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West Irian: A Bibliography

by

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VI

HISTORY

New Guinea is one of those remote regions whose history begins with its discovery by other nations. Irian took its first wavering step into recorded history with Prapañca's mention of Wwanin as one of the dependencies of Majapahit (Nagarakrtagama 14-5-3). The name Wwanin has since been identified with Onin, the northwestern part of the Fakfak peninsula (Rouffaer, Encyclopaedic van Nederlandsch-Indië IV:385). Later, more substantial information was provided by the Portuguese and, after them, the Dutch and the British. Their respective discoveries cover a period of almost four and a half centuries. For our knowledge of the early history of Irian we are wholly dependent on the results of researches conducted by prehistorians, which are summarized in the first section of this chapter. A summary survey of the history of Irian as a whole is to be found in:

Galis, K.W.

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VI. 1. Prehistory

Professional archaeological and prehistorical research has been restricted to the investigations of J. Röder (1938, 1938-39, 1939a, 1939b, 1939-40, 1940a, 1940b, 1955-56 and 1959), and W.G. Solheim (Solheim 1958, Solheim and Ap 1977, Solheim and Mansoben 1977). Most of the discoveries made are by students engaged in anthropological research generally, especially those taking a personal interest in archaeology and prehistory such as K.W. Galis (1950, 1954, 1956, 1957a, b, c and d, 1960, 1961, 1964) and Galis and Kamma (1958-60). All other finds were mostly a matter of sheer luck.

So far, the objects of study have been confined to rock-paintings (Röder and Galis), potsherds and kitchen-middens (Solheim), and occasional bronze objects and stone artefacts no longer in use among the local population. A case apart is that of the Jëmbekaki fortress on Bantanta (Radja Ampat Islands). All these matters have been discussed in the publications listed below.

VI. 1.1. Bibliography

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VI. 2. Discovery and Exploration

VI. 2.1. Early Discoveries

A complete review of the early history of the discovery and exploration of the whole of New Guinea, including Irian Jaya, from the beginning up to 1902, is presented by Wichmann (1909-12). The work is indispensable for the student of the history of the discovery of New Guinea. A good table of contents, a perfect index and a large quantity of maps make the voluminous work easily accessible to anyone in search of detailed information on any special point.

Another important historical work, more specifically concerned with the political contacts of the Moluccan princes and of the Dutch with Irian, is Haga (1884).

Specific works on the discoveries made by early Dutch and English navigators (among which Leupe's work of 1875 is outstanding) are Van Dijk (1859), Engelbrecht en Van Herwerden (1945), Forrest (1779) and Leupe (1859, 1875, 1876 and 1877).

Reports written by 19th century explorers and sailors are those by Kolff (1828), Modera (1830), Van der Goes et al. (1862, the presump-

tuous title of this work is not justified by its content; see Leupe's criticism, 1871), Goudswaard (1863), Meyer (1873a, 1873b, 1875a, 1875b), Von Rosenberg (1875), Von Miklucho Maclay (1876), Robidee van der Aa (1879, 1883, 1885), d'Albertis (1880), Meyners d'Estrey (1881), De Clercq (1891), and Beccari (1924). The latter must be a reprint of an earlier work, as the naturalist Beccari visited the Bird's Head region in 1872. Articles by Beccari (all in Italian journals) are referred to in Calis' bibliography (see chapter I).

VI.2.2. Expeditions

Expeditions are journeys by interdisciplinary research teams for purposes of exploration. The first of their kind in Irian was the Etna Expedition of 1858, which published its (fairly meagre) results in Van der Goes (1862). It was 45 years before a second expeditionary party of some size set foot on the coasts of Irian. From then on such expeditions followed each other in rapid succession. A comprehensive account of these multifarious expeditions has been written by Schumacher (1954). Schumacher did not restrict himself to a survey of the major expeditions reviewed below, but also took into consideration the many journeys by individual explorers such as mining engineers and civil servants. Still, his list is anything but complete as, in fact, every list must be: the anthropological researches conducted by Paul Wirz, for instance, are excluded from almost every record. For more details the interested student may also consult the successive volumes of TAG from 1902 to 1940. The Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap rarely failed to report, be it but briefly (though sometimes extensively), on attempts at exploration of the islands. On a number of specifically Dutch expeditions information may also be found in the Bulletins of the Treub Maatschappij (on which organization see chapter I.2.2.). These Bulletins are not easily accessible, however, while for the greater part of their contents the reader may just as well consult the extracts published in TAG.

The first expedition, the Wichmann Expedition, organized by the Treub Maatschappij (Maatschappij ter bevordering vanij*ef natuurrkundig onderzoek der Nederlandsche koloniën), set out in [903] Its members were the geographer Wichmann (who also did geological research), the zoologist L.F. de Beaufort, and the naval surgeon G.A.J. van der Sande (for the anthropological and ethnographic aspects). Mr. H.A. Lorentz joined the expedition on his own account and at his own expense. The expedition started from Ternate, where the selftaught naturalist J.M. Dumas joined the company. The expedition enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the commander of the vessel placed at its disposal, the Govt. Civil Navy 'Gezaghebber' J.W. van Nouhuys, who was to play a part in various later expeditions and who ended his career as director of the ethnographic museum at Rotterdam. The expedition visited the Fakfak^area^ Yamur Lake, Manokwari and Geelvink Bay, Biak, and Mapiã-and eventually concentrated on the Humboldt Bay region (including Sentani Lake, Nimboran and the eastern Sarmi coast). An account of the expedition's experiences can be found in Lorentz (1905). The geographical and ethnographical results of the expedition are described in Van der Sande (1907) and Wichmann (1917). Of some interest also in this context is H.E. baron van Asbeck's account of the visit paid to Irian's northeast coast by hi.M.S. 'Ceram' in 1901 (Bulletin 41 of the Treub Maatschappij).

The second expedition was the Southwest New Guinea Expedition of the Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (KNAG), undertaken in 1904-05 in preparation of a planned expedition to the Snow Mountains, an area which greatly excited the imagination of explorers and scientists in all the years which followed. The main purpose of the somewhat haphazardly arranged expedition was the exploration of the accessibility of the mountain region from the southwestern coast. Leader of the expedition was the naval officer R. Posthumus Meyes, and its members surgeon J.W.R. Koch, Controleur J. Seyne Kok, and military engineer E.J. de Rochemont. Govt. Civil Navy Capt. J.H. Hondius van Herwerden explored the course of the Digul River. Another important discovery was that of East Bay (Flamingo Bay), and the results of the investigation into the navigability of the Utumbuwe and the North (or Lorentz) River as potential entrance-ways to the interior. Of the members of the expedition only De Rochemont (accompanied by the Govt. geologist, C. Moerman), managed to penetrate deeper into the interior. They explored the Charles Louis Mountains. The results of the expedition were published in *Expeditie* (1908). In this sizable volume Posthumus Meyes describes the geographical part of the exploration, Koch his physical anthropological observations and ethnographical acquisitions, and De Rochemont his trip into the mountains. Seyne Kok published a number of wordlists.

In 1906 the Capt. H. Colijn, then ADC to the Governor-General (but better remembered as a renowned statesman during the years 1920-40), paid a visit to Merauke which inspired in him the proposal to entrust the army with the overall exploration and mapping of the territory (Colijn 1907). This proposal was well received. The first military team arrived at Merauke in July 1907, the last team departed from the Mamberamo region in January 1915. The final report appeared in 1920 (*Militaire exploratie 1920*). It included the maps discussed in chapter 1.3. The maps (into which the results of the expeditions up to 1913 have been worked up) provide an impressive picture of the work done by these exploratory teams. They covered the whole of the territory, with the exception of the Central Mountains region. Most of the teams also collected plants. The State Botanical Gardens at Bogor cooperated by making trained collectors (mantri) available. The collections were sorted out at Bogor, those species which could be dealt with in Bogor remaining in Indonesia, and the others being sent to Holland, where they were distributed among various institutes for further study and the ultimate publication of the results in *Nova Guinea* (cf. above, I.2.2.).

In the meantime various other expeditions visited the country, all trying to find a route to the Snow Mountains. The first of the series was the first Lorentz Expedition. Sponsored by the Treub Maatschappij and its counterpart in Batavia, het Indisch Comité, and provided with the necessary means of transport by the Netherlands Indies' Government, Lorentz set out for Flamingo Bay and sailed the North River (later christened Lorentz River) up to the point where it is no longer navigable. From there he went northwards and ascended the Hellwig Mountains, where he had to give up for lack of victuals. Co-members of the expedition were J.W. van Nouhuys, Dumas, and the physician Versteeg. Little has been published on this expedition, because Lorentz intended to return, as indeed he did two years later. Reports on the progress made are to be found in Bulletins nos 53-58 of the Treub

Maatschappij.

In 1909, Lorentz launched a second expedition, again accompanied by Van Nouhuys. Other members of the team were Lieutenant Habbema and the physicians L.I.A.M. von Römer and R. Jaarman Soemintral Zeerban. This expedition was more successful. On November 8, 1909, Lorentz and Van Nouhuys reached the snow-clad peak of Mount Wilhelmina - a great triumph, for which they had to pay with serious hardships, a few casualties among the lower personnel, and an almost fatal fall of the leader.

The botanical and zoological collections of the two Lorentz Expeditions went to Holland for further study and, eventually, publication of the results in *Nova Guinea* (though it is possible that part of the botanical collections remained in Bogor). The physical anthropological data were examined (along with those collected in the course of a third expedition to Mount Wilhelmina) by A.J.P. van den Broek (cf. his contributions to vol. VII of *Nova Guinea*, mentioned in section IV.3.). The ethnographic collections of the three expeditions were later described by H.W. Fischer in the same volume of *Nova Guinea* (cf. below, VII.7.). This volume opens with an ethnographic description by Van Nouhuys (1913). For a report of the 1st and 2nd Lorentz Expeditions, see the *Bulletins* 59-64 of the Treub Maatschappij, and Lorentz's publication of 1913.

Before turning to the third expedition to the Snow Mountains, mention must be made of two British expeditions which tried to reach the glaciers of the Carstenz Mountains. They were organized by the British Ornithologists' Union and the Geographical Society. Leader of the first expedition was W. Goodfellow, while its members were the zoologists G.C. Shortridge and W. Stalker, the medical officer A.F.R. Wollaston, and the surveyors C.G. Rawling and Dr. E. Marshall. They tried to reach the Central Mountains by way of the Mimika River first, and the Kamura and the Newerip afterwards, but did not reach the Carstenz Mountains; the highest altitude reached was 5600 feet. The most striking discovery of the expedition was the existence of a tribe of Mountain Papuans who were smaller of stature still than the Pesechem encountered by the first, and in a more friendly way by the second Lorentz Expedition, namely the Tapiro Pygmies. Wollaston returned two years later, this time accompanied by the director of the Museum at Kuala Lumpur, Mr. C. Boden Kloss. This time they travelled the Otakwa River to reach the mountains, which proved a more fortunate choice. On January 30, 1913, they arrived at the lower part of the Carstenz glaciers. A well-nigh perpendicular cliff prevented them from reaching the top. On these expeditions reports have been published by Rawling (1913) and Wollaston (1912, 1914, 1916).

In the meantime the Treub Maatschappij and the KNAG had agreed on a third Dutch expedition to the Snow Mountains. The leadership of this expedition was entrusted to the surveyor Capt. A. Franssen Herderschee, a former team leader in the Military Explorations. Ordinary members were the botanist Dr. A.A. Pulle, the geologist Dr. P.F. Hubrecht, and the physicians G.M. Versteeg and J.B. Sitanala. They arrived at Flamingo Bay in September 1912, and proceeded to the interior via the Lorentz River. They reached the peak of Mount Wilhelmina in February 1913. The expedition was a success, also from a scientific point of view. For reports on the expedition see *Bulletins* nos 65-68 of the Treub Maatschappij. The physical anthropological results have been published in *Nova Guinea* VII (by A.J.P. van den Broek and H.J.T.

Bijlmer). On the culture and language of the Pesechem see the report by Lt. L.A. Snell (commander of the military guard detachment) in *Bulletin* Treub Maatschappij 68, pp. 56-86. A comprehensive account of the expedition has been given by Pulle (1915).

After the outbreak of World War I there were no new expeditions to the territory. The military exploration terminated with the completion of the mapping of the Lakes Plain in January 1915, leaving the better part of the central mountains unexplored. In the years which followed, only a citizen of a non-belligerent country, Switzerland, visited the territory, namely Paul Wirz. He stayed here from 1916 to 1919, and returned for a new visit in 1921-22. He did better anthropological work than any of the self-styled anthropologists who formed part of the various expeditions before and after the war. His *Marind-anim* monograph, published by the Hamburg Museum, and his contributions to the ethnography of Sentani and of the Dani of the Swart Valley, published in *Nova Guinea* XVI (together with his monograph on the Gogodara in Papua), bear witness of his untiring energy.

Immediately after the war a new expedition was organized, this time by the Indisch Comité in Batavia, the counterpart in Indonesia of the Treub Maatschappij in The Netherlands. The former was a body of high officials which could count on the official cooperation of The Netherlands Indies¹ Government, and on this occasion also on that of the Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap in The Netherlands. The expedition was ordered to the Lakes Plain to find a route to Mount Wilhelmina across the central mountains. It was manned by 'local' personnel: the botanist of 's Lands Plantentuin, Dr. H.J. Lam, the zoologist of the Institute of Plant Pathology, Jhr. W.C. van Heurn, both from Bogor, the geologist Dr. P.F. Hubrecht, and the medical officers H.J.T. Bijlmer and H. de Rook, all of them government officials. Leader of the expedition was the army capt. A.J.A. van Overeem; in charge of astronomical and meteorological observations and the river survey was naval commander J.H.G. Kremer. The trip up the Mamberamo River took more time than had been foreseen. The party reached the Swart Valley, but then had to return to the coast to ask permission to go on, which permission was granted. Three members, Kremer, Hubrecht, and De Rook returned. They were joined by a fourth man, Dr. P. Wirz. The latter fell ill in the Swart Valley, where he, nevertheless, did some good ethnographical work. Kremer and Hubrecht went on and succeeded in climbing Mount Wilhelmina, where Hubrecht, who had been there before, discovered that the ice cap had become significantly smaller since 1913. On their way they discovered the upper Balim River and the Wamena, but missed the Grand Valley of the Balim. The Van Overeem Expedition (1920-21) has been reported on by Lam (1945) and Bijlmer (1922). On the continuation of the Kremer/Hubrecht Expedition see Hubrecht (1922), Kremer (1922) and Wirz (1924, 1925). The success of the expedition is indicative of the scientific potential which had developed in the then Netherlands East Indies in the course of the 20th century.

The next expedition was an American one, sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute and Berkeley University, and named after its leader, prof. Mathew Stirling. Again the Indisch Comité participated. It secured the cooperation of the Government and the participation in the expedition of Dr. W. Docters van Leeuwen, director of 's Lands Plantentuin¹, and C.C.F.M. le Roux, curator of the Museum of the Bataviaasch Ge-

nootschap. The expedition, the first to have a hydroplane at its disposal/ worked its way to the western part of the Nassau Mountains from the Rouffaer River (1926). The results of the expedition were not impressive, though they filled some of the many gaps in the existing geographical knowledge. Information on this expedition can be found in TAG 43(1926):271, 441, 625, 747, 851; 44(1927): 260, 314, and in Stirling (1943).

After 1926 expeditions became more sporadic. This does not mean that all research came to a stop, but simply that exploration became more and more individualized. In point of fact, geological research practically always had been. In 1915 the first search for oil in the subsoil along the north coast had been made by Dr. W. van Horst Pellekaan on the orders of the Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij. From 1917 to 1922 De Dienst van het Mijnwezen had several explorers in the field, among whom the best remembered is Dr. J. Zwierzicky (cf. Schumacher 1954: 77). Foreign scholars also visited the territory, such as, in 1928, the zoologist Dr. Ernst Meyr of the Berlin Zoological Museum, and in 1933-34 the anthropologist Dr. Hans Nevermann of the Berlin Museum of Ethnography. The first time we come across the term expedition again is in 1935. In essence, this was a one-man expedition, namely Bijlmer's anthropological expedition to the Tapiro Pygmies in the hinterland of the Mimika. It resulted in publications (Bijlmer 1938 and 1939).

In the meantime the NNGPM (or Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Company) had been founded. It started its explorations in 1935, a year which marked the beginning of a period of renewed intensive exploration, not only by the oil company, but also by civil servants, medical officers, and the missions in the area. Besides, in 1937 and 1938 the N.V. Mijnbouw Maatschappij Ned. Nieuw-Guinea investigated the presumed presence of gold in the mountains feeding the rivers from the upper Lorentz River to the headwaters of the Digul. These explorations have been reported on by Gouwentak (1939).

An important event was the discovery of Lake Paniai by the NNGPM aviator Ir. F.J. Wissel (December 1936). It stimulated intensive activity on the part of the civil administration (cf. subsection VI11.8.1.-). The number of expeditions also increased.

The first to be mentioned here was the Carstensz Expedition led by Dr. A.H. Colijn, NNGPM field director at its then main station at Babo, and by the NNGPM geologist Dr. J.J. Dozy. They reached the summit of the Ngga Pulu, (one of) the highest peaks of this mountain chain, on December 3, 1936. Publications arising from this are Colijn (1937) and Dozy (1938, 1939).

Another important expedition was the Archbold Expedition of 1938-39. Its leader was Mr. Richard Archbold of the American Museum of Natural History, the man who financed the better part of the expedition. It owed much of its success to the expedient use of water-borne aircraft. Members of the expedition were the ornithologist Dr. A.L. Rand, the botanist L.J. Brass, and the zoologist W.B. Richardson. The Netherlands Indies Government provided military protection, as well as surveying the area for an overland return route in case of an emergency, and offering the assistance of the entomologist L.J. Toxopeus and the forester E. Meyer-Drees. The area chosen for exploration was the mountain region north of Mount Wilhelmina. The starting-point was Lake Habbema, on the northern slope of this mountain, discovered in 1921 by Kremer and Hubrecht. Already at an early stage of the aerial

surveying the expedition discovered the Grand Valley of the Balim. For a description of the expedition's work and adventures see Schumacher 1954 (Klein's Nieuw Guinea III:88ff). Other sources are Archbold (1941), Archbold, Rand and Brass (1942), Brass (1941), Van Arcken (1958).

The last expedition to take place before the war was the 1939 expedition to the Wissel Lakes (Paniai) organized by the KNAG and the Treub Maatschappij. Leader of this expedition was C.C.F.M. le Roux, while its members were the botanist Dr. P.J. Eyma, the geologist Dr. R. Uzerman, the zoologist Dr. H. Boschma, and the physician D. Brouwer as physical anthropologist. On this expedition see, among others, R.R. van Ravenswaay Claasen (Nienhuis no. 249) and the preliminary reports in TAG 56 and 57, most of them by Le Roux, and one by Brouwer. See also Le Roux (1948-51).

The Archbold and the Wissel Lakes Expeditions coincided with the rapidly increasing activities of the local administration, which enthusiastically organized one exploratory patrol after another, such as Van Eechoud's patrol from Uta on the south coast to Paniai, and from there northwards to the Nabire coast via the Siriwo Valley (cf. subsection VIII.8.1., and above, Schumacher 1954). These were continued until the beginning of the Pacific war. Two experienced jungle specialists managed to escape capture by the Japanese, the one the police superintendent at Manokwari, J.P.K. van Eechoud, who had shown before that he knew how to combine his surveying patrols in the northern mountains (and the Wissel Lakes area) with ethnographic studies. The other was the young controleur at the Wissel Lakes, Dr. J.V. de Bruyn, who during the war earned himself the name of Jungle Pimpernel. They later described some of their experiences (Van Eechoud 1953, De Bruyn 1978). The reports on these patrols, combined with the aerial survey photographs and military maps made during General MacArthur's campaign against the Japanese, have contributed substantially to our geographic knowledge. On this point see Ormeling (1952), Verstappen (1952), Kint, Scherpbier and Van Asbeck (1954) and Von Frijtag Drabbe (1955).

Towards the end of the Dutch colonial period the KNAG and the Treub Maatschappij organized an expedition to the still unknown eastern part of the Central Mountains, the Star Mountains Expedition of 1959. Its scientific leader was the zoologist Dr. L.D. Brongersma, its technical leader air force colonel G.F. Venema. The geologists taking part were Dr. Ch.B. Bar, Ir. H.J. Cortel, engineer A.E. Escher, and the agro-geologist Dr. J.J. Reynders; the other members were the zoologist Dr. W. Vervoort, the botanists Dr. C. Kalkman and Mr. B.O. van Zanten, the anthropobiologists Dr. A.G. de Wilde and Dr. L.E. Nijenhuis, the linguist Dr. J.C. Anceaux, and the cultural anthropologist Dr. J. Pouwer. On the experiences of the expedition, see Schoorl (1956) and Brongersma and Venema (1960). The results of the expedition have most of them been published in successive issues of Nova Guinea new series X.

Almost simultaneously with the Star Mountains Expedition a French team, headed by Gaisseau and Saulnier, made a filming expedition crossing Irian from the Asmat to the Idenburg River. It resulted in the magnificent film entitled "Le Ciel et la Boue". See the beautifully illustrated description of the journey in Saulnier (1962).

Finally, a note is in place about the fact that no mention has been

made here of the numerous one-man expeditions which visited Irian in the years after the war until 1962, such as the Botanische Expeditie 1954-55 by P. van Royen (see Bulletin no. 103 of the Treub Maatschappij in TAG 73(1956):329-47). In point of fact, a considerable amount of research was carried out in this period, in part by the staff members of the various research institutions inside the territory itself or by staff members of the various branches of the administration, and in part by researchers sponsored by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Research in New Guinea (WONG), as well as by foreign research workers such as the Swedish ornithologist Sten Bergman, and the anthropologists John Erik Elmberg (Sweden) and Leopold Pospisil (USA). The research work conducted by the various Missions in the territory must be left out of consideration here, just like that sponsored by the South Pacific Commission and the European Common Market. This kind of researches cannot be classed under the heading 'Discovery'. Yet, discoveries are still possible (Wight 1974).

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VI. 3. Political History

The official sources for the political history of the territory are, in chronological order, the texts of the treaties concluded between the principedom of Tidore and the VOC, and later the Netherlands Indies Government; those between the Kingdom of The Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic; and those between these two governments and other foreign powers. In the second place there are the laws, ordinances and other legislation relative to the territory. During the colonial period (from 1815 to 1962) the texts of these legislative products as well as those of the treaties referred to above, were published in *Staatsblad van Nederlands-Indië*, *Bijblad op het Staatsblad*, the *Javasche Courant* and, in its final phase, the *Gouvernementsblad* and *Officieel Nieuwsblad van Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea*. For the Indonesian period (1962-today) the reader is referred to *Berita Negara Republik Indonesia* and *Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia*.

Finally, there are the official explanatory memoranda relating to these pieces of legislation and the minutes of the meetings of the representative councils at which they were debated, the *Handelingen* of the *Staten Generaal*, the *Volksraad*, the *Nieuw-Guinea Raad* and the Indonesian *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*. As a special category among these official memoranda mention should be made of the *Koloniale Verslagen* presented to the Dutch States General, and of the Annual Report on *Netherlands New Guinea* presented by the Netherlands Government to the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to art. 73(e) of the Charter for the years 1949 to 1961.

For the student of history less official sources tend to be more easily accessible and often more informative. The more important of these have been listed below.

In the absence of overall histories of the Indonesian period, the reader is referred for literature on this period to subsection VI.3.2. and chapter IX.

VI. 3.1. The Colonial Period until 1942

The early political history has been described at length by Haga (1884). Additional material dealing with the relations between Tidore and the people of Irian has been published by Kamma (1947-49). More recent papers on the subject are Katoppo (1957, Bachtiar (1963a), and

Kapisa (1977).

Haga's voluminous work was the result of an official assignment to write a book on the legal claims of the Dutch to Irian. The assignment can be considered as a symptom of the uneasiness caused by the current attempts by various Western nations to acquire new colonies, attempts which led to the Berlin Congo conference of 1884-85 - the most imperialistic conference of all times, but also the first conference in history to oblige the colonial powers to develop the colonies under their rule. The Netherlands were not a party to this conference, but the principle of development adopted here found a ready response in the ideas which eventually resulted in the 'ethische politiek'. A first sign of this response was the growing awareness that it is the duty of a colonial government to establish law and order throughout its territory, an awareness which became apparent in the last decade of the century and which found its ultimate realization during the Van Heutz period (1904-09). New Guinea was the last part of the then Netherlands East Indies to benefit by the recognition of this duty of development. It was not until 1897 that the colonial authorities decided to establish two administrative centres here (Manokwari and Fakfak), which decision was carried into effect in 1898. It is fairly certain that the complaints of the Protestant Mission in the Geelvink Bay area provided as effective an argument as the moral sense that something ought to be done in these parts. A parallel case is that of the complaints of the British Government about the headhunting raids of the Marind-anim (then called Tugeri) into the Western Division of Papua. They prompted an unsuccessful attempt to establish a police post at Sarire in 1897, after which it took the Government five more years to try more effectively to deal with the renewed complaints of the British by establishing a well equipped government station at Merauke.

The Netherlands Indies Government was reluctant to do anything about New Guinea, and the slowly but steadily growing public interest in the territory had not yet reached the point where it acquired political dimensions. A conflict with Spain over the *Mapia* atoll (1897) failed to arouse political interest and was soon forgotten. Negotiations about the eastern borderline of the territory with Germany and later Australia were allowed to drag on in spite of the fact that here was a real problem. Originally, the Dutch had claimed the 141°E meridian as the borderline from the south coast northward to Cape Bonplan on the north coast. But Cape Bonplan is located on 140°47' East, and as the Germans - in a treaty with the United Kingdom - had accepted the 141°E meridian as their western borderline, there existed a narrow strip of no-man's-land between Dutch and German (later Australian) New Guinea. Attempts to find a natural borderline came to nought, and in the end the parties agreed on the 141° meridian as their common border. Of course, problems remained even so. In the interior no boundary marks were placed, and more than once local administrators and missionaries unwittingly committed trespasses which, but for the wisdom of the respective governments, might have led to conflicts.

On the *Mapia* affair articles have been written by Heeres (1900) and Wichmann (1900).

On the earlier history of the eastern borderline it is best to consult the very detailed 'Inhoud' in Haga (1884, vol. 2), the Index of Wichmann (1909-12, v. Grenzregelungen, see previous section), pp. 164ff of *Militaire exploratie* (1920, see previous section), Lulofs (1915), and

Luymes, Sachse and Dalhuisen (1911). The latter has never been published, but an extract (which contains no information of any political relevance) appeared in 1912. On later developments Luymes (1934), Bachtiar (1963b) and Van der Veur (1966) may be consulted.[^]

Although the colonial government stimulated research in the territory and actively participated in its exploration, first by holding a general military survey, later by conducting the geological research commissioned to the Government Mining Service, it was not prepared to invest much money in the energetic extension of its administrative control. Funds were scarce and the money for development had to come from, primarily, private enterprise. It was felt that, whereas expenditures made on research and exploration were justified, those necessary for an extension of the administration had to be kept as low as possible as long as no one could tell whether and, if so, where, the economic development of the territory would yield sufficient profits to make a more advanced type of administration a paying proposition. The Government joyfully welcomed the report of the Governor-General's ADC, Captain H. Colijn, who recommended the stimulation of the exploration of the country but at the same time the deceleration of the extension and further improvement of its administration, among other things by keeping alive the severely contested fiction of Tidorese indirect rule on the island, excepting South New-Guinea. Information on this subject can be found in Colijn (1907; see previous section).

Nevertheless one cannot explore a territory without stimulating a desire for better administration. The missions, which rapidly extended the fields of their respective activities, pleaded for stronger administrative control in the neighbourhood of their often isolated outposts. Consequently, the number of government stations and police posts slowly but surely increased. In 1921 Irian even became a separate residency with Manokwari as its capital. Two years later, however, the measure had to be undone, among other reasons because of the problems of communication between north and south. Shipping routes ran almost by necessity, via Ambon, the capital of the Moluccas, which provided a strong argument for including New Guinea once again under the administration of the Government (shortly afterwards Residency) of the Moluccas.

In the course of the twenties a new pressure group, pleading for the development of the territory, emerged/The Indo-European Dutch of Java, frustrated by the legal impossibility of acquiring ownership of arable land, saw an opportunity of having their wishes realized in sparsely populated New Guinea. In 1926 they founded the Vereeniging Kolonisatie Nieuw-Guinea. In 1929 this was followed by a second organization, the Stichting Immigratie en Kolonisatie Nieuw-Guinea. The former founded a colony near Manokwari, the latter in Sentani.

A more powerful pressure group demanding greater government activity in New Guinea manifested itself a few years later in The Netherlands. In 1932 (?) its members founded the Nieuw-Guinea Comité, and in 1934 the Nieuw-Guinea Studiekring of the Molukken Instituut, two mutually cooperating bodies which recruited their members from among former senior officials of the Netherlands Indies' administration, scientists, and leading representatives of large colonial or multi-national enterprises. They did not reject the idea of colonization as propagated by the Eurasians of Indonesia, but had higher expectations of the entrepreneurial activities of financially strong companies. To make more reliable scientific knowledge available, the Studiekring founded the

Tijdschrift Nieuw-Guinea, and sponsored the two, each at the time up-to-date editions of Klein's Nieuw-Guinea, the first of 1935-38, the second of 1953-55 - meritorious works which served the purpose for which they were written.

The activities of the Nieuw Guinea Comité and the Studiekring coincided with the activities in the field of big enterprise. In 1935 the NINGPM started its explorations for oil in western New Guinea, followed in 1937 by the Mijnbouw Maatschappij Nieuw-Guinea which searched the area for gold. In 1938 fifteen concerns with vested interests in the Netherlands Indies formed a consortium, the Negumij, to investigate the possibilities of estate farming in the area. Even the Government followed suit by setting up a government rubber estate in Ransiki.

The motives behind all these activities by big business and individuals alike are a matter of controversy. Their interest in the territory was mixed with the serious suspicion that inactivity on the part of big business and Government might lead to a situation in which the penetration of the Japanese into the area might no longer be checked. The latter had already founded a small cotton estate in the Geelvink Bay area, and were pressing for permission to enlarge it. These suspicions were not unfounded.

The history of the development of the administration and economy of Irian between 1898 and the outbreak of the Pacific War has never been adequately described. The successive attempts at this have resulted in accounts that are either too succinct or of too generalizing a nature. This is not only true of Galis' article 'Geschiedenis' in Klein's Nieuw-Guinea I (1953), but also of Beversluis and Gieben (1929), Koppenol (1934), Hovenkamp (1937), Van der Veer (1937), and Van Eeoud (1951). The main sources for the history of the development of the administration and the economy of the territory are the numerous Memories van Overgave written by the departing Assistant Residents, Controleurs and Gezaghebbers of the various parts of Irian, most of which have been listed in Nienhuis' Inventaris. For the administrative development of the territory as a whole, the Memories van Overgave of Governor L. van Sandick (1926) and Resident Dr. B.J. Haga (1938) as chief administrators of the Moluccas (Nienhuis no. 843), and of W.A. Hovenkamp as Resident of Ternate (1931) are often quoted sources of information. Other direct sources are the Koloniale Verslagen, annually submitted to the States General, and the Regerings Almanak van Nederlandsch-Indië. For a brief overview see below, section VIII.1.

The history of the colonization projects, primarily that of the Indo-European Dutch, has been better described. A representative account of this history and an enumeration of its relevant sources is found in Winsemius (1936) and Van Gogh (1954). Important sources on this subject are the Memories van Overgave of Manokwari and Hollandia since 1926 (below: sections VII.1.4 and VI.11.2). Information on the Javanese colonists in Merauke can be found in the Memories van Overgave by J. van Baal (1938, Nienhuis no. 310) and W. Klaus (1940, Nienhuis nos 311 and 327). The colonists returned to Java in 1946. It is possible that the Memorie van Overgave of C.W. Wolff (1948, Nienhuis no. 329) contains some comments on their departure.

With the transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch to the Indonesians (end 1949), the colonization attempts received a new impetus. In 1950 many Indo-European Dutch migrated to New Guinea, but relatively few of them were willing or able to make a living in agriculture, in spite of

the activities undertaken by their association, the Nieuw-Guinea Verbond. In The Netherlands the colonization ideal was kept alive for some time by the Nationale Vereniging Nederlandse Volksplanting in its insignificant magazine *Neving-Nieuws*, and by the Nieuw-Guinea Verbond Nederland in its only slightly more worthwhile serial *De Nieuwe Guineër*. The results of all these efforts were poor, and the organizations gradually faded out of existence.

A special chapter in the pre-war history of the territory is that of Tanah Merah (Boven Digul) as a place of banishment. The most complete (and objective) source on this is Salim (1973); an earlier publication is Schoonheydt (1940). For interesting archival material see Nienhuis under nos 394-399. In addition to a long resumé written in 1930 by Tideman, Governor of the Moluccas, it draws attention to the military memoranda of successive camp commanders, viz. Becking, Van Doom and Schollen, and to the Memories van Overgave of the commanders Wiarda and Houbolt (1938 and 1940), who combined their military function with that as civil administrator of a subdivision.

VI. 3.2. *The Indonesian - Dutch Conflict and its Aftermath*

The dispute about Irian had its origins in the Den Pasar Conference (December 1946), where the Indonesian representatives of the State of East Indonesia in embryo claimed the residency of New Guinea for incorporation into their territory. It was resolved to postpone a decision on this point (Conferentie Den Pasar 1947). In preparation of the expected negotiations, the Lt.-Governor-General appointed a fact-finding commission (Gouvernements Besluit 15 maart 1947), which reported in *Verslag Studiecommissie* (1949), that the factual interests of the State of East Indonesia were negligible, and advised the drafting of a long-term development plan for the area.

The issue became an important problem at the Round Table Conference. No settlement could be reached, and the two parties agreed that for the time being the status quo of the residency of Nieuw-Guinea should be preserved, with the proviso that within a year the political status of the territory should be determined through renewed negotiations. In early 1950 Indonesia and The Netherlands agreed to appoint a joint fact-finding committee to pave the way for more fruitful discussions - the Nieuw-Guinea/Irian Commission. It numbered three Dutch and three Indonesian representatives. After many meetings and a journey through Irian, the commission reported (in December 1950) that it had not yet reached an agreement that was satisfactory to both parties. New negotiations followed shortly afterwards, but came to nought. The main sources concerning these negotiations are *Ronde Tafel Conferentie* (1949), and *Rapport Commissie Nieuw Guinea/Irian* (1950). The Report of the Commission Nieuw Guinea/Irian is the document on this issue which is most frequently cited, and also the one which is most easily accessible. There is a large quantity of other official documents besides, such as United Nations Documents, and the *Handelingen der Staten Generaal* relative to the New-Guinea issue between 1949 and 1962. Many of the UNO documents can only be consulted in special libraries, where convenient indexes and catalogues are available to guide the student on his way through this labyrinth of papers. With reference to the UNO's mediating role *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea in de 9e, 10e, 11e, 12e en 16e Algemene Vergadering van de Verenigde Naties* and *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea en de Verenigde Naties, januari-oktober 1962* are worth men-

tioning.

The rapidly deteriorating relations between The Netherlands and Indonesia, to the extent that they were the outcome of the conflict over New Guinea, provoked an internal political debate in The Netherlands which grew in intensity over the years. Secondary arguments about holding on to New Guinea as an area of settlement for Indo-Europeans and preserving the status of a colonial power gradually lost their power of conviction. The principal issue was the obligation imposed by the United Nations Manifesto to prepare the Papuan people for autonomy and independence through education, the term 'peoples' used in the Manifesto being interpreted in the sense of ethnic entities. *Toekomstige ontwikkeling* (1953), *Western New Guinea and the Netherlands* (1954) and *Papoea's bouwen aan hun toekomst/Papuans building their future* (1961) may be regarded as illustrations of this.

Initially supported by Australia (cf. Casey 1954), The Netherlands were obliged under strong United States influence, as a result of increasing, also military, pressure by Indonesia and the absence of international support, to agree to the transfer of New Guinea to Indonesia in 1962, after a short transitional phase of UNO administration. The treaty of cession stipulated that the Papuans were to be given the opportunity to state their preferences as to the political system for their country in a referendum in 1969.

The New Guinea debate in The Netherlands gave rise to a spate of publications by politicians, political parties, religious and social organizations and concerned scholars. Of the independent publications appearing at the time, the majority in the form of brochures, the following should be mentioned, in chronological order: Klein (1949), Lam (1950), Van Eechoud (1951), *De Kadt* (1951), *Papoea's roepen Nederland* (1951), *Beslissing nu* (1952), *Jouwe* (1952), *Snijtsheuvel* (1952), *Geschilpunt* (1955), *Van Asbeck* (1956), *Kerk en Nieuw-Guinea* (1956), *Oproep Generale Synode* (1956), *Nieuw-Guinea als probleem* (1956), *Van 't Veer* (1956), *Hanekroot* (1958), *Röbling* (1958), *Terdege ter discussie* (1958), *Vraagstuk Nieuw-Guinea* (1958), *Van Baal* (1959a and 1959b), *Verhoeven* (1959), *Huidige stand* (1960), *Van 't Veer* (1960), *Kwestie Nieuw-Guinea* (1961), *Van Raalte* (1961), *Berghuis* (1962), *Goossens* (1962), and *Geen Oorlog* (1962).

Duynstee (1961) is to be regarded as a survey of various national and international aspects of the problem, culminating in an unambiguous political choice. A detailed study of the political scene in The Netherlands in connection with the conflict is that by Liiphart (1966). A similar study was made by Lafeber (1968) and Coerts (1983) for a Roman Catholic daily and on a Protestant political party respectively. Certain national and international aspects are furthermore discussed in *Van der Plas* (1971:79-117), *Van Esterik* (1982), *Case* (1984) and *Jansen van Galen* (1984). The international aspects are emphasized, finally, in *Bone* (1958), *Van der Kroef* (1958, 1963), *Van der Veur* (1963, 1964a, 1964b), *Henderson* (1973), *Brown* (1976), *Vandenbosch* (1976), *De Beus* (1977), *Van Baal* (1980), *McMullen* (1981), *Mitton* (1983) and *De Geus* (1984).

The Indonesian perspective has been illuminated in the publications of *Latumahina* (1949), *West Irian and the World* (1954), *Katoppo* (1955), *Yamin* (1956), *Some facts about West Irian* (1957), *Some questions and answers* (1957), *Question of West Irian* (n.d.), *Nazaruddin Lubis* (1962), *Baharuddin Lopa* (1963) and *Koentjaraningrat and Harsja Bach-*

tiar (1963), while the fortnightly newspaper Suara Irian has been appearing since 1949. The Indonesian viewpoint is further described in Agung (1973).

The military operations in the course of the conflict are discussed in De Roos (1979). Nuis (1967) gives an impression of the circumstances under which the Dutch soldiers served. The UNO interim administration is dealt with in United Nations in West New Guinea (1963) and Van der Veur (1964a).

After a few Indonesian publications shortly following the introduction of Indonesian government (Buatlah Irian Barat (1964), and Musjawarah ke-1 (1964)), it was not till 1969, in which year the agreed Act of Free Choice was to take place, that the political developments in New Guinea received renewed attention, one or two exceptions aside (Jaspan 1965, Hastings 1968). Indonesian publications on the subject were: Capita Selecta (1969), Irian Barat, Keluarga Kesatuan (1969), Implementation (1969), and Easternmost Province (1973). Other authors publishing on the subject were Rowley (1969), Van der Kroef (1970b, 1971:125-55) and, more generally, Hastings (1969:208-53 [1973:196-239]).

Refugee Papuans and their sympathisers in The Netherlands have levelled some sharp criticism at the Indonesian government, which they accused of violating human rights and making a farce of the Act of Free Choice (Kamsteeg (1969), Sawor (1969), Szudek (1969), Vos (1969), Toekomst van de Papoeas (1969), and Zelfbeschikking, (the journal of the Door de Eeuwen Trouw Foundation).

After 1969 a number of general works, containing critical, documented descriptions of Indonesia's policy with respect to New Guinea and its autochthonous inhabitants, appeared: Van der Kroef (1970a, 1975), Sharp (1977), Utrecht (1978), De Bruyn (1978), Lagerberg (1979), and Obliteration of a People (1983).

Irianese Papuans have been carrying on a guerilla war against the Indonesian administration under the banner of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), or Free Papua Movement, for many years now. The strength of this movement, torn by internal dissensions as it is, is difficult to gauge. Such an assessment is attempted in the above-mentioned publications. Further worthy of mention in this connection are Van der Kroef (1976, 1977), Savage and Martin (1977), Savage (1978), and Premdas and Nyamekye (1979). Indonesian publications about the OPM are Fakta dan Data (1976) and OPM (1976).

The politically divided Papuan community in The Netherlands has recorded its political viewpoint in a number of pamphlets against the Indonesian regime and for Papuan independence, viz.: Manusaway (1976), Zwartboek (1977), Streven naar zelfbeschikking (1977), Kurni (1979), Genocide, Ethnocide (1980), Hindom (n.d.), Onrecht al tien jaar lang (1980) and Hook (1980).

In addition a number of stencilled periodicals have appeared, the majority irregularly and for a period of only short duration. Of these we would mention Benapa, Fadjar Melanesia, Freedom Voice, Kobe Oser, Suara Papua, and West-Papoea Bulletin. Still appearing at present are West Papua Observer (from 1975) and West Papua Courier (from 1978), which have both had a relatively long life.

Since recently there has been an increasing interest in the political situation in New Guinea, especially in The Netherlands. Many articles on the subject regularly appear in such journals as the earlier mentioned Zelfbeschikking (see also the publication in the same vein by

Ritzema Bos 1979), Indonesia Feiten en Meningen, and Tapol. The reports of such organizations as Justitia et Pax (Irian Jaya 1982), Vastenaktie-Nederland (Anderzijds 1981-82) and the Research Institute of Oppressed Peoples, Amsterdam (Drama van de Papoea's, 1984) likewise testify to this trend. The criticism expressed in these publications is directed in particular to the officially stimulated immigration of people from other Indonesian islands, which is posing a threat to the culture and livelihood of the Papuans, as well as to violations of human rights.

V.i.3.3: The Colonial Period 1942-1962

Not long after the outbreak of the Pacific War the Japanese conquered the greater part of Irian. The Merauke and Upper Digul areas remained firmly in allied hands, however. A review of events and developments during the war period is to be found in Van den Hoogenband (1954), Lawless (1953) and Riegelman (1955). For details of anti-Japanese resistance in the north, the west, and the Paniai district, see Rapmund (1946-47, 1946-48), Rhys (1947), Kokkelink (1956), Van Eechoud (1951), De Bruyn (1978) and De Kock (1981).

The history of the administration during and after the war, up to 1951, has been summarily described by Visman (1945) and Boldingh (1954). More extensive information on the Post-war restoration of the colonial administration in Irian may be derived from Van Eechoud (1947, 1948). Van Eechoud had been 'Conica' and later Resident of New Guinea since the landing of the allied forces near Hollandia in April 1944. He held this function till New Guinea became a separate administrative district (a residency). Van Eechoud's appointment as resident (1947) did not involve the restoration to the Tidorese of their (for many years purely nominal) power over the greater part of Irian. The formal separation was not legalized until July 1949. On December 29 of that year New Guinea became a separate colony, coming directly under the Dutch Crown (when it was styled Netherlands New Guinea), and with a governor as its representative. This situation continued until the territory passed to Indonesia through the agency of the United Nations in 1962.

An overall picture of events and developments during the period when New Guinea was a separate colony is given in: Lagerberg (1962) and Bakker (1965). Sources of information on this period are the Gouvernementsblad van Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea and the Officieel Nieuwsblad van Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, both published in Hollandia between 1950 and 1962, the *Archiefs* Schakels (1952-62) and Nieuw-Guinea Studiën (1957-62, for information on the political debate on New Guinea in The Netherlands see under Parlementaria), the so-called Begrotingen, annual budgets including explanatory memoranda which have been published in Handelingen der Staten-Generaal (1950-1962), the Annual reports on Netherlands New Guinea (1949-1961) which were presented by the Netherlands Government to the United Nations, and the Rapporten van de Raad voor Volksopvoeding (from 1951). Further publications on the colonial period are We is dat (1953-62), Gewestelijke reglementen (n.d.), W.A. Engelbrecht and E.M.L. Engelbrecht (1954), Werkplan 1954-1956 (1954), and Ontwikkelingsplan (1961). With regard to matters of native policy mention should be made of the following circulars issued by the then governor of Netherlands New Guinea Van Baal (1954, 1955, 1957).

A fair amount of unpublished information lies buried in Dutch archives, notably the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague. For a retro-

spective review of the regular disputes between The Hague and Hollandia concerning matters of native policy (more in particular with regard to the powers to be conferred on local councils and on the Nieuw-Guinea Raad), see Van Baal (1980).

Other sources of information on native policy, apart from those already mentioned, are the various Memories van Overgave, the papers and extracts published in Adatrechtbundel 45(1955), and those mentioned in Nienhuis (1968). Matters of constitutional law are dealt with by Cowan (1954, 1957, 1958), Korn (1956, 1958), Logemann (1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1958, 1959, 1960), Steen (1958-59), Lemaire (1961) and Keuning (1961).

The other literature on the period is widely varied. Of interest are, inter alia, Kasberg (1956) and Galis and Van Doornik (1960). More impressionistic and travelogue types of accounts are, among others, Bergman (1952, 1956, 1961), Van Kampen (1956), Pouwer (1962), and Van den Berg (1982).

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VI.4. *History of the Missions and their Contributions to Formal Education*

The first Christian missionaries arrived in Irian in 1855, where they settled near Manokwari. For the rest of the 19th century little progress was made. This changed in the early years of the present century, when there occurred a rapid expansion. At the time it was the Utrechtse Zendingvereiniging which sponsored the work, which later was taken over by the Zending der Nederlands Hervormde Kerk. Much later than the first Protestant mission, the Roman Catholic mission made its entrance. A first attempt to establish a mission post in the Kapaur area (c.1896) miscarried. In 1905 the Mission of the Sacred Heart set up its quarters at Merauke, and thereupon gradually extended its work to the Muyu, the Digul, and the Mimika areas. Other missions followed, namely the Zending Protestan Maluku (1929), the Franciscan Mission (from 1928 - initially unofficially - in the Fakfak area), and the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which settled in Paniai (1938). The situation at the outbreak of World War II is discussed by Brouwer and Geurtjens

(1942). After the war various other missions of different denominations also entered the area.

The missions were the first to pay proper attention to native education. Schools meeting certain minimum requirements were subsidized by the government. The specific problems presented by formal school education in these parts prompted a decision to introduce a special regulation for so-called 'beschavingsscholen', which decision implied official recognition of the contribution made by the missions to the process of civilizing the native population. The relevant regulations which were the result of the report drawn up by the regional inspector of education, Wiggers, upon his visit to the Merauke subdivision in 1937, have been recorded in *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indië*, nos 14035 and 14081 (1938). The policy to entrust the missions with an important part of native education was continued during the post-war colonial period. From 1951 on the cooperation between the government and the missions in matters of education constituted an important item on the agendas of the successive meetings of the Raad voor Volksopvoeding (cf. the Reports of this Raad).

For a general survey of the Protestant missions up to the early fifties, see F.J.F. van Hasselt (1935) and Kamma (1953, 1976). Another work that is of general interest with respect to the policy of the Zending der Nederlands Hervormde Kerk is Van Randwijck (1981).

The volume of published literature on the Zending van de Nederlands Hervormde Kerk in Irian is extensive. Its history and problems are reflected in such works as J.L. van Hasselt (1888, 1910), F.J.F. van Hasselt (1914, 1929), Rauws (1916-17, 1919), De Santy (1947), Kamma (1955) and Bakker (1970). The latter work discusses the birth of the Gereja Kristen Injil Irian.

There is a wide variety of articles besides. Important journals are: *Berichten der Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging (UZV)*; *Mededeelingen, Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschappen (MNZG)*; *De Opwekker*, and of a more popular nature *Nederlands Zendingblad*, also known as *Zendingblad der Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*. The CAMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) is the publisher of the equally popular monthly, *De Pionier*, distributed by Parousia, Wassenaar (or Naarden). For information on other Protestant missions it is best to approach the relevant organizations themselves.

The information on the Roman Catholic Missions in Irian is more restricted. A survey is to be found in Geurtjens (1935) and Verschueren (1953, 1957). More recent studies are Vriens (1967) and Van de Berg (1974). Of a more problem oriented nature are the works by Vertenten (1935), Verschueren (1941, 1960), Boelaars (1964, 1967, 1969), and Samkay (1972). Many more articles have appeared in periodicals such as *Katholieke Missien*, *Annalen van O.L. Vrouw van het Heilig Hart (Tilburg)* and *Sint Anthonius (Weert)*.

On the role of the missions in formal education see also Van Asperen (1936), Ten Haaft (1939), F.J.F. van Hasselt (1922), Kijne (1954), and Renwarin (1977). For further information see below, Ch. IX.2.

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VII

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

VI 1.1. General Reviews and Approaches

Our ethnographic knowledge of Irian suffers from many gaps and imperfections. Consequently, all general reviews and characterizations of Papuan culture and society are necessarily provisional, in keeping with the state of our knowledge at the time of writing. All authors agree that there is an urgent need for further research. Recommended general studies are those by Held (1951), Van Baal (1954), De Bruyn (1958-59), Pouwer (1961a, 1961b, 1961c, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c), Schoorl (1967), Koentjaraningrat (1970), and Bromley (1973).

VI1.2. Some Special Characteristics of Irian Society and Culture

The suggestion put forward in Van Baal (1954) that Irian society may be characterized as loosely structured has been discussed in Van der Leeden (1960), Pouwer (1960a, 1960b), Dutoit (1962), and Koentjaraningrat (1977). The question of greater or lesser 'looseness' recurs in a more general, theoretical framework in Van der Leeden's essays of 1970 and 1971.

A wholly different approach to the problems of kinship organization in Irian is found in an M.A. thesis written for the Anthropology Department of the University of Amsterdam. In this paper, which unfortunately has never been published, some 40 tribal societies of Irian are compared (Pans, 1967). A more recent comparative study on kinship organization is Cook and O'Brien (1980). A recent reader on religion and kinship is Herrifield a.o. (1983). Comparative data on land tenure and the organization of local groups are presented in Ploeg (1970) and Legiyo (1981).

Surveys or comparative studies of traditional religions in Irian are lacking. Nevertheless, some preliminary steps have been made by Takenaka (1949) and Kamma (1975, 1978).

The specific subject of counting systems has been discussed by Galis (1960) and Briley (1977).

A curious document from the past, finally, is Van Hoevell (1880).

VII.3. Culture Change. Messianic Movements and Cargo Cults

The heading given to this section might suggest that Messianic movements and cargo cults always go hand in hand with culture change. But this must be emphatically denied. Even so, many of these religious movements are reactions to culture change. Besides, practically all of