. Many quickly saw the similarities between their own myths and the stories of the Bible, and accepted that their old religion and the new had parallels, both in terms of belief and practice[18]. Once the people were prepared to accept the Christian theology and culture, this apparent correlation of the myths and traditions of the indigenous people and the message of the missionaries was accepted, and the hopes and understandings of the traditional religion could be then transferred to the new belief, making the transition from the traditional religion to the Christian faith smoother[19].

Once established, the missionaries began studying the culture and religion of the people they had come to evangelise. At the same time, they also actively sought to change the traditional beliefs and practices of the people, to make them more 'Christian' and by implication more 'Western'[20]. They not only did this deliberately, they attempted to do it quickly, as they believed that time was short. Though their backgrounds may have been different and their theology sometimes at odds with other missions in the same locality, there was a consistency of purpose among the missionaries from the very beginning, in leading the people of Irian from their perceived naked and superstitious darkness to clothed and enlightened light. This was equally true of those from educated backgrounds and those with rigid religious views, from those with a European and American base, to those from Indonesia and amongst the Papuans themselves.

To back up and reenforce the belief in and sense of cultural and religious superiority of the new ways[21], there was Western medicine and trade goods[22], modern weapons and communications, and an education system that better equipped the young for the Western world that came with the missions, such as the expansion of government control and services, and the money economy[23]. Instead of goods having to be traded long distances, often through traditional enemies and certainly with much expense, goods, exotic animals and seeds, began to be literally piled up on the beach[24] or 'come out of the sky', goods whose origins were initially beyond the comprehension of the people, and eagerly sought after once their use and origin was understood[25]. Conversion brought a common bond with traditional enemies, and economic development produced roads and electricity and access to the outside world, which came through improved transport links, often sponsored by the mission[26].

The Pacific War was a significant event in terms of contact with the outside world, both for those directly affected by it, and by those who were totally unaware of the events near them. Before the War there had been contact with the people on the coasts, though the task of evangelism was still only partially successful, despite ninety years of evangelism. Some contact had been made with the Paniai and western Baliem, but these contacts ended after the Japanese invaded. The contact with the Papuan people had been gradual, but it was ever increasing, with growth in mission and government services and the implementation of new leadership models[27]. The *Koreri* movement in Biak reemerged with greater vitality, initially with an anti-Dutch character but, after the Japanese ceased to be seen as liberators, as an anti-Japanese movement and during the War several new messianic movements appeared[28]. When the Americans came toward the end of World War II, they came with untold material wealth and in unbelievable numbers[29]. Their occupation of Jayapura, Biak and other areas opened the eyes of the local inhabitants to a world, which literally came 'over the horizon' and drove out the seemingly invincible Japanese[30]. During their brief stay the Americans built roads and warehouses, along which moved all kinds of machines and goods that had never been seen during the Dutch period, and they used black soldiers, who were seen by the Papuans as being equal to the whites, and who were clearly the masters of the Asian Japanese[31]. For the people in the interior, the effect of the War was less dramatic. They did not have a tradition of direct contact with the world beyond their own language group, and their lives were often limited to the valley in which they lived. As a result they were frequently hostile to the new people and ideas that had intruded upon them in the years preceding World War II. Now suddenly planes began to appear in the skies and the outside world began to impose itself upon them[32]. They reacted in the only way they knew, by seeing the newcomers as spirits to be appeased or confronted, and by regarding what they brought in terms of the hope that these new sights and experiences would be the forerunner of a new era that would miraculously bring an end to the trials of daily life, and the finality of death.

Yet, as Trompf notes, Melanesian religious perspectives enabled the people to make some sense of these radical changes within their world[33]. The people's exterior world was rapidly changing, and their interior world, their system of their beliefs and understandings, was dynamic enough that they could accommodate these new wonders and new ideas into their traditional world view. One aspect of this was seen in the messianic or adjustment movements[34] in Melanesia in general, which grew and changed as the impact of the new faith and the contact with the outside world intensified[35].

Movements that can be described as millenarian, messianic or cargoistic[36], existed throughout Irian before the coming of the missionaries[37]. They arose independently of Christianity[38], yet they frequently influenced the way Christianity was perceived and received, and were themselves influenced by the ideas and hopes of Christianity, and have found their expression within the anti-Indonesian political movements of the 1960s and onwards[39]. It is not my intention here to deal in detail with messianic movements in Irian, as others have dealt with this in depth[40]. Rather it is my intention to see how these movements and the Christian faith the mission enterprises introduced, were related. As Trompf notes, the Melanesians had a developed religious culture that is perceived by the now-Christian converts from the traditional religious tradition and their descendants, to have had a significant role in preparing the people for the reception of this Christian faith[41]. The messianic and adjustment movements were, and are, part of that religious culture[42].

These messianic movements increased in number and variety throughout the 1950s in a reaction to the presence of the Dutch, as the lives of many of the people became unbalanced through the stresses caused by the intrusion of foreign concepts and values[43]. After 1962 and the integration of Irian with Indonesia, they began to take on a political nature and began to spread throughout the island, as resentment to the Indonesians began to be felt from the coast to the inland tribes in the 1960s and 1970s[44]. These movements were severely repressed by the authorities, and have now merged with more general movements with political overtones, such as the OPM, whose active members are based in the rural areas and among the Papuans, but who are generally supported by the urban Papuans and Moluccans.

Through the writings the UZV missionary, F.C. Kamma, the best known messianic movement in West New Guinea is the *Koreri* movement, which began in Biak before the coming of the missions[45]. During the nineteenth century it spread along the north coast as the Biak people settled in new areas, or established villages on populated islands, such as the Raja Ampat islands, Sausapor and the Geelvink Bay regions, and contacted other groups in surrounding areas[46]. Through all of its permeations and mutations, there has been a consistent longing within the *Koreri* movements for a return to a time of endless riches, and release from oppressive rules and rulers. This was as true of the *Koreri* movements that appeared before Christianity as it is of those that rose up after the West began to intrude on the people of Biak, which took on a more political and

pro-Christian attitude as the impact of Christianity and the outside world began to change the local communities and influence their patterns of belief[47].

The basic intention of these movements can be seen within the *Koreri* beliefs, where there was an expectation that a new era would come that had no sickness or hunger, which could be prepared for by collecting food, dancing, and awaiting the return 'from the west' of Mansren Mangundi, all under the rule of a *konoor*. Christianity came in a similar way, from 'out of the west'. The way that it came generated the hope of a new prosperity for the people, as Christianity also arrived as part of increased contact with the outside world. Yet despite this, the people were at first slow to accept these new ways and new beliefs. But with increasing contact, suspicion turned to acceptance and finally to outright welcome as the new situation was recognised as something favourable and beneficial to the people and their community. For those on the coast, contact with the missionaries was easier, and once the barrier of belief that had inhibited conversion before 1900 was broken, and the value of the new religion was recognised[48], the coastal people quickly converted, at least formally, and accepted the foreign culture that came with Christianity and increased government contact, and trade.

When the missionaries came into the religious environment of Irian, they came with the cultural and technological baggage of the Western world. They brought with them all that they thought was needed for the conducting of their task of conversion, from writing paper to seeds. The first thing that Ottow and Geissler did was to unload their goods, which even for villagers who knew of the outside world and the trade goods that it had to offer, must have been wondrous. The local people did not know of the trouble and expense that the foreigners had gone to amass these implements. The people of Mansinam saw only that the missionaries came, and the material culture of which the missionary was a part, came with them. This was as true for those who observed Ottow and Geissler landing in 1855, as it was for the highlanders who received the American missionaries who entered the homelands in the 1950s and, to a lesser degree, for those in Irian today[49].

Ottow and Geissler arrived in Mansinam with trade goods and skills that their mentors, Gossner and Heldring, in Germany and the Netherlands respectively, had hoped would be useful in enabling them to live without major support from Europe. Although they were not able to use these skills, their possession of, and access to, Western trade goods, which they bartered with the

locals for local tradeable products, food, labour and slaves, enabled them to support themselves and pursue their task of evangelising the people of Mansinam and Kwawi[50]. Although their mission in effect failed, due to the small number of converts, the death of Ottow and their inability to support themselves in the manner envisioned by Heldring, this access to outside goods and communications enabled them to maintain their missionary efforts, and even expand their work.

The missionaries of the UZV who succeeded Ottow and Geissler were better funded and supported from outside, and were able to extend the mission penetration of the coastal areas to Biak, Sorong, Fak-Fak and eastward towards what became the border with German/Australian New Guinea. Yet they did not have much success either. Their outside support did not help them in their penetration of the religious culture of the people, and their insistence that Western culture had to be adopted by new converts initially hampered the acceptance of their message[51]. The people accepted the mission posts and the schools and the ease of communication with the outside world that the missionaries brought, and they attended Sunday worship. But only a few of them in the early days did convert, with a symbolic destruction of their spirit houses and sacred objects[52]. But before 1900 the numbers involved were not great as, although the missionaries brought them goods and protection, this new faith did not offer them anything that they could use immediately. For the Papuans, salvation had to be immediate, and not something for later. Their religion had to give them happiness, prosperity, health and protection in the here and now[53]. The missionaries could promise them a brighter future, but they could not change their present.

This religion had no general appeal until the impetus that was given to conversion to the new faith by the revelation of Yan Ayamiseba in 1907, on the island of Roon. The bearers of Christianity, with their notions of belief and practice that did not easily accommodate itself to local traditions and religious practices, did not accept the traditional religion as having an value or any role in bringing people to Christ. The traditional beliefs were perceived as from the devil or inimical to the people's long-term spiritual welfare. Hence conversions were few. Although Ayamiseba had been influenced by the Dutch mission, at the time of his revelation neither he nor the bulk of his community had converted. Yet, after receiving an essentially messianic communication, which was in accord with traditional assumptions about the ways the dead communicate with the living, and was in the form of messianic myths of the Biak people[54], he was able, despite his own death and before a symbolic act such as baptism, to begin a major movement into Christianity among the people of the Geelvink Bay and Biak. A revelation within the forms

of the traditional religious culture, that came during the height of a local *koreri* movement, became the impetus for an act of conversion to the new religious culture of Christianity[55].

Christianity was accepted by the people, but on their own terms[56]. The Papuans were active participants in the process of conversion and cultural acquisition[57]. For some of the converts to this new, Christian, faith, conversion resulted in a total and dramatic break with the past, thus bringing about a profound change in their lives. For many the break was less dramatic, and so the original Melanesian religious culture did not die within the wider community, and often found its expression in messianic movements that were already present within Melanesian and, more specifically, indigenous Papuan culture, and which also arose wherever Western civilisation and culture had an impact[58]. The messianic movements were but one outward sign of a deeper reality that saw its expression in the way the people of Mansinam went to church, but did not request baptism and inclusion in the new faith community. When they converted, the people continued to accept various perceived realities of the old beliefs. Although other elements of traditional belief exist together with Christianity, the most pervasive of these beliefs is the continued strength of the belief in *suanggi*, or malevolent spirits, that can be directed by an earthly expert, and which are still widely accepted throughout Irian, in particular among the Papuans and Moluccans, but also among other groups where the old gods became Christian evil spirits[59].

Although the strangeness of the missionaries was frequently an impediment to the acceptance of their message, the missionaries themselves put obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the new faith. One of the difficulties that the local people faced in accepting Christianity was that many aspects of local culture and practice were rejected by the missionaries, who came with fixed ideas based upon their interpretation of the Bible and their own culture's response to it[60]. Although the missionaries consistently expressed a desire to indigenise the gospel, the attitude of the missionaries to local religious beliefs, in particular the missionaries from the Evangelical missions, was essentially negative. While they felt called to bring Christianity to these people, they tended to couch their call in terms of 'bringing the faith to the cannibals', and the Papuans are repeatedly described as cannibals, and as "naked and mud-caked and disinterested in civilisation"[61].

One of the facets of local culture that the missions were consistently opposed to were those rites and practices that encouraged sexuality, particularly homosexuality, but also uncontrolled

heterosexuality, and so, once Christianity had been accepted, "tacitly and often actively, they suppressed [sexual] cult activity" thus changing the existing cultural practices and replacing them with ones perceived to be closer to an objective Christian norm[62]. Polygamy, for example, was widely practised in Melanesia, and was one of the first local institutions to be challenged, as the missionaries could not accept the practice among their converts[63]. In doing so, the missions also changed the wider practices associated with family and fertility ceremonies and relationships, so permanently altering the way villages and clans related to each other[64]. The cultural changes brought by the missions were not negatively perceived by all of their converts. The missionaries were able to influence changes in the way women were treated, even in the face of opposition of the leading men, and the death penalty for adultery and other crimes was forbidden. Head-hunting and tribal warfare were opposed. The effect upon the south-coast groups of evangelisation and pacification, in which head-hunting was a feature of the culture, was perceived by the local people as largely negative in terms of their culture, for which head-hunting was part of the initiation process of young men and their continued status in society[65]. But for the inland tribes, who were the ones hunted, the entry of the missionaries had a much more positive effect. For them the taking of a life was not part of the assertion of male identity. Hence, if there was an end to head-hunting and revenge warfare, they could live in peace with their neighbours and expand in number[66]. Indeed, as Knauft puts it, the entrance of the missions into the highlands brought an end to endemic tribal fighting and facilitated "the extension and intensification of competitive exchange networks"[67]. As male prestige and identity could be enhanced within these structures, and as the missions tended to be male-dominated and active in recruiting young males as church leaders, the highlanders were able to benefit from the missionary activity in a way that strengthened and reinforced the gospel message. The missions, often in cooperation with the government, tried to achieve a balance between local culture norms and Christian culture that would benefit all of their converts and enhance the progress of their evangelisation efforts[68]. Some of the missionaries were prepared to admit that the local religion had some validity however, and were often the first, and frequently the only, anthropologists in these areas[69]. The Cutts, the first missionaries to be formally stationed among the Moni people, noted that the locals *had* a name for a 'mighty being' whose name was the same as that of the atmosphere, but admitted that they were never able to determine if there existed a distinction between the two[70]. Despite this, the missionaries essentially saw the local religion in negative terms, as a religion of appeasement and propitiation, where the object was to ensure that the gods and the ancestors did not interfere, rather than to ask for their intervention.

This traditional understanding was often transferred to the missionaries, who so alien that the people, particularly those where the main contact with the outside world was through the mission, had to find a way of assimilating them within their existing cosmology. The missionaries were frequently viewed as spirits, often evil spirits, or as ancestors back from the realm of the dead who had become white. These ancestors needed to be welcomed and treated with the same respect as other spirits. At times proof was required that the white people were not evil spirits, that they were indeed normal, if differently coloured and attired[71]. But, by including them in this way, the missionaries were also accepted, as they could be readily integrated into the conceptual universe of the people they approached[72].

For many in the highlands, the missionaries were proclaiming *napalan kapalan*[73], which they understood at the time to be 'eternal life'[74]. For the missionaries, the life being offered was the Christian understanding of a spiritually richer life now, and an eternal existence with God after the death of the body. This was not necessarily the understanding of the indigenous users of the term, who understood *napalan kapalan* as an abundance of axes, pigs and other goods *now* and into a literally, not figuratively, deathless future[75]. When the people converted quickly, the missionaries frequently interpreted this as being a result of latent frustration with their culture and beliefs and the cycle of warfare that was part of their lives. The missionaries' understanding of the apparent success of their evangelism was that Christianity gave the people an answer to a traditional faith that had failed, and which was not able to meet the challenge of the new pressures on the people[76]. The missionaries were confronted with an indigenous religion that they felt did not meet and could not meet the needs of the local people, and which, at least outwardly, crumbled before the presentation of the gospel[77]. The best explanation for the phenomena that the missionaries experienced was that among the recipients of Christianity there was a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling that the old faith had failed them, coupled with a belief that the new religion could secure the aid of the supernatural in ways that the old beliefs demonstrably could not[78]. As a direct result, the equating of *napalan kapalan* with the Christian message preceded the missionaries in the central and western Baliem[79].

The missionaries themselves also did things that made their acceptance easier. The first missionaries came to an area in the same way as the people did, by canoe or small boat on the coast or, in the interior, over the trails that the local people used. Frequently the missionaries lived in housing no better than the people did, at least in the initial contact phase, and they needed to

make gardens like everyone else. They bartered using the traditional trade goods of the village, and even increased the supply of these items, making brides easier to obtain and traditional wealth to be increased. They cured diseases that had never been successfully treated before, giving them added charisma, and the Christianity they bore greater power[80]. Added to that, they also preached salvation of the whole man, of body and soul, which accorded with traditional notions that salvation needed to be concrete and had to encompass the whole person, both body and the spirit[81]. Although this may not have been the intention of the missionaries, thus was the result.

At times the welcome was more that the missionaries could make sense of. For example, when Petrus Kafiar first came to North Biak to tell of Christianity, he was greeted by men who had travelled long distances and who brought valuable gifts to 'buy' this new teaching[82]. This pattern was repeated in the highlands when people, who had only heard of the gospel second-hand, attempted to hasten the coming of the missionaries by approaching those they knew of, or who sought them in their valleys, approaching them with gifts. After the CAMA station had been established in the Homeyo region, people came from a neighbouring valley who had heard of the missionary, asking that they "come to the Dugindoga to live with us and tell us more of the Chief of the Sky"[83]. The Catholic missionaries in the Paniai region were also welcomed, and given offerings of pigs and potatoes, with the express request that they send a teacher and establish a church[84]. Sometimes the missionaries did things spontaneously that not only affected the cultural beliefs, but influenced the acceptability of their message. On one occasion Gracie Cutts, simply out of concern for the child, asked for and was given the baby of a dead woman. When the child thrived, instead of dying as expected, it made the people rethink the negative view they had of the missionaries[85].

The new Christian faith was rapidly accepted by many of the people[86]. Despite this, the missionaries tended to be careful to whom to give baptism. On the coast once numbers began to increase, catechism classes were required before baptism and/or confirmation was carried out, and in the highlands, the first converts were only accepted after lengthy discussions, and usually only after a group decision[87]. This may have been against mission policy, but the missionaries themselves justified their acceptance of this collective approach through their experience of the ease by which a break with the past was made if the decision was taken within the traditional decision-making framework[88].

The mission publications frequently portray the Papuans as passive recipients of the Christianity. For some this may have been so, as they unquestioningly accepted the truth of the message that had been given to them by the missionary, and became educated in its theology and practices in the mission school. This was not always the case. The knowledge of Christianity often preceded the missionaries to isolated valleys, usually from men who had heard the message from a missionary or friends in contacted villages, and took their understandings with them to their own and other valleys, where it was discussed and debated, often long before the expatriate missionaries were able to reach these places[89]. Among those who accepted Christianity, there was often an acceptance of the moral code of this new religion, even when it was at variance with traditional culture and practice[90]. Even those who did not immediately accept the Christian message, often found a way of adapting their traditional beliefs to the foreign, but 'obviously superior', beliefs of the missionaries[91]. Many adopted the new ways quickly, but, despite an outward appearance of acculturation, traditional expectations regarding the acquisition of wealth, the attainment of comprehensive well-being and the purpose of religion still held[92]. The people were often selective in what parts of the gospel they accepted. The missionaries stressed outward acceptance and learning of the texts and faith statements by rote. This was done, but for many of the new converts, only those parts of the Bible and Christian faith that justified their cosmology were accepted. As Haire points out, pre-literary beliefs do not always die out after conversion, but rather remained hidden in the hearts of the believers, and sometimes in their homes[93]. Many people continued in old ways, and turned to them in times of stress. Some cultural norms, such as the taking of more than one wife, continued in all areas of Irian, and even among the trained leadership[94]. Yet, by accepting the gospel on their own terms, they were able to deal with any dissatisfaction they felt with their old beliefs, and form a new consensus that encompassed those elements of Christianity they needed[95].

Many rejected the new religion, for fear of losing their power with the destruction of their sacred objects, or because of the consequences for the culture and traditions that would be lost or changed if this new belief was accepted[96]. The outward form of this was seen in the violence that was directed towards the missionaries, the new converts and the mission infrastructure. While foreign missionaries, in the sense of those from outside Indonesia, were generally well received, this was not always the case for Papuans from other parts of Irian, or Moluccans and others from Indonesia. Their presence was not always accepted, nor their reasons for being in the villages, and their work was not always well received[97]. The impetus for a number of revolts in the 1970s was

dissatisfaction with the continuation of Indonesian rule after 1969, which, in the highlands, developed into an expression of dissatisfaction at foreign and Christian influences. Disappointment at the failure of messianic expectations, and dislocation caused by the rapid rate of change in Dani and Me society, became directed at the Christians, who were perceived as the agents of change, and as opponents of the revolt[98].

Some manipulated the new situation to their own ends. They appreciated the new commodities that were introduced, from axe heads to new plant species, but they also found ways of increasing the availability of these goods through their acceptance of Christianity. Because of this, some of church leaders have questioned why many of the early converts accepted Christianity. Were they ready to accept baptism because of a deep knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith, or was it only "a step to obtain worldly desires, such as prestige, position and authority for the King or clan leader as well as other worldly facilities"?[99] No satisfactory answer was found and the missionaries had to accept that, for some, their reasons for converting were not the same as the missionaries.

Apart from the possibilities that the new religion promised of overturning existing authorities[100] and gaining access to new wealth, other factors assisted the acceptance of Christianity. While some traditional leaders resented the new leadership opportunities that the missionaries introduced, many of the traditional leaders were instrumental in the acceptance of the new religion[101]. The missionaries introduced new medicines, frequently without cost, as an expression of their compassion for the Papuans. These medicines were seen as superior to the cures of the local spirit men, and hence Christian religion was seen as more powerful than the traditional religion[102]. Christianity promised release from malevolent spirits that threatened their existence, which compelled them to be forever watchful in this life and the next[103]. Christianity also offered permanent peace and contact with their neighbours that was not available through traditional religion or culture[104]. For weaker tribes such as the Uhunduni in the Ilaga valley, who were expecting to be displaced by the stronger Danis[105], or the tribes west of Lake Sentani, who had already being forced to abandon their lands around the lake by the 'Sentani' speakers, and who were still under threat of further displacement, acceptance of Christianity could also bring protection against their rivals[106]. For the stronger tribes it offered a release from the cycle of war which, while bringing wealth and prestige, was not welcomed by the increasingly influential government administration, and which could bring retribution from the police[107]. The acceptance

of Christianity, therefore, was a way out of a cycle of warfare, that, if maintained, could bring loss of land at the hands of their neighbours, or retribution from the stronger government[108]. For those tribes that achieved prestige through the accumulation of wealth rather than prowess on the battle-field, such as the Me, the presence of the missions and the government allowed them to concentrate on production and wealth-creation without having to be preparing for attacks on their enemies. Peace brought increased contact with other tribes and valleys, which meant greater access to traditional, as well as Western, trade goods[109].

The form of Christianity the grew on the coast was different from that which grew in the interior. The Dutch and Moluccan missions, as well as the Catholics, learnt local languages to evangelise and communicate, but had a policy of using Malay/Indonesian as the principle language of worship and administration[110]. This enabled them to bring in teachers and evangelists from the Moluccas, Sangir and Minahasa, where Malay was known and widely used, and where Christianity was the norm in society. The use of a single language made placing or moving a teacher easier, and gave access to education in larger centres. Worship materials, such as Bibles and hymn books, could also be produced with greater ease and less cost. The Dutch and Moluccan missions were able to achieve economies of scale that enabled them to achieve a higher quality of church worker and institutional cohesion than that achieved in the interior. But for many of their Papuan parishioners, this was gained at the cost of a lack of understanding of what was happening in the worship, and a loss of traditional ways of expressing themselves and their beliefs, that was neither understood nor appreciated by the Western and Indonesian-educated church leaders[111]. That, and the fact that certain ethnic groups tended to dominate the early years of the church, created a church culture that was different from that found in the churches founded by the Evangelicals[112].

In the interior, particularly in the highlands, the missions had great difficulty getting the materials to build churches, print books and obtain teachers of Indonesian, which many of the new indigenous and American missionaries had only a cursory knowledge of, unlike the Dutch, Moluccan and Biak missionaries on the coast. Hence, services were often in the open or in simple structures and in the local language, using themes and metaphors from the people themselves[113]. As the Evangelical missionaries were concentrated in the areas that, for reasons of geography or tribal reputations, had not been contacted earlier, they stressed the use of the vernacular and invested resources into the rapid rendering of the Bible and worship resources in the local language, often with singing using local rhythms[114]. Teaching was given in the regional language,

and the churches that were founded which, while not having the regional spread of the Reformed and Catholic missions, did have unity within their own particular language and kinship grouping[115]. The Churches they founded were smaller, but, at the local level, more cohesive.

The German VEM missionaries recognised the different circumstances between the coastal and inland mission fields, and worked with a policy of learning and using the local languages in the highland and inland villages they served. Hence the GKI, which has had a policy of using Indonesian almost exclusively, has allowed its presbyteries in the highlands and the upper Mamberamo to use local languages in recognition of the different circumstances and needs of that region[116]. This had the perhaps unintended effect of contextualising the faith that was being presented, to the point that even the eucharist in the highlands largely made use of local products, such as water and sweet potato, and not the wine and bread used on the coast, that required participation in a wider economy, and acceptance of a foreign culture that tolerated alcohol[117].

The missions, with their need for local converts and leadership, adopted a deliberate policy of introducing new leadership opportunities into their communities, with the presence of the resident expatriate missionaries becoming an alternative focus for leadership and role models[118]. They were able to pass on their charisma to local leaders, who initially supplemented the missionaries, and eventually supplanted them. These locally-trained leaders were the products of the coastal Teacher Schools and the inland Bible and Witness Schools, and were authorised and commissioned by the responsible missionary, with continuing control through visits and travel to other centres[119]. These new leaders had the status of having access to a world that the people began to perceive as offering more than their own world could and did, an access that held the promise of a regular supply of the goods and services, as well as the knowledge, that this new world offered[120]. These leaders were also the ones who were specifically trained within the culture and theology of the Christian faith, and so were more able to break from dependence on the traditional religion and its talismans, that provided their parents with both power and protection[121]. The 'big men' of the village and clan continued to have influence, but this was now shared with the Christian leaders, the missionary, the pastor and the elders, whose teaching tended to undermine the basis for traditional leadership, with their opposition to polygamy and their claim to serve a higher good[122]. However, some of these new leadership models had a negative impact on the converts and, in the short-term at least, the working of the mission. In particular was the issue of communal decision making as opposed to the "rugged individualism" of many of the

missionaries from more conservative backgrounds. Some missionaries tried to impose this model of leadership on their converts and the teacher evangelists recruited from the coast, to the detriment of communal cooperation and decision making, and conversion to Christianity[123].

The new Christians became fervent exponents of the new faith and culture to the communities and tribes with whom they had contact, and the expatriate missionaries encouraged this[124]. In Waropen, for example, even in the 1950s, where Chinese shops existed and there was a government apparatus in place, the pagans either rejected Western dress, adopted it in a haphazard form or used a simple Malay sarong and belt. The Christians, however, could be identified by their use of pants and their children, who wore shorts and a jacket[125]. The Bible schools that were founded in the interior, were to evangelise the local people, and also to prepare the students for the task of evangelisation, even though the understanding of some of these students was at times less than desired[126]. Among the Meah and other tribes inland of Manokwari, for example, Christianity was welcomed, and was spread partly though the activities of the resident American missionaries, partly through the efforts of indigenous missionaries from outside the area, partly from the efforts of locally trained people, and partly by family contacts with neighbouring tribes[127].

The missionaries promised the people that they be granted "the riches of His glory", that they would gain comprehension and that they would gain eternal life[128]. While some may have understood this spiritually, it is clear that others saw this message in more concrete ways, inherited from their traditional belief system, and this may have had an impact on their deciding so dramatically to convert to the new faith[129]. The missionaries arrived with marvellous goods and education and made these services available to their converts at little or no cost. Coupled with this, for the more wealth-oriented tribes such as the Me and the Muyu, was the novelty of the new religion. Through Christianity they had access to new experiences, as well as the access to the world of the West which were, literally, the riches they hoped the religion would provide[130].

This expectation may also account for the continuation of messianic or 'adjustment' movements, in particular in the highlands and the inland river systems, but also in the urban centres where messianic expectations have been transferred to the arena of politics[131]. With increased penetration of outside influences, and economic and cultural marginalisation of the local people, there has been some dissatisfaction with the role of the church and the 'effectivity' of the new faith

in terms of delivering what the people hoped for. Part of this was a suspicion that the indigenous people had not been given the full gospel, as they had to work hard to gain the necessities of life, whereas the missionary had only to wait for the next plane or ship[132]. For this reason, from the 1960s there have continued to be salvation movements led by prophets whose promises, that they can provide eternal prosperity by ending sickness and obtaining Western goods, are couched in traditional ways, often with elements of Christianity[133].

The attraction of urbanisation and the wealth that can be gained from employment, trade and land sales has also influenced the Christians, both Papuan and immigrant. In a positive sense, the wealth created in the urban areas, which has been funnelled to the churches through offerings and building projects, has benefited them. Rising church incomes have enabled Christian leaders to loosen the financial bonds of their founding missions, and have empowered them to choose new directions for their churches and members. However, the cities have given their members greater personal freedom[134] to seek other avenues for spiritual nourishment and cultural diversity, and have produced responses within the individual that range from separation from the non-Melanesian and non-Christian world, to integration into the mainstream of urban life, through marriage, employment and the adoption of the urban culture, that is not always compatible with Christian church culture and teaching[135].

The churches and their leaders have, in the main, realised that the Christians of Irian are seeking ways to make sense of the social, political and religious change that is occurring in Irian. One aspect of this has been, and continues to be, the movements which have arisen through, or have been modified by, contact with Christianity. Church leaders are aware that many of the old beliefs still have a place in the lives of the Christians of Irian, whatever the church may teach or decree[136]. Traditional beliefs and expectations, as well as the messianic and adjustment movements, have helped the acceptance of Christianity[137]. Some Christians have rejected these movements as being satanical or unbiblical, but others have seen value in them, as they have bridged the gap between traditional expectations and beliefs, and the gospel[138].

At the same time, the movements, and the expectations of traditional religion, have made understanding and acceptance of the gospel harder, as many of the messianic expectations have not been fulfilled, and questions that still trouble the people of Irian have not been satisfactorily answered by Christianity or by the Church. Towards all of these movements and beliefs, the public

churches have been understanding, if not tolerant[139]. Some movements, such as the *Koreri* movement, have been recognised as culturally significant, and elements of the belief are seen as being tolerable, despite the problems that have been caused in the recent past by such movements and the challenge the continuation of *Koreri*-related movements give to the church[140]. The basic beliefs of the traditional religions, as well as those who follow the messianic movements, have been investigated in the hope that the church can better meet the needs of those who have rejected the teachings of the Christianity, and provide some of the wealth and happiness that the members of the movements have felt the church has not been able to supply. In recent times church leaders have resisted suggestions that these movements and beliefs can be suppressed through force, and have engaged their leaders in dialogue, and have attempted to improve the pastoral care of and by their members, including those members influenced by these movements[141]. This sensitivity has been supported by many of the younger Papuans, who have grown up in a Christian society, who acknowledge that the beliefs of their parents provided a way of accepting the gospel, and have aided their own acceptance and understanding of the Christian religion[142]. For example, the concept of *napalan kapalan* has undergone a change. The spiritual aspect is still equated with the message of Jesus, as Jesus is seen as having similar promises, and has been integrated into their understanding of the gospel[143]. The material aspect of *napalan kapalan* is seen as having been realised through the development schemes that have brought 'new buildings' and other riches, or as capable of being realised through political activism[144]. Similarly *hai* is now seen as being realised through economic development, particularly the large-scale mining projects in the highlands, and the possibilities given through education, that have offered the interior people the prospect of economic security[145]. This younger generation is more willing to accept the culture their parents and grandparents grew up within, and have tried, with the support of many of the missionaries, to sift their cultural and religious heritage and incorporate those elements that are not perceived as contrary to the gospel, so that the eschatology they inherited from their Melanesian culture can be integrated into the Christian eschatology they now accept is true[146]. This being so, the churches are beginning to understand the journey of faith that the people of Irian are undertaking, as they become people who are true to the world in which they and their ancestors were partners, with a theological perspective that is true to the biblical witness, and reflects the unique circumstances in which they live and breathe.

1. L. Scharmach, *Manuale Missionarium*, Vunapope, 1955, (with corrections) quoted in A. Vriens, 'Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats', in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, Arnoldus, Ende, vol. 3a, 1974, p. 633.

2. Among the Asmat, for example, a story was recorded in 1952, whereby the land was said to have been created by two mythical women who used an aeroplane and who returned to the 'land of the whites', from whence they came. G.W. Trompf, "Macrohistory and Acculturation: Between Myth and History in Modern Melanesian Adjustments and Ancient Gnosticism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 3, no. 4, Oct. 1989, p. 628. Some movements continue, particularly in the form of 'Adjustment Movements', often led by an individual, male or female, who has usually been alienated from the community, and has found acceptance by encouraging the people to accept a new teaching that tries to make sense of both traditional and Christian teachings. One example for a male is in B. Giay, *Gembalakanlah Umatku*, Deiyai, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 67-71, and for a female, ibid, pp. 71-75.

3. Such as the opening up of the highlands. While this may have already begun before 1600, when Moluccan traders introduced the sweet potato, this plant provided the people with have an easily-cultivated, convenient and high food value crop, that could enable them to populate the interior. See B. Giay, *Kargoisme di Irian Jaya*, Regions Press, Sentani, 1986, pp. 10f. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, vol. 1, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1981, pp. 92f, quoting a report from Geissler, also notes that wet-rice farming existed in Manokwari when the first European missionaries arrived, although its extent is not elaborated upon.

4. D. Akihary, 'Allah di Dalam Pandangan Manusia Irian', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1994, p. 4. Although it is true for most areas that the missionaries made the first significant contacts, A. Ploeg, "First Contact, in the Highlands of Irian Jaya", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. XXX: Dec. 1995, pp. 227-239, shows that for the highlands, the initial knowledge of Europeans was via the pre-1940 scientific and military expeditions that penetrated the edge of the Baliem river system. This contact was largely welcomed by the local people. Some even greeted the explorers in ways that are now understood to have been rituals for welcoming back the dead (see the experience of Wirz, on ibid p. 236). Only in the case of the Konda Valley people (near present-day Bokondini) did the people remember the coming of the white man with fear, as it was followed by an outbreak of 'severe dysentery' that they associated, rightly or wrongly, with the expedition (ibid, pp. 236f).

5. By examining the growth of Christianity in this way, I am not attempting to denigrate in any way, the indigenous people who now make up the majority of the Christian population of Irian. Nor am I besmirching the missionaries and the mission organisations that sent them in response to the promise of Jesus " that all who see the Son and believe in him may have eternal life". I am also not putting down the existing congregations and Churches, whose past foundation may not have been as sound as the missionaries and the present-day leaders believed. Although this kind of analysis could be equally applied to all religions in all places, the fact that this is so does not detract from the existence of the faith communities and their vitality both at their inception and in the present. An authentic Christianity has grown in Irian, which was accepted by its members after much inner struggle and with an awareness of the consequences of adopting this new set of beliefs and practices. J. Wilson, 'From Cosmos to Nation State: the shifting of the Yali worldview in concepts of community, power, locus and leadership', n.p., 1998, p. 12, gives an example of a journalist who suggested that the Yali converted due to the "technological advancement" of the white man. The Yali man spat in the dust at disgust at "the insult to the man's sense of dignity - of his capability to make an intelligent decision".

6. For instance, in Biak and the Raja Ampat group, there were representations of ancestors called *korwar* that were often kept in buildings known as *Rumsram*, that became centres for worship and education in much the same way that temples served this purpose in other regions.

7. A. Alua, "Karakteristik Dasar Agama-Agama Melanesia Menurut Darrell Whiteman", *Deiyai*, no. 5 (2), May-June 1997, pp. 3f. As D.L. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, William Carey Library, Pasadena, 1983, p. 67, notes, religion for the Melanesians was "a technical means to a materialistic end".

8. One reason that the people in Paniai were initially reluctant to accept the message of the Catholics was that they felt that sitting in a service was a waste of time from which they gained nothing, that could better be spent in their gardens. P. Degei, 'Perkembangan Umat Katolik Paroki Waghete Serta Latar Belakangnya', STTK, Jayapura, 1977, p. 32.

9. Alua, loc cit, pp. 5f. The concept of the balance of forces in the Yali world in particular and the Melanesian world in general, is discussed in J.D. Wilson, "The Yali and Their Environment", *Irian*, vol. xvii, 1989, pp. 23f. As he stresses, quoting Strehlan, the point of what we do is "to actualize and restore the past" in the present situation.

10. The lack of a priestly caste in Melanesian religion may also have been helpful, in the sense that there was no group of priests with an entrenched interest in maintaining the religious status quo. The very dynamism and flexibility of the traditional religion, and its ability to adjust to new developments, may have enabled Christianity to prosper.

11. Called *usasem*, whose visible presence was contained in a string bag near a holy *Yeli* tree, that had endured fro generations Y. Walianggen, 'Pengabdian dan Pelayanan Zending VEM di Klasis GKI Balim-Yalimo', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 12.

12. See R. Yesnath-Rumansara, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Meossu Tanah Karon', Sorong, 1995, p. 8. Sometimes *mansren koreri* was equated with 'Eternal God'. C. Marjen, "Cargo Cult Movement, Biak", *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, 1(2), 1967, p. 64. However, this particular combination of terms was opposed by the missionaries, who saw that use of this term identified *Koreri* too closely with Christianity. The term 'mansren' is often used by Biak people to refer to God, which is in keeping with parallels that are seen between Jesus and Manarmakeri. Manarmakeri's birth was not sexual, like Jesus. Manarmakeri jumped into a fire and heard a voice, as Jesus was baptised and heard a voice. Manarmakeri caught fish in miraculous quantities, as did Peter with the help of Jesus, and Manarmakeri was rejected, as was Jesus. F. Mambrasar, 'The Koreri Movement in the Biak Numfor Culture Area', Paper presented to the Seminar on Adjustment Cults, Melanesian Institute, Lae, 1976, pp. 10f. F.C. Kamma, "Zending en Messianisme in de Geelvinkbaai", *Vox Theologia*, no. 5, Sept. 1972, vol. 24, p. 267, makes similar comparisons, and E.P. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1999, p. 79, footnote 35, notes that another of Manggundi's actions was seen as paralleling Jacob. Parallels with the Bible are also outlined in H.M. Thimme, *Koreri*, Murai, Abepura, 1976, pp. 34-68. When a *konoor* was converted on Roon, it was reported that he believed in "mansren Jesoes". J. Metz, "Op Roon Begint Victorie (I&II)", *Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap*, 84, 1940, p. 325. The term is still used by some Biak-speaking Christians to refer to God. Eg. D.N. Worobay, 'Tata Ibadah GKI di Irian Jaya (Tata Ibadah Minggu I & II) Dalam Bahasa Biak', Abepura, 1999, passim, in which Worobay uses Mansren in the sense of God, as in "Gereja Manseren", or 'Manseren's Church'.

13. Yesnath-Rumansara, op cit, p. 12.

14. Such as the Ambel people of Waigeo, who, after they become Christians, equated *Jou Latala*, the high god they called upon in times of crisis, with Jesus. See A. Goram, 'Soteriologi Agama Suku Ambel', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 55. The neighbouring Moi also had a transcendent being they called *Fun-Na*, whom some saw as the same as the God of the Christians. E.A. Mili, 'Pekabaran Injil di Sorong: Suatu Tinjauan Historis Misiologis Terhadap Pekabaran Injil Di Lingkungan Orang Moi Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 49.

15. W.A. Cutts, *Weak Thing in Moni Land*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, p. 60, relates how a group came to him. The leader gave a speech in an unknown language, then left. Only a year later did he learn that the group had come to kill the Cutts (and that the people in Homeyo knew that this was their intention). The leader said at the end of his speech: "Friends, these people have come out of the west. Perhaps they are bringing the *hazi* for which our forefathers told us to wait and to receive when it comes. Let's not kill them. Let's wait and see what happens".

16. The prophecy was made in 1936 in the village of Mûhûmû. A man from this village had received a steel knife from a member of an expedition in 1911, and a plane had crashed near the village in 1945. S. Zöllner, *The Religion of the Yali in the Highlands of Irian Jaya*, Melanesian Institute, Goroka, 1988, pp. 11f.

17. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, pp. 291f. As J. Sunda, *Church Growth in West New Guinea*, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, 1963, p. 20, put it, "the Uhunduni expectation of *hai* made that tribe very receptive to the Gospel." Some of the early converts who proclaimed the gospel to other villages and tribes also understood the gospel in traditional terms, and this was certainly a factor in the ready acceptance of Christianity among the western Dani. See Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 26f.

18. Zöllner, op cit, pp. 159f, for example, shows how Yali magic formulas were seen as being paralleled by Christian prayer, particularly prayers such as said before a meal, where they observed that form was more important than content.

19. S. Patty, 'Bersama-Sama Membangun Masyarakat Majemuk Indonesia Yang Bersatu Sejahtera-Merata Dalam Rangka Pembangunan Nasional Sebagai Pengalaman Pancasila', paper presented to the 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 1994, p. 3, uses the example of the Tobati people who, when they heard the creation story in the Bible, recognised it as essentially the same as their own creation story. Although it is possible that the Tobati story was influenced by the Bible, as Patty recognises, through pre-mission contact, the people of Tobati did not know this at the time.

20. Which was perceived as soaked in the gospel, and therefore more 'Christian'. G. van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani dalam Konteks Sejarah Agama-Agama Lain*, book 3, Obor, Jakarta, 1995, p. 167. However, not every one of the early missionaries saw Western culture as superior to Papuan culture. Rinooy, who was sent to Meoswar in 1869, and who had to return to Holland in 1879 due to ill health, according to F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 2, 1982, pp. 106, 115, was, according to van Schie, op cit, pp. 168f, encouraged to return by the other missionaries due to his 'modern' ideas on the 'superiority' of Western culture. Presumably he *didn't* think Western culture was all that 'superior'.

21. that was held by both the missions and the people they evangelised. One example was among the coastal people around Dempta, west of Jayapura, whose sense of the inferiority of the inland, and as-yet-unevangelised, Genyem people was so overwhelming that, as Bijkerk reported, "I have seen visiting Papuans belonging to interior tribes cutting off their customary hairdo, risking the ridicule of their own people rather than be subjected to the scorching contempt of their hosts". W.J.H. Kouwenhoven, *Nimboran*, n.pub., n.p., 1956, p. 44.

22. Although this was not always the case. In A. Cohn, & R. LaFuite, (prod.s), *The Sky Above, The Earth Below*, Embassy Pictures, 1962, a film that was made during a trek from the south coast at Kepi to Holtekang, near Hollandia, in 1959 and 1960, the French expeditioners gave some of the men they met a steel axe in order to cut down a tree faster. They tried the axe, but after several whacks, rejected it in favour of the stone axe they were already using. They then returned the axe to the Frenchmen, presumably as it was of no value to them. This expedition, and the Star Mountains expedition that crossed Irian a bit further to the east, had to be supplied by air, which meant that new areas were opened to European penetration and exploration, as well as there being new contacts with the tribes along the border. See also 'Kroniek van Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea', *Nieuw-Guinea Studiën*, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1960, p. 260, and G. Souter, *New Guinea: the Last Unknown*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1963, pp. 223f, which also deal with these expeditions.

23. Education was not always seen as a positive element of Christianity by the older people. Many saw literacy as the first part of the loss of their traditional culture and language. As a result, the spread of Western education was hampered by reluctance from traditional leaders. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 47-49.

24. Kamma, 1982, vol. 1, op cit, pp. 88ff, describes the way that Ottow and Geissler unloaded their possessions on the beach at Mansinam: "so many animals and boxes filled with a thousand different things". As he adds, "although the missionaries were poor and had only obtained what they had through purchasing and gifts, in the eyes of the locals they were the wealthiest people to have ever set foot on Mansinam".

25. As H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 3, Djajapura, 1970, p. 10, puts it in relation to the airfield the government built at Arso, near present day Jayapura, "Kata 'lapangan terbang' mempunjai daja magis ditelinga rakjat. Lapangan terbang berarti barang dan kemadjuan". (The word 'airfield' has a magical force in the ears of the people. An airfield means goods and progress). J.A. Godschalk, *Sela Valley: an Ethnography of a Mek Society in the Eastern Highlands, Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, 1993, pp. 119f, makes a similar point when he discusses an airstrip in the Weip valley, near Langda. After it was finally completed, they did not get a missionary family and "also the airplanes did not come as often as their expected to unload their cargo in their midst". When Larson and Gibbons decided upon a good site for a landing strip in the Ilaga valley, an air drop was made of tools and cowrie shells (to pay the workers). That these goods came out of the sky was literally incomprehensible to the men watching. R. Wick, *God's Invasion*, Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990, pp. 84f. During the second visit to Vakabuis by helicopter, after they had heard that God in the Sky had created everything, some villagers assumed that the pilot was the Sky-God being referred to by the missionaries. E. Stringer, *The Vakabuis Story*, n.p., TEAM, n.d., pp. 21-23, 29. J. Dekker took the concept further by bringing in a Harley-Davidson motor-bike to communicate between the villages in his care (which proved too heavy for the paths and was replaced by a lighter model). He also had a washing machine, a kerosene-powered refrigerator (which sparked a devastating fire) and a radio, in an area that a short time before had not seen iron, yet alone Western consumer goods powered by petrol, electricity and kerosene. J. Dekker & L. Neely, *Torches of Joy*, 2nd ed., Crossway Books, Westchester, 1985, pp. 80-83, 109ff. It is clear that the importing of these necessities of Western life had an effect upon the tribes people. J.H. Kane, *Understanding Christian Missions*, 3rd ed., Baker, Grand Rapids, 1982, pp. 341f, defended the missionaries. "After all, the missionary can hardly be expected to live without any of the amenities of modern civilization."

26. In Karubaga, by 1962 there was a working hydro-electric plant providing lighting and power to the village. H. Manning, *To Perish for Their Saving*, Victory Press, London, 1969, p. 42.

27. Wilson, 1998, op cit, pp. 10f.

28. F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley, (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya*, LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 305-307. The movement began several years before the War, and gained a political dimension after 1938 after it was noticed, then challenged by Agter, the local missionary, and the Dutch colonial representative. With this opposition it changed into an anti-colonial movement. A. Mampioper, *Mitologi dan Pengharapan Masyarakat Biak-Numfor*, n.pub., Jayapura, 1976, pp. 52-57.

29. 140,000 Americans and Australians came to Hollandia in 1944-45. E. Utrecht, *Papuas in Opstand*, Ordeman, Rotterdam, 1978, p. 35. Stories still abound in Irian of the way the Americans would disperse chocolate from passing trucks, and give away clothing to the Papuans.

30. The same could be said for the Japanese, who also brought in great amounts of war materials supported by battalions of soldiers. The difference between the Japanese and the Americans was that the Japanese depended on local food production, particularly after their supply routes to Japan began to be disrupted by American submarine activity. Therefore the Japanese had to force local producers to provide them when food supplies began to diminish, whereas the Americans brought in so much food that there was an excess, which was distributed to the people living near their bases. The Japanese also did not have sufficient engineers, and so had to recruit local people to work for them, usually without payment. The Americans had so many engineers and other troops that basically didn't need local labour. When they used local people, they paid well for the labour they needed. So working for the Americans, unlike the Japanese, was a boon and not a curse. H.J. Teutscher, "Some Mission Problems in Post-War Indonesia: Experiences in Dutch New Guinea", *The International Review of Missions*, vol. 37, no. 99, 1948, pp. 410-12.

31. See Subroto, op cit, pp. 40ff. In a messianic movement among the Muyu in the early 1950s, the spirits who would deliver the hoped-for money and power, spoke Dutch and English and were "primarily spirits of dead Americans". J.W. Schoorl, "Salvation Movements Among the Muyu of Irian Jaya", *Irian*, vol. 7, no. 1, Feb. 1978, p. 20. Another, in Australian New Guinea, hoped for a "black Christ and black Kings". M. West, *Kundu*, Mayflower, Frogmore, 1965, p. 33. These changes, and in particular the presence of black soldiers, gave rise to many cargo cults throughout Melanesia. J.G. Strehlan & J.A. Godschalk, *Kargoisme di Melanesia: Suatu Studi tentang Sejarah dan Teologi Kultus Kargo*, Pusat Studi Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1989, p. 34. Although the influence in Irian does not seem to have been as great, the fact that black men came as the equal of white men (although few, if any, were officers), would have been noticed by the Papuans.

32. When the Vakabuis people, on the south coast near Senggo, were approached, the missionaries came in a helicopter. There was no solid ground for the helicopter to land , and so it went to the next village until called to collect the expatriate missionary. The Papuan missionaries were left in the village. During the visit the villagers were also photographed, apparently willingly. Stringer, op cit, pp. 16-19.

33. G.W. Trompf, *Payback: the Logic of Retribution in Melanesian Religions*, CUP, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 194f.

34. Millenarian movements, as they have appeared throughout the world, have been variously described as cargo cults, messianic, millenarian or adjustment movements, nativism, prophetism or revivalism. All of these have a common theme of offering salvation in concrete terms for a people under stress, either now or in the very near future, and most have had a mainly local impact. See Giay, 1986, op cit, pp.1ff, for a good summary of this.

35. The movement may predate contact with the outside world, but contact may have convinced them that salvation, in traditional terms, was at hand. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 261. A. Goudewaard, *De Papoewa's van de Geelvink Baai*, H.A.M. Roelants, Schiedam, 1863, p. 84, mentions Manggundi, who was known in the area. Kamma, 1972, op cit, pp. 256f, confirms that the missionaries knew of the movement. Ottow and Geissler were shown rocks, trees, etc that were claimed to be from Manggundi, and they were told that Manggundi was soon returning. Erari, op cit, p. 79, footnote 35. J. van Hasselt reported that there were up to four *konoor* in the region at one time during the 1870s. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 263.

36. G. Oosterwal, "A Cargo Cult in the Mamberamo Area", *Ethnology*, vol. II, no. 1, January 1963, p. 2, makes the point that religious movements such as this are generally led by the men. In Melanesian society, women work for their food, men pray for it.

37. At least one caused the Dutch to intervene when, in 1852, a 'prophet' was captured after disturbing the peace of the north coast (the Biak language region?) and taken to Ternate, only to be succeeded by another. J.A. Overweel, *Irian Jaya Source Materials No. 8: Archival Sources Relating to Netherlands New Guinea History*, DSALCUL/IRIS, Leiden, 1994, p. 26.

38. Not all of the post-contact movements were influenced by Christianity alone. F. Slump, *Sejarah Penginjilan di Daerah Kapaur (1918-1930)*, translated by P. Muskita, May 1987, p. 19, mentions one that began in the Fak Fak area during an absence of the evangelist. It had elements of Islam, traditional religion, and Christianity, and lasted between 1926 and 1930, resulting in a lot of problems for Slump and his fellow church workers.

39. J.A. Godschalk, 'Where the Twain Shall Meet', Doctorandus Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1977, pp. 30-34, 53, outlines a cult that began in the 1940s in Mt. Hagen, in Australian New Guinea, and spread to the adjacent Taro region, in the eastern highlands of Dutch New Guinea, after severe frosts, and diseases introduced by outsiders during the Pacific War. After the initial promises were not fulfilled, the movement died. However, when the missions came in the 1970s, during a time of unusual prosperity, and brought with them government services and mining operations, both of which increased available wealth, the people decided that the promises of the movement had at last been fulfilled, and so Christianity was quickly accepted.

40. Apart from Giay, 1986, op cit, see also G.W. Trompf, *Melanesian Religion*, CUP, Cambridge, 1991, Trompf, 1994, op cit, Godschalk, 1977, op cit, J.G. Strehlan, *Search for Salvation*, rev. ed., Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1978, Strehlan & Godschalk, op cit, B. Giay & J.A. Godschalk, "Cargoism in Irian Jaya Today", in Godschalk, 1993, op cit, pp. 181-91, and P. Muskita, 'Manusia Mencari Jalan', Fak Fak, 1996. These are but the most readily available titles relevant to messianic or salvation movements in Irian. The *Koreri* movement from a Christian standpoint is dealt with well by Thimme, op cit, passim.

41. Trompf, 1991, op cit, p. 29.

42. L. Noriwari, "Introduksi Umum Tentang Gerakan Messianis (suatu tinjauan sosiologis)", in S. Patty (Ketua), 'Loka Karya Gerakan Mesianis 30 April - 5 Mei 1981', Komisi Pembinaan Jemaat Klasis GKI Jayapura, Jayapura, 1981, pp. 6-8, identifies four reasons for these movements arising: a crisis in cultural values, natural disasters, crisis of faith and crisis of identity. They began in the pre-contact period and have continued as they function to provide answers for the experiences of the people, they protect them from these influences, they bridge the gap between traditional and foreign expectations, and they unite an otherwise fractured social and religious life. Ibid, pp. 9f.

43. This dissatisfaction with the Dutch tends to be forgotten by leaders of the OPM, who view the Dutch period, between 1945 and 1963, with much nostalgia. See A. Matheson, "Irian Jaya: Refugees Remind of a Forgotten Struggle", *One World*, no. 45, April 1979, p. 14, and J.M. van der Kroef, "The Future of West New Guinea", *Journal of Human Relations*, vol. 6, 1958, p. 19. This view is supported by some such as J.M. Wilson, "Kabar-Irian!", jmwilson@mweb.co.za, 26 October 1998, who stated that the aim of the OPM to foster Melanesian nationalism was basically unrealistic due to the tendency of Melanesian societies to fracture when the need for alliances ends, and the inherent racism that such an aim implies in a multi-ethnic society such as present-day Irian. She suggests that a better aim would be the creation of a new kind of political process, with councils that included representatives from business, community, church and mission interests, which could then gradually change the existing political situation.

44. Including a *Koreri* movement that began in Arefi, in the Raja Ampat group, near Yenbekaki, one of the sacred *Koreri* sites, which persisted until 1970. Another *koreri* movement arose in Biak in 1974 and 1975 led by two women, Anna and Yuli Workrar. The *Kaisep* movement, that began in Genyem in the 1940s and 1950s as a millenarian movement, by 1970 had a more political aim. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 307-312, and S. Sumihe, 'Kerajaan Allah: Analisis Sistematik Visi Teologi GKI di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1990, pp. 15f. Kouwenhoven, op cit, pp. 75-83, gives a detailed account of the early beginnings of the movement in Genyem.

45.2 His best-known work was F.C. Kamma, 1972, op cit, although he also wrote a number of journal articles on the same subject, some of which are used in this work.

46. T. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang*, Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1989, pp. 112f. J.V. de Bruyn, "The Mansren Cult of Biak", *South Pacific*, vol. 5(1), March, 1951, pp. 7-9, makes the suggestion the *Koreri* movement may have begun as a result of the annual tribute that they had to make to the Sultan in Tidore via their overlord in Raja Ampat, which was a new concept which produced stresses that found their expression in the retelling of the old *Manarmakeri* myth. Hence, this pre-European messianic movement could itself be the result of outside pressures.

47. Such as the *Stepanus* movement in the Baliem in 1972, which encouraged its members to attend church on a daily basis in the expectation that riches would follow. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 312. Melanesian societies are not alone in their desire for a return to a better time, to be arrived at by prayer and proper rituals. The Pentecostal movement, for example, arose early in the twentieth century in the United States as part of a desire to return to the ways of the early church, which they have interpreted into become the 'high point' of Christianity, where the power of God was manifested without any alleged need for liturgy, theology or intermediaries apart from a designated and gifted leader, in much the same way as the followers of Melanesian messianic movements or cargo

cults. Because of their leadership model, with its strong emphasis on the "Pentecostal Minister", F.C. Kamma, "Zending", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, p. 129, described them as "shamanistische". This aspect of Pentecostalism may partly account for the growing influence of the Pentecostal movement in Irian.

48. 'value' here being understood not just in spiritual terms, but also in terms of the goods that the missionaries brought with them, and the education they provided.

49. Although perhaps less so, due to the impact economic development and Indonesian culture. Still, the missionaries come with higher salaries and different spending priorities than the local people, even the poorest, who still have a wage with which to purchase local and imported items. As Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 171, points out, the missionary may have come with the best of reasons, but these were not always understood by the people to whom he was sent, who only saw that he came with goods from a distant town, and therefore was a potential supplier of products from this material culture. This was, and is, reinforced if the church worker comes in a plane or helicopter. According to Degei, op cit, p. 67, the reasons for conversions among the Waghete people included "closeness to the priest" and "ability to obtain goods", along with more spiritual reasons.

50. The missionaries hoped that these slaves would become their initial converts. This was proven correct when their first baptisms were within their employees and other redeemed slaves. See N.G.J. van Schouwenburg, *Een Eeuw Evangelie Op Nieuw Guinea*, Raad voor de Zending van de Ned. Herv. Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1955, p. 6.

51. Van Schie, op cit, p. 170, uses the example of clothing. For the people around Manokwari, clothing was only used for religious rites. To wear clothing at other times was to invite death, as seen in the case of Kobus, an Ambonese living on Roon, who gave clothing to a sick child, and was forced to pay *f*60 after the child's death (*f*6 was a good monthly wage at the time). Kamma, 1982, op cit, pp. 291, 300. But the UZV missionaries insisted that clothing was Christian, as the Europeans who were Christian used it. For the missionary, to be a Christian one had to be clothed. However, this was not a solely European characteristic. Dekker & Neely, op cit, pp. 137-9, give an example of the Dani missionary, Bitbet, taking penis gourds and string skirts to his new post in the southern lowlands, "as to be a Christian one had to be clothed", in this case Dani fashion. In his post Bitbet then encouraged the singing of 'Christian' songs, using Dani rhythms, which the congregation, who were unfamiliar with Dani melodies, could not sing. Many of the Dani missionaries insisted that, to be a Christian, the convert had to be a Dani Christian. This insistence often brought them into conflict with the Western missionaries, who said they wanted a more authentic Christianity to develop in the non-Dani mission fields. Ibid, p. 187.

52. Although some managed to combine the two. When a crisis faced the people of Roon in 1894, they gave equal effort to the building of a church and a new *rumsram*. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 68f. In mission publications the sacred objects are often called 'fetishes' or 'charms' with the negative connotations associated with these terms. As D.J. Hayward, *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, Regions Press, Sentani, 1980, p. 162, points out, the burnings and conversions that took place in the early period of the evangelisation of the highlands were voluntary, if only because the missionaries did not have the language skills to be persuasive. The destruction of weapons was also a frequent aspect of these burnings. See E.J. Steiger, *Wings Over Shangri La*, n.p., 1995, p. 86, photographs. However, some of the later burnings, carried out under the auspices of Dani evangelists, may have occurred only after pressure to 'make a clean break with the past' in order that the *napalan kapalan* would come. Some, such as the Mek, later regretted the destruction of their sacred and traditional objects, particularly as they realised afterwards that many of the Dani, while telling the missionaries that they had destroyed all their objects, retained some "as a kind of insurance in case the expected benefits would not materialize". Godschalk, 1993, op cit, pp. 128f. They saw that many of these objects were on sale to tourists in Wamena.

53. Goram, op cit, p. 51.

54. W.S. Rumsarwir, "Injil dan Kebudayaan dalam Sejarah GKI Irian Jaya", in F. Duim & D. Sulistyo (eds.),

Dengan Segenap Hatimu, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1988, p. 29, makes the point that the images used by Ayamiseba were taken from the myths of the Biak Numfor cultural area.

55. The *koreri* movement ended in 1908 after its leader died of smallpox, and not because Roon was, by then, effectively Christian. Strehlan & Godschalk, op cit, pp. 10f. Although the *koreri* movements may have been beneficial to Christianity in the long-term, in the short-term they interfered with the proclamation and acceptance of the gospel. Eg. The movement in 1865 that van Hasselt observed involved the production of ancestor figures, and many festivities that were preferred to the religion of the missionaries. "Mawar Yang Berbunga di Atas Tempat Sampah Ataukah Salah Paham Selama Seratus Tahun", in Duim & Sulistyo, op cit, p. xxix.

56. In one village in the Raja Ampat group, for example, the people equated the new God with the existing worship they had of Manarmakeri. This understanding of God could be promoted through the *Koreri* stories. As a result, they were reluctant to accept the Christian message with its overt use of the names for God, that, by their use, would bring calamity upon them. They did not accept Christianity until 1931 when an Ambonese teacher, Jesaja Popela, was sent there. General acceptance did not come until 1938. See R. Kbarek, 'Dampak Kehadiran Manarmakeri dalam Pemahaman Masyarakat di Pulau Pam Bemuk', Jayapura, 1998, passim. In the Kebar in the 1960s, the indigenous converts to Catholicism, according to J.W. Schoorl, *Mensem van de Ayfat*, Catholic University of Nijmegen, Nijmegen, 1979, pp. 151f, would abide by the old ways in their gardens, but would adopt the mission culture and beliefs when they came in sight of their village.

57. For example, when Petrus Kafiar first went to Biak to be an Evangelist, the people who heard about him came with gifts, as they equated his message with the return of *Koreri* and wanted to 'buy' it. He refused and sent them away empty-handed. See L. Noriwari, Interview, 14 Dec 1994. This happened in other parts of the highlands also. In 1952, when the first Australian patrol entered the Fore area, in Australian New Guinea, "People from villages not yet visited pleaded with them to come to their hamlets and 'lavished' food on them on arrival". H. Nelson, "Kuru: The Pursuit of the Prize and the Cure", *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1996, p.185. Before this, among the Fore's neighbours, there had been war with the Patrol Officers and the Papuan Policemen, the resolution of which may have influenced the Fore to then welcome, rather than reject, the newcomers.

58. P.W. Arsdale, & D.E. Gallus, "The 'Lord of the Earth' Cult Among the Asmat: Prestige, Power and Politics in a Traditional Society", *Irian*, 3(2), June 1974, p. 4. Western culture was initially represented by Christianity, and later by the Dutch civil and military administration and, for an historically brief, but culturally significant interregnum, the Japanese, American and Australian military. A movement among the Muyu mentioned above, had elements of traditional religion. But, the leader of the movement, Kuram, was not opposed to Catholicism, welcomed requests from Catholic youths for a share of the money that would come, accepted the Catholic teaching on the creation, and went to church. Schoorl, 1978, loc cit, pp. 11f, 19-24.

59. Belief in *suanggi* persist. They are described either as independent spirits that can be directed by those with the ability, or as power belonging to a particular individual which, in either case, can bring disaster upon an individual that gains the ire of the *suanggi*. T.S. de Vries (ed.), *Een Plek in Het Ourwoud: Evanglieverkondiging aan het Volk van Irian Jaya*, De Vuurbaak, Groningen, 1983, pp. 60f. The power of Christianity is measured against these *suanggi* and other evil beings. As Godschalk, 1993, op cit, p. 133, points out, if a person who has been affected by such a spirit is prayed over by a fellow Christian, and the person becomes well, then "such an event conveys a powerful message to the bystanders, friend and foe alike".

60. Due to a theological standpoint that viewed all aspects of the local culture that were connected to the old religion, or were not specifically beneficial to Christianity, such as local art, dancing and lore, as 'kafir' or pagan and therefore not acceptable. See J. Haire, *The Character of the Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera, Indonesia, 1941-1979*, Peter D. Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, pp. 132f. Although Haire is describing the situation in Halmahera, the same mission evangelised Irian. This theological outlook pervaded the thinking of the Evangelicals that arrived after 1945.

61. M.B. Lagerborg, *Incessant Drumbeat: Triumph and Tragedy in Irian Jaya*, Christian Literature Crusade, Fort

Washington, 1992, p. 39. This is but one example. When reading the literature produced by the missions, these comments are very common. Indonesian anthropologists have tended to describe the Papuans as "the most backward in the whole world". N.H. Subroto, & M. Naibaho, *Fakta-Fakta dari Kehidupan di Irian Barat*, Universitas Rakjat, Jakarta, 1963, p. 40.

62. B.M. Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures: History, Comparison, Dialectic*, CUP, Cambridge, 1993, p. 222. As he puts it, once these cults were suppressed "the basis for indigenous cultural reproduction was fundamentally altered". Some issues, such as wife-swapping, were viewed as so reprehensible that extreme measures were needed. Trenkenschuh in Ayam, upon learning that the practice continued, threw his cross into the mud and vowed not to take it back until the practice stopped. The Asmat were horrified at his abuse of this sacred object, and promised to obey. T. Schneebaum, *Where the Spirits Dwell*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1988, pp. 31f.

63. The missionaries were confronted with the issue from the very beginning. Although, as J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952, pp. 191f, among others, points outs, polygamy was important in the sense that it conferred prestige, and increased the production of wealth of the males. Despite the influence of Christianity, the practice still continues. Eg. of the first six trainees in the Kelila Bible School, three "failed in their service" as they took a second wife. J. Parman, *Sejarah Gereja Injili di Indonesia (GIDI)*, APCM, Abepura, 1996, p. 17. In order that those with wives could be included in the church, and new converts be encouraged not to take a second wife, the Catholics on the south coast established two levels of converts: "agama ye katuk" ('believers') and "serani ye katuk" ('Christians'). J.F.L.M. Cornelissen, *Pater en Papoea*, J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1988, p. 255. See also 'Notulen van de Conferentie van Zenderlingen der Utrechtsche Zendings Vereeniging Werksaam op Nieuw Guinea', Miei 1-17 February, 1932, pp. 8f, and 'Notulen van de Vergadering op 26 en 27 Juni '36 te Manokwari gehouden met eenige vertegen woordigers der U.Z.V. onder voorzitterschap van den Resident der Molukken', p. 4. Within the GKI the taking of a second wife automatically resulted in a de facto expulsion from the church of the male and, due to the social stigma attached to polygamy, the wives, including the first wife. Children of the second and subsequent unions could not be baptised until adulthood as the parents were not in good standing in the church. Pastoral care was dependant upon the goodwill of the local church leader. Eg., a woman well-known in the Padang Bulan area, had ceased going to the local GKI congregation, in which she had been married, as her husband had taken two extra wives in their village in Genyem, thereby excommunicating himself, and all his wives and children, from the church. However, she continued as his wife, and maintained good relations with the other wives and their families, who continued to live in the village. She received pastoral care from the GKI elders living near her.

64. The *mon* cult in Raja Ampat is but one example. To suppress the *mon* fertility cult, the missions and the government moved villages to the coast and forbade the rites associated with it. However, by doing so they altered the relationship between the villagers and the King of Salawati, and between related villages. But, they did this, after guaranteeing through health care and increased government, that the people would be healthy and safe. The two main *mon* villages, Mocu and Fiawat converted to Christianity. Fiawat became a GKI village in 1954, and Mocu became a Pentecostal village in 1972. J.R. Mansoben,"Sistem Pemerintahan Tradisional di Salawati Selatan Raja Ampat", *Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, no. 8, pp. 154, 162-207.

65. For the tribes who were the instigators of head-hunting, there was an initial acceptance of the new law. However, this was not always the case in the succeeding generation. Among the Yahray, near Merauke, some of the younger men returned to the practice when government and mission control slackened. This was particularly a problem in the years during and immediately after the Pacific War. The problem was solved through reestablishing the government and mission as permanent elements in local society, appointing younger, Christian, villagers as leaders and Christianising elements of the local religion. J.M. van der Kroef, "Culture Contact and Culture Conflict in Western New Guinea", *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1959, pp. 152-4. In 1959 the, by then Christian, Yahray attacked a group of Citah people, who had only recently made contact with the government in Kepi. The group of Citah men were all killed, with the exception of one or two who escaped to Kepi. Two hundred Yahray were arrested by the police, and imprisoned in Merauke and Tanah Merah, and the Bishop compelled the entire tribe to undertake their catechism classes again. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 2, n.p., n.d., pp. V.7f.

66. There was a major peace ceremony at Kepi, near Mappi, in 1950, organised by Father J. Verscheuren, between two traditional enemies, the Jaqaj and the Awju. As Boelaars stated, what he witnessed "symbolized the end of an era". Boelaars, 1981, op cit, pp. 6f.

67. Knauft, op cit, p. 223, is referring very much to the eastern highlands from which his references are drawn, but the situation applies also to the western highlands, which shared the same basic culture, was opened up using similar methods, and which responded to the gospel in largely the same way. In the Mamberamo, the mission-inspired cessation of revenge warfare enabled the Armati to become traders, bartering meat for products from Sarmi. E.D. Sefa, *Mengenal Suku Armati di Pedalaman Sarmi Irian Jaya Bagian Utara*, Aurora, Jakarta, 1995, p. 31. As 'Chief Den' of the Damal in the western Baliem put it, "These boys ... will grow up in a peaceful valley where there will be no killing, revenge or war payment". Wick, op cit, p. 90. The peace that Stan Dale accidentally imposed when he suggested that the people of Ninia cease their warfare, was kept and extended to the rest of the southern Yali. Wilson, 1989, loc cit, p. 27.

68. Wick, op cit, pp. 74-76. One way some missionaries helped their young converts to marry for love was by enabling them to obtain sufficient trade goods to outbid the older men, who usually had the pick of the young women.

69. When F. van Hasselt established a station on Numfor, he deliberately chose the village that had a central place in the belief system of the island. Then, in his first prayer, he used the language of Biak, and addressed his prayer to *Fan Nanggi*, [god of the] 'Sky', and asked that *Fan Nanggi* bless them. S. Kapissa, *Pakreki: Pintu Gerbang Pekabaran Injil (PI) di Pulau Numfor*, Panitia Pembangunan Tugu Peringatan P.I. di Jemaat Pakreki Klasis Numfor, Biak, 1990, p. 17. The very first work of anthropology on Irian was C.W. Ottow & J.G. Geissler, 'A Brief Survey of the Land and People of the Northeast Coast of New Guinea', Handwritten manuscript 1857 (translated by J. Godschalk). Sunda, op cit, p. 8, states that "Effective proclamation of the Gospel requires knowing the social structure of the tribe, tribal loyalties, kinship ties, ceremonies of the people, beliefs and legends". In the list of what the missionaries and their home Mission Boards can do to facilitate the process, ibid, pp. 49-51, in addition to the expected prayer and support requests, there is a strong emphasis on understanding of the people and their way of accepting the faith. While Sunda is making a case that the model of evangelisation should be changed to allow for mass conversions, his point, that anthropology is a vital tool in evangelisation, is clear.

70. Cutts, op cit, pp. 56f.

71. When Larson and Gibbons first entered the Ilaga valley, the people were unsure whether they were 'real people', or "spirits or descendants of the *mbok* who had made the land in the distant past". Larson, loc cit, p. 11. Cutts, op cit, pp.66ff, relates how the people requested, and received, a guided tour of the house as proof that the missionary was not a spirit. As noted in chapter 7, the Enarotali people were amazed when the missionaries produced wives. When the women were first sighted, a crowd gathered and, after much prodding and pinching, it was announced by one of the Me people, "Yes, see, it has the feel of real flesh". D. Diebler Rose, *Evidence Not Seen*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1988, p. 26. Among the tribes in the upper Digul system, the white people were viewed as *kowai* or devils, who could not been viewed by people. M. Kawangtet, 'Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irja)', ZGK, Kouh, 1993, p. 2. This may account for the difficulties that missionaries have had simply making contact with tribes in this region. When they see the white men come, they disappear into the forest, and frequently refuse to touch food and implements left in their homes as peace offerings.

72. See Cutts, op cit, p. 58f. This equating of 'white' people with the ancestors was widespread, although not in every place (the Mek in the Sela valley, when they met the 1912 de Kock expedition, recognised that the whites, and their Javanese and coastal Papuan assistants, were men, if differently coloured. Godschalk, 1993, op cit, pp. 110f. However, having brown-skinned people to compare the white-skinned men to may have helped) Over much of Irian similar myths existed, of a hope that the now-white ancestors would return, as among, for example, the Marind people, near Merauke. Erari, 1999, op cit, pp. 77f. F.J.F. van Hasselt was welcomed at Yamna by an old woman, who said he was her son come back from the dead. Kamma, 1972, op cit, pp. 221f. This recognition made their presence, and the technology they brought with them, more acceptable. Zöllner, op cit, p. 12. Some saw the

Europeans as relatives, of lesser or higher status. The lack of recognition of their relation to the Papuans was interpreted by some as collective loss of memory on the part of the European branch of the kinship line, and for this reason the missionaries did not meet their obligations to share their wealth. Godschalk, 1977, op cit, pp. 46-48.

73. or *nabelan-kabelen*. Other variations also exist.

74. As J. Bensley, 'The Dani Church of Irian Jaya and the Challenges Facing It Today', M.A. Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1994, p. 25, explains, *napalan kapalan* was a belief of the Dani, that the snake had the secret to eternal life, which it had as it could shed its old skin. The Dani had lost the secret through the actions of particular small black bird. They saw the missionaries with their white, and thereby snake-like, skin, as bringing back to them this secret of eternal life.

75. Sunda, op cit, pp. 24f, acknowledges that for some this was the case. But, writing almost at the time, he dismisses this proclamation as being "done to enhance their own importance and to insure a good crowd". Perhaps this was not wholly the case. Then, Sunda, ibid, pp. 32-33, quotes Larson, whose explanation of the role of *napalan kapalan* in the acceptance of Christianity is more positive. He states that the Dani, in particular, interpreted the Christian message as restoring their hope for the realisation of *napalan kapalan*, however they interpreted it. See G.F. Larson, "Immortality Restored: The Early Phase of the Conversion Movement to Christianity Among the Western Dani of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, 1957-1963", Paper originally presented to the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, 21st Annual Meeting, New Orleans, February 19-23, 1992. Revised March 18, 1996, p. 5. This is supported by Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 28, citing a number of other writers, who states many accepted this message as the means to the fulfilment of their hope to end to actual tears and real old age, and not just tears and age in a metaphysical sense. They expected release from disease and material benefits from their conversion and the destruction of their sacred objects. D. O'Brien & A. Ploeg, "Acculturation Movements Among the Western Dani", *The American Anthropologist*, 66(4)-2 (1964), pp. 284f.

76. See G. Stürzenhofecker, "Border Crossings: Papua New Guinea Models in Irian Jaya", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 147 (1991), pp. 320f, where she gives her summary of the attitude of Hayward. Who defends himself against what he perceives as a misrepresentation of his purpose, in D. Hayward, "Response to 'Border Crossings: Papua New Guinea Models in Irian Jaya' by Gabriele Stürzenhofecker (BKI 147-II/III)", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 150 (1994), pp. 209-211.

77. Hayward, loc cit, p. 210, describes it as 'sweeping' through the Mulia Dani.

78. This dissatisfaction was coupled with the hope that, through the new religion, the aim of the old religion, namely peace with the supernatural and sufficient food and wealth now, could be attained. See Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 25f, and F.C. Kamma, "Messianic Movements in Western New Guinea", *International Review of Missions*, 41, 1953, pp. 156-9.

79. Interestingly, not the eastern Baliem, who said that the god *Bok* came from the east, and so the missionaries could not be bringing *napalan kapalan*, as they came from the west. Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 293.

80. H. Ellenberger, "Florence Nightingale in Bare Feet", *Behind the Ranges*, vol. VIII, no. 1, May 1973, p. 6., where the witness of the healed was a powerful force for the Dani evangelists. Dekker & Neely, op cit, pp. 113f, mentions two cures, one of a blind man who was healed as he came out of the baptismal water, and another who was cured of cerebral malaria with medicines. However, not all the Papuans were impressed by Christian medicines. In the ZGK areas, if a patient died or became sicker due to the disease, or by not taking the full course of medicines, the clinic and its workers were held responsible by the local community. O. Mahuze, O. Rumi, Y.S. Sarwa, & A.K. T'Korop, *Sejarah Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (Irian Jaya)*, Deputat-Deputat Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia (IRJA), Bomakia, 1982, pp. 19f.

81. J.F. Onim, *Soteriologi Agama Suku Tehit*, B.Th. Long Essay, STT Jakarta, 1988, pp. 80f.

82. Noriwari, 1994, op cit.

83. Cutts, op cit, p. 89

84. The initial contact with the Numba valley, a valley in the Me tribal area, is outlined in H. Haripranata, *Ichtisar Kronologis Sedjarah Geredja Katolik Irian Barat*, Pusat Katolik, vol. 3, Djajapura, 1970, pp. 48ff. The missionaries were asked to come to the valley after they had visited the Jingga valley. The missionaries interpreted the reception they received as example of the generosity and eagerness of the Numba people to have the gospel. From the point of view of the Numba people, they had probably heard about the new religion and the benefits it brought, and wanted to indebten the missionaries, through the traditional practice of giving a generous gift and expecting something at least as good in return. Hayward, op cit, pp. 198f, suggests that this concept of reciprocity was behind Dani Sunday offerings. They gave to express their thanks for what had been done and in anticipation for what God would do. It could be argued that this thinking also lies behind the giving of many Christians elsewhere, and so is not a theology unique to Irian.

85. Such was the interpretation of Cutts, op cit, pp. 63-65. Certainly they witnessed an increase in the acceptance of Christianity after the people saw them taking in this baby, which continued to grow. They also relate, ibid, pp. 67-69, another occasion when, in response to a whooping cough epidemic, some men decided to kill the Cutts. Nearby villagers refused to help them as the Cutts "are raising one of our babies". In the next village the same reply was given, as apparently Gracie Cutts had adopted several abandoned babies, thereby unintentionally making the relatives of the children obligated to her. Wick, op cit, p. 54. When the missionaries came to a new place, they were either greeted in one of two ways: in fear as returning ancestors or spirits bent on doing harm, or as bringers of peace and healing. See Bensley, op cit, pp. 24ff.

86. This understanding could even be used by the new converts to reprove the missionaries Cutts, op cit, p. 52, relates a time when he almost lost his hold crossing a bridge, as he would not let go of the puppy he was holding. As he puts it: "A carrier who knew Indonesian saw my predicament ... hurried to my side. When we reached the shore he gave me a good tongue lashing. 'You were willing to lay down your life for a worthless dog and thus keep the Moni from hearing the gospel' ". It is interesting to note that the carrier both knew Indonesian, and was prepared to use it to criticise the missionary.

87. Often at the instigation of the tribal leader, who may have made the initial approach to the missionary. Eg. Opalalok, the leader of the Dani in the Ilaga valley, who had contact with the Damals in the valley, and who asked for baptism after discussions with the Damal leaders. See Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 26f. Examples exist in other regions, where the village decided to convert, either after a collective decision as happened in Nimboran, or after being commanded by the local tribal leader. See Kouwenhoven, op cit, p. 62, for Nimboran, and D. Assem, 'Ketritunggalan, Krimus, Syawa dan Hoor dalam Kepercayaan Suku Maybrat Klasis GKI Ayamaru, Aitinyo dan Aifat (A-3): Suatu Tinjauan Kontekstual', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 30f, who states that the Kambuaya people only received the Biak teacher who had been sent to them after the local leader, Abraham Kambuaya, accepted the teacher, and later asked for more teachers. Hayward, op cit, p. 146, lists the time taken from the first contact to the first baptism, for ten stations in the Dani areas. Even in light of the urgency with which the Evangelicals desired baptisms, the shortest time was six months. In Karubaga, thirty seven months (three years) elapsed.

88. Sunda, op cit, pp. 20-23, justifies this approach, as does the typewritten introduction to the book inside the front cover, signed by L.L. King, the then Foreign Secretary for CAMA, dated Sept. 1964. Zöllner, op cit, p. 12, stating that after Christianity was introduced to the Yali, there was a conflict, as the elders wanted to maintain the old ways and the young wanted to adopt the new. A communal discussion followed, that decided in favour of Christianity. Clearly this was an important issue during the early period of evangelisation in the highlands.

89. Yakya, then known as Yambonep, from Makki, heard of the activities of the missionaries in the Ilaga valley and went there. After hearing enough, he returned to Makki and Pyramid and spoke of this new religion. Bensley,

op cit, p. 26, and Larson, loc cit, pp. 5f, who gives an account of the process by which Yambonep gave up the old ways and adopted the new. When Gibbons entered the valley of the Dem tribe in 1959, he found that some Damals had already told the Dem about the gospel. As a result, they had burnt their sacred objects and were worshiping together on Sundays. Wick, op cit, pp. 137f.

90. C.E. Farhadian, 'REP Final Report', Berkeley, May 1999, p. 5.

91. Perhaps the best example is Zakheus Pakage, a Me youth who went from Paniai to Australia during World War II. After the War, he studied in the CAMA Theological College in Ujung Pandang and eventually returned to his village. But, by then his village was part of the Catholic mission area. Rather than moving to a Protestant area, he began a private evangelism campaign, that in time began to deviate from the Christianity of the mission, due to what Giay described as his traditional 'frame' into which his understanding of Christianity was placed. A. Yogi, "Benny Giay: Jangan Heran Bila Ajaran Kristen Tak Mendarat", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Sept 1995, p. 4. For this he was persecuted, and for a time was held in the Mental Hospital in Jayapura. However, his followers saw him as a Jesus figure, and followed his brand of Christianity and traditional beliefs, even after his death in January 1970. See B. Giay, *Zakheus Pakage and His Communities: Indigenous Religious Discourse, Socio-political Resistance, and Ethnohistory of the Me of Irian Jaya*, VU University Press, Amsterdam, 1995, passim, in particular pp. 206-210.

92. The Muyu, near Merauke, one of the early tribes to be converted to Christianity, accepted money as an item of payment for work and goods. But they still believed their prophet would bring them an end to taxes, as well as untold wealth. J.W. Schoorl, "Shell Capitalism Among the Muyu People", *Irian*, Oct. 1996, pp. 65-68. Some also felt that the pastor was the one who had the wealth. Therefore, the way to obtain it was by praying, attending communion and doing what the Church said. J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, p. 37. Van der Kroef, loc cit, p. 142, maintains that the reason for beliefs such as this persisting is due to the shallowness of the "process of Christianization", which has not radically altered the cosmology of the new converts. "Melanesians have not embraced naturalistic accounts of the deaths of their fellows". Trompf, 1994, op cit, p. 444. Zöllner, op cit, pp. 161ff, points out that even for a younger, Christianised, Yali, when disaster or sickness happen, the question still is, "Who has violated which rules in what way?". One example is given in D. Mofu, 'Kehidupan Sesudah Mati: Kajian Teologis Tentang Kehidupan Sesudah Mati Menurut Pemahaman Suku di Angguruk Klasis GKI Balim Yalimo', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, pp. 30f, where he recounts the unexplained death of a Yali evangelist, and the efforts of the people to determine the cause of death by traditional means, including cremating parts of the body. In Irian, expected deaths are now accepted, but for premature deaths there is still a suspicion that there is someone responsible for the death. For example, when Rukia Giay, the wife of Benny Giay, died in August 1999, the preacher at the memorial service, an American, echoed the thoughts of the many in the congregation, when he suggested that this was on their minds, as her husband, a prominent GKII church leader, had just been forbidden from traveling outside Indonesia by the Indonesian army.

93. Haire, op cit, p. 133. In Irian as in Halmahera, objects of traditional worship were not always destroyed, being kept hidden within the house until needed. Whiteman, op cit, p. 66, makes a similar point for Melanesia as a whole, stating that, although the external celebrations of their religion quickly took on a Christian form, the internal beliefs often remained. Schneebaum, op cit, p. 81, noticed that when the missionary openly disapproved of a certain rite, it was practised in secret. As Bishop Muninghoff in "From Stone Age to Jet Age", *In Depth Indonesia*, no. 8, Aug 1977, p. 11, said in relation to the continuation of the old beliefs "... who can change totally?"

94. Rhoads, op cit, p. 30, gives examples for the Kebar, but this can be said to be a phenomena across Irian, as seen in Wick, op cit, p. 196, where two ministers in the Moni area not only took a second wife, they refused to accept church discipline over this matter. In the matter of taking extra wives by Papuan ministers, examples exist in all the churches. Marriage continues to be a problem in Christian villages. Girls now marry later, and men younger, but this means that many young women who are old enough to be sexually active, are unmarried, creating problems of pre-marital sexual relations. Polygamy has been banned, but this leaves a reservoir of widowed older women who have no male protector, yet need one to help in their gardens and provide a place to live. Hayward, op cit, pp. 182-4. Divorce has also become an issue for the churches. The situation that Trompf, 1994, op cit, p. 320, describes in

Papua New Guinea, where the increasing prevalence of divorce has made people less willing to ask for the blessing of a church that forbids divorce, is also true for Irian. In urban areas and congregations the existence of divorce is tolerated, hence church weddings are common, and divorced people can remarry in the church. In rural areas, church-sanctified unions are less common, as the comment is usually 'if we marry in the church and there is a problem, then we cannot separate'. There is also a financial aspect, that to 'kawin adat' (marry with an adat ceremony only) usually only involves the immediate family and a simple ceremony. A church wedding requires a minister and civil celebrant (who may need to be transported to the location) as well as special clothing, followed by a reception with many invited guests, which few in rural areas, or on the urban fringe, can afford.

95. B. Giay, Address to STT Students, Abepura, 9 May 1997.

96. Some men among the northern Yali rejected Christianity because they felt that the message of the missionaries was already known, and that all the the missionaries were doing was giving the old knowledge a new form. However, the knowledge the missionaries taught was secret men's knowledge, which the women and children had no right to know. N.J.T. Matruty, 'Injil dan Kebudayaan: Suatu Tinjauan Teologis Terhadap Praktek Pembakaran Hobat-Hobatan Sebagai Pra-Syarat Pembaptisan Kudus di Klasis GKI Balim Yalimo', B.Th. Long Essay, Universitas Kristen Indonesia Tomohon, Tomohon, 1993, pp. 50-52.

97. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 56f.

98. Lewis, op cit, pp. 444-50. The uprising died out in the late 1970s, and from 1980 churches began to be reopened.

99. H. Saud, 'Hiduplah Sebagai Anak-Anak Terang', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, 1995, p. 169. For Saud, the answer to his question is that such consideration had to be have been true for many of the early converts, if only because their understanding and education was, by definition, very limited. This being so, some, such as Weakebo, who is mentioned in earlier chapters, clearly converted as the government and the mission enhanced his power and prestige. In response, he supported the Protestants, the Catholics and the government in Paniai. At his behest, some of his wives joined the CAMA congregation in Yaba (which he founded), others the Catholic congregation (which he encouraged). He also supported the CAMA missionaries against Zakheus Pakage, as Pakage threatened both Weakebo's standing as a Paniai big man, and the CAMA mission that he was indebted to. B. Giay, "The Conversion of Weakebo: A Big Man of the Me Community in the 1930's", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, pp. 185-7. However, as Giay, ibid, pp. 188f, suggests, Weakebo's decision may have had a spiritual dimension, as a way of coping with the changes brought by the *ogai*.

100. Although the new religion was against polygamy and the accumulation of wealth that multiple wives could bring, it gave the young a way of gaining respect and wealth in ways that were faster than the traditional methods, thus potentially putting the old men at a disadvantage and giving the young new avenues of gaining authority. E.Y. Bernhard, 'The Program of Developing Organizational Leaders in the Kingmi Church of Irian Jaya', M.A. Paper, Wheaton College, Wheaton, 1980, pp. 57-59. This aspect of the new religion was quickly understood by the old men, who were also the leaders of the traditional religion, and was one reason they had for opposing the missionaries, or only accepting them reluctantly. See Bensley, op cit, p. 23, and Wick, op cit, p. 91. This would have encouraged the young to accept this religion faster than their elders, as they did not have to have multiple wives, and they could access alternative sources of wealth and power. It might also be a factor in the more recent acceptance of Islam, with its access to modern wealth, its acceptance of polygamy and the entry it gives to the new, Indonesian, world.

101. 'The Southern Yali Bible Project Summary', World Team, n.p. 1999, pp. 2ff, gives the example of a Yali 'medicine man', Dongla Kobak, who accepted Christianity after deliberately breaking a village taboo. His son, Otto, went to an Indonesian-language Bible school and returned as an evangelist and church leader. In effect, the traditional leadership role of village healer, which should have passed to the son, was passed on into the new religion in an altered form.

102. Ellenberger, states that the political leaders of the Uhunduni, or Damals, were dissatisfied with their shamans after experiencing Western medicine. Sunda, op cit, pp. 22f. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 46f, writing concerning the same period, but from the point of view of a child of the initial converts, makes the same point. The village doctors (in Indonesian a *dukun*, what the Southern Yali called a *ap hwalon* or 'one who cares' [Wilson, 1998, op cit, p. 11], some of whom also served as a *shaman*) could cure disease, but not as effectively as the Western doctors. The mission doctor and nurse were backed up by the missionary, a German or a Yali, who could cure the spiritual sickness. Hence, once the missionaries were accepted as being able to cure the whole man, the village doctors were ignored.

103. T. Fiak, "Former Spiritist Now Translates Scripture", *TEAM Horizons*, September/October 1987, p. 10, and B. Preston, "My Jungle Swamp: Satan's Battlefield", *TEAM Horizons*, September/October 1989, p. 5.

104. Either directly, through increasing contact between tribes, or indirectly, though the protection that they were given by the Dutch government backed up by the Dutch military and police. A. Ploeg, *Government in Wanggulam*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1969, p. 4. That the missionaries came at the most violent point of the 1956-57 Taganit War in the Ilaga valley, was noted, and was a factor in the tribes accepting Christianity, as Christianity arrived just as peace began to break out. Larson, loc cit, pp. 8f. Father Putman, as noted in Boelaars & Vriens, vol. 2, op cit, pp. III.11, felt that the necessities of life led Papuans to be naturally self-reliant and wary of strangers. By becoming Christians, this suspicion of foreigners was not necessary, and they welcomed the new contacts that Christianity provided. Zöllner, op cit, p. 13, also notes that Christianity gave the Yali more contact with their neighbours, without damaging the structure of these relationships.

105. Larson, loc cit, p. 9, concludes that from the beginning of the twentieth century there was a migration of western Dani people into the Ilaga valley, which in 1900 was predominantly Damal, but which, by the first census in 1961, had a Dani majority.

106. Sunda, op cit, p. 22. The people west of the Lake Sentani tell of their being displaced shortly before the gospel arrived. This made them eager recipients of this new faith, possibly because the missionaries could balance the pressure they were facing from Lake Sentani people. From the Waibron area an emissary was sent to Genyem asking for a teacher. Some groups west of Lake Sentani still claim some of the mountain areas north of the lake as their traditional land.

107. Larson, quoted by Sunda, op cit, pp. 33f. Head-hunting, for example, was made a crime by the authorities, punishable through punitive expeditions against offending villages, and imprisonment in the distant urban centre for the individuals held to be directly involved.

108. The acceptance of Christianity also provided a way of resolving conflicts, as the missionaries were interventionist in the villages they contacted, and were prepared to contact waring parties to resolve conflicts amicably. They did this to enable their activities to continue unhindered, and to end the cycle of hostility that had the potential to dislocate the activities of villages, and in some cases provoke the villagers to move to new locations. The missionaries were accepted as mediators as they were clearly not involved in the local situation, and were therefore trustworthy. They also had transport, such as boats and aircraft, and so could communicate between hostile villages. Stringer, op cit, pp. 35-37.

109. At the same time, this brought a population increase that allowed them to expand to surrounding centres. L. Pospisil, *The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea*, 2nd ed., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1978, pp. 110-12. One of the 'blessings of peace' was that villagers were no longer fearful when going to gardens or pig-pens that were close to the areas of their traditional enemies. They could therefore take the shortest path, thereby reducing the time taken for travel, and allowing them to widen the paths. Dekker & Neely, op cit, pp. 103-115. However, clan loyalties tended to be unchanged, although Hayward, op cit, pp. 180f, saw a trend toward new alliances based upon denominational allegiance, rather than traditional ties. There is also evidence that the missions brought peace to areas even outside the immediate area that they worked in, especially by tribes that were more receptive to outside

innovations. The best example is that of the western Dani, the traditional trading partners of the Me, who heard of Christianity and gave up war *before* the government arrived. This would have made contacts easier, and hence, to those tribes who welcomed peace, the gospel would have been a welcome innovation. K.G. Heider, "Societal Intensification and Cultural Stress as Determining Factors in the Innovation and Conservation of Two Dani Cultures", *Oceania*, 46(1), 1975, p. 56.

110. Kamma was said to know Malay, Biak, Karon and Moi, and considered knowledge of the local language to be a vital part of the process of evangelisation. D. Osok, 'Sejarah Pekabaran Injil di Kota Sorong dan Sekitarnya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 35. But, before 1950, the UZV missionaries used Dutch as their language of mission administration, thereby excluding their indigenous and Moluccan assistants from leadership roles in the Mission Conference.

111. Hayward, op cit, pp. 202f, states that there is a dichotomy between the empiricist, amoral and universalist thinking of Western (and Indonesian) thinking, as taught in the Indonesian-language schools, and the 'contextual logic' of the Dani and the vernacular-language schools. The former emphasised reasoning through abstractions, the latter reasoning through the perspective of cause and effect, in particular as related to relationships. Farhadian, 1999, op cit, p. 7, states that the Papuans have adopted the Bible and the theology given to them, but have adapted this to their own needs in ways that are often opposed to the intent of the Western missionaries, but which are still valid in their own context, clearly adapting, slowly, their contextual logic to the Christian Gospel, as their faith and understanding have matured. As Whiteman, op cit, p. 67, puts it, "Although some Melanesian societies would be more adept in interlectualizing their beliefs .... the abstract and cognitive take second place to the pragmatic and the experiential."

112. Another distinguishing characteristic was the attitude to tobacco. The Dutch male missionaries, along with most of the adult Papuan men and women, smoked. The American missionaries did not, and praised those who, in addition to casting off their old religious ways, abandoned the use of tobacco. Wick, op cit, pp. 87f. This being so, tobacco was still grown and used in the Sela valley in the 1980s, despite the local church prohibiting the use of tobacco. Godschalk, 1993, op cit, p. 41. When asked why, they said the tobacco was for trading purposes.

113. Ellenberger in Sunda, op cit, p. 22, said that because the foreigners were prepared to let the evangelisation be taken along "their natural lines of socio-political action", and by using traditional worship patterns, Christianity spread much faster than it would have done otherwise.

114. One reason for doing this, so Gibbons concluded, was that Western rhythms could be picked up quickly by the young, but not the old. Hence, to make the Christian songs acceptable, local tunes and rhythms had to be used. Wick, op cit, p. 86.

115. With some exceptions. The Dani and Yali speaking groups were so large they were evangelised by more than one mission. The missions then spread to nearby tribes who did not speak Dani or Yali, but who became part of a wider church based in these areas, with the local language serving as the language of evangelism, and Indonesian serving as the language of wider church involvement. This is true for the GKI congregations in Apahapsili and Angguruk, which are both Yali speaking, and which have been centres for evangelising their non-Yali speaking neighbours.

116. Van den End, *Ragi 2*, op cit, p. 124. F. Tometen, 'GKI dan Misinya di Daerah Balim-Yalimo: Disusun oleh Pdt. F. Tometen atas Naskah dari Pdt. P. Sawen', Apahapsili, 15/1/94, p. 7, says that in Apahapsili an afternoon Indonesian service was instituted, for Indonesian-speaking immigrants. The GKI has condoned the continued use of local languages in areas where the languages are strong, and have a tradition of translating a making hymns and worship materials in their language. The best example is in Biak, where the Biak language is used extensively in worship, and at least one congregation, Waupnor, near the harbour of Biak, was founded (in 1940) as a Biak-language congregation, and continued using the Biak language exclusively until at least 1964. See W.V.I.T. Mara 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI "Viadolorossa" Mara Klasis Biak Utara', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 33, and H. Awawata, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Klasis Biak Selatan Jemaat GKI "Effata"

Waupnor', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, pp. 17-20. In North Biak, in some congregations, gestetner sheets of Biak hymns were given out at the beginning of the service, and returned at its end to be reused the following week.

117. In the GKI congregations on the coast, bread is used, along with communion wine that is commonly a mixture of tea, distilled palm toddy known as *cap tikus* or store-bought 'port wine', and sugar, occasionally mixed with, or even replaced by, Coca-Cola. In the highlands, the CAMA missionaries were the first to confront this problem. They had noticed the importance of the sweet potato to the local economy, and had seen wild raspberries. These were used for the elements of the communion, and when the Bible was translated, the term 'bread of life' was translated 'sweet potato of life'. Wick, op cit, p. 54. The VEM missionaries used sweet potato and boiled water. A similar attitude was adopted toward Bible translations. In the Yali bible, concepts were translated, rather than words. Eg. When Jesus spoke of new wine being poured into old wine skins, the Yali bible used the example of new string being used to repair an old *noken* or string bag. F. Mambrasar, *Kisah Perjumpaan Injil dengan Kebudayaan Dani dan Yali di Balim/Yalimo: Suatu Kenang-Kenangan dalam Memperingati Yubelium 25 Tahun Pekabaran Injil di Klasis GKI Balim/Yalimo*, Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Sorong, 1988, p. 27. An impetus for translation of materials and the Bible in the Yali language was, according to Tometen, op cit, p. 7, so that the people would see that Christianity was not a secret religion, unlike their traditional religious rites.

118. In the Bokondini region, the trainee leaders, which included older men as well as a large number of younger men, lived by themselves during their instruction. A. Ploeg, "The Establishment of the Pax Nederlandica in the Bokondini Area", in M. Rodman & M. Cooper (eds.), *The Pacification of Melanesia*, Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1979, pp. 174f. The missionaries included both Westerners, Papuans from areas such as Biak, and non-Papuans, in particular Ambonese but also occasionally Sangirese, Manadonese and Dayaks. Hayward, op cit, pp. 187f, lists the qualities looked for in "potential candidates for the ministry". Apart from the expected spiritual and leadership gifts, "Exemplary family relationships and preferably of a monogamous nature." are stressed. This would have excluded most traditional leaders, for whom many wives and the wealth and social ties that they implied, was a sign that the man had leadership potential. The situation was resolved by the older, polygamous, men exercising influence over the younger men as they assumed their leadership role. However, despite Hayward's positive outlook, their was resistance to the church in many places, such as the uprising at Obano, and smaller attacks in Bokondini and other places. The persistence of polygamy among Papuan church leaders also suggests that the transition has not been as smooth as hoped.

119. As noted in chapter six, this was not always a welcome development for the losers in this new leadership system. The revolt in the Paniai region in 1957 had, as one of its causes, resentment at the authority exercised by the young, mission-trained, men. Sunda, op cit, pp. 9-12.

120. Access to Western goods could also have an impact on inter-village relationships. In Mbogoga, by 1961, there were enough Western goods in the village that they could begin using them as barter for traditional products from other villages. More implements also allowed them to cut more forest land and so improve their food supply. Ploeg, 1969, op cit, p. 4. By 1962, Bokondini was also exporting steel axes to neigbouring valleys. O'Brien & Ploeg, loc cit, pp. 283f.

121. G. Yoal, 'Konsep Keselamatan Menurut Orang Yali dan Penerimaan Injil', Dip. Theol. Long Essay, STT-GKI, 1996, p. 18, lists the use for sacred objects among the Yali. Generally they were to protect the land and the people, make fertile the crops and animals, inflict disease and heal, and make rituals smell nice. On Yoal, ibid, p. 27, notes that conversions did not come until 1968 and later, after the young people had been educated and had come to see the truth of the new religion. This was the group who had matured within the influence of the mission. As happened in Nimboran and other parts of Irian, mission education lessened the force of traditional beliefs and their continuation to the next generation, and gave the young, in the words of Kouwenhoven, op cit, p. 64, "a less prejudiced attitude towards the Christian religion".

122. As Wilson, 1998, p. 10, states, the big men continue to have influence within Yali society, but their functions, and that of the village healers, have been challenged and, in the case of the healer, often supplanted by the new congregational leaders. In the Korupun region, only those who had been trained by the missionary or in the local Bible School were allowed to lead the church. As traditional leaders did not receive this training, they were, despite

being baptised and faithful church members, effectively excluded from leadership in the new religion. Godschalk, 1993, op cit, pp. 131f.

123. This issue is dealt with more fully in chapter seven in the context of the Evangelical missions. See Sunda, op cit, pp. 20-23, and J. Louwerse, 'Una (West New Guinea) Worldview and a Reformed Model for Contextualising Cross Cultural Communication of the Gospel', Doctoral Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987, pp. 149f. In the NRC regions, according to Louwerse, able teachers from the coast, who adopted a more communal attitude to congregational leadership, were replaced by less able NRC Bible School graduates, who were more inclined to adopt the NRC model of individualistic church leadership, to the detriment of their congregations. In the Lereh region, the insistence upon individual decision-making by the Moluccan teachers sent there was also a factor in delaying the acceptance of the gospel. M. Lahimudin, 'Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Kehidupan Warga Jemaat di Lereh', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 29f.

124. Sunda, op cit, p.15, gives an example of one Widiabi, a Christian Chief from the Amungme people, who in 1957 went on a trading journey to the neighbouring Ilaga Valley and preached to the people there, with Donald Gibbons acting as the interpreter from Widiabi's Kapauku language to their Uhunduni. Decker & Neely, op cit, pp. 6-62, state that the message that Decker delivered would be heard, then discussed, and the verses memorised in the men's houses at night. Sunda, op cit, p. 18, comments that the Uhunduni people were 'very aggressive' in their proclamation of the gospel to their own people.

125. G.J. Held, *The Papuas of Waropen*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1957, p. 31, describes the clothing of the Christians as "better balanced", but then admits that due to a lack of sewing skills, those who are clothed "often look ragged". It is also interesting that in the photographs in the book, almost all are clothed, many in shirt and pants, others in sarongs and with cloth headdresses. In two photos facing ibid, p. 291, the teacher is pictured in front of the church at Napan with his children, and then with four elders. All are clothed, and the teacher has a Western-style white suit and a tie. In J. Rauws, *Onze Zendingsvelden Nieuw-Guinea*, Zendingsstudie-Raad, the Hague, 1919, p. 31, there is a group of Papuans who are clothed in sarongs, with the exception of one in the foreground who also has a European-style fez, and is wearing a white, high-collared, coat.

126. As Parman, 1996, op cit, pp. 20f, puts it, the evangelists who were sent out by the GIDI were given little more than faith, a notebook, a bible, a pen, and a change of clothing.

127. P. Rhoads, 'The History of the Evangelical Alliance Mission in Irian Jaya', n.p., 1988, p. 29.

128. Sunda, op cit, p.18. The hope of 'eternal life' was one of the factors that influenced many of the Muyu to convert. Kandam, op cit, pp. 36f. It was also one of the factors influencing the people in the Waghete region. Degei, op cit, p. 66.

129. D. Miller and D. Eager, on a trek through the Kebar region in 1963, found an ideal site for an airstrip (in the eastern Bird's Head such sites were rare, due to the terrain), in a village called Wasarawi. They decided *against* setting up a mission post there as the people appeared to be more interested in the material goods that the plane would bring than the gospel being offered by the missionaries. Rhoads, op cit, p. 17. It is also interesting to note that the area must have been evangelised eventually, as the tribal leader at the time was later reported as being named 'Korneles', a Dutch-derived name. It is conceivable that an important element in accepting the foreigners was that in doing so the access to the goods they supplied continued. Ploeg, 1969, op cit, p. 5.

130. As is noted in chapter nine, J.W. Schoorl, "Mobility and Migration in Muyu Culture", *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, vol. 144, 1988, pp. 542f, states that the Muyu had a drive towards wealth accumulation and experiencing new things, that made them eager to move to move to the developing urban and mining centres of Irian. Such an attitude, beginning in their traditional religion, would also have made them more open to the new religion of Christianity which came together with the trappings of western society.

131. B. Giay & J.A. Godschalk, "Cargoism in Irian Jaya Today", in Godschalk, 1993, op cit, pp. 188-90, see elements of messianism in the 'West Melanesia' movement of Thomas Wainggai (who died in prison in 1996), in that a key demand of this movement, and subsequent demands for independence, was indigenous control over the natural resources of Irian, and the promises of untold prosperity that such control will bring to the Papuans. The way to appropriate these riches is through political action, and through Christian prayer and fasting. The West Melanesia movement was political in its aims, but intentionally Christian in form and expression. A similar interpretation could be applied to the more recent, and successful, flag raising led by Theys Eluay, on 1 Dec 1999, which closed down Jayapura and other regional centres, and raised expectations of a 'free' Papua.

132. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 313. This may be a little simplistic, but the fact that the missionary did not have to toil to live must have had both a positive and, when the locals did not get the goods as easily, negative impact. This understanding of the way the missionaries obtained wealth may have had a part in the 'cargo madness' that affected the Catholic missions on the south coast in 1958. Heuken, 1993, op cit, p. 153.

133. See B. Giay, "The 'Renaissance' of Spirit Beings: the Challenge of Community Development in the Highlands of Irian Jaya", *South Pacific Journal of Mission Studies*, vol.1(4), February 1991, p. 15. One such movement was led by the house helper of a missionary in Kobakma in 1977. He claimed he would drive out the Javanese and bring goods via an underground road from Jayapura. Using Christian symbols and the Bible, he gained an extensive following of church members. E.J. Hughes, 'Kobakma Cargo Cult', Paper given to the Melanesian Movement Seminar, Oct. 1980, passim. In response to the approach of the year 2000, there were also unconfirmed reports that a leader in the highlands was promising that he had the golden key that would open the warehouses of the Westerners in the new millennium.

134. Frequently seen as temptation. See Rhoads, op cit, pp. 30f.

135.C. Farhadian, 'The Dani in New Order Indonesia', n.p., 1999, pp. 5f, notes that many Dani have used the freedom of urbanisation to integrate themselves into the national culture, including adopting the religion of this culture, Islam. Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, p. 8, comments that many Dani have coped with the demands of urban life by withdrawing physically and theologically from the surrounding pluralistic world. This applies equally well to those from other interior groups who have formed mono-ethnic and mono-religious communities on the edges of Jayapura and other urban centres. But Christians from GKI, GPI and Catholic areas tend to be more tolerant of other ethnic groups, and so less threatened by them, perhaps due to the presence of Ambonese and others in their congregations, as teachers and congregational leaders, as well as members, and so are less likely to form ethnic enclaves in the urban areas or on their fringes, as the Dani have done. The problem of urbanisation is becoming a concern for Yali members of the GKI and their church leaders, as they move to Wamena and Jayapura. A. Mohi, "Eine bereichernde Veränderung", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, p. 25.

136.Christian artefacts are still occasionally used as sacred objects, such as in the Waropen area, where a sick person is believed to be cured after a bible is placed on the head and the person is sprinkled with water that has been prayed over. W. Salossa, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Jemaat GKI Lahairoi Anggei', STT GKI, Abepura, 1998/1999, p. 30. This use of 'holy water' is known in other areas, such as reported in Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 312, where one Lodewijk Mambrasar promised that, through correct diet and the use of holy water, he could cure illnesses. In the Padaido islands, east of Biak, the practice, as well as the use of the Bible, unused baptismal water and left-over communion elements, is justified as a way that Christ can work, and the strength of God be appropriated. F. Rumbarar, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Bulan Februari-Juni Semester Genap Tahun 1997/1998', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, p. 20.

137. Kamma, 1953, loc cit, p. 159, and Kamma, 1972, op cit, p. 279. Kamma's point is "these borrowed elements [from Christianity] led to their adoption as they offered points of contact for identification". Other "points of contact for identification" occasionally occurred. The reception of the Adventists in the Mamberamo, inland of Sarmi, was helped by an on-going local messianic movement that emphisised the raising of the dead and not eating pork. When the Adventist missionaries arrived proclaiming the immanent return of Jesus and the accompanying raising-up of the dead, and at the same time abjuring pork, their message accorded with the hopes and practices of the movement,

and was therefore received more readily. G. Oosterwal, "A Cargo Cult in the Mamberamo Area", *Ethnology*, vol. II, no. 1, January 1963, pp. 12-14.

138. F. Gee, "Perjuangan Rohani Sebagai Salah Satu Faktor Dalam Pelayanan Gereja Terhadap Gerakan2 Mesianis", in Patty, 1981, op cit, pp. 120-2. However, the results of the discussion groups that debated the papers presented to the seminar, were more positive, from accepting that some movements were unacceptably syncretic but open to pastoral care, to acknowledging that the movement had assisted the acceptance of Christianity. Ibid, pp. 125-9.

139. Some, such as food taboos, were accepted by the missionaries as an carry-over from the old religion that did not have a negative impact on Christianity, and so were tolerable. Hayward, op cit, pp. 169f. However, there has been some ambivalence to the interaction of the adjustment movements and Christianity. On one hand they helped the gospel and the local culture find a meeting point, hence "legitimising" the gospel within local adat law. On the other hand, through this process, syncretic practices have arisen that are, in the words of K.P. Erari, "Visi Theologia Kerajaan Allah: Upaya Menemukan Bertheologia dalam GKI di Irian Jaya", in Duim & Sulistyo, op cit, p. 141, "ilegitim" (illegitimate).

140. M. Massenzio, "Progetio Mitio e Opera Ugmana", *Culture: Quadrimestrale di Studi Storico-Culturali*, 2, Dec. 1977, pp. 71-89, and W.F. Rumsarwir, 'Gerakan Messianis Koreri: Harapan dan Pengaruhnya Pada Kehidupan Suku-Suku Berbahasa Biak di Irian-Jaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 103-5.

141. Even in instances when the adjustment movement was condemned as anti-Christian, the fact that such a movement could evolve was seen as a sign that there was a problem the church needed to address. J. Yost, 'A Preliminary Report on the Comoro 'Cargo Cult' Movement March 1982', n.p., 5 April 1982, p. 4. Yost's response to this cult was to 'go back to Scripture', and to bring in people who could improve the physical wealth of his congregation, thus addressing both their spiritual and material needs. One notable attempt to suppress a movement that was perceived as syncretic was that of Zakheus Pakage, mentioned above, who was taken to the coast and held in a psychiatric institution.

142. As Strehlan & Godschalk, op cit, p. 170, state, Christianity did not spread because of the cargo cults. But the cults "fuelled the fire" that was already there.

143. Wilson, 1989, loc cit, p. 25, gives a Yali hymn where *nabalai-habelai*, or *napalan kapalan*, is integrated into the Adam and Eve story, where they are depicted as the ones who lost *nabalai-habelai* for us all.

144. Godschalk & Dumatubun, op cit, p. 58. Farhadian, 1999, op cit, pp. 4f, notes that the growth of the OPM in the highlands from the 1960s, was due to the transference of the Dani concept of a New World Order, from the spiritual to the political realm. However, the military actions in the Baliem after 1977, and the massive killings that took place, inclined people to accept the missionaries' assertion that *napalan kapalan* was only to be obtained in the next life. But for the younger Dani, who have no direct experience of this time, the question still needs to be answered: are the promises for the living or the dead? Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, pp. 4-7. One answer has been given in the continued agitation for the independence of 'West Papua' and the riches that it is believed such independence would bring.

145. B. Giay, "*Hai*, 'Jaman Bahagia', Kasus Amungme dan Isu HAM", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 Sept 1995, p. 4.

146. For example, Arnold Mohi, who was one of the first young men from Angguruk to convert, and who is now a leader of the GKI in his area, stressed that the myths were important to the Christians of the next generation. Mohi, loc cit, pp. 24f. See also Strehlan & Godschalk, op cit, pp. 172f, who note the similarities between the Melanesian and Christian eschatologies.

CHAPTER 11: 2000 and Beyond

> A people can not be preserved by authority, and no people is willing to be 'preserved'. A people lives from within or dies out.[1]

Integration into Indonesia in 1963, in the short-term, brought economic collapse to Irian as it became part of the Indonesian economy, which was in crisis as a result of the campaign to oust the Dutch from the territory. But, from 1969, there was economic expansion and a faster pace of infrastructure and resource development, that resulted in increased urbanisation and a greater role for the inhabitants of the urban centres of Irian. However, the difficulties associated with the transfer of authority from the Netherlands to Indonesia continued. Not only did the Papuans, and Moluccans and other long-term migrants from Indonesia, have to adjust to the Indonesian way of governing and doing business, they have had to deal with the inclination of some Indonesians to equate dark skin colour with inferiority, and poor Indonesian-language skills with stupidity. Complicating this was that, upon joining Indonesia in 1963, Irian became a region with a majority of Christians in a nation dominated by Muslims, who historically have competed with Christianity and viewed Irian as a new field for competition and expansion[2]. The territory of Irian was seen as worth exploiting, with its opportunities for employment, its largely untouched natural wealth and its perceived empty spaces, which, as with Kalimantan, Sumatra and Sulawesi, have become the object of transmigration schemes[3].

The result has been an entry of non-Papuans, many of whom have strengthened the Churches. At the same time there has been an influx of Muslims, who have gained significant positions of civil and economic power, as well as taking those positions requiring little education or skill that had been, or could be, taken by Papuans and other Christians. The inability of the Papuans to compete in the labour market has been exacerbated by the Indonesian tendency to employ members of one's own ethnic group, often bringing in workers from their area of origin rather than employing locals[4]. As the Papuans are not normally in positions of authority, this has resulted in their numeric majority not being reflected in the government and economy[5]. There are also other issues facing the Papuans and the Christians, such as the issue of intermarriage, especially that of non-Papuan Muslims intermarrying with Christians[6], with the resulting fear that this is part of a process of Islamisation[7]. This fear of Islamisation is also founded in other experiences of the Christians[8], with small numbers of Christians having converted. In the Sausapor

region north of Sorong and in the Jayawijaya area[9], some Christian villages have converted to Islam, as the Muslim evangelists have given them hope for an improvement in their quality of life, including the provision of free schooling for their children and other services, that the Churches, without overt government support, were no longer able to offer. The Muslim teaching was also accepted, at least in part, as the people in these locations had not felt included within the life of the church, which is an issue the Churches have been slow to accept and deal with[10].

The Papuans have tended to identify themselves with Christianity, and have seen, with a few exceptions, the increase in the visible presence of Islam as an alienating factor, rather than a unifying factor, as they become part of the larger Indonesian state[11]. They view Islam as being supported and promoted by the state, despite the 'Pancasila' and the promises of Sukarno, and therefore the more militant Papuans see the state as being opposed to the people[12]. The tendency is to compare the situation under the Dutch, where the civil administration and many of the technical positions were in the hands of Papuans (and by implication, Christians), and the present situation where, as Roosman stated, Papuans are perceived as being discriminated against[13], the Papuans in positions of authority are few enough to be noted[14], and where the majority position of Christians is gradually being reversed[15].

This frustration with the situation has resulted in a number of movements. The earliest of these movements were messianic in their origin and were initially directed against the Dutch. They gained new vigour during the Japanese and American period, particularly in the Biak, Manokwari, Hollandia and Merauke areas, and continued during the 1950s, 1960s and, with varying degrees of activity, into the 1990s. Although in recent years there has been a greater emphasis on the political aspect rather than the religious[16], the aim remains the same: the recreation of a perceived 'golden age' where the indigenous inhabitants are in control of their situation and Christianity dominates[17]. There has been a deep-felt distrust and dislike of the Indonesian government, which resulted in a renewal of OPM activities in the late 1970s, with severe disruption to church activities in affected regions, and an increase in the number of people fleeing to Papua New Guinea, where the churches in Irian and PNG have been hard put to serve them[18]. In more recent times the fall of Suharto in 1998 has given the Papuans hope that their grievances over the integration of Irian in 1963 and the 'Act of Free Choice' in 1969, as well as the role of the military and government, will be satisfied through the granting of, ideally, independence to Irian, or at least genuine regional autonomy, where they would have control of immigration and the civil service, and a greater say

in how the riches of their land are spent. Whether this is realistic or not, flag raisings (of the West Papua flag) and demonstrations have all included Christian leaders, although the Churches themselves have remained politically, or at least publicly, neutral[19].

The Christian Churches in Irian have had to take account of the anger and the frustration felt by those who have not benefited from the changes after 1963[20], including those who remained despite being against integration with Indonesia. Yet, within their number are those who were, or have become, pro-Indonesia nationalists, and those who have entered Irian since 1962 and have joined the local church organisation, rising to positions of influence through their involvement within the institutional structures of the church, and through their economic and political power in society. The OPM still exists, and there continue to be people involved in political activities outside officially sanctioned channels[21]. This involvement has resulted in arrests and other forms of control from the government and military, putting the Churches in a difficult position[22]. General Synods and other Irian-wide meetings have been divided on how to deal with the growing demands for political and economic justice on one hand, and the realities of the Indonesian political and economic system on the other. This pressure has increased as Christians have become the victims of anti-guerilla campaigns in isolated regions where the church is their only voice[23]. One side demands actions not words, and the other says that, in light of the reality of Indonesian political processes, words will produce more lasting results. This division is seen in the ambivalent responses that the churches have made in regard to the OPM and the activities of some of its commanders inside Irian, and more recent demands for independence for Irian[24]. The issue of involvement in political institutions divides the church. Despite the belief of many members that the clergy should not be formally involved in politics, over the years several have been elected or appointed to local, provincial and national parliaments, including former Moderators of the GKI[25]. However, the Churches have still been active in voicing their concerns, and were behind the creation, in 1998, of the Forum for Reconciliation in Irian (Foreri), which sponsored a meeting with Papuan leaders and President Habibie in February 1999, and which, despite public and private pressure, presented a unified call for independence[26]. The public Churches in Irian, as well as Christian organisations such as the GMKI, have tried to be a prophetic voice in the midst of the political and social changes in Irian, and their concerns are publicly voiced and have been listened to by the authorities, without recriminations[27].

The Churches in Irian have received support from outside bodies, such as the WCC, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), the Churches in the Pacific, and bodies that link related Churches within Indonesia, such as the Catholic Bishops Conference, the PGI, PII, and PPI, the GKII National Conference, and the links between GGRI congregations in Irian and Sumba and the involvement of the GPI IJ in the GPI, as well as the contacts that many Churches have gained through their cooperation in, and with, foreign mission organisations that are actively involved elsewhere in Indonesia, and which are eager to foster internal-Indonesia cooperation with their partners[28]. Other cross-denominational bodies, such as the GMKI, have been part of this effort to strengthen the ties between the Christians in Irian. In addition to verbal support for the Christians in Irian, the Churches in Papua New Guinea, for example, have cared for and championed the cause of Papuan refugees and expatriates[29]. This assistance has been frequently denominational and aimed at building up the churches directly through evangelism, as with much of the assistance provided by the Evangelical missions, be they American, Australian, Dutch or Indonesian. However, some mission bodies, such as the SIL and the MAF, have acted as cross-denominational bodies, providing support and assistance irrespective of the creed or background of the local congregations. The Churches have also sought to fulfill their call through cooperation with the government and other secular bodies in an effort to support the congregations through improving the welfare of church members and the community as a whole[30]. They have accepted assistance from non-church organisations such as *Brot für die Welt*, TEAR fund and WVI, businesses such as Freeport Mining, and other non-government and semi-government organisations, as well as the Irian Jayan Provincial government, in an effort to build up their congregations, strengthen their social welfare programs and further the rights of their members[31].

The Christians are involved in political and social issues of their day, as their members are part of the communities that make up Irian. Some church members are wealthy and are the power brokers for their community, be it in the village or at the provincial level. Others belong to nomadic tribes, living lives that are not very different from that of their ancestors. All too many are living on the edge of the cities and towns in conditions their forebears would have considered primitive[32]. Most are common people, who live their lives from day to day and are not directly involved in the decision-making that affects their lives. These people all face questions of land, housing, employment and education for themselves and their children. For them, many of the civil institutions have not represented their interests, serving instead to support government and business in the name of development for all, rather than those who lose out in this process of

economic growth. For them, the church is often the only forum where their voice can be heard, and is the only institution that can help them without seeking benefits from such assistance[33]. However, the record of the churches in counselling the government and in changing policy decisions has not been very good, perhaps due to a government culture which was, under Suharto, inherently feudal and hierarchical, and which did not tolerate open criticism, nor encourage private debate[34].

Irian still has regions that have yet to be reached by the gospel. These groups are largely in isolated parts of the river systems on the south and north coasts, and in the 'neck' of the Bird's Head, where historically there were few reasons for foreigners to go, and where the terrain is either swampy and malarial, or rugged and only readily accessible via helicopter. These regions are slowly being entered by Papuan missionaries supported by expatriate missions, including the *New Tribes Mission* (NTM), which entered Irian in 1997 to evangelise these isolated tribes[35]. Problems exist in evangelising these people. Sickness has made living there difficult for the missionaries. Many of these tribes moved into these areas to deliberately cut themselves off from the outside world or flee from enemies, and resent or fear intrusions by missionaries and other outsiders. In some regions, particularly the Paniai/Timika region, OPM activities continue in the regions on the fringe of the contacted areas, making working there difficult[36]. The growth of urban centres and the alienation of some urban dwellers also poses a challenge, to reshape the methods of evangelism and present these people with a form of the gospel they can accept, so bringing them within the influence of the church and making them part of the church community.

The Church of Irian was once run by the expatriate missionaries, whether Dutch, German, Australian or American, assisted by the Moluccans and others. This is no longer the case, yet the legacy of these beginnings still continues to influence Christianity in Irian. The theological depth that the early missionaries gave was not great, due to their own limited education, and the perceived urgency of their task, to evangelise large numbers of disparate groups in the shortest possible time. One legacy of the past has been a tendency to shift responsibility for the work of the church from the members themselves to theologically-trained individuals. This has weakened the ability of the churches to minister to their members and meet the challenges posed by Islam and sectarian elements within Christianity[37]. There has tended to be a hope among many church members that outsiders would be able to solve the problems of the church, and still meet the expectations of the local Christians, in the same way that the Dutch and American missions did,

and the Indonesian government continues to do[38]. The messianic movements are but one example of what can happen when these expectations are not realised[39]. The scarcity of children's homes and other social services solely supported by the local church (and not by an outside body) are another example of the pervasiveness of this thinking[40]. Although program funding from parent missions and Churches continues, it has, to some degree, been replaced by funding from government and other non-denominational bodies, and so the Churches still depend on outside assistance for their social welfare projects, and not on increased contributions from their members[41]. However, when the government or another religion takes the place of Christianity in providing for the total human being, in terms of education, employment, healing and empowerment, there is the risk that Christianity will become superfluous, and will be abandoned or displaced by its practitioners, as was the traditional religion, in favour of the new source of salvation[42].

The number of Christians from other parts of Indonesia continues to rise, both as a result of conversions and the immigration of non-Papuan Christians into Irian[43]. Although they have enriched Christianity in Irian with their enthusiasm and differing visions for the development of the churches they have joined, their very presence challenges the Papuans in the last institution they can truly call their own. Currently Papuans still constitute the majority of the Christians in Irian, but this cannot continue for long, as the non-Papuan Christians increase in number and economic strength. The dominance of immigrants in government and business is slowly being felt in the church, through their involvement in church councils, and as more of their children become teachers and ministers within the church of Irian[44].

Outside influences predated the Christian missions. The depredations of Muslim slavers and the activities of Indonesian and European traders, while minimal, did have a limited impact upon Papuan society. When the missionaries came they tried to change the culture of the Papuans, opposing practices they deemed against the mores of Christianity, be they powerful objects, polygamy or continual warfare[45]. The missions were successful in instituting significant changes in the culture of the Papuans, change that was supported by the Dutch and Indonesian governments, as these changes were seen as civilising the Papuans, in the sense of 'Westernising' or 'Indonesianising' them. The missions brought this about through widening their horizons, and bringing together people who traditionally had no contact with, or lived in fear of, their neighbour[46]. Clothing and medicine were accompanied by other aspects of Western culture, such

as films and non-Christian literature, that have been perceived as detrimental to the people, despite the enthusiasm for these influences by their consumers[47].

But these changes have not been totally accepted. Despite increases in the cost of bride payments, in some regions due to increased affluence, polygamy persists, as do numerous cultural practices that have been viewed ambivalently by the missions and the church[48]. Traditional beliefs have persisted or have been transferred to elements of the Christian faith, to the point that the synthesis of Christianity and traditional beliefs has become integral to the identity of many Irianese Christians[49]. Some, for example, still look at baptism, the eucharist or the Bible as being sources of power which can affect them negatively or positively. Evil spirits are still part of their lives, as are shamans, who continue to be called upon by many Christians to help in times of trouble. One such belief, that of the *suanggi,* is held in various forms and with differing names, throughout Irian, by both Papuans and some immigrants[50]. At the General Synod meeting of the GKI, held in Sorong in 1974, one report stated that 70% of the GKI members were influenced by traditional beliefs, to the point that the work of the church was being affected[51]. Often the understanding of Christian symbols and beliefs has been filtered through the traditional mind-set, or has been influenced by the way people have traditionally interpreted the events of their lives[52]. Hence, traditional beliefs are still strong, and constitute a potential and actual challenge to Christian belief, especially during times of personal or communal crisis[53].

The attitude of the Churches to the old way of viewing the traditional religion and culture has changed. The missions, particularly through the influence of the Moluccan, Sangirese and Minahasan teachers and evangelists, influenced the way the old religion was treated and expressed. In the areas evangelised by the Protestants, local art, and in particular, local carving was actively discouraged, often with the support of the government[54]. As a consequence of this, sculpture in these regions was reduced to decorations on paddles and canoes and only the occasional church structure, or was channelled into more 'Christian' art forms, taken from biblical themes or depicting aspects of the mission history, placed at significant historical sites, such as the landing place of the first missionaries in the Baliem or the memorial in Wersar, near Teminabuan[55]. The Protestants, actively discouraged, and even opposed the existence of sacred buildings, in particular men's houses. They were so successful, that from 1925 these were no longer a feature of coastal village life[56]. The Catholics on the south coast, however, had a more tolerant attitude to indigenous religious practices, recognising the importance of indigenous expressions of faith, and finding

parallels with Catholic rituals and art forms. There is no record, for example, of them requiring the destruction of sacred buildings, and they encouraged the continuation and adaptation of local ceremonies and art to the new religion, and continued to encourage the incorporation of indigenous art into their church buildings, in a way that the Protestants did not[57].

There has been a gradual contextualising of theology at the congregational level, as the members of the churches begin to try to understand what they have received from the missionaries, to fill the gaps between the message the missions brought and the message that was received by the converts, and then apply these understandings to their worship and practice[58]. This has wrought some change in the liturgy of the church, and limited acceptance of symbols from the traditional religion in worship, but has yet to be seen in the communal and worship life of the congregations[59]. This change of attitude is reflected in the subjects taught in the Theological Colleges, where anthropology and sociology are now viewed as important elements in the education of ministers and teachers, at least in the GKI, GKII and Catholic seminaries[60]. This change in the curriculums of the seminaries is producing a more sympathetic attitude to traditional beliefs and culture on the part of many of the younger leaders of these denominations[61]. Many of the traditional beliefs that co-exist with Christianity are often seen as positive elements of the traditional culture[62]. Perhaps the best known is that of the concept of *Kain Timur*, which was opposed by the missions during the Dutch time, but which has since gained support among some ministers, particularly in the Bird's Head[63]. For reasons of lack of alternatives, traditional medical practitioners are tolerated or even accepted by the church leadership, at least those at the congregational level[64]. While only the Catholics have actively set out to preserve and integrate the local religious culture into Christian worship, in effect 'Christianising' elements of the local religion[65], some GKI congregations have begun to tolerate, and even encourage, the use of traditional symbols and art forms in their worship places[66]. For the public Churches, the attitude to traditional religion is best summarised by Bishop Muninghoff, "... some break has to come before they can be truly Christian. If you take everything that is old away from them, they cannot understand the new. So the old has to be used as a means to get to the new"[67].

Each denomination in Irian is, to some degree, unique. They have different histories and are based in varied localities, despite the intermixing through education, economic change and improved transport links that has enabled, for example, the GKI to move into the highlands and the south coast, the GKII and Catholics to establish congregations in GKI areas in the north and

the Pentecostals to expand throughout Irian in number and variety. They have differing church cultures, inherited from their founding missions and enhanced by the ethnic background of their members. The Reformed and Catholic churches have emphasised schools[68], health care and agricultural work, with Malay/Indonesian as the language of worship and administration, whereas the Evangelicals and Pentecostals still lay greater emphasis on primary evangelism, often emphasising the regional language as the language of church administration, due to their emphasis on individual understanding of the consequences of the gospel and personal conversion[69]. The GKI and Catholics, being the largest public denominations in Irian, have had to cope with their members being seen as the objects of evangelisation by the smaller, and often newer, denominations. This has caused tension with the extension of denominations from their bases in Indonesia and other parts of Irian, who often offer a style of worship that is attractive to a portion of the existing GKI and Catholic parishioners[70]. However, the Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations have lost some members to the GKI, the Catholics, and the newer Pentecostal denominations, and have had to face the consequences of the lack of depth of their conversions and misunderstandings, that have resulted in some of their members turning to other denominations, traditional religion, or Islam[71].

Be they Dutch Reformed, Australian Evangelical, Indonesian Pentecostal or American Catholic, the missionaries came from traditions that were theologically conservative[72]. This conservatism in theology and worship is reflected in the life of the congregations of the churches in Irian through the influence of the graduates of the parish teachers school established by Kijne, the Bible Schools of the Evangelicals and Pentecostals, and the schools that trained catechists for the Catholics. This conservative theological framework was then instilled in the congregations in which they served[73]. Despite developments within the home missions that have seen more openness, the early missionaries have left a strong Pietist heritage, that has coloured the life of the congregations, both Protestant and Catholic, with an emphasis on congregational participation in worship and weekly house meetings for families, men, women and youth, and the enforcement of strict discipline within the family and church[74]. However, there has been a concurrent lack of interest in learning or using all the hymns in the hymn book, and resistance to accepting new hymns or worship resources from other sources. Many in the GKI view the use of the hymn book of I.S. Kijne, who was also the founder of the GKI Theological College, as integral to the identity of the GKI, and are reluctant to use newer hymnals from Java, although this is happening with increased use of the newer *Kidung Jemaat*, which has become popular in urban congregations and

rural congregations with members from mixed backgrounds[75]. The other denominations use hymn books from the traditions of their founding mission, but there has not been any effort to use or develop hymns that are indigenous to Irian and the patterns of singing of Melanesia, that are not borrowed or adapted from Western singing traditions, and which can be used by all of the Christian religious traditions in Irian[76]. Bible translations have been undertaken, but the time needed, as well as the cost of production, has tended to act against the widespread use of materials in indigenous languages and Irianese Malay, despite the support for these projects in Irian, and in the Indonesian and foreign Bible Societies[77]. Although participation in house meetings is also a feature of all of the Churches in Irian, Protestant and Catholic, the understanding of the Bible is often less than it could be[78].

The Christians, and the Churches they have constituted, are confronted by the changing needs of their parishioners and the community in which they live. In the cities, urbanisation has brought social inequality, the development of urban sub-cultures, and the other aspects of the global culture, that come through television, the print media, and the weakening of social controls[79]. In rural areas this global culture has also been introduced by resource extraction companies in remote parts of Irian, which seek timber and minerals, bringing with them more negative aspects of the society they come from[80]. Globalisation and economic development has given access to the wider church, but has also resulted in a decline in influence of the church in the life of the community[81]. Many church members, for example, are no longer prepared to accept the Christian culture of their parents, where both women and young people were relegated to a subsidiary position in both the organisation and worship life of the church, and this has resulted in some dissatisfaction with the existing Church culture, particularly in the urban areas[82].

In many areas the missionaries worked alone or with minimal government supervision. This was true during the initial contact phase, and in many isolated areas of Irian this is still true. The positive role of the missionaries and the church in the economic development of Irian is acknowledged by the authorities[83]. But now the missionaries and church leaders, local, Indonesian and expatriate, must work together with a government that is both interventionist in church life, and often has a different set of priorities to those of the church[84]. Frequently the government seeks the support of the local church[85], but with government policies that appear to be aimed at development using the labour of immigrants to create public works, and business enterprises that are perceived as being of more benefit to outsiders than to the local population, this seems to be

becoming less of a priority for the government[86]. So saying, the Churches and the government still maintain close contacts, with the government frequently encouraging the Churches to change in ways favoured by the authorities, and to complement state development programs and policies[87].

The Christians are faced with competing claims for their ideological loyalty. The state promises 'economic prosperity' in return for political loyalty and acceptance of the integration of Irian into Indonesia. The church promises a 'New Jerusalem' in return for accepting membership and the guidance of church leaders. At the same time traditional religion offers 'peace, healing and wholeness', in return for continuing to follow the old ways and beliefs[88]. The people of Irian must choose between these claims on their loyalty, with the implied threat of military action, or losing out on eternal salvation, or missing out on improved welfare here and now[89].

The missions have played a significant role in the development of Irian. It was missionaries based at Mansinam who made the first successful European outpost in the western half of the island, and it was Western missionaries who made many of the early contacts in the north coast and the interior. Unlike other parts of the New Guinea and the Pacific, the contact by the missions, in particular those in the interior, often preceded any contact from the government, traders or others. Through this, the missions have built up an involvement with the history and people of Irian that cannot be challenged. The missions and missionaries were, wittingly or otherwise, agents of Western acculturation. They brought the implements and knowledge of Western society, and associated these with the Christian message they taught. This may have been moreso in the highlands, where the missions controlled access to the new converts and were usually the sole source of Western goods and ideas[90], but it was also the case on the coast, where the missionaries were often the sole contact between the local people and the outsiders, and, by being the only reliable source of primary information on the needs of the local people, were able to influence state policy regarding the development of Irian.

The missions also became agents of the 'Indonesianisation' of Irian, in the same way that they had been in other parts of the Dutch and Indonesian territories, through their use of Malay and Indonesian as their language of worship and communication[91]. This was so even in the interior, where Malay was used to supplement the poor knowledge of the missionaries as they learnt the local language, and to then enrich the theological language of the new converts. While the interior bible schools, for example, used the local language as the language of contact, Indonesian words

were introduced when indigenous concepts were inadequate. As the schools grew and more students came from outside the local language group, some of these schools eventually developed into Indonesian-speaking institutions[92]. On the coast, the inheritors of the Dutch mission efforts, both Protestant and Catholic, deliberately used Indonesian, as the language was already known in many areas, the missionaries had learnt it as they came to Irian via Java, and it was the only common language that they had with their Ambonese, Sangirese, Manadonese and Kei assistants. The Pentecostals, who came from Java and who began their work in Irian in the urban areas, always used Malay as their language of worship and administration. The churches, while developing local education, have consistently sent students, both those training for the ministry and those pursuing education with less tangible long-term benefits for the church, to tertiary institutions in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia[93]. However, despite this, even in the GKI congregations, the use of local languages alongside Indonesian has continued, as local church leaders realise that many of their members do not have a sufficient command of Indonesian, and are prepared to move to denominations that offer them worship in a language they fully know[94].

The Christian Churches and their people have been influenced by other factors. The colonial government helped them in lessening local tensions and enforcing a sense of unity beyond that which grew out of the concept of a denomination extending beyond one's own valley. Money made trading easier and gave the missionaries new ways of paying their workers[95]. All of this could be summarised as modernisation. Yet it was part of a trend that began with the coming of Ternate and Chinese traders, that prepared the way for the missionaries, who in turn used and enabled these forces to change the nature of the communities in which they worked and the churches they were planting.

Economic growth and integration into Indonesia has produced a society that is ethnically and religiously pluralistic[96]. The public churches have often felt threatened by the religious currents that have come from outside Irian and often from beyond Indonesia. This has been particularly so for the longer-established churches such as the GKI and Catholics, who have lost members to the comparatively newer Pentecostal movement, as well as the Evangelical denominations, who emphasise more emotional worship and greater congregational participation in the liturgy, as opposed to the older denominations whose members have often acted as if 'the church' is the sum of all its leaders[97]. Although newer understandings of the nature of the church have developed since 1965 and reached the congregations, both Catholic and Protestant leaders have not managed

to convince all of their members that their old understanding of the church is now flawed[98]. The existence of choice has provided the Christians of Irian with new ways of resolving conflicts, by joining a denomination other than that of the person with whom they are in dispute, or by using newly-created congregational ties to replace the kinship ties lost when they move to a new denomination or town. Congregational leaders of the public churches who have not been prepared to satisfy the demands of their people for more pastoral visitation, greater faith commitment, or simply pro-active conflict resolution, have seen their previously denominationally homogeneous communities divided along religious lines. Urbanisation and intermixing with other ethnic and religious groups has also changed the perceptions of the Christians, in particular those from isolated inland and coastal regions. For many this has produced a crisis of faith, with some losing their faith, or lessening their active participation in organised Christianity. However, others have welcomed the opportunities for education, employment and the loosening of family, clan and denominational ties, that have provided them with greater freedom than rural life provides, freedom to choose a spouse and treat that spouse as a partner rather than a possession or assistant, to forge new relational links, and to worship with others of different church backgrounds, and so have found their faith and involvement in the church strengthened[99].

The GKI, as well as the GKII and the other Evangelical denominations, have been slow to respond to these challenges[100]. The Catholic Church on a national level has responded to the challenge of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement by giving it a place within the institutional and worship life of the church. This movement has not yet had the same affect upon the Catholic Church in Irian that it has had on the Protestant Churches or the Catholic Church in Java, but the potential is there as their members become better informed and critical and, with the stresses caused by Indonesia's current economic and political turmoil, increasingly willing to seek new avenues of worship and renewal[101].

The Churches have been influenced by elements of the local culture that have been slow to change. One important issue affecting the churches is the issue of the participation of women in worship. As is true of many of the 'mother' Churches who sent missionaries to Irian, the church leadership in Irian tends to be dominated by men, but the membership tends to dominated by women[102]. Indigenous culture places women in an inferior position to men, who are seen as the decision makers, as opposed to the women produce the food in traditional society, yet who are seen as being in a supportative role. In this urban setting, where men are the bread-winners, they

are expected to listen to their husbands and take care of the family and not actively participate in economic or communal activity[103]. Javanese culture reinforces this stereotype, with its stress upon the role of the husband as bread-winner and spokesman for the family, with the wife acting in the submissive role of help-mate, house-carer and baby-sitter. Men have gained better access to education, which has been largely denied to women as their education is not seen as leading towards career opportunities or greater benefit to society as a whole. This makes it harder for women to gain adequate employment, making them even more dependent upon their husbands, and hence more accepting of their faults and moral failures. This attitude is reflected in the churches, where women are seen as fund-raisers and kitchen-assistants, but are not considered capable of more demanding duties[104]. Within the churches in Irian, ordained women have had to struggle to be accepted as worthy of being considered leaders in their own right. The highest position attained by a women is Assistant General-Secretary of the GKI Synod, which was successively held by a woman between 1988 and 1999[105]. If women occasionally became presbytery leaders or chairpersons, this was rare, and generally only occurred in urban presbyteries, where the influence of those from non-Papuan backgrounds was stronger[106]. As women gain more financial control of their lives, and as they gain greater access to education, the role or women in *all* the churches in Irian will change. Whether the current leadership of the Churches is open to these changes is another question. It is a question which will have to be soon answered[107].

Despite the continuing dependence upon outside church workers and funding, the Churches in Irian are beginning to develop their own workers and programs, and this is giving them a sense of an identity that is separate from their founding missions[108]. The period of political instability after 1963 and the 1965 military coup in Java[109], resulted in a decline in the numbers of expatriate missionaries entering or remaining in Irian. By the early 1970s this trend was reversed, but the number of expatriate missionaries, and their influence in the Churches, did not return to previous levels[110]. The Churches are now run by local people without direct outside interference. Some of the smaller Protestant denominations, as well as the Catholics, are still dependent upon expatriate missionaries at the congregational level, but this dependence is declining as the Churches become less financially dependent on their founding missions, and theologically more critical of them, and as the expatriate missionaries train successors, grow older, or complete the tasks they came to do and leave[111]. The Synods are supported by, and are supporting, theological colleges, schools and other institutions, which are seen as sources of support for the church by

providing leaders with better education, and by widening the intellectual and theological understanding of church members. These institutions and programs are funded with monies raised by the Synods, the students and other participants, by government funding and, to a decreasing degree, by the missions that founded the churches[112]. However, these institutions have been slow to respond to the changing needs and aspirations of the church members, causing some dissatisfaction and defection to other denominations[113].

Irian is part of the wider Indonesian community and is influenced by it. The rise of Islam as a political and intellectual force has been noticed. Like other 'outlying' parts of Indonesia, the people feel threatened by the impact of development, and know that their region is a prime target of the economic and political planners in Java, due to its low population density and unexploited natural resources. On one hand, the local people still think of Irian as being a Christian country, and act as if this will never change[114]. On the other hand, they are aware of the problems in Kalimantan and other areas, where the indigenous Christians and Muslims have been displaced by Muslim immigrants from other regions, supported by government funds and policies. Irian is now firmly within the sphere of Indonesian politics and economic life, through spontaneous and planned transmigrations[115] and this reality must be addressed by the Churches in Irian. Christianity is still the most honoured religion in Irian, but this cannot be guaranteed into the future[116].

The Christians in Irian are faced with a world that is radically different to that of Ottow and Geissler, or even Kamma and Kijne. Development, for good and ill, has transformed Irian, making the towns into copies of Indonesian cities, and orienting the people away from the Pacific and Europe to Indonesia and Asia. People have come as transmigrants, as workers in search of new opportunities, as officials and employees sent to serve the government as well as private enterprise, and they have brought new understandings and new models of behaviour that do not always fit well with the pattern of the church inherited from the past. Some of these changes have been positive. Improved infrastructure and transport services have enabled Christians to move more freely and exchange ideas, faith experiences and to help each other. Other changes have been negative. The social ills common to large urban areas, rapid economic development and negative elements of the world culture have challenged the Christians and the church leadership to deal with these intrusions and produce responses[117].

The public Churches have been very involved in the issues that affect Irian, such as AIDS[118] or the evolving political situation. In many areas warfare between villages has become largely a thing of the past, but occasional outbreaks still occur, particularly in the Baliem, as does violence between individuals or groups, who are formally linked to the church[119]. Resident Christian leaders have had to deal with the causes and consequences of these outbreaks and social tensions[120] from the consequences of past events, such as the uprisings in the highlands and Manokwari in the mid 1960s, and the feeling of dissatisfaction after the vote on integration in 1969[121], to the current calls for independence, that have involved church leaders and members from many denominations. Many in the churches feel that to do this the Christians of Irian "need religious leaders with a broad view, a national consciousness and a non-partisan determination to guard religious harmony"[122]. Whether their members want such leaders, who would, by definition, be prepared to work with the government and give a real place to ethnic groups that originate from outside Irian, and whether these leaders could make a difference, is not yet clear.

The initial impetus for spreading the gospel in Irian came from outside, from European, American and Australian men and women, who felt God calling them to the 'last place on earth' still untouched by Christianity. The Western missionaries worked together with missionaries from the islands to the west of Irian, from the Moluccas, Sulawesi and Kalimantan and, after 1963, Java, Sumatra and the islands of Timor and Flores, who had the same sense of call. The gospel was carried beyond the 'Christian frontier' by Papuans from other parts of Irian and locals, who were either specifically trained for the task, as in the interior, or who spontaneously shared their limited understanding of this new religion with their relatives, friends and trading partners in the nearby villages and valleys[123]. The task of evangelism, church planting and pastoral care is now the responsibility of the Christians living in Irian. It is they alone who must now carry the gospel to the remaining tribal groups who have no contact with the outside world[124], as well as to the Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists, who live side-by-side with the Christians, and their neighbours who may have ceased caring who the God of Jesus is and has done.

Many of the missionaries who served in Irian returned to the congregations that had sent them and supported them. Many died in the field, far from their families, of disease, or accident, or at the hands of those they came to convert. The history of the Christianity in Irian is one of the dedication of men, women, and the families who shared their journeys, from all parts of the Christian world. It is a story of those from the West, both of European and Asian origin, and

Papuans from all parts of Irian. It is a story of professional missionaries and the newly converted, who had the same goal: to bring the experience of the love and the power of God they had received to those they believed would live better lives if they too knew this God.

This being so, Christianity would never have grown in Irian without the active consent and acceptance of the people in Irian. The story of Christianity in Irian is not over. The inhabitants of Irian must still face the challenges of a world that consistently wishes to impose itself on a people who, only a century ago, lived their lives as their ancestors had done. The Christian Church is one of the few organisations that can help the people of Irian meet this challenge and work together with their people to both deal with this world and adapt its demands to the needs and abilities of the people. As J.C. Mamoribo put it:

> ... perjuangan Injil Kristus ... di tanah ini belum berakhir, sementara Injil harus diperhadapkan dengan masyarakat Irian yang telah dijamah era modernisasi dan globalisasi.[125]

The world of yesterday is gone forever. New challenges confront the people of Irian, from economic development to the recent changes in Indonesian politics, that began with the fall of Suharto and continue under Wahid and Megawati. Yet, the old challenges and fears still continue to influence the lives of the people of Irian, at the same time that the impact of the outside world is growing with its demands to conform and accept what is, for the Christians, an often alien reality. The church in Irian has shown that it can meet those challenges, if it is free to accept or reject outside assistance and influence based upon the needs of the recipients, and not the providers, of such assistance, if it continues to serve the interests of its members, and if it actively seeks to be a truly 'Irianese' church, that is aware of its history, actively involved in its community, and faithful to its God.

1. A.P. Elkin, quoted in F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, p. 120.

2. J. Bensley, 'The Dani Church of Irian Jaya and the Challenges Facing It Today', M.A. Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1994, p. 54.

3. As stated in chapter one, the transmigration schemes have been consistently opposed by the Christian Institutions within Irian, and have continued to be a 'bone of contention' with the authorities, due to persistent reports of abuses regarding the alienation of land and security methods used against local villagers, and have been much criticised. 'Irian Jaya Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian', GKI, Jayapura, 1991, pp. 25-30, and 'Jaardeweg', De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, Leusden, 2 Nov 1987. It could be said that one of the sources of discontent in Irian has been the existence of transmigrants. C.E. Farhadian, 'REP Final Report', Berkeley, May 1999, p. 5. This is so throughout the Indonesian archipelago, despite the statement of the Indonesian President, in 1987, that one of the purposes of the transmigration program was to foster national integration. J. Burdam, 'Methode Pekabaran Injil Kepada Warga Transmigrasi dalam Konteks Irian Jaya di GKI Klasis Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT Duta Wacana, Yogyakarta, 1988, p. 14. In 1999, an estimated 30,000 Maduran transmigrants were displaced in Kalimantan, and the first to leave the Moluccas during inter-ethnic conflict during the same time, were the migrants from South Sulawesi, many of whom were transmigrants. Although seen as a threat by isolated communities, the inevitability of these schemes is accepted, and when a road is built, for whatever purpose, efforts are made by the local Christians to make the best use of it. A. Matthews, "Return to the Kebar", *World Mission Partners*, December 1996, p. 12. Despite Indonesia's economic woes from mid 1997, transmigration schemes in Irian continued to be funded.

4. See R.S. Roosman, "Jayapura is No Longer a Frontier Town", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1978, p. 9. A state-owned Junior High School, being built in Apahapsili in early 1996, was being built entirely by (Christian) carpenters brought in from North Sulawesi by the project manager in Wamena, a Minahasan, despite there being trained carpenters in the village, graduates of the *Sekolah Tukang* of the GKI presbytery, that was located near the school complex, and still functioned. As Roosman points out, for other reasons, such as cultural factors, there has been a reluctance to employ Papuans in the army. This reluctance has extended to the private sector. To compensate for this, and to reduce local antipathy to the government and its policies, the civil service has been used as a vehicle to increase employment of locals in the cities. However, as D.J. Hayward, *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, Regions Press, Sentani, 1980, pp. 170-3, points out, part of the reason for this may have been a failure on the part of the missionaries and those who followed them, to recognise that Melanesians tend to do things together, and according to the seasonal cycle. If this was recognised, the whole village would assist a project. If it was ignored, not only would support be small, but opposition would often be expressed towards a project that could otherwise be supported. This lack of patience might account for the desire of outsiders to prefer expensive imported labour, to cheaper and more abundant, but potentially seasonal, local labour.

5. As is put in H. Saud, 'Hiduplah Sebagai Anak-Anak Terang', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, 1995, p.164, "Untuk sementara penduduk asli Irian Jaya masih merupakan mayoritas, namun yang memainkan peranan utama dan penting dalam kehidupan politik dan ekonomi di Irian Jaya adalah para pendatang". (For the moment the original inhabitants of Irian Jaya are in the majority, yet those who play the main and important roles in politics and the economy in Irian Jaya are the immigrants). On ibid, p.165, he makes the point that the new-comers have tended to concentrate in the towns or in the nearby transmigration areas. This has created an dual economy that is export-import oriented, and controlled by the foreigners, where the indigenous inhabitants are effectively excluded. G.M. Satya, "Wirtschaft und Entwicklung in Irian Jaya", *In Die Welt Für Die Welt*, Year 29, Sept/Oct 1993, pp. 30f.

6. M.P.M. Muskens, *Indonesië: Een Strijd om Nationale Identiteit*, 2nd ed., Paul Brand, Bussum, 1970, p. 353.There are areas of Irian which have significant numbers of indigenous Muslims, particularly near Fak-Fak and Sorong. The presence of the Muslim Melanesians in the Bird's Head is not a concern for the Christians and many are involved in the campaigns for independence.

7. In areas where there were no indigenous Muslims, the first Muslim traders and officials were welcomed and were given access to local women. However, during the 1980s more militant Muslims arrived in Irian, and have achieved

a number of visible successes, such as the conversions in the Sausapor area from the mid 1980s. These successes have generally been viewed negatively by the Christians, as being the products of pressure, or misinformation, rather than genuine spiritual change. E. Ulimpa, 'Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Kasus Pengaruh Islam di Sausapor Klasis GKI Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 49-50, 54-59.

8. Although this is not supported by statements of the government. The then head of the Department of Religious Affairs in Irian, Rev. S.P. Suripatty, stated that the sense of religion in Irian was very high, and this supported development. "Semangat Keagamaan di Irja Tinggi", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 5 May 1999, p. 2.

9. The growth of Islam in the highlands is centred on Wamena, where there are many Muslim immigrants, and the nearby village of Welesi. Welesi came within the area evangelised by the Catholics. During the civil disturbances in the highlands in the 1970s, the local tribal leader, Haji Aipon Asso, was used to subdue the locals, and many were believed to have converted to Islam out of fear. The village also received great amounts of government largesse, which Monim suggested influenced the decision to convert. G.R. Monim, 'Suatu Studi Tentang Perkembangan Islam di Daerah Kabupaten Jayawijaya', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1992, pp. 22-29, 42.

10. See Ulimpa, op cit, pp. 52f. This challenge to the Christians is a serious one as they offer the local people the same choices that their grandparents were offered: in place of the 'traditional' religion, in this case Christianity, that is not meeting their material needs and seems to be indifferent to their spiritual needs, they are being offered a religion that is led by someone with alleged magical powers, which has financial backing sufficient to improve their financial state, and political backing in the form of a national government that at the time was becoming increasingly pro-Islam. Ibid, pp. 47f. As Monim, op cit, p. 46, also points out, since 1945, Islam has only gained converts from among the Papuans in places that had already been evangelised by the Christians.

11. In 1978, the then leader of the OPM, Nicolaas Jouwe, stated that the population was 95% Christian (Protestant 55% and Catholic 40%) with only 3% being animist and 2% being Muslim. See N. Jouwe, "Conflict at the Meeting Point of Melanesia and Asia", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1978, pp.12f. These figures are very unlikely, and it is possible that he is only referring to the Papuans.

12. Bensley, op cit, pp. 52-54, the influence of Islam on the Dani Church is discussed. It is clear that the Muslims are having a greater influence on the Christians in Irian, particularly as Islam is experiencing a resurgence, supported by prominent figures in the government, who can use government prestige and power to influence the Christians, in the same way, perhaps, that Dutch government prestige could have swayed earlier conversions to Christianity. As in other parts of Indonesia, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca is supported and encouraged by the government. In 1999, the Kabupaten of Biak/Numfor was given a quota of fifty out of the 1,185 pilgrims for 1999. By the end of August 1999 only twelve had saved sufficient funds, but the kabupaten official was 'confident' that the quota would be fulfilled. "Kuota Haji Biak Numfor 50 Orang", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 30 Aug 1999, p. 5.

13. Jouwe, op cit, p.13, states that all of the administrative positions were filled by Papuans prior to 1962 as were 90% of the positions in the Department of Health. As there were then a number of Minahasans, for example, as well as significant numbers of Ambonese employed within the government, this is likely to be an exaggeration. However, in A. Matheson, "Irian Jaya: Refugees Remind of a Forgotten Struggle," *One World*, No. 45, April 1979, p. 14, it is stated that in 1979 only 20% of those in the civil service were of Melanesian origin. This does not imply that the administration was dominated by non-Christians, but it does indicate that the comment of J.M. van der Kroef, "Indonesia and Irian Jaya: the Enduring Conflict", *ASIEN*, vol 16, July 1985, p. 42, that in 1961, 43% of the senior civil service positions were held by Papuans, and that this rapidly changed after 1963, is likely to be true. As P. Savage, "The Nationalist Struggle in West Irian: The Divisions Within the Liberation Movement", *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 2, June 1976, p. 2, put it, "the Indonesian administration instituted a programme of rapid and thorough de-localisation."

14. In fairness to the government, this sentiment has been recognised and there now appears to be a concerted effort to 'Irianise' the senior bureaucracy. But the lower levels are still dominated by non-Papuans, as can be seen from

announcements in the media concerning new employment and appointments. Generally, of five new appointments, three were from ethnic groups from outside Irian.

15. According to the 1995 census, cited in J.R. Mansoben, *Etnografi Irian Jaya*, Jayapura, 1997, pp.18f, Protestants made up 57% of the total population of Irian, with Catholics comprising another 20%. According to figures from the Department of Religious Affairs, quoted in S. Latuputty, 'Kontinuitas dan Diskontinuitas Tradisi Zending dalam Pemahaman Iman Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Quezon City, 1999, p. 55, in 1996, Christians comprised 79.3% of the population of Irian. However, according to the same statistics, the total population of Irian increased by 334,350 between 1992 and 1996. During the same period the number of Christians is said to have increased by 298,913. Therefore, if these figures are correct, there were only 35,437 more non-Christians during this period. A.C. Thomson "Indonesia", in M.S. Bates & W. Pauck (eds.), *The Prospects of Christianity Throughout the World*, Charles Scribner, New York, 1964, p. 255, stated that in 1963 of the 700,000 people then in Irian, 150,000 (21%) were Muslims. In light of this statistic, and the subsequent transmigrants schemes outside most major centres, in addition to continuing spontaneous migration from Java and Sulawesi, it can only be concluded that the Muslims were either not counted accurately, or were deliberately discounted.

16. This has been seen in the growth of the OPM in the highlands. C. Farhadian, 'The Dani in New Order Indonesia', n.p., 1999, p. 5, concludes that this has occurred as the GKII, in the tradition of the CAMA, by forbidding the channelling of political aspirations through the church (which is parallelled by the inability of the government to accept alternative political visions) has given the Dani and other highlanders only one alternative avenue of political expression: the OPM.

17. "The cargo cult almost exclusively becomes a means for creating a world which belongs to themselves in which they can feel at home." G. Oosterwal, "A Cargo Cult in the Mamberamo Area", *Ethnology*, vol. II, no.1, January 1963, p. 13. This is also the language of P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, Paladin, London, 1970, p. 281, in referring to the aims of messianic movements. The hope is often linked with a desire to take control of their lives by expelling the Whites or, in the case of Irian, the Indonesians.

18. The Dutch used pacification as a tool of control and Dani and Me people were killed in the 1950s, particularly in the Wamena region where one officer, in light of his small force, used harsh measures to 'quieten' the local people. A. Ploeg, "The Establishment of the Pax Nederlandica in the Bokondini Area", in M. Rodman & M. Cooper (eds.), *The Pacification of Melanesia*, Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1979, p. 172. For the later Indonesian period, see Matheson, loc cit, p. 14. Anti-Indonesian activities in the highlands are covered in chapter seven. The OPM operated throughout the highlands, including the Yali regions evangelised by the NRC, and disrupted GJPI activities. C.G. Vreugdenhil, *Vreemdelingen en Huisgenoten*, Den Hertog, Houten, 1991, pp. 73-90. GKI areas were also affected, with, for example, congregations in North Biak ceasing to function and church buildings being damaged as a result of OPM activities and the actions if the Indonesian military. The congregations were not able to resume effective pastoral care of their members until after 1995. R.J. Pattipeilohy, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) Jemaat GKI Agape Roidifu', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 13. The period after 1980 was characterised by a number of notable killings, in particular that of Arnold Ap, a noted Papuan intellectual and promoter of Melanesian culture, who was shot by Indonesian soldiers in April 1984, because his promotion of Papuan culture was seen as a threat to national unity. *Briefing Book Irian Jaya*, Indonesia Publications, Lanham-Seabrook, 1987, p. 2. His wife and children had already been sent by plane to PNG for their own safety. Van der Kroef, loc cit, pp. 32f, Jaarverslag 1984/85, Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Oegstgeest, p. 20, and H. di Suvero, "A Dedication In Memory of Arnold Ap", *Arena*, no.67, 1984, passim. Many in Irian saw Ap's arrest and death as a deliberate attack on Papuan culture, which was reinforced by the appointment of I. Hindom as Governor, whose stated task was to integrate Irian into Indonesia. Ibid, pp. 41f.

19. The OPM has been riven by factionalism recently, with the group of Jacob Prai becoming dominant. Prai's view is that Christianity must be the central ideology of the movement and not communism. Hence the OPM is viewed as both Papuan and Christian, as opposed to the government and military, who are perceived as Javanese and Muslim. "Sham 'act of choice' brought 30 years of bondage", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1999, http //www.smh.com.au/news/9905/29/world/world4.html.

20. As Jouwe, op cit, pp. 13f, points out, many who had left for study in Papua New Guinea, Fiji and the Netherlands chose to stay away after 1963. A number of them have achieved positions of authority within their adopted countries, and this has been noted by their friends and relatives in Irian .

21. Although the formal leaders are largely outside Irian, there is much sympathy for the OPM within Irian. A good account of the background and current status of the OPM is given in "Sham ..." loc cit.

22. See *Indonesia: Continuing Human Rights Violations in Irian Jaya*, Amnesty International, London, April 1991, pp.2-18. In December 1988 there was a flag raising ceremony of the West Papuan flag in Jayapura led by Thomas Wainggai (whose death in March 1996 provoked riots in Jayapura), involved a large number of civil servants, University lecturers and ministers and resulted in several arrests. The people involved in this and similar activities have been Christians, and from their names (listed on pp.11-12, 32-24) it can be concluded that they are largely, but not exclusively, from areas dominated by the GKI in Irian Jaya, the main Protestant Church in Irian. A similar list in 'Irian Jaya Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian', op cit, pp. 31f, is also made up of names that are identifiable as Christians. Another flag raising in July 1999 on the campus of the Cenderawasih University was counted by shooting into the crowd and shooting-up the adjacent GKI Theological College. A GKI member studying at the University was killed and the daughter of one of the lecturers of the Theological College was seriously wounded. Despite the deliberate nature of the attack, the soldiers responsible were neither identified nor charged. M. Reid, "A Country in Crisis", *Crosslink*, June 1999, p. 2.

23. L. Murdoch, "137 Dead in Crackdown by Army", *Sydney Morning Herald,* 26 May 1998.

24. As F. Ukur & F.L. Cooley (eds.), *Benih yang Tumbuh VIII: Suatu Survey Mengenai Gereja Kristen Irian Jaya* LPS-DGI, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 288f, state that the Church, even in 1977, was caught between wanting to serve the losers of the political process, while having to live within a system that did not understand such compassion. S. Sumihe, 'Kerajaan Allah: Analysis Systematic Visi Theologia GKI di Irian Jaya', M.Th. Thesis, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1990, pp. 3f, suggests that this longing for an independent homeland has a theological aspect, as part of a longing for the fulfilment of the Kingdom of God.

25. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, give a list of six ministers who were members of the parliament and/or government in 1971. In 1973-76, the then current Moderator of the GKI, J. Mamoribo, became the deputy chairman of the Provincial Parliament (after resigning his church position). E. Ulimpa, 'Tokoh Gereja di GKI Irian Jaya Pdt. Jan Mamoribo', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1994, p. 4. Since then others have been involved, including Rev. Maloali and Rev. W. Rumsarwir, who were elected to the national parliament as *Golongan Karya* representatives, after terms as the GKI Moderator, and Rev. A. Iwanggin who resigned as Deputy General Secretary of the GKI to become a member of the Provincial parliament, in 1999. A former GKI Deputy-Moderator, Rev. T. Bonay, was elected as Chairman of the Municipal Council for Jayapura in October 1999. However, as H. Awom, 'Kepelayanan dan Kepimpinan Pendeta dalam Gereja dan Masyarakat Irian Jaya', STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1992, p. 28, admitted, the congregations of the GKI have differing attitudes to the continuing role in the church of ministers who have become active in politics. Some allow them the right to preach and administer the sacraments, some forbid them to do.

26. "Rape and Other Human Rights Abuses by the Indonesian Military in Irian Jaya (West Papua), Indonesia", http://www.rfkmemorial.org/center/vaw_report.htm, May 1999. The founders of the Foreri hoped to engender a feeling a reconciliation. This was not fully realised, due to reported intransigence on both sides, but their lobbying of the government continued. W. Mandowen, "Aneka Komentar Seputar Aksi Tim Study Resolusi Konflik Irian Jaya", *Tifa Irian*, Week 2, November 1999, p. 8. The Churches and Christian leaders were also heavily involved in the demonstrations that took place in Jayapura over several days in mid October 1999, protesting against the creation of three new provinces from the single province of Irian Jaya.

27. In H. Saud, 'Sambutan Ketua Sinode GKI Irian Jaya pada Perayaan Pentekosta II di Jayapura tgl. 19 Mei 1997', pp. 4f, the government was taken to task for its negative attitude to the indigenous people of Irian. Afterwards the

Governor greeted Saud *very* warmly, much to the delight of the assembled congregation. When it was proposed that Irian be divided into three new provinces, the local branch of the GMKI approached the parliament with their concerns, and they were received and given an audience by the parliamentary leaders. "GMKI Jayapura Tolak Rencana Pemekaran", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 5 May 1999, pp. 1,7. This call to be a prophetic voice has been consistently supported by Churches and church bodies outside Irian. J. Daimoi, "Struggles Faced in Living God's Kingdom: Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya", in J.D. May (ed.), *Living Theology in Melanesia: a Reader*, Melanesian Institute, Goroka, 1985, p. 131.

28. The best example is the VEM, which was transformed in 1993 into an international mission society, where the partner Churches, and not just the founding Churches in Germany, are the 'owners' of the mission. The VEM/UEM strives to foster links between its partners. W.F. Rumsarwir & S.H. Rumboirussi, 'Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Badan Pekerja Am Sinode, GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, p. 14. To this end, for example, the UEM sponsored two ministers from the *Gereja Jawi Wetan* (Church of East Java), who began working in transmigration areas in Irian in 1998.

29. 'West Irian Refugees', United Church Assembly, November 1978. At times encouraged by Papuans now permanently settled in Papua New Guinea and serving the local Church, such as Rev. Joshua Daimoi, quoted by Matheson, loc cit, p. 15, who was then the General-Secretary of the PNG Bible Society. Daimoi left Irian in December 1962. After completing his schooling in Sydney, he worked in PNG and became a PNG citizen. Daimoi, loc cit, p. 126. The PNG government assisted refugees from Irian during the 1980s. A. Smith, "Refugees from Irian Jaya: a look at the causes and prospects," *West Papuan Issues"*, no. 1, October 1988, p. 10. The GKI also provided some pastoral care to one of their congregations near Jayapura that moved across the border in the late 1960s, through a parish teacher.

30. In A.F. Tucker & J.H. Steward (trans.), *Impact and Final Evaluation Report*, World Vision, Melbourne, 1990 (original in Indonesian, n.p., 1988), passim, a number of projects are listed, with results and difficulties encountered. What is clear from this is that WVI has been extensively involved in the development of Irian without being specifically involved with any one denomination. Community development has been the key and denominations, if involved per se, have only been approached as representatives of their communities. Eg. Bokondini, a major mission centre in the highlands, also had a WVI Regional Training Centre which was being used as a base to train local people in new farming practices. "Profile Pumped Up", *World Vision Project Partners*, Summer 1989, pp. 2f. WVI also provided assistance to villages rather than Church bodies, funding, for example, a number of clinics as well as other community development projects in the Baliem. J.A. Godschalk & A.E. Dumatubun, 'Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua', Universitas Cenderawasih & Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1988-1989, pp. 34, 41f, 52. The drought of 1997 also resulted in an increase of funds from the MAF, WVI and other bodies. Some, such as the Uniting Church in Australia and the VEM/UEM, sent their assistance through the local denomination with which they were associated, in this case the GKI. The MAF increased the number of planes it had in Irian (in 1994 it had seventeen. L. Murdoch, "Foreign missionaries pack up in Christianity's last frontier", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Feb 1994, p. 8.) and extended credit to the government to move international assistance. The government acknowledges its reliance upon the MAF to communicate with these outlying villages. See "Harapan Masyarakat Pedalaman di Pundak WVI dan MAF", *Tifa Irian*, Minggu Ketiga Maret 1998, 10.

31. In Tucker & Steward, op cit, p.3, for example, it is stated that originally WVI worked through a local Christian foundation, then began cooperating with the Department of Social Welfare. The list of projects on pp. 43ff, is extensive, and it is clear that the WVI has served an important social, economic and educational role. But the activities of WVI have been carried out without the specific involvement of the Churches.

32. B. Giay, *Gembalakanlah Umatku*, Deiyai, Jayapura, 1998, pp. 41f, lists a number of areas where the church serves people who are either nomadic, or living on the edge of cities and towns, without benefiting in any way from the economic expansion of Irian.

33. Giay, ibid, pp. 41-46, takes up the issue of the sale of sago and other lands for industry and offices. After selling the land, the people are then faced with the issue of what they will eat in the years to come, as the flat sago and

mangrove lands near the major cities are also the most productive in terms of long-term, sustainable, food production. In the areas away from the coast, the issue of population pressure is also important as the government in Java sees Irian as unpopulated, whereas the existing inhabitants see their hunting and foraging lands being felled and settled, forcing them to leave their lands and move to the urban areas.

34. with some exceptions. After the Situbondo riots in Java in 1998, there was widespread concern in Irian at the lack of official action over what was perceived as concerted and directed anti-Christian activities. Letters were written by the Provincial Governor and the Leaders of the Parliament to the authorities in Jayapura and Jakarta protesting at the lack of official response to these events. Setiyono Hadi, Letter to the Governor of Irian Jaya, 8 Nov. 1996, and J. Pattipi, Letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Jayapura, 9 Nov. 1996. It is significant that these letters were written by politically-important Christians, and not denominational leaders, who took a more circumspect line during this period.

35. Eg. the tribes between Jila and Duma, near Tembagapura. In 1995, B. Maxey, based in Wamena, was coordinating the Me missionaries in the area, as well as asking for radios and outboard motors to assist the evangelists. 'Irian Jaya: Untouched Regions', MAF-PRD #1159, December 1994, pp. 4f. All of the missions and Churches in Irian have efforts aimed at reaching these people, including the GKI. 'Laporan Departemen-Departemen', GKI di Irian Jaya, Fak-Fak, July 1996, pp. 14-16. The NTM entered Irian after a survey in 1995 indicated that their expertise in isolated regions could be used in Irian. 'Irian Jaya Journal', http://ntm.org/contigo/iijteam.html, 3 July 1999.

36. The OPM is active in and around Tembagapura, and many fear that after the missionaries will come the apparatus of the government and military. MAF-PRD #1159 op cit, p. 4. That, and with the increase in OPM activities in Paniai region in the 1980s, many preferred the promise of freedom and 'cargo' of the OPM than the message of the church. E. Stringer, 'Catatan', n.pub, Jayapura [?], 1996, p. 35. Because of this, and the wish that the people would concentrate on study and work rather than armed resistance, the missionaries consistently opposed the OPM and its activities. A. van Klinken & N. Marsh, 'Confidential Report to Indonesia by Arie van Klinken and Neville Marsh August 1991', n.p., October 1991, p. 4. Eg. in the 1970s rebellion in the Ilaga valley, many GKII members left to join the OPM. Negotiations were conducted by Frans Tilahelew from the government, and Gordon Larson and Don Gibbons from the mission, with the agreement of the local military commander, and the rebellion was ended without further blood shed. In another OPM-led rebellion in 1977, the Christian Dani, led by J. Sunda, sided with the government, and many were killed in the fighting as a result. At the end of 1977, only fourteen of the thirty six congregations in the Pyramid area were able to operate due to anti-Indonesia activities. R. Wick, *God's Invasion,* Christian Publications, Camp Hill, 1990 pp. 178-83.

37. This tendency comes from the practise of traditional religion, where only certain individuals had the 'secret information' that was needed for the religious rituals. This concept has been transferred to the new religion. Although Zöllner, op cit, pp. 167f, is using Yali examples, others exist, where the life of the congregation is understood to be in the hands of the minister, and where certain church leaders appropriate knowledge, including written sources, in order to assert their authority over their congregations and colleagues.

38. Missionaries are still held in high regard, as they are remembered as having a high sense of call and witness, that has not always been emulated by the leaders of today. H. Saud, 'Inilah TubuhKu dan Inilah DarahKu', B.Th. Long Essay, STT Jakarta, 1978, pp. 9f, and Godschalk & Dumatubun, op cit, pp. 52f, who note that the Kanggime people wished to have expatriate missionaries serving the GIDI congregations, because they were spiritual, prepared to live among the Dani "and were prepared to unveil the secret of how to obtain untold material wealth".

39. As Oosterwal, loc cit, p. 225, states "Contact with the West has created a feeling of discomfort everywhere in New Guinea. The indigenous cultures are almost exclusively recipients, whereas Western culture is a donor...."

40. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 50f. Although Ukur and Cooley were commenting on the GKI in 1977, their comments are equally applicable to the situation that the church leaders from all the denominations in Irian still face.

41. In 1969, for example, the GKI Theological College in Abepura received 53.9% of its total funding from the Netherlands. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 87. By 1999 this had only fallen to 48.56%, despite small amounts from the Provincial government and increased student numbers (and hence student fees). 'Sambutan Ketua Pada Acara HUT Ke-45 STT GKI "IS Kijne" Jayapura', Abepura, 21 September 1999, p. 9. Despite efforts to encourage contributions from the GKI congregations, the STT survives on student fees and subsidies from the ZNHK. One explanation may be that buildings are more visible that knowledge, and so attract more contributions. The GKII also received limited financial support to assist church building and the work of the Synod, but not the Bible Schools. E.Y. Bernhard, 'The Program of Developing Organizational Leaders in the Kingmi Church of Irian Jaya', M.A. Paper, Wheaton College, Wheaton, 1980, pp. 24.

42. S. Zöllner, *The Religion of the Yali in the Highlands of Irian Jaya*, Melanesian Institute, Goroka, 1988, pp. 162f. For Zöllner the concept of 'comprehensive well-being' is an important element in both traditional religion, and the continued adherence of the Yali to Christianity.

43. D. Sulistyo, "Manusia Ditengah Integrasi Kebudayaan: tantangan GKI Irian Jaya di dalam mewujudkan missinya", in F. Duim & D. Sulistyo (eds.), *Dengan Segenap Hatimu*, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1988, p. 147, noted that even in 1988, the towns of Irian was almost equally divided between immigrant and indigenous inhabitants.

44. The GKI also acknowledges that, with the changing ethnic ratios in Irian, the church needs to become more "misioner", or 'mission minded' toward these groups. L.J. Hursepuny, 'Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya: Pelayanan dan Tantangannya', paper presented to the Forum Konsultasi Universitas Satya Wacana dengan Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya, Salatiga, 1986, p. 3. However, there is an ambivalence to these migrants. Church leaders wish the church to be both Papuan and inclusive of all Christians in Irian. The results are mixed. See Sulistyo, loc cit, pp. 152-4.

45. J. Wilson, 'From Cosmos to Nation State: the shifting of the Yali worldview in concepts of community, power, locus and leadership', n.p., 1998, p. 3.

46. Education has been a significant element in this. A proportion of the children in the schools have left their villages to pursue higher education in nearby villages or in the larger regional centres. A. Vriens, "Sejarah Gereja Katolik di wilayah Keuskupan Merauke dan Keuskupan Agats", in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, Arnoldus, Ende, vol. 3a, 1974, p. 638. The contact and understanding that they gained there was translated back to their villages, with varying degrees of success.

47. Such as a 'pesta seks' or sex feast in the Baliem, centered on Wolo in 1995, that involved thousands of people, and which was blamed upon outside influences, as it was not an expression of traditional beliefs or practices. See "Penyakit Kencing Nanah Gerogoti Penduduk Lembah Baliem", in W.H.D. Kumurur & G. Ingkokusumo (eds), *Aids di Irian Jaya*, PKBI, Waena, 1996, pp. 13ff.

48. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", *In Depth Indonesia*, no.8, Aug. 1977, Commission for Mission, UCA, Sydney, p. 8. L. Pospisil, *The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea*, 2nd ed., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1978, pp. 118f, states that despite price increases for Me brides, some could still afford more than one wife. No mention is made of the standing in the church of such unions. Polygamy is also practised among the immigrants, where someone who is still married takes a spouse, with the full knowledge of the original partner. Although perhaps not 'polygamy' in the accepted sense of the term, the case of two GKI members in Koya Timur, where the husband already had a wife and children "membuat keadaan Jemaat ... agak mengganggu hubungan sosial dan juga hubungan Jemaat dalam kehidupan iman" (interrupted the social relations and spiritual life of the congregation). A. Sani, 'Pengamatan Selama KKN', Abepura, 1999, p.1.

49. Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, p. 2. Baptismal and confirmation rites, for example, are important to the coastal people. P.J. Menai, "The Mandoi Ritual of Irian Jaya", in G. & B. Deverell, (ed.), *Pacific Rituals: Living or*

Dying?, IPS/USP, Suva, 1986, pp. 164f, suggests that the feasting associated with the ceremony of baptism is related to the food offerings given to the 'God of the sky' in the traditional religion. Similarly, he interprets the fact that women and men do not normally sit together in church as related to the nature of traditional dancing, where men dance and women sit and watch. While this can not be the cause in every case, it may be an factor in congregations with a Papuan majority. One traditional practice that has bridged the gap between Christianity and traditional religion, is that of *Baradota*, which was probably brought from Biak to Waigeo and then to Kofiau as the people migrated. In this ceremony, when two young people who are related are seen to be too closely involved, they are required to repent and an offering is made which is given to an elder or other church leader. This person then immediately offers the gift to God, and leaves it in the church building on the communion table. D.B. Jenbise, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI Immanuel Tolobi di Lingkungan Kofiau Klasis GKI Raja Ampat', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1996, p. 15.

50. In Yaur, for example, the *suanggi* is called a *miagre*, and is seen as an integral part of the lives of the people, who are all nominally Christian. See Y. Dimara, 'Peranan Gerakan Keesaan dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Jemaat-Jemaat Kristen di Desa Yaur, Pantai Barat, Klasis GKI Paniai Kab. Paniai', B.Th. Long Essay, STT GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 28. In Field Work reports presented to the STT GKI in Abepura in the 1990s, there was a consistent theme of *suanggi* affecting the lives of, or being used by, GKI members. The students reacted either by denying the power of the *suanggi* or by accommodating their influence. None denied their existence. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 60-63, gives accounts of belief in *suanggi* that have led to the death of those accused of using *suanggi* against their neighbours, as well as inter-village warfare.

51. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 315.

52. In J.C. Mamoribo, 'Dikala Bunda Mengeluh: Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Lingkungan Hidup di Kawasan Kelapa Dua Entrop-Jayapura', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Abepura, 1997, pp. 54f, it is noted that despite the apparently successful efforts of the mission and the church to eradicate traditional beliefs in the Tobati and Enggros villages (near Jayapura) since 1910, there are still some matters that the locals are not prepared to discuss with outsiders as "to reveal clan secrets to an outsider is to invite punishment from the spirit world for the person or his clan". Ibid, p. 55. Sumihe, op cit, pp. 29f, lists eight ways that Christianity and Christian beliefs have been influenced by traditional beliefs or a mind-set influenced by traditional thinking. They include the legalistic way of approaching the gospel, the linking of sickness with sin and the similarities between the concept of Christian hope and messianic expectations. This is evidence for a new understanding among some church leaders, such as Erari, loc it, p. 145, that evangelism to be effective, must take account of the whole culture, and not just its belief systems.

53. See Saud, op cit, pp. 170f, and Y.E.O. Akwan, 'Kematian Menurut Orang Wandamen dan Dampaknya terhadap Pertumbuhan Iman Warga Jemaat', Abepura, 1997, pp. 2f, who states that traditional beliefs the Wandamen region (one of the early areas evangelised) are both persistent despite long contact with Christianity and are therefore one of the factors challenging the views of the Church. The traditional belief in evil spirits is supported by the certainty of many from the more conservative wing of Christianity, for whom these spirits are real also. The difference being that in Melanesian traditional religion, the spirits are to be placated, not confronted as in conservative Christianity. In times of crisis, Christianity is sometimes seen as wanting, and it is in these times that traditional ways are sought. F.C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1972, pp. 228f.

54. D.A.M. Smidt, "Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden", in S. Greub, (ed.), *Art of Northwest New Guinea: From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani*, Rizzoli, New York, 1992, p. 193, states that "the role played by the Zending (Protestant Mission) ... was certainly problematic" as the were both the principle instruments for the destruction of sacred objects and buildings, as well as being active donators of such materials to museums in the Netherlands or objects that were given to them by the new believers. On ibid, p. 195, he defends the missions saying that many objects were brought back as examples of idol worshipping and some objects, such as a canoe sent by D.A. ten Haaft to Holland in 1939, were auctioned to raise funds for the mission. On the same page is a photograph of a canoe that was made to raise money "in aid of the evangelization fund".

55. The GKI Church in Tablasupa, near Jayapura, uses indigenous designs within the church building. When asked what the designs meant, the answer was that no answer was permitted to be given. In S. Kooijman, "Introduction", in Greub, op cit, p.14f, it is noted that there was significant art production in the Biak and Sentani regions. But as the art was related to the traditional religion, it was branded as 'heathen' and successfully discouraged. Kooijman, loc cit, p. 15, also notes that the commercialisation of Asmat art has resulted in more production, but of inferior quality. In T.P. van Baaren, "Art of the Geelvink Bay", in Greub, op cit, p. 28, it is also noted that in Biak the art was quickly commercialised. As early as 1874 the UZV reported that Korwars (images containing the sprits of deceased ancestors) that were no longer indwelt by an ancestor, were for sale as curios. Christian art in concrete is also a feature of some Protestant buildings. One of the best examples, on the hall of the STT-GKI, was reported to have been made by a Muslim.

56. See S. Kooijman & J. Hoogerbrugge, "Art of the Wakde-Yanma Area, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani", in Greub, op cit, pp. 70, 75.

57. Books such as F.A. Trenkenschuh (ed.), *An Asmat Sketch Book*, Diocese of Asmat-Agats, Agats, vols. 1, 2, 1970, vol. 3, 1971, vol. 4, 1974, vol. 5A & 5B, 1975, vol. 6, 1978, and the establishment of a 'Museum of Culture and Progress' in the seat of the Catholic diocese in Agats are but examples of the attention the Catholics have paid to indigenous art. The first Asmat curator of the Museum, Yuven Biakai, was appointed in 1982. R. Wassing, "History: Colonisation, Mission and Nation", in D.A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art*, Periplus & the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1993, p. 31. Most, if not all, Catholic worship centres have some local art work within them.

58. These new understandings, often derived from the Bible, are not always accepted by the missionaries or better-educated Church leaders. But the consequences of Tyndale's statement to a fellow cleric "I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scriptures than thou dost." (T. Dowley (ed.) *A Lion Handbook of Christianity*, rev. ed, Lion, Oxford, 1990, p. 398) is that anyone with a Bible can interpret it as they wish, including Dani converts to Christianity. However, as was stated in "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, p. 8, "... until they are able to have their own way it will not be their Christian life or their Bible." This has been made easier as the old beliefs are, to varying degrees, being replaced by the new without any substantive change in rituals and leadership function. What Wilson, 1998, op cit, p. 3, described as "functional substitution". He uses the example of the way the Yali pray over their gardens, during a journey or for the sick, not in the form of a general hope that Jesus will bless them, but rather in the expectation that there will be concrete results of their prayer. Ibid, p. 6. Similar examples are found in other parts of Irian, where the pastor or priest is often called to pray in a way akin to that of the shaman of the traditional religion.

59. For the Catholics, this process was encouraged by the results of Vatican II. H.J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi: Het Omvormingsproces van de Katholieke Kerk In Indonesië Tot De Indonesische Katholieke Kerk*, J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1991, p. 412. Kamma, 1994, op cit, p. 537, admits that the use of local languages by the Evangelical missions encouraged a more open attitude to traditional forms of worship, with hymns based on local songs, and open-air worship a feature of the evangelistic method.

60. Anthropology is the central subject in the Catholic seminary in Jayapura. L.N. Mercado, "The Abepura Programme: An Alternative Seminary Model for Melanesia?", *Catalyst*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1989, pp. 23-25. It was also considered to be one of the important areas of research for the then new Cenderawasih University. S. Poerbakawatja, 'Pendidikan Tinggi dan Masa Depan Irian Jaya', Speech at the Graduation Ceremony of Cenderawasih University, 19 December 1977, pp. 24-28.

61. Although not always by the leaders. A movement among the Moni in 1970, which attracted a number of church members, was described as a 'cult', whereas it appeared to be more like a syncretic salvation movement. Wick, op cit, p. 131. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 166-170, states that a more sympathetic attitude to traditional religion and culture is necessary, as the purpose of the gospel is not to supplant the culture of a people, but to transform it in light of the news of salvation Jesus brings. If this results in misunderstandings, then this is to be tolerated, and dealt with gently. This is basically the attitude taken by the Catholic Church. Eg. Muninghoff in "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, pp. 11f, and a GKI student, H. Kaize, 'Pengaruh Upacara Ezam-Uzum dari Adat Marind-Anim dalam

Perjumpaan dengan Injil', B.Th. Long Essay, STFT-GKI, Jayapura, 1996, pp. 52-54.

62. In Ransiki, for example, the traditional religion is claimed to have ended. But there still are people who can divine what a sickness is and cure it with traditional remedies, such as holy water and certain leaves placed directly on the body. See J. Morin, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Jemaat GKI Solagratia Kaprus Klasis Ransiki', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, pp. 8f. Throughout Irian there is also acceptance of the pattern of services associated with death that was introduced by the Moluccan and Minahasan evangelists, with memorial services after three days, forty days, and one year, often led by the local minister or priest.

63. As is stated in E. Osok, 'Tentang Adat Perkawinan Orang Mooi dan Mas Kawin di Kepala Burung (Irja)', Ujung Pandang, 1982, pp. 2-6, the concept of *Kain Timur* (Timorese Cloth) is more than just the cloth itself. It is a cultural unity of exchange in which money has no real place, which binds the Moi people of the Bird's Head in a system that benefits all parties by making exchange the basis for social relations, and not war and other anti-social acts. Although the principle goods involved in this traditional exchange system were cloth (in F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita*, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, vol. 3, 1994, p. 426, it is stated that there were over 550 recognised varieties of cloth in the Ayamaru region alone), this was not always the case. Osok also mentions plates and other imported goods as being part of the system. Although many in the church tolerate the existence if the *Kain Timur* system, the attitude of GKI ministers has been ambivalent. As outlined in chapter one, there was a campaign against the system in the mid 1950s, undertaken by the Dutch authorities with the active support of the church. More recently the continued existence of the system has been seen as one of the impediments to the work of the church in the region. W.Y. Pagurian, 'Hasil KKN Klasis A-Tiga', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1989, p. 6.

64. A. Sowada, *Kesehatan Dalam Konsep Masyarakat Asmat*, Departamen Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, Jayapura[?], 1997, p. 8, refers to the *dukun* who is both the traditional healer and at times the *only* medical practitioner in many villages.

65. J. Verschuren, "De Katolieke Missie", in W.C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea de Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, Staatsdrukkerij en Uitgeverijbedrijf, the Hague, vol. 1, 1953, pp. 200f. Verschuren mentions as an example certain death rites which have been included within Catholic services for the dead. An Anthropological Museum with support staff was established in Agats in 1974. A. Heuken (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Populer tentang Gereja Katolik di Indonesia*, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 1989, p. 18.

66. The best is the Catholic Cathedral in Jayapura, but even in small congregations such as the GKI congregation in Tablasupa (near Jayapura) and Urbinasopen (on Waigeo), traditional art forms and symbols are used in the buildings. In A. van Kampen, *Beeld van Nieuw Guinea New Guinea Today*, C. de Boer Jr., Hilversum, 1961, passim, are photographs of Catholic churches, with nipa walls, and carved altars and exteriors.

67. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, p. 12. Vriens insisted that the entire village come to church, both Christian and non-Christian, so that they would all realise that the new religion was "already in their hearts", and so they would all participate in the rituals associated with the Church Year. J. Boelaars & A. Vriens, 'Mengantar Suku Suku Irian Kepada Kristus: Sejarah Perkembangan Agama dalam Keuskupan Agung Merauke', vol. 2, n.p., n.d., p. IV.26.

68. As Bishop Muninghoff said in "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, p. 11, the disadvantage of using schools is that the school and the church become associated in the mind of the adults. When they no longer have a relationship with the school, they tend to end their relationship with the church.

69. Monim, op cit, pp. 43f. This, despite the statements of former missionaries such as J.A. Godschalk, *Sela Valley: an Ethnography of a Mek Society in the Eastern Highlands, Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, 1993, pp. 112f, that the auxiliary missionaries (teachers, nurses, engineers, agriculturalists, etc) were "indispensable" to the mission. The advantage of carpentry and other projects is that the church can relate

directly to their members in practical ways. Muninghoff in ""From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, p. 11.

70. This has been particularly so in the Manokwari area, where the GKI has lost members to the GPKAI, which established an office in Manokwari to serve the churches in the interior of the Bird's Head and inland of Agats on the south coast. The GPKAI made significant gains among the Meah people, who extend from the highlands to the coast. This caused tensions within villages that were formerly wholly GKI villages, and which are now more mixed. See M. Lutur,'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Jemaat Imanuel Warami Klasis GKI Manokwari', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 20.

71. Monim, op cit, pp. 44ff. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 171-3, even suggests that evangelism with no depth and without any long-term care of the new converts is opening the way for other religions to seek converts or to exploit them. As can be seen by the list of denominations in the appendix, there has been a growth in the number of Pentecostal denominations, particularly in the Sorong region.

72. The theological nature of the UZV and the Pietist inheritance that it gave to the congregations and Churches that grew from its endeavours, in Irian, Halmahera and elsewhere, is well covered in J. Haire, *The Character of the Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera, Indonesia, 1941-1979*, Peter D. Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, pp. 130-133. The comments that he makes about the Church in Halmahera are equally applicable to the Church in Irian, which shared Dutch missionaries with the UZV mission in Halmahera and Irian, and which has a similar cultural, religious, political and geographical background. A useful future study would be a comparison of the theological positions, both past and present of the GKI and GMIH.

73. Saud, 1978, op cit, p. 10. In the school in Miei, the teachers were taught basic Western hygiene, sports, understandings of money, farming methods, and how to manufacture and use bamboo musical instruments for use in worship in the congregations they would later serve. I.S. Kijne, 'Sekolah Pendidikan Guru-Guru Papua di Miei 1925-1941', translated by L. Jenbise, Abepura 1994 from 'De Opleidingsschool voor Papoese Voorgangersonderwijzers' Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 7-14, and L. Jenbise, 'Mite atau Salib di Irian Jaya', STT Jakarta, 1990, pp. 14-17, who states that through the school Kijne had a significant and positive role of enculturation of indigenous church leaders and their congregations. This was because the teachers, and their wives, gained influential positions in the villages in which they taught. D.A. ten Haaft, 'Rapport Over de Anti-vreemdelingen stemming op Noord Nieuw Guinea voornamelyk op de Schouten Eildanden', UZV Ressort Biak and Numfor, Biak, Dec. 1946, pp. 2f. Graduates from the school were used extensively by the GKI, and many of the other Reformed and Evangelical missions in their initial evangelisation and church-building. The Moluccan teachers used in Catholic and Protestant areas were similarly conservative in terms of theology and influential in the life of the villages in which they worked. J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, pp. 23f. Many, however, have seen this influence negatively, viewing the role of the Moluccan teachers as inhibiting Papuan culture and instituting syncretic practices from Moluccan Christianity. W.S. Rumsarwir, "Injil dan Kebudayaan dalam Sejarah GKI Irian Jaya", in Duim & Sulistyo, op cit, pp. 26-28.

74. This was so, according to P.W. van der Veur, "Dutch New Guinea", *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Sydney, 1970, pp. 282f, because the parish teachers had both limited theology and horizons, unlimited authority within the village, and a dislike of the aspects of village life that were non-Christian, but which made life interesting.

75. M. Tjoe,'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN)', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1998[?], p. 19. The *Kidung Jemaat*, Yayasan Musik Gereja, Jakarta, 1997, is the most popular hymn book in the PGI Churches in Indonesia, and is the hymn book of the GPI IJ. It is also gaining popularity among the young in rural parts of Biak. W.V.I.T. Mara, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) di Jemaat GKI "Viadolorossa" Mara Klasis Biak Utara', STT-GKI, Abepura, 1999, p. 33. The GJPI also allows worship in local languages and has produced hymns using regional melodies. Vreugdenhil, 1991, op cit, pp. 167-70.

76. The GJPI also use the Kijne hymnal. There is an on-going hymn project in the GKI Theological College in

Abepura. Despite funds, seminars in some presbyteries, and considerable expenditure of time, none of the hymns that have been collected are regularly used in the worship life of the congregations. See F. Duim, "Im Syahtetyei", in Duim & Sulistyo, op cit, pp. 260-5. Occasionally, in special services, such as the commissioning of the Women's building at the GKI Pniel church in Kotaraja on 30 May 1999, hymns in local languages are used. But such services are a *very* rare occurrence. The situation in the GKI Yali and Yale congregations is different, as the use of the local language has been stressed from the beginning. This has been supported with long-term GKI missionaries who have leant the language, such as Rev. Nauw in Apahapsili, the Bible School in Apahapsili, Bible translation, and the development of hymns and other materials in the Yali and Yale languages. This willingness to use the local language, and accept local products in lieu of money for the offering, as well as toleration for the local dress standards, including none at all, facilitated the acceptance of the Christianity. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 51-53. Even the Pentecostal preachers have accepted that, in certain areas, their parishioners will come in traditional dress. Murdoch, loc cit, p. 8.

77. The Southern Yali Bible took more than thirty years to produce, cost $US30,000 for 5,000 copies, for a Church with 3,000 baptised adult members, in a region where adult literacy was only 30%. Although 3,000 copies of the New Testament were sold, no indication was given regarding the price that was charged. 'The Southern Yali Bible Project Summary', World Team, n.p., 1999, p. 2.

78. This is truer for rural congregations than for wealthier urban congregations, who can afford to buy hymn books and have sufficient surplus income to supply meetings in their homes with food and refreshment. See Lutur, op cit, p. 20, who states that the problem in the area he was in was a lack of interest in pursuing anything new. The result has been inroads from the GPKAI. Saud, 1978, op cit, p. 11, also admits that for the old people, a lack of understanding caused by the use of Malay, has resulted in the continuing strength of traditional beliefs. For this reason, the public Churches are occasionally said to be lacking in spirituality, particularly by the Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches, although it is also heard within the denominations themselves.

79. Sulistyo, loc cit, pp. 149f. The Indonesian media like to portray the Papuans as decadent, morally corrupt, and uncivilised. Eg. L. Pona, "Atas Seminar Jaringan Seksual dan Pelacuran Di Irian Jaya", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Feb 98, p. 4, implies that AIDS entered Irian through the sexual looseness of the Papuans, and not the Thai fishermen who were allowed to be based in southern ports by Java-based fishing companies and the Indonesian government (The article said that 1:47 women in Irian were prostitutes). In a reaction to the article, J.F. Onim, "Menyoal Seminar Jaringan Seksual dan Pelacuran Di Irian Jaya", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 25 Feb 98, p. 4, admitted that drunkenness and debauchery exist and is a problem for the Christians in Irian. However, this does not mean that all Papuans are therefore debauched drunks and prostitutes, as implied in Pona's article.

80. "From Stone Age to Jet Age", loc cit, pp. 14f. The mining companies and the military have introduced consumer goods and alcohol as well as raised expectations in communities that were previously isolated from negative foreign influences by the church and by their distance from urban centres.

81. Privately, many church and community leaders admit that they are losing control over many of the younger generation in villages adjacent to urban areas, who reject adat and religious control in favour of individualism and consumerism. Adat law and Christianity are said to be only valid for the old, and not the young. This is part of a longer trend, where the young have gained economic power through access to urban sources of income. In the Genyem area in the 1950s, for example, employment in Hollandia and Genyem freed the young from the *harta* system of bride payments and social obligations, but then created other social problems. W.J.H. Kouwenhoven, *Nimboran*, n.pub, n.p., 1956, pp. 92f.

82. See Kusch, op cit, pp. 65f.

83. J. Pattipi, 'Pembangunan Daerah Irian Jaya', 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 24 October 1994, pp. 11f.

Abepura. Despite funds, seminars in some presbyteries, and considerable expenditure of time, none of the hymns that have been collected are regularly used in the worship life of the congregations. See F. Duim, "Im Syahtetyei", in Duim & Sulistyo, op cit, pp. 260-5. Occasionally, in special services, such as the commissioning of the Women's building at the GKI Pniel church in Kotaraja on 30 May 1999, hymns in local languages are used. But such services are a *very* rare occurrence. The situation in the GKI Yali and Yale congregations is different, as the use of the local language has been stressed from the beginning. This has been supported with long-term GKI missionaries who have leant the language, such as Rev. Nauw in Apahapsili, the Bible School in Apahapsili, Bible translation, and the development of hymns and other materials in the Yali and Yale languages. This willingness to use the local language, and accept local products in lieu of money for the offering, as well as toleration for the local dress standards, including none at all, facilitated the acceptance of the Christianity. Walianggen, op cit, pp. 51-53. Even the Pentecostal preachers have accepted that, in certain areas, their parishioners will come in traditional dress. Murdoch, loc cit, p. 8.

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83. J. Pattipi, 'Pembangunan Daerah Irian Jaya', 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 24 October 1994, pp. 11f.

84. Religious faith is considered 'normal' in Indonesia, perhaps due to Muslim influences, as Islam does not recognise a separation between Church and State. However, this also gives the authorities the right to direct the established religious institutions, and to expect them to support the programs of the government. I K. Wirdhana, 'Ceramah Pangdam VIII/Trikora tentang Forum Pertemuan Konsultasi antara Tokoh Keagamaan dan Rohaniawan Missi Kristen Protestan Se Irja', Jayapura, 1994, pp. 6-8, is nominally written by a Hindu, indicates that the army expects that the Churches will support the development program of the government and will lend it their "karisma". This was supported by another speech directed at the assembled missionaries, that the task of the missionaries was to create internal fellowship and encourage external harmony. In this they would be supported by the government. J. Kawatu, 'Pengarahan Direktur Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat (Kristen) Protestan pada Pertemuan Pimpinan Gereja dan Rohaniawan Utusan Gereja (Missionaris) Se - Irian Jaya Tanggal 31 Oktober s.d. 2 Nopember 1994', Jayapura, 1994, pp. 5f. Similar thoughts were expressed by others at the seminar, and are stressed at most meetings involving religious leaders. In 1979 the Minister of Religious Affairs announced that the regulations limiting the numbers of expatriate missionaries would not be applied to Irian. However, as Lewis, op cit, pp. 457-9, notes, the reality was that expatriate church workers in Irian have continued to find visas and work permits difficult, but not impossible, to obtain. However, most of those who have persevered in applying for visas have been able to obtain them, as the Churches that have sought permits for expatriate workers have also complied with government demands that they promote 'Indonesianisation'.

85. As with the opening of the Jayapura-Wamena road. The then Bupati of Wamena asked the church to "mentally prepare" their members for the changes that the road would bring. "Gereja Diminta Siapkan Mental Masyarakat", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 15 Sept 1994, p. 5.

86. Bensley, op cit, p. 50. Although, in the 1999 election campaign, the Golkar party was reported to have distributed Rp. 7.5 million in the Manokwari region "for the construction of houses of worship", which must have included Christian buildings. "Golkar accused of Manokwari poll fix", *The Jakarta Post*, news@kabar-irian.com, 19 June 1999. Clearly someone thought that the 'religious vote' was valuable.

87. *Petunjuk Operasional Pembangunan Wilayah Kecamatan Khusus*, Pemda Dati 1 Irian Jaya, Jayapura, 1989, p. 27, lists the responsibilities of the government regarding religious bodies. They include maintaining worship centres and increasing the numbers of religious leaders and teachers. Eg. The then Governor, J. Pattipi, in "Pattipi: Sudah Saatnya Irja Berdikari Dalam Pemberitaan Injil", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 12 Sept 1994, p. 3, praised the work of the missions, then said it was time that the Churches began to assume responsibility for these tasks. At the end of the article, Rumsarwir, the then GKI Moderator, declared that the GKI was able to take over the role of "the Missionaries and the MAF". On the same page is an article where the GKI presbytery in Sentani is reported as supporting the government program of village development. B. Suebu, 'Meningkatkan Keadilan dan Memberantas Kemiskinan dalam Rangka Pembangunan Nasional sebagai Pengamalan Pancasila', paper presented to the Working Committee of the PGI, Jayapura, 19 Feb 1987, pp. 16f, urges the Church in Irian to cooperate in eradicating poverty. At that time, Suebu was a senior figure in the Irian Provincial Government. He later became the Provincial Governor.

88. Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, p. 4.

89. The role of government to influence the life of Irian and to act as alternative to the Churches is growing as more money is injected into the villages. The presence of the government is changing the worldview of the common people, in Irian and elsewhere, from a spiritual emphasis to that of a more temporal emphasis. Wilson, 1998, loc cit, p. 7. As Farhadian, 1999, op cit, pp. 3-5, notes, the Dani have been confronted with a government that promotes national integration, and backs it up with an education program that downplays regional cultures, behind which is the threat of force. Competing with this is the call of their church, which opposes worldly involvement, and their own culture, which has tried to reconcile the demands of their secular and religious authorities.

90. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, p. 263.

91. Malay and Indonesian are still different languages. After 1963 Indonesian became the sole language of education and government. Jakarta Malay is becoming the language of youth through the influence of radio and television, and the influx of immigrants who have been influenced by the same media, and Irianese Malay remains as the language of daily communication between many of the locally-born.

92. In the film, Cohn, A. & LaFuite, R. (prod.s), *The Sky Above, The Mud Below*, Embassy Pictures, 1962, Walter Post is shown in his classroom at the Bible School in Enarotali, with Indonesian sentences clearly visible on the blackboard behind him. In many of the books written by Americans, references are made to the terms used by the mission personnel, who frequently admit to less than perfect Malay or Indonesian. The terms are usually Indonesian, Malay, or recognisable variations thereof. Eg. S. Horne, *An Hour to the Stone Age*, Moody Press, Chicago, 1973, pp. 61f, records a Dani waking up the American missionary saying, "Tuan, Tuan, come here". 'Tuan' or 'Mister' was used by the Dani as a term of respect for non-Dani.

93. The Catholics, although they have a seminary in Jayapura, still send some students to the seminaries in Java. Heuken, 1989, op cit, p. 18. Most of the Churches, including the GKI, GPI IJ, GKII, Catholic and Pentecostal Churches also allow graduates from theological and bible schools in other islands to work in Irian.

94. In the GKI Presbytery in the highlands, Indonesian is mainly used by and for the immigrants. On the coast local languages are used in conjunction with Indonesian as an aid to understanding. For example, Morin, op cit, p. 18.

95. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 263f.

96. Ibid, p. 270. This is seen in the growth of large urban congregations, which are dominated by Christians from outside Irian. Even in Wamena, the central GKI church has a majority of non-Papuans. E. & W. Vriend, 'Our Last Newsletter', Wamena, 31 Aug 1993, p. 5.

97. For the Muyu, 'the church' is "priest, brother, sister, ... and teacher of religion." J.J. Kandam, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik dan Penerimaan Agama Katolik di Daerah Muyu', STTK, Jayapura, 1979, p. 35.

98. Kandam, op cit, pp. 35f. Boelaars, op cit, p. 410, states that the 'Church' is the laity. Whether this new concept has been comprehended by their members is not certain.

99. The people in Nimboran in the 1950s welcomed the opportunities that urban life in Hollandia provided. But in the process social controls, in particular sexual taboos, weakened. Kouwenhoven, op cit, p. 94. Pospisil compares the changes in Me society due to movement to the coastal urban centres, as similar to social changes seen among Tyrolean farmers in Austria during the same time period, as they moved to the cities. Pospisil, op cit, p. 11f. See Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, pp. 5f, for the Dani responses to urbanisation. In many urban centres, worship together is organised within the *Rukun Tetangga* (similar to a shire ward) level of the village.

100. although the missionaries themselves have changed, as the purpose of the missions have changed from primary to secondary evangelism. As a result, the missionaries who have been sent are generally more highly trained and culturally sensitive than their predecessors. Murdoch, loc cit, p. 8. See W. Salossa, 'Laporan Kuliah Kerja Nyata Jemaat GKI Lahairoi Anggei', STT GKI, Abepura, 1998/1999, p. 31, and Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 108-112.

101. The Charismatic movement in Indonesia, both for the Catholics and Protestants, is summarised well in Heuken, 1989, op cit, pp. 86-89.

102. Y. Tetelepta, 'Perempuan dan Sumber Daya Pembangunan pada Jemaat GKI Imanuel Soop Klasis GKI Raja Ampat Kabupaten Dati II Sorong', B.Th. Long Essay, STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1999, p. 26, gives a table for attendance

on the island of Soop, near Sorong, for 1998. In *every* month the attendance of women was greater than that of the men.

103. The issue of 'Bride Money' or *mas kawin*, within Melanesian society is significant as through it the husband's family is seen as 'buying' the women, and hence the wealth that she will produce. As a result, within the church some women are not permitted to serve outside of her immediate family. See ibid, pp. 19f. However, S. Yaiboisembut, 'Pembinaan Terhadap Kemajuan Wanita Irian Jaya Dalam Kaitan Gereja Dalam Pembangunan Irian Jaya,' paper presented to the 'Seminar Concerning Adat Law and Women's Progress in Irian Jaya,' Cenderawasih University, Jayapura, 26-28 February, 1990, p. 7, defended the payment for brides as a way of showing respect for women and defending them against common-law marriages and single-motherhood. A similar defence was outlined in 'Geredja Kristen Indjili di Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea: Perhimpunan Synode Umum jang Kedua', Manokwari, 8-17 August 1960, Appendix 12, pp. 1f, where the bride payments are seen as a way of connecting two clans in a reciprocal agreement where both giver and receiver enter into a contract of mutual giving. Theoretically this may be so, but in practice, with brides being found outside the nearby clan groups, this is less likely to be so, particularly for the highlanders, who see that the payment of bride money, even for an urbanised coastal bride, gives them rights over the woman and her children, that extinguishes the rights of her own clan, whatever the church may say about mutuality in the marriage relationship.

104. Tetelepta, op cit, pp. 20-23.

105. For the 1996-2000 period, Rev. A. Iwanggin, the first women minister of the GKI. Her predecessor was Rev. Lien Lewerissa, the first woman to be accepted from a Theological College outside Irian as a minister of the GKI. M.T. Mawene, 'Peranan Pendeta Perempuan dalam GKI di Irian Jaya', paper presented to the Seminar on Women, STT-GKI, Jayapura, May 1998, p. 1. In the GKI in 1999 there was one women (Sientje Latuputty) with a Master of Theology degree, as opposed to at least ten men with post-graduate degrees. The GGRI, GJPI and other conservative denominations do not ordain women. Pentecostal denominations as a rule ordain women, who often serve as assistants to their husbands.

106. In 1973, the then moderator of the GKI said in an address that women ministers had to choose between marriage and the ministry. Once they married they were expected to take care of their families, and by implication, abandon their careers in the church. Although the situation has improved, many male ministers do not consider women to be as competent as male ministers, despite evidence that men fare the same as women in difficult and isolated congregations, and frequently do not cope as well. Mawene, loc cit, pp. 3f. In a meeting of GKI woman ministers in November 1999, for example, only three of the nine speakers were women. H. Wanaha-Watopa, 'Acuan Kegiatan Konsultasi Pendeta Wanita dan Vikaris Se-GKI di Irian Jaya', Jayapura, 1999, pp. 2f.

107. All too often male church leaders say that the congregations are not yet ready to accept women as leaders, which is supported by Menai, loc cit, p. 165. Yet, women ministers in rural as well as urban congregations report that they are accepted. Their suggestions and efforts are honoured by both their male and female congregational members, despite their gender, ethnicity, age or marital status.

108. K.P. Erare, "Upaya Menemukan Identitas Bertheologi", in S.W. Wahono, P.D. Latuihamallo & F. Ukur (eds.), *Tabah Melangkah*, STT Jakarta, Jakarta, 1984, pp. 269f. In this effort, the GKI is being aided by the ZNHK which hopes that the GKI will become an Indonesian Church with a Dutch Reformed background. CAMA also expressed its wish that the GKII in Irian would become truly independent of the mission and able to reach out to others. *Minutes of the General Assembly 1992 and Annual Report for 1991*, C&MA, Colorado Springs, n.d., p. 130.

109. The Indonesian government continues to claim it was a communist-led uprising. But according to Abdul Latief, who was gaoled for his involvement in the events of September 1965, and was only recently released, the coup was led by General Suharto. G. Poulgrain, "Who Plotted the 1965 Coup?", *Inside Indonesia*, January-March 1999, p. 24. In public statements after the fall of Suharto, Subandrio, the then Minister for External Affairs, has hinted that this is also his view.

110. P. Rhoads, 'The History of the Evangelical Alliance Mission in Irian Jaya', 1988, p. 9. In some isolated villages, this has caused economic involution, as the mission was the primary source of daily and development income, and they are too distant from urban centres to trade or attract the attention of the government. Godschalk, op cit, pp. 116f, gives the example of the Sela valley where traditional implements were being revived due to a lack of money to buy goods from outside.

111. As J. Boelaars, *Manusia Irian*, Gramedia, Jakarta, 1986, pp. 204f, points out, a Church only begins to be truly independent when its members begin asking questions about their faith and themselves that leads to greater understanding and commitment, without prompting from the expatriate missionary or Church leader and without expecting the foreigner to answer the questions. This process is now well underway in many of the older Churches, and will happen in the newer denominations as they establish congregations that are not dependent upon imported campaigners and leaders.

112. The 'Walter Post' Theological College in 1997 was representative of the Theological Colleges in Irian. It had 106 students, 85% of whom were Papuans. It had three streams, the Christian Education stream producing teachers and civil servants. Funding was mainly through student fees and only 20% of the total budget was from foreign sources. M. Djaya, "Perkembangan dan Kendala STT Erikson Tritt Manokwari", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 23 Jan 1997, p. 3. In comparison, in late 1999 the STT-GKI also received 20% of its funding from overseas, but this was inclusive of scholarship funds. S. Loupatty-Latuputty, 'Laporan Keuangan STT-GKI "I.S. Kijne" Tahun Anggaran 1999/2000 (April 1999-September 1999), STT-GKI, Abepura, Nov 1999, p. 1.

113. Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 118-121, outlines some of the changes the GKII has made, and the negative reception this has received from some members.

114. It could be argued that Christianity has given the people of Irian a communal sense of identity that did not exist when language or fear of the stranger did not allow for supra-village loyalties. For example, the Yali had no concept of themselves as an ethnic group before Christianity came. Now they identify themselves as both Yali and Christians. Despite denominational differences, the two have become interconnected, and interdependent. Wilson, 1998, op cit, p. 13, footnote 47. This is equally true for other ethnic groups in Irian, such as the urban Dani, for whom urbanisation and contact with other Christian groups has strengthened their awareness of their Papuanness and their membership of the wider Christian movement. Farhadian, 1999, op cit, p. 6.

115. The first transmigrants in the Indonesian period were brought to Irian by the army in 1964. Centrally-planned transmigration began in 1969, with 297 families, and has since spread to large settlements located around the major centres, such as Jayapura, Merauke, Nabire, Kaimana and Sorong, as well as in many strategic locations. See Burdam, op cit, p. 15. H. Arndt, "Transmigration to Irian Jaya", in R.J. May (ed.), *Between Two Nations: the Indonesia - Papua New Guinea Border and West Papua Nationalism*, Robert Brown & Associates, Bathurst, 1986, pp.166-170. It is said by some that transmigrants may make up to half of the current population of Irian. Farhadian, May 1999, op cit, p. 5.

116. According to statistics quoted by Bensley, op cit, p. 55, in 1993 there were 1,347,980 Christians and 296,742 Muslims, out of a total population of 1,648,708. However, There were also 639 mosques being served by 1,623 Muslim clergy, indicating perhaps that the number of Muslims was under reported. Since 1993 transmigration schemes have continued throughout Irian, bringing in more Muslim Javanese. As in seen in other endnotes above, the statistics for Irian are very uneven, which in itself may point to there being more Muslims in Irian than is noted in official statistics.

117. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 275ff. W.F. Rumsarwir, 'Pelayanan Gereja di Irian Jaya', paper presented to the 12th General Assembly of the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches, Jayapura, 1994, pp. 8-11, lists a number of issues facing the church in Irian, that have their origin in outside influences, including the role of indigenous people in economic development and education, royalties, and the determining of government policies that affect them, and the role of the churches and church-run programs in the life of the people of Irian. When discussing the

trans-Irian road that runs through Lereh, M. Lahimudin, 'Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Kehidupan Warga Jemaat di Lereh', STT-GKI, Jayapura, 1993, pp. 33-35, concludes that it has had both a positive and negative impact. Villagers can gain access to markets and suppliers of building materials, for example, but non-Christians and alcohol have also entered their community and have become permanent elements of village life.

118. Even at the congregational level, as reported in "Pemuda GKI Paulus Membahas HIV/AIDS", in Kumurur, op cit, p. 110. Health concerns are also a major concern for the Catholic Church on the south coast, in particular AIDS, which has entered Irian through the southern ports, and which has the potential to decimate the people in Merauke and Agats. See Sowada, op cit, p. 15.

119. One example of many is in Wick, op cit, pp. 210ff, where inter-village warfare continued between the Welesi and Wetipo villages, despite the presence of a resident American missionary in neighbouring Hetigima. The Wetipo people also made enemies with other villages, although Christians were not deliberately targeted.

120. One example being an attack by GKI youths on the STT-GKI in Abepura in early June 1997, which was in the style of a traditional attack, with knives, bows and arrows and rocks being used. Once the objective, of causing terror, had been achieved, and opposition was encountered, a retreat was made, minimising casualties on both sides. One attacker was captured and severely beaten, then released after negotiations with the adat leader of his village, and repairs to the College were paid for by the village leaders.

121. Ukur & Cooley, 1977, op cit, pp. 34f, treat this subject very carefully, presumably as in 1977 any suggestion that the vote in 1969 was anything but genuine was not acceptable within Indonesia.

122. F. Magnis-Suseno, "The Fear and the Fury", *Inside Indonesia*, no. 51, July-September 1997, p. 5.

123. As is pointed out in Giay, 1998, op cit, pp. 4-19, the history of the CAMA mission in Paniai and the Baliem is a history of local people sharing what they knew with those they knew, supported by foreign missionaries from America, the Moluccas, and other parts of Irian.

124. According to Giay, 1998, op cit, p. 163, there are still fourteen tribes that have been identified as having little or no contact with the outside world. The Churches are now attempting to contact these groups and evangelise them.

125. Mamoribo, op cit, pp. 55f. (... the struggle of the Gospel of Christ ... in this land has not yet ended, as the gospel must be confronted with the people of Irian who have been touched by modernisation and globalisation). Wilson, 1998, op cit, pp. 13f, hopes that a new leader will arise in Irian, who can "re-contextualize their culture and its faith". If such a leader arises, then he hopes that this will mean that there will be a "move from passivity to proactivity" in terms of their Christian witness and their participation in the new Irian society, as it is now and as it is becoming. His comments apply equally well to the other Papuans in Irian.

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1. Notes on Sources

Most of the published sources, such as books, journals and newspapers are found in mission, church and university libraries, in Leiden, Utrecht, Sydney, Jakarta and Jayapura, where much of the library research was conducted. Some, such as publications specifically referring to a particular mission, were obtained from the author (as for example, that of Steiger and Frazier) or directly from the mission organisation. A number of these publications are still in print (such as those of Richardson) and are freely available. Other unpublished academic works, such as dissertations and theses, are available in the relevant university and college libraries. Many works cited were produced by students of the Catholic and Protestant Theological Colleges in Jakarta, Jayapura and Tomohon. They are made up of Bachelor/Diploma of Theology Long Essays, Field Work Reports and unpublished typescripts (such as that of Rhoads) produced for use within the particular College. These works are available within the libraries and Research Bureaus of the respective Colleges. Some class papers, and other papers and essays obtained via the internet (such as Wilson), were also used, but only when their contents were supported by, or did not contradict, other sources. Other papers produced for a specific purpose within a recognised academic program were also used (Farhadian for example), as were papers produced for seminars (such as those led by Mawene). Interviews were conducted. Those interviewed could be contacted through their Church/Mission organisation if further information is needed.

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APPENDIX

1. CHURCHES in IRIAN JAYA[1]

Name	Centre	Par/Pos	Pres/Dist	Min/Lead	Memb
Gereja Alkitab Anugerah	Sorong				
Gereja Baptis Anugerah Indonesia	Sorong				
Gereja Bethel (Gereja Pantekosta)	Jayapura	25		156	1,776
Gereja Bethel Indonesia	Jayapura	104		117	21,707
Gereja Bethel Pantekosta	Nabire	1		4	280
Gereja Bethel Tabernakel	Biak				
Gereja-Gereja Reformasi di Indonesia Irja	Jayapura	56		52	11,779
Gereja Injili di Indonesia	Jayapura	364		1,144	177,450
Gereja Jemaat Protestan di Irian Jaya	Jayapura				
Gereja Kalvari Missi Pantekosta	Jayapura	2			
Gereja Kasih Karunia Indonesia	Fak Fak	1		2	116
Gereja Katolik Propinsi Irian Jaya	Merauke	469	4	67	238,000
Gereja Kemah Daud	Jayapura				
Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia	Jayapura	913	34	1,616	150,000
Gereja Kerapatan Pantekosta	Jayapura				
Gereja Kristen Alkitab Indonesia	Manokwari	27		71	
Gereja Kristen Kalam Kudus Indonesia	Jayapura	14		10	129
Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya	Jayapura	1,056	34	609	660,000
Gereja Kristen Nazarene Wilayah Irja	Merauke				
Gereja Kristen Perjanjian Baru	Sorong	1		2	65
Gereja Kristen Oikumene	Sorong	2		2	160
Gereja Masehi Advent Hari Ketujuh	Jayapura	50		112	10,523
Gereja Masehi Injili Indonesia	Sorong				
Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia	Jayapura	320		13	2,374

1. Principal source: Y.N. Wonmaty, 'Daftar: Nama Gereja-Gereja Kristen di Irian Jaya', Department of Religious Affairs, Jayapura, 1998. Other figures from sources listed in the bibliography, and from data collected by the Department of Religious Affairs in Jayapura. This data is, however, incomplete and uneven as data provided to the central office in Jayapura has not come from every regional office, or has come in a non-standard format.

Name	Centre	Par/Pos	Pres/Dist	Min/Lead	Memb
Gereja Pantekosta di Irian Jaya	Jayapura				
Gereja Pantekosta Haleluyah Indonesia	Sorong				
Gereja Pentekosta Indonesia	Jayapura	15			
Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya	Jayapura	19		55	379
Gereja Pantekosta Serikat Wilayah Irja	Nabire	4		14	1,425
Gereja Penyebaran Injil	Jayapura				
Gereja Perseketuan Kristen Alkitab Indonesia	Manokwari	378		984	42,759
Gereja Protestan Indonesia	Fak Fak	112		135	30,682
Gereja Sidang Jemaat Allah	Jayapura	13		44	85
Gereja Sidang Jemaat Kristus di Indonesia	Jayapura	1		6	2,215
Gereja Sidang Tuhan	Sorong				
Perseketuan Gereja-Gereja Baptis Indonesia	Jayapura	110		86	75,000

According to N.S. Jelmau, 'Data Katolik Propinsi Irian Jaya Tahun 1999', Department of Religious Affairs, Jayapura, 1999, in Irian there were 592,344 Catholics, 509,972 Muslims, 1,186,838 Protestants, 5,374 Hindus and 3,449 Buddhists, in a total population of 2,291,952, or 51.78% Protestant, 25.84% Catholic (77.62% Christian), 22.25% Muslim, 0.23% Hindu and 0.15% Buddhist. However, according to the Department of Religious Affairs in the Kotamadya Jayapura, the city of Jayapura had, in 1999, 89,443 Protestants, 30,167 Catholics, 83,904 Muslims, 1,078 Hindus and 4,349 Buddhists, or was 57.24% Christian and 40.15% Muslim. A verbal report from the government statistician in Sorong in June 1998, the Kabupaten of Sorong was, in 1997, more than 50% Muslim.

2. PHOTOGRAPHS

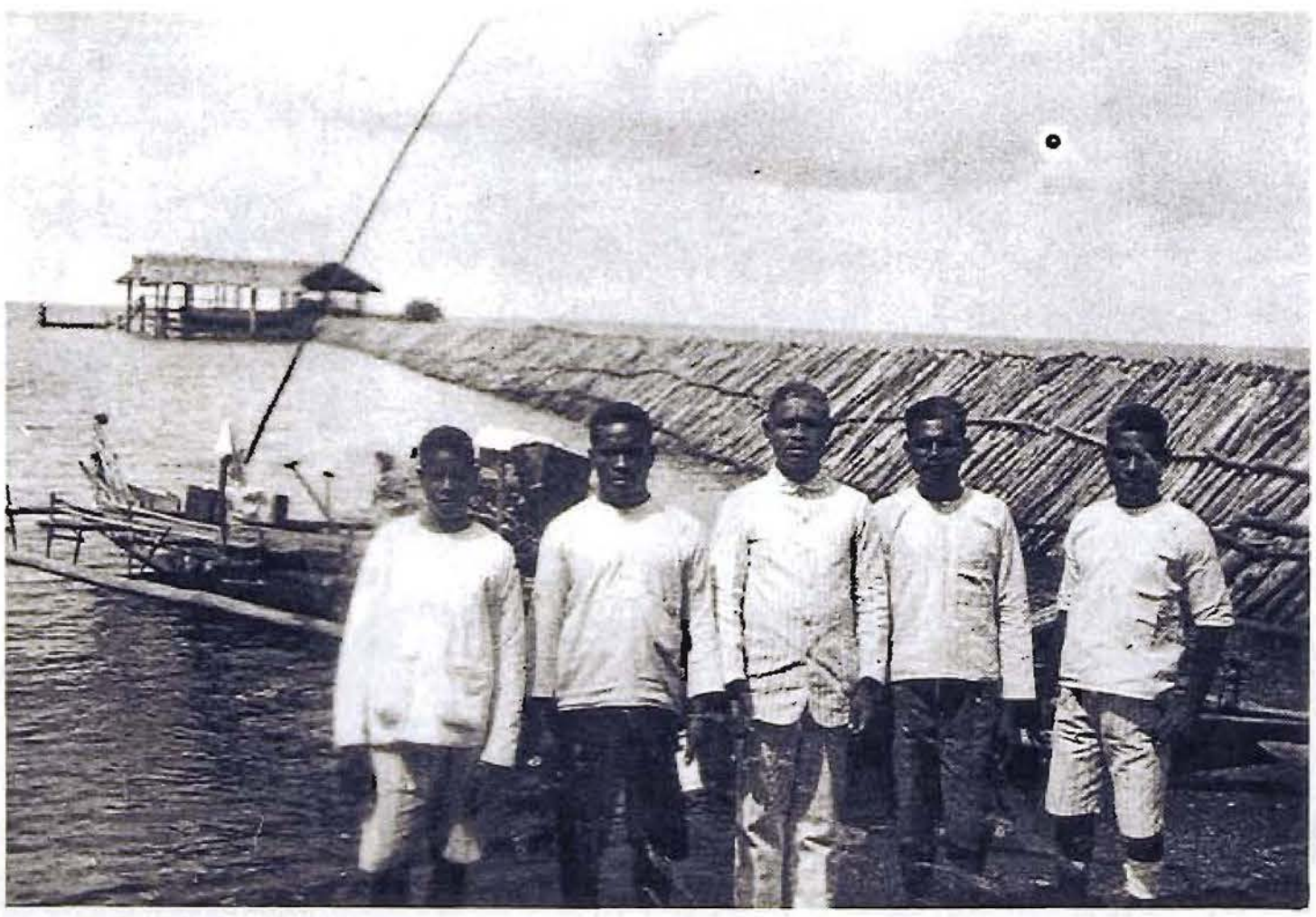
These were taken by A.J. de Neef in the Serui region in about 1930, and depict life and mission work in the region at that time. They were supplied by his daughter.

The first is entitled "We go to Miei 16 June 1930".





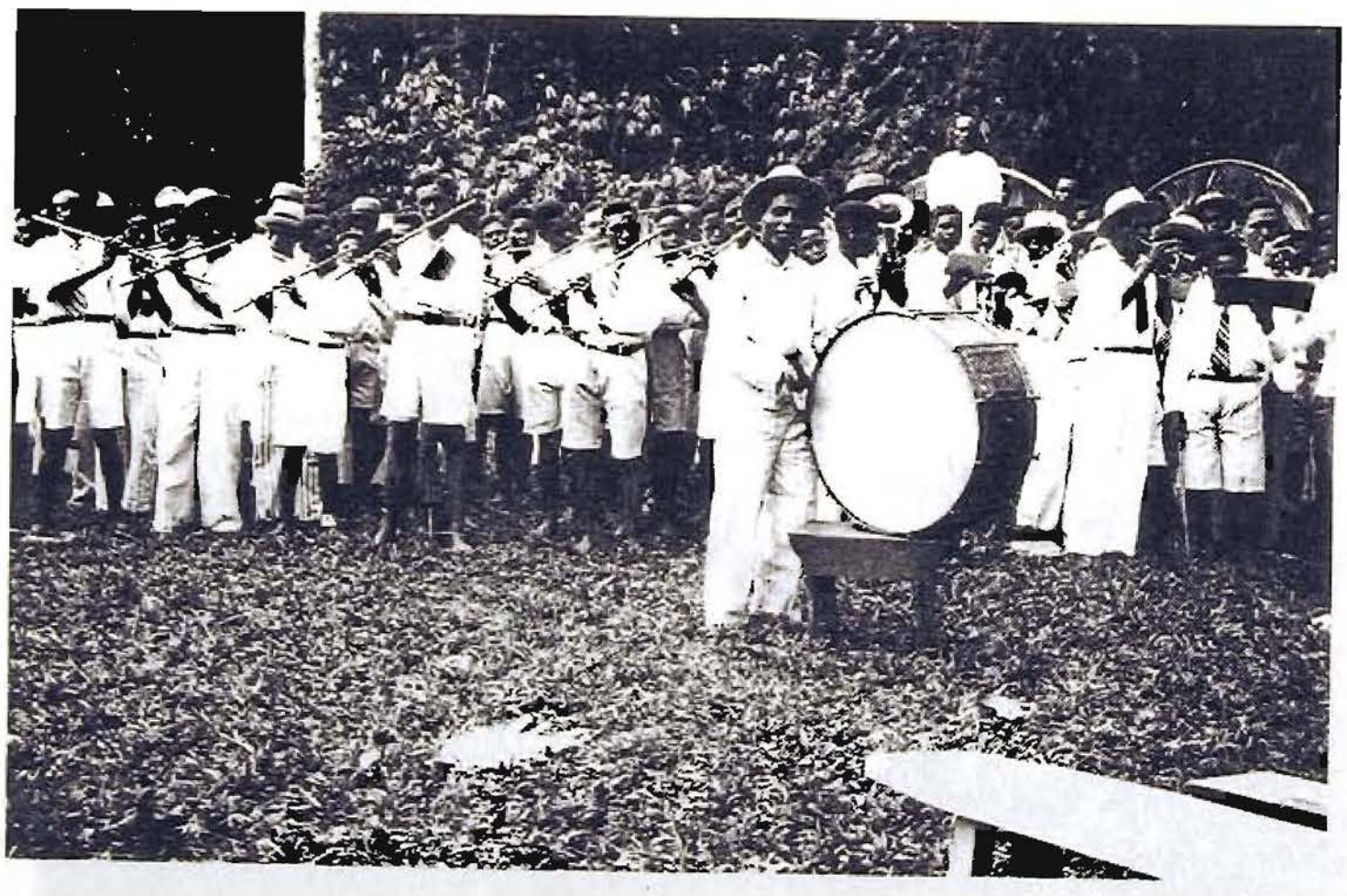




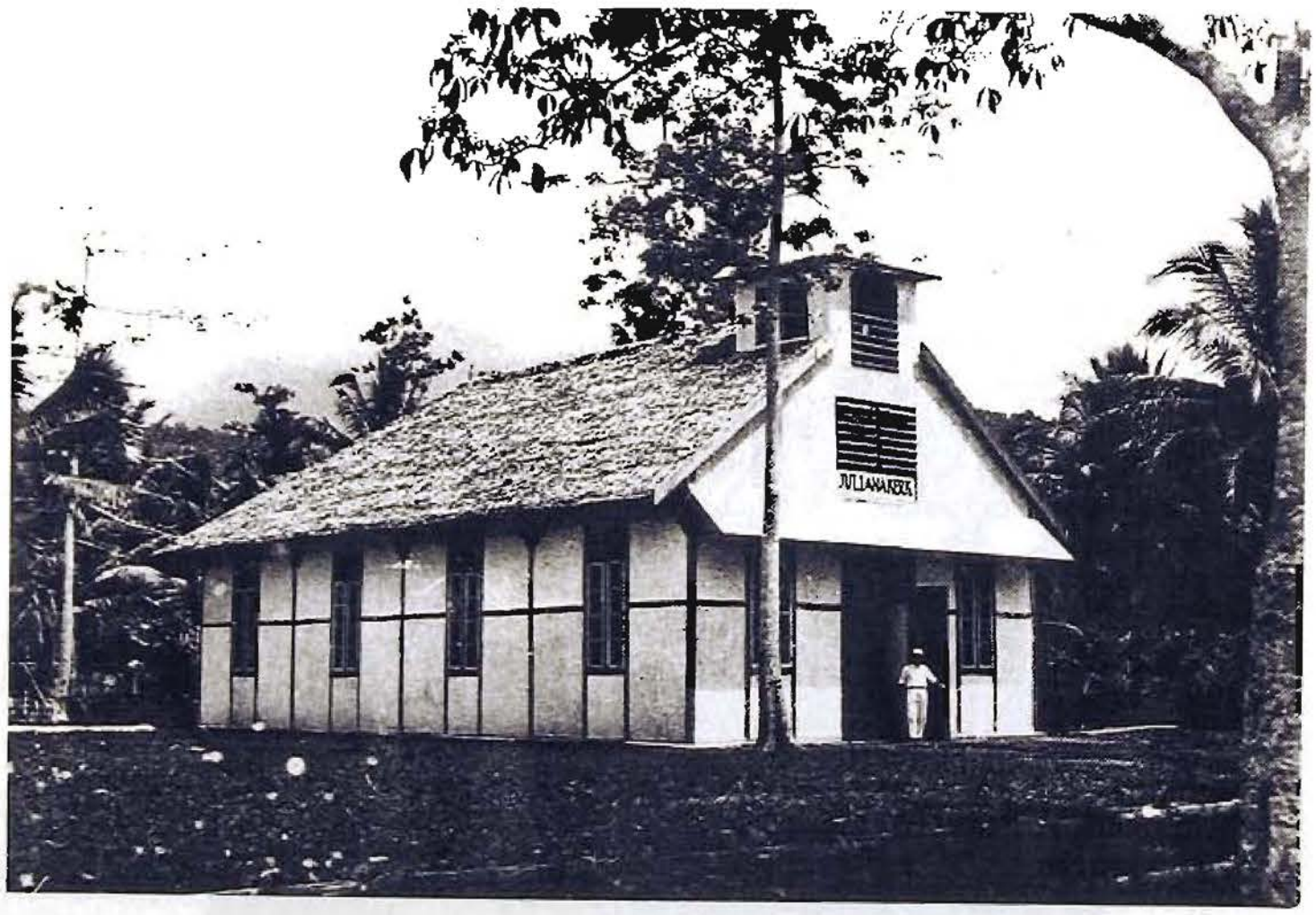

SEKOLAH
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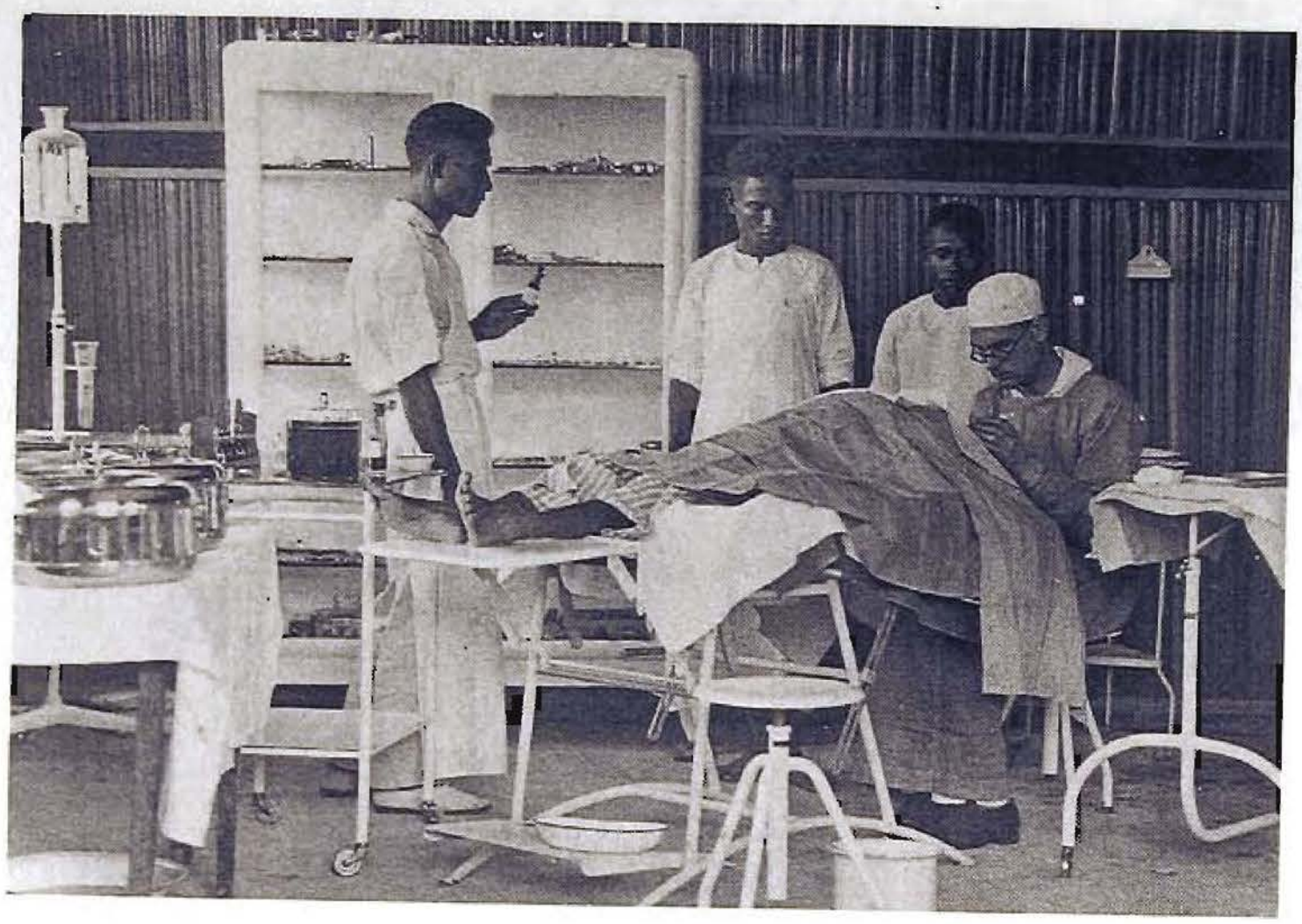



SOEMBERRABA



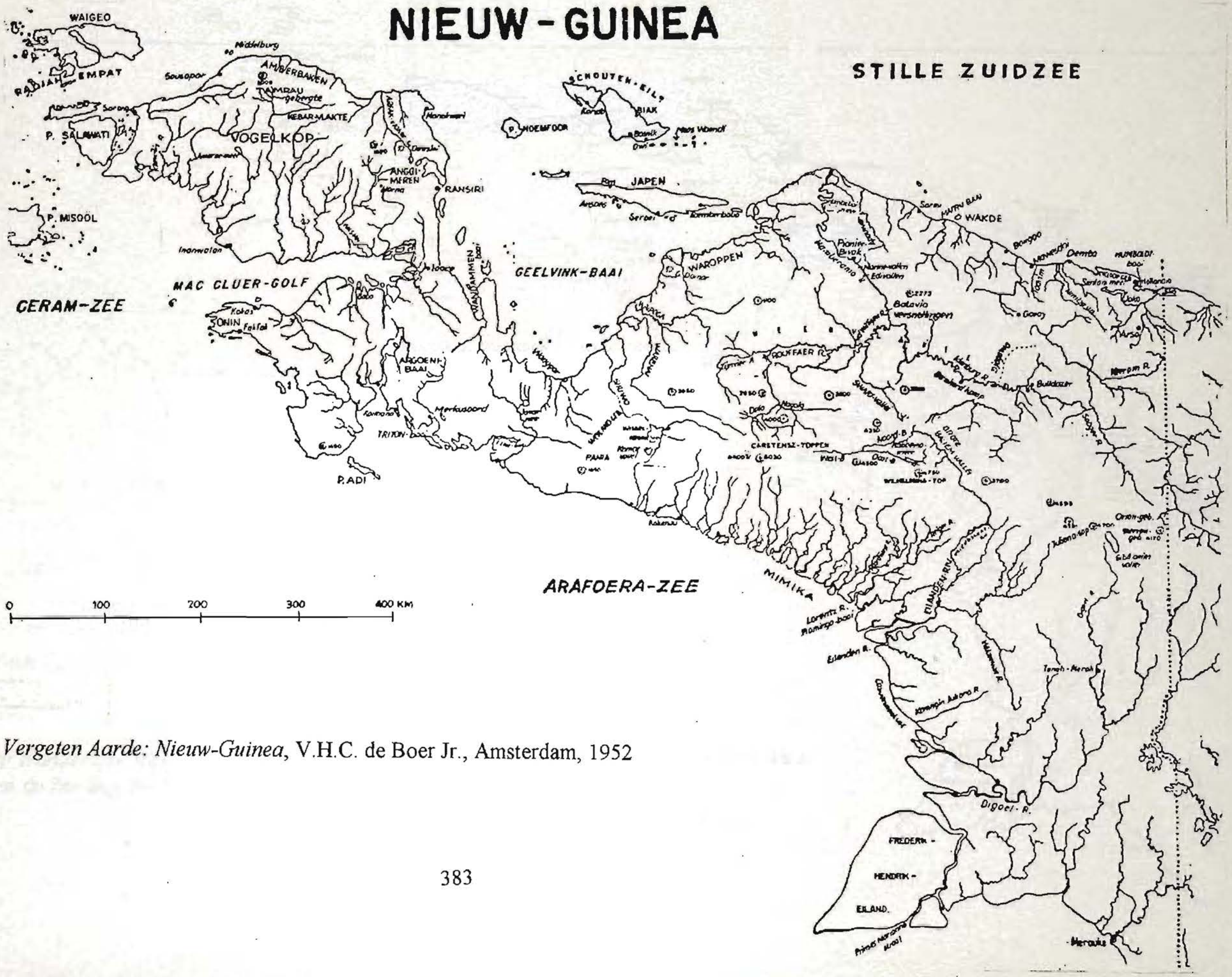




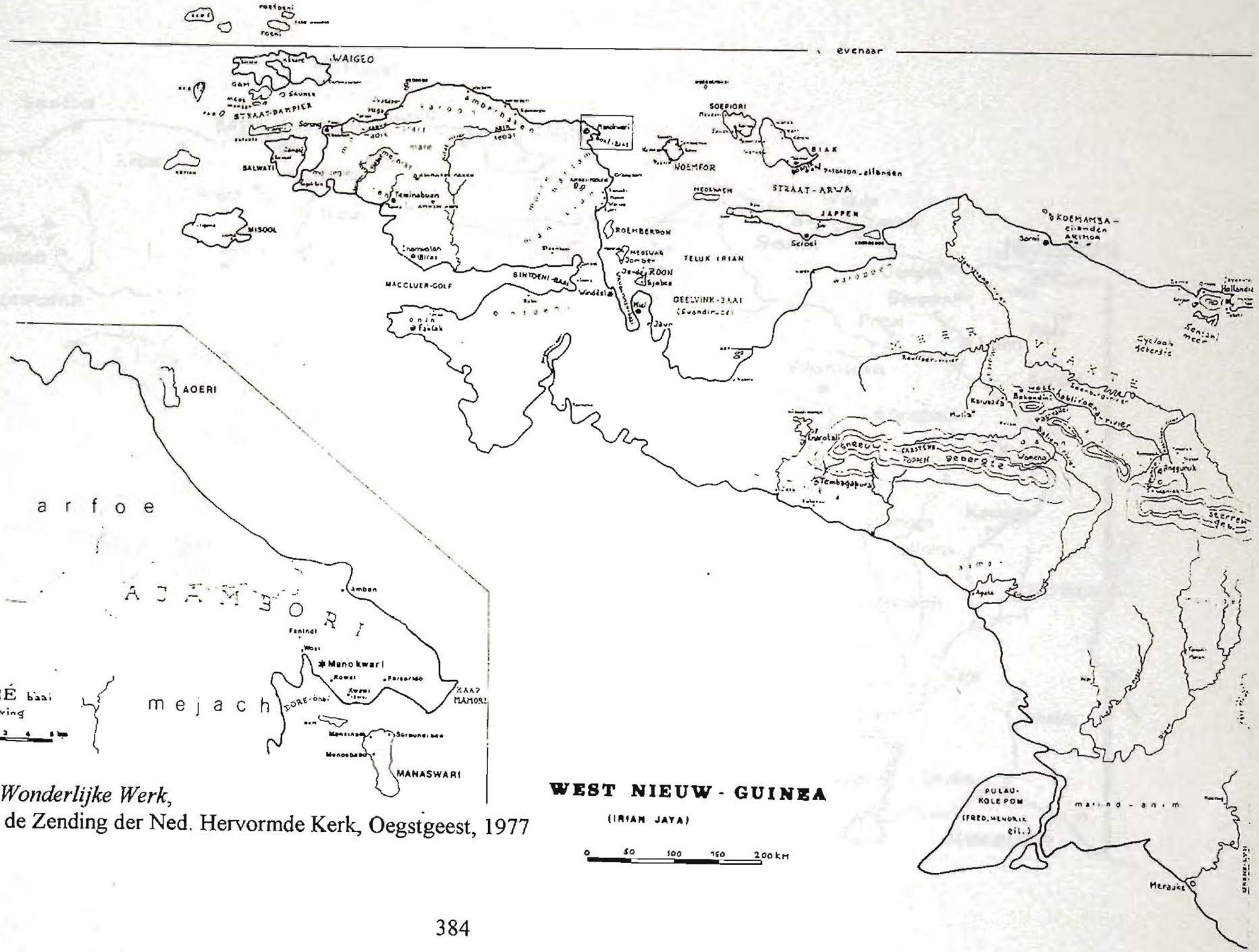




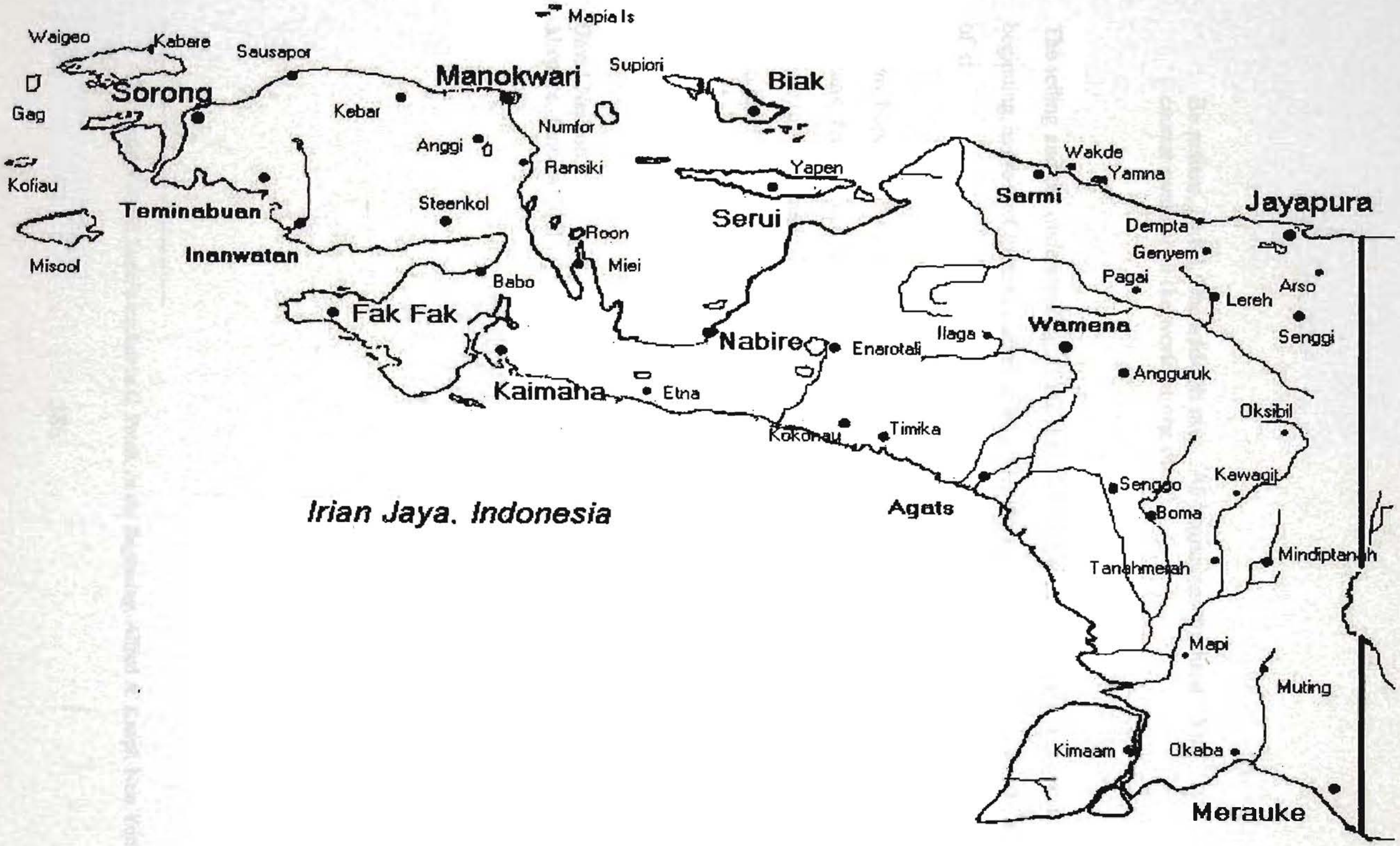
3. MAPS



Source: J. van Eechoud, *Vergeten Aarde: Nieuw-Guinea*, V.H.C. de Boer Jr., Amsterdam, 1952



Source: F.C. Kamma, *Dit Wonderlijke Werk*,
vol. 1, 2nd ed., Raad voor de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk, Oegstgeest, 1977



Irian Jaya. Indonesia

> Be patient, David. The midrash says, 'All beginnings are hard.' You cannot swallow all the world at one time.[1]

The telling and the understanding of the history of Christianity in Irian is but at its beginning, as are the Christian communities in that place, and this work is just one part of it.

It is my hope and my prayer that this beginning shall have no end, and that the God of Frans, Herman and Benny may continue to be with the people of Irian as they struggle to understand what it means to be a follower of Jesus in their place and time, and to hand that understanding down to the generations to come.

David Neilson
Abepura, January 2000

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1 The words of David Lurie's teacher in C. Potok, *In the Beginning*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1975, p. 3.