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*PANGUMBARAN ING BANG WETAN*  
**THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH**  
**IN LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY JAVA**  
**AN EASTERN ADVENTURE**

This book is dedicated to

*my parents:*

*Kho Giok Sian* (Yeanne Soleiman) and *Ong Han Lee* (Dharmika Soleiman, 1938-2005)  
who brought me to baptismal font

*my teachers:*

*Reverend Lee Sian Hui* (Clement Suleeman, 1919-1988)  
who always watched over on us, his students  
*Reverend The Oen Hien* (Eka Darmaputera, 1942-2005)  
who proved to me that it is possible to love both science and God's people

*Gedenkt uwer voorgangeren, die u het Woord Gods gesproken hebben; en volgt hun geloof  
na, aanschouwende de uitkomst hunner wandeling* (Hebr 13:7, NBG)

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

*Pangumbaran ing bang wetan*

**The Dutch Reformed Church in late eighteenth century Java**

**An eastern adventure**

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

Ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan  
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,  
op gezag van de rector magnificus  
prof.dr. L.M. Bouter,  
in het openbaar te verdedigen  
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie  
van de faculteit der Letteren  
op woensdag 7 september 2011 om 13.45 uur  
in de aula van de universiteit,  
De Boelelaan 1105

door

YUSAK SOLEIMAN

geboren te Jakarta, Indonesië

Promotor: Prof. Dr. F.A. van Lieburg

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Pangumbaran ing bang wetan*<sup>1</sup> The Dutch Reformed Church in the late eighteenth century Java: An Eastern Adventure

In Ambon in 2005, there was a celebration commemorating the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of Protestantism in the Indonesian archipelago. At the time I was still in the Netherlands struggling to make sense of the same subject. A.A. Yewangoe, the chair of the Indonesian Communion of Churches (formerly the Indonesian Council of Churches),<sup>2</sup> provoked me with an editorial he wrote in a national newspaper that questioned the celebration.<sup>3</sup>

Yewangoe challenged his readers to ask themselves about the true meaning of the commemoration. He told a different story of what happened 400 years ago and what came afterwards. The Dutch did not come to bring the Gospel, he said, they came as merchants. To secure their interests, they used arms and other necessary measures, leading to a long history of colonialism in the archipelago.

Although I understood his sentiments, I took issue with his story and his approach to history. I could not blame him for this, since his view mirrored the beliefs fed to us in Indonesia, whether we were Christian or not. The history of Christianity in Indonesia needed to be improved, I thought.

#### *A misunderstood and forgotten era*

Most studies of Indonesian church history from the Protestant side mention only in passing the years between 1602 and 1799. The period is considered an insignificant prelude to the glorious era of missionary enterprises in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and, at the same time, the starting point of western colonialism in the Indonesian archipelago. Unsurprisingly this line of thought can trace its origins to the great body of mission studies compiled over the last two centuries. Scholarship was initially dominated by western historians and theologians; later, Indonesian historians and theologians joined the debate.<sup>4</sup> However, after the anniversary

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<sup>1</sup> *Pangumbaran ing bang wetan* (Javanese) = *Pengembaraan ke timur* (bahasa Indonesia) = Journey (or adventure) to the East.

<sup>2</sup> Its former name was *Dewan Gereja-gereja Indonesia* (DGI = Indonesian Council of Churches), founded in 1950. In 1984 DGI changed its name into *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (PGI = Indonesian Communion of Churches).

<sup>3</sup> See the complete text and its translation in Appendix E.

<sup>4</sup> Van den End, *Ragi Carita- sejarah gereja di Indonesia, 1500-1860*, p. 65-79; Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, p. 1-2; Van Schie, *Rangkuman Sejarah Gereja Kristiani*, p. 1-5; Tapilatu, 'Sejarah Gereja Protestan di Maluku' in Hakh & Soleiman, *Sejarah Gereja Protestant di Indonesia, jilid I*, p. 121-124; Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 190-191, 209n; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia vol. II, 1500-1900*, p. 213-218.

celebration one could see a great improvement in terms of the use of historical materials and the adoption of more comprehensive approaches to the period.<sup>5</sup>

Virtually the whole of twentieth-century study of Indonesian mission history was dominated by the views of Grothe,<sup>6</sup> Coolsma,<sup>7</sup> Van Boetzelaer,<sup>8</sup> and other theologians from both the nineteenth and twentieth century. Their books were quoted over and over again by historians and theologians. The last two were considered by many Indonesians as authorities on the subject of the 350-year Dutch period in the history of Christianity in Indonesia. However since the 1970s Indonesian church historians have written their own accounts. Using archives from the board of Dutch Reformed missions in Oesgsteest, the Netherlands, and other Dutch and European missionary boards' libraries, they have produced extensive historical writings covering almost every region in Indonesia. Other than church historians, there were many theologians who wrote on various aspects of Christianity's history in Indonesia.

It is important to make a critical note. For a long time the historiography of Christianity in Indonesia focused on the development and institutionalization of a particular church in Indonesia,<sup>9</sup> while others wrote about the problem of westernized Christianity *vis-à-vis* indigenous cultural heritage within local Christianity. For the most part, writings on the history of Christianity were indeed quite satisfying in terms of mission history and the history of the institutionalization of the churches. This meant most Indonesian historians and theologians focused their studies on more recent developments in the nineteenth and twentieth century. It was not only the language barrier that made the history of the first 200 years of Protestantism in Indonesia an unlikely subject for many local scholars in the 1970s and 1980s. To be fair, save for the three volumes of Mooij,<sup>10</sup> there was little publication of historical sources from the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC) period of church history. Even in the late 1980s and in the 1990s after scholars discovered a multitude of materials in the Hendrik Kraemer Institute's library in Oesgsteest, many were virtually oblivious to the pre-1800 period.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century new historiographical approaches brought about a fresh look at early Christianity in Indonesia. The favorite materials of theologians and church historians such as Mooij and Van Boetzelaer, i.e., classes and synods' archives, were now put side by side with another source: *Generale Missiven*, *Plakaatboeken*, VOC archives, and other local churches archives. These developments opened up the study of the social life of the time. For Indonesian church historians it was a novel turn to learn from historians

<sup>5</sup> Van den End, 'Gereja Protestan pada zaman VOC' in Hakh & Soleiman, *Sejarah Gereja Protestan di Indonesia, jilid I*, p. 14-51; Steenbrink, 'The Arrival of Protestantism and the Consolidation of Christianity in the Moluccas 1605-1800' in Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, p. 99-132. Both Van den End and Steenbrink have written more comprehensive pieces since 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Grothe, *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Oude Hollandsche zending*.

<sup>7</sup> Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*.

<sup>8</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de Zending in Oost-Indië, in de dagen der Oost-Indische Compagnie*, and *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië, haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939*.

<sup>9</sup> Most churches in Indonesia were either regional or ethnic churches.

<sup>10</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*

such as Van Goor,<sup>11</sup> Knaap,<sup>12</sup> Schutte<sup>13</sup> and Niemeijer.<sup>14</sup> The perspectives presented by those historians offered a new approach to historical materials – different from the mission, institutional or doctrinal approaches favored by earlier theologians. The TANAP Project<sup>15</sup> gave me an opportunity to approach a long-forgotten and much-misunderstood era from a new perspective.

The intention of this study is to provide historians, theologians, and inter-religious studies scholars a new look at one aspect of the religious situation on Java in the last decades of the Company's life. The thesis of this study is that Christianity in late eighteenth century Java was an extension of the Dutch Reformed Church. I argue that this type of Christianity is cultural Christianity, which was significantly different from the missionary Christianity introduced in the following century.

This cultural Christianity had a different relationship to local culture and Islam in Java, since it had a different theological position from the missionary Christianity that appeared in the nineteenth century. The differences between the two were quite distinct. The latter was represented by western missionaries who came to convert the 'natives', and spent most of their resources to bring them into the light.<sup>16</sup> The missionaries' concern for the Christian communities established in the previous centuries was marginal. In contrast, the public church in Semarang in the late eighteenth century put the needs of Christians over those of non-Christians. For this reason nineteenth and twentieth-century theologians and historians accused the public church of the late eighteenth century Java of neglecting the very reason for the church's existence, which was missionary, or to be precise, a conversion project.

Although this study does not cover the nineteenth century, I suspect that most theologians and church historians from the late nineteenth and twentieth century were not aware of the differences between their own era and the preceding era. This study will bring to the table this long-forgotten and much-misunderstood period, so that we can judge the past – if necessary – by its own standards, and not by ours.

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<sup>11</sup> Van Goor, *Kooplieden, predikanten en bestuurders overzee – beeldvorming en plaatsbepaling in een andere wereld*; and *Jan Kompenie as schoolmaster, Dutch Education in Ceylon 1690-1795*

<sup>12</sup> Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen, de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*

<sup>13</sup> Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion, de Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*

<sup>14</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur. Batavia 1619-1725*

<sup>15</sup> TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) was educational and archival preservation program started in 2000. The project gave an opportunity for young lecturers from twelve universities in Asia to be prepared doing research with early modern historical materials, in particular archives of the VOC.

<sup>16</sup> At first glance, both cultural and missionary Christianity did the same things: building schools and hospitals, for example. However they did in fact have different reasons for doing so. Under the cultural Christianity approach, a school was one of three institutions that prepared a person to enter Christian society. Under the missionary approach, a school was an instrument to create change in indigenous society.

Young people who lived in a VOC-ruled area such as Semarang, still, in the end, had to make personal decision to ask the consistory to be baptized after completing their 'education'.

*The plan of the book*

This study has no ambitious plan to explain all the misunderstandings and forgotten parts of the era. My plan is to introduce a more balanced account, mostly for my compatriots in Indonesia. I tried to gain a command of the old languages in order to enter the mental and social worlds of people from the era. I learned about religious practice and expression both in early modern Dutch society and in overseas Dutch settlements. In essence, the process was an adventure for me. The more I understood my subjects of study, the more I appreciated their boldness in embarking on an ‘eastern adventure’.

This book is comprised of nine chapters. The first two chapters serve as introduction to the broader setting. The chapters use secondary sources mostly written in Dutch and unavailable in English. The works offer important information to readers unfamiliar with the seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch Reformed Church in general, as well as its extension overseas.

In the first chapter I give a short description of the Dutch Reformed Church. Apart from organizational aspects, I will not detail much of its history. I have set my focus particularly on the most important features of the church. I chose five features of the church that were found in its overseas counterparts. I also do not discuss the church’s structure, but explore the living elements of the church instead: elders, deacons, ministers and especially specific church helpers known as comforters of the sick (*ziekentroosters*). These are the people who dedicated themselves to the church. The Reformed Church was an integral part of Dutch identity, since it distinguished the northern Low Countries from those in the south during the Dutch revolt and afterwards. The church defined many intricate relationships in Dutch society – social, religious as well as economic. I will not delve deeply into those complex relationships, and will limit myself to exploring through secondary sources the social and religious relationships between church officeholders.

The Reformed Church had membership requirements and powerful tools to regulate the lives of its members. Another important aspect was the church’s care for the poor (i.e. poor relief). The last area I explore is the relationship between church and state – certainly well-known to the historian, but oft overlooked by church historians.

Chapter Two describes the coming of Dutch traders and their church in the Indonesian archipelago. The chapter describes the progression of Dutch settlements, with a specific focus on the close relationship between the church and the Dutch government, in this case the Company. I use older as well as more recent studies of the seventeenth century Dutch Reformed Church mission and activities overseas. It is hoped these studies will help the reader to understand how the Company, together with the church, made preparations in the Netherlands and implemented its plans overseas. I use an interesting autobiography penned by a former *Indisch-predikant* (minister in the Indies) to show the perspective of an *indie-ganger* – a person who came and lived in the Indies for work.

Chapter Three, though short, describes the VOC’s Java’s Northeast Coast province and the rise of the Company’s power in the vast area of the mighty Mataram kingdom.

Chapter Four describes how ministers and other members of the consistory (church council)<sup>17</sup> worked in the last part of eighteenth century in Java. In the seventeenth century, when the Company's presence was still very limited and Mataram was still at its prime, Company outposts were already erected in some coastal towns. From Batavia, the Company provided its local servants with visiting ministers.

Due to the physical condition and availability of sources, I could not give a complete depiction of all the activities of ministers and other consistory member in Semarang. As far as the sources provide, I tried to be true to these hardworking officeholders. The period covered by this study is the relatively brief span when there was peace in Java, namely after the Giyanti Treaty was signed in the mid-eighteenth century until the Company's dissolution towards the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Five tells of *ziekentroosters* (comforters of the sick), lower-ranking church workers who were, in effect, the strategic agents of the church's mission, i.e., the maintainers of Christian lifestyles. Again, due to the limitation of sources, I cannot give as complete a picture as desired. However, I believe relating part of the story is much better than relating nothing at all. Gathering stories of the *ziekentroosters* in one chapter will increase our knowledge of their exploits.

Unlike the ministers, elders and deacons; *ziekentroosters* were not church officeholders, yet in certain places they took over some of the ministers' lesser jobs in their absence. In the vast area of Java, where the Christians lived in an area ranging from Tegal in the west to Pasuruan and Sumenep in the east, the consistory could only spare a minister for a visitation two or three times a year. Christians in Java, then, owed much to the *ziekentroosters* for pastoral care. The other side of the story was that their lives were essentially no different from other low-ranking Company servants, along with their virtues and vices. Evidence of some kind of career trajectory for *ziekentroosters* is also available. Without *ziekentroosters* things would have been quite different in Java: there would have been no education for the young, and early Christianity in Java would have been comprised of an elite group without connections to the common people. *Ziekentroosters* were the true agents of the Christian mission in this era. They deserve acknowledgement. I hope I do them justice.

In Chapter Six I collect some accounts that did not fit into the last three chapters. The stories are worth telling since they give some glimpse of the life of Christians in Java. Two cases are also presented in the chapter to give some examples of how life went on in Java, and the role the church played.

A review of visitation reports will bring one closer to the unknown lives of Christians and their communities in subaltern towns in Java. The reports describe the composition of each and every community visited (granting that one can never know the whole story of the last part of the eighteenth century of those places). However we do know that members and attendees formed a multicultural community. How did the church serve them? Here the undervalued position of the Reformed Church as a so-called public church becomes evident. In fact the church

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<sup>17</sup> My preference for the term consistory (or church council) over presbytery is based on the sources I used. Dutch literature and texts mostly use *kerkeraad* or *consistorie*, while English-speaking scholars and other books written in English use consistently presbytery (or church council).

did provide for everyone, not only for its member, and that was what its 'public' role was all about.

In the next century one finds, not necessarily to one's liking, the widespread baptism of illegitimate children in Java. In that century the number of illegitimate children was quite impressive. They comprised a kind of Eurasian Christian community, also known as the *Indische-mensen*.

As is typical of the Dutch Reformed Church, the consistory was keen to maintain discipline (*tucht*). To uphold its version of the Christian ideal, the consistory went so far as to intervene in the public order to educate and to maintain Christian lifestyles. This was, after all, a Christian society for which the consistory and the government had a God-given responsibility to lead and to help.

Two stories will be presented to give a look at the fate of Christian people in this society. The first story is that of a (societal) winner who secured good fortune for himself and his progeny in Java. The second story is comprised of tales of those who lost, subject to an unfortunate chain of events.

Chapter Seven and Eight bring to life the forgotten history of early Christians in Java. Chapter Seven is story of a charity enterprise that was used to exercise control over the poor. It shows the tools of power used by both the government and the church to control Christian society. Unlike the situation in the Netherlands, where several bodies provided for poor, in Java there was only one source of aid, the deaconry, which was the product of a combined effort between the government and consistory. Most interesting is to find out that one source of income for poor relief was paid for by non-Christians.

Chapter Eight offers another story of charity and control, this time about orphans. To set up an orphanage was a serious undertaking and a great investment. The government and consistory in Semarang handpicked all the people in charge: regents, housemothers and schoolmasters. They also provided the children with a safe and healthy environment in order to ensure that those children would become productive members of colonial society. A comparison with orphanages in the Netherlands will show that, despite the different situation in Asia, the orphanage in Semarang tried to be true to the ideals of the home country.

The last chapter is about the close relationship between the consistory and government. Again, I will show that both the government and consistory had their own weight to pull, and the government most certainly did not dominate the church.

Finally in my conclusion I wrap up all the stories presented and to put forward some thoughts on the whole adventure.

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Reformed church in the Netherlands

In this chapter I wish to highlight certain features of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands to help us to understand practices found later in overseas in Asia, particularly along Java's Northeast Coast.

The Dutch Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde kerk*) came into existence in the sixteenth century as the result of a general drive to reform the Roman Catholic Church. It belonged to the Protestant tradition, namely Calvinism. The Dutch Reformed Church, however, was not necessarily a copy of the Reformed church in Geneva, where John Calvin and his followers developed the so-called Calvinist or Reformed Protestantism.

It is not my intention to detail every aspect of the Reformed church in the Netherlands. The study of Calvin and Calvinism already includes a great number of publications on the subject and I am not planning to contribute something new.

There were five important features of the Reformed church related to its sister churches in Asia.<sup>1</sup> First was its structure and personnel: ministers, lay elders and lay deacons and the appearance of the organization and church government. Second, catechism and education were also important features, since the church considered these important tools for individual growth.<sup>2</sup> The third feature was the composition of the church membership and the nature of church discipline, which was important theologically and socially.<sup>3</sup> Fourth feature was the organization of poor relief. As a refugee and exile community itself the Dutch Reformed Church took the need to care for the needy very seriously. The last feature was the relationship between the church and the state at the local level. The early modern Reformed church had its own methods that differentiated it from both the medieval and modern church with regard to the relationship between temporal and spiritual power. These five features will appear again when we scrutinize churches in Asia. To treat those five aspects separately would do no justice to the existence of the Church. Each and every aspect was connected. By explaining all these aspects I want to show how the situation was in the Netherlands and how it changed under different circumstances.

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<sup>1</sup> This 'sister' church relation was comparatively better than the 'mother-daughter' relationship seen in later centuries (i.e., in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) when native churches were created after the arrival of western missionary societies.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike the older church, which thought that membership had an intrinsic value, the Reformed Church considered membership a serious step that demanded serious preparation.

<sup>3</sup> This was always difficult for Reformed Christians both in the Netherlands and in Asia.

*The church government*

One of the striking features of churches in the Reformed tradition was their use of the Presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government. They despised the hierarchical order of the Roman Catholic Church and at the same time declined to follow the congregational system. Under the Presbyterian system Reformed churches in the Netherlands chose the middle way: decision-making power was shared among the members of the board (church council). No outside hierarchical authority could influence local church decisions, which reflected the will of a majority of individual church members.

On a local level, the Reformed church was governed by a consistory (church council) as an independent unit.<sup>4</sup> Nearby local churches joined together to form a classis.<sup>5</sup> On a much larger scale, a number of classes could together hold larger meetings called synods. There were several provincial synods in the Netherlands; the largest being the National Synod. Synods were larger – though not necessarily higher, because there was no such thing as hierarchy in the Reformed church – due to the scope of their meetings and the strategic issues discussed and decided upon therein.

The consistory handled the daily life of a local church or parish (*gemeente*). The classis convened to discuss matters of interest to all parishes in the area. Bigger issues such as decisions on certain theological matters or teachings were discussed in the synods. Local churches were obliged to follow decisions made by larger groups such as classes, synods and National Synods, but nevertheless retained the rights to appeal and for revision.

In this study I am more concerned with local churches and their governing bodies, called consistories (*kerkenraad*). Consistories were always at the core of the eighteenth century Reformed church, especially in Asia, where the classis system was never implemented.

The number of members of a given consistory was generally not large. One church with only a few hundred members in Graft in the late eighteenth century, for instance, had a consistory comprised of one minister, four elders and four deacons.<sup>6</sup> Van Deursen says that the background of the people who held office in consistories as well as the way consistories operated showed a clear similarity to the oligarchic system of state government. In other words, the church was not a democratic body of believers who had come together. It was never simply a question of majority rule.

While villages had consistories comprised of smaller numbers of people, usually only four elders and two deacons, even big cities with churches comprised of thousands of members in the seventeenth century, such as Amsterdam, had consistories comprised of about twenty people. Each consistory itself had to decide the number of members needed.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Schutte, 'De Gereformeerde kerk in de Republiek', in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> In the Presbyterian Church, *classis* were previously called *presbytery*. In the Presbyterian Church the term *presbytery* could be understood as a member of a *consistory* (i.e., an elder), the church council or the classis, depending on context. For consistency, I will use the Dutch term *classis* instead of the English term of *presbytery*.

<sup>6</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw*, p. 94

<sup>7</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavienen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 93; Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 226.



The election of a new consistory member followed a system of co-optation; the consistory itself chose (co-opted) new elders and deacons.<sup>8</sup> However parishioners could put forward objections to particular candidates. If the objection was found by the consistory to be well grounded it could bar the candidate from the *ambt* (eldership or deaconship).<sup>9</sup>

The number of elders was always small compared to the number of deacons. According to Roodenburg, in Amsterdam eleven new deacons came into office in 1578 in addition to those already in office; by 1663 there were thirty-two deacons all together. At the same time the number of elders was twelve and twenty respectively. In 1580 the deacons had their own meeting, apart from the consistory meetings.<sup>10</sup> The number of deacons grew over the years as more people needed church assistance. We will return to the subject of deacons again when we discuss relief for the poor, which was effectively their main duty.

### *The offices of elder and deacon*

A term of service in the consistory typically lasted two years. Each year half of the consistory's officers stepped down and new elders and deacons came into office.<sup>11</sup> Only in Groningen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were elders appointed for life, but this was exceptional and not a common practice in other parts of the Netherlands.<sup>12</sup>

The office was held in high regard. One was not allowed to decline the calling (*roeping*) to become an elder without an acceptable excuse. Refusal could incur severe consequences: a person might be declared unworthy (*inhabel*), put under censure (*onder censuur*) or not allowed to join the sacrament of the Holy Communion.<sup>13</sup>

It was common for a person to serve as a deacon for one or more terms before being asked to become an elder. However, this was not a fixed regulation. Generally deaconship was considered less prestigious than eldership; the former served as a kind of training for future elders.<sup>14</sup> Schutte says that, in fact, most elders were middle-aged when they entered office, while deacons were typically in their thirties when they received their first calling to office.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 108. Besides this system in the early years of the Reformed Church, as shown by Van Ginkel there were at least two other ways to elect new elders: 1) election by the *gemeente* (parishioners) and 2) election/appointment by the government (Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 226-228).

<sup>9</sup> In Asia the situation was even more complicated. Each candidate needed to be approved by the local VOC authority, since most of the candidates were VOC officials.

<sup>10</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 110-111; Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 241-243. In early years elders were elected for life, but toward the end of the sixteenth century elder office was no longer a life-long office.

<sup>13</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 95; Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 94-95; Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 231.

<sup>14</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 96; Schotel, *De openbare Eeredienst der Nederlandsch Hervomde Kerk in de 16<sup>e</sup>, 17<sup>e</sup> en 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, p. 312.

It is important to note that the consistory did not only serve ecclesiastical purposes; it also had a public function. Several people took turns serving in ecclesiastical and public offices.<sup>16</sup> More than that, ecclesiastical and secular administrations showed a strong similarity in their preference for formality, a high regard for precedent and tradition, and the possession of an imperious (*regenteske*) mentality and performance. Most – if not all – were recruited from the same social group.<sup>17</sup> It was quite common in the seventeenth century in all provinces of Holland for elders to be chosen from the regents' families. In small towns people were generally well prepared to be ruled by distinguished persons.<sup>18</sup> The practice was not uncommon in other Dutch provinces as well. Schilling's prosopographic study shows that town councilors, elders and – with a few exceptions – even deacons, were recruited from the same close circle of patricians.<sup>19</sup>

In his study of six cities in Holland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Parker shows that the office bearers conformed to an ethos of leadership that upheld the notion that those in authority should be men of 'quality'. Quality was defined as action in the public interest and possession of moral uprightness, social standing and economic independence.<sup>20</sup> He also says that in those cities only people from the highest ranks of society could hold office. For a person serving as a church elder and bearing the responsibility of daily church government and church discipline, social status was an important requirement. After examining the attendance roster for the synods, Groenhuis comes to a similar conclusion: most elders were from the regents' circle. As was also the case in many major cities in the Dutch Republic, elders came from the circle of regents or former regents.<sup>21</sup> Van Ginkel, after discussing the requirements that candidates for eldership needed to fulfill, comes to the conclusion that changes had indeed taken place. In earlier times it was a spiritual quality that took precedence; later, people tended to care more about administrative skill or civil status.<sup>22</sup>

Schilling raises important questions about the people who held the leading positions in church and in town. Theoretically, piety and good moral conduct were the most important qualifications for church leadership, whereas for the political elite, other factors such as income, property, birth and temporal reputation, were more important. In his prosopographical research on several hundred church elders and deacons between the sixteenth and nineteenth century in Groningen, Schilling proposes several findings.<sup>23</sup>

He makes a distinction between the smaller circles of elders and the larger circles of deacons. Some deacons were later elected as elders. The number grew larger over the years. In the beginning only one-tenth of all deacons were elected to

<sup>16</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 96-97.

<sup>17</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 98.

<sup>18</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 84-85.

<sup>19</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Parker, *The Reformation of Community – Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620*, p. 126.

<sup>21</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 24-25.

<sup>22</sup> Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 233-236.

<sup>23</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 5, 158-161.

the office of elder. But later in the seventeenth century, nearly half, and by the eighteenth century nearly two-thirds, of the elders were previously deacons.

On the civil status of elders, there were two groups; on one side there were the commercial bourgeoisie; on the other side, politicians and men of rank. Politicians and men of rank serving as elders outnumbered elders from other strata by approximately three-to-one. Others might serve as deacons, but only small numbers were elected as elders.

Groningen's well-known structure of eldership, *Heren, Geleerden* and *Burghers* (councillors, academics and ordinary citizens), in Schilling's view, represented a close link between the consistory and the political elite. One-third of the members of the town council belonged simultaneously to the ecclesiastical elite, and most belonged to the body of elders. For the great majority of the elders or deacons who were members of the established political elite by birth or by status, ecclesiastical office was a customary step within a proper *cursus honorum* (i.e., the established political career path).

Groenhuis proposes an interesting thesis. He rejects the common belief that the tension between the consistories and the municipalities was a conflict of plebeian (commoner) elders versus aristocratic city councilors. The more probable cause of the conflict was attributed to 1) elder-magistrates who did not have enough time to fulfill their ecclesiastical duties, and 2) conflicts between factions within the regents' circles.<sup>24</sup> Apparently the consistories did not represent the commoners.

Groenhuis believes that the reason many regents made themselves part of the ecclesiastical elite was because they realized that the public church, as a supporter of the Republic, could not be entrusted to common people who did not have political responsibilities.<sup>25</sup> This was not a strange notion in the early modern period.

In the early seventeenth century, the difference in roles between elders and deacons at consistory meetings was not that sharp. It was compulsory for deacons to attend every meeting, as did elders, and even to join discussions on disciplinary cases (*censuurgevallen*).<sup>26</sup> The duty of house visits (*huisbezoek*), which was predominantly a responsibility for elders, could also be assigned to deacons when there was no elder available. On the other hand, elders could also appear when giving away alms (*diaconale uitdelingen*) or counting the collections (*collecte*) together with deacons.<sup>27</sup>

According to Van Deursen this mutual assistance occurred out of necessity when the number of office holders was still small. Elders and deacons needed each other's assistance.<sup>28</sup>

The primary duties of the elders were basically related to church government and to the supervision of parishes (*gemeente*). As the supervisors of the parish the elders stood in the shadow of the ministers. One of an elder's primary duties was to visit members before the celebration of the Holy Communion. This

<sup>24</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 94.

<sup>27</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 94.

visitation itself was in fact the duty of a minister, while elders functioned as the minister's helpers.<sup>29</sup>

In the Dutch Reformed Church the presence of deacons and elders was compulsory. When a parish did not have its own regular minister, the classis would provide the parish with a visiting minister from a neighboring parish (*consulent predikant*), to fulfill some of its ministerial needs. But without elders and deacons the church could not function. Only a regular minister, who stayed and worked in particular parish, could make the church complete.

### *The classis*

The classis convened three or four times a year. It was a meeting of the representatives of the consistories from all the parishes in an area. A classis was generally comprised of one minister and one elder from each church.<sup>30</sup>

The classis had the greatest responsibility by far for maintaining the quality of Christian life. The classis had to determine if the local parish exercised church discipline (*tucht*), maintained pure and healthy teachings, looked after the poor properly and supervised the schools.<sup>31</sup> These were basically the four things that supervised by the classis that needed to be done by every local church.

In practice it was the classis's duty to found new churches (*kerkinstituering*) and to install the right person as a minister for a particular parish. If there were no church officers (i.e., ministers or elders) at a particular moment at a particular church, it became the duty of the classis to take over the appointment of schoolmasters and to admonish straying members.<sup>32</sup> Approval from the classis was needed if a minister wanted to leave a parish. The same procedure was also applied to a congregation that wanted to call a new minister.<sup>33</sup> Coming or leaving a congregation was neither a personal choice for a minister nor a parish's business; the arrangements always involved the classis, as the classis also had the power to manage the tours of duty of a minister between parishes.<sup>34</sup> In the eighteenth century the appointment system was already in place, so every aspiring minister (*proponent*) was examined by the classis before he being installed (*bevestiging*) at a parish.<sup>35</sup> In this way classis controlled the teaching and the schoolmasters at local churches, which was one of the priorities of Reformed churches.

Conducting annual church visits was also a part of the classis's responsibilities. On such occasions it collected information on the progress of preaching, the catechism and the work of the consistories.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 22-23; Schutte, 'De Gereformeerde kerk in de Republiek', in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 6; Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw*, p. 94.

<sup>34</sup> Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 253.

<sup>35</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 7; Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving*, p. 94.

<sup>36</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving*, p. 94.

The classis played an important supervisory role to ensure that the needs of members were served adequately and in a proper manner by churches in the area. In the Reformed church each and every parish indeed maintained its autonomy and yet did not live separately. The way the Dutch organized the church was not so different from the political ethos of the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic.

*The ministers and ziekentroosters (comforters of the sick)*

Ministers were the full-timers in the consistorial body. They differed from elders or deacons, who could join the consistory directly from any background. The ministers of the Reformed church were required to have completed certain educational training and could only join the consistory through a calling.

A minister of the Reformed church did not exactly replicate the role of priests in the former system of the medieval Roman Catholic Church.<sup>37</sup> A minister did not stand above other church officers. He played an important role in the life of the community and for that duty he had a different calling from elders and deacons. In a modern sense we might say that a minister was a church full-timer who dedicated most of his labor to the work of the church, inside the church.

In the early years the Dutch Reformed Church was served by ministers who came from three different sources: a) aspiring ministers (*proponent*) – most of whom were university graduates; b) ex-priests or ex-monks of the Roman Catholic Church who for various reasons converted to Protestantism; and c) *Duitsche klerken*.<sup>38</sup> Consequently in the early years of the Reformed church there were many ministers who were untrained in theology; well-equipped university graduates came into the picture later.

The supply of ministers lagged behind the number of parishes without priests. A shortage of ministers for the growing number of churches, in combination with the consideration that certain people had the gifts of *godzaligheid*, *zedigheid* and *welsprekenheid*, gave way for some ordinary people to become ministers, known as the *Duitsche klerken*.<sup>39</sup> The classes and synods insisted that these people still needed to follow some course of training, but after the mid-seventeenth century ministers without theological training were no longer appointed and were replaced by those from the younger generation who completed a full course of academic study at university.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Swanson, 'Before the Protestant Clergy: The Construction and Deconstruction of Medieval Priesthood' and McLaughlin, 'The Making of the Protestant Pastor: The Theological Foundation of a Clerical Estate', in Dixon and Schorn-Schütte (eds.), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*.

<sup>38</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 35-41. *Duitsche klerken* were clergy who knew only Dutch and lacked university degrees; they were *ongestudeerde lekenpredikers*.

<sup>39</sup> This situation was common in many European countries as describe in Dixon and Schorn-Schütte (eds.), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Schotel, *De Openbare Eeredienst*, p. 258-259; Dixon and Schorn-Schütte (eds.), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, p. 23. Schorn-Schütte says that in the early decades of the seventeenth century the general level of learning among Protestant ministers was quite low.

The so-called *Duitsche klerken* were quite numerous in the countryside. They still existed in the first decade of the seventeenth century when the number of university-educated ministers was growing. Van Deursen says that *Duitsche klerken's* preaching shared the certain elements with the preaching of educated ministers. There were always three distinguishing elements: 1) the use of the Bible as the solid foundation for sermons, 2) adoption of a polemic tone against the enemies of the Reformed church and 3) stimulating content to drive the parishioners repent.<sup>41</sup>

The initiative to call a new minister always rested with the consistory.<sup>42</sup> Usually it invited a candidate minister to preach in its parish. Based on his research in the early seventeenth century church archives, Van Deursen says that good performance from a minister was an important factor in creating a good impression for a future calling by another parish. Good performance included the candidate's voice, his gestures during sermons, his mastery of sermons, the simplicity of the language he used and the brevity of his sermons.<sup>43</sup>

Once accepted by the church, a minister was supposed to preach at least twice on Sundays: in the mornings and in the afternoons. Afternoon preaching in particular was supposed to be an instructional *sermon* based on the Heidelberg catechism. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the process of the Calvinization of the Church in the Netherlands was ongoing. To this end the Heidelberg catechism was a powerful tool to educate Christians. However, in summer it proved to be difficult to keep the morning-and-afternoon preaching scheme. In small towns people were at work on their land at midday or they were busy fishing.<sup>44</sup>

There is a generally accepted view that ministers in the early modern period belonged to the commoner class (*plebeian*), and hence had modest salaries.<sup>45</sup> How true is this belief?

In the eyes of many in the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a minister was "*staat met anderen niet zo maar gelijk*" (not standing like other people).<sup>46</sup> In fact, he enjoyed high standing in society, not by birth, but due to his calling.<sup>47</sup> In return he was expected to live an exemplary and pious life. The Reformed church expected ministers to follow a certain code of conduct, such as that the code followed by clerics of the Roman Catholic Church. He might not go hunting, play cards, conduct trade or any other worldly occupation.<sup>48</sup>

A minister's salary was typically *f*350 a year according to the regulation of 1594. A retired (*emeritus*) minister received *f*200 a year.<sup>49</sup> Obviously this was not

<sup>41</sup> Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, p. 296-297.

<sup>42</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 43-44.

<sup>44</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 63-64.

<sup>45</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 1-2.

<sup>46</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 69.

<sup>47</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 69-70.

<sup>48</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 72-73.

much, but a retired minister kept his privileged status (*standsprivilege*). In 1623 a new regulation raised the minimum salary to *f* 500 a year and provided for child subsidy payments.<sup>50</sup>

A minister was expected to tend to the sick. Besides praying for the sick during Sunday services, he was supposed to visit them one by one. Elders and deacons were supposed to accompany him, or in some instances replace him and take over visitation duties. This was a time-consuming job. Since ministers did not always have time and elders and deacons were not always willing to take over the duty, in the late sixteenth century the comforter of the sick (*ziekentrooster*) position came into being. The presence of a *ziekentrooster* gave the minister more time for his studies and other church work.<sup>51</sup>

A *ziekentrooster* received a small salary: *f* 100 to *f* 300 a year, depending on the hours spent on the job. Often times it was impossible to make ends meet. *Ziekentroosters* had either side jobs in the church, such as lay readers or lead singers or had day jobs, since most of them came from the artisan class.<sup>52</sup>

Town councils exerted a massive influence on the recruitment and work of ministers. Councils supervised church property and ecclesiastical finances and also influenced schools and poor relief, which in medieval times had been supervised by the church. In a similar manner to the appointment of comforters of the sick, this meant that in a way the people who governed a town ran its consistory as well.<sup>53</sup>

A minister received his calling from the parish (*gemeente*), but the local government influenced the process, as shown in several ways, including providing government approbation of a candidate. The government and a consistory might have also joined together to arrange the calling.<sup>54</sup>

Schilling states that the procedure for electing and appointing ministers was formal and more elaborate than that for elders. A consistory developed a list of candidates with the town government, since a minister's salary would be paid by the town treasury, and more importantly, since his effect on public life would be much greater than elders or deacons. It was important that a minister be introduced to the secular authorities to be confirmed before he was ordained. To reduce the potential for conflict between consistories and town councils, the municipal authorities made sure that they dominated, as far as needed, the nomination of candidates. After being appointed a minister still had to swear an oath to the secular authorities that his work would benefit the community and congregation.<sup>55</sup>

The name of newly elected ministers, just as with elders, would be announced from the pulpit on three successive Sundays to give every member of the congregation an opportunity to express objections to the election. If there was an objection the consistory would decide whether the dissent was justified and needed

<sup>50</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 73; Schotel, p. 297.

<sup>51</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 97-99; Van Ginkel, *De Ouderling*, p. 263.

<sup>52</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 99-100.

<sup>53</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 39; De Niet, *Ziekentroosters*, p. 54-55.

<sup>54</sup> Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 111-112.

to be addressed. If everything went well congregations were asked to observe a period of prayer and sometimes fasting during the election process.<sup>56</sup>

### *School and church*

The education of church members was an important aspect of the Reformed church. As early as in 1572 the Synod of North Holland decided that all baptized children should be educated in the Reformed religion.

The Reformed church had a special function in the Netherlands as a public church. Hence it was the duty of the Reformed church to baptize everyone who was brought to the baptismal font. The church baptized not only the children of members, but also the children of prostitutes, the circumcised, Catholics, and others (*hoereerders, afgesnedenen, papisten en dierghelijcken*.) and of apostates, the unbaptized and the indifferent. The theological reason behind the policy was that God's covenant swept through the thousandth generation (*Godts verbondt zich strecket tot in het duijzenste geslachte*) – in spite of the stubbornness and the weakness of men and on the grounds of God's immeasurable grace. God's covenant (*verbond*) was the base of this generous baptism.<sup>57</sup> In this sense the Reformed church saw itself as the faithful guardian of a Christian nation.

On the other hand, from a candidate's side, he or she needed to be accompanied by a competent tutor (*peet*, or godfather) when the baptism took place. That could be a parent, grandparent, godfather, godmother or other legal guardian; a tutor had to be a full member of the Reformed church. It was also allowed for housefathers and housemothers in orphanages could stand as guardians. At the baptismal font the tutor promised that he or she would teach the baptized child to grow in accordance with the teachings of the Christian (Reformed) religion. Through the sacrament of baptism the child would then be incorporated in the Covenant with God and brought into Christianity in cultural sense, but not just yet as a (Christian) believer. The formula of Reformed baptism made it very clear: God's covenant with mankind had two sides, a promise and a demand. At baptism God promised to accept the baptized as His child. But only later when they could take up the promise of true belief and show the rule of the Covenant in their lives could they be declared Christian in the true meaning of the word.<sup>58</sup> To be able to appropriate the Christian faith, people needed to understand it properly; hence education was always a main emphasis of the Reformed church.

Catechism was an important part of church activities. The minister was not the sole catechist teacher; the schoolmaster played an important role too.<sup>59</sup> In order to teach people proper knowledge of religion through catechism, people needed to be able to read. Hence schools served as very important institutions for young minds.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> Schutte, 'De Gereformeerde kerk in de Republiek', in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 22-23.

<sup>59</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 161.

<sup>60</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 162.



Furthermore, schoolmasters needed to look after children, so children went to the church and listened to the sermon.<sup>61</sup> There were many connections between the schoolmaster and the church: the schoolmaster would play many roles when needed, as a *koster*, a *kinderbewaarder*, a lay reader in the church, or a lead singer (*voorzanger*).<sup>62</sup> With all these roles and authority, the schoolmaster had a unique and important position within the church.<sup>63</sup>

Before the Revolt (1570s) Holland possessed a rudimentary school system. Almost every town had one parish school connected to the church. The curricula of these schools consisted of basic instruction in such things as reading, writing and Latin grammar.<sup>64</sup>

The urbanized Netherlands generated a greater and more specialized demand for education that was oriented to the needs of commerce, town administration and high culture. During the sixteenth century town magistrates took control of the schools from the church. This meant the end of the church's monopoly on education.

Religion, in particular the Reformed faith, was an important factor in eliminating illiteracy as faithful people had to be able to read Scripture. In the case of the Dutch people the growth of trade and the rise of cities boosted instruction in reading and writing.<sup>65</sup>

In seventeenth century Holland there was a school system for virtually every social class and level of education; all were aimed at promoting religious and practical life. Basic education was provided by the schools for small children (*kleinekinderscholen*) under the direction of '*matres*' (usually widows or unmarried women), who watched over and taught the children, aged between 2 and 6, the rules of conduct and simple religious education, such as singing psalms and basic doctrine.

Basic reading and writing were taught primarily in public town or village schools and in the *bijcholen* of private teachers. Children learned to read using simple question-and-answer patterns from the catechism. At more advanced levels they read Bible history and practiced general reading, including reading newspapers. For writing and advanced arithmetic parents had to pay additional fees for quills and paper. The close relationship between the church and education was not limited to learning materials. Often the verger (*koster*) of the local church was also the schoolmaster.<sup>66</sup>

Secondary education at town schools gave students a basis in subjects that would be studied later at university: Latin and grammar, rhetoric and logic in other words language skills and the art of speaking and arguing.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 163.

<sup>62</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 164.

<sup>63</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 165.

<sup>64</sup> Otterspeer, W, 'Onderwijs en wetenschap in Holland – Discipline en daadkracht' in De Nijs and Beukers, *Geschiedenis van Holland, deel II*, p. 331.

<sup>65</sup> Otterspeer, *Geschiedenis van Holland, deel II*, p. 333.

<sup>66</sup> Otterspeer, *Geschiedenis van Holland, deel II*, p. 333-335.

<sup>67</sup> Otterspeer, *Geschiedenis van Holland, deel II*, p. 331-332.

*Membership and church discipline*

The Reformed church provided for most of a person's basic needs in life, from birth to marriage and finally to death. For ages the church offered its members baptism, marriage ceremonies and funeral services and made those things part of church sacraments.

Early modern Europe, or at least its western and southern parts, was populated mostly by Christians. Since medieval times there was a wide diversity within Christianity. Although the medieval Roman Catholic Church held sway, there were different sects and dissenting groups. The Reformation, beginning in the early sixteenth century brought more diversity into the mix. Despite differences they all saw themselves as Christians.

Friedrichs points out that people did not identify themselves as Christians due to shared adherence to a single body of religious beliefs, nor common participation in a specific of religious practice. What made people Christians was a single ritual, normally performed within days or even hours of a person's birth: the sacrament of baptism. It was baptism that defined an individual as a member of the church and subjected him or her to a set of specific religious obligations.<sup>68</sup>

Baptism was a clear sign of Christian identity, as was circumcision was for Jews. At that time it was unthinkable that a person could live outside the grace of God; grace could only be given to people who entered Christianity through baptism. God's grace was for everyone – every child should be baptized and be brought into God's Covenant. The Reformed church, as the public church of the Dutch Republic, was under obligation to baptize all children, according to the Synod of Dordrecht, 1578.<sup>69</sup>

The Reformed church accepted any baptism performed by another churches as valid as long as it was made in the name of the triune God. It meant that the sacrament did not depend on the worthiness of the servants who performed the ritual. The Reformed church acknowledged baptisms performed by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, the Mennonites, the Lutheran Church and even by those who had been excommunicated.<sup>70</sup>

As a mark of God's Covenant (*verbondszege*l), baptism offered to a wide variety of people. Children were only baptized on the basis of their birth, i.e., whether or not their parents were Reformed church members or under church discipline at the moment. Baptism could be seen as a part of the process of 'confessionalization' that took place after the Reformation movement reached the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. As Roodenburg notes, the Synod of Dordrecht determined in 1618 that children in the East Indies born from *inlandse* parents – whether non-Christians, heathens or Muslims – first ought to be taught the Christian faith and then take confession. They could only be baptized after they had sufficient intellectual capacity or after they reached the age of maturity.<sup>71</sup> The decision of the

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<sup>68</sup> Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750*, p. 62.

<sup>69</sup> Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, p. 294-29; Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 136.

<sup>70</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 139.

<sup>71</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur – De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700*, p. 86; Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 139.

Synod proved to be difficult to implement, as baptism in overseas churches was practiced differently in different situations.

At a practical level baptism was needed for those who wanted to formalize their marriages (*huwelijksbevestiging*) under church auspices. The Reformed church previously refused to confirm marriages if one member of the couple was not baptized.<sup>72</sup>

The seventeenth century Dutch Republic, acknowledged the Mennonites and the Roman Catholic Church as well as the Reformed church. Van Deursen sums up the role of the Reformed church:

‘The strength of the Reformed church lay mostly in her public character, her presence in the middle of villages. She alone stood under the full light of publicity, and was acknowledged by the government as the church of the nation. Only she stood by baptism, marriage and funerals, rendering those services to all inhabitants. The Reformed church was exclusively authorized to give spiritual care to the soldiers, sailors and prisoners in the name of the Christian government, as this at the same time was a privilege and an obligation’.<sup>73</sup>

If baptism declared a person to be a Christian, consequently the next step was to live as a Christian. One simple way to affirm Christian identity was to go to church on Sunday.

In the cities it was quite common to have two or three Sunday services: at six and at nine in the morning, and around or after noon. There might also be several services during weekdays, as in Leiden and Amsterdam, where they had services four times a week. In the countryside they had at least one service on Sunday morning and perhaps additional services on weekdays. The change of seasons also influenced the frequency of services. During the winter there might be three services, but from mid-March until the first week of October there might only be one, since people worked as the weather permitted.<sup>74</sup>

Churchgoing for the Reformed church was about learning, hence sermons were important. Congregations were bored if there was no sermon delivered by a minister during Sunday services. Since sermons had a central role, liturgies were completely sober, punctuated by reading the Scriptures, singing psalms and fixed-formulated, as opposed to free-form, prayers.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the strictness, the Reformed church was not a puritan church that held its members to high standards of religious conduct. Even so, not all Dutch followed this church.<sup>76</sup> Parker argues that the Reformed church was ‘a public yet confessional church.’ It was indeed a public church for all the people of the nation while at the same time a voluntary confessional church for its members. Everyone might attend church services but only members who had fulfilled certain

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<sup>72</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 142.

<sup>73</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 144 (translated from Dutch by Y. Soleiman).

<sup>74</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 168-169.

<sup>75</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 172-175.

<sup>76</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 193.

requirements could join the Holy Communion.<sup>77</sup> On Sunday the doors of the churches were open to members of the Reformed church and to everyone.

The presence of attendants (*liefhebbers*) made the public character of the Reformed church clearer. The *liefhebbers* of the *gereformeerde religie* were people who went to the church regularly but had not yet made a public confession. In other words they had not yet entered the full membership of the church, for various reasons.<sup>78</sup>

One of the differences between *liefhebbers* and full members (*lidmaten*) was that only the latter could celebrate Holy Communion. The Reformation brought an essential change to Dutch religious life: church membership was no longer taken for granted it was not bestowed passively at birth or by baptism, as in medieval times. It was now a matter of personal choice.

To become a full member of the Reformed church a person had to confirm a personal confession of faith in front of ministers and elders. This confession would consequently be the person under the supervision of the consistory, which would examine the applicant's conduct. This choice could only take place a person reached the age of discretion (*leeftijd des ondersheids*) and was mature enough to be responsible for his or her own deeds. These stringent requirements meant that not everyone felt an urge to become a formal member of this church. However stringent membership procedures did not restrain them from joining Sunday services. The number of the '*liefhebbers van de gereformeerde kerk*' in the early years of the church's existence was generally greater than the number of members.<sup>79</sup>

The number of *liefhebbers* was over time brought down. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the membership of the Reformed church comprised about fifteen percent of the population of the province of Holland, but half a century later that number had doubled. *Liefhebbers* faded away as more flexible requirements were put into practice due to a more educated populace, social pressures and a slackening (*verslapping*) of church discipline. The Reformed church grew stronger when its privileged position as the Church of the nation was declared by the *Grote Vergadering* in 1651. The intertwined relationship of city councils and consistories was getting stronger. It is no wonder that the Reformed church eventually became an important institution in the eyes of the political elite. Membership in the Reformed church was becoming socially attractive in the cities.<sup>80</sup>

Holy Communion was celebrated three to four times a year. A procedure of examining conduct (*censura morum*) was required before the celebration. It started among consistory members themselves. Starting in 1578<sup>81</sup> the Amsterdam consistory exercised the *onderlinge censuur* or *censura morum* a few days before partaking in the Holy Communion.<sup>82</sup> The practice followed the synod of Dordrecht's

<sup>77</sup> Parker, *The Reformation of Community – Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620*, p. 98-99.

<sup>78</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 128.

<sup>79</sup> Abels, 'Religie in Holland – Tussen gewetensvrijheid en kerkelijke dwang' in De Nijs, & Beukers, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 299, 302.

<sup>80</sup> Abels, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 318.

<sup>81</sup> The year when the Amsterdam church was reformed and the consistory was founded.

<sup>82</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 116.

decision in 1578, namely that church officers, including ministers, elders and deacons, should place each other under the scrutiny of Christian censure or examination with regard to both faith and conduct and should accept Christian admonition in love (*onder elkaar 'de christelyke censure, ofte ondersoeking doen, soe wel over de leer als over den wandel, en sullen de christelyke vermaningen in der liefde aannemen*) before the Holy Communion.<sup>83</sup>

The principle of self-examination also applied to members. Ministers and elders were expected to visit every house to remind brothers and sisters – the members of the Reformed church – to join the celebration, and if needed also address the hindrances they faced. Sometimes there were cases when members did not wish to join the sacrament out of a feeling of unworthiness.<sup>84</sup> As an aside, it was also common for over-scrupulous self-examination to develop into criticism of others.<sup>85</sup>

In general the Holy Communion celebration was held four times a year: during Passover, Pentecost, Christmas, and finally in between Pentecost and Christmas. This was perhaps related to the old practice where good Christians took communion on those four feast days.<sup>86</sup> For members this sacrament was considered desirable and indispensable.<sup>87</sup> Since the church had no physical means of coercion, reminders from the text of the Holy Communion service must have been sufficient for people under censure to repent from their unacceptable behavior.<sup>88</sup> This brings us to another aspect of church membership: the experience of people who fell short of a Christian decent life and were subsequently put under censure.

Church discipline was not intended as punishment but had the intention to restore offenders to a healthy relationship with God and with their neighbors.<sup>89</sup> We should also be aware that church discipline was intended to protect the community, not the individual. Sins were considered annoyances that could ruin the reputation of a community while satisfaction was needed to restore harmony. This was the way that the 1581 Synod of Middelburg perceived the term church discipline. A disciplinary process did not necessarily end with the exclusion of the alleged sinner from the church, but the discipline was maintained through expression of a confession of guilt.<sup>90</sup>

The difference between church disciplinary action and secular legal proceedings was also clear. The difference lay in the defense procedure. As the aim of church discipline was to protect the community, the rights of the individual could therefore be disregarded. The person in question alone had to answer interrogation. Individuals had no rights to bring in someone else to aid their defense. The

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<sup>83</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 196.

<sup>84</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 197-198.

<sup>85</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 198.

<sup>86</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 199.

<sup>87</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 200.

<sup>88</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 200.

<sup>89</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 124-131.

<sup>90</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 131-134; Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 203.

consistory kept the identity of accusers secret hence the accused never knew who made complaints.<sup>91</sup>

Church disciplinary measures were taken in steps. First was a conversation between the accused church member and church officers (elders with or without the minister). The accused received an admonition to leave behind his/her sin and to make amends. This could be combined with a temporary self-censorship, i.e., abstinence from the Holy Communion. However, if the sin was prominent and grave, the accused would be admonished and not allowed to join the Holy Communion. Next, if the admonition and temporary abstinence were not successful, the accused would be excluded.

Exclusion did not necessarily stigmatize a person, but the measure was needed in order to prevent the whole community from contamination the sin. This would make it clear to the community that certain acts or attitudes could not be tolerated. The person in question, in a way, served as an example.<sup>92</sup>

The period of the temporary exclusion depended on the 'degree' of the sin. If the exclusion lasted long enough and the person showed remorse, then the person could partake in the Holy Communion again, but only after making a confession of guilt. The first step of censure was restricted to the consistory, so that any perceived shortcomings would be known only to the circle of church officers. As a second step, the consistory would resort to public censure by means of a verbal announcement of erroneous acts without revealing the identity of those under censure. Through this method the community became aware that something was wrong and could pray for the sinner. The last step was also involved a verbal announcement but mentioned the name of the person under censure.<sup>93</sup>

If the first step was unsuccessful and the sinner was not willing to confess his or her sin, reconciliation was thought to have failed and disciplinary measures had to therefore be made public because unacceptable behavior was a public annoyance. Public punishment was the most powerful form of punishment according to the Apostle Paul: 'punish the sinners in front of everybody so that the others might have fear,' (I Tim 5:20).

We can see that in the first public announcement the identity of the person was not announced, but in the third announcement the person was identified. The first announcement was handled solely by the consistory; in the second, the consistory had to consult the classis. The procedure was based on the prescription of the Hague Synod in 1586.<sup>94</sup> Banishment from the church also entailed living outside the church. According to the decision of the 1571 Synod of Emden, no one could have contact with a banished person. Van Deursen says that church discipline was not primarily directed at society as a whole but was intended for the betterment of the community, where the *onderlinge harmonie* stood as an ideal value.<sup>95</sup> It was akin to throwing away one rotten apple from a basket of fresh apples.

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<sup>91</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 208.

<sup>92</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 209.

<sup>93</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 210.

<sup>94</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 213-214.

<sup>95</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 215; Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, 131-134.

The Synod of Emden (1571) decided that the church discipline could be enforced by ministers and elders (deacons were not included).

The synod also introduced the system of *attestatie* (credential papers for congregation members who moved to other churches, usually in different cities) for the interest of *lokale passantenhulp* (help for Christians who were travelling or newcomers from other towns) and also to keep tracks of disciplinary actions. The content of the *attestatie* was a record of the person's attitude both in *leer en leven* (doctrine and living).<sup>96</sup>

### *Poor relief*

The business of poor relief was monopolized by neither town nor church. There were always poor relief institutions run by both entities.<sup>97</sup> The difference between the two realms was not always easy to identify. It was not unusual for all the deaconry's income as well as a town's poor relief to be blended into one fund in some places.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, town authorities also tended to combine the management of the poor relief agencies of the two institutions, as was common when magistrates appointed members of the consistory, in this case deacons, to be in charge of poor relief in town. The local authority might leave the election of elders to the church, but they would like to have their say in the vote for deacons.<sup>99</sup>

Like the Holy Ghost masters (*Heilige Geestmeesters*) of previous times, deacons had an obligation to raise funds.<sup>100</sup> The government, however, did not want the deaconry to monopolize the poor relief business, as stated in article 25 of the Church Order of Dordrecht. Van Deursen discovers a case where a magistrate ordered two town fathers (*vroedschap*) to accompany deacons in caring for the poor.<sup>101</sup>

To make the situation worse, it was not always easy to find a deacon in the early seventeenth century. In some places there were no deacons at all, even after the Synod of Zuid-Holland (1596) prescribed that every parish should have at least one. In small parishes it might be considered sufficient for the minister himself to care for the poor.<sup>102</sup> Interference by ministers with deacons will be found on a regular basis during the church visitations when I examine the churches in the Indies run by the VOC.

Collections (*collecte*) were an important source of deaconry income, but never the best source.<sup>103</sup> Collections in the church were the privilege of the deaconry, but in some areas city-operated poor relief bodies also performed door-to-door collections.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, p. 116.

<sup>97</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 104-106.

<sup>98</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 106.

<sup>99</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 107.

<sup>100</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 107.

<sup>101</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 108.

<sup>102</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 109.

<sup>103</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 109.

<sup>104</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 105.

All ecclesiastical collections were meant for the care of the poor and could be given directly to the poor or through the churchwarden (as part of the maintenance of the church). Collecting money was the duty of deacons and to a degree was similar to the duty of elders to conduct house visitations or for ministers to preach.<sup>105</sup>

The deacons had limited resources and therefore could not give as freely as they wished to everyone. They needed to rigorously select recipients.<sup>106</sup> If the amount of money collected was small, then the deaconry had no other choice than to set limits on their spending.

The poor had to meet certain requirements to come under the care of the deaconry. First, the poor were not allowed to beg and were expected to behave accordingly. Not only did members of the Reformed church receive support from the deaconry, in some cases non-members could also receive such support. If there were Holy Ghost masters in towns, the deaconry would normally refuse to support non-member poor, and the deaconry was exclusively for the Reformed church members.<sup>107</sup>

Like other members of the church, the way of life of those under the deaconry was also under the supervision of the consistory. However disciplinary measures were not applied to non-church member poor, as they were subject to a different policy. If their deeds were unacceptable, for instance, if they were found drinking, playing cards, fighting or cursing others, they would be temporarily disqualified from receiving any subsidy. In the most serious cases they might completely lose all rights to receive poor relief support.<sup>108</sup>

Second, the poor had to allow the deaconry to inspect their homes and property in order to estimate the subsidy to be given.<sup>109</sup> By doing so the deacons could make a realistic estimation of support for a particular recipient.

The itinerant poor might have raised some problems for the local deaconry. Therefore it was not surprising that synods advised churches not to issue credential papers (*attestatie*) to the itinerant poor too quickly. And if credential papers were essential, they should state clearly the motivation of a person's departure and destination. In this way the church tried to control the wandering poor.<sup>110</sup> In practice, however, the church was not that strict. Even when some poor people forged credential papers, the deaconry did not stop supporting those in need, such as soldiers, sailors and students. Van Deursen finds that the deaconry did not limit their duty to their own place; therefore people who were without *attestatie* could still receive support from the church. In most cases outsiders received less than the poor in the parish. It was considered incidental help.<sup>111</sup>

Most of the support that was distributed to the poor took the form of goods such as bread, cheese and beer.<sup>112</sup> They also received *turf* (pots and pans, cookware

<sup>105</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 113-114.

<sup>106</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 102.

<sup>107</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 116.

<sup>108</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 114-115.

<sup>109</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 115.

<sup>110</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 117-118.

<sup>111</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 119-121.

<sup>112</sup> Beer was a common drink, since coffee and tea were too fancy and water was sometimes foul.



and clothing to keep warm) and linen and other necessary items such as socks and shoes. Basically the poor had a primary income that came from their own labor; deaconry relief was meant as a supplement to help them make ends meet. Van Deursen says that in the seventeenth century no one ever received more than *f* 30 a year in support and with only *f* 30 a year it was impossible for a family to get by.<sup>113</sup> However the amount was increased significantly in the eighteenth century.<sup>114</sup>

Was the deaconry of the Reformed church a powerful tool of Christianization? A simple yes-or-no answer is not possible. In some big cities the deacons might have had enough relief funds. Elsewhere, such as in the countryside, their revenue was petty. But even so the consistory could not freely reject the government's order to help non-members. It was common for the government to supervise the administration of all *armengelden* (town funds for supporting the poor).

Catholic Holy Ghost masters and Mennonite deacons were ready to take over poor relief, here and there, for the Reformed deaconry. The consistories of Reformed church were quite critical with regard to the destitute. When the poor broke Christian moral regulations, they would not only be brought under censure, but also punished by withholding their regular support. Thus Van Deursen correctly contradicts the opinions of Geyl and Rogier, who said that the deaconry of Reformed church was a way for the church to gain more adherents.<sup>115</sup>

Another kind of 'social worker' was public- and ecclesiastical-caretakers (*verzorgers*) who had poor people living with them in their own houses (*huiszittende armen*). These caretakers were traditionally recruited from local elites. Poor caretakers served in an unpaid honorary office that was considered part of the social contract of the well-off.<sup>116</sup> After the Revolt – and under the influence of the reformation in the Netherlands poor relief underwent reorganization. Town and city governments had the option to take over confiscated church properties. They became able to care for the poor. The transformation of care for the poor from a religious to a civil duty made it possible for the *huiszittenmeester* to collect money from door to door.<sup>117</sup>

In the course of the seventeenth century the separation of public and church poor relief for the *huiszittende armen* became clear. Church membership became a factor in the division of the poor, as from then on church members made their requests to church-based relief sources only. By the end of the eighteenth century there were other churches, such as the Scottish and Walloons, Remonstrants and sometime also Mennonites, that generously supported their poor. There were also poor migrants from the Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Jewish communities who received just enough support from their own communities' poor relief. The Reformed church's deaconry and public poor relief were positioned between these two extremes.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 122.

<sup>114</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving in de Late Achttiende Eeuw*, p. 78-80.

<sup>115</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 127.

<sup>116</sup> Spaans, 'Sociale zorg en tolerantie – Weduwen, wezen en vreemdelingen' in De Nijs, & Beukers, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. 2*, p. 262.

<sup>117</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 261.

<sup>118</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 263-264.

Most social groupings at this time were not based on equality among members but on economic and social status. The success of early modern Holland's poor relief rested on the strength of local patron-client relationships, namely that local regents and dignitaries put themselves forward to supporting the poor in their towns or churches, worked voluntarily in an honorary office and carried out the work with support from collections, gifts, legacies and taxes. Regents in early modern time –nurtured in Christian spirit – considered taking care of the poor as an expression of Christian charity and also as part of good government.<sup>119</sup> They demanded in return from their clients (i.e., the poor) hard work, respect, gratitude and that they would follow an honest way of life. Only the support of decent (*eerlijke*) poor people could increase the prestige of their patron. Charity and discipline were two sides of the coin.<sup>120</sup> In this way the poor were expected to behave according to norms set by their patrons.

Given that the church was not exclusive or independent from the ruling class in the society, the church's practice of charity and discipline cannot be separated from the social control practiced by town authorities. I agree with Van Leeuwen: the church was a partner in an elite scheme to control the poor.<sup>121</sup>

### *Orphanages*

Orphanages (*weeshuizen*) were new institution in the early modern Netherlands. In medieval times it was the local government that protected orphans. The government entrusted their guardianship to residents of towns or cities.

Children in early modern orphanages were not allowed to beg. All their basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter, were provided by orphanages that even took care of their basic education and later their vocational training. By the time orphans left they would have completed a course of training, and with those skills they would have had no reason to beg, since they could have found decent jobs as artisans or workers for private companies or government institutions.<sup>122</sup>

In this way orphanages conformed to the early modern perspective on poverty and social care: poor people were not allowed to beg but had to work to make ends meet. In most cases town orphanages were limited only to the orphans whose parents had been citizens. In some cases it was even necessary for parents to have been citizens for several years if they expected their children to be taken in by the town orphanage in case of disaster.

Orphanages embodied one aspect of the town's ideal of a welfare state system. Children who lost their parents and could not be cared for by other family members were adopted and educated by the town communally. The education of orphans was designed with the expectation that they would become residents that

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<sup>119</sup> Zondergeld-Hamer, *Een kwestie van goed bestuur – twee eeuwen armenzorg in Weesp (1590-1822)*, p. 9, 373-374.

<sup>120</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 280.

<sup>121</sup> Van Leeuwen, 'Logic of Charity: Poor Relief in Preindustrial Europe' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 24, no. 4, p. 593-594.

<sup>122</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 265.

any town would like to have after they grew up: disciplined and capable of earning their own living.<sup>123</sup>

An orphan's sound physical and mental health were absolute requirements since orphanages would only take children who could be educated to become independent in due time. The complete education provided by an orphanage was quite expensive; therefore it was understandable if institutions were selective in their acceptance policy.<sup>124</sup>

Many of the orphan houses that were founded in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century were *burgerweeshuizen* –intended for the children of citizens only. The institutions were the manifestations of the social responsibility of municipal administrators or the pious intentions of particular founders. They were ruled by board of trustees (*regenten* and *regentessen*) that were comprised of people from local elite circles or by the heirs of the founders (in case the orphanage was private). Their duty was to condition the orphans, as children of their community, to live according to the community's standards. A boards - *regenten* (male members) and *regentessen* (female members) – considered themselves the protectors of these children. We shall see that these civic ethics also applied in the VOC ruled-areas in the East.

The orphans often wore strikingly colorful uniforms. It was intended not only for practical or supervisory reasons, such as marking children while outside the house, identifying runaway children or preventing the clothing from ending up in pawnshops, but also for distinguishing orphans as the wards (*beschermelingen*) of the town or the orphanage.<sup>125</sup> Their existence and well-being were branded to the town.

Other than the *burgerweeshuis* there were also public *kindertehuizen*, such as *armekinderhuis* (poor children's home) or *aalmoezeniershuis* (almshouse). Many *armekinderhuizen* developed in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the prosperity of the Dutch Republic reached its peak. The range of orphanages became wider thanks to churches that took the initiative to support their poor members. Starting in the mid-seventeenth century both the Reformed church as well as other churches founded homes for their congregation's orphans. The public orphan houses accepted all children regardless of their parents' church affiliation and taught them the Reformed church's religious education curriculum, conforming to the fact that the Reformed church was a public church. On the other hand, the Reformed deaconry quite often used public orphanages to house their orphans and only established their own orphanages when they were rich enough.<sup>126</sup>

#### *The church's poor relief*

According to Spaans, poverty was a relative concept in the early modern period. One was considered poor when one lacked the means requisite to one's position in society. A widow with small children who could not afford to give her family good

<sup>123</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 272-273.

<sup>124</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 265-266.

<sup>125</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 266-267.

<sup>126</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 267.

shelter or to keep them warm in winter was considered poor. But a craftsman who suffered from economic bad luck or was sick could also sink into poverty if he had to live beneath his social position.<sup>127</sup>

About ten to fifteen percent of the population in seventeenth century Holland received alms from the *huiszittenmeesters* and the deaconries. The alms supplemented the money they earned through their own work or received from other forms of help. The poor caretakers were well informed about the financial state of recipients and gave assistance accordingly (*op maat*). In return recipients were expected to live simply and to be grateful. If caretakers found out that recipients misused their relief or behaved in an undisciplined way, they would be excluded from the relief. The poor without fixed dwellings found it difficult to conform to the system. There was no way for caretakers to control such people.<sup>128</sup> Control was always the issue. There was no point at all to poor relief if church or town authorities had no control over the people in their care.

Deacons were in charge of social welfare, and that included regularly visiting the poor in their assigned districts. They also had administrative duties. Reformed church deacons, who were in charge of the poor, held weekly meetings attended by one deacon from each district to discuss financial matters; another meeting, held monthly and attended by all deacons, was aimed at settling remaining matters. Until 1666, these meetings were led by ministers. Once a year, the accounts were rendered to the church council.<sup>129</sup> In the late eighteenth century the deacons of the Reformed church in Semarang were still in charge of the poor.

#### *Church and state at the local level*

The attitude of the Dutch Government towards religion from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century was tolerant but not neutral. The Reformed church was acknowledged as a national manifestation of the Reformed Christian religion. The government protected the church and the church was expected to fulfill its religious duties and obligations.<sup>130</sup> The so-called Sunday observance (*zondagsheiliging*) that applied certain restrictions on public activities on Sundays served as a good example. The general limitations of the regulation only applied while church services were in session. There was no need to suspend every kind of labor on Sundays; even the consistories and the magistrates had regular meetings on Sunday. All activities that could not be delayed could be continued on Sunday. This 'toleration' was based on the view of church ministers that working on Sunday was less evil than drinking in inns or gambling in village squares. (In many cases, it was inns that were considered the real 'competitor' of the church, and not the working places.) The government supported the church by forbidding the sales of drink during Sunday service hours.<sup>131</sup>

In many consistories there was a seat for a political commissioner (in many cases also an elder and a member of the consistory) who was a regent and an official

<sup>127</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 271.

<sup>128</sup> Spaans, *Geschiedenis van Holland vol. II*, p. 271.

<sup>129</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 115; Schotel, *De Openbare Eeredienst*, p. 307, 311.

<sup>130</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 13.

<sup>131</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 27-33.

intermediary between the consistory and city administration. In the Indies, the VOC appointed high officials as commissioners. Commissioners as well as other consistory members were usually prominent figures, playing ecclesiastical and worldly functions at the same time or taking turn playing such roles with colleagues. It was a typical phenomenon in a regent's career path. Schutte says that: In theocratic Dutch society the phenomenon was considered as normal. That included the potential tension between the consistory and town hall.<sup>132</sup>

Although the Reformed church enjoyed special status in the Netherlands, it was not a majority in terms of population. By the mid-seventeenth century, Reformed church members comprised only around 37 percent of the population. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the number increased to 55 percent.<sup>133</sup> The minority position in Europe mirrored the condition of the church in Asia, as the next chapter will show. During the time of the VOC, only the Reformed church was officially allowed to function as the public church in the Company's settlements in Asia (with an exception made for Lutheran Church in Batavia since the mid-eighteenth century), as stipulated in the Company's charter. Even so, members (*lidmaten*) of the Reformed church formed only a minority of all Christians serving in the VOC's Asian settlements.<sup>134</sup>

Since the early years of its existence in the Netherlands, the Reformed church tried to find its position in Dutch society. The relationship between the church and the government was not always without conflicts of interest. On a local level, the consistories and the magistrates sometimes had different opinions on what was best for society.<sup>135</sup> The differences sometime escalated tensions between the consistories and the government to such a degree that the church disregarded its obedience to civil authority, while on the other hand public officers resisted the ideals of the church.<sup>136</sup> At that point ministers had the best chance to shape public opinion by the means of their sermons.<sup>137</sup> Some sermons even demonized regents, delivering judgmental messages on social impact of greedy regents.<sup>138</sup> Unsurprisingly the government found it necessary to exercise control over local churches through intervention in the appointment of ministers.

The tension between churches and governmental bodies was not the only way the parties connected with each other. The Company's chamber of Delft asked the Delft classis in 1614 to send ministers to the Indies. The first reaction of the classis was *grote blijdschap*. It is interesting to learn of the motive behind the classis's enthusiasm. Were they driven by a divine call to spread the Gospel? Or, given the fact that church office holders also came from the trading community, were they driven by business motivations? Did they sense a chance to make a profit through trade in Asia, believing that people bound by the same religion would be bound in other ways, as well?<sup>139</sup> Unlike today, seventeenth and eighteenth century

<sup>132</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 21.

<sup>133</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 16.

<sup>134</sup> Appendix D shows the number of members and *liefhebbers* found by the ministers during their church visitation rounds.

<sup>135</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 218.

<sup>136</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 218-219.

<sup>137</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 221.

<sup>138</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 222.

<sup>139</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 223.

Christians saw no conflict between those two poles. Both church and government had an obligation to propagate God's kingdom by any means necessary. The VOC in the Indies was an extension of Dutch government; it had an obligation to build a Christian nation overseas. The next chapter will scrutinize this issue.

Having studied many early modern cities in Europe over a span of three centuries, Friedrichs writes that there were no significant changes with regard to the rhythm of weekly worship, the role of the churches in regulating major life events and the influence of clergy in defining standards of communal behavior. Religion – whether before or after the Reformation, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant – had an influential role in every European city at the end of the early modern era. Both before and after the Reformation, secular and religious leaders ultimately depended on each other to reinforce their authority.<sup>140</sup>

Laymen were deeply involved in certain aspects of church administration: magistrates controlled the use of church buildings in the city, regulated the number of ecclesiastical personnel who could settle in town and supervised the educational and welfare institutions that were staffed by members of the clergy. In addition, every parish had a board of churchwardens appointed by the magistrates to maintain church buildings and to manage parish budgets.<sup>141</sup>

At the local level it was natural to find that members of the consistories were part of daily town activities and lived in close proximity to the rulers of the towns. The main concern of the magistrates was to have a single 'official' church that would encompass everything. In other words the magistrates needed a partner (i.e., a religious institution) to rule over and to lead people.<sup>142</sup>

However, by no means did the magistrates take the Reformation movement seriously at the beginning. Initial support for the movements often came from the ranks of artisans, who had strong anti-clerical bent and weak personal connections to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Urban magistrates were initially more hesitant to embrace Protestant ideas. Yet many magistrates accepted the argument that their communities' political and even spiritual welfare required uniform religious allegiance. Further the often-intense pressure from below could not be ignored.<sup>143</sup> Even so Lamet writes that the common approach towards religion among the town council members was at best moderate.<sup>144</sup>

It is tempting to conclude that there was a strong similarity between the nature of the government of the Reformed church and that of the Dutch Republic. The core of both church and state was found at the local level. Church consistories and the magistrates in the towns and cities were all independent units that exercised power and took control of the section of the Dutch people within their domains. Both church and state governments were active mostly on the local level. However this was by no means a democratic system of government as in modern times, since the

<sup>140</sup> Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750*, p. 63.

<sup>141</sup> Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, p. 88.

<sup>142</sup> Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, p. 78.

<sup>143</sup> Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, p. 74.

<sup>144</sup> Lamet, 'The *Vroedschap* of Leiden 1550-1600: The Impact of Tradition and Change on the Governing Elite of a Dutch City' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XII, no. 2 (1981), p. 29.

church and state were governed by specific classes or groups in society. The process of selection of church elders was not so different from the selection of town council members in many major towns in the Netherlands.<sup>145</sup> This was a time when there was no strong central power at the church or at the state level. Control was always in the hands of local elite groups.<sup>146</sup>

When we look more closely, we find that some prominent people in the regent class were in many cases also members of consistories. This was by no means because the church was under the hand of the state; broadly speaking, there were classes and synods that could handle matters of greater interest for parishes. The effort of the local government to control church officers, ministers, elders and deacons was an indication of the strategic role played by church in society. Unlike medieval times when the church had a predominant role in society, in the early modern era town councilors took over such a role and town churches lent assistance. After all, both church and government had the same intentions: to ensure members of society were in good order and were good Christians.

This line of thought was also clear in the Reformed church's understanding of the relationship between state and church. In article 36 of the Dutch Reformed Church's confession (*Nederlandse Geloofbelijdenis*), the church understood that it was the responsibility of the government to further the cause of God's Kingdom through the church.<sup>147</sup> How did the VOC administration in the Indies realize this ideal?

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<sup>145</sup> Lamet, *The Sixteenth Century journal*, XII, no. 2 (1981), p. 18.

<sup>146</sup> Gorski, 'Historicizing the secularization debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early modern Europe, ca. 1300 to 1700' in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 65, no. 1 (Feb. 2000), p. 159.

<sup>147</sup> *Nederlandse geloofbelijdenis 1561*: Artikel 36 'Van het ambt der overheid,' and the English translation is known as *the Belgic confession of faith 1561* (<http://mb-soft.com/believe/txh/belgic2.htm>): Article 36 - The Magistrates

*Artikel 36 - Van het ambt der overheid*

Wij gelooven, dat onze geode God, uit oorzaak der verdorvenheid des menschelijken geslachts, Koningen, Prinsen en Overheden verordend heeft; willende dat de wereld geregeerd worde door wetten en politiën, opdat de ongebondenheid der menschen bedwongen worde en het alles met goede ordinantie onder de menschen toega.

Tot dat einde heeft Hij de Overheid het zwaard in handen gegeven tot straffe der boozen en bescherming der vromen.

En hun ambt is, niet alleen acht te nemen en te waken over de Politie, maar ook de hand te houden aan den heiligen Kerkedienst; om te weren en uit te roeien alle afgoderij en valschen godsdienst, om het rijk de Antichrists te gronde te werpen, en het Koninkrijk van Jezus Christus te doen vorderen; het Woord des Evangelies overal te doen prediken, opdat God van een iegelijk geëerd en gediend worde, gelijk Hij in zijn Woord gebiedt.

Voorts, een ieder, van wat qualiteit, conditie of staat hij zij, is chuldig, zich aan de Overheden te onderwerpen, schattingen te betalen, hun eere en eerbied toe te dragen en hun gehoorzaam te zijn in alle dingen, die niet strijden tegen Gods Woord; voor hen biddende in hunne gebeden, opdat hen de Heere stieren wille in al hunne wegen, en dat wij een gerust en stil leven leiden in alle godzaligheid en eerbaarheid. 1 Tim 2:2.

En hierin verwerpen wij de Wederdoopers en andere oproerige menschen, en in het gemeen al degenen, die de Overheden en Magistraten verwerpen en de Justitie omstooten willen, invoerende de gemeenschap der goederen, en verwarren de eerbaarheid, die God onder de menschen gesteld heeft.

*Article 36 - The Magistrates*

We believe that our gracious God, because of the depravity of mankind, hath appointed kings, princes, and magistrates, willing that the world should be governed by certain laws and policies; to the end that the dissoluteness of men might be restrained, and all things carried on among them with good order and decency.

For this purpose He hath invested the magistracy with the sword, for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well.

And their office is, not only to have regard unto and watch for the welfare of the civil state, but also that they protect the sacred ministry, and thus may remove and prevent all idolatry and false worship; that the Kingdom of the Antichrist may be thus destroyed, and the Kingdom of Christ promoted. They must, therefore, countenance the preaching of the word of the Gospel everywhere, that God may be honored and worshipped by everyone, as He commands in His Word.

Moreover, it is the bound duty of everyone, of whatever state, quality or condition so ever he may be, to subject himself to the magistrates; to pay tribute, to show due honor and respect to them, and to obey them in all things which are not repugnant to the Word of God; to supplicate for them in their prayers, that God may rule and guide them in all their ways, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Wherefore we detest the error of the Anabaptists and other seditious people, and in general all those who reject the higher powers and magistrates, and would subvert justice, introduce a community of goods, and confound that decency and good order which God hath established among men.



## CHAPTER TWO

### The Reformed Church and the Dutch East India Company (VOC)

The Reformed church in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was aware of its calling to propagate the Gospel. However, this awareness differed in terms of approach and understanding from that held by missionary societies in the nineteenth century. This study is concerned with the earlier period, since the latter has already been studied in depth both by theologians, historians, anthropologists and others.

Christianity as we know it reached the Indies between the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, carried by the Westerners who arrived in the archipelago on Portuguese and Dutch ships. Reformed Christianity survived in the archipelago long after the Company no longer existed. In the eyes of local people, Christianity and the Dutch (the church and the VOC) were inseparable, just like two sides of a coin. Religion always had had political weight in previous centuries. It was the way people understood the things. This chapter will describe the close relationship between the church and the Company in the way that it was perceived at the time. In fact, there is much to explore in the close relationship between the church and the Company.

When Dutch maritime power expanded into the archipelago, the church followed suit. It could not be otherwise, for the Company had an obligation to support the spiritual needs of its personnel. When the VOC's settlements grew, the need for able church personnel expanded. Dutch power expanded everywhere and Christian communities overseas started to grow as well. In those settlements one found not only the Company's men, but their households (e.g., wives, children, slaves) as well.

The Dutch community organized itself along the lines of communities in the Netherlands. When Batavia became the Company's center of power, so did its consistory. The consistory in Batavia, the region's oldest, had a central role (not in a hierarchical sense) among the other Dutch Reformed churches in Asia due to its position at the center of the Company's power. As Batavia grew as a 'melting pot' so did the church and the town's multicultural community. Non-western Christian congregations that used their own languages and distinguishing customs started to take shape. To claim that the church in this period only tended to the Company's servants is not correct. This unjust yet commonly accepted perspective was promoted by a circle of nineteenth and early twentieth century missionaries and church historians.

Just like its sister churches in the Netherlands, churches in VOC towns such as Batavia were loyal to the Reformed tradition, which stressed the need to maintain Christian life through education. Local churches understood their mission was to bring new Christians to an adequate understanding of Christian beliefs through education. Education was regarded as the most important tool to make its mission a success. The Reformed church despised the mass baptisms performed by Roman Catholic priests after new followers had proved themselves able to repeat simple prayers or short creedal statements. The Reformed church used education and

church discipline – an integral part of the church life in the Indies – to carry out the church's most important duty, which was to maintain the quality of Christian life.

The government had an obligation to assist and to facilitate the church's mission. We will see later how the VOC government intervened or even co-opted the church into fulfilling its obligations. As far as this study is concerned, we need to discern the level of government involvement in church affairs.

Before we move our focus to Semarang we shall take a brief look at the situation of churches in the VOC's settlements up to 1750 and determine how fast they grew and how they coped with their problems and difficulties. The most recent and extensive studies on the subject are the works of L.J. Joosse (on the mission of the Reformed church in the early seventeenth century) and that of H.E. Niemeijer (on the seventeenth century colonial town of Batavia).

This chapter will also highlight church life through the perspective of an *Indische predikant* (minister in the Indies) named J. Metzlar, using a rare autobiographical document. The document gives us some clues as to how an intelligent man experienced his life. Metzlar arrived in Batavia in December 1774 and worked for nine years in the East Indies. He was a minister on *Onrust*, a small island off the coast of Batavia and later on in Batavia. He also had to visit the Company's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra and in Cirebon under the orders of the High Government in Batavia. His autobiography offers us a fascinating view of a minister in the Indies.

#### *From ships to settlements*

The voyage from the Netherlands to the Indies and to Java took at least half a year, usually longer. During the long journey the officers on board were responsible for the well-being of the crew.<sup>1</sup> It was appropriate when the officers were assisted in their duty to uphold the spiritual well-being of the crew. Sometimes a minister was aboard, but otherwise those pastoral duties would be carried out by *ziekentroosters* or lay readers. Their duties were mainly comprised of performing daily prayers, and reading published sermons, leading Sunday services and reading the Bible to the seamen and the soldiers, most of whom were illiterate. Another task of church personnel was to provide pastoral care to the sick and others. *Ziekentroosters* were only allowed to read ready-made sermons and prayers. They could not administer the sacraments. However, in early years when there were no ministers present, some of them performed baptisms.

For the sake of the spiritual care of these seamen during the long voyage and for those who stayed overseas, merchants with Eastern interests held discussions with the consistory in Amsterdam in 1600 and asked for a number of the *ziekentroosters* and if possible one minister to be assigned to the East Indies. The church was aware of the need and had assigned some *ziekentroosters* to the newly invented office of a *vermaner* (literally: an admonisher), who were allowed to perform some pastoral services typically reserved for ministers, such as baptizing

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<sup>1</sup> Mooij, *Geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië I*, p. 279, 373.

seamen and conforming marriages.<sup>2</sup> It was a temporary measure until the churches could provide the sorely-needed ministers.

Later it was considered best to leave the dispatch of church personnel to local churches (consistories) or to the regional churches (classes). Since there was no national synod ready to address the matter, provincial synods and some classes temporarily bore that responsibility. In 1601 the provincial synod of North Holland came to the conclusion that the examination and assignment of the mission abroad should be under the authority of local churches, consistories or classes. The local groups would embark personnel, after consulting with the consistories of Amsterdam, Enkhuizen or Hoorn, where the Company's chambers were located. Other classes could be asked for advice if needed. There were two classes, namely the classes of Amsterdam and of Zeeland (known as the Walcheren classis) that played significant roles in determining mission policy.<sup>3</sup>

The directors of the VOC and the consistories or classes shared responsibility for dispatching *ziekentroosters* and ministers in this period.<sup>4</sup> A *ziekentrooster* who was interested in going to the Indies had to first present himself to the directors (who would pay his salary). If the directors agreed to accept him, he had to next go to the consistory for an examination, administered by committee. The results would be brought to the consistory for a decision. Finally, the consistory reported its decision to the directors.<sup>5</sup> By then a successful *ziekentrooster* was ready to be dispatched.

The importance of both the classes and directors has been well described. There were two important letters of instructions for mission affairs released by two different institutions: the first was produced by the Walcheren classis, the second by the directors' meeting.

The Walcheren classis' instructions made several crucial points regarding the preparations for and the mission of church personnel abroad.<sup>6</sup> Some of the more important points were:

- \* The examination and the installation of candidates were to be executed exclusively by the church (either by classis or consistory), with the advice and approval of the directors.

- \* The position of ministers and *ziekentroosters* were to be respected, and they should not be impeded in the exercise of their duty by any ship captains, tradesmen, as well as by any governors or local councils. Church personnel should not be under the jurisdiction of any judge, ship captain or trade personnel. A minister enjoyed standing equal to a ship captain or to a 'commis' (tradesman) concerning their salary, meals, accommodation and workspace.

<sup>2</sup> Mooij, *Geschiedenis I*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen' – een onderzoek naar de motieven en activiteiten in de Nederlanden tot verbreiding van de gereformeerde religie gedurende de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw, p. 261-262; Joosse, 'Kerk en zendingsbevel' in Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> Mooij, *Geschiedenis I*, p. 374-375.

<sup>6</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 299-301.

\* Church personnel assignments and length of assignments would be determined by the governor general and the Council of the Indies together with church representatives.

\* The main tasks of the ministers were to preach, administer the sacraments and give consolation and admonition. Ministers had the rights to admonish and to discipline maritime and trade personnel as they saw fit.

\* Ministers and *ziekentroosters* were not allowed to intervene in matters outside their jobs, namely cases involving nautical discipline, town administration and the military authorities.

\* If necessary the directors could prolong the stay of the ministers and *ziekentroosters* (based on their request).

The instruction reflected that the church personnel in the Indies enjoyed a degree of independence, while remaining under the rule of the governor general and the Council of Indies (the High Government). This instruction regulated the shared responsibility of the church and the Company over church personnel during their long voyage to and stay in the Indies, in accordance with the article 36 of the *Nederlandse Geloofsbelijdenis*.

Another directors meeting produced another important document called the Instruction (of Middelburg) 1617.<sup>7</sup> It described various situations and regulations:

\* The status of church personnel was not extraordinary and was similar to any other officer or servant of the Company. Ministers and *ziekentroosters* were to comply with the rulings of the directors in the Netherlands and the High Government in the Indies.

\* Church discipline was a matter of disgrace (losing face). There were quite a number of articles addressing public church discipline for Company officers. It is clear that ministers had to handle the discipline of high-ranking Company personnel in a *discreet* way (art. 2). Disciplinary proceedings were not to be performed in public, but only in general terms (art. 9 and 10). Authorities on ship and on land had to follow up public punishment announced by ministers for lower-ranking Company servants (art. 12).

\* Other important articles covered assignments and terms of service. The common duties of church personnel were to perform daily prayers and Sunday services (art. 3) and to visit the sick (art. 4). As under the Walcheren instruction, church personnel were not allowed to intervene in government or company business (art. 5). In terms of administration, regular reports related on religious and school affairs had to be sent to the classes and to the directors (art. 6). Ministers and *ziekentroosters* could not leave their assigned posts without the consent of VOC authorities (art. 7).

In compliance with the Walcheren instruction, ministers and *ziekentroosters* were bound to five-year contracts, which basically

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<sup>7</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 301-307; complete text in Dutch published in Appendix G in Van Boetzelaer, *De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de Zending in Oost-Indië*, p. 281-287.

conformed to the practice for other Company personnel (art. 14). They could ask the governor general and the council to extend their contracts, if granted, would come with a salary increase ranging from *f* 15 to *f* 25 a month (art. 15).

\* There were also regulations for the directors and classes. The directors in the Netherlands had the authority to summon personnel and to terminate Company employment contracts. The High Government in Batavia had the power to terminate contracts, after consulting with the ministers (art. 16). Upon the death of a minister or a *ziekentrooster*, all his letters and papers would be inventoried, sealed and secured by the Company and sent to the Netherlands. Before being handed over to the classis the documents would first be opened in the presence of its members (art. 18).

In the Netherlands, the directors and the classes were at the same level of authority and consulted each other on overseas ecclesiastical postings and regulations. It was also true that ministers and *ziekentroosters* in the Indies were church personnel due to their callings and jobs and at the same time ‘Company personnel’ who were under Company working contracts. In the Indies, the status of the church personnel was the same as any ordinary subject in the Company’s establishments. They were under the authority and protection of the Dutch government, as represented by the governor general and the council. Thus, unlike in the Netherlands where the directors and the classes were at the same level, in the Indies churches did not enjoy equal status with the Company. Even so, as stipulated in the instructions, advice from the churches or ministers was always welcomed and expected by the government.<sup>8</sup> In this study, the church in Semarang will provide an example of the relationship of the VOC government and the consistory and will let us explore how they collaborated.

The Instruction of 1617 and the instruction of the directors stressed the responsibility of the High Government to the church and its overseas personnel. The Instruction of 1617 mentioned that the Company (i.e., its directors in the Netherlands and the High Government in Batavia) had the authority to terminate the contract of any church worker. While the Walcheren classis instruction stipulated a shared responsibility, the Instruction of 1617 treated church personnel as subjects of the Company who had specific functions.

This by no means gave the directors sole authority over every affair. The directors restricted themselves to financial arrangements and decided on the terms of service and other material facilities for the church and its personnel. The ministers were by no means at the service of the directors, but instead were at the service of the chambers. For example, pastor Caspar Wiltens received a ten-year appointment from the chamber of Amsterdam (1611-1619). The chamber agreed to pay his salary and for other necessities, such as buying books. At the end of his service and upon returning to the Netherlands, the books, as Company property, had to be returned so that others could use of them.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the Company left it to churches to produce letters of instructions for lower-ranking church personnel, i.e., *ziekentroosters*.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in

<sup>8</sup> Joosse, ‘*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*’, p. 303-304.

<sup>9</sup> Joosse, ‘*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*’, p. 246-251, 286-287.

<sup>10</sup> Joosse, ‘*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*’, p. 286-287.

general the consistory and the classis had a free hand to determine the qualifications of the *ziekentroosters* and ministers who worked overseas. The Amsterdam consistory and the Walcheren classis acted as a selection committee.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that the bureaucracy dealing with the Company's church personnel abided by existing theocratic notion. Thus the prevailing policy did not fundamentally differ from that in the Republic, where town administrations were involved in numerous matters of the church's daily life. The difference was that Dutch citizens lived under exceptional circumstances in the East, where the Company was the government and *betaalheer* (paymaster).<sup>12</sup>

#### *Settlements with ziekentroosters and ministers*

On September 1, 1603 the classis of Walcheren received a request from the Company for two competent church personnel to serve on ships and in the Indies. The classis understood that the request was for *proponents* (aspirant ministers), students or ministers – and *not* for *ziekentroosters*. Unfortunately, as it became clear in its response a few months later, the classis could not find any ministers and could only provide two lay readers or *ziekentroosters* to the Company.<sup>13</sup> So it started to dispatch *ziekentroosters* to the Indies.

A few years later in 1605 when the preparations for sending ministers finally started, the directors of the Company decided to share the expense of dispatching six ministers. The VOC chambers in Amsterdam and Middelburg would each be responsible for two ministers. The chambers of Enkhuizen and Hoorn would share responsibility for the next minister and the chambers of Delft and Rotterdam would finance the last minister. Each chamber agreed to share responsibility for providing scholarships for one or more (theological) students, with the intention of sending proponents or ministers to the Indies.<sup>14</sup>

As early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, the chamber of Middelburg came up with a proposal for each chamber to dispatch two ministers and two schoolmasters instead of just two ministers. Joosse says that this was indicative of the possible missionary intentions of the chamber, since VOC personnel in the Indies were accompanied by only a few children in these early years. The presence of schoolmasters must have been for the purpose of converting or educating indigenous people. Education was the decisive tool in the mission of the Reformed church since people needed to comprehend what they believed in.<sup>15</sup>

The chamber of Middelburg appointed three people to handle preparations for dispatching ministers to the Indies. Two ministers together with burgomaster Jacob Boreel (who was also a director of the Company and a church elder) formed a committee. In their report, submitted to the chamber in December 1609 the committee proposed that the salary of ministers be set at *f* 300 a year, a decent amount when compared to a Dutch minister's salary in the Netherlands, given the fact that the cost of living in Asia was relatively more expensive. At that time,

<sup>11</sup> Joosse, '*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*', p. 289-290.

<sup>12</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 56-59.

<sup>13</sup> Joosse, '*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*', p. 264-265.

<sup>14</sup> Joosse, '*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*', p. 265.

<sup>15</sup> Joosse, '*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen*', p. 265; Mooij, *Geschiedenis I*, p. 297.

Middelburg's chamber was ready to dispatch two candidates who had passed the classis' examination process. A few weeks before their journey to the Indies, the applicants received their confirmation (*bevestiging*) as ministers. As Joosse mentions in his book, these two *Zeeuwse* ministers (Matthias van den Broecke and Zacharias Heyningus) were dispatched by the church in January 1610 with commissions to propagate the Gospel to the indigenous people of the Indies. Two years later in a report to the classis, Van den Broecke asked for more ministers to be sent to the Indies. More ministers were needed to cover other places in the Moluccas islands.<sup>16</sup> The church was indeed growing following the expansion of the Company. It was only natural that the need for more church personnel grew.

After 1609 the church itself recommended sending highly educated ministers to provide pastoral care to the Christians in Dutch settlements in the East and also to advance the Gospel among the indigenous people.<sup>17</sup> Soon afterward, the Walcheren classis sent the first university-educated ministers to the East Indies.<sup>18</sup>

However there was another reason behind the request. The educated ministers were assumed to be well prepared to promote and, if necessary, defend Reformed Christianity against other religions in the East. The first encounters of Dutch travellers in the archipelago were with local people who had embraced Islam, which was considered a serious rival religion.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Expansion of Dutch power and the rise of the church*

The Company was in the first place a trading institution that had a secondary responsibility to promote the Reformed religion as a consequence of its grant of governmental powers while operating overseas. The Company's system of government resembled local governments in the Netherlands under the concept of theocracy.<sup>20</sup> The Reformed church in the Netherlands was the public church and had certain obligations and privileges; so did the Reformed church in the Indies under the VOC. The government had an obligation to support the Church against idolatry and false religions as stated in the article 36 of the Reformed Church's confession of faith. The Company's first charter (*octrooi*) in 1602 did not explicitly stipulate this obligation. Schutte argues that, for the Dutch, there was no point in making explicit something that was obvious (*vanzelfsprekendheden*).<sup>21</sup> The VOC knew its obligations. The practice eventually was regulated in the *octrooi* of 1622.

In the years preceding 1620 it was not clear which institutions were responsible for answering the questions and requests that came from Indies ministers. How involved should the directors become in mission matters in the field? How did churches meet the needs of the ministers overseas? In these early years

<sup>16</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 268-269.

<sup>17</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 573-574.

<sup>18</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 574.

<sup>19</sup> Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam, contacts and conflicts 1596-1950*, p. 29-34.

<sup>20</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 229; Mooij, , *Geschiedenis I*, p. 279; Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 46-47.

there were two classes up for the challenge. The Amsterdam consistory, the classes in Amsterdam and Walcheren can give us some examples of how things worked before 1620.

The consistory in Amsterdam received a request for guidance from the Indies baptizing the illegitimate children of Dutch men and indigenous women. The consistory, instead of addressing the request, forwarded the matter to the national synod of Dordrecht in 1618. When another letter from the Indies arrived asking for additional schoolmasters, the consistory again forwarded the request to the classis, which in turn decided to discuss the matter with the directors.<sup>22</sup>

A different policy was adopted by the Walcheren classis. It did not ask the directors to get involved with the issues raised in correspondence with churches in the Indies and instead created a commission for the Indies (*deputatie ad res indicas*) in November 1620 – a move followed by the Amsterdam classis in 1621 – to focus on matters regarding the mission in the Indies. The commissions did send good advice to the Indies and helped the new consistory in Batavia.<sup>23</sup>

The Company assisted the church mission in the Indies and recruited religious personnel according to instructions given by the church. Indies ministers, as far as correspondence indicated, sent their letters directly to the churches. The Company in the early seventeenth century rarely intervened in the work of the ministers and the *ziekentroosters*.<sup>24</sup>

There were new developments as the third decade of the seventeenth century began. The National synod of Dordrecht in 1618-1619 paid attention to issues coming from the mission field. The new VOC *octrooi* of 1622 clearly stated that there was a mutual relationship between the church and the Company. The charter was conceptualized not long after the Company conquered *Jacatra* and established there a new town, Batavia, along with its headquarters for Asia.

The Dordrecht synod (1618) produced two important decisions concerning the situation in the Indies. The first decision concerned the baptism of young heathens, which was not allowed until they learned Christian teachings and could profess the Christian faith. A more sympathetic group was of the opinion that the children were a *de facto* part of the Christian family that adopted them and consequently could be baptized as were other children in Christian families. However, a majority at the synod emphasized the other aspect of baptism, namely that it was an individual's choice and responsibility and that baptism, as a symbol of God's covenant with children, could only apply to a Christian family's *own* children.

Despite the weighty decision of the national synod of Dordrecht, Indies churches had other considerations reflecting the more complicated situation locally. The churches baptized all formally adopted children. Indies ministers, such as the pastor J.C. Visscher in Cochin, India, argues that the church should allow the baptism of slave children, since in the Bible Abraham and all males in his household were circumcised and Paul baptized the prison guard and his family in Philippi.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 309-310.

<sup>23</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 310, 381-390; Van Boetzelaer, *De Gereformeerde Kerken*, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 311.

<sup>25</sup> Visscher, *Mallabaarse brieven, behelzende eene Naukeurige beschryving van de Kust van Mallabaar – door wylen Jacobus Canter Visscher (Leeuwarden, 1743)*, in Van der



The same considerations were applied to many adults who had been given only superficial instruction in church creed for a variety of reasons. The church forbade them to join the Holy Communion until they completed religious instruction, which resulted in the practice of the separation of the sacraments (i.e., one was accepted as member of the church by sacrament of Baptism, but not allowed to join the sacrament of Holy Communion).<sup>26</sup>

The second important issue for the synod was the use of the Malay language, which was in wide use in the archipelago long before Europeans came. People in many different places had been using the language to communicate with each other about trade, politics and religion. It was decided that Malay would be used as the language of religious instruction by the church to approach local people.<sup>27</sup> It was expected that some church personnel would be able to speak the language. The church in that century produced Malay-language Bibles and Christian instructions.

Another new development was the formalization of the classes. The classes entrusted daily matters in the Indies to their representatives on the commission.<sup>28</sup> From around 1620 onward the representatives worked together with the directors in preparing and selecting church personnel.

The various commissions did not work in the same way. The commission of Middelburg, for example, handled matters directly with the Company and tended to be independent of the Walcheren classis. This was not the case for the commission of Amsterdam, which still controlled the *Indische kerk zaken*.<sup>29</sup>

The commissions maintained correspondence with the churches in the Indies, mostly exchanging letters with the consistory in Batavia. In the beginning they were also in direct contact with ministers. The commission of Middelburg took a prominent position concerning information on Indies churches (*Indische kerk zaken*) since it maintained correspondence with Batavia and with other churches as well. From 1675 onwards, the consistory in Batavia started to send reports to the synods of North and South Holland.

However, not all of the commission dealt directly with the ministers-in-mission. In Delft and Rotterdam contact was maintained primarily by the classes. Commissions in Amsterdam and Middelburg gave the ministers church instructions and credentials after they completed the classes' examination and were accepted by the directors. The ministers would then receive confirmation in office (*bevestigd*) from the church (in Amsterdam) and a classis meeting (in Zeeland) before they were sent to the Indies.<sup>30</sup>

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Pol, B., *Mallabaarse Brieven – de brieven van de Friese predikant Jacobus Canter Visscher (1717-1723)*, p. 184.

<sup>26</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 323-324; Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 59-61.

<sup>27</sup> Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen', p. 324-325; Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*, p. 23- 25; Mooij, *Geschiedenis I*, p. 273- 275 .

<sup>28</sup> The commissions (*deputaten*) were founded in the early and mid-seventeenth century. The commission of Middelburg was formed in 1620, the commission of Amsterdam in 1621 and the commission of Hoorn, Delft and Rotterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century.

<sup>29</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *Gereformeerde kerken*, p. 94-95.

<sup>30</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *Gereformeerde kerken*, p. 109.

In his study Van Boetzelaer determined that 245 ministers were sent from the Netherlands to work under the VOC over two centuries. The figure was updated by later researchers. Van Boetzelaer acknowledged that the true number of ministers dispatched might have been higher.<sup>31</sup> A more recent study by Van Lieburg determines that between 1600 and 1799 635 ministers were sent to the East Indies, almost two-and-a-half times Van Boetzelaer's estimate. Only nine ministers had been dispatched to the Indies before 1620. The number of ministers sent each year was in the double digits by 1620 and was in the hundreds by 1640 if we include *ziekentroosters*. The number of religious personnel dispatched to the Indies only dropped significantly during the last ten years of the Company's existence (1790-1799).<sup>32</sup> These figures show that the regular dispatch of church personnel was an integral part of the Company's activities.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there were already quite a number of Reformed consistories in the Indonesian archipelago, such as those in Ambon (1626), Banda (1622), Ternate (1626) and Batavia (1621). All of the consistories, following the Reformed tradition in the Dutch Republic, were independent and locally autonomous.<sup>33</sup>

There was no wider ecclesiastical institution in the Indies. The long distance between the churches was one probable reason why a classis was never founded. The consistory in Batavia, however, played an important role in the relationship between the Reformed churches in the Indies and the High Government in Batavia, and also with the classes and the directors of the Company in the Netherlands.

Annual reports of each church were regularly sent to the consistory in Batavia, which in turn compiled the reports before dispatching them to the Netherlands to several parties, such as the chambers, classes and synods. Apart from this reporting role and giving advice to government on the placement of ministers, the Batavian consistory had no other authority over other churches.

How far was the reach of the Reformed church? Schutte estimates that there were about 500,000 Christians in all Dutch settlements in the eighteenth century. These people certainly needed pastoral care and Church instruction in Reformed teachings.<sup>34</sup>

Church personnel comprised one and a half percent of the total number of Company personnel, consisted of Europeans and Asians. Half of the church's personnel in the eighteenth century were of Asian origin. They functioned as schoolmasters or did work related to catechesis (religious instruction).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *Gereformeerde kerken*, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> Van Lieburg, 'Het personeel van de Indische kerk' in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 72-73.

<sup>33</sup> Niemeijer, 'Agama Kumpeni?' in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 154.

<sup>34</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 50.

*The town church in colonial Batavia*

A colonial town such as Batavia offers one example of how the Reformed church rooted itself in strange soil. Christians in Batavia had three choices of language for Sunday services: Dutch, Malay and Portuguese. Reformed Christians comprised three congregations under one consistory, each with their own church building and ministers. Consistory meetings took place in the building of the Dutch-speaking parish, where the central administration was situated. The city was divided into several districts (*wijken*), and each district had a minister and an elder.<sup>36</sup>

Batavia gained its first Reformed consistory in 1621 and its first church building around six years later. In the following decade Malay- and Portuguese-speaking Christians received their own buildings and services.<sup>37</sup> Despite the fact that there were parishes with different languages, there was only one Reformed church in Batavia, led by one consistory and one deaconry.<sup>38</sup>

The number of ministers, elders, and deacons grew over the years. There were eleven ministers towards the end of the seventeenth century, up from a single minister in 1621. Within the period of a century there were already hundreds of ministers in the Indies, as listed by Valentyn.<sup>39</sup> At any given time there were only a handful ministers serving all the parishes of Batavia. Not every minister who arrived in Batavia was assigned there. Some were newcomers from the Netherlands; others were waiting for their next assignment or to be repatriated.

Following common practice in the Netherlands, the consistory had no authority over church buildings and cemeteries, which instead came under the management of government officials called churchwardens (*kerkmeester*). In Batavia there were two churchwardens in 1655. Parallel to the role of the magistrate in the Netherlands, the High Government in Batavia was considered the High Churchwarden (*opperkerkmeester*). Generally the High Government appointed a high-ranking VOC official or a notable free citizen as churchwarden. The churchwarden appointed in 1662 in Batavia, for example, was Arent van der Helm, the vice-chairman of *schepenen* (alderman) and *weesmeesters*. The churchwardens had to take care of the church's income and expenditures. Income came from, among other things, the *grafgeld* and expenditures were made for repairs, maintenance and salaries for *koster*, among other things. Larger expenditures were usually paid for by the Company, e.g., land purchase or building a new church.<sup>40</sup>

On January 3, 1621 the first Holy Communion in Batavia was celebrated by forty-one members of the Reformed church. Batavia was indeed a fast growing town under the Company's rule. From a small seaport with around 2,000 inhabitants in 1621 it grew into a big town with a great number of inhabitants.<sup>41</sup> Batavia had all the characteristics of a Dutch town and was also a typical colonial town with a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. The number of Europeans was always small (30

<sup>36</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 104; Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 116.

<sup>37</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 104-110.

<sup>38</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Valentyn, *Beschryving, IV.B.*, p. 125-127..

<sup>40</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 111-112.

<sup>41</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 113.

percent of the population in 1632: 2,422 Europeans out of a total 8,000 inhabitants; 9 percent in 1679: 2,987 out of 32,000; and 7 percent in 1768: 5,652 out of 80,000).<sup>42</sup>

Besides churchwardens, there was another government official for the church, the political commissioner (*commissaris-politiek*). The commissioner was the government's representative at consistory meetings. His presence underlined the public character of the Reformed church. He was a link between church and government. In theory his main focus was on organizational and financial matters, the assignment and placement of church personnel and the performance of the church in the public domain. Political commissioners did not interfere in church teachings and discipline. Nonetheless from time to time the government did interfere when a decision of the consistory might have had wider social consequences. This might have created tension between the government and the consistory; rarely could the commissioner prevent that.<sup>43</sup> Lion Cachet argues that the existence of political commissioners was a sign that the *Indische kerk* was indeed a state church under the government's total control.<sup>44</sup> Blei has a more clear view of the general relationship between the government and the Reformed church. To begin with, he says that the Reformed church was completely dependent on the support of the government to finance its work and the congregations. It was the government's obligation, according to the Dutch Reformed Church Confession. From this perspective it was normal for the government to want a certain degree of authority in some areas, such as the appointment of Reformed ministers and elders, and even a vote in doctrinal debates that might have created tension in society. The relationship was always tense as the church did not give up so easily, not only in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic, but also in the Dutch settlements overseas. But to conclude that the government was in total control of the church based on the church-government financial and managerial relationship is plainly wrong. There was always room for compromise, as Blei puts it, and for the Reformed church to play its role as the public church.<sup>45</sup>

Niemeijer proposes that the government and church in the Indies were in a triangular relationship between a) the consistory in Batavia, b) the High Government in Batavia and the Gentlemen Seventeen (the VOC directors) in the Netherlands and c) the classes and synods in the Netherlands. Triangle better describes the intricacies of the church-government relationship, since it was not a simply bipolar. Up to the mid-seventeenth century conflicts over the church's independence from the government involved parties both in Netherlands and in the Indies. The Batavian church tried to gain its independence from the churches in the Netherlands and from the government in the Indies by forging direct contact with the directors. This was met by the introduction of stronger controls over the church. The government in the Indies, with support from the directors, won the battle after the High Government threatened to repatriate two troublemaking ministers. Subsequently there were hardly any church protests against the government. However Niemeijer rejects the idea that this crisis brought the church into 'complete submission' to the VOC. In

<sup>42</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 113.

<sup>43</sup> Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 117-118.

<sup>44</sup> Lion Cachet, *Land en kerk*, p. 19-20; Van Boetzelaer had a similar opinion on the matter: Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk*, p. 50-78.

<sup>45</sup> Blei, *The Netherlands Reformed Church*, p. 23-28.

many critical issues there was always room for consultation between both parties. Submission was not an issue since the Dutch regents in the seventeenth century viewed themselves as *voedsterheeren* (nurturing fathers) of the church and not as oppressors. As was common in the Dutch Republic, church offices such as elder and deacon for the most part were occupied by Company functionaries in the Indies.<sup>46</sup>

Hsia, in his study on the Reformation in Central Europe finds a similar practice, which he terms patriarchy. The image of paternity used by the ruling elites, either by the Lutheran and Calvinist princes or the magistrates in towns, was drawn from a patriarchal image of God. They used the image of a benevolent and authoritarian father figure to supervise the people, who were seen as their children.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the image of a church subservient to the government in the colonial town is inaccurate. But we cannot dismiss the notion that the government played a fatherly role to the whole population, including the church.

*The church mission for adults and children (through catechesis and baptism)*

Education in the Christian faith was an important mission tool for the Reformed church. There were three forms of religious instruction in the Dutch Republic by the time of the synod of Dordrecht (1618): 1) home instruction by parents; 2) school instruction and 3) church instruction, done by ministers, elders, schoolmasters and *ziekenroosters*.<sup>48</sup> In seventeenth century colonial Batavia the last two types were extensively practiced. There are no records available about home education. Another study on the household situation of Dutch families in colonial towns, surveying private source materials such as diaries and correspondence, might shed more light on the topic.

In Batavia, catechesis was at first exclusively taught to youngsters in town school. The students had to be present at Sunday services before the afternoon sermon for a question-and-answer session led by the minister. Originally the catechesis was given only in Dutch. Towards the mid-seventeenth century there was also catechesis given in Portuguese and Malay to schoolchildren. In the course of time the frequency of oral test for the schoolchildren in the church changed from weekly to monthly. Twice a week native catechist masters such as Cornelis Senen came to the school, gave lessons using the Portuguese or Malay versions of the '*Kort Begrip*' and led the question-and-answer sessions using the *ampat blas* (fourteen short catechism questions) for catechumens.<sup>49</sup>

The increase in members by the mid-seventeenth century, particularly in Batavia, could be attributed to a combination of *rondgaande* catechesist-masters and short catechesis given at the district levels. According to Niemeijer, '*...de dagelijkse catechisaties in het Maleis en Portugees, waartoe steeds meer leermeesters werden ingezet, bleken het voornaamste middel tot voortplanting van het Christendom te*

<sup>46</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 96-104.

<sup>47</sup> Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation Central Europe 1550-1750*, p. 148.

<sup>48</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 179

<sup>49</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 179

*zijn*.<sup>50</sup> This brings us to the next question: who were these Malay- and Portuguese-speaking Christians?

Slavery was a common practice in the seventeenth century East Indies, long before the Europeans came. The Dutch adapted to the situation and developed a new perspective. It was the duty of a Christian to Christianize his slaves, following the example of Abraham in the Old Testament. It was acceptable to own slaves; it would be better if the slaves were Christianized. When a slave became a Christian, he was entitled to have a (legal) marriage and a Christian funeral, meaning that a slave could acquire legal status. Since the early years of the Company's occupation of Batavia there were small groups of slaves who would follow a few weeks of catechesis, undergo an examination and then be baptized. Baptism was a prerequisite for legally recognized marriage, as the church and the government tried to stop the practice of concubinage in town. But these new Christians were not allowed to take part in the sacrament of the Holy Communion, since they were considered as 'not yet fully comprehending Christianity.' Niemeijer concludes that the Reformed church had sacrificed its theology for the sake of social order.<sup>51</sup> Baptism in the Reformed church was always based on a personal confession; therefore baptism as an adult conferred full church membership.

In Asia the separation of sacraments was widely practiced. It was part of the progress of the seventeenth and eighteenth century mission in the VOC settlements. In certain areas the church was under pressure due to the presence of competing religions. The practice of separating sacraments provided a larger number of converts but made Christianity shallower in practice. To allow full access to the complete sacraments (*samenvoeging van sacramenten*) meant that the church would have had to pay more attention to the religious understanding and behavior of converts, which have might lead to a less-easily accessible, more exclusive and smaller church.<sup>52</sup>

This practice of the sacrament separation eventually ended after the Church Order of 1648 was accepted in Batavia. With the abolition of the separation of the sacraments in Batavia, preparations for accepting new members changed. Ministers and elders examined aspirant members at the homes of ministers. If the aspirants passed the examination they would receive their membership as per the usual practice of the public confirmation of faith in the Netherlands.<sup>53</sup> However the practice continued in other VOC areas.

According to Van Boetzelaer, the church in Batavia had been following article 49 of the 1643 Church Order, which prescribed the separation of the sacraments for baptized heathens. According to the 1643 Church Order, adult heathens who were baptized, unlike adults from Christian families, were not allowed to join the Holy Communion. They had to first proclaim their desire and prove

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<sup>50</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 184-185.

<sup>51</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 176-177.

<sup>52</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 171-176; Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 62.

<sup>53</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 179-180.

themselves worthy in faith and in life before they were allowed to join the sacrament.<sup>54</sup>

As stated above, the situation changed significantly when in 1648 the Church tried to end sacrament separation. The consistory realized that the separation had led the church to commit abuses and make mistakes. They also realized that the church had been exploited. The *inlandsche natien* (indigenous people) came to the church asking for baptism for a selfish and worldly reason: to acquire legal status. This was indeed a misuse of the church. At the end of the day these people had limited knowledge about the Reformed religion and there was no transformation in their way of life.

The abolition of the separation of sacraments also meant the end of mass conversions within the community of the Company's slaves. It then became a personal decision of the slaves (or their masters). A slave who had completed the confirmation of faith after religious instruction was then allowed to be baptized and to take part in the Holy Communion. Niemeijer says that these phenomena occurred mostly among privately owned slaves.<sup>55</sup>

Another feature of Christian growth in Batavia involved children. There were many children in Batavia who needed to be baptized. The problem was that many were illegitimate; their mothers were mostly slaves and not Christians. According to the law these children belonged to their mothers. According to the prevailing theology of the time the children were considered heathens as their mothers were not Christians, and thus they could not be baptized as infants or children. They had to wait until they reached the age of eligibility at 10, when they were entitled to receive the requisite instruction in the Christian religion needed for baptism. This situation led to a moral problem for Dutch fathers: what would happen to the children if they died before being baptized? This uncertainty led to two policies: 1) the Christianization of female slaves and 2) the practice of private adoption, in which a father acknowledged (*erkenning*) a child as his own, which the church itself supported. However it was clear that church would have preferred a "pastoral" solution that conformed to the law and at the same time was theologically correct and put people's mind at ease.

Citizens and Company servants not only wanted the children (whether legitimate or illegitimate) to receive baptism, but also to be raised by Christian families. The Reformed church did not want the children raised by the Muslim (or other non-Christian) families of their mothers. The connection between child baptism and private adoption gave the children a chance to be educated as Christians and to acquire legal status. As Niemeijer says: 'The value of this adoption practice was of the greatest importance, since it was the foundation of the formation of Eurasians as well as Batavia society.'<sup>56</sup>

After the late seventeenth century, regular visitations of VOC posts in Java's northeast coastal towns allowed ministers from Batavia to ensure that children were baptized, among other things. When their fathers died or were

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<sup>54</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 46-47; Van Boetzelaer, *De Gereformeerde kerken*, p. 318.

<sup>55</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 177-180; Mooij, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië II*, p. 85-88.

<sup>56</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 307.

repatriated, the responsibility to rear the children fell to others and not to the families of their 'local-wives'. A greater number of such children found their way into Christian families in Batavia; others ended up in the orphanage.<sup>57</sup> Either way, they were raised as Christians to become members of the colonial society.

From this perspective, the orphanage was an important part of the town, and a place where the church's and the government's interests met. An annual *revue* (survey) of the deacons' control of the town's orphan house was usually made after new deacons took office. These visitations were excellent opportunity for the new deacons to become acquainted with all the children in the orphanage and to learn about their educational progress and behavior. They also evaluated the children who were sufficiently educated and were ready to leave the house. Furthermore the visitation was also aimed at inspecting the infrastructure, assets, liabilities and administration of the house. The deacons appointed *buitenregenten* (supervisors) to supervise daily matters at the orphanage.<sup>58</sup>

It was the policy of the *buitenregenten* to find as many as families as possible to adopt the children. This was especially true for orphan boys so that they could learn a trade skill to support their livelihood in the future. Indo-European children comprised the majority of orphans. Most came from the *buiten comptoiren* (Company outposts). In order to separate these children from their non-Christian environment they were sent to Batavia and placed in the orphanage. This scheme, over time, brought another problem: The number of children outgrew the capacity of the orphanage and the number of potential adoptive parents in Batavia. In the early eighteenth century the High Government decided that Company servants who had children with indigenous women would no longer be allowed to repatriate.<sup>59</sup>

#### *The relationship between the Church and the VOC (High Government)*

The Reformed deaconry was the most important relief institution for the poor in Batavia. The practice followed the European tradition. Its primary sources of funding came from regular church collections, as members of the Reformed church were encouraged to show charity. The deaconate was meant to support its poor members financially and materially.<sup>60</sup> This was a common practice for early modern Protestant churches. Since the costs of church maintenance and personnel were paid for by the local government, the collection was meant to support the needy.

While town and church poor relief differed in the Republic, the same could hardly be said in the VOC's settlements. In Batavia it was the Church deaconry that had responsibility for poor Christians. The government had no authority over people of other beliefs (i.e., Muslims and Chinese) concerning religious matters, since they belonged to their own communities.<sup>61</sup> This meant only poor Christians could get

<sup>57</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads cultuur*, p. 307-308.

<sup>58</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads cultuur*, p. 314-315.

<sup>59</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads cultuur*, p. 315-319; Van der Chijs (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek IV*: October 16, 1716.

<sup>60</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads cultuur*, p. 276-278.

<sup>61</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads cultuur*, p. 278-279.



help from town administrators, while people of other faiths had to find their own way.

The deacons in Batavia also functioned as *huissittenmeesters*, or supervisors for the town-supported poor who lived in their own homes. In the Dutch Republic there were town-appointed personnel who took care of poor people. This meant that in the early years of the seventeenth century the deacons of Batavia supported not only poor members of the Reformed church but also all other poor Christians, regardless of denomination, including non-European Christians.<sup>62</sup>

The Church Order of 1624 required the deaconry to regularly present a financial report to the consistory. The 1643 Church Order stated that that report should be submitted to the consistory in the presence of government representatives. This regulation underlined the important public role that the deaconry played.

The process of electing Batavia's deaconry also had a public aspect. In previous years, following the tradition of the Dutch Republic, the church sent a list of candidates to the government for selection. In 1644, the High Government left the election to the consistory and limited itself to approving deacons only. This practice continued until the eighteenth century.<sup>63</sup>

The deaconry was financially supported by the Company, just as its counterparts in the Netherlands were supported by the government. They enjoyed income from town taxes and fines. The money that the deaconry collected was not all allocated for the poor; a certain amount was reserved as capital to generate interest. A portion was also reserved for loans to Christian debtors,<sup>64</sup> from whom the deaconry would charge 2 percent monthly interest. In this way the deaconry functioned as lender in Batavia. But the deaconry was not the only one in the lending business. Another institution, the *weeskamer*, also functioned as lender, albeit for the broader public.<sup>65</sup>

The predecessors of the Dutch Reformed Church in the sixteenth century – namely the Reformed church in Geneva, the Dutch Reformed church refugees in London and Emden and the churches in the Republic – highly valued *tucht* (church discipline). This was also the case when the Reformed church's consistory came into being in Batavia in the seventeenth century. All new members had to subscribe to the testimony that they would '*in wandel, leven en ommeganck, getrouw, cuysch, matich ende eerlick, als het een oprecht christen betaemt te zullen gedragen*', or 'in personal life and relations with others, be faithful, pure, sober and sincere, as a genuine Christian should properly behave'.<sup>66</sup>

The deaconry's material support also functioned as a tool to discipline the poor. Under certain conditions, the deacons could postpone disbursement of the monthly subsidy to poor people who had fallen under scrutiny. In practice, the deaconry could act independently of the consistory, although on an informal level the deaconry and the consistory discussed matters of shared interest. But more often the deacons consulted the government on practical matters, such as accepting

<sup>62</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 279.

<sup>63</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 280-282.

<sup>64</sup> In Semarang, loans were not limited to Christian debtors.

<sup>65</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 283-286.

<sup>66</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 202-203.

children in the orphanage, placing sick or elderly Company servants in the poorhouse and other matters regarding the *buitenarmen*.<sup>67</sup> The above occurrences reflected the role of the deacons as public poor relief officers in town.

The offices of elder and deacon were mostly filled by Company officers and municipal functionaries. It was also common to seek the High Government's approval for recently appointed elders and deacons. As mentioned above one public aspect of the church was the presence of a political commissioner (*commissaris politiek*) at the consistory's regular meetings. In general his presence did not impede the consistory meetings. His main function as the government's representative was not to control the church council, but to give advice and play a mediating role.<sup>68</sup> Both in Batavia and later also in Semarang this office was held by high-ranking Company officers.

The practice of exercising church discipline in Batavia during the first decade of the seventeenth century followed practices prevalent in the Republic. Disciplinary procedures for people under scrutiny started with a personal admonition from the consistory. The next step was a discrete ban from the Holy Communion. Here we see that the sacrament was used as a means of church discipline. At this point it was expected that the sinner would come to the consistory and show remorse. If the person showed reluctance, the consistory might then bring the case to the public without mentioning the person's identity. Should this bring no change in a person's behavior, the last step was banishment from the church. Niemeijer finds no evidence of banishment in Batavia based on his analysis of consistory minutes.<sup>69</sup>

It was not always easy to maintain strict discipline due to the interference of the government. To reduce conflict between the colonists and VOC servants, the government sometimes tried to restrict church discipline, especially when it came to public announcements or confessions of guilt in the church. This different treatment had its basis in part in the Instruction of Middelburg (1617), which provided different disciplinary processes based on the social status and race of the person under censure. Christian slaves were subject to social control not only by the church but also by their masters. The Dutch of high reputation and social rank could negotiate how church discipline was levied on them. Most non-Dutch people under censure had to meet the consistory in its chambers, where they would stand, explain their misconduct and receive a reprimand. A visit to the consistory chamber was deemed unacceptable for more self-aware (*mondige*) members. They might be reluctant to come to the consistory, but would accept a summons to meet at a minister's home.<sup>70</sup>

The history of the Reformed church in colonial Batavia was well documented. Niemeijer's study covers the early years of the church in the seventeenth century up to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The period can be considered as its blossoming years (*bloeitijd*). The situation changed for the worse in the eighteenth century. While the history of the church in Batavia was well documented by well-preserved archival data, the younger church in Java's northeast

<sup>67</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 350-356.

<sup>68</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 103.

<sup>69</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 206.

<sup>70</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 207-210; Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche kerk*, p. 98-100.

coast was frequently mentioned only in passing. A more complete picture – the aim of this study – is not always easy to develop.

*The situation of the churches around 1750*

The close links (*nauw verbonden*) between churches in the Indies and the Company was the reason for the poor condition of the church in the late eighteenth century. The Company itself was suffering from decay in the eighteenth century; the situation was not much better for the church.<sup>71</sup> This belief was commonly held by church historians and historians of Christian missions, particularly in Indonesia, and by older Dutch church historians.

Van Boetzelaer holds the opinion that the churches and their ministers enjoyed more freedom in the eighteenth century compared to the previous era. The assignments for ministers (*standplaats*) were decided by the government and the Batavian consistory. This role put the consistory of Batavia in a prominent position. The cases of the repatriation of ministers accused of ‘misconduct’ were a clear indication that the decision to suspend and to dismiss ministers was in the hands of the consistory and not the government.<sup>72</sup> In normal circumstances, suspensions and dismissals were part of church disciplinary action to be exercised by *classis*.

In the eighteenth century a quite number of new church buildings had been built, among them the one in Semarang.<sup>73</sup> Semarang was one of the youngest *Indische kerk* consistories. All in all, churches in the East Indies were powerless without Company support; their very existence was impossible without financial and other necessary support from the trading institution.

One way the government interfered with the church was in the practice of baptism. The government asked the consistory of Batavia in 1733 to write down its regular procedures for baptism and to send it to all Company officers (*buiten-kantoren*) so that other Indies churches could follow suit. In 1735 Batavia’s baptismal procedures were sent forth and became the rule. The key points of the procedures were as follows:<sup>74</sup>

- 1) All children born out of legitimate wedlock had to be baptized. Baptisms performed by other churches were acceptable.
- 2) The illegitimate children with two Christian parents could be baptized on the condition that the parents were put under censure and, if possible, married. If only the mother had been baptized, the child could still be baptized under the conditions above. A child could not be baptized if only his or her father had been baptized.
- 3) Adopted children with a notary deed (*notarieele acte*) and accompanied by sincere Christians could be baptized.
- 4) Fathers were allowed to stand as witnesses (*doopgetuigen*), even if they were Roman Catholic or from other churches, as long as they were not

<sup>71</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 161-162.

<sup>72</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 188-191.

<sup>73</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 212.

<sup>74</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 215-216; Van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek IV*, p. 274 ff.

hostile to the Reformed church, but other witness had to be a member of the Reformed church.

5) Newly baptised adults from heathen or Muslim families were allowed to join the Holy Communion only with the consent of the ministers, otherwise they had to wait.

Besides the sacrament of baptism, the Holy Communion came into perspective as well. The synod of North Holland decided in 1732 that the churches in the Indies should follow the procedures of the church in the Netherlands in terms of inclusive sacraments. Following suit, the directors decided in 1736, under the recommendation of the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University, that the separation of the sacraments should no longer be practiced in the churches overseas. These regulations from the Netherlands were translated into two decisions of the High Government in Batavia. First, the conscience (*'t gemoet*) of the ministers in Batavia should determine if the Holy Sacrament was to be separated. Second, separation would not be allowed in other settlements but this should be handled tactfully (*omzichtigheid*). It was clear that the governor general and the Council of Indies in 1736 had the authority to make their own decisions on this matter, despite the synods and classes in the Netherlands.<sup>75</sup>

Van Boetzelaer critically examined the government's intervention in church matters. The government was continuously involved in church affairs, ranging from building issues to the practical matters of Sundays services, from Bible translation to the weekly church newsletter printing process – and also including doctrinal controversies. He holds the opinion that definitive decisions rested with the government on most matters.<sup>76</sup> Classis and synod were not present in every Company settlement in Asia meaning there was no forum for local parishes to consult on matters of greater or shared interest; they had to accept what was provided by Batavia. The High Government in Batavia was at liberty to consult with the consistory in Batavia on church matters such as, for instance, the assignment of new ministers. However that consultative function did not elevate the Batavian consistory above other churches.

I argue that Van Boetzelaer missed two important points. First, what he considered government intervention was actually sanctioned by law and church order. The government acted to (and perceived itself as an actor responsible for) upholding public order. This was common practice for local governments in the Netherlands. In this case Van Boetzelaer was not aware that the practice in the Indies was simply a mirror image of that in Europe. The Company built its own 'nation' comprised of *orang Kompenie* (Company men) and *orang Nasrani* (Christians) in which religion was one of most important 'national' characteristics. Therefore baptisms, as well as other religious and social obligations, were the business of the Company as well as the church.

Secondly, the government did its work under the prevailing notion that it had a role to play as a nurturing father (*voedsterheeren*) to the church. By doing so the Company would fulfil its obligation as the acting Dutch government overseas, as

<sup>75</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 220-223.

<sup>76</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantse Kerk*, p. 197-201.

stipulated both in article 36 of the Dutch Reformed Church's Confession and in the Company charter of 1622. The East Indies under the Company in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was quite different from the nineteenth century Dutch East Indies. The first two centuries were a time when the concept of the separation of church and state was unheard of and when independent missionary societies had yet to reach the colonies. As a public church, the church followed the rules established by its *voedsterheeren* for the good order of the society.

*The life and work of an Indische predikant*

The biographical note of pastor J.C. Metzlar (1751-1824) offers a clear description of the recruitment process of an *Indische predikant*. His life story was representative of VOC ministers in the second half of the eighteenth century – although his experience was not the only possible route since there were always proponents and ministers who achieved their positions in different ways.

Although Metzlar was never sent to or visited Java's Northeast Coast,<sup>77</sup> his adventures (*lotgevalen*) give us a brief look at the activities and perceptions of a typical late-eighteenth century Dutch minister in the Indies.

Jacob Casper Metzlar was born in Hulst, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in 1751. His father was a military officer and, unsurprisingly, the family moved a lot, depending on his assignments. At the age of seventeen he lost his mother when the family lived in IJsselstein. He spent his school years in Utrecht, following the suggestion of his father.<sup>78</sup>

As the child of a relatively poor family, he pursued his theological education under a scholarship scheme designed to produce ministers for the Indies. At the age of twenty-two, in late October 1773 at the Utrecht classis, Metzlar passed his *preparatoir* examination and was accepted as a *proponent* (aspirant minister). Almost a month after he had passed the examination he received confirmation of his appointment as a minister of the Indies, sanctioned by the directors of the Company from the Amsterdam chamber. Procedure called for a formal appointment from the church; in the case of Metzlar, he was called by the Amsterdam classis in early January 1774 in accordance with standard church procedures for the installation of a minister. He was installed by the Amsterdam classis instead of his home classis since Utrecht had no chamber in the Company.

After he finished another examination, called *peremptoir*, by the Amsterdam classis, he received the laying on of the hands (*oplegging der handen*),

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<sup>77</sup> He was first stationed on *Onrust* Island, off the coast of Batavia and then was called to serve as minister in Batavia. He was also under the orders of the High Government of Batavia to visit and stay in Cirebon (1777) and Sumatra's west coast (1778) for quite some time to serve the local Christian communities. He never set foot in the middle or eastern part of Java, since at that time Java's Northeast Coast already had its own minister. During his second visitation to Cirebon in 1780 he travelled as far east as Tegal (about eighteen hours from Cirebon by transportation available at the time), which was a town under Java's Northeast Coast's administration.

<sup>78</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets van Jacob Casper Metzlar, tot en met zijne vijftigjarige herinnerings leerrede*, p. 5-7.

which meant he was now properly ordained according to ceremony. In May 1774 Metzlar left his homeland for Asia.<sup>79</sup>

Through the short description above we can define a pattern of recruitment aimed at attracting young theology students to fulfill the dire need for ministers in Indies.

This was one of many recruitment procedures for *Indische Predikant*. Other ministers, who did not receive scholarships from the Company, were also sent to Asia. For them it was a matter of getting a well-paid job after finishing their theological education. There were also older and settled ministers, such as pastor Josua van Iperen, who went to Asia when he was more than fifty years old along with his family.

In short there was no single pattern for recruiting of *Indische predikant*. The story of Metzlar shows one arrangement agreed to by the Company and the Reformed church.

This differed slightly from the regular recruitment process for parish ministers. In the case of the latter, the local consistory formally recruited candidates and who were then examined by the classis. If a candidate passed, he would then be appointed by the classis as the new minister for the parish.

It was a common belief among late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars in missionary studies that the church and the Company struggled for a long time to deal with the problem of the shortage of the ministers in the Indies. In the time of Metzlar's ministry, we can see how some decisions that were collaboratively drafted by the synods and the directors of the Company in the Netherlands were already at work.

The synod of Hoorn, in 1737, addressed the problem by issuing two decisions. The first acknowledged the importance of improving the position of ministers in the Indies and the second was on the education of *proponents* for the Indies.<sup>80</sup> As for improvement, it was decided that there would be salary increases, swift assignments, incentives for good behavior, good treatment on board ship and that repatriation would not bring a reduction in salary. Simultaneously, to make the ministry attractive to young people it was decided that the Company would award twelve scholarships to the University of Leiden for theology.

The directors proposed another benefit to entice ministers and proponents who were married or had children to go to the Indies. Married proponents would get *f* 1,200 in grants (*uitkeeringen*) and ministers without children would receive *f* 1,000, single ministers would receive *f* 800 and single proponents would receive *f* 600. Although the incentives were high, they did not solve the shortage.<sup>81</sup> According to Van Boetzelaer the efforts were unsuccessful because the Company approached

<sup>79</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 9-10; Van Boetzelaer, *Pieter van Dam Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie IV*, p. 14: the procedure was standard after 1661:

'... dat voortaan alleen souden werde aengenomen sodanige proponenten, die voor haar vertreck door oplegginge der handen tot predikanten souden wesen gequalificeert, en dat onder een tractement van 70 tot 80 gulden ter maant, mits dat, wanneer deselve tot de vereyschte kennisse der talen en om den godtsdienst daarin te kunnen waernemen souden sijn gekomen, alsdan, en eerder niet, souden genieten het ordinaris tractement de predikanten toegeleyt.'

<sup>80</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk*, p. 143-144.

<sup>81</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk*, p. 144-145.

the issue using a merchant's point of view, i.e., implementing a reward-and-punishment system, which did not work for addressing Church personnel affairs.

However, what Van Boetzelaer was not aware of is the fact that the shortage of ministers was also a problem for the Dutch Republic itself, in particular during the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century the number and distribution of ministers in the Dutch Republic was balanced; the shortage started in the eighteenth century.<sup>82</sup> It was not a problem for overseas churches alone. Moreover, regardless of the Company's financial incentives, living in the Indies always had high risks for Europeans, as proven by the high mortality rate for Company personnel, including church personnel. From this perspective it was understandable that Metzlar described his life in Asia as an adventure (*lotgevallen*).

Brief attention should also be given to the description of his voyage to the Indies as described in his autobiography. His ship, the *Morgenster*, departed from Texel together with seventeen other ships bound for various destinations. Like many Church personnel before him, during the cruise he gave Sunday sermons to all those aboard, weather permitting. When the *Morgenster* finally reached the Cape of Good Hope in the second week of September (four months after leaving the Netherlands), the ship had already lost thirteen of 375 people due to sickness. On December 13 they arrived in Batavia.<sup>83</sup>

Upon his arrival in Batavia, Metzlar noted social phenomena he considered unusual when compared to the situation in his homeland. At a long-standing party where Protestant ministers of Batavia were regular guests, he noted that people were seated according to social rank. To his relief, a Protestant minister enjoyed a rather high status, as reflected in his words: 'The position of a Protestant minister was far from the least (*op verre na de minsten niet*); they had a same rank as a senior merchant of the first class.' At the first social gathering he attended, following regulations, he submitted his recommendation letter from the classis to Governor General P.A. van der Parra.<sup>84</sup>

He noted that people of high status were very open and generous to a new minister, and took care of his needs before he had his own income settled. The governor general himself sent gifts of money and needed materials for living.<sup>85</sup>

While he waited for assignment in Batavia, every two weeks he gave a sermon during Sunday services in the morning (8:30 a.m.) and afternoon (4:30 p.m.).<sup>86</sup> It was common for ministers without assignments to be stationed for sometime in Batavia until receiving their commissions. Metzlar was later stationed on Onrust (an island north of Batavia) and on February 19, 1775 he began his service there.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Van Lieburg, *Profeten en hun vaderland*, p. 78-83.

<sup>83</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 10-18.

<sup>84</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 19-20.

<sup>85</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 21.

<sup>86</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 21; Lieburg, 'Het personeel van de Indische kerk' in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 89: There was always a back-up group of ministers without permanent assignments (*predikanten-zonder-vaste-dienst*). According to Van Lieburg this was understandable considering the high mortality risk in the Indies, and furthermore it allowed the Company freedom to send ministers where needed.

<sup>87</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 21.

He says that Onrust had a small and beautiful church (*een lief klein kerkje*) with an *orgel* provided by the late Governor General Mr. D. Durven. Every Sunday, church was attended by 200-300 people, mostly ship carpenters. It was the custom in Batavia (and also on Onrust) that seating was arranged according to social rank, those who worked the longest sat in the front and new carpenters were in the back. Metzlar also went to the nearby island of Purmerend twice a year to administer the Holy Communion. Personally he found it an unpleasant experience, since among the island's parishioners were people who lived in the *Leprosenhuis*.<sup>88</sup>

On December 23, 1777 he was called to become a minister for a Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia, where he served until he returned to the Netherlands. When the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen* was founded on April 24, 1778 Metzlar was the first secretary of the society and a member of its steering committee.<sup>89</sup>

Many ministers were able to bring their wives and children and make a decent life in Asia.<sup>90</sup> Metzlar married shortly before his departure; the newlyweds started their lives together in the Indies. Their standard of living was quite high for people living overseas, but in the late eighteenth century this kind of lifestyle was no longer uncommon. A senior minister such as Van Iperen brought his whole family of eight people to Batavia. Unlike the case of Metzlar, who need to wait for assignment, Van Iperen was assigned by the directors in the Netherlands to the Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia. Van Iperen arrived in the Indies on February 28, 1779 and a week later he was installed in the post. Unfortunately, on February 6, 1780 Van Iperen passed away at the age of fifty-four.<sup>91</sup>

As an upper-class household, Metzlar and his wife owned thirteen slaves. This entailed financial consequences, as they needed sufficient income to support a high standard of living. According to Metzlar's own account, he saved around *f* 10.500 in his last seven years in Asia. The extra income came mostly in the form of various gifts.<sup>92</sup> It is conjectured that in the 1770s, an *Indisch predikant* earned approximately *f* 110 a month, of which *rd.* 25 (*f* 62.5) had to be allocated for house rental alone, in addition to expenses for, among other things, horses and a carriage, all of which served as status symbols at the time.

As a Dutch-speaking minister, he had access to high-ranking Company officials, a privilege that he used from time to time. One such occasion in 1778 serves as a good example. On May 17, after conducting a service for the confirmation of faith of the son of former Governor General P.A. van der Parra, Metzlar was also on duty for blessing the holy matrimony of a man named Van der Parra and the daughter of the director general, Catharina Breton. The ceremony was followed by a wedding reception at *Weltevreden*, a luxurious villa in Batavia. Only

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<sup>88</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 22.

<sup>89</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 37.

<sup>90</sup> Van, *Pieter Van Dam Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie vierde boek*, p. 5: As early as 1609 the chambers had already tried to recruit married men to be ministers and teachers in the Indies.

<sup>91</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 30.

<sup>92</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschets*, p. 26-27.



one minister was invited to the party: pastor Metzlar, the one who blessed the young couple.<sup>93</sup>

Through his personal account, Metzlar shows us how much money an *Indisch predikant* could accumulate over a period of nine years in Asia. He also mentioned that as a minister he received many generous gifts from high-ranking officials of the Company, such as Governor General Van der Parra, and other very important individuals. It was also clear from his narrative that finding a fortune was not his main motive in coming to Asia. He even turned down a very generous offer from the next governor general, who wished to persuade him to extend his stay in Batavia after he decided to go home. He just wanted to leave, as Batavia in the late eighteenth century was not a good place to live. The mortality rate was high due to disease.

On another occasion, under the orders of the High Government, Reverend Metzlar went on a visitation to Cirebon in the spring of 1777. The journey eastward and back home again on the Company ship *Diana* took six weeks. Part of his duties in Cirebon were preaching, visiting Christian families, celebrating the ritual of faith and the confirmation of catechumen and serving the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion.<sup>94</sup> All these activities he reported to the consistory as soon as he returned to Batavia. This visitation was a part of the duty of ministers in Batavia. There is no information regarding the interval between visits to *buiten comptoiren* (Company outposts) such as Cirebon. It is safe to assume that such places were visited at least once a year, as there was always much work for a *visitor*, including consulting local *ziekentroosters* or schoolmasters, examining the 'knowledge' of aspirant Christians before they were accepted as church members, and, most importantly, administering the sacraments.

During these visitations Metzlar had the chance to broaden his knowledge about Cirebon's society. In his view, Cirebon's resident governed like a king. Whenever the resident he travelled he was accompanied by trumpeters and bodyguards who ran before him. Metzlar had a chance to visit both *Inlandsche* sultans of Cirebon. One he called *Anom* (which means young in Javanese) and the other, *Suppoe* (an incorrect spelling of *sepuh*, which means old). The minister was aware that both sultans did not have much authority in practice. Metzlar also enjoyed a visit to the *bovenlanden* where people planted indigo.

Metzlar was assigned additional visits. His found his visitation to Padang on the west coast of Sumatra and to Poelo Chingo (a nearby small island) in 1779 even more interesting. The trip to Padang took sixteen days by ship. He was welcomed by Commander Siberg (who later became governor general) and his wife upon his arrival. Metzlar described the area as warm with a very healthy air, rich in natural resources such as gold and other minerals, while also holding many elephants and a great deal of vegetables. When he saw the poverty among the natives (*inlanders*) he quickly came to the conclusion that it was caused by laziness (*trage, vadzige aard*).<sup>95</sup> This must have been a common belief among Dutch colonists.

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<sup>93</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 39-41.

<sup>94</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 33.

<sup>95</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 41-43.

He led the opening ceremony of the new *koepelkerk* at his first Sunday service in town on September 13, 1778. Larger than Cirebon, Padang had a governor, a director general and a commander. His presence in this town was a good opportunity to celebrate. He was invited to the birthday party of a Company officer and to celebrate the baptism of a child of another officer.<sup>96</sup> On Chinco he baptized around 100 children. The reason behind the large number was that no minister had visited the island during the previous five or six years. The Company had one *ziekentrooster* on the island who read sermons on Sundays. Metzlar also recorded some data concerning his visitation to Sumatra's west coast:<sup>97</sup>

Number of full members in all Dutch settlements on Sumatra	.....	121
Catechumen who were Confirmed by Metzlar	.....	58
Total no. of Christians	.....	278
Number of Christian children	.....	70
Couples wed by the minister	.....	5
Consistory members	.....	6
<i>Ziekentroosters</i>	.....	2

Other than Padang and Chinco there were – as Metzlar noted – two other Company settlements on Sumatra: Priamang (modern day: Pariaman about 80 to 90 kilometers north of Padang) and Adjeradjah (which might have been the Company settlement in Aceh). The settlements were not visited by the minister, since they were not covered by his assignment and were situated farther north. Metzlar began his work in Sumatra in August 1778 and returned to Batavia in January 1779. His second visitation lasted longer than the first. He even called the second one a '*verblijf*' (staying).

With such a long period of 'staying' during his visitation, it is no wonder that the minister is able to give more of an impression of the situation of Christians in the settlements. The numbers that the minister mentioned above show that the settlements on Sumatra's west coast already had consistories and church personnel (though not a regular minister) who had really done their jobs.

On April 23, 1780 Metzlar visited Cirebon for a second time. He did not describe his ecclesiastical activities but wrote of his impressions of the journey. He left Batavia on April 13, 1780 and on April 22 arrived in Indramayu. From there he was carried in a *draagstoel* by sixteen carriers, eight in the front and eight in the rear. They sang all the way to Cirebon, a journey of over fifty kilometers by foot.<sup>98</sup> The government facilitated these arrangements for the minister to help him complete his tasks.

Metzlar finally decided to return to the Netherlands when he was approaching the last year of his second term in 1783. In his book he mentioned that his father passed

<sup>96</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 41-44.

<sup>97</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 49-50.

<sup>98</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 54-58.

away while he was still in the Indies. During that time communications between the Netherlands and the Indies was disrupted due to the Anglo-Dutch war. It was truly a hard time for family members both in the Netherlands and in the Indies. When the war was over and ships from the Netherlands finally docked in Batavia again, he decided to join Mr. J.C.M. Radermacher (founder of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*), who decided to return home after his resignation from the Council of Indies, and return home.<sup>99</sup>

Metzlar mentioned that he declined an offer of *rd* 500 a year, to be paid out of Governor General Alting's pocket, to stay longer. In November 1783 he held a farewell prayer service at the church in Batavia.

Tragically, the journey home turned out to be a disaster. Radermacher and Metzlar's wife were killed by angry Chinese crewmen before they reached the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>100</sup>

The account of Metzlar's refusal of the governor general's offer tells us two things. First, Batavia was in dire need for church ministers. Second, it reflected that not every minister could cope with life in the Indies.

After his 'adventure' in the Indies Metzlar ministered to several Dutch parishes. In April 24, 1785 he was named minister for Beusichem, followed by Klundert in 1790 and Harlingen in 1793. After a break, he became a minister in Schiermonnikoog in 1811 before receiving emeritus status in 1820.<sup>101</sup>

### *The Reformed church in the Indies*

#### *Early years*

The Christian mission was not exclusively understood as a mission for the church alone. Article 36 of the *Nederlandse geloofsbelijdenis* stated clearly that the Dutch government should take an active part in propagating the Gospel. This principle was valid both in the Netherlands as well as in overseas Dutch settlements.

The classes and synods in the Netherlands collaborated with the VOC authorities in both the Netherlands as well as Asia to provide Christians in Dutch-ruled areas with proper church services. Out of this joint effort European and native Christians founded new communities that in many ways resembled the old world, while adding genuinely new elements. Those elements gave the new communities their own theological and cultural traits, as well as new problems and opportunities.

In the early years, the church in the Netherlands proved itself able to find solutions for unprecedented problems in the missionary field, while at the same time remaining faithful to the Reformed religion.

From its earliest years in the Indies, government assistance always played a decisive role in the progress of the Reformed religion. This does not support the notion of continuous government intervention in church affairs, since neither the government nor the church understood their relationship in bipolar terms. They had the same mission with regard to advancing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ (*het*

<sup>99</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 61-63.

<sup>100</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 81-88.

<sup>101</sup> Metzlar, *Levensschtes*, p. 149.

*Koningrijk van Jezus Christus te doen vorderen*). Wherever the Company built a new settlement, a new compound for God's people was built as well. The church provided the settlements with men of God; the Company took care of the rest. The number of – and the need for – the men of God increased as the Company grew in power and in wealth over the years.

#### *Christianity in colonial society*

Christianity was an important building block of colonial society, without which societal development would have taken a different course. On the other hand colonial society brought new and alien elements into Christian lives that in turn made way for the rise of native Christians.

In a colonial town such as Batavia one can find evidence of a dynamic mission in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The relationship between church and government was always in a state of flux. As Niemeijer says, there were more than two parties in the game. It was a triangular relationship, with the consistory in Batavia at the center. This is indeed an important finding that brings new insight to the complex propagation of the Reformed religion. For the most part it was the consistory in Batavia that had played the most active role in Christians' lives. From time to time the consistory, to which the other consistories in Asia looked, needed to make decisions that went counter to the advice of the Company in the Indies or the classes and synods in the Netherlands – or even both. On other occasions the consistory could proudly take credit for its wise and thoughtful choices. Retrospectively, I would say that the consistory did its duty to help Christianity take root in foreign soil, and by doing so it pushed back the frontiers, both doctrinally and culturally, in ways hard to understand for European-born Christians.

#### *Living in the Indies as an adventure?*

A person was never completely ready to live in the Indies until actually going there. Metzlar hit the nail on the head when he described his life there as an adventure. As a fresh graduate of the theology faculty in Utrecht he started his new career bravely. During the voyage to Batavia he saw death claim some of his shipmates and he faced horrors during his return voyage that cost him his wife. Apart from deaths at the beginning and end of his adventure, he saw, experienced and enjoyed many new things. He was also at the founding of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap der kunsten en wetenschappen*.

Metzlar was apparently not the only one who enjoyed an adventure in the Indies. As long as he and others like him enjoyed new things physically as well as culturally and scientifically, the Indies was a good place. This gives us a new insight. A Protestant minister's interest was not always limited to the scriptures or spiritual matters. As learned men, Metzlar and others sought to expand their understanding when opportunities arose.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Java's Northeast Coast

Java's Northeast Coast (*Java's Noordoost Kust* – JNOK) became a separate 'province' of the VOC in the 1740s, complete with its own governor, about a decade before the first permanent minister came to Semarang. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Company was aware of the importance of the area due to its economic value. The area supplied food as well as trade goods. However, in the seventeenth century the Company had only limited influence in Java, as the Kingdom of Mataram was still powerful.

Mataram ruled Java's north coast in the seventeenth century. Early in the century Mataram tried to drive the Company from the island but failed. As the result the Company secured limited trading privileges along the coast.

To the Company's advantage, the situation changed in the late 1670s. Mataram asked the VOC for military assistance and in return gave the Company more access to Java's north coast. Afterwards the Company became an indispensable actor in Java's political struggles. More and more coastal areas came under direct Company control and by the 1740s over 200 Company servants were stationed in several towns in addition to military personnel.

In 1748 Java's Northeast Coast was no longer headed by a military commander, but by a governor. It was a logical and necessary step after Java's Northeast Coast and Madura were transferred completely to the Company. From then on the Governor of Java's Northeast Coast was the highest Company official with whom the two Javanese kings (the Susuhunan and the Sultan) dealt. In the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta the Company stationed representatives, called *opperhoofden*.<sup>1</sup>

The town of Semarang was becoming more important both to the Company and to the Javanese authorities. The Javanese War of Succession ended with the partition of Mataram by the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755. From then on the term *Vorstenlanden* (Princely Lands) was used to designate the interior areas of Mataram.<sup>2</sup> Semarang, in the hands of the Company, became the center of the VOC's pervasive presence in Java in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek IX*, [July 1754]; Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast*, p. 23: Van Niel translated *opperhoofd*, the head of the residency in Surakarta, as resident, and he also uses the same word for the head of six lesser towns. The word resident was translated from the Dutch *resident*. Further he uses Dutch word *gezaghebber* (literally: person in charge) for the head officer in Surabaya, while the source called it *opperhoofd* (literally: chief). The sources commonly call the head of these six lesser towns *resident*, and those in Surakarta and Surabaya *opperhoofd*. For the sake of consistency I prefer to use the original Dutch words for all persons in charge to avoid unnecessary confusion between English and Dutch words.

<sup>2</sup> Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast*, p. 1-16; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, p. 69-105.

*Semarang*

In the early seventeenth century, Jepara, not Semarang, was the Company's head office in Java's northeast coast. After the death of Sultan Agung (1645), the Company negotiated with the new king, Amangkurat I (reigned 1646-1677), for rice and timber from Javanese towns. Semarang, which was under the authority of Amangkurat I, was designated as the seat of the Company's representative, who had to pay an annual visit to the court at Kartasura.

When the rebellion of the Madurese prince Trunajaya broke out in the 1670s, both parties in the conflict asked the Company to support their cause. The Company chose to bolster Amangkurat I, who was in a very weak position, and not Prince Trunajaya, who was the stronger party. The king promised the Company the exclusive rights over trade. Amangkurat I never saw the downfall of his enemy, Trunajaya, but his son, Amangkurat II, did. As his father's successor, Amangkurat II had to pay the Company's war expenses as promised. In 1677 the Company received exclusive right to export rice from Central Java and also an exemption from paying toll in Javanese port towns. After the king could not repay the kingdom's war expenses, the Company also received control of Semarang, its surroundings and some additional Javanese port towns.

Semarang started as a simple settlement. In the 1690s it was comprised of a pentagonal fort built on a bend of the Semarang River, situated north of existing Chinese and Javanese settlements. Presumably those settlements were established in the fifteenth century. The Chinese settlement was situated on the west bank of the Semarang River and the Javanese settlement to the east.<sup>3</sup>

In 1708, the Company's headquarters on Java's Northeast Coast was moved from Jepara to Semarang; the town became the center of Company activities in Java. The road connecting Semarang and Kartasura was one of the reasons for this shift.

During the so-called Chinese War (1740), a combined force of Chinese and Javanese besieged the town. After the war ended in 1741 city walls were built to protect the town. The Chinese quarter was demolished and rebuilt further south. The construction of the city walls and enlargement of the town took at least twenty years.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the Company tightened its grip on Java's north coastal areas and the island of Madura. Meanwhile Dutch involvement in Javanese court matters also deepened, as conflicting parties often looked to the Company to support their claims to the throne. The Company became integral part of Java's many wars of succession.

During the Second Javanese War of Succession (1743-46) the Company developed a new policy for Java, playing the role of ruler and not as supporter of Javanese monarchs. When the Third Javanese War of Succession was about to end with the partition of Mataram in 1755 the Company discovered that a policy of divide and rule had a better chance of securing its interests.<sup>4</sup> Van Niel preferred the

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<sup>3</sup> The Javanese and Malay settlements were later relocated to the western bank of the Semarang River, opposite the fort.

<sup>4</sup> Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, p. 96-97.

term ‘balance of power’ for good reason.<sup>5</sup> The existence of the VOC government in Semarang strengthened Dutch involvement in local politics.

By the second half of the eighteenth century the Company controlled virtually all of the towns along Java’s Northeast Coast, from Tegal to Banyuwangi<sup>6</sup> and the western (Bangkalan) and eastern (Sumenep) parts of the island of Madura. After 1748 the VOC governed Java’s Northeast Coast through a Governor and a council,<sup>7</sup> which were collectively known as the Political Council of Semarang. Members of the Council comprised some of the most important local VOC administrators:

- \* The Governor, the head and director of the Company’s trade in the area
- \* A Chief Administrator, usually a merchant
- \* The Commander responsible for the Company’s military forces
- \* Two other merchants
- \* A Secretary, usually a junior merchant
- \* A Warehouse master/cashier, usually a junior merchant
- \* A Port master/*Shabandar*, usually a junior merchant
- \* A Bookkeeper, usually a junior merchant

One of the functions of the Governor was to preserve peace with and between the two Javanese kings.<sup>8</sup> He had to secure all Company interests in the area. As in other Company-ruled areas, the trade interests of the VOC went hand in hand with diplomatic and military power. Most of the officers were stationed in Semarang.

There were nine subordinate areas or towns in Java’s Northeast Coast. Surabaya was the second administrative center, headed by an *opperhoofd* accompanied by a staff comprised of a chief assistant, a bookkeeper and a translator/secretary. The position of *opperhoofd* in the VOC was held by a senior merchant. After 1755 there were *opperhoofden* of the Company at the courts of the Javanese kings in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Both representatives held the rank of senior merchant, as did their colleague in Surabaya. An *opperhoofd* was attended by an assistant, who had the rank of merchant, a chief bookkeeper, who had the rank of junior merchant, and a translator, who had the rank of bookkeeper. The six administrative areas along the coast were called residencies, run by *residenten* (residents) and their small staff. The residents of Tegal, Demak, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang and Gresik all held the rank of merchant or junior merchant.<sup>9</sup> All these areas were subordinate to the governor and Political Council in Semarang.

Every Company outpost and town had a small detachment of military personnel, but in general it was the merchant class who was in charge of particular outposts or towns. Rank represented seniority and the leadership abilities of merchants in the VOC. Rank also represented social status in its linear and centralistic world. People worked their way up from the lower ranks, doing clerical jobs and moving from place to place in the Company’s vast area of operations until

<sup>5</sup> Van Niel, *Java’s Northeast Coast*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Almost 800 kilometers long.

<sup>7</sup> Van Niel, *Java’s Northeast Coast*, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Van Niel, *Java’s Northeast Coast*, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Van Niel, *Java’s Northeast Coast*, p. 21-22.

they made their fortunes and found better positions. Unlike the more-or-less democratic society at home, the Company constituted a bureaucratic and centralized society in Asia, with Batavia at its center.

The Company worked not only with those whose names were on the payroll. With only a limited number of personnel to cover the large area of Java's Northeast Coast, the Company only could control the Javanese population indirectly. They depended on the cooperation of local leaders who were willing to serve Company interests.<sup>10</sup> From the mid-seventeenth century until the late 1790s Java's Northeast Coast enjoyed a relatively stable political balance between the Company, Javanese kingdoms and their people. It was in this period the Reformed church in Semarang rendered its service to Christians living in the area.

### *Reformed church in Semarang*

In many respects the Reformed Church in Semarang via Batavia followed the customs of the church in the Netherlands. We have seen in the previous chapter how the Reformed Church in the Indies was organized and how the government made many arrangements to support and facilitate the church in the performance of its duty as the spiritual and moral guide for the society. The next chapter will explore the daily life of the church and late eighteenth century Christians in Java's Northeast Coast.

It is important to note that the church in Dutch colonial society had some features that differed from the church in the Netherlands. A closer look at the church's work in Semarang and its subordinate towns will shed some light on this.

The ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Indies, to a certain degree, were no different from their colleagues in the Republic. They were all university graduates. Learned ministers were needed to guard the Dutch Reformed Church against its enemies in its early years. In the Indies, their high academic training supposedly enabled them to defend Christian beliefs against other religions as needed. Since they were office bearers (*ambtsdragers*) in the eyes of church and society, it was not always easy to supply enough ministers to every Dutch overseas settlement. But there were always a limited number of ministers in the Netherlands who were interested in working in the Indies. Their appointments and mission were seen as hazardous due to the harsh and risky living situation in the Indies. Many ministers were felled by sickness or sudden death, which in turn reduced the number of ministers in the Indies.

The previous chapter discussed the organizational and functional aspects of the presence of Protestant ministers in the Indies. The next chapter will show how the first seven (not eight, as the inscription in the Church in Semarang told us) ministers in Semarang performed their sacred duties in the Company's settlements in Java.

Next to the ministers, there were always elders and deacons working in Semarang's church. Even before the first permanent minister came to Semarang,

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<sup>10</sup> Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast*, p. 29; An interesting study on the cooperation between the Company and is offered by Kwee, *The Political Economy of Java's Northeast Coast, c. 1740-1800 – Elite Synergy*.



there were deacons and elders who had been ordained by ministers from Batavia on visitation trips to Java. Together they formed a church council or a consistory, similar to other Reformed Churches. Through the consistory minutes and the resolutions of the Political Council of Semarang, we can see how the elders and deacons played an indispensable role in the pastoral and social care of the colonial town of Semarang and of the subordinate Company settlements in Java's Northeast Coast.

The second tier of ecclesiastical personnel working in the Indies was known as the *ziekentroosters* (comforters of the sick). Their jobs varied from teaching catechism and teaching at schools to their main work at hospitals and charity houses: comforting the sick, distressed and dying. In an area such as Java's Northeast Coast the role of *ziekentroosters* in many respects was strategic, since the Company had to provide the pastoral and spiritual care for its employees even at remote outposts.

*Ziekentroosters* were low-ranking personnel in the Church, which does not necessarily imply that the job was exclusively under Church jurisdiction. The *ziekentroosters* were first of all Company servants who performed their duty under supervision of the consistory. Similar to the ministers, *ziekentroosters* were appointed to their positions by the Company. The Company paid them. If the Church for whatever reason wanted to discharge a *ziekentrooster*, it needed approval from the government. Some were appointed and sent by churches or by one or more of the Company's chambers in the Netherlands; however some *ziekentroosters* were appointed in the Indies.

Since the first arrival of the Dutch in Asia, there were always *ziekentroosters*. We have seen how the Company's regulations provided for the position. In the following chapter we will see how some *ziekentroosters* came into their jobs. Some were loved by the community – a love that was rightly earned by their good performance. Some were hated due to their poor attitude. If they were demoted, some lucky others might be promoted to the 'better' job of *ziekentrooster*.

The life of Christians in this part of Java will be discussed, as far as the sources permit. Visitation reports are one of the key sources used to learn about the situation in Java. Church services and church buildings were an integral part of Church life. But a few examples of church discipline, church visitations to the towns in the area known as Java's Northeast Coast and the *Vorstenlanden*,<sup>11</sup> will provide us with a bigger picture of the life of local churches and the lives of ordinary Christians under supervision of the consistory.

Each visitation trip might take a minister away from Semarang for up to four weeks of time, and each year he would make the journey at least twice. It is unsurprising that one can find more detailed reports of the visitations in the Company archives rather than the Church archives. Upon his return the minister had to send a report to the Governor and his council, i.e., to those who initially assigned him to do the visitation. From the surviving reports we can get a glimpse of the activities of the church in the settlements.

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<sup>11</sup> These were the courts of the Javanese kingdoms where the Company stationed a small number of soldiers and officers.

Poor relief as an integral part of Christian society also comes into the picture. This study uses only the records of the Company and Church in Semarang in order to assess how poor relief in Semarang was organized and carried out. It means that we can form a picture of the part of Semarang that was under the direct rule of the Company in a manner similar to Niemeijer's study of Batavia. Therefore, poverty among the Chinese and indigenous inhabitants of Semarang is definitely outside the area of this study.

Who were these poor Christians in Semarang and in others town? How did they become poor in the first place? Who took the initiative to ask or to give aid to the poor for their daily lives? How did the town administration and the *diaconate* of the Church work together – and to what ends did they work?

How did the deaconry gather their resources for supporting the poor in town? How did they come into contact with people who needed their assistance? To what extent did poor relief in Java's Northeast Coast resemble poor relief in the Netherlands? Were there any differences, and if so, why?

What event(s) triggered the rise of poverty in town and city-based Dutch colonial society in the area and in which years? What was constituted a decent standard of living in a town such as Semarang and other places along Java's Northeast Coast?

Further, in the eighteenth century there were a growing number of illegitimate children abandoned in Java's Northeast Coast. What predicaments did they run into? What was the situation for the growing number of children in the orphanage and school in Semarang?

The problem of providing a livelihood for the illegitimate children of Christian fathers in Java's Northeast Coast towns came to the attention of the consistory and government in Batavia as early as the eighteenth century. The administrator of Java's Northeast Coast sent the children to the orphanage in Batavia to be raised and educated until 1716 when the orphanage reached capacity.<sup>12</sup> A *weeskamer* in Semarang was founded in 1763 by a member of Semarang's Political Council as chairman accompanied by two Company servants and two citizens from the town. The first secretary of the council was appointed secretary of the chamber.<sup>13</sup>

In the last part of this study we will explore the relationship of the consistory and government in Java's Northeast Coast, and determine how so-called government intervention and assistance helped or impeded the church in Semarang and the development of Christianity in Java.

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<sup>12</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek IV (1709-1743)*, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek VII (1755-1764)*, p. 650-651.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Representations of Christianity in Java: Dutch ministers and the consistory

#### *The pastoral care of Christians in Java in the late seventeenth century*

The first sound made by Christians on Java did not come from a church bell. It came from a cannon, fired to remind Christians that Sunday services were about to begin. Every commanding officer was ordered to bring his soldiers (whether European or Asian) to the Admiral's headquarters after the cannon was fired. Carolus Manteau, an army chaplain, delivered his first sermon on that morning of September 11, 1678. He asked for God's favor and to bless for the Dutch troops during their campaign on Java.<sup>1</sup>

Manteau was not the first Protestant minister ordered by the Batavian consistory and the Company to join a military campaign. Many Protestant ministers served for short periods as army chaplains. But Manteau's service that day was the first clearly recorded presence of a Protestant clergyman in Java's Northeast Coast. As the Company's power grew in Java over the subsequent decades, more ministers came to serve the Christians who were stationed in Company's settlements.

Given the limited nature of the VOC's presence in Java outside of Batavia, it was no surprise that the activities of Batavia's ministers in Java were limited during the seventeenth century. This had to do with the main mission of the Reformed Church in Batavia, which was to tend to Christians in Batavia and its surrounding towns. Towards the end of seventeenth century, the Church accepted the responsibility to care for several other small and remote Company outposts. There were six such outposts in Java that were initially mentioned in Company reports: Tegal, Jepara, Rembang, Semarang, Demak and Surabaya. The total number of Company people were stationed in those places was more or less a thousand: in 1687, 1,327 people stationed in the towns; in 1692, 1,325 people; in 1693, 912 people; and in 1694, 1,266 people.<sup>2</sup> The sources tell us that the number of Company servants in Java's Northeast Coast was relatively stable. Their numbers were neither large nor small.

Van Boetzelaer mentions in his chapter on the Dutch Protestant Church in the Indies in the early seventeenth century that Batavian ministers made visitations to only a few towns, such as Jepara, Tegal and Surabaya.<sup>3</sup> This might give the wrong impression that the Company and church in Batavia gave scant attention to their people living in remote outposts.

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<sup>1</sup> De Graaf, *De Expeditie van Anthonio Hurdt, Raad van Indië, als Admiraal en Superintendent naar de binnenlanden van Java*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Generale Missiven V* (1686-1697), p. 146: In September 1687 there were 914 Europeans and 413 Asians at the six outposts; p. 560: six outposts on June 30 1692; p. 646-647: five outposts in December 1693; p. 708: six outposts in November 1694. In any given year there were five or six outposts in Java.

<sup>3</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. 101.

By consulting and comparing five sources we can see that quite a number of ministers visited those outposts between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century. The sources are both complementary and, at times, conflicting. Collating the data into the table below let us see a steady flow of ministers to towns in Java after the late seventeenth century, when the Company started its political venture in Java, until the mid-eighteenth century, when the VOC succeeded in gaining a relatively stable foothold. As Company personnel flowed into Java, so did church personnel.

Table 1: A list of ministers conducting visitations in Java, 1676-1752

Sources / Year	Valentyn <sup>4</sup>	Mooij <sup>5</sup>	Van Hoëvell <sup>6</sup>	Buddhingh <sup>7</sup>	Generale Missiven <sup>8</sup>
1676	Leydecker with Speelman's Campaign	Leydecker			
1678	Manteau with Hurd's Campaign	Manteau			Manteau
1684	Vosmaar as a visiting minister	Vosmaar	Vosmaar	Vosmaar	Vosmaar
1686		Vosmaar			
1691		Loder in April			Loder
1691		Costerus in September			Costerus
1695	Hilarius				Hilarius
1695	Andreae				Andreae
1699	Haccoma				Haccoma
1701	Van den Sande				
1704	Stampioen				Stampioen
1705	Groenewout as a visiting minister				Groenewout
1706	Feylingius as a visiting minister, but got sick				Feylingius
1706	Valentyn took over for 4 months				
1707	Bartou as a visiting minister				
1712	Gellius Geldesma		Feylingius[?]	Hoyer [?]	

<sup>4</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2.

<sup>5</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Ned.-Indie III*.

<sup>6</sup> Van Hoëvell, *Inwijdings-rede gehouden in de nieuw gebouwde kerk te Cheribon, op zondag den 27sten November 1842; voorafgegaan door een kort overzicht van de geschiedenis der christelijke gemeente aldaar*.

<sup>7</sup> Buddhingh, *Naamlijst der Predikanten in Neerlands Oost-Indië van 1615-1857*.

<sup>8</sup> Various editors, *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, in particular volumes IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, and XI.

1716	Hoyer		Hoyer		Hoyer
1719			Capelle		
1727					Boekenberg
1729			Visscher [?]		
1732				Van Loo	Van Loo
1734				't Hoen Hogendorp	
1738				Wagardus	
1743				Faber	
1744					Faber
1745				Strohé	
1746				W. Abbenbroek	Strohé
1751				Mohr	
1751				Brouwer	
1752				Ittema	

#### *Java's Northeast Coast before 1684*

Melchior Leydecker (or Leijdekker) was the first minister to go to further into Java than Batavia, during the Company's military campaign in 1676. He presented his credentials to the consistory in Batavia on August 19, 1675 after he arrived in the Indies.<sup>9</sup> After waiting in Batavia as minister without commission (*buiten predicant*) for several months, he received an appointment in December 1675 to go to Ambon.<sup>10</sup> The assignment did not last long; he was back in Batavia a year later.

In the consistory meeting on December 7, 1676 Leydecker reported that he was under orders from the governor general to accompany Admiral Speelman on his expedition to Jepara.<sup>11</sup> The Company felt a need to meddle in Java's internal political conflicts to secure its trade interests. Speelman, accompanied by 1,500 soldiers, was under orders to be a mediator of sorts between the conflicting parties – but not to engage in hostilities.<sup>12</sup> Leydecker thus had a chance to travel along Java's north coast as far as the town of Jepara in 1676 since the VOC did not send its troops into the island's interior. He was appointed as a minister to Batavia's Malay-speaking congregation upon his return to Batavia in July 1678. He was considered to have a command of the Malay language after travels through Java (and also through Ambon in the previous year).<sup>13</sup>

Carolus Manteau was the first minister who truly travelled through Java outside the Company's towns. Manteau was commissioned by a consistory meeting on December 27, 1668 to go to Banda.<sup>14</sup> He ended his service in Banda almost nine

<sup>9</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 252-253.

<sup>10</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 269.

<sup>11</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 311.

<sup>12</sup> Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 69; Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 393; Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor vol. I*, p. 13-14.

<sup>14</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 55.

years later on October 11, 1677 after turbulent years of conflict with the local government. He was released from his appointment as the minister in Banda on December 15, 1677 and became a minister without commission.<sup>15</sup> Later he was to go to Ternate, another posting in the Moluccas islands, but he rejected the order and was subsequently suspended (*in dienst geschorst*) and ordered to return to Batavia.<sup>16</sup>

When he and his family finally arrived in Batavia on July 22, 1678 his status was restored and he was ordered to accompany Admiral Antonio Hurdt to Java. Manteau was not the only Church personnel who joined the campaign, *ziekentrooster* Harman Blaupot went to Java as well.<sup>17</sup> Hurdt – unlike Speelman, whom he replaced in June 1678 – marched into the interior of Java, starting in September 1678.<sup>18</sup> The Company's deliberate involvement in Java's politics had begun.

Manteau was still in Java when Andries Cok, the new *ziekentrooster* for Jepara, arrived. The presence of the *ziekentrooster* indicated that Jepara must have already had a regular church life even before visitations from Batavia started. The organization of church life is unknown; no records have survived.

Manteau was again a minister without commission (*sonder bediening*) in Batavia in April 1679. Java, apparently, was as far as he could go.<sup>19</sup> Finally, he repatriated in 1687.<sup>20</sup>

Leydecker and Manteau served primarily as army chaplains. The war in Java was a window of opportunity for the Company to move deeper into Java. It was also the first moment when ministers from the Reformed church set foot in the area. I cannot imagine that they only limited themselves to tending soldiers when they might also have met other Company servants in towns such as Jepara. It is safe to assume that the first two ministers who entered Java were also the first ministers known to the Christians who were stationed in the Company's outposts in Java. As the Company's presence grew in Java, so did its personnel's needs for pastoral care. The next ministers no longer sporadically visited Christians, as did the army chaplains.

#### *Visitor der Buitenposten from 1684 onwards*

A milestone was passed in 1684 when the position of *Visitor der Buitenposten* (a visiting minister for Company outposts) was introduced.

<sup>15</sup> As a minister without commission he was basically perpetually ready for assignment. The rules of the game were slightly different in the Indies than in the Republic. Whereas classes in the Netherlands were involved in the process of calling and appointing ministers, in the Indies that role was jointly assumed by the government and the consistory in Batavia.

<sup>16</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 353-354, 362, 367; Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 293-294; Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 69; H.J. de Graaf (ed.), *De Expeditie van Anthonio Hurdt*. Manteau is mentioned several times in *De Expeditie* (p. 79, 92, 115, 153, 209, 223, 266).

<sup>18</sup> Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 406, 417.

<sup>20</sup> *Generale Missiven V*, p. 152.

In the Batavia consistory meeting of October 9, 1684 there was a discussion on the necessity of appointing a visiting minister for outposts (*buitenposten*) such as Banten, Onrust,<sup>21</sup> Tangerang, Tanjungpura, Cirebon, Tegal, Semarang, Jepara, Surabaya, the west coast of Sumatra and several other places. The number of Company personnel in the outposts was not the consistory's main concern; the pastoral needs of the people were. The consistory asked the High Government to appoint a permanent visiting minister.<sup>22</sup> It was a realistic request and a good initiative. With such an appointment, people in remote places would be guaranteed regular pastoral visits.

Jacobus Vosmaer (or Vosmaer) was the first visiting minister. He arrived in Batavia on November 30, 1676 as a minister sent by the chamber of Delft. He started work in Ambon in 1677. He returned to Batavia on July 17, 1683 for an appointment as a minister in Batavia.<sup>23</sup>

In June 1684 Vosmaer was under orders from the governor general to accompany a fleet that soon would be launched. In the same meeting he submitted a report of his visitation to Banten (Bantam), completed while accompanying Commander Tack.<sup>24</sup> Several months later at a consistory meeting on October 23, 1684 it was decided that Vosmaer should be nominated as *een permanent leeraer* for the *omleggende buitenplaatsen* – as was decided by three resolutions of the government in Batavia. The nomination might have been connected to his command of the Malay language and his ability to deliver sermons in the language.<sup>25</sup> His first assignment might have been to administer the sacrament of the Holy Communion at

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<sup>21</sup> Van Lieburg, 'Het personeel van de Indische Kerk' in Schutte, *Indisch Sion*, p. 85: Onrust had its own minister since 1671, but it is also possible that the post was vacant from time to time.

<sup>22</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 613-614:

*'Den E. Praeses stelt voor of het niet noodigh soude sijn dat soovele omleggende buitenplaatsen als Bantam, Onrust, Tangarang, Tanjonpoera, Cheribon, Tagal, Samarang, Japara, Sourabaja, de Westkust etc. soo nu en dan eens van een predicant wierden besoght; is geoordeelt sulx hoogh noodigh te sijn. Gaf sijn E. wijders de E. vergaderingh in bedencken of men bij de Hooge overigheijt niet een bequaem man behoorde te versoecken om opgamelten dienst ende de ree als permanent waer te neemen. De E. vergaderingh hierop wel rijpelijk overwoogen hebbende de merckelijcke aanwas van buitenplaatsen zedert eenigen tijt herwaerts en haer tastelijk gebreck in dese, nogh seer vermeerdert soo door het vertreck van D. Tolnerus als door de onbevoeghtheijt tot den predickdienst van D. N. de Pape heeft sulx geavojeert, versoekende seer ootmoedigh hare Ed<sup>en</sup>. Gelieven volgens heaer gewoone christelijke goetheijt opgamelte noodlijdende plaats en met een bequaem vast leeraer te versorgen'.*

<sup>23</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 67, 72-73, 120; Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 310, 549, 557, 601; Van Lieburg, *Repertorium I - predikanten*, p. 268: Jacobus Vosmaer, born in Delft (year unknown), worked as minister in Zuid-Beijerland from July 9, 1673 to 1676, commissioned as minister in the Indies in 1677, died August 1689.

<sup>24</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 72-73; Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 601.

<sup>25</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 74; Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 615-616; Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast – A Church Report from J.W. Swemmelaar, Semarang 1756' in *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 5e jaargang nr. 2 1998, p. 54.

the leper colony on Purmerend island to the north of Batavia where there were thirty Reformed church members, according to reports.<sup>26</sup>

The consistory in Batavia received a report from Vosmaar on May 25, 1685 saying that he visited Jepara to perform public religious services and baptize children. Jepara was the most populous VOC outpost in Java at the time, and the Company's highest-ranking officer in Java's Northeast Coast was stationed there. As an *ordinaer predicant* for visiting the *buijtengemeenten* Vosmaar was not obligated to live there; he only needed to visit such places regularly. The visitations developed over the years. It must have been an improvement when compared to the infrequency of previous visits. Leydecker, Manteau and even Vosmaar (before his appointment) performed visitations only when they were asked to accompany high-ranking Company officials who happened to come to Java.

On August 6, 1685 Vosmaar sent a letter to the consistory that said due to indisposition he would be unable to conduct a visitation to the east coast of Java. The plea was delivered to the government. At a consistory meeting on September 1, 1685 a reply from the government arrived excusing the minister. The process shows that even though visitations were a ministerial duty, formal permission from the government was required on certain matters since the job was commissioned by the government.<sup>27</sup> This was not an extraordinary case since the assignment of each and every minister in the Indies had also been approved by the government.

Base on the records from 1685 it is safe to assume from that Vosmaar was required to go to Jepara and the east coast of Java twice a year, in the first and second halves. Places such as Banten (to the west of Batavia), the west coast of Sumatra (further west of Batavia across the Sunda Strait) and other settlements should have also been visited annually. If that was the case it begs the question of how a Dutch minister could manage so many trips in a tropical land.

In a consistory meeting on March 11, 1686 there was a discussion about sending a minister to Java's east coast along with a detachment soldiers and sailors. The minister could perform pastoral duties, such as preaching God's word and administering the Sacraments to the people.<sup>28</sup> Sending a minister along with soldiers to the frontlines or aboard ship with sailors was a common practice. The consistory always took an active role by reminding the government to include a minister on its campaign to Java.

A consistory meeting on April 22, 1686 proposed sending a visiting minister to Banten to administer the sacraments. The plan was delayed pending Vosmaar's return from a visitation in Jepara.<sup>29</sup> It appears that Vosmaar was already commissioned to visit other Company outposts. By mid-August he had completed his duty and submitted his report to a consistory meeting on August 19, 1686.<sup>30</sup>

It was also possible to assign a substitute minister for visitations. In March 1687 the newly arrived Gellius Cammiga went to Banten in place of Vosmaar. The actual commission of Cammiga was to Ternate and later, to Banda.<sup>31</sup> In the same year Vosmaar was called to become a minister for the Malay-speaking parish in

<sup>26</sup> *Generale Missiven* IV, p. 748.

<sup>27</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 650, 652.

<sup>28</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 675-676.

<sup>29</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 679.

<sup>30</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 687.

<sup>31</sup> *Generale Missiven* V, p. 159; VI, p. 52,145.



Batavia, replacing Isacus Hellenius, who died in late August.<sup>32</sup> Vosmaar died in Batavia two years later, either in his late 30s or early 40s.<sup>33</sup> When Vosmaar completed his term as a *visitor* in 1687, there was no minister directly assigned to the job. A number of ministers undertook the job in turn without permanent assignment.

A consistory meeting on April 9, 1691 received a written report of the situation of the church in Jepara by visiting minister Andreas Lambertus Loderus (or Loder). Loderus was assigned to Amboina in February 1691.<sup>34</sup> He might have sent his report from there.<sup>35</sup> In a consistory meeting on September 3, 1691 Petrus Jacobus Costerus was ordered to visit Jepara, Surabaya and Banten. His actual commission was for Ternate; in the meantime, he was asked to visit the east coast of Java.<sup>36</sup> Both Loder and Costerus served as visiting ministers but were not regular visitors such as Vosmaar. They might have done the visitations while awaiting their actual commissions.

At a consistory meeting on October 15, 1691, Costerus gave an oral report of his visitation to Jepara and said he would soon submit a written report to the government, according to custom.<sup>37</sup>

The next minister to visit Jepara was Theodorus Hilarius in 1695.<sup>38</sup> He arrived in Batavia on September 11, 1691, and worked there as minister until he passed away on August 26, 1697.<sup>39</sup>

Gajus Andreae, the minister of Onrust,<sup>40</sup> was ordered to visit the Company's outposts in Java in late 1696.<sup>41</sup> In 1698 he went to the west coast of Sumatra.<sup>42</sup> In 1699 two ministers did visitations: Gerardus Haccoma (or Hacoma) went to the east, to Jepara; G. Andreae went west to Banten and the west coast of Sumatra.<sup>43</sup> In 1701 the Company once again sent two ministers to do visitations: Andreae to the west coast of Sumatra and François van den Sande to Banten and Jepara.<sup>44</sup> Van den Sande had just arrived in Batavia in September 1700.<sup>45</sup> He might have been waiting for a permanent assignment when he was asked to conduct the visitation. In 1702 he became a minister in Ceylon.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Valentijn, *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 76; *Generale Missiven V*, p. 152.

<sup>33</sup> *Generale Missiven V*, p. 345.

<sup>34</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 839; *Generale Missiven V*, p. 388, 426.

<sup>35</sup> ANRI, *Burgelijke stand Semarang 1691-1732*, [March 11<sup>th</sup> 1691].

<sup>36</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 849-850; *Generale Missiven V*, p. 451.

<sup>37</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 855.

<sup>38</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> *Generale Missiven V*, p. 489, 813.

<sup>40</sup> Van Lieburg in his *Repertorium*, p. 8, mentions Daniel Hermanus Andreae, son of Gajus, who was born on Onrust, East Indies on Nov. 16, 1697. Daniel became a minister in Blija in 1721.

<sup>41</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 85; *Generale Missiven V*, p. 814.

<sup>42</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 86.

<sup>43</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 87.

<sup>44</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 89.

<sup>45</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 139.

<sup>46</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 123.

In late 1701 Arnoldus Swem (or Swen) had been sent to visit Banten.<sup>47</sup> Swem was sent to the Indies by the Amsterdam chamber and arrived in mid-1701 in Batavia; after 1702 he worked in Ceylon and repatriated in 1711.<sup>48</sup>

In early January 1702 Andreae had just returned from a visitation to the west coast of Sumatra. In February he received orders to go to Timor.<sup>49</sup> His visitation rounds ended in 1703 when he was assigned as a minister in Ternate. He returned to the Netherlands in 1704.<sup>50</sup> Neither Swem (in 1701) nor Andreae (in 1702) conducted visitations in Java, but we can see a pattern wherein the consistory and government in Batavia were keeping newly arrived and *buiten dienst* ministers active by dispatching them on visitation trips. Tropical weather made the trip to and from the western to eastern part of the archipelago possible only twice a year.

Joannes Stampioen had been in the Indies for some time when he was sent as a visitor. His first assignments were to Amboin (1692-1693) and Ternate (1693-1699). In 1699 Feylingius replaced him in Ternate, after he moved to Banda.<sup>51</sup> In 1703 Petrus Noot from Ternate replaced him in Banda and Stampioen moved to Batavia.<sup>52</sup> In December 1703 Stampioen received orders to visit Timor and the east coast of Java.<sup>53</sup> In September 1704 Stampioen just had returned from visitations to Timor, Surabaya and Jepara. He left Batavia after receiving a call from the church in Malacca to replace the *twistende predikant* (quarrelsome minister) Jan Bartou.<sup>54</sup> In 1708 Governor Pieter Rooselaar complained about Stampioen, who was then replaced by Jacobus van der Vorm.<sup>55</sup> Stampioen's name was included on the list of the repatriated Company personnel in late 1709.<sup>56</sup> It seems that it was typical for a minister of long service in the Indies such as Stampioen to be assigned many visitation trips (*vele dienstreisen*), as noted by the editor of *Generale Missiven VI*: "*Joannes Stampioen kwam in 1691 als predikant uit, stond van april 1692 tot mei 1693 te Amboina, daarna tot juni 1699 te Ternate, tot 1703 op Banda, tot 1709 te Malakka, waarna hij begin 1710 repatrieerde. Hij maakte bovendien vele dienstreisen, o.a. in 1704 naar Timor*".<sup>57</sup> Stampioen subsequently worked in East India for almost twenty years.

Nicolaas Groenewout (or Groenewoud) was sent by the chamber and the consistory of Amsterdam. He arrived in Batavia on March 3, 1704 and was ordered to the west coast of Sumatra in April 1704. On June 22, 1705 Groenewout was formally appointed as Java's regular *visitor*. He was the second minister to hold this office, after Vosmaar completed his service in 1687. The assignment did not last long, since on May 4, 1706 he was sent to Nagapatnam to replace the late Clement.

<sup>47</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 91.

<sup>48</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 160, 208, 782.

<sup>49</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 91-92.

<sup>50</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 93-94, 122.

<sup>51</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 219.

<sup>53</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 280.

<sup>54</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 93-94; *Generale Missiven VI*, p.

302.

<sup>55</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 546.

<sup>56</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 596.

<sup>57</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 300.

Groenewout was replaced as Java's regular *visitor* by Abraham Feylingius in 1706.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately Feylingius was ill and could not perform his duty. François Valentijn was (according to his own words) forced to take up the duty as Java's temporary visitor.<sup>59</sup> He was accompanied by *ziekentrooster* Hillebrand Janszoon from Alkmaar. Four months later, in mid-November 1706, he returned in Batavia, 'deadly sick' and very tired, according to his own words. Janszoon was in no better condition.<sup>60</sup> Upon his return he was directly sent to Ambon, as had been previously decided by the directors, to replace the late Hodenpijl.<sup>61</sup>

These are just a few of the impressions of visiting ministers from the period. A visitation trip took months and drained all the energy of ministers and their companions. Costerus' trip in 1691 took about one month. In the time of Valentijn visitations took much longer: four months altogether. If Costerus went only as far as Jepara, we might imagine that Valentijn was supposed to go much further into Java's Northeast Coast, perhaps as far as Surabaya – an increasingly important Company town in eastern Java during the eighteenth century. The work of the *visitor* grew with the Company's presence on Java from the late seventeenth century until the Company's peak in the eighteenth century.

Some short-term visiting ministers were new arrivals to Batavia from other places in the Indies or arrived directly from the Netherlands. Many ministers stayed in Batavia temporarily before receiving their first or new appointment. This was the situation during the late seventeenth and the early decades of eighteenth century. The situation changed drastically in the 1730s and 1740s.

After Valentijn another minister was assigned to be Java's temporary *visitor*. Joannes Bartou (or Joan Bartouw) arrived in Batavia in 1699,<sup>62</sup> and was assigned to Malacca in 1700 or 1701.<sup>63</sup> He was replaced by Stampioen in 1704<sup>64</sup> and returned to Batavia in early 1705.<sup>65</sup> After a brief *dienstreis* in 1706 he was appointed as *visitor* to Java on April 18, 1707.<sup>66</sup>

In 1707 Hermanus Colde de Horn (or Colde Horn)<sup>67</sup> the minister for the Malay-speaking church in Batavia,<sup>68</sup> received an assignment to visit Banten.<sup>69</sup> Colde

<sup>58</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 94, 95, 97, 123; *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 442.

<sup>59</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p.97. Valentijn previously declined an appointment as Java's temporary *visitor*. The order, according to him, would have taken him to places other than Ambon, as per his commission from the directors and the classes in the Netherlands. If he insisted in his objections the government would have had no other choice than to ship him back to the Netherlands so that he could present his complaint there. The threat led to his half-hearted acceptance of the commission.

<sup>60</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien, IV.2.*, p. 97-98.

<sup>61</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 416.

<sup>62</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 134, 147.

<sup>64</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 302.

<sup>65</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 338.

<sup>66</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 434.

<sup>67</sup> *Generale Missiven VI*, p. 337: A note from the editor says that Hermannus Colde Horn (or Colde de Horn) came in Batavia in March 1692. After a *dienstreis* to Sumatra's

de Horn again visited Banten in 1708<sup>70</sup> the same year he was ordered to visit the west coast of Sumatra. In 1710 Feylingius again went to Banten and Sumatra.<sup>71</sup> In 1709 Feylingius was assigned along with Goswinus Hupperts to Onrust.<sup>72</sup> He went again to Padang (on the west coast of Sumatra) and to Java's east coast in 1712.<sup>73</sup> By this time Feylingius was responsible for visiting the west coast of Sumatra and *geheel Java* and Onrust.<sup>74</sup>

The year 1712 was a puzzling year. According to Valentijn, Gellius Geldesma (or Geldersma) arrived in Batavia on February 10 and was ordered to visit Jepara and Java's east coast in May.<sup>75</sup> In 1713 he received a calling to Ceylon, and died in Gale in 1717.<sup>76</sup> However in 1714 he made a *dienstreis naar Tegal, Semarang en Rembang*.<sup>77</sup> The identities of the other visiting ministers in 1714 are unclear (see Table 1). According to Buddingh, Christians in Semarang were seldom visited by ministers for almost thirty years, i.e., from the late seventeenth until the early eighteenth century. Buddingh reports that Vosmaar visited Java in 1684 and adds that no other visiting ministers went to Java until 1712. This is not true. According to Valentijn's *Beschryving* and *Generale Missiven*, several ministers visited Java between 1684 and 1712.

Flawed as Buddingh's account is, it is still needed to track the forty years after 1712. Valentijn's list ended in 1716, while Buddingh's list continued until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup> Buddingh was not alone in compiling incorrect accounts.

Niemeijer, relying on W.R. van Hoëvell,<sup>79</sup> says that after Java was assigned Vosmaar as its first visiting minister more than twenty years passed before another minister was again sent from Batavia to VOC outposts on Java's Northeast Coast. The first minister was Feylingius, who on May 2, 1712 reported on his visitation to Rembang, Semarang, Tegal and Cirebon. Others then took their turns as visiting ministers: Antoni Hoijer (or Hoyer) in 1716 Philipphus Capelle in 1719 and Jacobus Canter Visscher in 1729.<sup>80</sup> Van Hoëvell was inaccurate about the large gap between Vosmaar's and Feylingius' visitations; his account conflicts with what Valentijn, Mooij and the *Generale Missiven* say about the visitations. It was not every year that

west coast he was sent to Ambon in 1693. In 1694 he was on Oma and in 1700 in Ambon, returned to Batavia in 1702. In 1704 he made a *dienstreis* to Banten and working in Batavia since then until he died in 1719.

<sup>68</sup> *Generale Missiven* VI, p. 381.

<sup>69</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2., p. 99.

<sup>70</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2., p. 99.

<sup>71</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2., p. 107; *Generale Missiven* VI, p. 547, 685.

<sup>72</sup> *Generale Missiven* VI, p. 638.

<sup>73</sup> *Generale Missiven* VI, p. 864, 889.

<sup>74</sup> *Generale Missiven* VI, p. 894.

<sup>75</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2., p. 110.

<sup>76</sup> *Generale Missiven* VII, p. 25, 308.

<sup>77</sup> *Generale Missiven* VII, p. 58.

<sup>78</sup> Buddingh, *Naamlijst der Predikanten in Neerlands Oost-Indië van 1615-1857*.

<sup>79</sup> Van Hoëvell, *Inwijdings-rede gehouden in de nieuw gebouwde kerk te Cheribon*, p

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<sup>80</sup> Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast – A Church Report from J.W. Swemmelaar, Semarang 1756' in *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 5e.2. 1998, p. 54

Java's Northeast Coast was visited by a minister from Batavia, but to say that there were no visiting ministers for twenty years is simply wrong. Van Hoëvell was also wrong about Visscher's visitations: the minister visited Semarang and other towns in 1724, not in 1729.<sup>81</sup> Visscher was sent by the chamber in Rotterdam in 1715 and arrived in Batavia in 1716. He had previously visited Sumatra and afterwards was assigned as minister in Cochin on the Malabar Coast (1717-1723). He returned to Batavia in 1724, and was then assigned to be the minister for the *Portugese Buitenkerk*. He died in Batavia in 1735.

Hoyer eventually returned to Batavia from Banda. He went on a visitation trip to Java's east coast. Upon his return in October 1716 he proposed that the orphanage or poorhouse in Batavia accept seventy illegitimate children born of European men and Javanese women. The proposal was turned down.<sup>82</sup> Capelle arrived in Batavia in either 1719 or 1720. He brought to the consistory's attention two baptized children in Tegal who were taken by their mothers and pledged into *Mahumetanen*.<sup>83</sup> This sad news found its way into the Company's records as well. The incident presented by Capelle must not have been isolated. The growing number of Company men stationed in outposts in Java's Northeast Coast was matched by the growing number of their baptized children who lacked a proper Christian education.

In 1714 the newly arrived minister Johannes Boekenberg performed a visitation of Java's east coast and Banten. At that time there were 1,036 Europeans, 618 military personnel and 310 *inlandse militairen en zeelieden* stationed at various outposts on Java.<sup>84</sup> Boekenberg returned to Batavia with an illness after another visitation.<sup>85</sup> These numbers indicate that Company outposts in the early eighteenth century were indeed getting larger.

In 1731 Wernerus van Loo was ordered to do a visitation in Sumatra, Java and Timor.<sup>86</sup> In 1732 upon his return from Surabaya he was directly sent back to Java.<sup>87</sup> He went to Padang to celebrate the sacrament of the Holy Communion in 1733 and afterwards was called to Amboina,<sup>88</sup> where he died two years later.<sup>89</sup>

After completing a full term in Makassar, Tobias Johannes (Theodorus) van der Ley was allowed to come to Batavia in 1733<sup>90</sup> he was sent to Banten in that year to celebrate the Holy Communion<sup>91</sup> and returned after getting married.<sup>92</sup>

The situation in Batavia worsened after five ministers died in 1735.<sup>93</sup> The situation did not improve in 1736.<sup>94</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the consistory could not

<sup>81</sup> Van der Pol, B., *Mallabaarse Brieven*, p. 270-275

<sup>82</sup> Valentijn *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, IV.2., p. 111; *Generale Missiven* VII, p. 202, 256-257.

<sup>83</sup> *Generale Missiven* VII, p. 511.

<sup>84</sup> *Generale Missiven* VII, p. 125, 130.

<sup>85</sup> *Generale Missiven* VIII, p. 147, 152.

<sup>86</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 224, 291.

<sup>87</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 373, 422.

<sup>88</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 499, 523.

<sup>89</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 667, 672.

<sup>90</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 459, 470.

<sup>91</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 523.

<sup>92</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 530, 571.

<sup>93</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 667.

spare a minister for a *dienstreis* to Java or to other places for some months. Due to the situation, Company personnel assigned to the outposts were told to care for the growing number of native Christians themselves.<sup>95</sup> The situation remained the same in 1741 when a request to send a visiting minister to Timor was declined.<sup>96</sup> Despite the shortage of ministers, the number of local Christians grew. However it is unclear who these native or local Christians were. As far as the Reformed church was concerned, it was not that easy to become a Christian, let alone a member of the Reformed church. It might have indicated a growing number of unbaptized children with Christian ‘fathers’, since it took longer for the outposts to be visited by a minister.

Two ministers, Johannes Wagardus<sup>97</sup> and Wilhelmus Fredericus Faber,<sup>98</sup> made lists of people whom they baptized during their visitations to Java’s Northeast Coast in 1738 and in 1744 respectively.<sup>99</sup> From older sources,<sup>100</sup> including some records of newly accepted members of the church in Jepara, we can see that other visiting ministers made similar lists when they submitted their reports to the consistory and the government in Batavia. Normally this data was compiled with other reports from Company offices and outposts in Asia and sent to the Netherlands.

David Strohé<sup>101</sup> accompanied Governor General Van Imhoff during a visit to Java’s Northeast Coast in 1746 and met with the Susuhunan in Semarang and Surakarta.<sup>102</sup> Van Imhoff said it was necessary to place two ministers in Semarang and one in Surabaya, but was well aware that this was not possible due to the lack of ministers in Batavia.<sup>103</sup> In 1746 only one new minister arrived in Batavia while three or four ministers left. The governor general believed that if incentives and maintenance benefits for ministers could be improved it might alleviate the shortage and attract more candidates to the Indies.<sup>104</sup> He wanted to see outposts such as Semarang, Surabaya, and later Timor and the west coast of Sumatra, assigned their own regular ministers. It is unlikely that ministers at the outposts were intended for the *zending* (mission) to the locals. It was more likely ministers were needed to tend to the spiritual and pastoral needs of the Company’s men and their households. The needs

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<sup>94</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 704-705.

<sup>95</sup> *Generale Missiven* IX, p. 812: ‘Door gebrek aan predikanten moet het personeel het groeiende inheemse christendom zoveel mogelijk zelf bevorderen’.

<sup>96</sup> *Generale Missiven* X, p. 507, 610.

<sup>97</sup> *Generale Missiven* X, p. 236: celebrating the sacrament in Cirebon in 1738; Company personnel in Cirebon: 89; p. 986: died in 1742.

<sup>98</sup> *Generale Missiven* X, p. 573: received his calling in 1741 to a church in Batavia; *Generale Missiven* XI, p. 192.

<sup>99</sup> Unfortunately, archivists in ANRI could not locate the whereabouts of these two documents (ANRI Kerk 201 and 203). I could not able to consult these in 2005, and during my last visit in April 2011, they are still missing.

<sup>100</sup> ANRI, *Burgerlijke stand Semarang, 1691-1732*.

<sup>101</sup> *Generale Missiven* X, p. 986: arrived in Batavia in 1742, p. 1011: his assignment was to the Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia; *Generale Missiven* XI, p. 499: he died in 1747.

<sup>102</sup> Niemeijer, ‘The first Protestant Churches on Java’s Northeast Coast,’ p. 56; *Generale Missiven* XI, p. 455.

<sup>103</sup> *Generale Missiven* XI, p. 455.

<sup>104</sup> *Generale Missiven* XI, p. 467.

of the Company's personnel took precedence; but that did not completely eliminate the minister's role in furthering the *zending* as time permitted.

Sicco Ittema was sent to Semarang in early 1753 for an ordinary church visitation to Java's Northeast Coast. It was also intended that he become the first regular minister in Semarang. While Ittema was there, he appointed the secretary of the Political Council, Willem Fockens, as an elder to replace senior merchant De Ravallet. Ittema returned to Batavia in June 1753, reporting that Semarang was not a good place for him. However he recommended a young minister, Johannes Wilhelmus Swemmelaar, as an acceptable candidate for such an unattractive place.<sup>105</sup> It seems that appointment to remote posts always fell on the shoulders of young, fresh and newly arrived ministers, such as those who were appointed to visit Java in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It might have also been the case that status as a minister in Batavia, the Company's center in Asia, was more prestigious.

Semarang did not have its own regular minister for quite some time, but apparently some elders had already been appointed. That meant some activities were in place even before a permanent minister was assigned to Semarang. We know almost nothing about the consistory in Semarang before 1753 other than sporadic mentions of the appointment of elders or deacons in visitation reports filed by ministers from Batavia. However, as a typical Reformed fashion, if there was a consistory, there was a church. Niemeijer reports that there were two newly elected elders in 1744,<sup>106</sup> it is quite possible that the consistory existed much earlier.

From the list of Semarang's church members who joined the sacrament of Holy Communion in 1720 we know that they already had a *scriba*, or consistory secretary.<sup>107</sup> The highest-ranking official was the commander, a military officer.

<sup>105</sup> Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast – A Church Report from J.W. Swemmelaar, Semarang 1756' in *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 5e jaargang nr. 2 1998, p. 56-57; VOC, 2824, fol. 97.

<sup>106</sup> Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast' in *Documentatieblad* nr.2 1998, p. 57

<sup>107</sup> ANRI, *Burgerlijke stand Semarang, 1691-1732*, August 25 1720, fol. 99-100  
The text is as follows:

[99]

Namen der gereformeerde ledemaeten die op Semarang 1721 den 25 Aug. gecommuniceert hebben als,  
D'E. Agtbare Heer commandeur Johan Fredrik Gobius en zijn E. agtbaer, huisvrouw mejuffrouw  
Margaretha Elisabeth Heinen  
Mejuffrouw van Assem  
Jan Maten, Fiscael  
Jan Paul Schaghen en zijne huisvrouw Cornelia Theodora van Eck  
Emericus Dallens en zijne huisvrouw Johanna Weinande van Juchem  
Abraham Emilius van der voort van Jlem, boekhouder  
Johannes Floijd  
Hendrik Grote Strael  
Daniel de Vilette, Corporaal op Ramsdonk  
Juffrouw Baly  
Den Mardijker Jan Salomonsch en zijne huisvrouw  
Hillegonda Eijse weduw van den adsistent Jan de Meester  
Matteus Hofland adsistent  
Pieter van Haroesel, garnizoen schrijver  
Vincent Hendrik Paats, scriba

Commander Johan Fredrik Gobius and his wife were members of the church, along with other Company personnel in town, some of whom were also accompanied by their wives.

In eenen Ingevoerde. te de.  
 nader de op. **MASSANG**  
 1722. 25. Aug. gecommuniceert  
 hebben, als.  
 D. E. Aelbaere heer Commandeur  
 Johan Fredrik Gobius en Zyne E. aelbaere  
 huisvrouw **Margaretha Eli-**  
**sabeth Heinen**  
 Meisvrouw van Aesem.  
 Jan Maria Tiscael.  
 Jan Paul Schagten en Zyne huisvrouw  
 Cornelia Theodora van Eck.  
 Emericus Dallens en Zyne huisvrouw  
 Johanna Weinde van Juchem.  
 Abraham Emilius van de Voot van Jem.  
 Johannes Hoij  
 Hendrik grote straat.  
 Daniel de Vitelle Corporaal op Kamdonk  
 Juffrouw Baly.  
 Den mandyker Jan Salomonsk en Zyne  
 huisvrouw.  
 Hillegonda Eijf Weide van den afpense  
 Jan de Meester  
 Mattheus Hoiland - - afpense.  
 Pieter van Harapel - Garmenten fabryc  
 Vincent benderk Paats - - Scriba

The communicants listed on the second page (fol. 100) were comprised of a *ziekenrooster* and several new members, mostly *mardijkers* and some soldiers. The number of church members celebrating the Holy Communion that year was over

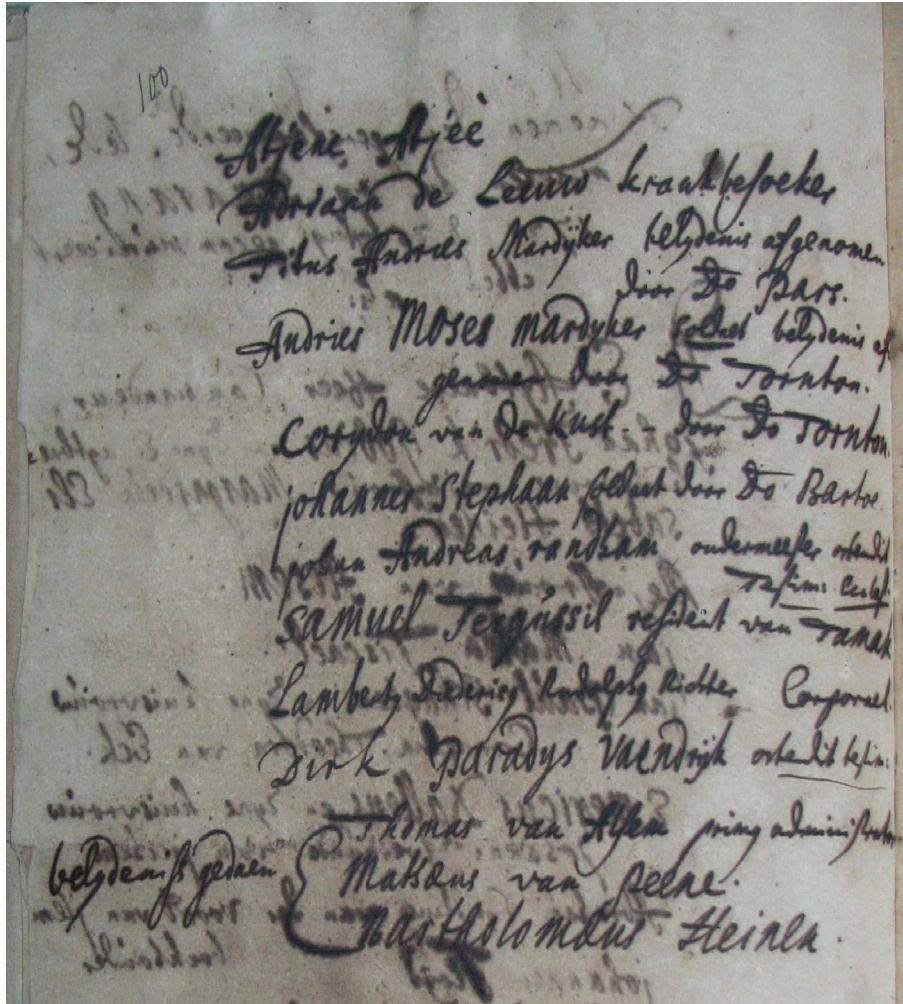
[100]

Atjere Atjeè  
 Adriaan de Leeuw, krankbesoeker  
 Titus Andries, Mardijker, belijdenis afgenomen door ds. Pars  
 Andries Moses, Mardijker, soldaet, belijdenis afgenomen door ds. Tornton  
 Corydon van de Kust door ds. Tornton  
 Johannes Stephaan soldaet door ds. Bartou  
 Johan Andreas Randham ondermeester  
 Samuel Tergussil resident van Damak  
 Lambert Diedericq Rudolph Richter corporaal  
 Dirk Paradijs vaendriek  
 Belijdenis gedaen – Thomas van Alfen ... administrateur  
 Matheus van Peene  
 Bartholomeus Heinen



thirty, of both high and low social standing, including some high-ranking Company officers and soldiers, their families, the *mardijkers*, an Indian of the *Kust* and perhaps some slaves or former slaves. Membership in churches was indeed always multiethnic. It is safe to assume that the number of Christians in town was somewhat higher than the number of sacrament participants, since there was always a greater number of *liefhebbers* in Reformed churches.

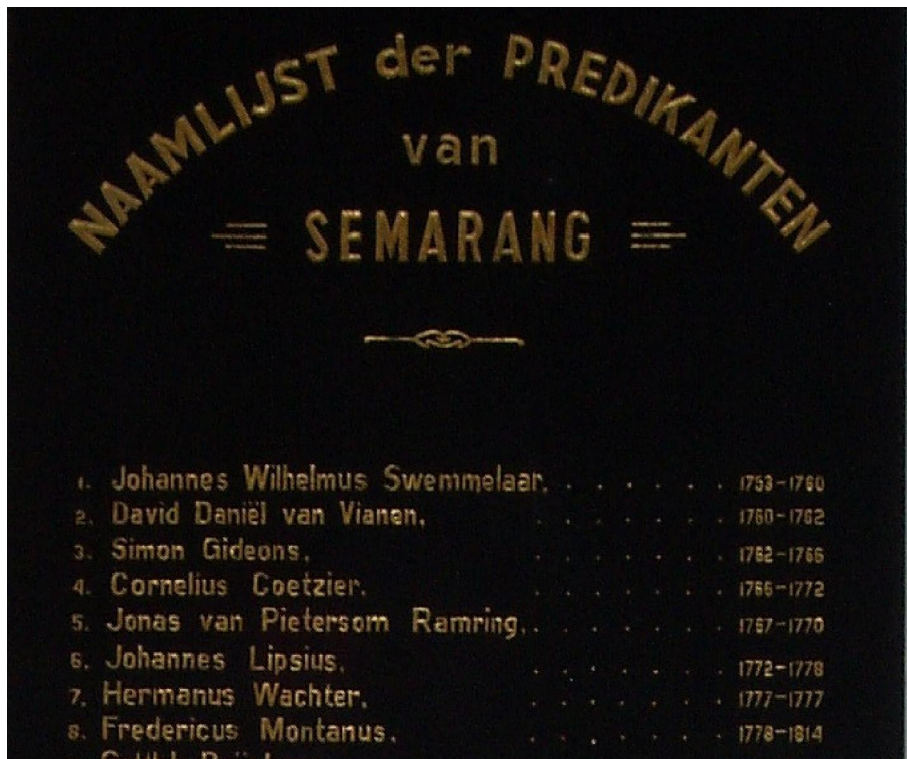
It was possible that the *liefhebbers*' composition mirrored the congregations comprised of European and local Christians.



The congregation was visited by ministers from Batavia, long before Semarang became the center for Company administration in Java's Northeast Coast. There were already a number of church members as well as the *liefhebbers* under the care of a 'consistory' of Semarang. While a fully functioning consistory did not exist before 1750 there was always a handful of Christians who were appointed as consistory members.

Surviving records did not mention where the congregation assembled in its early years. It is safe to assume that a public building in Semarang was turned into a temporary place of worship on Sundays.

*The consistory of the Reformed Church in Semarang*



*The ministers*

The picture above was taken from an inscription in the *Gereja Immanuel* in Semarang. The current *Indonesian Majelis Gereja* (church council) believes that J.W. Swemmelaar was the first minister of this church, which they could rightly claim. Unfortunately the inscription is the only surviving record of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as far as *Gereja Immanuel* is concerned. Other than a decaying pipe organ, there are no reminders of previous centuries preserved by the *Majelis Gereja*. *Kantor Sinode* (synod central office) of the GPI and GPIB<sup>108</sup> in Jakarta kept no records about the early history of the oldest Protestant church in Java. A visit to Semarang's municipal archives and the *Arsip Daerah* (provincial archive) was also fruitless since neither had records from the eighteenth century. The 1700s seems like a lost century since primary sources *in situ* are scarce and hard to find.

<sup>108</sup> *Gereja Protestan di Indonesia* (GPI) is the successor of the old *Indische Kerk* – and *Gereja Protestan Indonesia bagian Barat* (GPIB) is a member of the GPI. Churches of the GPIB were situated in Sumatra, Java and some parts of Kalimantan. The former *Indische Kerk* congregations from the colonial time in the western part of Indonesia joined the GPIB.

Therefore this study is based only on church and VOC archives found respectively in the *Arsip Nasional* in Jakarta and the *Nationale Archief* in The Hague. Unlike the extensive and rich sources available for Batavia's church and society in the seventeenth and later centuries, the church and Christianity on Java's Northeast Coast in the eighteenth century have left us with meager and limited materials. No sources survived to give us an extensive picture of all the ministers and their activities. Nevertheless one still can find something worth mentioning about ministers here and there. They did send special requests or letters and were mentioned in church and public documents. A description of the ministers in Semarang must proceed differently. The identity and activities of only a few ministers have been well documented, while those of a somewhat greater number of ministers have been depicted in a limited way through secondary sources.

Johannes Wilhelmus Swemmelaar was born in Amsterdam in 1724. He pursued his higher education theological training at Leiden University. He was a *proponent* in Kleef and received his calling to the East Indies on September 6, 1751. On October 4, 1751 he was installed as an *Indisch predikant*. He started work in Batavia in its Dutch-speaking parish from 1752 to 1753. After completing a posting (1753-1760) in Semarang, he was stationed again in Batavia 1760-1764, where he eventually passed away.<sup>109</sup>

Swemmelaar arrived in Semarang on November 14, 1753, as the first *permanent leeraer* (regular minister) for the *kerken op deese cust* (i.e., the churches in Java's Northeast Coast).<sup>110</sup> Semarang was the seat of the the government of Java's Northeast Coast and the consistory of the *Gereformeerde Kerk*. By no means did Swemmelaar work exclusively as Semarang's minister. As were many visiting ministers before him, Swemmelaar was assigned to cover the vast area of Java's Northeast Coast. Records show that he was preparing for his visitation as early as March 1754 to towns under the jurisdiction of the government of Java's Northeast Coast.

As the regular minister of Java's Northeast Coast, it was Swemmelaar's duty to accompany the governor during official visits to the *Vorstenlanden*, situated south of Semarang. In February 1755 Swemmelaar was a member of a delegation during a short Company visit to the court of the king of Surakarta. On Wednesday February 19, he baptized ten or twelve children in town.<sup>111</sup> The Company had a garrison in the Susuhunan's court, as it did in the Sultan's court in Yogyakarta. These two garrisons were comprised of several hundred of soldiers who were visited regularly by the ministers of Semarang.

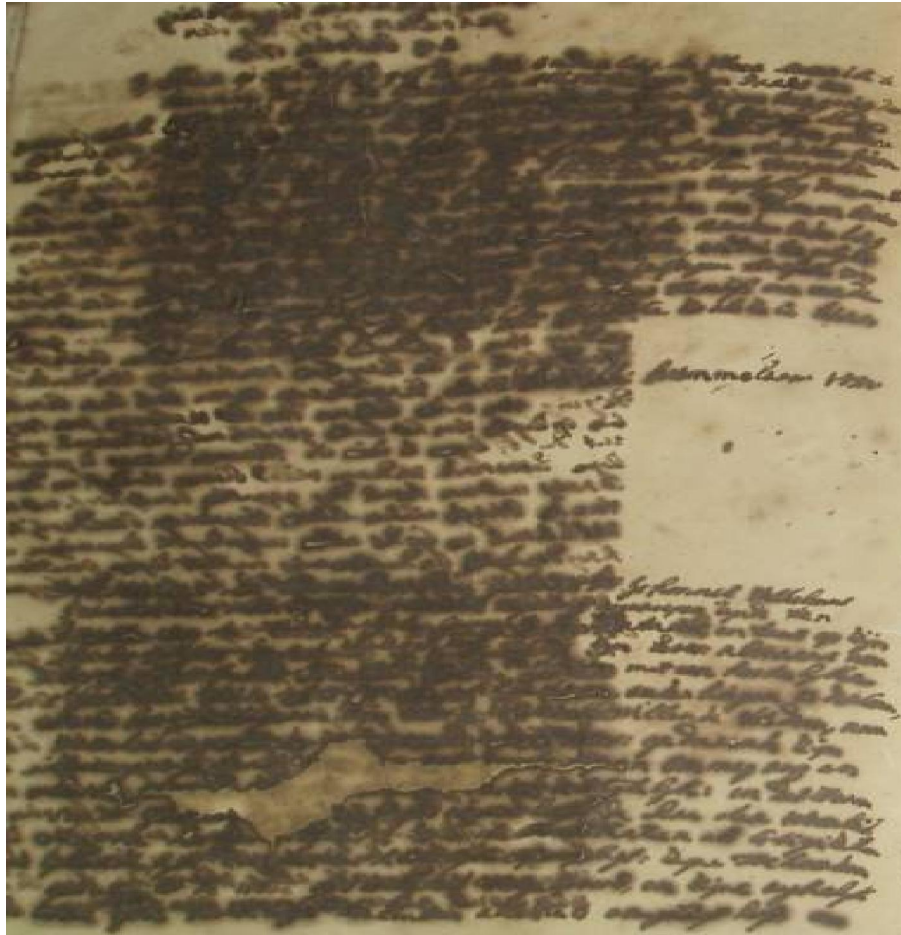
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<sup>109</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 422-423.

<sup>110</sup> VOC 2843, fol. 32.

<sup>111</sup> VOC 2864, fol. 116.





The condition of the text above is very poor.<sup>112</sup> The image depicts a church resolution from 1760 when Swemmelaar left Semarang. The condition of the text makes it impossible to determine the reason of his departure. It might have been due to the needs of the Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia. His appearance in Semarang came halfway through his second term (each term was five years; he only served in Semarang for seven or eight years). This could be seen in another way. The year 1753-1755 might have been an extension of his Batavia assignment (1751-1755) and the term from 1755-1760 a proper five-year term in Semarang. In this sense he might be considered as having served a full term in Semarang.

A more direct source of information was one of the minister's own letters. Niemeijer found the personal correspondence between Swemmelaar and the classis of Amsterdam.<sup>113</sup> In a letter dating from late 1756 the minister lists three things that he wants the churches in the Netherlands to know. Swemmelaar, who had just

<sup>112</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 150.

<sup>113</sup> Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast' in *Documentatieblad* nr.2 1998, p. 53-61.

finished three years service in Semarang, wants to share information and observations about issues and events that had not come up in the annual reports (*kerkstaat*) that were compiled and sent by the consistory in Batavia to the classes, synods and the directors in the Netherlands.<sup>114</sup>

First, Swemmelaar gives short descriptions of the church in Semarang and of all other congregations in Java's Northeast Coast. Second, he describes church services, the organization of the poorhouse and other church activities. Third, he explains his own views on what missionary work needed to be done in Java. With regard to mission, two things are important. First, Swemmelaar wants the number of ministers in Java to be increased from one to three: one stationed in Semarang and responsible for Semarang, Pekalongan, Tegal, Kuala Demak and Jepara (towns in the western part of Java's Northeast Coast); a second stationed in Surabaya and tending to Surabaya, Juwana, Rembang, Gresik, Bangkalan, Pasuruan, Sumenep (along the northeast coast); and a third minister dispatched to Solo (Surakarta) or Kartasura to serve Solo and Yogyakarta (the *Vorstenlanden* towns), where the Company had garrisons in the courts of the Sultan and the Susuhunan. Second, Swemmelaar recommends that ministers speak Malay and Javanese to foster connections with the people of Java and propagate the Gospel. He asks for the Church to be staffed by at least six Javanese-speaking *inlandsche* schoolmasters, since most people in the coastal towns could barely speak Malay. The best source of potential native schoolmasters was Semarang's poorhouse. The children there already knew Javanese and had a good Christian upbringing. Native schoolmasters were intended to supplement, not replace the schoolmasters in Semarang, whose foremost duty was to introduce the Gospel to the Javanese.

Swemmelaar's ideas mirrored the ideas recorded in the religion section of Governor General Van Imhoff's *Considerations* fifteen years earlier. Van Imhoff had high hopes that the seminary in Batavia would prove to be as good as the seminaries in Ceylon. While those in Ceylon were preparing proponents for the western part of the Dutch East Indies, the one in Batavia was meant for the eastern part. A good command of language and customs was thought to be instrumental for the propagation of Christianity in the Indies and elsewhere.<sup>115</sup> The seminary in Batavia never materialized during the VOC period. However, both Swemmelaar and the governor general believed in the value of young native Christians as strategic agents of transformation. Missionary efforts as envisioned by the minister and the governor general differed from those in the nineteenth century, after the Gospel had penetrated Java from the outside.

At more or less same time that Swemmelaar penned his missive, the High Government in Batavia developed a plan to teach Malay and Arabic (or perhaps Arabic writing) in all schools following a resolution made in 1756 on the propagation of the Gospel to local people. This was apparently an attempt to spread Christianity.<sup>116</sup> It is not clear how far the *plakaat* was put into practice and to what

<sup>114</sup> Quoted by Niemeijer from GAA 379, *Archief Classis Amsterdam nr. 189, fols. 91-107*, in his 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast' in *Documentatieblad* nr.2 1998, p. 62-73.

<sup>115</sup> Heeres, 'De *Consideratiën* van Van Imhoff', in *BKI* 66 p. 535-541: IV.2: About Religion.

<sup>116</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek VII (1755-1764)*, p. 206: [25 januari 1757].

extent language skills aided the spread of the Gospel. However it is interesting to note that in 1756-1757 both Swemmelaar in Semarang and the High Government in Batavia were aware of the strategic missionary value of the local language skills of young native who had received a Christian education.

In 1760 Swemmelaar was succeeded as pastor of Semarang by *David Daniël van Vianen*, a *proponent* in Utrecht who received his confirmation to office in Amsterdam on November 25, 1758. He was sent immediately to the Indies<sup>117</sup> and arrived in Semarang at the end of 1760.<sup>118</sup> He did not stay for long. By the end of 1761 the consistory sent a request to the Political Council of Semarang to release and replace Van Vianen due to sickness.<sup>119</sup>

Van Vianen is a saddening example of a minister who could not survive in the Indies. Simeon Gideons became the *praeses* (chairperson) of the consistory in early 1762 after Van Vianen could no longer regularly attend meetings.<sup>120</sup> The *kerkstaat* (annual church report) on October 18, 1762 mentioned that Van Vianen passed away on his return trip to Batavia.<sup>121</sup> Sickness and death cut short a minister's life and work in Asia, as they did for many other VOC servants.

However the eighteenth century was not bad in terms of the quality of life of VOC servants. In his quantitative study of the personnel of the *Indische Kerk*, Van Lieburg argues that in the second half of the eighteenth century the length of stay of the ministers in Asia was longer than in the previous century.<sup>122</sup> More than seventy percent of the ministers remained after their first term:

- \* twenty-six percent died within three years of their arrival (meaning they died before the end of their initial five-year contract, as in the case of Van Vianen),
- \* nineteen percent stayed from three to six years,
- \* twenty-two percent stayed from six to eleven years,
- \* nineteen percent stayed from eleven to twenty years, and
- \* fourteen percent stayed more than twenty years (the last minister in Semarang in the eighteenth century, Montanus, was one of these long-serving Indies ministers).

The health conditions were qualitatively much better in Semarang than in Batavia in the late eighteenth century.<sup>123</sup> Hermanus Wachter<sup>124</sup> (who served in 1777

<sup>117</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 456.

<sup>118</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 151.

<sup>119</sup> VOC 3027, fol 43; ANRI Kerk 596, fol 160-161.

<sup>120</sup> ANRI Kerk 596: as early as February 1762 resolutions indicated that Van Vianen was absent due illness.

<sup>121</sup> VOC 3030, fol. 756r.

<sup>122</sup> Van Lieburg, 'Het personeel van de Indische Kerk' in Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion*, p.

91

<sup>123</sup> Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast – a study in colonial encroachment and dominance 1740-1840*, p. 40.

<sup>124</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 469-70; Van Lieburg, *Repertorium*, p. 271: Born in Amsterdam 1744. He studied in Lingen, Germany and became a proponent there on Dec. 9, 1771. He was examined

according to the inscription in *Gereja Immanuel*) was actually a minister from Batavia who stayed in Semarang to recuperate from an illness.<sup>125</sup> Wachter was introduced to the consistory at a meeting on October 9, 1777 that the regular minister, Coetsier, could not attend.<sup>126</sup> Most of the time Wachter was in Semarang, he was sick and could do almost nothing for the church. He soon recovered and returned to Batavia. The illness might have been one reason behind Wachter's repatriation in 1780.

The next minister was Simon Gideons. He was born in 1734 in Kessel, Brabant, and started his theological studies in June 1750 in Leiden. Gideons became a minister in Moergestel on May 2, 1756 and he received his confirmation (*bevestiging*) as an *Indisch predikant* in 1760 in Amsterdam. He arrived in Batavia in 1761 and was appointed to Java's Northeast Coast.<sup>127</sup> The consistory expected Gideons to arrive in Semarang in 1762.<sup>128</sup> He served in Semarang from 1762 to 1766 when he was recalled to serve the Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia, replacing Willem Wilberts. In December 1767 he passed away at the age of thirty-three.<sup>129</sup>

Gideons put forward some requests during his service in Semarang. In early 1763 Gideons requested emoluments including 150 pounds of *boter hollands*, 4 pounds *foelij*, 4 pounds *nagulen*, 6 pounds candle wax and 14,400 pounds or 4 4/17 *lasten* (packs) of rice. His requests were similar to those made by Swemmelaar, the first minister of Semarang.<sup>130</sup> When Swemmelaar served in Semarang it was clear that he received emoluments according to what he had received when he was a minister in Batavia. It is unclear if subsequent ministers were paid and given emoluments as per Swemmelaar. Gideons's initiative (which must likely supported by the consistory) might be an indication that that was not the case.

In 1767 the High Government in Batavia decided to send a second minister to Semarang due to the *toenemende uitbreidheid der gemeente op Java's Oostkust* (increasing expansion of parishes along Java's east coast). With only one minister in Semarang, the parish had been suffering from the absence of the minister for several months a year due to visitation rounds.<sup>131</sup> In Semarang's consistory meeting on October 26, 1767 the chairperson announced that the second minister would be Jonas van Pietersom Ramring. The consistory's decision was forwarded to the High Government and the consistory in Batavia.<sup>132</sup> In a way the consistory in Batavia played the role of a *classis*, something that the Indies lacked. The consistory in

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and ordained as an *Indisch predikant* in Amsterdam on Sept. 7, 1772. He was a minister to a Dutch-speaking parish in Batavia from 1773 to 1780. In 1775 he was sent for visitation to Banten and in 1776 to Semarang and Surabaya. He was appointed minister to Goudswaard on May 19, 1789 and passed away on March 4, 1805.

<sup>125</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 97.

<sup>126</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 97-101.

<sup>127</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 146.

<sup>128</sup> VOC 3030, fol. 756v.

<sup>129</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 146; Van Lieburg, *Repertorium I*, p. 74.

<sup>130</sup> VOC 3093, March 24, 1763.

<sup>131</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek VIII (1765-1775)*, p. 287: [10 september 1767].

<sup>132</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 288.



Batavia had to be aware of the situations of other churches in Asia. Moreover other churches regularly sent annual reports to Batavia to be compiled for the *kerkstaat* for the Company chambers, the classis of Amsterdam and the classis of Middelburg.

The next minister was Cornelius Coetsier,<sup>133</sup> who was stationed in Semarang together with Van Pietersom Ramring. It seems that the dream of sending two ministers to Semarang had been realized. Coetsier came to Semarang at quite an advanced age; he was over fifty-five years old. He was born in 1710 in Geffen, Brabant.<sup>134</sup> His served as a minister for the first time in Giessen (classis Gorinchem) and had been there for more than twenty years (1735-1758). He received emeritus status in 1759. Evidently his excellent health after retirement led to his calling and appointment as an *Indisch predikant* in 1765 in Amsterdam. He was assigned directly to Java's Northeast Coast in 1766 upon arriving.<sup>135</sup> He worked alone for at least a year before the second minister arrived in 1767. Coetsier took a furlough and went to the Netherlands in 1772.<sup>136</sup> He returned to the Indies and died there in 1792.

Jonas van Pietersom Ramring came to Semarang to work together with Coetsier.<sup>137</sup> Ramring was the son of Samuel van Pietersom Ramring, the minister in the Gasthuis in Doesburg. Van Pietersom Ramring worked as a minister in Rio de Berbice, West Indies in 1758. He returned to Netherlands *buiten beroep*. In the year 1764 he was nominated to be the minister in Velp, classis Over-Veluwe and of Vollenhoven in 1765. Apparently he did not get the job, and so he went to the East Indies. After receiving approval from the Company directors he was called and ordained by the Amsterdam classis in October 1766. Upon arriving in 1767 he was ordered to visit Semarang. In November 1767 he started to serve in the Reformed church in Semarang.<sup>138</sup>

The Memorandum of Transfer of the outgoing Governor Johannes Vos in 1771 stated that the town was served by two ministers and that the older minister was continually sick.<sup>139</sup> The governor proposed giving the sick minister, who had served thirty-one years, emeritus status.<sup>140</sup> One year later the record shows that Ramring's wife and two children returned to the Netherlands after his death.<sup>141</sup> If Coetsier was already over fifty when he came to Semarang, then Ramring might have been the same age. In 1771 he had already worked as a minister for over thirty years, meaning he became a minister in 1740 or earlier.

<sup>133</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 263, Coetzier was mentioned for the first time in September 1766.

<sup>134</sup> Van Lieburg, *Repertorium I*, p. 130: C. Coetsier was born either in Geffen or 's-Hertogenbosch in 1708 or 1710.

<sup>135</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 99.

<sup>136</sup> VOC 3362, October 10, 1772.

<sup>137</sup> VOC 3250, *kerkstaat* [October 16, 1769].

<sup>138</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 334

<sup>139</sup> VOC 3309, *Memorandum of Transfer of outgoing Governor Johannes Vos*, fol. 774r.

<sup>140</sup> VOC 3309, *Memorandum of Transfer of outgoing Governor Johannes Vos*, fol. 774v.

<sup>141</sup> VOC 3362, October 10, 1772.

Two seasoned ministers serving in Semarang was far from ideal. A minister in Semarang needed several weeks to conduct visitations in several towns in Java's Northeast Coast, which would drain the minister of much energy. The main reason that Semarang had two ministers was to give the parishes in the *buiten comptoiren* enough attention. The two ministers took turns and visited the outposts.

Coetsier did go to eastern towns as he reported to the consistory at its October 19, 1768 meeting. He examined a candidate *ziekentrooster* in one town.<sup>142</sup> Ramring visited Jepara as he reported to the consistory on November 23, 1768.<sup>143</sup> Coetsier also visited *Bovenlanden* in mid-1769.<sup>144</sup> Coetsier reported another visitation to the consistory meeting on April 30, 1770. He then went to the easternmost region of Java.<sup>145</sup>

After such intensive visitation rounds in 1768-1770, it was no surprise that both ministers were exhausted. One passed away in either 1771 or 1772 and the other received a well-earned vacation. The consistory received a missive regarding the discharged (*verlossinge na patria*) of Coetsier that was read at its meeting on September 11, 1772.<sup>146</sup> At its next meeting on October 19, 1772 the next minister, Lipsius, had already joined.<sup>147</sup>

One of Ramring's most important contributions was a suggestion made to the consistory at a meeting on April 30, 1770 that the church should ask the governor to remind all residents and *opperhoofden* in Java's Northeast Coast to help orphaned European children. It would be better for the children to be adopted rather than sent to the poorhouse in Semarang so they could be raised as Christians.<sup>148</sup>

Johannes Lipsius was born in Leiden in either 1724 or 1725. There is little information available on his earlier years. He became a *proponent* in Rotterdam on June 21, 1771 and was appointed as an *Indisch predikant* on August 6, 1771. After his arrival in Batavia in 1772 he was assigned to Semarang and like his predecessors he conducted visitations.<sup>149</sup> In 1778 he was given emeritus status and passed away in Semarang in 1785.<sup>150</sup> Taylor uses the example of Lipsius to make a point about the luxurious lifestyles of Company personnel in the eighteenth century.<sup>151</sup>

Lipsius stayed with his family in Semarang.<sup>152</sup> Sources provide an interesting story about Lipsius and his family during the years before his death in Semarang.

In 1777 Lipsius sent a petition to the government in Semarang arguing that after five years of work he wanted to have his salary increased to *f* 110 a month.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>142</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 302.

<sup>143</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 303.

<sup>144</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 5.

<sup>145</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 9.

<sup>146</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 25.

<sup>147</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 26.

<sup>148</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 9.

<sup>149</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 38 [August 9, 1773] he went to visit Bovenlanden; fol. 39 [September 6, 1773] he visited Tegal.

<sup>150</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 267. Although Van Troostenburg de Bruyn gives no information, most likely Lipsius was born in 1724 or 1725.

<sup>151</sup> Taylor, *Social world of Batavia*, p. 69.

<sup>152</sup> VOC 3362, October 10, 1772.

The source gives no follow-up, but the petition itself was not unusual. It was more or less a reminder. By regulation he was entitled to receive a raise after he completed his first five-year contract.

There are also records concerning Lipsius that tell a story of misfortune. In one of the consistory minute it is mentioned that Lipsius had been sick since the previous autumn (most likely 1777) and so the church and government were planning to give him his retirement. He had worked in Semarang for over five years (1772-1778). The next logical step was for the consistory to ask the government and consistory in Batavia for a minister to replace Lipsius.<sup>154</sup>

Lipsius retired in 1778, at the same time young Fredericus Montanus was called to Semarang.<sup>155</sup>

Lipsius was seriously ill. He was no longer able to ascend the pulpit stairs during Sunday services. It was decided that the amount of his pension would be *f*80 or *rd* 33.16 a month.<sup>156</sup> Upon entering emeritus status, Lipsius decided for unclear reasons to stay in Semarang instead of returning to the Netherlands. This meant that his household stayed as well.

The same year Lipsius earned emeritus status, his wife, Neeltje Schuijttevoerden, wrote a letter to the government describing her husband's behavior towards his family. It was decided that the emeritus minister would enter the *proveniershuis* (house for elderly or sick people) to receive better care than was possible in his home. It was also decided that half Lipsius' pension (*rd* 16.32) would go to his family, and the other half to himself in care of the *proveniershuis* regent.<sup>157</sup> The source does not describe the behavior Lipsius's wife was talking about, but it was quite clear that for everyone's peace of mind it would better to place the minister in the *proveniershuis*.

Six years later in 1784, Lipsius's wife wrote another letter to the government that said that since the minister had moved to the *provenierhuis* he had not been calmer and was still hostile to his own family, including his daughter, the widow of the late *fiscaal* (exchequer), Van Eijs. *Opperchirurgijn* (senior surgeon) Bonneken and Abeg confirmed the statement. At the time Lipsius was already 59 years old. The wife and daughter asked the government if they would be allowed to repatriate. The council decided that they would join the first fleet that year and would not have to pay for transportation. In return, the family would have to leave the half the minister's monthly pension to him and leave the minister *rd* 3,700 that belonged to the minister. The money would be taken care of by the *weeskamer* in Semarang on his behalf.<sup>158</sup> These arrangements were all standard procedures. The family could still enjoy the half of the minister's pension and the town administrators would use the other half of the pension together with his *rd* 3,700 fortune for the minister's daily care for as long as the minister lived. The *weeskamer* became directly involved because the family was planning to leave for the Netherlands and the minister would be left alone in an unfit condition.

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<sup>153</sup> VOC 3497, April 14, 1777.

<sup>154</sup> VOC 3526, April 18, 1778; ANRI Kerk 597, fol.111.

<sup>155</sup> VOC 3526, May 28, 1778; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 111.

<sup>156</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 142; ANRI Kerk 597, fol.111.

<sup>157</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 236-238.

<sup>158</sup> VOC 3675, May 12, 1784, § 55.

Lipsius passed away in 1785 and his family's return trip was postponed until the next year.<sup>159</sup> Lipsius died at the age of sixty. He was the last in a series of mature ministers serving in Semarang during the Company's time. His successor, Montanus, who happened to be the last Protestant minister in Java during the Company's time, started service in Semarang in his mid-thirties.

Fredericus Montanus was born in Breda in either 1742 or 1743. He started his theological education in 1762 in Leiden. He was made a *proponent* by the Breda classis. He received his calling as a *proponent* for the Indies on October 5, 1767 and was ordained as an *Indisch predikant* on December 8, 1767 in Amsterdam. He arrived in Batavia a year later. He worked as a minister in Batavia for two terms, from 1768 to 1778. In 1778 he was assigned to Semarang, where he remained for a long time. Van Troostenburg de Bruyn says: '*Toen hij 70 jaren oud en reeds meer dan 40 jaren pred. was geweest, predikte hij een om de 14 dagen. Hij is in den ouderdom van 74 jaren overleden in 1816.*'<sup>160</sup> Montanus was one of the longest-serving Dutch ministers in the Indies. Like his contemporary Metzlar and many other Dutch ministers, Montanus was also a member of the *Bataviaasch genootschap der kunsten en wetenschappen*.<sup>161</sup>

Montanus arrived in Semarang on June 21, 1778.<sup>162</sup> After two terms of service in Batavia, he enjoyed the same *gagie* (salary) he previously received in Batavia.<sup>163</sup> This was the same treatment received by Swemmelaar twenty years earlier. In Montanus's case when he came to Semarang he was already in his third term and the eleventh year of living in the Indies.

In one of his first consistory meetings, Montanus proposed formation of a committee to compile all existing church documents to survey what had been done previously. The consistory appointed elder Barkey and deacon Van den Brinck to help the minister complete this project.<sup>164</sup> The committee reported its findings at the next meeting. They found the following documents, which were grouped into folders, as below:<sup>165</sup>

- a) one folder of original resolutions, 1753 – 1769
- b) one folder of original resolutions, 1769 – 1777
- c) one folder listing the names of members and of other Christians from 1753 – 1760
- d) *idem* from 1761
- e) one folder of church accounts records, 1754 – 1762

<sup>159</sup> VOC 3675, October 31, 1784, § 185.

<sup>160</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, p. 308.

<sup>161</sup> ---, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch genootschap der kunsten en wetenschappen tweede deel*, p. 32; --- *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch genootschap der kunsten en wetenschappen zesde deel*, p. 38; It would be interesting to further study academic writings produced by ministers in the Indies.

<sup>162</sup> VOC 3526 [June 27, 1778].

<sup>163</sup> VOC 3526 [May 28, 1778] fol. 142; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 111.

<sup>164</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 115

<sup>165</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 117-118.

- f) one folder of outgoing letters, 1754 – 1770
- g) one folder of church credential letters (*attestaties*)
- h) one folder of extracts from the Political Council of Semarang and several illegible papers
- i) two folders of lists of names of children who had been baptized, 1751 – 1753
- j) one folder of adoption papers and requests for illegitimate children, 1752 – 1763
- k) one big baptismal book for legitimate children, 1753 – 1763
- l) a small one, *idem*
- m) one big baptismal book for illegitimate children, 1753 – 1763
- n) a small one, *idem*
- o) one baptismal book listing legitimate and illegitimate children, 1768
- p) one big and one small book containing lists of member names
- q) a big wedding book
- r) one folder of letters, extracts and requests, 1753 – 1760
- s) one book of outgoing and incoming letters, and extracts from the Political Council of Semarang, 1768 – 1777
- t) *idem*, including list of members and other Christians in Java's Northeast Coast, 1769 – 1777
- u) *idem*, with other papers from 1778.

Most of the materials did not survive. The lists show that there had been much activity during the twenty-five year period when a regular minister was assigned to Semarang (1753 – 1778). Those activities were well recorded. Like Montanus and his contemporaries, we can learn several things from the list. But unlike the the consistory, we can learn of those things only indirectly, within the limit of materials that have survived the test of time.

The first two folders were comprised of consistory resolutions. Folder A dates from 1753 – 1769, and Folder B from 1769 – 1777. The first survived to the present day and is in the safekeeping of the ANRI in Jakarta.<sup>166</sup> The second folder was a running record which resolutions passed before 1780 might have later been added.<sup>167</sup>

Folders C and D are comprised of list of non-Reformed Christians. It was customary for ministers to list in their reports the number of Christians belonging to the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and other churches in every town they visited. While the reports that were usually sent to the government listed numbers, church records listed names. Many of the folders were lost over time.

Folder E contains church financial records from 1754 – 1762. Records from 1762 up to 1778 were not on the list. From 1753 – 1762 the consistory worked with Semarang's first three ministers: Swemmelaar, Vianen and Gideons. Given that the committee could not find the records from 1762 to 1778, the records might have already been lost or kept in another place.

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<sup>166</sup> Known as the ANRI Kerk 596 (1753-1769) is one of the most important sources used in this study.

<sup>167</sup> This record supposedly became the ANRI Kerk 597 (1769-1780).

Folder F is comprised of outgoing church letters from 1754 – 1770 and might be connected with folder S, a book of outgoing and incoming church letters and the extracts from the Political Council of Semarang, 1768 – 1777.

Folder G is a collection of church credential letters (*attestatie*). *Attestatie* were produced by a consistory if a member moved to another Company settlement or returned to Europe. In Semarang credential letters were read during the preparation (*censura morum*) of the Holy Communion.

Folder H is a collection of the extracts sent by the Political Council of Semarang to the consistory and several illegible papers. Normally extracts were included with consistory resolutions after they were read. This folder must have been a collection of original extracts, while those in the consistory resolutions are copies. The folder was undated.

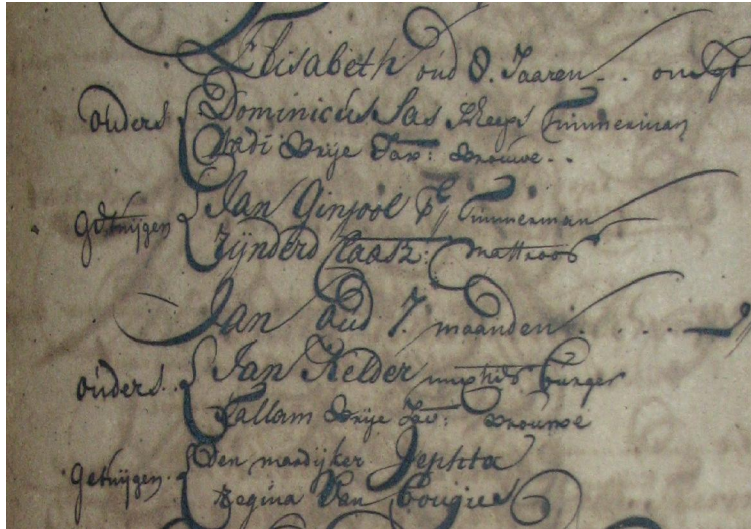
Folder I is comprised of two smaller packs containing a list of names of children who were baptized in 1751 – 1753. This is curious: both packages document the same two-year period. Each pack was comprised of only a few pages until Swemmelaar arrived in Semarang and record-keeping improved. This could only mean that the original list was compiled when the visiting ministers from Batavia came all the way to Java's Northeast Coast towns. The province was visited by two ministers in 1751. Remarkably there was no distinction made between legitimate or illegitimate children. Such demarcations came later, as in the folder started in 1753.

There is a possibility that documents contained in Folder I were created to fill the gap after the consistory started to list the baptism of legitimate and of illegitimate children separately in 1753. The committee had somehow stumbled across a list of several baptized children from the period before Swemmelaar's arrival. My conjecture is that for the sake of the unregistered children and their status, the lists were made using all sources then available. The committee arrived on the scene late, so it did not matter whether the children were legitimate or illegitimate. These folders might have contained not only the names of baptized children in Semarang, but also those who lived in the *buiten comptoiren* of Java's Northeast Coast as well.

The problem with the baptism of illegitimate children was not with the children but with their parents. At a time when Semarang and Java's Northeast Coast lacked a dedicated minister, it was not easy to continue the usual process of censuring parents who had sinned. Visiting ministers did not go to Java's Northeast Coast every year; when they did go they had to visit many towns and only stayed in any one place for a short time. Disciplinary measures were usually exercised by elders, and there were already a handful of elders in Java's Northeast Coast before 1753. Unfortunately there are no records indicating how the elders exercised church discipline. The folders in question indicate that the consistory tried to account for baptisms before 1753.

Folder J is comprised of adoption requests and approvals for illegitimate children from 1752 – 1763 and supports my conjecture above. One might conclude that in previous years the consistory had not been strict in verifying a child's legal status before administering baptism. That was no longer the case after 1752 and 1753. Formal adoptions and requests were now required. Proof of adoption status was needed for illegitimate children to be baptized in the Reformed church.

Sources before Swemmelaar show that, at least up to 1732, the baptism of illegitimate children in Java's Northeast Coast was common as long as all the requirements were met, specifically, that the parents could be named and that there were two witnesses (who were supposed to be godfather or godmother for the child).<sup>168</sup>



The record above shows that Elisabeth, eight, was the illegitimate child of Dominicus Jas, ship carpenter (*scheepstimmerman*), and Nadi, a free Javanese woman, and identified two witnesses another carpenter and a sailor. The younger child, Jan, seven months, was presented for baptism by his father, Jan Kelder, a *mixties* burgher, and his mother, Callam, a free Javanese woman. They were accompanied by two witnesses: Jephta the *mardijker* and Regina van Bougies. The widespread acceptance of babies and young children at the baptismal font provides ample evidence for the people's continuous effort to form local Christian communities within the VOC settlements.

Folder K is a large baptismal book listing the names of legitimate children from 1753 – 1763 and Folder M is a book listing the names of illegitimate children from the same period. Folders L and N contain smaller versions of the same material. Most baptisms must have occurred during Swemmelaar's tenure (1753 – 1760). Looking at how neatly the church initially kept baptismal records, one might expect that they would have continued tidy recordkeeping in subsequent years.

Unfortunately we will never know if good records were maintained in subsequent years. Folder O is comprised of a baptismal book listing the names of both legitimate and illegitimate children from 1768. Thus the consistory had lists of the baptisms of legitimate and illegitimate children from 1753 – 1763 and from 1768 up to the time of Montanus (1778), assuming this book was then still in use.

<sup>168</sup>

ANRI, *Burgerlijke stand Semarang, 1691-1732*, p. 142 [October 29, 1732].

As soon as an illegitimate child's name was entered in the baptismal book, they could be considered the child of the parents who brought them to the font. Baptism was equivalent to adoption by the father. This might explain the long list of baptisms recorded in the aforementioned folder of *Burgerlijke stand Semarang*. Native mothers had no claim over their children as long as their European fathers were alive. Problems with raising the children arose after the fathers died.

The committee also found one big and one small book (Folder P) containing lists of church members. This folder was undated, which is strange since Folder C was comprised of a list of non-members that indicated the time period of the report (1753 – 1760). Folder T listed members and non-members between 1769 and 1777. It might be possible that Folder P was comprised of a list of members and non-members between 1760 – 1769, to fill the gap left by Folders C and T. Another (more likely) possibility is that the book listed members between 1753 and 1778.

If that was the case, then the next big book should be treated in the same way. A big wedding book, folder Q, was reported without dates. It might have been started in 1753 and was still in use when Montanus conducted his inventory.

Folder R, comprised of letters, extracts and requests dating from 1753 – 1760 must not have come from the Political Council of Semarang. It is safe to assume that these were extracts of consistory resolutions and requests that had been sent to the Political Council.

The last three folders are comprised of the consistory's outgoing and incoming letters. Folder S is comprised of extracts from the Political Council of Semarang from 1768 – 1777. Part of Folder T includes a list of members and non-members of the Reformed church in Java's Northeast Coast from 1769 – 1777. Folder U contains additional miscellaneous papers from 1778.

The survival of those materials to the present day would have been a great help in understanding details of the daily or weekly activities of Christians in the Java's Northeast Coast from the consistory's perspective. The consistory kept detailed membership lists and records of church activities. Most of these records were lost for unknown reasons, nevertheless the records that do exist paint a clear picture of church that was more alive than it was a half century earlier. Montanus found himself amid an active and lively Christian community. The church in Java's Northeast Coast was indeed a community, like other Company's settlements, with multiethnic and multicultural traits and with Christian's norms and values (*normen en waarden*) held up as the ideal for a colonial society.

After the arrival of Semarang's first permanent minister in 1753 until the end of the VOC, Christians in Semarang and in Java's Northeast Coast in general enjoyed the services of seven (or, as some believe, eight) ministers.

Most ministers completed a full five-year contract or more. The shortest-serving minister was Van Vianen, who died after living two years in Semarang (and four years after leaving the Netherlands). Van Pietersom Ramring served in Semarang for three years before he died after having been pensioned. Both died due to illness. It is unknown how old Van Vianen was when he died; Van Pietersom Ramring must have been over sixty years old. Old age was not necessarily the cause of death; three ministers in Semarang: Coetzier, Lipsius and Montanus lived to old age. It was disease that robbed Semarang of its ministers.



Younger ministers were preferred. In practice Semarang had to accept whomever was sent from Batavia. When the consistory sent a request to replace Van Vianen, they did not mention any specifications. It was not for the consistory to decide. The decision was made by the High Government and the consistory in Batavia, or perhaps the issue was already decided in the Netherlands. The system was indeed centralized under the VOC, not just for the church but also for everyone who was subject to the Company.

One thing was certain. Christians in Semarang and Java's Northeast Coast had access to one, and for a short time, two ministers. Christians enjoyed adequate pastoral care and church services. The ministers, however, were not the only one who gave Christianity life in Java.

### *The elders and deacons*

The consistory of the Reformed church in Semarang existed before Swemmelaar's arrival, though sources give no clue as to when it actually started. Apart from the names of some consistory members, sources hardly mention any activities of the church in Semarang before 1753. The consistory became fully functional only after there was a regular minister. The names of over sixty members of the consistory between 1753 and 1792 can be collected from two sources.<sup>169</sup> It is not possible to say for certain that only sixty-four men served in the consistory during that period since some records have been completely destroyed or are simply illegible.

Table 2: Consistory members of the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in Semarang, 1753 – 1792

No.	Name	Public/Company position	Elder or deacon	Date joining consistory <sup>170</sup>
1	*** van der Meijden <sup>171</sup>	***	Deacon	***
2	*** de Ravallet <sup>172</sup>	<i>Oppercoopman</i>	Elder	February 1753
3	Willem Fockens <sup>173</sup>	<i>Secretaris</i>	Elder	February 1753
4	Hendrik Duirveld <sup>174</sup>	<i>Coopman</i>	Elder	January 1755
5	Matthijs Willem de Man <sup>175</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, fiscal</i>	Elder	January 1755
6	Joel Moren <sup>176</sup>	<i>Burger</i>	Deacon then Elder	January 1755 (as elder)

<sup>169</sup> *Kerkeraad Semarang resolutien* [ANRI] and *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren van Java's Noord-Oostkust* [NA, OBP JNOK VOC] 2752- 3964.

<sup>170</sup> Due to the condition of the sources full names, positions, church offices and years in the office were impossible to determine for some consistory members. For some we know only that they were in office during a particular year; for others we know only they year when they were installed or finished their term. Some held office for more than one term with one year or longer breaks. Signatures on church resolutions are the only evidence of some members.

<sup>171</sup> VOC 2752, fol. 687v.

<sup>172</sup> VOC 2824, fol. 97.

<sup>173</sup> VOC 2824, fol. 97.

<sup>174</sup> VOC 2865, fol. 20.

<sup>175</sup> VOC 2865, fol. 20.

<sup>176</sup> VOC 2865, fol. 20; VOC 2968, 6, 1757.

7	Fredrik Habig <sup>177</sup>	<i>Stads doctor</i>	Deacon	January 1755 – October 1757
8	Isaac Siffle <sup>178</sup>	<i>Inlands zoldij en boekhouder</i>	Deacon	January 1755 – died in 1757
9	Hermannus Munnik <sup>179</sup>	<i>Coopman, secretaris van politie</i>	Elder	October 1757
10	Johannes van Dollen <sup>180</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman en zoldij Boekhouder</i>	***	October 1757
11	Pieter Kruijk <sup>181</sup>	<i>Boekhouder en dispencier</i>	***	October 1757
12	Willem van der Sjeke/Beke <sup>182</sup>	<i>Coopman, fiscaal</i>	Elder	August 1758
13	Gerardus Willem van Bencse <sup>183</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman</i>	***	August 1758
14	Francois Ewoud van der Dussen <sup>184</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, ontfanger van 's Comp. Domainen</i>	Elder	17 April 1760 - ***, July 1767 – February 1769
15	Johannes Jaagi <sup>185</sup>	***	Deacon	17 April 1760
16	Jan Pieter Bredius <sup>186</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, soldij boekhouder</i>	Deacon	17 April 1760 – 31 March 1762
17	Johannes Poppe <sup>187</sup>	***	Deacon	31 March 1762
18	Hendrik Breton <sup>188</sup>	<i>Hoofdadministrateur</i>	***	August 1762
19	Isaac Cornelis Domis	***	Deacon	*** - February 1766
20	Lodewicus Theodorus de Swart <sup>189</sup>	***	Deacon	February 1766 – July 1767
21	Paul Paulzen Leendert <sup>190</sup>	***	Deacon	*** - July 1767
22	Gerrit van Muijen <sup>191</sup>	***	Deacon	*** - July 1767
23	Johan Agtho Christiaan Bruijstens <sup>192</sup>	***	Deacon	July 1767 – ***, *** – March 1770
24	Maxmiliaan Lambertus Faure <sup>193</sup>	***	Deacon, then Elder	February – July 1767; 1767 – 1769 (as elder)
25	Jan Mattheijs van Rhijn <sup>194</sup>	***	Deacon	July 1767 – February 1769
26	Bartholomeus de Touttemonde <sup>195</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, tweede</i>	Elder	*** – July 1767

177 VOC 2865, fol. 20; VOC 2968, October 3, 1757.

178 VOC 2865, fol. 20; VOC 2968, October 3, 1757.

179 VOC 2968, October 3, 1757.

180 VOC 2968, October 3, 1757.

181 VOC 2968, October 3, 1757.

182 VOC 2968, August 15, 1758.

183 VOC 2968, August 15, 1758.

184 VOC 2996, April 17, 1760; VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3276, February 28,

1769.

185 VOC 2996, April 17, 1760.

186 VOC 2996, April 17, 1760; VOC 3064, March 31, 1762.

187 VOC 3064, March 31, 1762.

188 VOC 3064, August 16, 1762.

189 VOC 3185, February 1766, fol. 20; VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

190 VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

191 VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

192 VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3306, March 2, 1770.

193 VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3276, February 28, 1769.

194 VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3276, February 28, 1769.

		<i>pakhuismeester, klein cashier</i>		
27	Rudolph Florentius van der Nupport <sup>196</sup>	***	Elder	*** – Juli 1767
28	Joel Moren <sup>197</sup>	***	Elder	*** – Juli 1767
29	Jacobus Nicolaas van Putkammer <sup>198</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, secretaris</i>	Elder	Juli 1767 – October 1769
30	Nicolaas Marchant <sup>199</sup>	***	Elder	Juli 1767 – October 1769
31	Johan A. Dreyer <sup>200</sup>	***	Deacon	February 1769 – March 1770
32	Paulus Jacobus de Blij <sup>201</sup>	***	Deacon	February 1769 – ***, *** – June 1772
33	Isaac Cornelis Domis <sup>202</sup>	<i>Coopman &amp; eerste pakhuismeester</i>	Elder	October 1769 – December 1771
34	Anthonie Barkij <sup>203</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman, boekhouder en dispencier</i>	Deacon	March 1770 –***
35	N. van Putkamer <sup>204</sup>	***	Elder	*** - 1769
36	M. L. Faure <sup>205</sup>	***	Deacon	*** - 1770
37	... Marchand <sup>206</sup>	***	Elder	*** - 1769
38	Leendert Gerritz van Muijen <sup>207</sup>	***	Deacon	1770 - ***
39	Adriaan van Duin <sup>208</sup>	***	Deacon	1772 - 1774
40	Jacobus van Santen <sup>209</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman &amp; tweede pakhuismeester, coopman (1776)</i>	Elder	December 1771 – ***, *** – April 1776
41	Martinus Leonardus Gaaswijck <sup>210</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman and ontfanger den Comps. Domain</i>	Deacon then Elder	1774 - April 1776; April 1776 - *** (as elder); *** - February 1784
42	Anthonij Cornelis Coetzier <sup>211</sup>	<i>Adsistent</i>	Deacon	1771 – ***, *** – April 1776
43	Jan Otto van Ingen <sup>212</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman</i>	Deacon	April 1776 – ***
44	Pieter Drost <sup>213</sup>	<i>Hoofd der burgerij</i>	Deacon	April 1776 – ***, *** –

<sup>195</sup> VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

<sup>196</sup> VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

<sup>197</sup> VOC 3214, July 22, 1767.

<sup>198</sup> VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3306, October 14, 1769.

<sup>199</sup> VOC 3214, July 22, 1767; VOC 3306, October 14, 1769.

<sup>200</sup> VOC 3276, February 28, 1769; VOC 3306, March 2, 1770.

<sup>201</sup> VOC 3276, February 28, 1769; VOC 3362, June 5, 1772; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 22.

<sup>202</sup> VOC 3306, October 14, 1769; VOC 3362, December 20, 1771.

<sup>203</sup> VOC 3306, March 2, 1770.

<sup>204</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 5.

<sup>205</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 11.

<sup>206</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 5.

<sup>207</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 12.

<sup>208</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 24, fol. 45.

<sup>209</sup> VOC 3362, December 20, 1771; VOC 3468, April 19, 1776; ANRI Kerk 597, fol.

<sup>20</sup>

<sup>210</sup> VOC 3468, April 19, 1776; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 45; ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 16

[March 1, 1784]

<sup>211</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 16; VOC 3468, April 19, 1776.

<sup>212</sup> VOC 3468, April 19, 1776.

				February 16 1780; March 1783 – ***, *** - February 1790
45	Hendrik Cornelis <sup>214</sup>	<i>Boekhouder</i>	Deacon	*** - 16 February 1780
46	Gerhardus Roghie <sup>215</sup>	<i>Eerste geswoore clerq van politie</i>	Deacon	16 February 1780 – ***, *** – February 1783
47	Hendrik Lodewijk Palm <sup>216</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman</i>	Deacon	16 February 1780 - ***, 1783 – ***, *** – 1792
48	Nicholaas Alexander Lelivelt <sup>217</sup>	<i>Coopman en eerste pakhuijsmeester</i>	Elder	16 February 1780 - ***, *** - February 1788
49	Casparus Gerhardus de Coste <sup>218</sup>	***	Deacon	***
50	Johannes Jacobus Abeg <sup>219</sup>	<i>Opperchirurgijn</i>	Deacon	March 1783 – 21 February 1785
51	Bernardus Camphuijzen <sup>220</sup>	<i>Boekhouder en geswooren clerq van politie</i>	Deacon	March 1783 – 21 February 1785
52	Willem Gerhard Alberthoma <sup>221</sup>	<i>Eerste geswooren klerk van politie</i>	Deacon	21 February 1785 – ***, *** – February 1788
53	Martinus Bakhuijzen <sup>222</sup>	<i>Adsistent, boekhouder</i>	Deacon	21 February 1785 – ***, *** – 27 February 1790
54	Hendrik Razorij <sup>223</sup>	<i>Boekhouder</i>	***	*** - February 1784
55	Willem Israël Willems <sup>224</sup>	<i>Burger</i>	***	March 1784 – ***, *** – February 1788
56	Barend van den Woom <sup>225</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman</i>	***	March 1788 – ***, *** – February 1791
57	Jacobus Blanck <sup>226</sup>	<i>Luijtenant der burgerij</i>	Deacon then Elder	March 1788 – 27 February 1790; 27 February 1790 - *** (as Elder)
58	L. Willem Kamerling <sup>227</sup>	<i>Adsistent</i>	***	March 1788 – ***, *** – February 1791

<sup>213</sup> VOC 3468, April 19, 1776; VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783, February 1790.

<sup>214</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63.

<sup>215</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783.

<sup>216</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783.

<sup>217</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783, March 1784, March 10, 1788.

<sup>218</sup> VOC 3626, September 18, 1781, fol. 24-27.

<sup>219</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783, February 7, 1785, March 14, 1785.

<sup>220</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783, February 7, 1785, March 14, 1785.

<sup>221</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16; ANRI Kerk 598, March 14, 1785, March 10, 1788.

<sup>222</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16; VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; ANRI Kerk 598, March 14, 1785, February 1790.

<sup>223</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 1, 1784.

<sup>224</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 1, 1784, March 10, 1788.

<sup>225</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1788, March 28, 1791.

<sup>226</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1788.

<sup>227</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, February 1790.

59	Abraham van Hemert <sup>228</sup>	<i>Assistent, boekhouder, secretaris</i>	Deacon	March 1790 – February 1792
60	Johannes Meindert van Bronkhorst <sup>229</sup>	<i>Ondercoopman</i>	Deacon	March 1790 – February 1792
61	Abraham Lodewijk Palm <sup>230</sup>	<i>Klein cassier</i>	Elder	March 1791- February 1792
62	*** van Muijen <sup>231</sup>	<i>Boekhouder</i>	***	March 1791 - ***
63	Willem Beckman <sup>232</sup>	<i>Eerste gesworen clerk van politie</i>	Elder	17 February 1792 - ***
64	A.T. Vermeulen <sup>233</sup>	***	Deacon	17 February 1792 - ***

The Reformed church council was comprised of, for the most part, ministers, elders and deacons. We know that prior to 1753 one or more elders or deacons were already in the office in Semarang. However it was not until 1753 that the complete consistory was in place, comprised of one minister, two elders and two deacons. There were exceptions however. There were two ministers in 1767 and 1768 and three elders and three deacons in 1767, for example.

A given Reformed Dutch church consistory convened for two years; every year one or more members resigned and were replaced. This must have been the common practice in Semarang as well. If two elders and two deacons served on the consistory at any given time then there should have been a total of fourteen or fifteen elders and a similar number of deacons between 1753 and 1767; the consistory in Semarang had three elders and three deacons between 1767 and 1792. There should have been around 135 consistory office holders between 1753 and 1792. This table shows that the number of people in office was barely the half that figure. Some elders and deacons did not finish their terms due to sickness, death or reassignment so there must have been more people to fill the vacancies. The table shows that some people sat for two or more terms, such as deacons who became elders, so the figure of over 100 consistory office holders is too high.

Over almost forty years (1753 – 1792), the church in Semarang had seven ministers and slightly over sixty elders and deacons. Precise information is not available for more than twenty of the consistory members who might have come from the general public or the Company. Of the members for whom information is available, four came from the rank of the burgher and the remainders were Company servants. Pieter Drost was the *hoofd der burgerij* (the burgomaster).<sup>234</sup> He must have been the most prominent burgher in town. His public position would have helped his work in the church, since he would have known many of his fellow citizens. Willem Israël Willems, a consistory member from 1784 to 1788 with some breaks, was another

<sup>228</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, February 1790.

<sup>229</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, February 1790.

<sup>230</sup> VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943 ANRI Kerk 598, March 28, 1791.

<sup>231</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 28, 1791.

<sup>232</sup> VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943.

<sup>233</sup> VOC 3964, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943.

<sup>234</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783 and February \*\* 1790.

burgher who joined the consistory.<sup>235</sup> Jacobus Blanck, *luitenant der burgerij*, started service as a deacon in 1788.<sup>236</sup> In 1790 he was elected as an elder.<sup>237</sup> Joel Moren, another burgher, started as a deacon (probably in 1753) and when he completed his term in 1757 he was named an elder. All four burghers were appointed as deacons when they first joined the consistory. Normally they would not stay in the office for more than two years. It was usual for prominent burghers who had served as deacons such as Drost and Blanck to serve again as elders.

Was the office of deacon reserved only for free burghers? The sources show that that was not the case. There were other deacons who were Company servants, such as Hendrik Lodewijk Palm, a junior merchant (*ondercoopman*),<sup>238</sup> Abraham van Hemert, an assistant promoted to bookkeeper;<sup>239</sup> and Johannes Meindert van Bronkhorst, an *ondercoopman*.<sup>240</sup> They started to serve as deacons in 1790 and ended their terms in 1792. Before them there were other Company servants such as Willem Gerard Alberthoma, the *eerste geswooren klerck van politie*,<sup>241</sup> Martinus Bakhuijzen, an assistant;<sup>242</sup> Johannes Jacobus Abegg;<sup>243</sup> and Bernardus Camphuijzen, a bookkeeper.<sup>244</sup>

In the church in De banne Graft, as elsewhere in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century, we can find consistories with similar compositions.<sup>245</sup> First, the office of elder was not only seen as ecclesiastic, but also as public office as well. Second, as a consequence, membership in the consistory required men with prominent positions in society. Burghers and high Company servants were the logical choices. Third, the office of deacon was considered lower than that of elder. Either the post was held by younger people as training for becoming elders, or the posts were held by *petit bourgeoisie*, who rarely became elders.

The official rank of the VOC servants who served as consistory members in the period of this study were quite varied. There were fourteen junior merchants (*ondercoopman*), and ten bookkeepers, three of who were junior merchants. There were a handful of assistants, petty cashiers, *opperchirurgijn*, *eerste geswoore clerq*, *coopman* and *eerste pakhuijsmeester*. There was even an *inlands zoldij-boekhouder* in the early years of the consistory.

Martinus Leonardus Gaaswijk, an *ondercoopman* and *ontfanger den Compagnies domain*,<sup>246</sup> completed his term as a deacon in 1776 and started service

<sup>235</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, February 20, 1784.

<sup>236</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1788.

<sup>237</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352.

<sup>238</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; VOC 3964, February 17<sup>th</sup> 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783.

<sup>239</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; VOC 3694, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, February \*\* 1790.

<sup>240</sup> VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352; VOC 3694, February 17, 1792, fol. 942-943; ANRI Kerk 598, February \*\* 1790.

<sup>241</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16.

<sup>242</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16.

<sup>243</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16; ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783.

<sup>244</sup> VOC 3703, February 21, 1785, fol. 16.

<sup>245</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw – de banne Graft 1770-1810*, p. 94-98.

<sup>246</sup> VOC 3468, April 19, 1776.

as an elder in the same year. This was a long period of service; the consistory records show that he ended his eldership in 1784.<sup>247</sup> He was not the only person to serve the church for that long. Pieter Drost started as a deacon in April 1776 and ended in February 1780.<sup>248</sup> Church records show that he held office again from 1783 until 1790.<sup>249</sup> Nicolaas Alexander Lelivelt became an elder in February 1780;<sup>250</sup> he ended his term in 1783<sup>251</sup> and returned to office from 1784 until 1788.<sup>252</sup>

It is quite clear that it was a common practice for elders and deacons of high standing to serve the church for multiple terms. The regulations stated that they could sit on the consistory for two years after a break of at least a year they could serve again. It is also possible that an elder or a deacon could not complete his term. Putkamer resigned from his position due to reassignment (*verplaatsing*) to Gresik.<sup>253</sup> Faure resigned in September 1770 due to a new posting in Sumenep.<sup>254</sup> March or April was the customary time for new members of the consistory to be nominated, but it was possible to add new members immediately in case of resignations.<sup>255</sup> Leendert Gerritz van Muijen was chosen by the consistory to replace Faure. His name was submitted in October to the governor general and Political Council for their approval. In November 1770 he joined the consistory.<sup>256</sup>

In the consistory meeting on April 14, 1771, there was a report concerning Cornelius Coetsier, Jr. He had been accepted as a Reformed church member after his *belijdenis* (profession of belief). In the same meeting he was nominated as a deacon.<sup>257</sup> In the next meeting on May 27, 1771, he received a warm welcome from his colleagues in the consistory.<sup>258</sup> This was not necessarily an extraordinary occurrence. It was normal for a person such as Coetsier, Jr., to become a deacon, considering his young age and that he was of good stock. It was also normal, even in the Netherlands, that one family member (usually a father) would become an elder and another (his son) a deacon.<sup>259</sup>

A member who found himself in office far too long could also submit his resignation to the consistory, as did Paulus Jacobus de Bly, who had already served several terms as a deacon.<sup>260</sup>

Deacons always took part in the regular monthly consistory meetings in Semarang until the end of the century. On almost every page of the consistory's minutes we can see the signatures of deacons along with ministers and elders. The

<sup>247</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, February 2 and March 1, 1784.

<sup>248</sup> VOC 3468, April 1776; VOC 3584, February 16, 1780, fol. 63; VOC 3909, February 27, 1790, fol. 351-352.

<sup>249</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783, February \*\* 1790.

<sup>250</sup> VOC 3584, February 16, 170, fol. 63.

<sup>251</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 10, 1783.

<sup>252</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, March 1, 1784, March 10, 1788.

<sup>253</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 4-5.

<sup>254</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 11.

<sup>255</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving*, p. 94-95: In Graft it was usually in January or February, but starting in 1789 it became later in the year, usually November or December. In Semarang it was in March or April that the consistory renewed its members.

<sup>256</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 12.

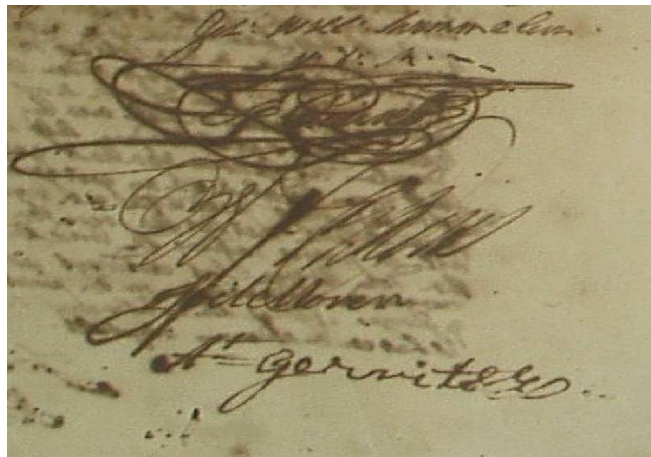
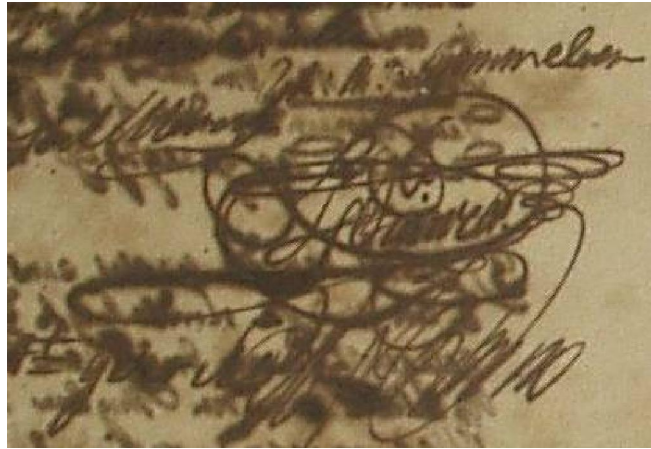
<sup>257</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 15.

<sup>258</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 16.

<sup>259</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving*, p. 95.

<sup>260</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 22.

content of almost every consistory meeting included a reckoning for the accounts of *diaconij*. In the Netherlands deacons were expected to join the meeting at least twice a year to report on deaconry activities and finances.<sup>261</sup>



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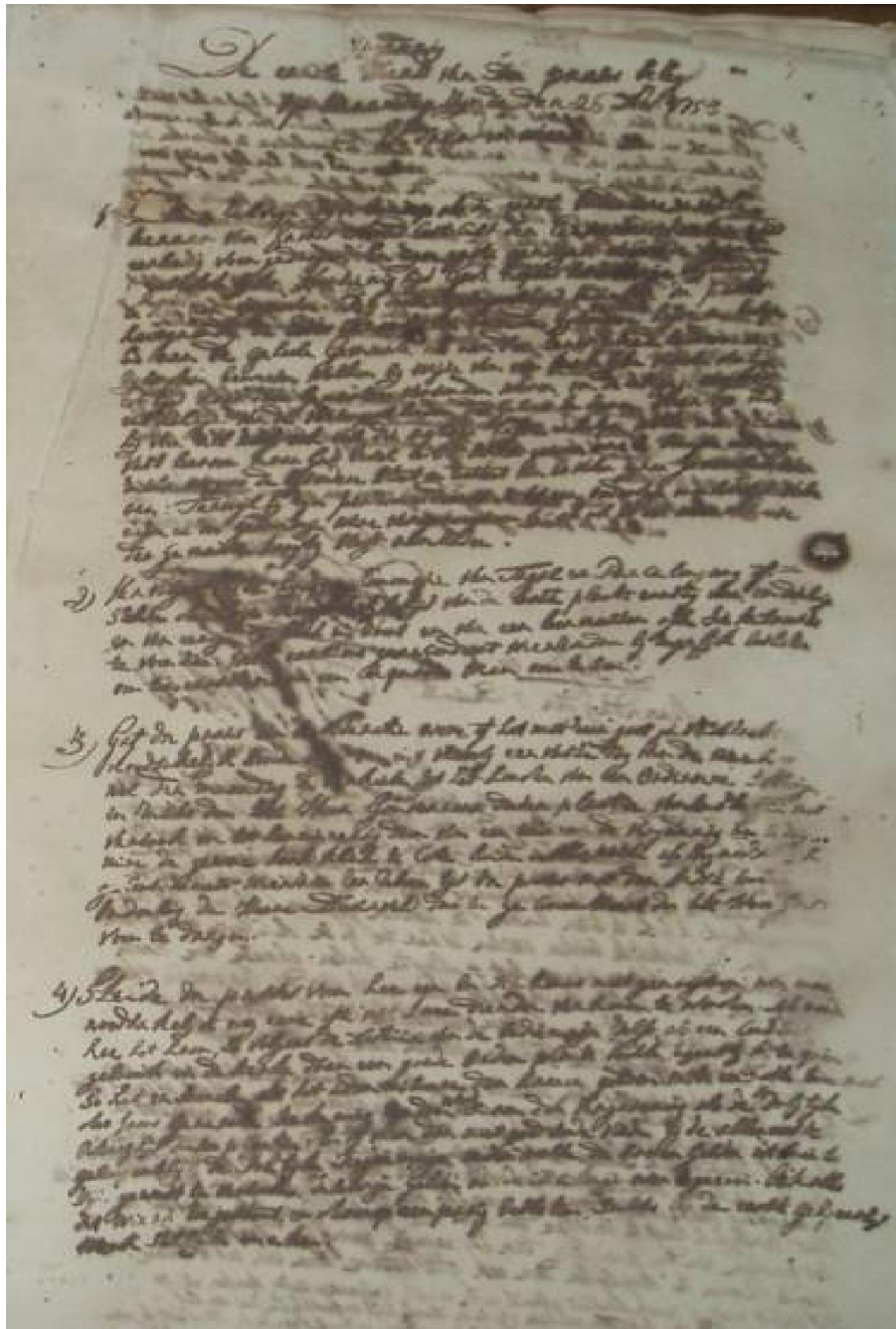
<sup>261</sup>Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 103.



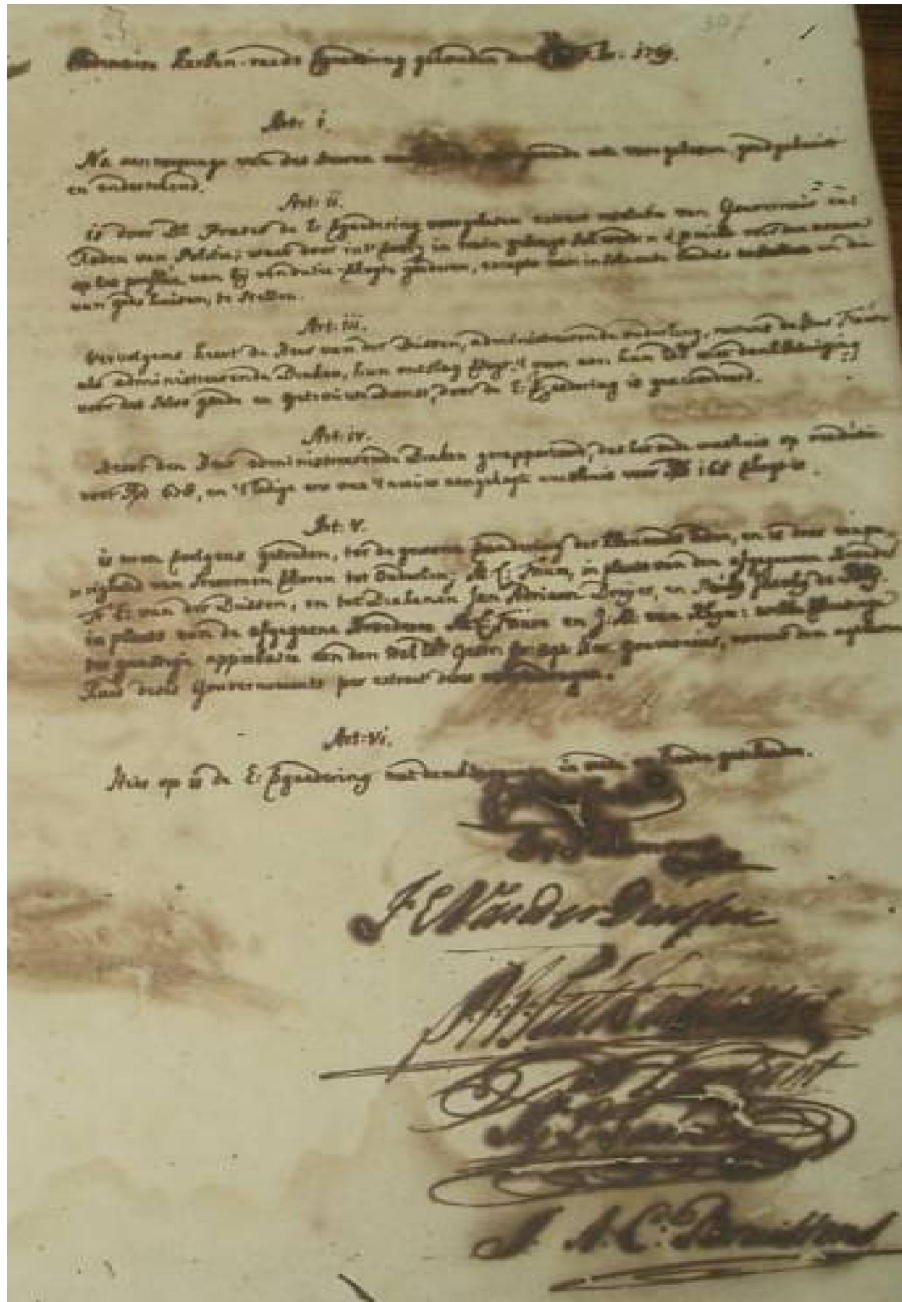


A photograph of a handwritten document on aged, yellowish paper. The text is written in a cursive script. The first line reads "J. J. Swemmelaar. 1774". Below this, there are several lines of illegible cursive text, followed by a horizontal line and the name "J. J. Swemmelaar" written again in a larger, more prominent cursive hand, underlined.

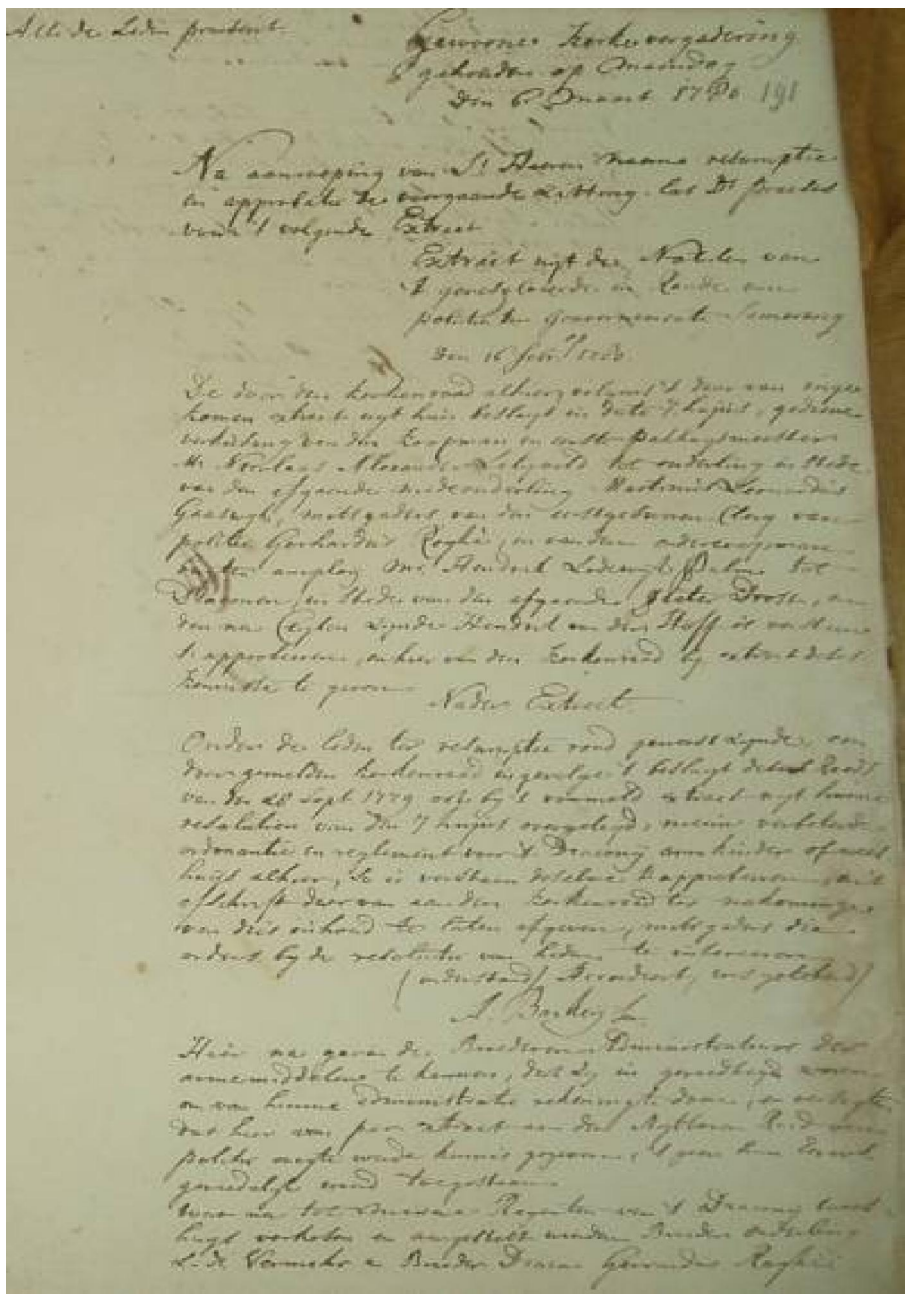
*In the time of Swemmelaar consistory meetings were attended by at least three and at times by five members, as shown in this random selection from minutes of a consistory meeting.*



The first page of ANRI Kerk 596, dated Monday, November 26, 1753. The meeting could be considered as the first church council meeting after the first permanent minister arrived in Semarang.



The ANRI Kerk 596 has more than 300 pages, and the picture above is the last page, dating from 1769.



The ANRI Kerk 597 has more than 190 pages. It begins on April 3, 1769 and ends on March 6, 1780. The picture shows the minute of the last meeting in the folder.



Alle de leden present.  
 Gewoone Kerkelyke  
 Vergadering gehouden  
 op den 20<sup>den</sup> Febr. 1783

Na dat de vergadering met den getide  
 geopent was, het warden de leringen der voor-  
 gebrachte lering, ald mede die van de laatste  
 gehouden continue worden geadge-  
 heerd en getekent

Dit procces is het gevolg van de volgende  
 Extract van de Resolutie  
 van de gadering van  
 Lande van politie ten gou-  
 vernement van Amoy  
 d 22 Febr 1783.

Na lecture van een extract van de reso-  
 lution van den Lande medent dato den  
 20<sup>den</sup> Febr. maand Febr. is verstaan te  
 leeren de door hem eerst gedaane ver-  
 krijning van de koop der lering alhier  
 pleten dross tot overdring, in stede van  
 een afgaande koopman in eenen pak-  
 huys meester Mr. A. A. de Groot, welke  
 daaronne den Opperschirmerijns raad  
 Steeg en Boekschiedw B. Compagnien  
 in stede van den afgaande lering  
 J. van der Pol van politie G. Ruyter  
 Onderschootman M. H. J. de Pol  
 gemelde darderead per contract dekes  
 van van hem te bejoven  
 Heer deest (aanzicht)  
 A. B. de Pol

Het getondue 6 maanden arm gette in een  
 vast gette lering van stema gesat te jide  
 woud bevalde degen te den 20<sup>den</sup> Febr. de lering  
 het volgent aantogen van het 6<sup>de</sup> moetten  
 den, welke de lering over door breed van  
 de ministerie van over gette warden

The ANRI Kerk 598 begins with the meeting on February 22, 1783 (above), and ends on August 1, 1791 (next page). The documents in the folder, which is less than 160 pages, is by far the best preserved of three surviving documents of the Reformed Church in Semarang in the eighteenth century.

Alleen  
 Broeder Debus

117

Gemeene kerckelyke ver-  
 gaering gehouden  
 den 17<sup>den</sup>  
 Jan. d'ij. 1791

Na aanweyning van St. Anthon  
 Naam, vóórinstu en approbatie  
 van voorgaande scting, te Hon<sup>d</sup>  
 binnen ~~St. Anthon~~ St. Sabeth, al-  
 vore Land van Verwey, verzeckerde  
 om enige maandelijke alimentatie,  
 synde haar toegedeyd Rdt 2-24<sup>te</sup>.  
 It praelat beruyte, als dat hy met  
 Broeder vordeling saken op de Rchism-  
 ties sijn van sijnke v Rembung deker-  
 kelyke rechtte yedean had, v. Heijde  
 naar van de Nodige poyeeren oier,  
 synde t geuellet tande of goudde Cong-  
 toum te bedroge van Rdt 75-4 - d  
 van den Broeder Administrator Bland  
 ten hand gesheld.

Een brief van den potteraken kerk.  
 Dies berychke synde, werd sctive  
 van de ~~protestant~~ <sup>protestant</sup> om op hyn tyd beandword  
 te worden.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *Ziekentroosters* (comforters of the sick) and schoolmasters – spreading Christianity in Java

#### *Ziekentroosters in late seventeenth century Java*

During the Trunajaya Revolt from the mid-seventeenth century until the first Javanese War of Succession in the early of the eighteenth century, Company servants in Java received spiritual care from army chaplains. When the war was over they received pastoral care from visiting ministers from Batavia.<sup>1</sup> The number of Company servants at that time ranged from a few hundred to more than a thousand, posted in various places on Java. Most were soldiers.

After Semarang became the head office of the Company on Java's Northeast Coast at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it naturally developed as a colonial port town with civic and religious institutions more or less similar to those in Batavia. The institutions included a formally elected and government-approved consistory and the permanent presence of a Protestant minister. The presence of a permanent minister helped to form a stable colonial society. The consistory was to play a role in regulating and educating society in the mid-eighteenth century. In the first half century there were only a series of visiting ministers sent to the Company settlements on Java. Sometimes the interval between one minister's visit and the next was quite long for various reasons.

The irregular presence of ministers in Java's Northeast Coast mitigated by the more or less constant presence of pastoral workers of lower rank, known as *ziekentroosters*. A *ziekentrooster* could lead Sunday services, make pastoral visits and teach confirmation classes. When a visiting minister came he would perform services, make pastoral visits and examine those who had completed confirmation class as requirement for becoming a member of the Reformed church.

*Ziekentroosters* living in the Company outposts in Java preceded the arrival of army chaplains or visiting ministers. The town of Jepara was the primary station of the *ziekentroosters*.

Sending *ziekentroosters* to Jepara under the supervision of the consistory in Batavia was a common practice. The appointment of ministers and *ziekentroosters* in other settlements, such as Banda, Ambon and other places in Asia, was always carried out by the High Government and the Reformed church in Batavia.

Jepara was the Company's major town in Java's Northeast Coast in the late seventeenth century. In September 1686 a few years before Surapati's War, there were 503 Europeans, comprised of 426 soldiers and seventy-seven sailors and artisans, stationed in Jepara along with 360 *inlanders* soldiers, who were comprised of fifty-nine *Mardijkers*, ninety-two *Makasars*, 148 Balinese and sixty-one Malays.<sup>2</sup> This number grew significantly towards the end of the century. In September 1688,

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<sup>1</sup> *Generale Missiven* XI: 1743-1750, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Generale Missiven* V, p. 146.

there were already 661 European soldiers, 170 sailors and artisans and no less than 400 native soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Those figures grew to 998 Europeans and 303 natives by 1691.<sup>4</sup>

The oldest records relating to the dispatch of *ziekentroosters* to Jepara date to 1679. On May 8, 1679 the Company planned to send three or four *ziekentroosters* to Jepara.<sup>5</sup> Dirck Been and Francoijs Marinel were commissioned to go to Jepara in 1682.<sup>6</sup> Been returned to Batavia after three years in Jepara and asked to be returned to the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup>

From a manpower point of view sending more than two *ziekentroosters* to Jepara at that time was quite generous. In 1680 a place like Onrust ought to be satisfied with only one *ziekentrooster*.<sup>8</sup> In the more populated Christian area of Ambon in 1683, there were six *ziekentroosters* accompanying four ministers.<sup>9</sup> In Banda in the same period there were three ministers, five *ziekentroosters* and seven schoolmasters.<sup>10</sup> By the end of seventeenth century, there were thousands of Company servants living in Ambon and Banda and also thousands of native Christians, whereas on Java the Company had at most some 800 persons in Jepara accompanied by two European *ziekentroosters*.<sup>11</sup>

At the Batavia consistory meeting of August 20, 1691 *ziekentrooster* Cornelis Pennewaart requested to be repatriated, having completed his term in Jepara. The consistory decided that Jacobus van Dijk would be sent to Jepara to replace C. Pennewaart.<sup>12</sup> Direct replacement was the government's typical policy, since providing pastoral care and religious education was important to the Christian government. As early as the late seventeenth century Java, a growing number of Christians, especially local Christians, had growing needs. The Company, as acting the Dutch Christian government in Asia, had to see to those needs.

In 1744 the Company sent a *ziekentrooster* to Kartasura, which was the court of the Susuhunan,<sup>13</sup> since several hundred Company servants and soldiers were stationed in the town. It was expected that *ziekentroosters* from the Netherlands would learn Malay,<sup>14</sup> in anticipation of the growing number of local Christians. The Company never had an excess of *ziekentroosters*. The number of *ziekentrooster* must have been a limited, yet sufficient to replace those who were repatriated. In that way the Company took full responsibility for maintaining the well being of its employees.

<sup>3</sup> *Generale Missiven V*, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Generale Missiven V*, p. 423-424.

<sup>5</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 419.

<sup>6</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 526.

<sup>8</sup> *Generale Missiven IV*, p. 421.

<sup>9</sup> *Generale Missiven IV*, p. 501.

<sup>10</sup> *Generale Missiven IV*, p. 506.

<sup>11</sup> Knaap, G., *Kruidnagelen en Christenen – de VOC en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*, chapters 4 & 5; *Generale Missiven V*, p. 708, Jepara in 1694.

<sup>12</sup> Mooij, *Bouwstoffen III*, p. 848.

<sup>13</sup> *Generale Missiven XI*, p. 192.

<sup>14</sup> *Generale Missiven XI*, p. 195.



*Ziekentroosters in Java's Northeast Coast's towns*

'In the old days in the Netherlands, particularly in big cities, the *ziekentrooster* was a well-known office....They were helpers, who visited sick people and prisoners, stood by persons condemned to death, wrote last wills, etc....

On the ships they led daily prayers and read sermons on Sundays, and did not to forget to visit the sick and the dying to assist them spiritually. Their services in any case were indispensable on the ships.... And in the Indies, when there was still a shortage of ministers in the early years, numbers of *ziekentroosters* for short or long periods of time worked among the Company personnel on land'.<sup>15</sup>

When the first permanent minister of Semarang arrived in Java's Northeast Coast, the number of *ziekentroosters* was small. In 1754 there was only one in Semarang along with two *inlandschen leermeesters* (native schoolmasters). The consistory of Semarang in 1754 submitted a request to the High Government in Batavia for a second European *ziekentrooster*, two more *inlandsche leermeesters* for Semarang and *ziekentroosters* for Surakarta and Yogyakarta.<sup>16</sup>

In the Company's list of personnel for 1755 there were eight listings for *ziekentroosters*. The towns of Semarang, Yogyakarta, Tegal, Jepara, Rembang, Gresik, Surabaya and Pasuruan each had their own *ziekentrooster*.<sup>17</sup> From 1755 onward these eight towns would always be assigned a *ziekentrooster*. Jepara, as the former main office of Company in Java's Northeast Coast, previously enjoyed the presence of two *ziekentroosters* several of decades earlier. The town lost prominence when the town of Semarang replaced it as the seat of Java's Northeast Coast's government.

As for the other towns, little is known about the presence of *ziekentroosters* before the 1750s. In the late seventeenth century only six towns always had *ziekentroosters*: Tegal, Jepara, Rembang, Semarang, Surabaya and Demak. Two other towns, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, became important in the second half of the eighteenth century after the partition of Mataram, and were therefore entitled to their own *ziekentroosters*.

The letter of Swemmelaar quoted in the previous chapter gave a detailed picture of the numbers and disposition of *ziekentroosters* in Java's Northeast Coast in 1756.<sup>18</sup> He classified towns in Java's Northeast Coast into four groups. The first group included Semarang, where there was one Dutch *ziekentrooster*. The second group, which he called the northwestern part, was comprised of the towns of Pekalongan and Tegal. The distance from Semarang to Tegal is about fifty-five kilometers. Pekalongan had a small number of Christians, and so had no *ziekentrooster*. In Tegal, however, lived more than hundred Christians, and the *resident*, Carel Gustaaf

<sup>15</sup> Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indie*, p. 199 (translated from Dutch by YS).

<sup>16</sup> VOC 2886, fol. 62-63.

<sup>17</sup> Van der Chijs (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, VII (1755-1764)*, p. 385: [May 9, / June 5, 1755] 'Nadere maatregelen tot menage bij Compagnie's huishouding in Indië.'

<sup>18</sup> Niemeijer, *Documentatieblad*, p. 64-66.

Falck, built a new stone church for the town with his own money. The Company assigned to this town one Dutch *ziekentrooster* who also supervised twenty children at its school.

The third group was called the northeastern part, about 110 kilometers to the east of Semarang. It was the biggest group and was comprised of nine towns. It was no wonder that later some of these towns were formed into a new administrative grouping called Oosthoek. Small towns such as Kuala Demak, Juwana, Bangkalan and Sumenep, all with only a small number of Company servants, were not entitled to a *ziekentrooster*. The five larger towns – Jepara, Rembang, Gresik, Surabaya and Pasuruan – each had one *ziekentrooster*. As in Tegal, the *ziekentroosters* also taught the children.

The fourth group was located south of Semarang and was known as *Bovenlanden*. It took at least twenty-eight hours by foot or on horseback to reach these places. In the mid-eighteenth century there were only two towns in this group: Solo (Surakarta) and Mataram (Yogyakarta). Both were the courts of Javanese kings. The Company stationed a substantial number of soldiers in both towns and each town had a *ziekentrooster*. When Swemmelaar wrote his letter, the Treaty of Giyanti was only a year old. He had come up with a number for the Company's people living there: 891. They must have been mostly soldiers and their families.<sup>19</sup>

In 1756 some towns with of a certain size benefitted from a *ziekentrooster*. In those towns one also found schools for the children of Company servants. In the following years, those towns (Semarang, Tegal, Jepara, Rembang, Gresik, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Surakarta and Yogyakarta) were places where the Company regularly sent *ziekentroosters*.

Why did the Company only send *ziekentroosters* to certain towns? One possible explanation was the limited supply of *ziekentroosters* and the size of the local population. At a certain point Semarang itself recruited its own *ziekentrooster*. By then the Java's Northeast Coast was no longer totally dependent on the Netherlands or Batavia; nevertheless there were still some towns in Java's Northeast Coast that had to live without any *ziekentroosters*.

An appointment as a *ziekentrooster* was not necessarily a life-long job. Some *ziekentroosters* were not content with their jobs or wished for promotion to 'better' jobs. Frans Rostaart became an assistant and was sent to Pekalongan.<sup>20</sup> According to the Company's household regulations in 1755, Rostaart would have received less income as an assistant in Pekalongan ('only' f 20 a month), since as a *ziekentrooster* in Semarang he was already earning f 30 a month. However in Pekalongan he was second only to the *resident* of Pekalongan, who was an *ondercoopman*. He reached a higher rank than before. In other towns, with the exception of Semarang, *ziekentroosters* normally earned f 20 a month.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Niemeijer, *Documentatieblad*, p. 66.

<sup>20</sup> VOC 2968, fol. 7-8.

<sup>21</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, VII (1755-64)*: [May 9/June 5, 1755], 'Nadere maatregelen tot menage bij Compagnie's huishouding in Indie', we could see that in Semarang (p. 37), Pekalongan (p. 42), Tegal and Jepara (p. 42-43) and Pasuruan (p. 46). See Table 3: Monthly Company personnel salaries.

Table 3: Monthly Company personnel salaries

Semarang	salary	Pekalongan	Salary	Tegal / Jepara	Salary	Pasuruan	Salary
Governor	f 200	Resident	f 30			Captain	f 80
Minister	f 100	Assistant	f 20			Assistant	f 24
Zieken- trooster	f 30	Sergeant	f 24	Zieken- trooster	f 20	Zieken- trooster	f 20
Verger	f 24						
Secondary- schoolmaster	f 20						

It seems that assistant was the highest possible rank that a former *ziekentrooster* could attain; the highest rank at Company outposts was exclusively held by either a military officer or by a merchant. In Pekalongan the highest ranking Company officer was the *resident*. In Pasuruan, for example, it was a captain. Both had an assistant as their second-in-command. Later it was possible to receive a ‘promotion’ to assistant in Semarang as well. Hermanus Janssen was promoted in 1785 to assistant in Semarang.<sup>22</sup>

There was also a form of ‘promotion’ to the position of a *ziekentrooster* for people ‘below’ that rank. A number of soldiers became *ziekentroosters* in 1758, including Pieter Roos, Hendrik Berkhousen and Adrianus Maatwijk.<sup>23</sup> The minister of Semarang, accompanied by an elder or a deacon, tested the capability of the candidates. After successful candidates passed the examination, the minister made a report to the consistory. The consistory needed approval from the Governor and the Political Council before appointing new *ziekentroosters*. As in the case of ministers, the salaries of *ziekentroosters* were paid by the Company.<sup>24</sup>

Newly appointed *ziekentroosters* were sent to their new posts and their predecessors reassigned. Petrus van Meten in Gresik moved to Batavia, Carel Cousijn in Surakarta moved to Gresik, Hendrik Berkhousen was to fill the post in Surakarta, Ernestus Copen in Tegal moved to Pasuruan and new *ziekentroosters* Pieter Roos and Adrianus Maatwijk were sent to Tegal and Mataram respectively.<sup>25</sup> This could only have happened if there was a real need for a substantial number of *ziekentroosters*, which apparently was the case. Unlike a minister, who needed years of higher learning at university and approval from churches and directors in the Netherlands, the Company and church in Semarang could find and appoint a *ziekentrooster* as they saw fit.

Not only might a soldier become a *ziekentrooster*, it was also possible for a sailor to do so. Sailor Willem de Wilde became a *ziekentrooster* in Surakarta in 1759.<sup>26</sup> The ‘promotion’ of soldiers and sailors to *ziekentroosters* happened quite regularly in Semarang. A soldier like Fredrik Stramfer from Hertogenbosch became a *ziekentrooster* in 1779, after a successful examination. After he accepted the appointment he received a salary of f 20 a month and was bound to a contract for

<sup>22</sup> VOC 3703, March 20, 1785, § 41; VOC 3736, fol. 5-6.

<sup>23</sup> VOC 2968, March 31, 1758; ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 62.

<sup>24</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, VII (1755-1764)*, p. 385: [February 5, 1760].

<sup>25</sup> VOC 2968, April 10, 1758; ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 71-72.

<sup>26</sup> VOC 2968, April 24, 1759.

five years.<sup>27</sup> Dragoner Jan de Vries van Harlingen also became *ziekentrooster* in 1780 or 1781.<sup>28</sup> Another soldier, Georg Pries from Chur - Graubünden (Switzerland) was appointed as a *ziekentrooster* almost ten years later, in 1789, at the same salary, *f*20 a month, and for the same contractual duration, five years.<sup>29</sup>

The salary for a *ziekentrooster* in Java's Northeast Coast was stable over the years. It stood at *f*20 a month in 1755 and almost thirty-five years later it was the same. De Niet says that in the Netherlands the salaries of *ziekentroosters* in the eighteenth century varied from *f* 300 to *f* 800 a year, which reflected the cost of living in different cities. The highest salaries were paid to *ziekentroosters* in Amsterdam, who needed to pay amounting to almost half of their salaries for rent.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately there is no information regarding the cost of renting a house for *ziekentroosters* in Java's Northeast Coast. With an income (*f* 240 - 260 a year) almost the same as their colleagues in Leiden (*f* 300), their rent must have been lower than their peers in the Netherlands, or perhaps comparable to those in Leiden, who lived in the church or in the Company housing.<sup>31</sup> Their salaries (*f*20 a month) were already twice that of a common soldier, who earned *f*9 a month. In this sense becoming a *ziekentrooster* in Java was an improvement socially as well as economically.

Not every soldier who wanted to be a *ziekentrooster* was able to pass the exam.<sup>32</sup> But when a soldier succeeded, as did Fredrik Stramfer, he received a salary of *f*20 a month and a contract for five years as a *ziekentrooster*, according regulations.<sup>33</sup>

The initiative to become a *ziekentrooster* usually came from the applicant himself. Soldier Georg Pries asked the consistory to examine him to become a *ziekentrooster*.<sup>34</sup> After he was found to be a suitable candidate, the consistory sent a request to the Political Council for approval.<sup>35</sup> The whole process from the request of the aspirant to the examination and finally the request of the consistory to the Political Council for approval could be very swift. Pries sent his request in early May 1789, and by early June 1789 the consistory had already asked the government to approve of his appointment. Although sources do not tell the whole story as to how the system worked, it is safe to assume that there were always enough assignments for new *ziekentroosters*. The appointment process was indeed fast, more or less a month. Aspirants must have known when there were openings for new *ziekentroosters*.

Once they were accepted, new *ziekentroosters* were expected to act and behave in a Christian manner, since they were basically helped the church in its role to maintain and educate society to abide by decent Christian standards. If they fell short of these expectations the consistory was in charge of handling the situation.

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<sup>27</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 6-7.

<sup>28</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 171.

<sup>29</sup> VOC 3909, fol. 61-62.

<sup>30</sup> De Niet, *Ziekentroosters op de pastoral markt, 1550-1880*, p. 123.

<sup>31</sup> De Niet, *Ziekentroosters*, p. 66.

<sup>32</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 134.

<sup>33</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 138.

<sup>34</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 124.

<sup>35</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 125.

The poor behavior of Jan de Vries in Banyuwangi was reported to the consistory. He was considered no longer suitable to serve as a *ziekentrooster*. It was decided that De Vries be sent to Surabaya as a common soldier.<sup>36</sup> This was certainly a demotion. Punishment could even be harsher, as happened with Simon Hendrik Berkuijsen, the *ziekentrooster* in Surabaya: his salary was brought to a halt and he was dismissed.<sup>37</sup>

A letter came from Political Council of Surabaya to the consistory in Semarang concerning the poor behavior of another *ziekentrooster*, Stramfer. The letter says that Stramfer was about to be sent back to Semarang,<sup>38</sup> indicating that the consistory in Semarang was responsible for troublesome *ziekentroosters*. The *ziekentrooster* in question would be sent back to the consistory in Semarang for further inquiries pending a final decision.

Demotion was not the only solution available. Van Ginkel was summoned due to his poor behavior; the consistory warned him to keep away from drinking.<sup>39</sup> If the warning was not taken seriously, it said, Van Ginkel would be demoted to sailor and repatriated to the Netherlands.<sup>40</sup>

Disciplinary action against *ziekentroosters* was more frequent in Java's Northeast Coast in the late eighteenth century than in the Netherlands, as the study of De Niet has shown. In most cases from the period, disciplinary action was not taken for educational or theological concerns but for disciplinary issues.<sup>41</sup>

It was quite common both in the Netherlands and in its overseas settlements for *ziekentroosters* to have additional part-time jobs. Perhaps the most prestigious part-time job a *ziekentrooster* could have in Java's Northeast Coast was an appointment as schoolmaster at the Maritime School in Semarang. In 1785 the consistory received a letter from the Curator of the Maritime School stating that Casparus Johannes Zeijlmans van Zelms (or van Selms), after being examined, could continue his work as the second schoolmaster at the Maritime School, and he would receive an additional *rd* 20 a month from the school's treasury.<sup>42</sup> A part-time job generated extra income to a *ziekentrooster* on top of his basic salary from the Company.

Frederik de Vreede was seen as a suitable schoolmaster for the Maritime School of Semarang, where he taught the youth about Christian norms and values. He was appointed to teach there while still giving lessons at the orphans' and poor children's school, which must have been his previous part-time job. He also had yet another job as a *koster* in the Church,<sup>43</sup> and a regular job visiting the sick in the hospital and praying for them. It was decided by the consistory to find a replacement

<sup>36</sup> VOC 3736, fol. 123-124, ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 13: In 1781 De Vries was promoted from *dragoon* to *ziekentrooster* and was stationed in Banyuwangi in 1783. In 1784 he became a soldier again.

<sup>37</sup> VOC 3736, August 19, 1786, § 217; VOC 3736, fol. 302-303; It was not certain whether this *ziekentrooster* was the same person with the one in Surakarta (in 1758).

<sup>38</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 186.

<sup>39</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 91.

<sup>40</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 118.

<sup>41</sup> De Niet, *Ziekentroosters*, p. 59-62.

<sup>42</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 40-41.

<sup>43</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 115, *koster* since 1778, replacing the former *koster* and *inlands leermeester* Pieter Nandiza.

for him at the orphans' and poor children's school. The replacement was Johannes van Ginkel.<sup>44</sup>

In Java, as in other places, most of the *ziekentroosters* had many functions. Frequently, a *ziekentrooster* also worked as a schoolmaster. It was not only the case in smaller towns but also in Semarang. Jan Valentijn, was also a reader in the church and a schoolmaster in Semarang. He died in 1765 when there were more than 100 children in school in the town. This could only mean that the death of Valentijn was a great loss.

At the same time, newly arrived Cornelis Commers asked the Political Council of Semarang to take over Valentijn's job as a reader at the church and as a schoolmaster for the children in the town. He was allowed to take over the job as long as he could still perform his main duty, visiting and praying for the sick in the Company's hospital. This also meant he would be entitled to the salary and emolument that Valentijn received as a reader and a schoolmaster.<sup>45</sup>

Two year later, on October 26, 1767, Elder Marchant brought to the consistory's attention the actions of the *ziekentrooster* Commers, '*... int 'opschrijven der christenen, ongeschickte en inobediente termen gebruikt had, die sijn Eds. en andere seer gestoten hadde,...*'. The consistory decided to summon Commers to its next meeting.<sup>46</sup> At that meeting on Nov. 9, 1767, he was ordered to act *omsigtiger* (decently).<sup>47</sup> A *ziekentrooster* was expected to act according to his status as a Company servant and at the same time as a church worker. Commers was told to prove that he could be a good example in a proper manner and obedient to authority, since the complaint was about his improper (*ongeschickte*) and disobedient (*inobediente*) statements.

In 1768 C. Rijter, after having passed examination by the minister, was sent to Sumenep on Madura as a temporary posting.<sup>48</sup> This was the first time Sumenep hosted a *ziekentrooster*. Similar to Bangkalan, the other Company office on Madura, Sumenep was long considered too small to have church personnel of its own. Eight years later, Sumenep still had its own *ziekentrooster*: Johannes Reinier, a former *ziekentrooster* from Semarang.<sup>49</sup>

Beems was ordered in 1788 to move to Jepara or Solo (Surakarta) to work for the schools there.<sup>50</sup> Two months later, the *buitenregent* of the school filled a complaint with the consistory about Beems, stating he punished the local schoolchildren too severely. Beems was summoned to Semarang by the consistory and was warned.<sup>51</sup> As in the Netherlands the consistory in Semarang was responsible for supervising schools and the schoolmasters, and, as noted above, some of the schoolmasters were also *ziekentroosters*. In 1791 Ruijsenaar replaced Beems as the

<sup>44</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 88.

<sup>45</sup> VOC 3185, December 2, 1765.

<sup>46</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 288.

<sup>47</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 289.

<sup>48</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 302.

<sup>49</sup> VOC 3468, December 30, 1775.

<sup>50</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 110.

<sup>51</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 112.

first schoolmaster and reader in the church.<sup>52</sup> Beems's last posting was to Semarang, where he passed away in 1791.

Another common part-time job for a *ziekentrooster* was work as a *koster*. Pieter Reuse was appointed in 1792 to succeed the late *koster* Bernardus Gulings.<sup>53</sup>

These additional jobs show that *ziekentroosters*, who were commissioned primarily to work in the Company's hospitals, might have worked at other institutions with the permission of the Company and the consistory. In some cases they were appointed to certain positions; for example De Wilde was specifically ordered to work in the orphanage.<sup>54</sup> The consistory made the decisions concerning the work that was to be performed by a particular *ziekentrooster*, and then reported its decision to the government for approval, since the salary of every *ziekentrooster* was paid by the Company. They were indeed the Company's men.

*Ziekentroosters* and the town school in Semarang were in one way or another connected, just as they were in other towns in Java's Northeast Coast. There were three main duties that had to be fulfilled by a *ziekentrooster*: 1) visiting the sick in their homes, 2) serving as a catechist master to help the minister and 3) visiting the sick in town-owned institutions, such as hospitals and poorhouses.<sup>55</sup> All *ziekentroosters* working in the Company's hospital in Semarang were paid by the Company. When some of them took over responsibility for other functions, either in the church or in society, they received an increased salary from the deaconry as long as the services were performed. All of these arrangements were known to and approved by the government of Semarang. Did this mean that the *ziekentroosters* in general had enough time to do more than one 'job'? Or was this the only solution that the government and the church could find due to limited availability of qualified men?

In 1770 the school in Semarang was hit by two deaths in a row: the death of reader Jacob Lequin, who was an able master for the education of children in the poorhouse, and the death of native schoolmaster David Florisz. Replacements were in demand. Here *ziekentroosters* came into the picture. The consistory made a provisional decision in April 1770 concerning the death of Lequin by appointing Adrianus Maatwijk as schoolmaster, and Pieter Boelhouder as a reader and the temporary caretaker of the services in the town hospital.<sup>56</sup> Upon the death of Lequin the jobs that he used to perform single-handedly were divided between two *ziekentroosters*.

The consistory decided in early 1771 to dismiss a Malay *ziekentrooster*, Simon Carels, from office.<sup>57</sup> No reasons were given. This decision left the poorhouse school without an *inlandsche* schoolmaster. Perhaps the school itself was no longer in need of an *inlandsche* schoolmaster. Simon Carels was a *geadjungeert maleits krankbesoeker*, meaning he was only an aide to help the school or church (maybe as a catechist master) for a short time.

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<sup>52</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 150.

<sup>53</sup> ANRI Kerk 599, fol. 28.

<sup>54</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 303.

<sup>55</sup> De Niet, *Ziekentroosters*, p. 187.

<sup>56</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 9.

<sup>57</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 13.

Another unfortunate event was the death of Pieter Boelhouder within two years of his arrival, in December 1770. His last positions were as the head schoolmaster of the orphan house and as a reader in the church. He was replaced by Francois van Geugten, who from then on would be paid an additional *rd* 20 a month from the deaconry as a schoolmaster.<sup>58</sup> There was no other school in Semarang; the poorhouse school was apparently the only one. It served as the public school for all other children as well. One person working simultaneously as a schoolmaster and a reader was not unique; it was usual in the Netherlands.<sup>59</sup> More importantly schoolmaster appointments were always the shared responsibility of the government and the consistory. *Ziekentroosters* who had basic reading, writing and arithmetic skills were simply the best candidates for schoolmaster positions.

In 1774 Jan Knegt arrived in Semarang and took over from Van Geugten as second schoolmaster.<sup>60</sup> Van Geugten himself became first schoolmaster replacing Boelhouder. The high mortality rate for Company servants was a route to promotion for other servants.

After working for about ten years in Semarang, Francois van Geugten died. His last post was as head schoolmaster in the poorhouse school (also known as the orphans' and poor children's school). He was succeeded by Fredrik de Vreede, formerly second schoolmaster and reader in the church. De Vreede assumed the position after the previous incumbent Jan Knegt died several years earlier. A recent arrival from Batavia, Casparus Johannes Zeijlmans van Selms, took over De Vreede's position as the second schoolmaster.<sup>61</sup> This was a pattern: newcomers to town filled a vacancy left by a senior employees who were promoted to a relatively higher posts. In other words, there was an order of succession among the *ziekentroosters* with regard to teaching positions in Semarang.

Table 4: First and second schoolmasters in Semarang, c. 1765 –1784

Year	Head / First schoolmaster	Year	Second schoolmaster
17*-1765	Jan Valentijn	-	
1765-17**	Cornelis Comners	-	
17*-1770	Jacob Lequin	-	
1770-17**	Adrianus Maarkwijk	-	
17*-1773	Pieter Boelhouder	17*-1773	Francois van Geugten
1773-1784	Francois van Geugten	1774-17**	Jan Knegh
-		17*-1784	Fredrik de Vreede <sup>62</sup>
1784-17**	Fredrik de Vreede	1784-17**	Casparus J.Z. van Selms

Sickness and death were the two main disruptions to the work and lives of the *predikanten* and the *ziekentroosters*. In a period of approximately twenty years, the position of schoolmaster was held by nine *ziekentroosters*. The schoolmaster

<sup>58</sup> VOC 3388, fol. 27.

<sup>59</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpsamenleving*, p. 164.

<sup>60</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 48.

<sup>61</sup> VOC 3703, fol. 26; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 31.

<sup>62</sup> Moree, 'Predikanten en ziekentroosters aan boord van Rotterdamse oost-Indievaarders,' in Van der Heijden and Van de Laar, *Rotterdamers en de VOC – Handelscompagnie, stad en burgers (1600-1800)*, p. 178, reported that two *ziekentroosters* had worked and died in Semarang: Joost Verschuer who worked from 1712-1719 died on May 26, 1719, and Fredrik de Vreede who worked from 1770-1801 died on May 6, 1801.



position provided relatively good money: *rd* 16 to 20 a month, in addition to the normal salary of a *ziekentrooster*. They were replaced when they died; this was bad news for their families.

Death brought not only misery to surviving family members, but it had social effects as well. After Lequin died in 1770 his family lost its only source of income. Lequin's widow asked the deaconry for alimentionation, which was granted.<sup>63</sup> In the Netherlands the widow of a *ziekentrooster* could receive the salary of her husband for three to six months after his death.<sup>64</sup> The situation was different in the Indies, which had many deaths that came at a fast a pace and had many personnel who came and went in a relatively short period of time.

The death of a breadwinner was one of the causes of poverty in the Dutch settlements of Java's Northeast Coast. Deaconry assistance was the only hope for the middle-income families of *ziekentroosters* or the low-income families of soldiers, sailors and workers in artisan shops. The deaconry in Semarang could only grant alimentionation to poor members of the Reformed church.

In the Political Council meeting of December 6, 1770, a shortage of materials suffered by the *ziekentroosters* in the *buiten comptoiren* came to the attention of the members. The *ziekentroosters* were in need of more books to instruct their congregations, including sermon guides, the *catechismus* and the books of Theodorus van der Kemp (1686-1762), Frederich Adolph Lampe (1683-1729) and books of other famous theologians and preachers from the Netherlands.<sup>65</sup>

In this meeting it was also decided that, when they were performing their duty during Sunday worship the *ziekentroosters* should follow the liturgical form that was created by a minister in Semarang.<sup>66</sup> In the absence of a minister, an approved liturgy was a way for the minister in Semarang to reach out to the Christians in Java's Northeast Coast outposts. As in other places in the East Indies, the *ziekentroosters* or schoolmasters regularly led Sunday services. Churches were alive and well.

As for literature, *ziekentroosters* were dependent on religious books, since they themselves had not received any theological training and were not installed in their offices, as ministers were. Therefore they were not allowed to administer the sacraments and were forbidden to preach or to say prayers of their own. Books and formularies of well-known theologians or preachers were available to help them perform their duties.

The aforementioned liturgical forms were divided into eight parts. The first part was the reading of the Ten Commandments (*de wet des Heeren*). The second part was the reading of the Apostle's Creed. Then there followed a reading from the Bible. In the fourth part, a psalm was sung to God's glory. The fifth part was a prayer session, in which the congregation thanked God for His blessings and kindness and also begged for His forgiveness. This part was prepared with a complete text so that the *ziekentrooster* could read the whole prayer. The prayer part ended with the Lord's Prayer (*Onze Vader*). The sixth part was a second reading

<sup>63</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 9.

<sup>64</sup> De Niet, *Ziekentroosters*, p. 66.

<sup>65</sup> VOC 3362, fol. 31-32.

<sup>66</sup> VOC 3362, fol. 33-38; for full text in Dutch see Appendix A.

from the Bible, which was then followed by an explanation of God's words in the seventh part. Here the *ziekentroosters* read a ready-made sermon. As an integral part of the seventh part, one could find a long prayer of intercession. Finally the congregation was admonished to give alms to the poor. The service then concluded with a blessing.

In 1777 the towns of Gresik, Pasuruan, Banyuwangi, Pekalongan and Juwana still had no *ziekentroosters*. Therefore the consistory asked Batavia to send at least five more *ziekentroosters* to Java's Northeast Coast. It argued that this would be a great help in providing proper work to the poor, and for performing public educational and religious activities.<sup>67</sup> Despite these and other attempts made by Semarang's consistory, these towns did not enjoy any assistance from *ziekentroosters* during the Company's time in Java.

Why did the consistory try to get more *ziekentroosters*? Did the presence of *ziekentroosters* make any difference for those in the towns? An evaluation of *ziekentroosters* made at the Political Council meeting in March 1778 might provide information regarding the presence of *ziekentroosters* in the *buiten comptoiren*. As mentioned above, *ziekentroosters* were required to lead regular church activities in the absence of a minister.

The reports read as follows. Between October 5, 1777 and February 22, 1778 in Yogyakarta there were thirteen Sunday services and ten Sundays without services, which meant that for almost half of the twenty-three Sundays of the period there were no services.<sup>68</sup> In Rembang between September 28, 1777 and February 22, 1778 there were only ten services, i.e., more than the half of the time there were no services offered.<sup>69</sup> In Tegal, during the final month of the periode, Sundays services took place consistently each week.<sup>70</sup> Sunday service were lacking in towns with as well as without *ziekentroosters*.

These reports followed up correspondence between the consistory and the Political Council in 1777.<sup>71</sup> The Political Council found that the *armgelden* (money for the poor) collection of the *buiten comptoiren* was insufficient, therefore the council ordered chiefs and residents to perform Sunday and holiday services more regularly.<sup>72</sup> If they neglected this order without good reason, the consequence would be to pay a fine to the *armgelden*. *Arm gelden*, collected from Christians in all settlements, was a source of funds for the deaconry's work. The consistory in Semarang asked *ziekentroosters* in the *buiten comptoiren* to report on the collection of *armgelden* and on the progress of public religious services in towns. If the *ziekentroosters* neglected their duty they might be demoted.

Sunday worship or public religious services were the only gathering of the Christians in those places. In the Netherlands and in the Moluccas at least once a

<sup>67</sup> VOC 3497, December 22, 1777.

<sup>68</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 10-11.

<sup>69</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 14.

<sup>70</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 16.

<sup>71</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 97-98

<sup>72</sup> Money gathered for the poor paid from *armgelden*. *Arm gelden* was also used by the deaconry to pay other necessities, such as salaries for schoolmasters, etc. Therefore, it was crucial to have a sufficient and steady income for *armgelden*, to maintain all activities of both the deaconry and the town's relief for the poor.

week in the evening people held a service or a simple gathering to pray and sing. Unfortunately, we lack a complete picture of the situation in other subaltern towns. The report of 1778 focused only on three towns: Yogyakarta, Rembang and Tegal. All three had their own *ziekentroosters*, but only Tegal had a ‘proper’ church building. Was there any difference if people went to the church or to the barracks or to another Company building on Sunday for worship? There is no definitive answer to this question. As far as the three towns were concerned, Tegal by far had the highest church attendance. Did the absence of *ziekentroosters* in the other two towns play any role at all in church attendance? It might have been so; that would indicate a sad condition for Christians in the respective towns.

In 1785 the government in Semarang came to the conclusion that Rembang, Pekalongan, Juwana, Gresik and Sumenep would not be given their own *ziekentroosters*. It was decided that the assistants or bookkeepers in the towns would perform public religious activities instead.<sup>73</sup> This decision changed nothing; since for quite a long time the assistants or bookkeepers were more or less already on the ‘job’. Moreover the Reformed church applied the principle of *het ambt van alle gelovigen* (the priesthood of all believers), which meant that any Reformed church member could lead worship in case no minister or *ziekentrooster* was available. It meant that in Rembang and in other towns Sunday church meetings were led by laymen.

In Java’s Northeast Coast, there were still a small number of *inlandsche ziekentroosters*. Sources indicate that at least two worked in Semarang. One mentioned in the minutes of consistory was David Florisz; the other, Simon Carels, was mentioned in a Company source. From their names it was quite possible that Carels and Florisz were Eurasians with Malay-speaking mothers.

As an *inlandsche ziekentrooster*, David Florisz, was in 1757 forbidden to enter the Malay quarter of Semarang without written permission from the governor.<sup>74</sup> There is no further information on how long this restriction lasted. The Malay quarter at that time was situated on the west bank of the Semarang River. That part of Semarang was probably outside the Company-ruled area, therefore Florisz must have needed some kind of pass to travel there. It was unknown for what reason Florisz needed to go to the Malay quarter. It might have been to perform his job as a catechist master to the locals.

In 1761 another restriction affected every European and *inlandsche* Christian. They were not permitted without written permission or a pass from the governor to leave the forts or their homes.<sup>75</sup> Java was relatively at peace in the second part of eighteenth century, but contact between Company personnel and people outside the Company’s compound was somewhat restricted. The restriction might have been a way for the government to reduce the potential for conflict between the Company’s men and local people living in the surrounding settlements.

David Florisz passed away in the middle of 1770. Simon Carels succeeded him as an *inlandsche* school master. Carels was the last known *inlandsche*

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<sup>73</sup> VOC 3736, fol. 5-6.

<sup>74</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 59.

<sup>75</sup> VOC 3027, April 29, 1761.

*ziekentrooster* and schoolmaster in Semarang; after he was dismissed no new *inlandsche* schoolmaster succeeded him.<sup>76</sup>

Did a *ziekentrooster* function only as a person who sustained basic town life by rendering public religious and educational services? Or were they also agents of change who educated children to live in two worlds: the Javanese world – which was close in distance, yet somewhat forbidden – and the European world – which was farther, yet well known?

The answer to the first question is self-evident. They filled the needs left unfulfilled when ministers were absent. Normally they performed their jobs well. One can find reports and complaints of the poor behavior and other shortcomings of the *ziekentroosters*, as shown above. But one cannot throw the whole basket away because of a handful of bad apples.

A lack of data makes it difficult to ascertain precisely how they performed their other duties, for example how they educated children in remote and isolated areas. People who lived in those outposts were surrounded by the Javanese and Islamic worlds, with which they tried to avoid any cultural contact or dialogue. Nevertheless the children learned basic things such as reading, writing, some arithmetic and some basic articles of Christian faith at school.

Children in Semarang had to learn Dutch. It was imperative for the children to learn and the schoolmasters in town to teach the language. The same thing applied to subaltern towns as well. The children were raised to become part of colonial society; hence it was crucial that Dutch be their primary language. This might be not the case in some other Company settlements, but as most of the children in school were baptized and had Christian parents, it was necessary, at least in Semarang, for children to learn Dutch. With that language they entered the world of Christendom (and not Islam), and they would take after their Western parent instead of their indigenous one. Over time this would contribute a substantial number of Dutch speaking town-dwellers in the colonial town Semarang until the end of the colonial period in the mid-twentieth century.

Most *ziekentroosters* were Europeans, whether they were sent by churches in the Netherlands or promoted from the ranks of common soldiers or sailors into the job. Either way the job was filled by members of the working class who were lucky to be able to read and write, and were considered to have shown exemplary behavior.

It was very unlikely that most of them could produce a piece of creative writing as could university graduates such as the ministers, who wrote sermons. Their ability to read and to write and also their ability to teach basic Christian religious principles were their strongest qualification for the job and for some other side jobs as well.

As a Company servant a *ziekentrooster* was bound to five-year contract and further had to be prepared to move wherever the Company might send him. Some of them brought families; most were single. Some worked until sickness incapacitated them or death took their lives; a small number were troublesome and subsequently demoted or repatriated.

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<sup>76</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 13.

Between 1740 and 1799, the number of *ziekentroosters* was three to four times greater than the number of ministers sent to Asia by the Company.<sup>77</sup> While the churches in the East were dependent on ministers from the Netherlands, the situation was different for the *ziekentroosters*. Batavia, and even Semarang, could always find *ziekentroosters* on the spot.

#### *Ziekentroosters and catechism lessons*

No special catechist master was commissioned in Semarang. The children were educated by the schoolmaster, as was common practice in the Netherlands.<sup>78</sup> The presence of the poorhouse school in Semarang served two aims at once following the decision of the synod of Dort, 1618: to educate poor children to read and to write and to introduce them to Christian teachings and behavior. At a certain age they would start to learn the confirmation lesson, conducted by the schoolmaster.

Other aspirant members were instructed by the *ziekentroosters* in their towns. The sources mention nothing special about catechism materials. As far as we know there were no Javanese-language instructional materials in the late eighteenth century. The aspirant member either was instructed in Dutch, Portuguese or Malay, as in any VOC settlements. When there was a need the consistory could order a *ziekentrooster* in town to give catechism lessons to aspirants. Without the 'Dooopboek' of the church in Semarang, it is difficult to make a better assessment of the number and age of new members. But as visitation reports indicate, the ministers from time to time accepted new members into the church. It was not for nothing that the visiting minister had to spend several days in one place. Among other things, the minister examined aspirant members of the Reformed church. Further it was also true that most young people who were going to leave the poorhouse or orphanage had completed their catechism beforehand, as it was compulsory.

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<sup>77</sup> Van Lieburg, 'Het personeel van de Indische Kerk' in Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion*, p.

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<sup>78</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen*, p. 161. A Dutch minister was not a catechist master, but a schoolmaster was.



## CHAPTER SIX

### The Reformed Church in Java and its members

#### *The Company presence in Java's Northeast Coast province*

The Reformed Church was an integral part of the Company's presence in Java's Northeast Coast. How big were the port towns in Java's Northeast Coast during the second half of the eighteenth century? How large was the European presence? The answers to these questions are hard to come by. It is hard to assess the exact population of the towns in Java's Northeast Coast. One can only make a rough estimate of population of Company-controlled towns in the mid-eighteenth century.

Knaap says that '...in the 1770s... Semarang and Surabaya probably had 10,000 to 20,000 people, while the total number of inhabitants of the other ports must have been below 10,000.'<sup>1</sup> As far as the Company was concerned, its people must have comprised less than the half the total population. More than half, or even three-quarters of Knaap's estimated population, must have been local inhabitants. Company records for a town were only concerned with the number of Company people, and they generally lived apart from the indigenous' section (*kampoeng*). Therefore for most of the second half of eighteenth century there is only an incomplete demographic picture of Java's Northeast Coast's towns. Nevertheless this partial picture is still worth mentioning. In this study the second part of eighteenth century is of particular importance.

Table 5: Company servants in Java's Northeast Coast, 1754 - 1787

Year	Total personnel	Soldiers	Soldiers as percent of total
1754 <sup>2</sup>	2,691	1,204	44
1775 <sup>3</sup>	N/A	1,135	N/A
1778 <sup>4</sup>	1,798	1,037	57
1780 <sup>5</sup>	1,849	1,000	54
1784 <sup>6</sup>	1,886	895	47
1785 <sup>7</sup>	1,898	863	45
1786 <sup>8</sup>	2,079	933	44
1787 <sup>9</sup>	2,347	1,183	50

<sup>1</sup> Knaap, *Shallow Waters, Rising Tide*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> VOC, 2843, fol. 288-289.

<sup>3</sup> VOC, 3445, fol. 845.

<sup>4</sup> VOC, 3526, August 26, 1778.

<sup>5</sup> VOC, 3584, July 21, 1780, § 98.

<sup>6</sup> VOC, 3675, October 31, 1784, § 184.

<sup>7</sup> VOC, 3703, October 15, 1785, § 172.

<sup>8</sup> VOC, 3736, fol. 48-50.

<sup>9</sup> VOC, 3813, November 30, 1787, § 308.

The number of Company servants in 1754 was remarkably high in comparison to following years and would not be reached again in the next thirty years. Most importantly, nearly half (1,204) of the Company's 2,691 servants in 1754 were soldiers. This meant that the numbers reflected an interim situation. Soldiers were eventually moved elsewhere after the Company concluded military operations in Java's Northeast Coast, while most Company servants (non-combatant personnel) remained to conduct Company businesses. That explains the significant decrease in Company personnel in the 1770s and 1780s, related to the end of the Third Javanese War of Succession after the signing of Treaty of Giyanti in 1755. The partition of Mataram ended a series of Javanese wars and as a result fewer military personnel were needed.

Even in a time of peace, soldiers still comprised the largest group in the Company settlements in the 1770s and 1780s (Table 5). Military personnel comprised from forty to fifty percent of the total population of every Company settlement. As the situation became more stable, their number was decreased.

A report on Company military personnel dated March 1775 offers an overview of the personnel that were stationed at each Company-controlled town in Java's Northeast Coast and how they were deployed.

Table 6: List of military personnel in Java in 1775<sup>10</sup>

Cavalry

Semarang	: 47	
Surakarta	: 76	
Yogyakarta	: 72	
Total Cavalry		: 195

Infantry

Semarang	: 196	
Surakarta	: 114	
Yogyakarta	: 75	
Boyolali	: 17	
Salatiga	: 26	
Ungaran	: 16	
Rembang	: 17	
Juwana	: 15	
Jepara	: 25	
Pekalongan	: 15	
Tegal	: 15	
Under Semarang branch		: 526
Surabaya	: 132	
Banyuwangi	: 59	
Cotta	: 17	
Adirogo	: 40	

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<sup>10</sup> VOC, 3445, fol. 845.



Pasuruan	: 40	
Panarukan	: 17	
Lumajang	: 30	
Malang	: 18	
Gresik	: 16	
Bangkalan	: 28	
Sumenep	: 15	
Under Surabaya branch		: 414
<b>T o t a l</b>		<b>: 1,135</b>

The four most important towns had garrisons of more than 100 soldiers. Semarang, as the site of Company's head office in Java, had 243 soldiers. The courts of the Javanese kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta had garrisons of 190 and 147 soldiers respectively. Surabaya had 132 soldiers. The numbers increased slightly in 1780, as reported in the Memorandum of Transfer of the outgoing Governor J.R. van der Burgh to the new Governor J. Siberg. The military personnel stationed in Yogyakarta increased from 147 to 174 and in Surakarta from 190 to 233.<sup>11</sup> While it is safe to assume that such increases happened in other settlements, by no means were larger garrisons a sign of a threat from the Javanese. They might have been part of the natural course of development of those towns.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century was a relatively peaceful period. The presence of military forces was meant for defense rather than offensive purposes.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century Semarang entered a blooming period. A growing number of people in Semarang was followed by a population increase in other colonial towns in Java's Northeast Coast.

If we follow Knaap's estimates, less than one-fifth (1,500-2,000) of Semarang's population of 10,000 people in the 1770s was comprised of Company personnel, their households and a portion of the free citizens in town. The remainder were comprised of Chinese, Javanese, Malays and other natives who lived in their own parts of town. The Chinese Quarter was located in the southern side of the town. The quarter already existed when the Dutch arrived in Semarang. Javanese and Malays populated the western side of the Semarang River. Unfortunately, there is no record that can give a picture of how many people lived at that particular time on the southern and western sides of the Dutch Quarter.

Records concerning the population of the Dutch Quarter are also not easy to come by. One document from 1771 does give some information, including an overview of the district's inhabitants and the number of houses, couples, unmarried and married men and women, children, Javanese and Chinese women and slaves. This overview offers great detail on the composition of the 1,431 people who lived in the Dutch Quarter, which was located on the eastern side of the Dutch's fort.

This record gives a clear example of how the government classified the population in this particular part of Semarang. The town was divided into eleven districts named with letters from A to L. Each district had its own head, just as in Batavia. Unlike Batavia, a 'district division' was not found.

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<sup>11</sup> VOC, 3589, § 23, fol.1009v-1011r

Table 7: Number of inhabitants of Semarang's Dutch quarter, 1771<sup>12</sup>

	districts											total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	
<b>Houses</b>	24	14	8	12	14	18	18	17	15	16	9	<b>165</b>
<b>Married couples</b>	12	4	5	3	6	11	9	5	5	8	3	<b>71</b>
<b>Single men</b>	8	2	3	3	8	5	21	8	-	18	6	<b>82</b>
<b>Single women</b>	17	4	5	4	7	12	8	7	5	9	3	<b>81</b>
<b>Children</b>	29	11	14	13	21	35	13	9	20	27	3	<b>195</b>
<b>Adopted children</b>	5	-	1	3	4	-	7	14	4	-	4	<b>42</b>
<b>Mothers</b>	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	8	<b>14</b>
<b>Brothers</b>	3	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	12	<b>19</b>
<b>Sisters</b>	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	13	<b>18</b>
<b>Free Chinese women</b>	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	2		-	-	<b>2</b>
<b>9 Free Javanese women</b>	-	6	55	34	6	15	9	12	5	21	12	<b>175</b>
<b>Moors and female slaves</b>	66	37	2	17	35	18	34	63	58	34	9	<b>373</b>
<b>Male slaves (boedaks)</b>	21	2	5	14	1	35	15	19	26	11	16	<b>165</b>
<b>Heads in total</b>	183	86	101	111	100	165	127	148	152	151	107	<b>1,431</b>
<b>Carriages</b>	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	<b>6</b>
<b>Horses</b>	4	3	9	5	5	12	7	14	8	4	6	<b>77</b>

<sup>12</sup> Document title: *Generale lijst van wijkmeesteren der steede aantoonende hoeveel huijzen, personen, wagens en, paarden onder huidigen datum in de na te noemene blocken bevonden zijn.* [VOC, 3362, fol. 90-91].

Table 7 shows only the composition of Semarang's inhabitants in the European area. Sources indicated that there were 165 houses in this part the town. There were seventy-one married couples (*echtelieden*), 195 children, forty-two adopted children (*aangenomene kinderen*) and quite possibly some illegitimate children.<sup>13</sup> There were 165 male slaves and over than 300 female slaves to support the households of the European and other free burghers. Slaves (male and female) numbered about 400 in Semarang, almost one-third of the total population of the districts.

It is also worth mentioning that a quite a large number of Javanese and Chinese women lived inside the walls of Semarang, whereas the proper Javanese and Chinese settlements were located further south of the town. The 1,431 inhabitants did not include military personnel, as they did not belong to the burghers. Most of the soldiers were stationed in the fort or garrison and were not counted by the district head but by the Company officers. Table 8 shows that in 1775 there were around 250 soldiers stationed in Semarang, more or less the same as in 1771.

This overview of the districts makes it clear that Semarang in the 1770s was indeed a multi-ethnic town; even *Moors* (probably non-indigenous Muslims), slaves, Javanese and Chinese lived in the so-called Dutch quarter. Dutch and other Europeans comprised only a small fraction of the colonial town's population.

Semarang is not the sole focus in this study. The town stood side by side with other towns under the government of Java's Northeast Coast. The visitation reports of the ministers in Semarang give a larger overview of the number and spread of people in the area. The situation of the natives and people outside the Company settlements is outside the scope of this study, since little information about them was recorded in church visitation reports.

#### *Church visitations*

A visitation was the church's instrument to supervise its members.<sup>14</sup> After a minister was assigned to the Church in Semarang, the Batavian consistory was no longer obliged to send its ministers for visitations to this huge area. The minister of Semarang, accompanied with a deacon (or sometimes an elder), would take several weeks a few times a year to visit Company settlements in Java's Northeast Coast. The minister performed several activities during the visitations. Upon his return, he made a report of his activities and on the situation of the places that he visited.

Surviving visitation reports offer some indications of the composition of church membership and about other Christians in several places. Comparing the numbers of people recorded reveals the growth or decline in number of Christians in those places over the course of time.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately only a limited number of

<sup>13</sup> The document was unclear about the number of children in the orphan house. However, other sources indicate that there were 110 children living there in 1771 [VOC 3362, December 31, 1771].

<sup>14</sup> This was also the case on Java as indicate by Bosma and Raben, *De oude Indische wereld, 1500 – 1920*, p. 44: 'Juist de disciplineren en de bevordering van het christelijk leven vormden de Indische samenleving.'

<sup>15</sup> Besides the visitation reports there are other sources for a quick overview of the number of Christians in Java's Northeast Coast: *Kerkstaten* (see Appendix C). *Kerkstaten*

reports have survived. Table 8 provides a look at some of the years when visitations were held, the total number of places visited and the places visited.<sup>16</sup> The figures are inconclusive, as there are many gaps in the sources. Many years could not be included due to data that was lost or destroyed. Despite those limitations the table is still useful as a guide to the numbers of people in certain places and to the patterns of the visitation trips.

The records show that the visitations were made in a certain order. There were three clusters of towns, located east, west and south of Semarang. The cluster of towns east of Semarang was consistently populated by more than a thousand Christians, whereas towns in the south and west had populations of less than a thousand.

Table 8: Church visitation reports submitted by Semarang's ministers, elders and deacons<sup>17</sup>

Year		Number of Christians in town and Towns visited:
1757	<b>941</b>	for the whole Java North east Coast <sup>18</sup>
1760	<b>2,679</b>	for Semarang, Pekalongan, Tegal, Kuala Demak, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Gresik, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Bangkalan, Sumenep, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Salatiga, Ungaran <sup>19</sup>
1763	<b>547</b>	for Semarang, Gresik, ***, ***, Rembang, Juwana, Jepara <sup>20</sup>
1766	...	(number of people and towns are unknown) <sup>21</sup>
1767	<b>794</b>	for Pekalongan, Tegal, Ungaran, Salatiga, Boyolali, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Jepara <sup>22</sup>
...	...	(the 'lost' years) <sup>23</sup>
1777	<b>2,000</b>	for Semarang, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Surabaya, Gresik, Sumenep, Pasuruan <sup>24</sup>
1779	<b>1,154</b>	for Surabaya, Sumenep, Pasuruan, Gresik, Rembang, Juwana, Jepara <sup>25</sup>

were general reports covered assessments of the situation of every church. The reports were made by the government in Batavia based on the annual report of every consistory in VOC-controlled towns. *Kerkstaat* were sent to the Netherlands as a part of the government's annual report to the chambers and Directors.

<sup>16</sup> For more detailed view on each visitation, see tables in Appendix D.

<sup>17</sup> The church visitation reports from the consistory of Semarang were submitted to the Political Council of Semarang during the years 1777-1792 (VOC 3472-3986). Five earlier reports are found in ANRI Kerk 596, (1757, 1760, 1763, 1766, and 1767).

<sup>18</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 57.

<sup>19</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 141, 144-147.

<sup>20</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 204-206.

<sup>21</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 257-259, pages almost destroyed, almost illegible.

<sup>22</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 284.

<sup>23</sup> Reports from 1768-1776 are nowhere to be found. After the visitation report dated August 1769 (in the folder of ANRI Kerk 597) there was an almost 20-years gap in reports. The next surviving visitation report dated to July 1786 (in the folder of ANRI Kerk 598). VOC sources may be able to fill some gaps in sources. In this respect the flow of reports was more regular in VOC records after 1777. However reports from previous years are not available in the VOC's records.

<sup>24</sup> VOC, 3472, fol. 479v-480v.

1780	<b>860</b>	for Tegal, Pekalongan, Salatiga, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Ungaran <sup>26</sup>
1781	<b>1,393</b>	for Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Surabaya, Sumenep, Pasuruan, Bangkalan, Gresik <sup>27</sup>
1784	<b>651</b>	for Salatiga, Boyolali, Surakarta, Yogyakarta <sup>28</sup>
1785	<b>1,908</b>	for Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Gresik, Bangkalan, Tegal, Pekalongan, Salatiga, Boyolali, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Ungaran <sup>29</sup>
1786	<b>362</b>	for Jepara, Juwana, Rembang <sup>30</sup>
1787	<b>870</b>	for Tegal, Pekalongan, Salatiga, Boyolali, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Ungaran <sup>31</sup>
1789	<b>394</b>	for Jepara, Juwana, Rembang <sup>32</sup>
1792	<b>218</b>	for Tegal, Pekalongan <sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 9-13; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 135: on the consistory meeting on May 31, 1779 the minister informed the consistory that he and Pieter Drost would leave on Thursday to Oosthoek for a visitation.

<sup>26</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 131-133.

<sup>27</sup> VOC, 3626, fol. 25-27.

<sup>28</sup> VOC, 3703, fol. 27-28.

<sup>29</sup> VOC, 3736, fol. 48-50.

<sup>30</sup> VOC, 3736, fol. 270-272.

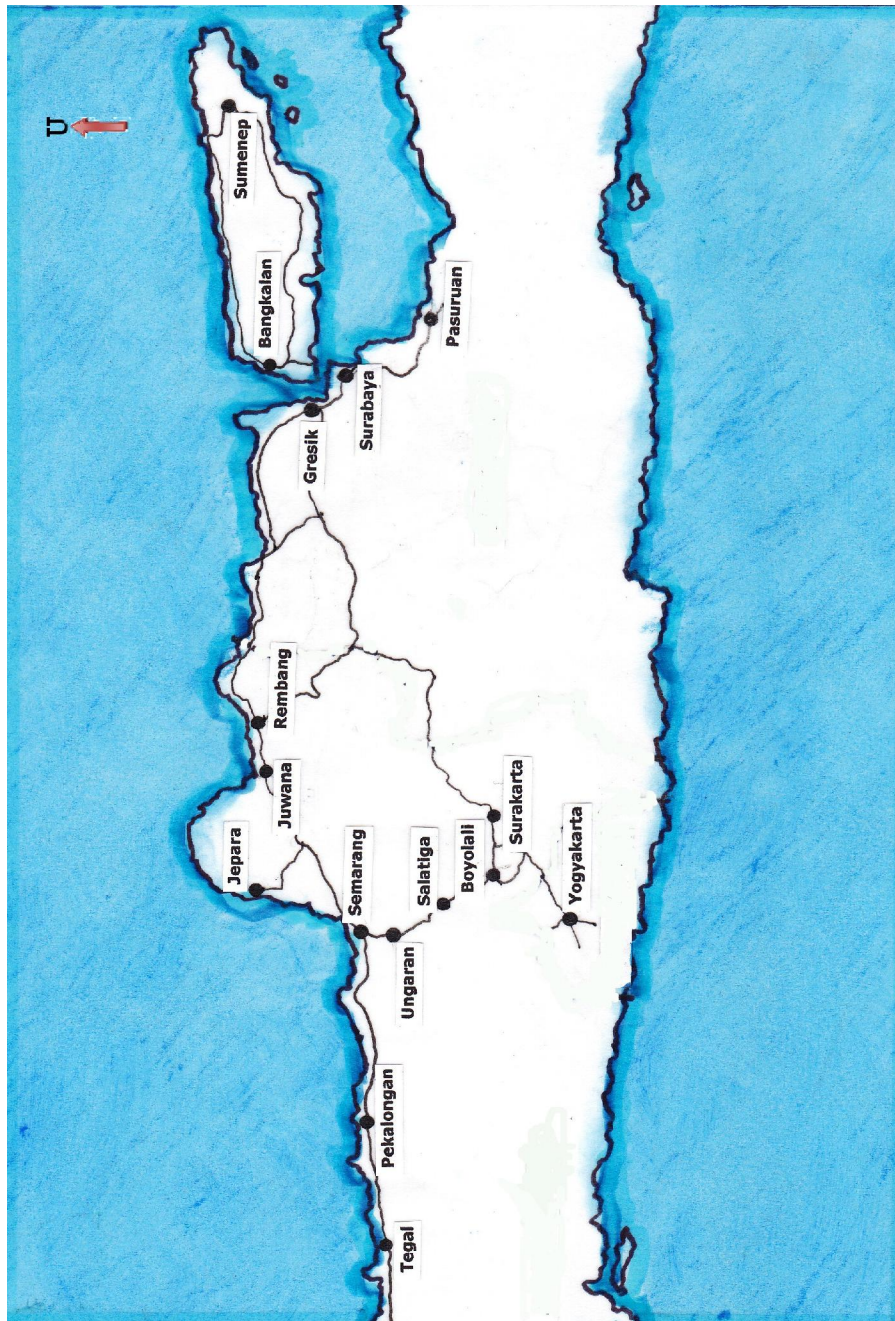
<sup>31</sup> VOC, 3813, fol. 175-176.

<sup>32</sup> VOC, 3909, July 17, 1789.

<sup>33</sup> VOC, 3986, July 1792







Map 1: Java's Northeast Coast: Semarang and fifteen other towns visited by the minister of Semarang

An example from the visitation in 1767 may give indication on the situation of Christians in the area. The visitation was carried out by Coetzier, who was

accompanied by Moren. They reported that the collections (*collecte voor de diaconij*) were *rd* 80 from Tegal, *rd* 15 from Pekalongan and *rd* 260.5 from the Bovenlanden.<sup>34</sup> The trip started with a visit to the towns situated west of Semarang. In Pekalongan they found fifty-three Christians consisting of five members (*ledematen*) of the Reformed Church, three Lutherans and five Roman Catholics. They also found nineteen children: three legitimate, sixteen illegitimate.<sup>35</sup> While they were there, the minister not only administered Sunday services, but also the sacrament of Baptism to the adopted children. The total collection from this town was *rd* 15.<sup>36</sup> The report said that in Tegal there were 108 Christians, comprised of thirty-one Reformed Church members, seven Lutherans and fifteen Roman Catholics. The minister baptized twenty-two children during the house visitation: six legitimate and sixteen illegitimate children. Tegal had a school that was attended by 9 children. The town's collection was *rd* 80.<sup>37</sup>

Table 9: Christians recorded during Coetzier's visitations, 1767

	Town	
	Pekalongan	Tegal
Reformed	5	31
<i>liefhebbers</i> <sup>38</sup>	21	55
Lutherans	3	7
Roman Catholics	5	15
Legitimate children	3	6
Illegitimate children	16	16

<sup>34</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 282.

<sup>35</sup> The calculation is incorrect. The number of Christians should be 32 (13+19) instead of 53 (13+19+3+16).

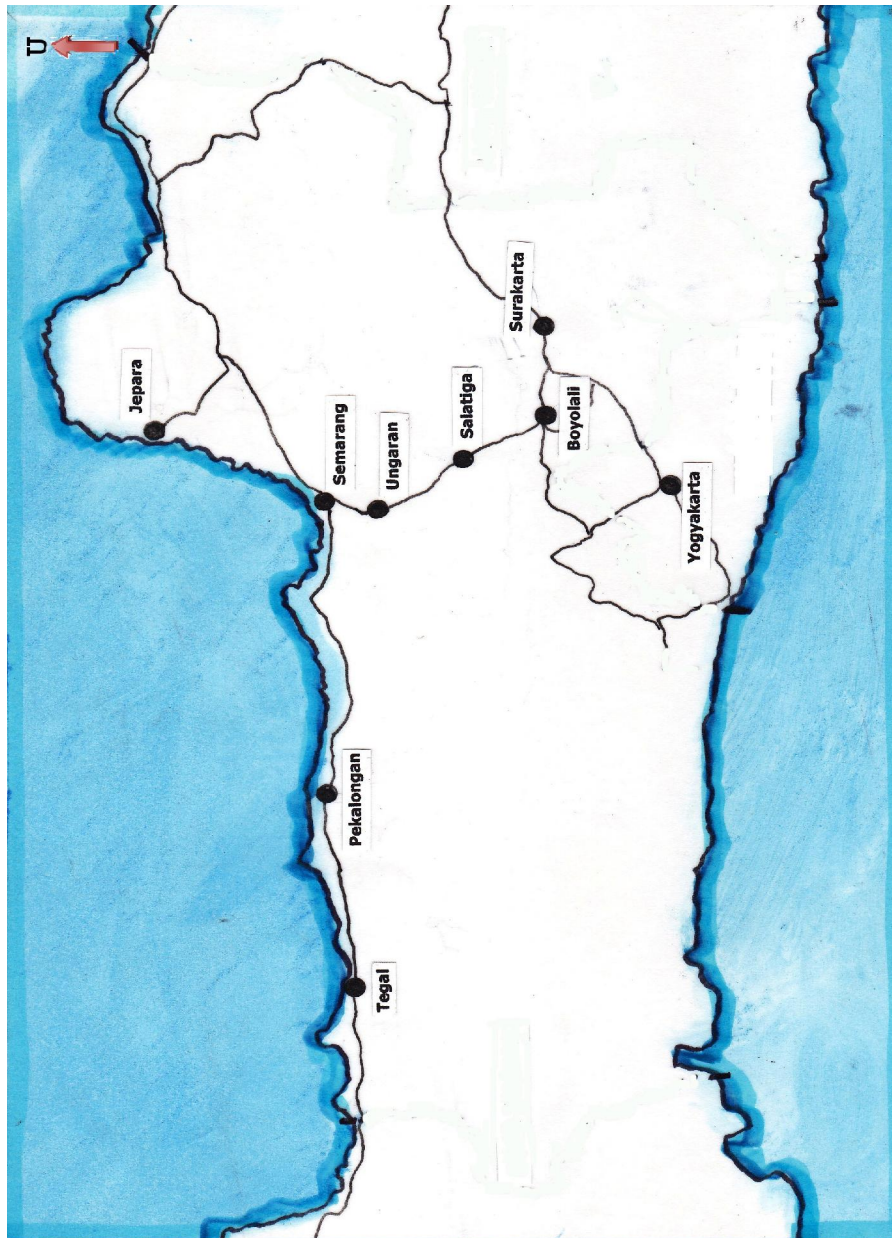
<sup>36</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 284.

<sup>37</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 284; the calculation is once again incorrect, 108 (31+7+15+22+6+16+9+2), it must have been 84 (31+7+15+22+9).

The report stated that '*ten comptoir Tagal waeren in't geheel 108 volwasse Christenen.*' It is also possible that this was not a question of inaccuracy. The number of 108 Christians might have been comprised of thirty-one Reformed Church members, seven Lutherans, fifteen Roman Catholics and the *liefhebbers*.

<sup>38</sup> There was no information about the *liefhebbers* in the report, hence the number is conjecture. The *liefhebbers* might have been comprised of the baptized churchgoers (*gedoopten*), children at the school (*kinderen*) and adults (*bejaarden*).





Map 2: Semarang and two towns to the west and five other in the *bovenlanden* and *vorstenlanden* to the south

They then moved south into area called the *Bovenlanden* (highlands). At the fort at Ungaran they found eighteen Christians: four Reformed, including one

member;<sup>39</sup> two Lutherans and twelve Roman Catholics. At Fort Salatiga there were fifty Christians: twenty-five Reformed, including nine members; seven Lutherans and twelve Roman Catholics. And in the smaller fort in Boyolali they met eighteen Christians: eight Reformed, six Lutherans, four Roman Catholics.

Afterwards the *visitors* went to the Company garrisons at the two Javanese courts. In Surakarta they found 292 Christians: fifty-two Reformed, including eighteen members; fifty-seven Lutherans; seventy-three Roman Catholics and 190 children. The collection in the poor box (*armbus*) amounted to *rd* 63.5. In Yogyakarta they found 176 Christians: sixty-one Reformed, including eleven members; forty-two Lutherans; and seventy Roman Catholics. The figure recorded for the poor box collection was illegible on the report. From the *vorstenlanden* they moved to Jepara, where they found seventy-nine Christians: twenty-seven Reformed including two members; fifteen Lutherans and thirty-eight Roman Catholics. The collection they gathered in the last town was *rd* 97.<sup>40</sup>

Table 10: The 1767 Visitation

	Ungaran	Salatiga	Boyolali	Surakarta	Yogyakarta	Jepara
Reformed	1	9	8	18	11	2
<i>liefhebbers</i>	3	16	-	34	50	25
Lutherans	2	7	6	57	42	15
Roman Catholics	12	12	4	73	70	38
Children	-	-	-	190	-	-

It is not clear from the report how much time was needed to complete the trip. It must have taken several weeks, as it did for several ministers from Batavia in previous years. Another report was more detailed, so one can follow the *visitors'* itinerary.

One example is a report of Montanus and Drost that was submitted to the meeting of the Political Council of Semarang on September 17, 1779.<sup>41</sup> First, they moved east to the Oosthoek. In sixty-five days they visited seven towns: Surabaya, Sumenep, Pasuruan, Surabaya again, Gresik, Rembang and Juwana. From this report one could see that their real trip started in Surabaya before travelling east, proceeding west to Surabaya before returning back home.

<sup>39</sup> This means that the remainders were those who had yet to complete confirmation courses before being accepted as members. In towns with no *ziekentrooster* or schoolmaster there was only a slim chance they could complete this needed step.

<sup>40</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 284.

<sup>41</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 9-13; (see Appendix D, table A).



Map 3: The eastern part of Java's Northeast Coast

On another occasion Montanus<sup>42</sup> in the company of Hendrik Lodewijk Palm again took a trip westwards. It was a short trip, only twenty days. A similar pattern was evident. Their first visit was to Tegal, the westernmost town in Java's Northeast Coast, and then they travelled east via Pekalongan. In the same year, only two weeks after their return from Pekalongan, their next church visitation took

<sup>42</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 131-133.

place. That trip took more than three weeks.<sup>43</sup> This time Montanus and Casparus Gerardus de Coste moved south to Salatiga, Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Ungaran.

Table A in Appendix D gives the details of the activities during the trip to Oosthoek. The minister and the deacon left Semarang for Surabaya on June 3, 1780. They arrived at Surabaya on the 14, and on Sunday, June 20, the minister baptized twenty-seven children. On the 22 they left Surabaya for Sumenep. In Sumenep they found 100 Christians, including four legitimate and seven illegitimate children, who were baptized.

The total number of illegitimate children listed in this report alone was twice as large as the number of legitimate children (103:47). This is consistent with most of the visitation reports.<sup>44</sup> The children's mothers were usually Javanese or Chinese women (who were reportedly concubines). The children were baptized by the minister as long as there was a church member who would adopt the children and promise to give the children a proper Christian upbringing. Every year, and during each visitation, several illegitimate children were also baptized. Without baptism the illegitimate children had no chance to enter the orphan house if their fathers died or were repatriated. It was not easy for the children to find families to take them in. Most of the children found their way into the orphanages. In the early years of the eighteenth century they were sent to Batavia, either to an orphanage or to a foster family. After Semarang had an orphanage of its own, poor children were housed there.

Table A in Appendix D also shows the duration of the trips. The first trip took no less than two months. The *visitors* spent three to seven days in one place before starting on the two-to-seven-day journey to another town. The reports typically submitted to the Political Council in Semarang mentioned in brief only the most important things, such as the number of Reformed members and other Christians in each town visited. Occasionally the names of specific people would appear, such as Sara Carolina van Este.<sup>45</sup> After examination of her confirmation lesson she was accepted as a member in Gresik. She had been baptized as a child and now was accepted as a full member of the church. She could join the celebration of the Holy Communion and could someday have a Church ceremony if she married. This also meant she was subject to church discipline.

Montanus arrived on July 15, 1779 in Gresik and administered baptism on Sunday, July 18. On the July 25 he left for Rembang on the ship *Oostcapelle*. He had spent ten days in Gresik. Other than the administering sacraments on Sunday, he visited the houses of congregation members and solved social conflicts, marriage problems and other things that the *ziekentrooster* in town was not able to solve. He might also have discussed progress at the school with the *ziekentrooster*, catechism lessons and other pastoral matters.

For example, Montanus reported in 1785 that '...on the 6 they took the trip to Surabaya and arrived there on 12, and on 17 administered the sacrament, at that moment six children were baptized, on July 20 visiting houses, on 22 preparing a Sunday sermon, and on 24 administering the sacrament of the Holy Communion.'<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 171-172.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>45</sup> VOC, 3584, fol. 11.

<sup>46</sup> VOC, 3736, fol. 9 (see Appendix D, table D).

Administering two sacraments in two weeks was by no means unusual during a visitation trip to a larger town such as Surabaya.

In another important town such as Surakarta, the number of Christians and children was larger than that in a small town such as Gresik. The minister arrived in Surakarta on Friday, June 23, 1780 performed Sunday services and baptized twenty-nine children. Only five of the children were legitimate; the rest were illegitimate. In the heartland of Java, most of those illegitimate children no doubt had Javanese mothers. On Friday, June 30, three new members were accepted by the Reformed church after their confession of faith. They were allowed to join the celebration of Holy Communion on Sunday, July 2.<sup>47</sup> The Reformed church usually had fixed dates for this celebration, but during visitations the celebration dates were rather arbitrary.

Other visitation reports show that the same pattern was more or less repeated. During a period of twenty-five to thirty years following the mid-1770s, the number of Christians increased gradually. The number of Christians in Semarang in 1777 was 843; two years later it reached 1,000. However this number increased only slightly in the early 1790s. According to a visitation report from 1780, the number of Christians in Yogyakarta was 188; the visitation report in 1786 said that there were 206 Christians in town.<sup>48</sup> The number grew, albeit modestly.

Do these numbers indicate that there was real growth generated by the families that resided permanently in those towns? The people in the settlements were mostly Company servants. It is well known that they could be easily replaced and therefore their numbers might have fluctuated. In spite of fluctuations, the number of Company servants increased steadily in the late eighteenth century, as reflected in the church reports.<sup>49</sup>

The increasing number of illegitimate children that were baptized also contributed to growth from the 1750s until the early 1790s. It may therefore be presumed that the increasing number of those children also fuelled the growth of Christianity in Java's Northeast Coast's towns.

### *Church discipline in practice*

#### *Sunday services and the Sacraments*

The Reformed Church in Semarang had at least one church service every Sunday morning. After there was a permanent minister, Sunday services were held on a regular basis. Even when the minister was away on visitation duties, the consistory assigned someone to read the sermon in order to keep worship going. In fact,

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<sup>47</sup> VOC, 3584.

<sup>48</sup> VOC, 3736.

<sup>49</sup> Appendix D, Table A to Table H give general overview over the years. Table I to Table P give more details. Jepara (Table L) can serve as an example. In 1779 the total number of Christians in the town was 119; in 1781, 111; in 1785, 124; in 1787, 142 and in 1789, 147. The pattern did not differ drastically from town to town. The number of Christians was indeed growing, in spite of the reassignment of personnel, repatriation or even due to the mortality rate in the Indies.

Semarang had enough people to do that and could call on one of its *ziekentroosters*, schoolmasters or even elders.

The sacrament of baptism was not necessarily performed on a Sunday. During the visitation trips the ministers could baptize children and accepted new members in the *buiten comptoiren* on any day of the week. By doing so the minister could on Sunday administer the sacrament of the Holy Communion. It was the same in Semarang. Ceremonies for people who brought their children to be baptized and for aspirant members who were ready to join the Reformed church could be done on any day of the week after the consistory had been consulted.

On the other hand the sacrament of the Holy Communion could only be celebrated on Sunday. Proper preparation was imperative. The consistory decided on a time for the sacrament to be held. At the same meeting they also set a time for the necessary preparations.

In July 1767 the consistory decided to celebrate the Holy Communion on August 2. The same consistory meeting decided upon preparations. On the Tuesday preceding Holy Communion, the minister and an elder would go for *huisbezoek* (house visit) to invite members to join the celebration. On Friday the consistory meet in the church for a *censura morum* (self-examination).<sup>50</sup> An extraordinary meeting on July 31 was held to hear the report on the *huisbezoek* and followed by the *censura morum*.<sup>51</sup> The *huisbezoek* was intended to examine the Christian life of the members, while the *censura morum* was intended for consistory members. In that meeting the consistory decided who would be prohibited from attending Holy Communion and who would be allowed to re-join after they completed their censures.

Interestingly, at in the next consistory meeting the minister gave a report on the 1767 visitation, which said, among other things, that he administered the Holy Communion.<sup>52</sup> The visitation was most likely held right after the sacrament of Holy Communion in Semarang. By so doing the people in other towns could enjoy the sacrament as did those in Semarang. Unfortunately, this did not happen often in subsequent years.

The next celebration that was recorded in the consistory minutes was on November 6, 1768. Three elders were assigned to accompany the ministers for *huisbezoek*, and the *censura morum* would be held on Friday at the next extraordinary meeting.<sup>53</sup> The poor condition of the source makes it is difficult to determine whether the Reformed church in Semarang celebrated the Holy Communion once or twice a year in these first two decades.

In a meeting on May 18, 1769 it was decided the next sacrament of Holy Communion would be celebrated on May 28. Tuesday would be the day for *huisbezoek* and Friday the day of examination. It was also decided at this particular meeting that from then on the sacrament would be held twice a year, on the second week of May and the second week of November.<sup>54</sup> No particular reason was given in the minute. The decision was apparently in contradicted the church order of

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<sup>50</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 282.

<sup>51</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 283.

<sup>52</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 284-285.

<sup>53</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 302.

<sup>54</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 2.

Dordrecht, which determined that Holy Communion ought to be held four times a year, instead of twice a year.

Given the fact that there was no opposition note in the minute, there might have been several possible explanations behind the consistory's unanimous decision to hold the Sacrament twice a year. First, it might have been an attempt to hold the celebration more regularly than before. Second, it might have been the best possible option, given the limited time and energy of the minister, who had to administer the sacrament both in Semarang and while on his visitation rounds. Third, in retrospect, the following years proved that it was not easy to celebrate the sacrament at the appointed time in May and November. In most cases, the sacrament was celebrated earlier or later than scheduled. Most importantly, though, an effort was made to regularly celebrate the sacrament twice a year.

The record of the consistory meeting of May 1769 is the first account that tells how the consistory decided on the frequency of Holy Communion celebrations. In the following years it proved to be difficult to be consistent to the scheme, which was clear in 1770 when the church celebrated Holy Communion in March.<sup>55</sup>

An interesting development came up in the meeting of May 4, 1772. It was decided that the member of the Lutheran confession were allowed to join the celebration during the coming sacrament of the Holy Communion.<sup>56</sup> Lutherans and Roman Catholics were present in every Company settlement in Java's Northeast Coast since the early years of the Company in Asia. However it was never clear whether they could join the Reformed church congregation when the minister celebrated the sacrament. This development opened the door for Lutheran members to take part in the celebration officially.

The development led to another question: did the consistory have authority over the Lutheran brothers and sisters with regard to their Christian lives? The hard fact was that in most settlements non-Reformed Christians were present in greater numbers than Reformed church members. Without Lutheran pastors or Roman Catholic priests in Java's Northeast Coast, it was Reformed ministers to supervise and give pastoral and spiritual guidance to all Christians. The role of the Reformed church as the public church in Java was larger and more substantial than its peers in the Dutch Republic, since it was the sole church in a vast area hosting thousands of Company personnel and their families. By circumstance, the public church in Java blurred the distinction between *liefhebbers* and *lidmaten*.

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<sup>55</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 8.

<sup>56</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 22.



*Alle de leden  
 present*

*(Censura) morum*  
 gehouden op Dinsdag  
 den 23 July 1778

Na dat de vergadering met den gebude gezegent  
 was, rapporteerde de Secretaris, dat hy de kinglysche  
 koning met Bruden Barkly gedaan had, en dat  
 Hren. Conrt niets was voorgekomen, dat de atten-  
 tie der vergadering, verdunde, als dat hy Abraham  
 Jansen aangevraagd hadde om sig een nog van d'  
 H. Aanderae te vullenden teff dat hy d'lykane  
 zou gegeven hebben van een betel gedrag, als  
 mede dat een den Vreding van Ad en Bevingen  
 Scheunen, op aanroeping van huine abbestatus  
 te behoorlyker tyd te betrogen, toegestaan was,  
 om een s' Horen tofel te verlijpen.

Daarna overlegden sig de tel de censura morum,  
 te betygen de leden medt op de kor en l gedrag  
 van mekanderen te betygen te hebben, waer op  
 Et bracht de Bruden op ene vriedelike en  
 onthelinge teff tot s' Horen H. Almeten gmedeythoff.

Hierna sig op belijden teff dat gelooft aangenomen  
 Franciscus Franciscus, Francina Francois  
 Condit. Mechtarten, Johannes Theodorus Sittrop  
 maectende de tuel Castele de Catechistate naig men  
 gouyement te Bruonien.

Hiern op sig de vergadering met den gewonen Sezen

*F. Montanus*  
*Neske*  
*M. G. G. G.*  
*P. D. D.*  
*Peter Drost*

The signatures give a clear indication that the consistory (which *alle de leden present* at this particular meeting) with all its five members: the ministers, two elders and two deacons

The Thursdays or Fridays consistory meetings to prepare for the Sunday sacraments were generally an opportunity for the consistory to receive updates on members. After the arrival of F. Montanus in 1778 the *censura morum* was recorded



in consistory meeting minutes. There are no accounts of the consistory holding *censura morum* in previous years.

Table 11: Dates of Semarang's *censura morum*, 1778-1782<sup>57</sup>

Year	Month	Date	Day
1778	July	23	Thursday
1778	December	18	Friday
1779	April	1	Thursday
1779	December	2	Thursday
1780	March	23	Thursday
1780	November	30	Thursday
1781	April	12	Thursday
1781	December	20	Thursday
1782	May	6	Thursday
1782	December	19	Thursday

Following its decision in 1769, the consistory in Semarang consistently celebrated the sacrament Holy Communion in Semarang twice a year and as often as possible in other towns as well.

In his first *censura morum* with the consistory of the Reformed church in Semarang, on July 23, 1778 newly arrived minister Montanus reported on a house visit made with Barkeij. The meeting also accepted new members who came with *attestaties* from other Reformed churches, which meant those new members could join the next sacrament.<sup>58</sup>

Table 12: Dates of Semarang's *censura morum* 1783-1789<sup>59</sup>

Year	Month	Date	Day
1783	April	17	Thursday
1783	October	30	Thursday
1784	April	8	Thursday
1784	December	2	Thursday
1785	May	12	Thursday
1785	October	27	Thursday
1786	April	14	Friday
1786	November	30	Thursday
1787	April	6	Thursday
1787	November	1	Thursday
1788	March	20	Thursday
1788	December	4	Thursday
1789	April	9	Thursday
1789	December	3	Thursday

In the *censura morum* on April 8, 1784 the consistory received a request from Albertina Baarn, who asked to be allowed to rejoin the sacrament of Holy Communion. The consistory granted her request.<sup>60</sup> This meant that Baarn had learned her lesson over the few weeks or months when she was *onder censuur* and now the church was ready to accept her back. There was also another kind of return,

<sup>57</sup> ANRI Kerk 597.

<sup>58</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 116.

<sup>59</sup> ANRI Kerk 598.

<sup>60</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 24.

as in the case of Johanna Geertruijda van Padang. She was allowed to join communion under the condition that she should avoid from then on the ‘weaknesses of the flesh’.<sup>61</sup> Geertruijda was allowed to return, albeit under probation.

There was an interesting occurrence during the *censura morum* of December 18, 1778. The consistory had accepted eleven new members into the Dutch-speaking congregation, three into the Malay-speaking congregation and four people who came with *attestatie*.<sup>62</sup> This was the first time a Malay-speaking congregation in Semarang was clearly mentioned. The second time it was mentioned was in another *censura morum* that recorded fourteen new members of the Dutch-speaking congregation, three members into the Malay-speaking congregation and two who came with *attestatie*.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, other indications of this Malay-speaking congregation are nowhere to be found. It might have only been a small group of Malay-speaking Christians in Semarang who were assisted by a native *ziekentrooster* or schoolmaster. It is not clear if there were Sunday services in Semarang in Malay; there might have been only Dutch services.

Two points may be made. First, ‘Malay-speaking’ was a term applied by the church that sent the *attestatie*; the person might have come from Batavia or Ambon, both of which did have Malay-speaking churches. Second, there was only a slim chance that the Semarang Reformed church had a separate Malay service in the late eighteenth century. Protestant ministers sent to the Indies were supposed to be able to speak Malay, but even in the VOC center in Batavia the number of ministers who spoke Malay fluently was small. Finally, there is another possibility: the native schoolmaster might have led Sunday services after the regular (Dutch) services, as was commonly practiced in Ambon, for example.

#### *Adopted children*

While both legitimate and illegitimate children of the Dutch in Java’s Northeast Coast were not as ‘visible’ as their cousins in the Dutch Republic were, as indicates by Schama,<sup>64</sup> they were apparently much more visible than their Javanese peers. From both VOC and consistory records it is possible to determine not only their numbers, but also some of their names and statuses. As a Christian society, the Dutch community in Java’s Northeast Coast determined that it was mandatory to baptize all children. As far as the church was concerned, this had to do with baptizing the children who had been adopted by its members.

As early as 1763 the government in Semarang was aware of the problem of children born to Javanese mothers and Company soldiers. This was anything but a new problem. It was not easy to find a solution that was good enough for everyone, as the soldiers were obliged to move from place to place as duty called. The worst part was that soldiers often took concubines at every station to which they were assigned. On the other hand it was a shame that baptized children were taken away by their mothers when their soldier-fathers left or died.<sup>65</sup> The orphan house in

<sup>61</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 47.

<sup>62</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 124.

<sup>63</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 143.

<sup>64</sup> Schama, S., *The Embarrassment of Riches – an Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, in chapter seven ‘In the Republic of Children’.

<sup>65</sup> VOC 3093, fol. 74-75.

Semarang was the place where most of these children were cared for if no one else could take the children in. Unfortunately no documentation from the late eighteenth century orphanage in Semarang survived. Our sources are indirect, relying on reports in the VOC's and the church's records.

Comprehensive numbers on the adopted children are hard to find, therefore it is impossible to make a quantitative analysis. However, sources mention quite a number of the names of children who were brought for baptized. The records clearly stated the status of people who adopted the children. Generally it was a male church member who brought his adopted child for baptism. As a matter of fact, in Semarang it was quite common for a Christian woman to send her own request for her own children to be baptized as well.

Lipsius said in 1773: '*... dat alvorens een adoptie brief word opgesteld tot het doopen van kinderen.*'<sup>66</sup> From then on a letter of request should be required for the baptism of children. This proposal was accepted and became the norm for the Reformed church of Semarang; an adoption certificate was mandatory for child to be baptized. What had happened over the previous twenty-odd years? Was there a more relaxed procedure of baptism required by the consistory? Perhaps there had been. However, by the early 1770s the situation changed, since in Batavia there was already a prerequisite for the requestor to produce an adoption certificate for baptism requests. In the meeting on September 7, 1778, it was decided that all baptism requests for illegitimate children should be submitted to the consistory.<sup>67</sup> This was common practice in the Republic as well as in other churches in the Indies. This change made the consistory conform with the custom at home and at most other the Reformed churches.

There were two baptism requests made to the consistory meeting in January 1779. The first was for Cornelis, eleven, and Theonastias, eight, the children of Albert Alexandrius and Nansena Carels. The other request was made on behalf of Elisabet, four, and Moses Ambrosius, three, the adopted children of Cornelis Jacobs, a burgher in Semarang. The consistory agreed that all four children could be baptized.<sup>68</sup>

Sometimes only one parent was mentioned in the records. When the names of both parents were mentioned then the request was almost certainly for the baptism of legitimate child. For adopted child, usually it was mentioned only one parent's name. Quite often the requests mentioned the status or job of the father who adopted the child; only in a few cases was the name of the mother was mentioned.

In the case that both parents died, as in the case of one child with a European father and Javanese mother that was presented to the consistory in 1780 for baptism by a concerned citizen named Mangelman, further education in the Christian faith was a major concern.<sup>69</sup> This was actually the very reason children were baptized in general.

There were several requests to the consistory concerning child baptisms. In most cases male member submitted the requests, however it was also acceptable for

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<sup>66</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 39.

<sup>67</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 119.

<sup>68</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 125.

<sup>69</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 159.

female member to submit baptism request. As far as the consistory was concerned the membership of the applicant was a guarantee that the child in question would be brought up as a well-mannered Christian.

One typical case involved the adopted child born of a free citizen and a free native woman. Jan Constantijn, whose mother was a free Javanese woman, was adopted by the native burgher Jan Pattie Manoesama. Manoesama, an Ambonese and definitely not a native of Java, submitted a request for the child's baptism.<sup>70</sup> This custom had already been practiced in Batavia since the last decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>71</sup>

It is most likely that the child was Manoesama's. Adoption was a way to ensure the child's status legal and to secure the future of the child in colonial society. The child would be separated from his native roots, in this case the Javanese heritage of his mother, and be introduced to the Christian world. It was also quite possible that the child's free Javanese mother was a Muslim; therefore Manoesama was in no position to marry her.

Another case, which involved the child of a free Javanese woman (with an unknown father, either European or native free burgher) in 1756, was not so different. A fourteen-month-old child named Josephus Johannes was to be baptized in the Reformed church in Semarang after a gentleman named De Graaf adopted him and afterwards submitted a baptismal request to the consistory.<sup>72</sup> The same thing happened with a boy named Albertus Alexander, whose mother was the free Javanese woman Baina, who was adopted by the native burgher Alexander Albertus Conraad.<sup>73</sup> All these boys were destined to grow up as Christians in Company-controlled areas in the Indies. It is very unfortunate that the baptism registers from the late eighteenth century were lost or destroyed. The records would have been a great help in following two or three generations of Christians in Java's Northeast Coast.

Fathers were willing to also see their daughters accepted in the Reformed church. There were quite a number of girls baptized, such as Johanna Susanna, child of a free Javanese woman who was adopted by Philip Poelman,<sup>74</sup> or that of Henderica Louisa, daughter of the free Javanese woman Soekani and the adopted daughter of Jacobus Frans Willekens.<sup>75</sup> If the daughters were important for the fathers; the mothers were not. The church records name the children's mothers only in passing, such as Sieboe, the mother of Johanna Maria, and Pandang, the mother of Maria. Of course from their names we might easily conclude that they were natives (probably slaves). The girls were adopted by Jan Jumaens and Leendert van Muijen respectively.<sup>76</sup>

On October 3, 1768 there was a request from the *Tamboer Major* to baptize his illegitimate child with Johanna Jansen. The request was accepted under the

<sup>70</sup> ANRI Kerk 5978, fol. 39.

<sup>71</sup> 'De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie' in G.J. Schutte, *Het Calvinistisch Nederland – mythe en werkelijkheid*, p. 63.

<sup>72</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 43.

<sup>73</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 126.

<sup>74</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 141.

<sup>75</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 128.

<sup>76</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 146.

condition that the child was adopted.<sup>77</sup> It seems that the *Tamboer Major*, while his name was not mentioned in the church minutes, was well known in town. He was ordered to do the right thing by adopting the child to make it official. It was needed for the sake of the child.

Another case was that of Johan Carel Frederick Walker. He submitted a baptism request for his illegitimate child with a Christian woman. The consistory accepted his request under certain conditions: he should pay a fine of one month's salary to charity, he should be punished for committing adultery (*begaene hoererij*) and the Christian mother must bring the child herself to ask for baptism (*ook stelt deze vergadering de opgemelde christenvrouw gelast haer onegtkind selve ten doop te houden*).<sup>78</sup> Since the mother was a member of the church she had to submit herself to a *censuur* due to her sin with Walker. The consistory did not take sins committed by church members lightly.

Another type of request was made by the children's mothers, such as in the case of Jacob Pieters, whose mother was the Christian woman Josena Catharina Manuel.<sup>79</sup> Unlike the fathers, who needed to adopt formally their children before submitting their request, Christian mothers were accepted without saying they were parents. However it was not always that easy for the mothers. Their requests were granted under certain conditions, and only when the consistory determined that the mothers were fit.

There were quite a number of baptismal requests from women church members. From the consistory records it was clear that the women were not widows with children whose husbands were recently killed. While allowing the children to be baptized, the consistory also asked the mother to correct some wrongdoings. This happened when the consistory allowed two children, Abraham and Isaac Pieters, to be baptized under the condition that their mother, Catharina, marry the boys' father.<sup>80</sup>

On many occasions the consistory demanded nothing from the parents who submitted baptism requests. For example in 1782, Jan Numis, the son of the Christian woman Maria Catharina Hoetig, and Johan Wiltoma, the son of the Christian woman Susanna van der Steen, were presented for baptism. Both mothers' requests were accepted by the consistory.<sup>81</sup> This was also the case of Josena Catharina Manuel, a Christian woman who in 1786 asked to baptize her children Albertus, three, and Arnoldus, two.<sup>82</sup> It was not every year that the consistory received such requests. In 1787, the consistory granted a request from the free Christian woman Johanna Petronelle Carels to baptize her child, Anna.<sup>83</sup> Before granting requests from the mothers, the consistory must have already taken necessary measures to ensure the mothers' capability to nurture the children as good

<sup>77</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 301.

<sup>78</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 302.

<sup>79</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 126.

<sup>80</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 136.

<sup>81</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 172-2 [note: for unknown reasons the document contains several double pages: 172-(1) – 177-(1) and 172-(2) – 177-(2)].

<sup>82</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 59.

<sup>83</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 93.

Christians. Church discipline was, after all, not a punishment but a set of strict guidelines for improving Christian living.

Anna Catharina Muller, a Christian woman, requested that the consistory baptize her illegitimate child, William Carel Lodewijk.<sup>84</sup> Basically all the boys and girls of the abovementioned Christians women were illegitimate. As the public church in Java, the Reformed church in Semarang had an obligation to baptize those children. When the situation permitted, the parent had to be disciplined, as in the case of Catharina, the mother of Abraham and Isaac Pieters. But most of the time the consistory's demands that women marry the 'fathers' of their children was impossible to fulfill, due the fact that the men might no longer around for various reasons or perhaps no one knew their identity. The consistory could only insist that the 'mother' marry the 'father' if it already knew who he was.

The case of Sergeant Raedshoven and widow Van der Linden gives an example of how a baptism request resulted in church disciplinary proceedings. Raedshoven asked the Church to baptize his *buiten het huwelijk* child, which he fathered with a member of the congregation, the widow Van der Linden. The consistory decided that the sergeant had to marry the widow. The widow Van der Linden, as the member of the church, was summoned to the next consistory meeting.<sup>85</sup>

At the meeting, it turned out that the widow Van der Linden did not want to marry the sergeant. Therefore, the consistory put her under censure and at the same time she was ordered to present her child for baptism.<sup>86</sup> At the same meeting a corporal submitted a request to baptize his child with a Christian woman. The consistory postponed a final decision until its next meeting and suggested that the corporal marry the Christian woman.<sup>87</sup>

It is clear that the consistory, while it might tolerate illegitimate children and embrace them in the community through baptism, was still strict in regulating its members and did not hesitate to put sinners under censure.

Apart from the fathers and mothers, there were other requests that came from church members who were not directly related to the children they proposed be baptized. For example, the case of Ms. Van Santen, who asked the consistory to baptize her slave's child, Clara Zon,<sup>88</sup> or of the town-*chirurgijn* Johan Christoffel Wilhelm Hornheft, who asked the church to baptize a three-year-old slave child from Surabaya.<sup>89</sup> The church agreed to baptize these slave children and entrust their further Christian education to the people who submitted the requests, or if the children were sent to the orphanage, to the housemother. Either way the children would be raised as Christians.

When the children approached a certain age they needed to prove their understanding of church teachings before they were baptized. Native schoolmaster and *ziekentrooster* Nondisa submitted a baptism request for a child, Arnout Herkules, ten. The request was accepted by the consistory on condition that the child

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<sup>84</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 96.

<sup>85</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 17.

<sup>86</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 18, art 2.

<sup>87</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 18, art 3.

<sup>88</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 49.

<sup>89</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 53.

able to explain the Ten Commandments and recite the Lord's Prayer.<sup>90</sup> By asking this the consistory could ascertain how much the child had learned and understood of basic Christian teachings, since at that age the child had already been educated, at home or at school. A year previously, Cornelis, a child of A. Alexandrius and N. Carels, was baptized at the age of eleven along with his younger brother and two other children. As Arnout underwent an examination, so must have Cornelis. The consistory might not have been so different from other Reformed churches with regard to baptizing children approaching adolescence.

*A case in the old person's home (provenierhuijs)*

The next case is a sad illustration of how the social situation contributes to growing number of illegitimate children. Illegitimate children in Company settlements, in particular in Java's Northeast Coast, mostly resulted from the sins of the fathers. The fathers, as we have seen above, were soldiers, sailors, free burghers or other Company personnel.

This remarkable case began with the supervisors (*buiten regenten*) of the *provenierhuijs*, who reported a situation in the house to the government. A Javanese housekeeper (*huishoudster*) who worked in the *proveniershuijs* for several years had given birth to eight children from three different men. The men were Sergeant Christoffel Capelle, sailor Tobias Hittendorf and soldier Johan Christoffel Strielag. All three were inhabitants of the house.

The *regenten* decided that the children would be sent to the orphanage with the approval of the administrators of the *diaconijarmen*. This meant that the children were under the responsibility of the deaconry.

To prevent this from happening again, they removed the Javanese housekeeper from the house so no one would bother her again. They further stipulated that from then on the house's inhabitants were not allowed to be close to (*bij zig te hebben*) a housekeeper, to prevent additional burdens on the *diaconijarmen*.<sup>91</sup>

This was an ironic situation. The house was intended to serve as the last home of elderly or invalid people. Normally they did not have any chance to repatriate due to their poor health so they had no other choice than to spend the rest of their lives in the house. They remained in the Indies for reasons, including those who were not allowed to go back to Europe after they married local women and had children. Now, in their sad condition, they had added a new 'burden' (as stated in the source) to society as a whole, since more children meant more mouths to feed. The mother was sent from the house and separated from her children. The children were to be brought up as Christians in the orphanage. Over the next several years the children might have grown up and taken part in the first local Christian community in Java's Northeast Coast. At that time the Company was already gone, replaced by another colonial administration.

*A case when money and power secured the future of children*

<sup>90</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 160.

<sup>91</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 32-33.

Besides the typical cases above that concerned ‘local’ Christian children who in due course became local Christians in Java (‘the old Indisch’), there was other less typical cases. One such case involved the Van Stralendorff family. With regard to Java’s Northeast Coast’s children, it is also worth noting that there were a small number of fortunate children. The credit went to their fathers who fought to secure the children’s good fortune. We did not know the exact number of these privileged children. One such story is mentioned by Bosma and Raben in *De Oude Indische wereld*.

In their book Bosma and Raben tell the story of the chief of Surakarta, Fredrik Christoffel van Stralendorff. This man had relationships with two women outside of marriage for many years. Bosma and Raben say that this was part of the common European practice of keeping concubines in the Indies. Van Stralendorff had relationship both with a local woman (whose Javanese name was Sintes) and with a European (or more likely Eurasian) woman named Margaretha Juliana Abrahams.<sup>92</sup>

In October 1784 the *weesmeesteren* reported to the Political Council that they received the estate of the late *opperkoopman* and the first *resident* of Surakarta F.C. van Stralendorff amounting to *rd* 65,462.37.8.<sup>93</sup> Five years earlier, in October 1779, Van Stralendorff sent a request to the Governor General and the High Government in Batavia asking to legitimize eight boys and girls whom he fathered out of wedlock with two women, who had already died by the time he sent his request.<sup>94</sup> The children were:

Ditlof Fredrik, nineteen  
 Johannes Ertwijn, eighteen  
 Johanna Frederika, seventeen  
 Otto Leopold, fifteen  
 Carel Lodewijk, fourteen  
 Susanna Hendrika, twelve  
 Maria Dorothea, seven  
 Joachim Diederik, five<sup>95</sup>

Van Stralendorff went all the way to the government in Batavia to ask for approval to legalize his offspring. It seemed that he succeeded. With the estate that he left for the children in 1784, his family name survived into the twentieth century as *pachters en suikerondernemers ... in Jogjakarta*. Thanks to the social standing and wealth he acquired during his lifetime, he secured the fate of his children and his family name. As Bosma and Raben put it: ‘*Waar een streng huwelijksregime ontbrak, ware wettiging en adoptie cruciaal in de vorming van een Europese identiteit en gemeenschap, die dus niet primair op huidskleur, maar op naamgeving was gebaseerd.*’<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Bosma & Raben, *De oude Indische wereld, 1500-1920*, p. 54-55.

<sup>93</sup> VOC 3703, fol. 23.

<sup>94</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 28-30.

<sup>95</sup> <http://members.chello.nl/m.schaap11/stamboom/html/>

[friedrich\\_christoph\\_von\\_strale.html](http://members.chello.nl/m.schaap11/stamboom/html/friedrich_christoph_von_strale.html) and <http://www.antenna.nl/~daktari/stralend.htm>

<sup>96</sup> Bosma and Raben, *De oude Indische wereld, 1500-1920*, p. 55.



A great number of children were not lucky enough to be born into a family of such wealth and high standing as Van Stralendorff's. Most of poor children lived under the protection of poorhouses or orphanages.

The favorable approach of legitimizing illegitimate children started in Batavia in the previous century. The Dutch Reformed church was not in favor of their baptism. However the situation in the Indies put strong pressure on the church. In 1651 and 1656 the church consulted with the classes in the Netherlands about the issue. Concerned fathers, repatriated burghers and Company servants wanted to baptize their children to safeguard their souls. The practice of adoption was a chance to legitimize the status of children and made it possible for them to be baptized. In 1679 the directors recommended that the church in Batavia assist the Governor of the Cape on the matter. Other churches in the Indies followed suit. This foregrounded the difference between the churches in the Indies under the leadership of consistory in Batavia and the classes in the Netherlands. Eventually the difference led to a new development: the legalization of illegitimate children under the notaries act in 1683.<sup>97</sup>

In the late eighteenth century in Java's Northeast Coast the baptism of illegitimate children was a common practice, following the decision of 1683 in Batavia.

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<sup>97</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 305-308.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Poor relief – charity and control

The organization of poor relief is a point of convergence for the interest of early modern politics, religion and society.<sup>1</sup>

Charity was the highest expression of Christian piety, and, at the same time, the parish institutions that carried out this obligation came under increasing magisterial control during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

*Het beoefenen van caritas werd beschouwd als een fundamentele christelijke deugd en de zorg voor haar armere en zwakkere leden als een essentieel kenmerk van de christelijke kerk.*<sup>3</sup>

#### *The deaconry*

Christian charity in early modern societies had two aspects, spiritual and social. Fehler, Parker and Schutte agree that those two aspects were inseparable to understand how society worked. Poor relief came into existence to address the problem of poverty. Niemeijer mentions that poverty in Java's Northeast Coast was much easier to address than in the city-based society of Batavia.<sup>4</sup> This might have been true in the seventeenth century, but the fact was that in the eighteenth century the situation had changed. Small settlements in Java's Northeast Coast had grown into towns and with them poverty increased.

In Batavia *'t college van diakenen* (deaconry) was strong and well organized, the shoemakers' guild (Batavia's only guild, which until the late seventeenth century took care of its poor members) in the early eighteenth century sent its last pennies to the deaconry to care for its poor. In Batavia a deacon was a *huysittenmeester* (1621-1624) as well with responsibility for the town's poor, not only church members. However, after 1624 there was no longer a *huysittenmeester*, only the deaconry. In the 1648, the deaconry and consistory in Batavia merged. The deaconry had to submit regularly annual financial reports to the consistory, after 1624, following the Batavian Church Order. After 1643 the yearly report had to be prepared in the presence of the *commissaris politiek*. In 1621, the deaconry also sent its report to the government, as was later the case with the deaconry in Semarang. In

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<sup>1</sup> Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism, the Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Parker, *The reformation of community, social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland, 1572-1620*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse dorpsamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw*, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 279.

1648 in Batavia there was great conflict due to the election of the deacon, but no such thing happened in the late eighteenth century in Semarang.<sup>5</sup>

Handling the poor in Semarang and its subaltern towns was the responsibility of the deaconry, according to church records. The role of government, however, was decisive – not only in terms of appointing people to office, but also to facilitate whatever was needed, and most importantly, in making money available. Does Fehler’s statement above apply to Dutch colonial society in Semarang? Could a charity organization that had emerged in Europe centuries earlier function in a Dutch-controlled area in late eighteenth century Java?

It was a common practice for the government to appoint *weesmeesteren* (custodians of orphan estates), *weesvader* (housefathers), *armenvoogden* (custodian of the poor), *weesmoeder* (housemothers) and *collecteurs van de armen* (collectors for the poor).<sup>6</sup> In Batavia, a division of labor between deacons was set: *buitenregent weeshuis*, *armenhuis*, *visiteur*, *legaatbezorger*, etc.

The government of Semarang, headed by the governor, carried on with this practice, which was common in the Netherlands as well as in Batavia. Together with the Reformed Church in Semarang, the government supervised poor relief activities. The people in charge of these institutions were always members of the Reformed church, something that underscored the public character of the church and at the same time the Christian identity of society.

In cities in the Netherlands, recipients of poor relief received their ‘allowances’ either from the church, if they were members, or from the town’s own poor relief. In Semarang there was no separate poor relief institution other than the deaconry of the Reformed church.

Of the four relief institutions in town (*weesmeesteren*,<sup>7</sup> *diaconij-armen*, *boedelmeesteren*<sup>8</sup> and *proveniershuis*<sup>9</sup>) only two are highly relevant to this study: *weesmeesteren* and *diaconij-armen*. The rest were not necessarily in direct contact with the work of the consistory, whilst the first two groups had intense contact with the consistory.

Most of the poor in Semarang and its subaltern towns along Java’s Northeast Coast in the late eighteenth century were the widows of soldiers<sup>10</sup> and other low-level Company servants, and the orphans born to their native wives. The list of names of the recipients of alimentionation shows, however, that there were other groups of

<sup>5</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 275-283.

<sup>6</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse dorpsamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw*, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Orphan-masters: Government-appointed officers with the tasks of protecting the interests of orphans, managing their estates and taking custody of them. Most were *weeskamer* members.

<sup>8</sup> Estate-masters: Public or town institutions in charge managing the estates of the deceased.

<sup>9</sup> In Semarang this was a care house for old and invalid people. The inhabitants of the house were not necessarily poor. In fact they paid for the room and board. Sometimes the supervisors worked with *weesmeesteren* to manage the estates of the inhabitants. However if the inhabitants were poor, they were under the care of the deaconry.

<sup>10</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 110: for an example of a widow (whose name was not mentioned) of Sergeant Arie Kleen, who asked the consistory for support for her and her six children.

people who asked the consistory for alimentionation. One thing the groups had in common was the Christian faith, or at least they had all been baptized.

Baptism was not only an act of faith; in the early modern mind it was actually a mark of social distinction between what was within and what was without. If one was baptized (normally in childhood) then one was entitled to ask for assistance from the church. The consistory and relief institutions controlled by the government of Java's Northeast Coast worked together. It was their responsibility to help the poor, and at the same time to exercise moral controls according to Reformed values.

Poor people in need sent their requests to the consistory for support. The consistory and the *weesmeesteren* in Semarang not only provided for the poor in town but for the whole area of Java's Northeast Coast. Therefore, it was not surprising that they received requests from other towns as well, as Semarang was the center of both the colonial administration and church affairs.

Who were those poor people? How did they enter poverty in the first place? How much did the relief assistance help them?

It is rather hard to picture the complete composition of town inhabitants in Java's Northeast Coast in the late eighteenth century, as the previous chapter has shown. However it is still possible to identify a few parts of the Company-controlled areas. Church and VOC records proved to be a great help in identifying not only what the church and the town institutions did, but also who were the poor – and how they ended up in poverty.

#### *Distribution of needed materials*

In Semarang there was no separate meeting of the deacons with regard to support of the poor. All requests were read to or heard by and decided in the *ordinaire vergadering* (ordinary or regular meeting) of the consistory. There were requests at almost every consistory meeting, most of which were approved. The deaconry was responsible for implementation.

In the consistory meetings requests for deaconry assistance were quite common. There were some requests from *inlandsche* burghers for church (deaconry) assistance. The meetings decided on the amounts to be given, which varied.<sup>11</sup> A number of widows of *inlandsche* burghers were also deaconry recipients.<sup>12</sup> The consistory decided that both should receive *rd* 3 a month. A widow of a *ziekentrooster* could also fall into poverty and hence need assistance from the

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<sup>11</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 113: Abraham Josep Louwies asked for an alimentionation for *rd* 3 a month, and the same request was made by Fredrik Davids, a native burgher, who was given *rd* 2¼ a month.

<sup>12</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 120: Theodora Gasparis, widow of the native burgher Frans Thomas, asked for an alimentionation from the deaconry of *rd* 3 a month; fol. 121: requests of Johanna Augusta de Sousa, and Anna Catharina the widow of native burgher Jacob Isaak Pieters; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 141: request of Jacomana Carels widow of native burgher Fredrik de Vos.

deaconry.<sup>13</sup> Indeed a woman might easily fall prey to poverty after the breadwinner of the family, i.e., the husband, died. Life was harsh for inhabitants of colonial towns; they lacked options if their families lost their breadwinners. They were isolated in towns surrounded by Javanese and other local people. They were strangers in a strange land, especially European widows. Even the local born (whether second or third generation as *Indisch* or Dutch-*Indisch*) were alien to the local inhabitants of Java, culturally and religiously. Most of their lives they were kept separate from the locals, since the other ethnic groups had their own *kampong* located elsewhere. As Christians, they were different from their native neighbors. Therefore the church and relief institutions were their last protection in desperate situations.

The amount of support given was slightly higher for people with children. Widows with children such as Margaretha Baijer asked for alimentation for herself and her children in the amount of *rd* 9.16 a month,<sup>14</sup> while a single male or female recipient usually asked for and was granted *rd* 2 to *rd* 5 a month.<sup>15</sup> Another consideration was the former job or position of the late husband. The better and higher the position, the greater support that one could get, as one of the functions of poor relief was to assist recipients according to their standing.

Catharina Roes, widow of *wagter* Retcoe, requested alimentation for herself and her four children. The consistory gave her *rd* 8 a month.<sup>16</sup> Native burgher Arnold Thomas requested an alimentation and received 1 *ducaton* (*f*5 or *rd*. 2) a month.<sup>17</sup>

The requests came not only from poor widows. A poor couple such as Sergeant N. Osman and his wife, Catharina Elisabeth received *rd* 4 a month.<sup>18</sup> This was far from exceptional since other couples, such as *bombardier* Laurent Smit and his wife, Sara Aletta Pietersz, also asked the church for family support. They had four children; the consistory agreed to give them *rd* 4 a month. Jacoba Carels Sheijs, wife of the *bombardier* Caspar Sonneveld, requested alimentation for her and four children; they received *rd* 5 a month.<sup>19</sup> Corporal Raedshorn requested alimentation for his four children and received *rd* 5 a month.<sup>20</sup>

Johanna Manuel and her husband Adriaan David Adam asked for alimentation for their family of four children and received *rd* 4 a month.<sup>21</sup> The consistory agreed to give *rd* 10 a month to native burgher in Sumenep, Carel Carelsz and his family.<sup>22</sup>

If a supplicant husband could still earn some money from a low-income job, the amount that the deaconry gave as alimentation, *rd* 4 – *rd* 5 a month could be seen as a subsidy to help a family to keep their heads above water.

<sup>13</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 17: Elisabeth Eijsveld, widow of the *ziekentrooster* Ostent in Rembang.

<sup>14</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 172-1.

<sup>15</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 170-2: Regina Leegers received an increase from *rd* 3 to *rd* 5 a month; ANRI Kerk 597 fol. 172-2: Rachel Salomonsz asked for *rd* 2 a month.

<sup>16</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 39.

<sup>17</sup> ANRI Kerk 599, fol. 53.

<sup>18</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 39.

<sup>19</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 74.

<sup>20</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 76.

<sup>21</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 59.

<sup>22</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 56.

The deaconry, with approval of the consistory, did not give alimentation away arbitrarily. The amount to be given was specified following a directive of the *plakkaat* in Batavia in 1753.<sup>23</sup> It followed the rank and order of the potential recipients:

a widow of an <i>onderkoopman</i> and above	
of European blood	rd 10.-
per child	rd 2.-
an <i>inlandsche</i> widow, as above	rd 6.-
per child	rd 1.12.-
a widow of European blood, of assistant rank	
and above that rank	rd 6.-
an <i>inlands dito</i>	rd 4.-
and all children <i>pro rato</i> , as above	
a widow of European blood, of rank below	
an assistant	rd 4.-
an <i>inlandsche</i> widow as above	rd 3.-
slaves	rd 2.-
per child	rd -.24.-

The last rank held by a widow's husband was the determining factor of how much alimentation a poor widow could receive. Another decisive factor was race.<sup>24</sup> Widows who were *inlandsche* (no matter if their husbands were European or not) would receive slightly more than half of what European widows did. There was, however, no difference in alimentation with regard to children; the rank of the late father was the only consideration. One thing that the regulation did not cover was alimentation for free burghers. Several cases show that free burghers in Semarang were ranked below assistants.

As commonly practiced church poor relief was also an instrument for social, moral and religious control. The alimentation paid to the widow Sonneveld was cancelled due to her bad and improper behavior until the consistory found significant improvement.<sup>25</sup> In the following consistory meeting the name of the widow Sonneveld was not mentioned. It was possible that she managed to lead her life without any assistance from the church, since the deaconry no longer provided for her. Poor relief could also be used as a disciplinary means as was commonly practiced in the Netherlands and other Dutch colonial towns in Asia.<sup>26</sup> Its main objective was not to punish but to force people to abandon unacceptable behavior. The widow Sonneveld was a member of the Reformed church otherwise she would

<sup>23</sup> Van der Chijs, (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 6 (1750-1754) March 12, 1754.

<sup>24</sup> Notions of race at the time had to do more with culture and way of life, which in turn made the concept separate in legal and social terms. It was a question of whether a man was free or slave, whether one lived under European law or under a local ruler or whether one lived in an European or local way.

For the *Indische mensen* the situation was more complicated since they had mixed origins. Most of the time during Dutch rule *Indische mensen*, in particular town inhabitants, followed European laws, to which a local flavor was added from time to time.

<sup>25</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 112.

<sup>26</sup> Niemeijer, *Batavia – een koloniale samenleving in de 17<sup>de</sup> eeuw*, p. 354-357.

never have been added to the list of alimentionation recipients. Disciplinary measures could only be exercised over members of the church. A person might have been banned if his or her name was no longer found in church records. It was also possible that the widow Sonneveld's name was mentioned in a part of the church resolutions that were lost. Either way, she was under church discipline, which was indeed strict for its recipients.

The deaconry gave away money both on a regular basis and incidentally. There were regular alimentionation payments, such as that paid to veteran sailor Jan Fredrik Smits, who requested support due to the loss of his foot in the war in Sumba. He received *rd* 3 a month.<sup>27</sup> Another case of incidental payment was that of the soldier Valentijn Kehren who asked for help to pay for the burial of his wife.<sup>28</sup> That was possible. The deaconry also paid for healthcare and funeral costs as incidental expenses (*diverse andere kleinere uitgaven*) as was commonly done in the Netherlands.<sup>29</sup>

Requests were sent not only by the prospective recipients. A Company officer could also send a request to the consistory on behalf of a subject. The *opperhoofd* of Surakarta sent a request to the consistory asking for alimentionation to be paid to the widow De Blij.<sup>30</sup>

A poor father could also ask for deaconry assistance before he sent his children to the orphanage or poorhouse. Soldier Ernst Schultze from Pasuruan requested an alimentionation for his adopted daughter since he was planning to send her to the poorhouse in Semarang.<sup>31</sup> No request letters survived to our time, but it was quite possible that requests were made in several ways. A prospective recipient might have talked directly to a consistory member or a deacon, or a member of consistory himself may have seen the need and brought it to the consistory's attention or in any other number of ways. In the end it came down to the consistory meeting to decide on the applications.

Assistance always took into account the recent situation of the recipient. One report to the Political Council of Semarang in 1773 gave a clear example of how the deaconry handled relief recipients:<sup>32</sup>

- 1) The widow of the late bookkeeper Francois was supported with *rd* 10 or *rd* 8 a month. At the same time she was told to put her children into the poor children's school and for her son to work for the Company when he reached a certain age.
- 2) The widow De Sousa received *rd* 3 1/3 instead of *rd* 5 as before, because she had fewer children to provide for. The reason for this reduction was unclear. Perhaps there was a death in the family or a child found a job and moved away. Either way, with fewer mouths to feed it meant that the support could be reduced.

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<sup>27</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 124.

<sup>28</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 145.

<sup>29</sup> Schutte, *Een Hollandse Dorpssamenleving*, p. 76.

<sup>30</sup> ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 155.

<sup>31</sup> ANRI Kerk 599, fol. 29.

<sup>32</sup> VOC 3388, fol. 28-29.



- 3) The alimention payment of *rd* 6 to the wife of the former *bode* (messenger) Cornelis Ruijpers – then an assistant in Batavia – was cancelled, due to the promotion of her husband and their move from Semarang to Batavia. The family was now no longer considered as living in the *minima* – to use the current Dutch expression – and hence they no longer needed the alimention payment.
- 4) People were also dismissed from the list of deaconry support for other reasons: as shown in the cases of the widows Lequin, Decker, Izaak Willemsz and Wigbols. There was no explanation for the dismissals. The widows might have died, since there was no sign of a withholding for disciplinary reasons.
- 5) There was a reduction of alimention from *rd* 6 to *rd* 3 a month for the bookkeeper Rembang Guldenaar (and his wife and children) after his daughter married and his other child was old enough to find work. With a lighter burden and extra income, the family could live on a reduced amount.
- 6) There was also a flow of new recipients. There were alimention payments recorded for old and sick (*gebrekkige*) people: Sara Willems, Elizabet Domingo, Anna Anthonia, and Catharina Elias, who received *rd* 3, *rd* 3¼, *rd* 3¼ and *rd* 2½ a month, respectively.
- 7) A report from Surabaya relayed the case of a widow in Pasuruan whose alimention was to be cancelled if she continued her bad behavior. This case shows that poor relief was indeed an integral part of social discipline.
- 8) The widow of the smith Pecker and her children in Surakarta received *rd* 6 a month.

Alimention was never guaranteed. Once a particular recipient received a payment, it was a beginning of a life under the watchful eyes of the deaconry. The payment could be raised, reduced or even cancelled depending on the current state of affairs or the recipient's behavior.

The flood of requests submitted to the deaconry by poor people in the late eighteenth century augurs the question of the strength of the poor relief institution in Java's Northeast Coast to handle this burden. A complete list of all recipients was compiled in the 1790s when the issue of income and expenditures reached a critical point. Unfortunately that comprehensive record of recipients appears to have been lost along with the deaconry records.

*Deaconry income and expenditures*

As the complete number of recipients may be impossible to recover, financial reports from church and Company sources must provide insight into the work of the deaconry.

The source of income for the *diaconij-armen* in Semarang came from the church and other sources, with non-church funding comprising the larger portion:<sup>33</sup>

- \* ordinary and extraordinary collections from all churches in Java's Northeast Coast
- \* fines (*boete*)
- \* renting the mourning mantle,
- \* letters (certificates) of death and of marriage
- \*  $\frac{1}{4}$  of *tandak's* lease (*pacht*)
- \* fees from releasing slaves
- \* Company grants for paying the schoolmasters
- \* alimentionation for children in the poor house
- \* estates (*boedel*) of dead burghers whose children were under the care of the *weesmeesteren*

Three of nine sources of the deaconry's income came from fees that were imposed on the general public in towns. The government issued death certificates and marriage certificates for the non-Christian population and the fees went into the deaconry's pot. This applied to all Company-controlled towns in Java's Northeast Coast. One quarter of the *tandak* (a local public entertainment) lease in towns also went to the deaconry, as did the fees for releasing slaves.

The other six were church or Company fixed resources, such as collections, alimentionation, *boedel* and the salaries of schoolmasters.

A miscellaneous report from 1776 gives a more elaborate account of the deaconry's income and expenditures:<sup>34</sup>

*income*

- \* ordinary collections from churches in Java's Northeast Coast
- \* interest from the capital of the deaconry
- \* fines
- \*  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of auction tax (*vendu*)
- \* inheritances of the poor
- \* donations to the poor
- \* adoptions
- \* rental of the mourning mantle
- \* certificates of death and wedding for non-Christians
- \*  $\frac{1}{2}$  of *tandakspelen pacht*
- \* one year's expenditure for maintaining schoolmasters (*a subsidy*)
- \* emancipation of slaves (*rd 25* each)

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<sup>33</sup> VOC 3388, fol. 106-109.

<sup>34</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 76-79.

*expenditure*

- \* maintaining poor children
- \* ordinary costs (*ongelden*)
- \* maintaining schoolmasters
- \* school necessities
- \* reparations and other costs
- \* [medical] practices in the poor-house
- \* alimention for the poor living outside the poor-house (*buijten armen*)
- \* dowries
- \* cost for burials of the poor

The income of the *diaconij-armen* always fluctuated. Only the capital interest of the deaconry and the maintenance cost for the schoolmaster were fixed amounts.

The income list for 1776 showed that the non-Christians in town provided part of the revenue. The fees for making death and marriage certificates for non-Christians and half of the *tandakspelen pacht* went to the *diaconij-armen*. This is surprising since three years previously only a quarter of the *tandak* was levied. The general public also paid fines, a 0.01 percent tax on auctions and a fee for releasing slaves. The biggest share came from church collections.<sup>35</sup> This is interesting, since Van Deursen says in the Netherlands collections were considered the main source of income but in practice were not.<sup>36</sup>

The other sources of income save for church collections, might come from anyone, Christians and non-Christians alike. Thus the local government indirectly arranged for colonial society to maintain the local poor and the orphans.

Local people who lived in Company-controlled areas were not necessarily Company men. Nevertheless their lives were connected to the Company. The Chinese, native free burghers and other locals were part of colonial society in the late eighteenth century Java. Some of were Christians; most were not. A small fraction of the taxes of those who were not Christian went to aid poor Christians. This was an important feature of Christian government, namely, to compel all members of society to do charitable works. It was something the government believed as an essential Christian virtue.

Maintaining orphans and alimention for the poor regularly comprised the biggest annual expenditure.

An example from the year 1777<sup>37</sup>:

<i>onderhoud der armen weesen</i>	... rd 4,789.-,-
<i>onderhoude der buiten off huis armen</i>	... rd 613.24.-
of a total:	... rd 6,500.44.-

We will discuss the orphans and their upkeep in the next chapter.

The following table shows the income and expenditure of the deaconry from 1759 to 1792.

<sup>35</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 77: collection was rd 3,733.38.- from a total income of rd 10,454.28.

<sup>36</sup> Van Deursen, *Bavianen*, p. 109.

<sup>37</sup> VOC 3497, fol. 68.

Table 13: Annual cash flow report of the deaconry in Semarang, 1759-1792

D a t e <sup>38</sup>	Income (in <i>rd</i> )	Expenditure (in <i>rd</i> )
February 1759 <sup>39</sup>	+ 460.45.-	
February 1762 <sup>40</sup>	+ 405.19.4	
February 1763 <sup>41</sup>	+ 449.6.12	
February 1764 <sup>42</sup>	+ 291.9.5	
February 1770 <sup>43</sup>	- 568.-.6	
February 1772 <sup>44</sup>	5,131.42.10	5,905.1.8
February 1773 <sup>45</sup>	5,978.25.2	5,897.29.-
February 1776 <sup>46</sup>	6,793.16.-	3,661.12.-
February 1777 <sup>47</sup>	6,959.41.-	6,500.44.-
February 1778 <sup>48</sup>	8,171.15.12	6,625.8.8
February 1780 <sup>49</sup>	13,502.34.-	8,168.10.-
February 1781 <sup>50</sup>	9,470.35.16	7,547.24.2
February 1783 <sup>51</sup>	10,862.10.8	7,862.10.8
February 1784 <sup>52</sup>	11,799.44.-	8,161.2.-
February 1785 <sup>53</sup>	10,121.-.8	8,665.8.8
February 1786 <sup>54</sup>	11,303.45.12	7,807.37.4

<sup>38</sup> Annual reports from 1759 – 1770 show only surpluses or deficits.

<sup>39</sup> VOC 2968, April 12, 1759.

<sup>40</sup> VOC 3064, May 23, 1762.

<sup>41</sup> VOC 3093, April 9, 1763.

<sup>42</sup> VOC 3093, April 9, 1764.

<sup>43</sup> VOC 3306, May 25, 1770.

<sup>44</sup> VOC 3362, December 31, 1772.

<sup>45</sup> VOC 3388, fol. 108-109.

<sup>46</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 76.

<sup>47</sup> VOC 3497, fol. 66-68.

<sup>48</sup> VOC 3526, fol. 96-97.

<sup>49</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 67-68.

<sup>50</sup> VOC 3626, fol. 68-69.

<sup>51</sup> VOC 3675, 1784, § 250.

<sup>52</sup> VOC 3703, fol. 60-62.

<sup>53</sup> VOC 3736, fol. 178-180.

<sup>54</sup> VOC 3736, December 21, 1786, § 379.

February 1787 <sup>55</sup>	11,876.9.2	8,957.33.-
February 1788 <sup>56</sup>	10,035.46.-	12,868.43.-
February 1789 <sup>57</sup>	9,838.3.-	9,295.42.-
February 1790 <sup>58</sup>	8,791.15.2	8,430.42.-
February 1792 <sup>59</sup>	9,342.9.-	8,529.8.-

Starting in 1780 income was almost consistently above *rd* 10,000, while in earlier decades the amount grew steadily, albeit below that amount. Usually expenditures were less than income, which provided for a welcome addition to the capital of the deaconry. Only in 1770, 1772 and 1788 did expenditures exceed income. At the time that the expenditures were considered large and the government took measures to guarantee maintenance costs and boost income. However, there were no indications that the government funded the deficit itself.

In a broader context, Van Niel shows that after 1780 the Company's profits started to decline after the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War began. For one-and-a-half decades expenditures were greater than income.<sup>60</sup> According to Table 13, deaconry income was relatively stable or was even higher than in previous decades between 1780 and 1792. Only in 1788 were expenditures particularly greater than income. Towards the end of the VOC era, the deaconry still had some hold its money and the people under its care.

Table 14 is a compilation of all annual reports on the capital held by the deaconry and *weeskamer* between 1750 and 1792. The table shows that while the capital of the deaconry fluctuated without any pattern, the capital of *weeskamer* began to accumulate after the mid-1770s. It also shows that most of the time the deaconry kept its capital above the critical number of *rd.* 10,000, meaning the balance was large enough to generate interest and secure a fixed income.

<sup>55</sup> VOC 3813, fol. 56-58.

<sup>56</sup> VOC 3814, April 16, 1788.

<sup>57</sup> VOC 3909, fol. 23-24.

<sup>58</sup> VOC 3964, fol. 311.

<sup>59</sup> VOC 3986, fol. 435-436.

<sup>60</sup> Van Neil, *Java's Northeast Coast*, p. 45: in the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Company was no longer making a profit.

Decade	Expenditures in <i>f</i>	Income in <i>f</i>
...	...	...
1780-1790	212,300,000	145,900,00
1790-1795	86,700,00	61,200,00

Table 14: Annual report of the capital held by the deaconry and *weeskamer* in Semarang, 1750-1792

Month and Year	Capital of deaconry (in <i>rd</i> )	Capital of <i>weeskamer</i> (in <i>rd</i> )
February 1750 <sup>61</sup>	12,048.34.4	4,374.24.-
February 1751 <sup>62</sup>	12,428.29.-	4,438.16.-
February 1752 <sup>63</sup>	10,800.13.-	3,788.25.-
February 1754 <sup>64</sup>	10,623.2.6	3,846.34.-
February 1755 <sup>65</sup>	11,875.11.6	4,042.25.-
February 1757 <sup>66</sup>	9,826.32.8	N/A
February 1758 <sup>67</sup>	9,900.36.12	2,994.43.8
February 1759 <sup>68</sup>	10,361.33.12	4,490.5.-
February 1760	11,115.43.12 <sup>69</sup>	7,741.12.- <sup>70</sup>
February 1761 <sup>71</sup>	12,491.46.12	7,936.9.8
* February 1761 <sup>72</sup>	12,431.29.2	8,107.33.½
February 1762 <sup>73</sup>	12,837.-.6	8,898.7.½
February 1763 <sup>74</sup>	13,286.7.2	9,375.11.8
February 1764 <sup>75</sup>	N/A	12,594.25.2
February 1765 <sup>76</sup>	13,648.15.-	23,651.42.14
February 1766 <sup>77</sup>	14,725.10.14	25,405.12.11
February 1767 <sup>78</sup>	N/A	29,283.21.15
February 1769 <sup>79</sup>	16,631.4.4	41,007.44.13
February 1770 <sup>80</sup>	16,708.4.4	N/A
February 1771 <sup>81</sup>	23,402.27.6	31,496.-.2

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- 61 VOC 2766, fol. 44.  
62 VOC 2824, fol. 97-98.  
63 VOC 2824, fol. 97-98.  
64 VOC 2843, fol. 107.  
65 VOC 2865, fol. 38-40.  
66 VOC 2938, fol. 9.  
67 VOC 2938, fol. 9.  
68 VOC 2968, fol. 42-43.  
69 VOC 2996, March 29, 1760.  
70 VOC 3027, March 1761.  
71 VOC 3027, March 1761.  
72 VOC 3064, March 23, 1762.  
73 VOC 3064, March 23, 1762.  
74 VOC 3093, April 9, 1763.  
75 VOC 3123, March 21, 1764.  
76 VOC 3185, fol. 2-12.  
77 VOC 3185, fol. 2-12.  
78 VOC 3214, July 10, 1767.  
79 VOC 3306, May 25, 1770.  
80 VOC 3306, May 25, 1770.  
81 VOC 3362, December 31, 1772.

February 1772 <sup>82</sup>	22,029.20.8	29,734.25.4 <sup>9/10</sup>
February 1773	12,760.6.10 <sup>83</sup>	32,728.27.1 <sup>84</sup>
February 1775	12,334.36.- <sup>85</sup>	63,565.3.- <sup>86</sup>
February 1776 <sup>87</sup>	15,996.-.-	71,103.18.-
February 1777 <sup>88</sup>	16,034.5.-	68,078.38.13
February 1778 <sup>89</sup>	17,580.12.4	81,194.22.-
February 1779 <sup>90</sup>	19,373.40.4	N/A
February 1780 <sup>91</sup>	24,707.16.4	83,889.40.10 <sup>92</sup>
February 1781 <sup>93</sup>	27,390.10.-	N/A
February 1782 <sup>94</sup>	29,313.21.2	94,578.36.4 <sup>95</sup>
February 1783 <sup>96</sup>	33,276.26.8 <sup>97</sup>	103,595.38.3
February 1784	36,276.26.8 <sup>98</sup>	103,948.33.3 <sup>99</sup>
February 1785 <sup>100</sup>	39,915.20.3	226,397.22.4 <sup>1/2</sup> <sup>101</sup>
February 1786	41,371.12.8 <sup>102</sup>	203,658.41.7 <sup>1/14</sup> <sup>103</sup>
February 1787 <sup>104</sup>	44,289.36.10	190,537.4.10 <sup>25/42</sup>
February 1788	41,456.39.10 <sup>105</sup>	193,290.7.5 <sup>16/21</sup> <sup>106</sup>
February 1789 <sup>107</sup>	41,999.-.10	N/A
February 1790 <sup>108</sup>	40,601.22.10	257,134.14.7 <sup>1/35</sup> <sup>109</sup>

- 82 VOC 3362, December 31, 1772.  
83 VOC 3388, fol. 106-109.  
84 VOC 3388, fol. 30.  
85 VOC 3468, fol. 76.  
86 VOC 3468, December 24, 1776.  
87 VOC 3468, December 24, 1776.  
88 VOC 3497, December 22, 1777.  
89 VOC 3526, December 24, 1778.  
90 VOC 3584, fol. 67.  
91 VOC 3584, fol. 67.  
92 VOC 3589, *Memorandum of Transfer of outgoing Governor Johannes Sieberg*, § 147, fol. 1074r.  
93 VOC 3626, fol. 67-70.  
94 VOC 3626, fol. 67-70.  
95 VOC 3651, fol. 17.  
96 VOC 3651, fol. 17.  
97 VOC 3675, December 21, 1784, § 250.  
98 VOC 3675, December 21, 1784, § 250.  
99 VOC 3675, December 21, 1784, § 246.  
100 VOC 3703, fol. 44-62.  
101 VOC 3776, December 21, 1786, § 377.  
102 VOC 3776, December 21, 1786, § 379.  
103 VOC 3776, December 21, 1786, § 377.  
104 VOC 3813, December 31, 1787, § 376, § 378.  
105 VOC 3814, June 16, 1788.  
106 VOC 3814, April 18, 1788.  
107 VOC 3909, fol. 23-25.  
108 VOC 3909, fol. 482-485.

February 1791	40,961.43.12 <sup>110</sup>	243,530.3.1 <sup>11/20</sup> <sup>111</sup>
February 1792 <sup>112</sup>	41,774.44.12	N/A

The exact number of people living under the rule of Java's Northeast Coast's government between the 1750s and 1790s is hard to come by. However the rising amount of income and capital held by both the deaconry and the *weeskamer* might indicate a rising number of people living in Java's Northeast Coast. A larger number of people would generate a larger number of *rijksdaalder* (rijksdollars), despite the grim situation of the Company towards the end of the century.

Table 13 carries a different message: amid rising expenditures, there were a rising number of poor in Java's Northeast Coast. More poverty meant more resources had to be distributed.

### *Provisions for the poor*

Sources from the 1780s and 1790s show in more detail the measures that the government and the consistory used to control and, at the same time, to provide for the poor.

A report from 1790 had the following information.<sup>113</sup> From 1787 to 1790 the deaconry's capital dropped by *rd* 3,688.14.-. In 1787 the capital was *rd* 44,289.36.10, which fell to *rd* 41,397.42 in 1790 (*sic!*).<sup>114</sup>

The government expressed concern. If the situation did not improve and if capital still had to be used to maintain the poor house and the orphanage, interest might not be able to keep up with rising costs.

The consistory and the government realized that the drop in capital had nothing to do with the annual income of God's houses (charity houses). Income was still more or less at the same level as in previous years. The real problem was the rising number of children in the orphanage: In 1781 there 135 children; by 1790 that number had grown to 153. The number kept rising despite that some children died, married, joined the army or became sailors. The government concluded that the growing number of children reflected the increasing population of the colony (*de vermeerderde volkrijkheid der kolonie*).

Life was harder for women in colonial society. The report noted some women who left the orphanage after they were married sometimes returned when their husbands died. The widows had nowhere to go and consequently had to ask the deaconry for a favor for themselves and their children. The widows had little to offer colonial society except for their domestic roles within a family. This made the burden for poor relief heavier in general.

<sup>109</sup> VOC 3964, December 31, 1791 § 615.

<sup>110</sup> VOC 3964, December 31, 1791 § 617.

<sup>111</sup> VOC 3964, December 31, 1791 § 615.

<sup>112</sup> VOC 3986, fol. 435-437.

<sup>113</sup> ANRI Kerk 598 fol. 137-142; VOC 3909, fol. 487-492.

<sup>114</sup> There is a difference between the report of February (VOC 3909, fol. 482-485) and April (VOC 3909, fol. 487-492). In this case the April report was similar to the consistory resolution (ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 137-142).



Faced with such problems the government ordered a reduction of expenses as a logical way to maintain the orphanage. Previously, *rd* 3 a month was budgeted for each child, but from then on housemother was given *rd* 2½ a month per orphan. In the colonial town of Semarang, expenses for the poor house/orphanage were greater than the sum of all alimentation payments made to poor people and poor families (*huijsarmen*).

In 1790 the government of Semarang decided to reduce the money spent on children, schoolmasters, doctors, school necessities, orphan dowries and many other things until the number of orphans decreased. This was a wishful thinking, but a practical solution.

Furthermore, the consistory informed the administrators of the poor to adhere to this new regulation. There would be an investigation of all *huijsarmen* who received aid. In the past, due to lack of proper investigation, many subsidies were given to people who were not entitled to enjoy deaconry support.

It was decided that now a proper examination was required. The consistory was ordered to send the deacons or the *armbesorgers* to do an annual *revue* in May to gather the needed information. They had to report on the actual situation in the houses and the people who lived outside the poorhouses who also received assistance from the deaconry. The reports had to explain how the recipients lived morally and civilly (*in opsigt van het zedelijke als burgerlijke*). The goal was to judge whether they were indeed in need of assistance and had been behaving accordingly, or if they were untrustworthy and lazy people. This occurred in Semarang and every *subalterne comptoiren*.

Amid the Company's financial difficulties in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the government in Semarang tried to keep the deaconry's financial situation under control.<sup>115</sup> Collections by far comprised the largest portion of the income of Semarang's *diaconij-armen*. In the 1792 total income was *rd* 9,342.9 almost *rd* 7,000 of which came from collections. The total amount raised through collections in Semarang and subordinate towns was *rd* 4,657.46.8 and their interest over 12 months was *rd* 2,245.36.<sup>116</sup>

The *collecte* was indeed the main component of *diaconij-armen* earnings. The participation of town inhabitants was indispensable for sustaining the lives of poor people. It was not surprising when the Political Council time and again asked the consistory and the minister to urge the congregation to have more compassion for the needy and the poor. There was a hope that the congregation would give more money than they had previously since hard times were coming. The income of the *diaconij-armen* was simply inadequate.

Two biggest expenditures were for the maintenance of the orphans at *rd* 4,787.24, and the maintenance of the *buiten-* or *huisarmen* at *rd* 2,347.15.<sup>117</sup>

At the beginning of 1792 the capital of *diaconij-armen* was *rd* 41,774.44.12, which was actually only *rd* 4,774.44.12 in ready money kept by the administrators, since *rd* 37,000 was dedicated to mortgages (*hijpoteecquen*). Interest

<sup>115</sup> VOC 3986, fol. 435-438, fol. 438-448.

<sup>116</sup> VOC 3986, fol. 435.

<sup>117</sup> VOC 3986, fol. 436.

generated around *rd* 2,200 a year for the *diaconij-armen* at six percent interest per year.

There were always incidental expenses. Expenses (*ongelden*) for the funerals of poor people cost *rd* 8 per person, which was paid for by the *diaconij-armen* administrator. Dowries for the girls of the orphanage who were to be married were *rd* 50 per person. The numbers of deaths and girls who married fluctuated from year to year. The number of incoming children was greater than the number of outgoing children. Even over the period of a year the number could change drastically.

The numbers of children living in the orphanage from 1791 to 1792 changed significantly over the course of the year.

March 1791	: 148
April 1791	: 149
May 1791	: 155
June 1791	: 155
July 1791	: 159
August 1791	: 160
September 1791	: 163
October 1791	: 167
November 1791	: 167
December 1791	: 163
January 1792	: 162
February 1792	: 167

In this particular year the number of children living in the orphanage increased by nearly twenty or thirteen percent. The number of newcomers to the orphanage was higher than those who left the house.

The orphanage spent *rd* 2½ to *rd* 3 a month per child in maintenance costs. The monthly alimantation paid to *huijsarmen* varied from *rd* 2 to *rd* 10, while the duration of the payments varied from half-a-year to a full year. Changes and economy measures introduced in the last decade of the century demonstrated how scarce Company resources were amid the growing number of poor people.

#### *The buitenarmen in Semarang and huisarmen in other towns*

A report from the administrators of the *armen middelen* was presented to the consistory in early 1790 and afterwards an extract appeared in the records of the Political Council meeting in mid-1790. The administrators performed their *revue* of the *buitenarmen* as ordered. At that time the number of the *buitenarmen* in Semarang was thirty-five (male and female) and total amount disbursed was *rd* 165.28 a month. The administrators, having completed the *revue*, came to a decision to reduce total disbursements to *rd* 122.32 a month. The council asked the consistory to keep the council informed on the behavior and the way of life and the livelihood of the *armen* and to advise if those who received assistance still needed a support.<sup>118</sup>

Some reports also came in from the *comptoirten*. Unlike reports from previous years, these reports had information on some hitherto unknown poor

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<sup>118</sup> VOC 3909, fol. 546-549.

families outside Semarang. They were considered part of the financial expenditures for the deaconry and no longer a separate expenditure.

There were three recipients in the poorhouse in Surabaya who previously received deaconry assistance; the deacons decided to reduce their maintenance cost from *rd* 7 a month to *rd* 4 a month. In Bangkalan the poor were housed in the town poorhouse along with their children. There was no cut in the maintenance costs in this town, as was the case in Pasuruan. It was noted that Pasuruan's poor living in the town's only poorhouse behaved accordingly. Other towns in Oosthoek, Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Jepara had no poorhouse. There was one poorhouse in Rembang, and the poor there lived as good Christians and suffered *grote armoede*. Therefore the assistance was thought to have gone into good hands. The situation in Pekalongan resembled Rembang. In Juwana there was only one poorhouse, where poor and old people lived together. Tegal had one poorhouse and the poor who were living there were needy.<sup>119</sup> Never before was there such an elaborate report on all the poorhouses at all the outposts; obviously the deaconry had serious financial problems in maintaining poor assistance. On the one hand they needed to cut unnecessary cost; on the other hand they had a responsibility to provide for poor Christians.

#### *The weesmeesteren in Semarang*

Besides the deaconry, the orphan masters (*weesmeesteren*) were also in charge of poor relief in Java's Northeast Coast. The orphan chamber (*weeskamer*) came into being in 1763, with one member of the Political Council as chairperson (*praeses*). He was accompanied by two Company servants, two burghers and the first clerk of the Political Council as secretary of the *weeskamer*. The members were called *weesmeesteren* and were responsible for supervising the estates (*boedel/nalatenschap*) of all orphans inside and outside the orphanage.

The *weeskamer* was given *rd* 1,000 as an advance (*borg*). Subsequent arrangements were in the hands of Governor Van Ossenberch.<sup>120</sup> In the Memorandum of Transfer of outgoing Governor Johannes Robbert van der Burgh to his successor, Johannes Siberg, it was reported that the *weesmeesteren* was comprised of five members in 1780: three Company servants and two burghers. There were 142 children housed in the orphanage that year. At the end of Van der Burgh's tenure the *weeskamer* capital had increased from *rd* 13,073.34.6 to *rd* 24,707.16.4.<sup>121</sup>

Eleven years later in 1791 the Memorandum of Transfer of outgoing Governor Jan Greeve reported that the capital of the *weeskamer* had shrunk to *rd*. 243,530.3.1.<sup>122</sup> It seemed like a fairly large amount, but according to Governor Greeve during his reign the capital *vermindert is met rd* 52,992.46.5, which meant

<sup>119</sup> VOC 3909, fol. 548-549.

<sup>120</sup> Van der Chijs, , *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 7 (1755-1764) May 17<sup>th</sup> 1763: *Oprigting eener Weeskamer te Samarang*.

<sup>121</sup> VOC 3589, [1780] fol. 1073r § 145: the *weeskamer*, 1073v § 146: children in the orphanage.

<sup>122</sup> VOC 3971, [1791] § 195: *weeskamer*; § 196: *diaconij*; § 197-199: children and deacons.

there was a sixteen percent loss of capital. This is rather a strange conclusion when compared to Table 14 above, which shows that the largest amount of the capital recorded was *rd* 257,134.14.7 in 1790.

Some children entered the orphanage with the estates of their deceased parents. The Resident of Juwana, Jacob Binkhorst sent to the administrator of *der arme middelen* a child of a deceased free slave named Johanna together with *rd* 1,662.7.<sup>123</sup> This child had certainly been baptized otherwise she would not have been allowed to enter the orphanage. Such children came to Semarang with a certain amount of money that they would receive when they came of age. In this way a parent might ensure that their children's future was protected. Until the children reached their majority the *weesmeesteren* were responsible for supervising their inheritances.

It was also possible that the *weesmeesteren* came along rather late, since Java's Northeast Coast was such a big area. Dorothea E. Abrahamsz, widow of *ziekentrooster* Jelles Melleman in Surabaya, said that her late husband was the guardian (*executeur en voogd*) of the estates of their two minor adopted daughters, Sophia Catharina and Maria Magdalena – the daughters of the late *vaandrig* Frans La Tour in Surabaya. After her husband died, it was not possible for her alone to serve as the children's guardian. After the estates of the children were assessed the girls were transferred to the supervision of the *weesmeesteren* in Semarang, along with four slaves that belonged to the estate who were to be sold and the proceeds added to the children's capital.<sup>124</sup> Some children entered the orphanage with such lucrative estates or they might have found good foster families.

Secretary of the *weesmeesteren* G. Roghie reported that Governor Van der Burgh gave *rd* 500 to the *weeskamer* on behalf of Carel Lodewijk, the child of the late bookkeeper C.S. Meijersiek. There was a condition: should Carel Lodewijk die before he reached his teens the money would be used for the care of his two surviving: Carlotta Luisa and Johanna Christina.<sup>125</sup> The *weesmeesteren* supervised the estates of deceased citizens on behalf of surviving children. Governor Van den Burgh had indeed generously endowed the child of his late employee.

A few years later, there was the case of Jacoba Isabella Mestral and her four underage (*onmondige*) children. In early 1763 Mestral, the widow of the former *onderkoopman* and second *pakhuijsmeester* Isaac Constantijn Martheze submitted her request to the Political Council of Semarang for an exemption. Earlier the government asked her to submit to an exact inventory of her entire estate to be examined by an expert to be *getaxeert*. After the estate was valued, they intended to divide it between the widow and the four children when all other things had been settled.

The widow asked for an exemption from the government so that what was left of the estate would not be divided and to let her to keep the children under her care. She gave her word that if she remarried or moved she would give her children what they were entitled to. The government understood her situation and approved her request.<sup>126</sup> Her name was not mentioned in the alimentation recipient list in 1763

<sup>123</sup> VOC 2996, August 15, 1760.

<sup>124</sup> VOC 3093, August 22, 1763.

<sup>125</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 157.

<sup>126</sup> VOC 3093, January 20, 1763.

nor in following years, so it seems she and her children escaped poverty, thanks to the estate that her late husband left. Another possibility is that the family moved or returned to the Netherlands.

We may consider that Mestral was quite lucky: her late husband left her and her children enough resources to keep the family together and at the same time to sustain them.

Apart from some of the cases mentioned above, the *weeskamer* in Semarang apparently worked the way *weeskamer* did everywhere: they supervised the estates of deceased Dutch or *inland* Christians, and they worked hand in hand with the deaconry in Semarang.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Orphanages

Education and training was seen as a vital component of poor relief....attempts were made to prevent future poverty.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Orphan*

Most of children in the orphanages in Semarang came into this life doubly miserable. First, they were born as illegitimate children or had lost both their parents. Either way, they were alone. Second, they were born into a world where they had to grow up as fast as possible, because their lives depended on how well they fared in the world.

Society, by means of orphanages and schools, tried to guide them to live accordingly (i.e., by adhering to Christian norms and values) and eventually to be useful members of society. They studied at school and were trained in skills by town artisans. When orphaned boys reached a certain age they left the house and entered the world as apprentices or became soldiers or sailors. Any work was acceptable as long as it was needed by the colonial society.

The church and the government selected a number of good people in town to care for poor children. In Semarang, wives of ministers, for example, were appointed as *buitenregentesse* (supervisors) from time to time together with wives of other consistory members. The supervisors were to keep their eyes open to see how orphanages were doing under the care of the housemothers (who were supposed to be good-natured ladies) and the schoolmasters.

As mentioned earlier, the situation of children in Semarang first came to light in 1716 when there was a report that there were seventy children born to concubines in Java's North Coast. This was not special in and of itself. Previously such children would have been sent to Batavia out of fear that they, after receiving baptism, might become Muslim under the influence of their Javanese mothers (*uit vrees, dat zij andres, 'na den H. Doop te hebben ontfangen, onder de Javanen in het Mahumetisdom souden moeten vervallen*). Unfortunately, there was no place for the children in the orphanage in Batavia that year.<sup>2</sup> The orphanage in Semarang might as well have followed the example of the older one in Batavia.

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<sup>1</sup> Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism, the Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 4 [1709-1743], p. 89: October 16<sup>th</sup> 1716, Bepaling dat aan Compagnie's dienaren, die bij inlandsche vrouwen onechte kinderen hadden verwekt, geene verlossing naar Nederland zoude worden verleend: 'De Regering wilde deselve bij en aan haere kinderen geattacheert houden, opdat andere sig daar aan mogen spiegelen en wagten voor diergelijke blocken.

Het aantal dier kinderen was zoozeer toegenomen, dat in korten [tijd] meer als een armhuijs daer voor vereijtschen soude. Van Samarang wilde het bestuur aldaar een 70tal te gelijk naar Batavia zenden om aldaar door de Diaconie onderhouden te worden, uit vrees, dat zij anders, na den H. doop

In the early seventeenth century the orphanage in Batavia functioned more or less as a relief center (*opvangtehuis*) for illegitimate children. In these early years the company and the *diaconij* (deaconry) in Batavia primarily cared for the poor, including children.<sup>3</sup>

In 1635 the first fourteen orphans entered the Batavia poorhouse/orphanage. Previously these children were under the care of *vrijburgers*, however they were found lacking in discipline and needed to learn the fear of God (*vreesse des Heeren*), which they apparently had not received from their former foster parents. Niemeijer concludes that the founding of this *diaconij* poorhouse/orphanage was a government initiative to combat pauperism.<sup>4</sup> Without proper preparation poor children could not succeed in living up to society's standards and earn a decent living.

The poorhouse started as a simple accommodation in a building that was made of bamboo. In 1639 it was upgraded to stone and plaster. After 1649 the government left supervision of deaconry buildings to consistories, which in turn gave control of the daily routine and administrative affairs to the *college van diakenen* while retaining the right to appoint and discharge housefathers and schoolmasters. However in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Batavian consistory handed over all authority concerning the house to two supervisors (*buitenregenten*).<sup>5</sup>

There was some disagreement between Batavia and the directors in the Netherlands. While the government in Batavia wanted to place the orphans in good Christian homes to save some money, the Company's directors insisted on the construction of a new orphanage that would cost 12,000 *real* in 1661. The directors were of the opinion that an orphanage would be in the best interest of the children. In the orphanage they would get what was needed, i.e., strong discipline and moral guidance. The directors wanted the orphans to follow the same educational program as did children in the Netherlands. At that time the number of orphaned Indo-European was increasing, unlike in earlier years when the orphans were comprised mostly of Asian children.<sup>6</sup> The poor children's house in Batavia was the first, and it was followed by similar houses in other major Company towns, such as Semarang, in the mid-eighteenth century.

The earliest indication of the existence of Semarang poor children's house was contained in a decision from the government in Batavia dated December 16, 1756. It was decided that the entire contents of the poor boxes (*armbus*) in Semarang would be used only for the orphanage in Semarang. Previously half the *armbus* was sent to the *diacony* in Batavia.<sup>7</sup> After the decision, it was to become the main source of income for the orphanage in Semarang.

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te hebben ontfangen, onder de Javanen in het Mahumetisdom souden moeten vervallen. Maar Batavia had genoeg aan hare eigene bedeeden'.

<sup>3</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur Batavia*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur Batavia*, p. 309-310.

<sup>5</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur Batavia*, p. 310.

<sup>6</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur Batavia*, p. 311.

<sup>7</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 7 [1755-1764], p. 205.



Unfortunately one cannot find any reference to when exactly the orphan house or poor children's house was founded. The orphanage was in place by 1756 just a few years after Java's Northeast Coast had its own government. Several years later in 1763 the *weeskamer* was founded in Semarang.<sup>8</sup> The existence of an orphanage in Semarang was an integral part of the presence of the Christian government of the VOC. The government had an obligation to create and to maintain a Christian society, by any means necessary.

In the poorhouse one found a great number of children from the lower ranks of Company servants.<sup>9</sup> The reason the children were there was the same as it was a half-century earlier: those in power wanted to prevent children from being raised by their Muslim mothers and to provide them with a Christian upbringing.

### *The supervisors*

There are no surviving documents from the orphanage in Semarang that date to the second part of the eighteenth century. Several sources will be used to make comparisons and to make clear some important features about orphanages in the Netherlands and in Semarang during the period. Sources for the orphanage in Semarang include: a) accounts from the orphanage itself as preserved in the regular meeting minutes of both the government and the consistory in Semarang and b) a House Regulation of 1779. The regulation will help us to see the expected ideal situation and how that ideal was implemented.<sup>10</sup> In the Netherlands the church was not the only institution that could run a *weeshuis*. The Amersfoort's *Burgerweeshuis* belonged to the town since it was run by prominent people in the town. The study of Van Wees will provide a basis for comparing a typical Dutch orphanage with its counterpart in Semarang.<sup>11</sup>

The *Burgerweeshuis* in Amersfoort had a board of trustees comprised of twelve people: six *regenten* and six *regentessen*. The twelve were called the fathers and mothers. We might also call them the supervisors of the orphan house, as that was actually their main job. Two were assigned as *dispensier* and *procuratrix* with the responsibility of visiting the children and the *huysbewaerders* two times a week.

These twelve trustees belonged to the highest social group in the town. The board of trustees understood that their work was of a humanitarian and charitable nature and hence not done for direct financial gain.<sup>12</sup> *Regenten* seats were usually filled by the lord mayor (*burgemeester*), councillors (*raad*), bailiffs (*schout*) or aldermen (*schepen*), while *regentessen* were recruited from their wives and female relatives. It was a close-knit group of people. The benefit of having trustees from the same circle was that they could consult directly on the matters and problems at hand. Membership on the board heightened the status of the person involved by giving

<sup>8</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 7 [1755-1764], May 17 1763. 'Oprigting eener Weeskamer te Samarang'.

<sup>9</sup> VOC 3214, July 10, 1767.

<sup>10</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 64-85 (the copy of complete text in the Appendix B): *Ordonnantie en Reglement voor het diaconij weeshuijs te Samarang*, from now on will be called VOC 3584: *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*.

<sup>11</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis van Amersfoort*.

<sup>12</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 56-57.

access to social contacts needed in the administration of the town government. It was quite common for *regenten* or *regentessen* to also hold seats on the boards of trustees of other charitable institutions (*godshuizen*) in town. Other than self-serving motives, many believed that the main motive for performing this non-profit duty was Christian compassion. This type of piety started during the Reformation when institutions were established to support those who were weaker in society.<sup>13</sup> This was common in early modern Dutch society as shows by Parker.<sup>14</sup> Beggars and begging were never encouraged by Reformed Christianity. Instead of giving alms directly to individuals, people preferred to organize charitable institutions that could cope with poverty systematically. It was only proper that well-to-do people would strive to better society through their work in *godshuis* (charity institution). It was a common expression of piety for good Christians to found *godshuizen*, such as orphanages, poorhouses, hospitals, etc.

An appointment to the board of trustees in a *godshuis* was difficult to obtain. The positions were not meant for commoners. Approval from the *burgemeester* was needed, if the *burgemeester* himself was not a member of the board of trustees at that particular time. However, not all members of the board of trustees took their duty as seriously as they should have. Fines (*boete*) were levied on member who were late or absent for a board meeting.<sup>15</sup>

The board members were usually called *buitenvader* and *buitenmoeder*, while the people who worked in the house (the *huysbewaerders*) were called housefathers (*binnenvader*) or housemothers (*binnenmoeder*). A simple explanation is that the *buitenvader* and *buitenmoeder* did their work while living outside of the house, and, on the other hand, the other fathers and mothers did their work while living close to the children. They consulted with each other regularly on the ongoing affairs of the orphanage. On the first Sunday of the year the entire membership of the board came to the house for a yearly meeting. Other than that regular meeting, they met when there was a need to decide on inheritances or bequests. The daily affairs of the house were entrusted to the capable hands of the housefather and housemother. The *huysbewaerders* reported regularly to the board concerning bookkeeping and the *ordehandhaving* (maintenance of order) in the house.<sup>16</sup>

We can find the requirements of the system established by the government and the consistory in the regulations for the children's poorhouse in Semarang in 1779 (*Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*).<sup>17</sup> These new regulations must have taken much of their content from other bills that had been in force for several years.

<sup>13</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 58-59.

<sup>14</sup> Parker, *Reformation of Community – Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620*, p. 49 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 60-61.

<sup>17</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779* was comprised of five parts: 1) the supervisors (*de buiten regenten*), 2) female supervisors (*de buiten regentessen*), 3) the housemother (*de binnen moeder*), 4) the schoolmasters, and 5) the orphans. The older regulations of 1769 or from the 1750s were nowhere to be found. Since this was not the first regulation, it is safe to assume that its content mostly replicated the older regulations.

The supervisors were a team comprised of an elder, a deacon and two elderly women (*buitenregentessen*). Most important, all were members of the Reformed church. The supervisors held office for two years. It was preferable for male supervisors to be married.<sup>18</sup>

The supervisors met regularly on the last Saturday of the month at 9 a.m. at the orphanage. The agenda of their meetings typically covered a) hearing complaints, b) solving conflicts, c) seeing if the needs were attended to and d) making decisions on what was to be done at a minimal cost as possible. All costs and administrative work had to be reported to the consistory.<sup>19</sup>

The *Ordonnantie en Reglement* imposed a number of restrictions on the supervisors. They were not allowed to use the children without foreknowledge and permission from the governor and the consistory. They also had to see that the children had and wore proper clothing.<sup>20</sup> The physical welfare of the children also had to be protected.

Punishments could be exercised in order to teach the children about their mistakes, but they were not to be punished by being locked up or by placing blocks on their feet. Eviction from the orphanage was levied as a last resort. When it happened they needed to inform the consistory beforehand and ask permission from the governor, explaining the seriousness of the situation.<sup>21</sup> As a rule it was clear that the *huysbewaerders* could not punish the children arbitrarily.

The supervisors also needed to pay attention to the orphans' education, including reading, writing, counting and prayer. When the children reached a certain age they needed to learn a craft, preferably how to make saddles (*zaedelmaeken*), barrels or casks (*kuipen*), shoes (*schoenmaeken*), clothes (*kleermaeken*) or *slootmaeken* (firearms, for the Company's armory).<sup>22</sup> The supervisors were responsible for training both for boys and girls, but mostly trained the boys.

Any differences of opinion regarding management of the house between the consistory and the supervisors were brought to the governor.<sup>23</sup>

The supervisors took turns in controlling the house. One of them visited the orphanage at least once week. The consistory appointed new supervisors and installed a new board at the end of every March. Therefore outgoing supervisors had to complete a general *revue* (visitation) of all the children in the house and report on the behavior of the children, what they learned and if they were treated properly according to the rules.<sup>24</sup>

There were specific rules for the *buitenregentessen*. They had to be elderly women (*een bequaame ouderdom*) who were members of the Reformed church. The

<sup>18</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 65-66; This was clearly a good team that evolved from the older Batavia poorhouse, starting with the *college van diakenen*, the consistory and the supervisors who handled the house. The team developed further in the last quarter of seventeenth century Batavia, when the consistory handed over all authority to two *buitenregenten*.

<sup>19</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 65.

<sup>20</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 66.

<sup>21</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 66.

<sup>22</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 66.

<sup>23</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 70.

<sup>24</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 70.

*regentessen* supervised the services of the house (paying special attention to the girls) concerning food, clothes and other household things; together with the housemother they gave attention to the sick and younger children.<sup>25</sup>

They provided for the children so that the children could tend their own clothes. They had to see that the children learned table manners and how to make their beds.<sup>26</sup> The *regentessen* had to see that these little girls were capable of doing simple daily chores.

Similar to Dutch towns such as Amersfoort, the leadership positions of Semarang's charitable institutions were occupied by prominent members of town. The *regentessen* positions in the town's charitable institutions were filled by the wives of ranking officers of the Company and wives of the church ministers.

In 1775 Neeltje Schuijveerden (wife of minister Lipsius) and Johanna van Campen (widow of bookkeeper Fredrik Rudolph Meijer) were appointed as *buitenregentessen* of the orphanage.<sup>27</sup> They were honorably discharged in 1779 and the consistory and the Political Council appointed new *buitenregentessen*: Anna Maria Platteur (wife of F. Montanus) and Maria Sonneveld (wife of the merchant and first warehouse master N.A. Lelieveld). Their tasks were to help the *binnenmoeder* with regard to the girls, school and housekeeping and to make regular reports to the Political Council.<sup>28</sup> These tasks were not so different from the duties of the board of trustees in Amersfoort. The ladies' appointments had to do with their social standing. The women in Semarang were the wives or widows of ranking Company officials and Protestant ministers, just as their counterparts in the Netherlands were.

After serving for more than ten years both *buitenregentessen* were discharged in 1792. Former *buitenregentessen* Anna Maria Platteur and Maria Sonneveld (wife of N. A. Lelieveld, then resident of Pekalongan) were replaced by Catharina Abigaël La Fèbre (widow of Lieutenant Colonel Leendert Hendrik Vermehr)<sup>29</sup> and by Johanna Vermehr (wife of the first clerk of the Political Council, Willem Berckman).<sup>30</sup>

As prominent members of Christian society, supervisors in both in the Netherlands and Asia set examples for the children under their care. They ensured that needed arrangements were in place so that all children were equipped with the education, skills and moral values they needed to grow up as decent members of Christian society. Children in the colonial context were expected to fulfill functions in the colonial world when they became adults.

While the supervisors strove to maintain the ideals, it was the housemother who managed daily administrative affairs and routine chores.

<sup>25</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 71-72.

<sup>26</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 72.

<sup>27</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 64-65.

<sup>28</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 138; VOC 3584, fol. 15-16.

<sup>29</sup> Catharina Abigaël was the second wife of Lt. Colonel Vermehr (<http://www.thebarkeys.com/pdf/Tak%20Leendert%20Hendrik%20Vermehr%20Rhemrev.pdf>)

<sup>30</sup> VOC 3964, fol. 962.

*The housemother*

According to the *Ordonnantie* 1779, housemothers were chosen by the consistory and appointed by the Political Council. A housemother had to be a mature person, a member in good standing of the Reformed church and also *zeedig, getrouw* and *voorsigtig*.<sup>31</sup> Modesty, faithfulness and attentiveness were useful qualities for the job.

A housemother's relationship with the supervisors could clearly be seen when the supervisors (*buitenregenten* and *buitenregentesen*) came for meetings in the house. The housemother was obliged to attend the meeting. She had to make a report concerning what had been done, what had yet to be done, list complaints and suggest resolutions.<sup>32</sup>

Housemothers had responsibility for the houses. They were not allowed to let someone else to live or to stay in the house, except those who had the express permission of the government and the consent of the consistory. Housemothers were obliged to follow the rules precisely pertaining to their behavior and the management of the children.<sup>33</sup>

On June 26, 1769 the housemother of the poorhouse came to the consistory meeting and reported on her work. She was reminded by the minister of her duty to tend to the children's manners and morality (*sedigheid en stigting*).<sup>34</sup>

Work as a housemother was not to be taken lightly. It was a demanding job. The names of some housemothers are known to us, since they came up in the reports of their appointments. There was a personnel change in the orphanage in 1770.<sup>35</sup> The housemother the widow Wattig, due to her weak condition, was no longer able to look after more than a hundred orphans. She was replaced by a younger woman, Johanna van Campen, the widow of Frederik Rudolf Meijer and then housemother in the *proveniershuijs*. In turn, the wife of Wurst, a bookkeeper and the supervisor (*binnenregent*) of *proveniershuis*, became the housemother in the *proveniershuijs*.

Five years later, Van Campen was discharged and replaced by Maria Stuard, the widow of Simon Swaart, in consistory meetings on July 24 and August 14, 1775. This was approved by the Political Council meeting of August 11, 1775.<sup>36</sup> Johanna van Campen served as *buitenregentesse* of the house from 1775-1779.

Maria Stuard passed away on January 6, 1776. Dorothea van Sulensteijn, widow of the *ziekentrooster* Felix Marquis van Piron, took over the job, by order of the consistory but without official appointment of the government. After she was on the job for more than half a year, the consistory asked the Political Council to officially appoint Van Sulensteijn as housemother of the orphanage in August.<sup>37</sup> The request was granted but later on proved to be a poor choice. In 1779 there was a report that Van Sulensteijn had neglected the children. The children's daily meals

<sup>31</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 72.

<sup>32</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 73.

<sup>33</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 72-73.

<sup>34</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 3.

<sup>35</sup> VOC 3306, March 22, 1770.

<sup>36</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 63, 64.

<sup>37</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 192; ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 80, 82.

were smaller than required (*dat zij daagelijks niet halft genoeg aan spijs en drank genooten*). The housemother was warned several times by the *buitenregenten* concerning this, but nothing changed. The orphanage had between 120 and 135 children at that time.

The Political Council decided to replace Van Sulensteijn with a new housemother, Maria Steenbergen, widow of the European burgher Jan Tropbergen, in early October 1779. At the same time the consistory was ordered to prepare a new *ordonnantie* or *reglement* for the orphanage.<sup>38</sup>

Since its foundation sometime in the 1750s or 1760s, every change of personnel at the house needed consent from both the consistory and the Political Council. In a sense the consistory was the government body responsible for charitable institutions in town in consultation with the Political Council, which still had the authority to make final decision. The consistory controlled daily activities of personnel, while the government controlled appointments and resources.

In 1792 the junior merchant (*onderkoopman*) and secretary Fredrik Jacob Rothenbuler reported that the housemother of the poor children's house, Alida van Ruiten (wife of the bookkeeper Christoffel Jansen), asked the governor to discharge from her duty several times due to her advanced age and inability to perform her duties. The council determined that she had carried out her duties appropriately since her appointment in 1781, eleven years previously. The governor eventually granted her request and appointed a new housemother, Magdalena Catharina Heffer (wife of the deacon Wilhelmus Israël Willems), who had the necessary skills. She proved to be a *zeer zedige braave en deugdzame vrouw*.<sup>39</sup> Deacon Willems was a burgher and not a ranking official of the Company, but that was sufficient for his wife to be appointed housemother. Unlike supervisors, housemothers did not require high standing. It was curious to see a former housemother become a *regentesse*, as did Johanna van Campen. Her social status increased after she was appointed to the board of trustees.

The *Ordonnantie en Reglement* describes the responsibilities of housemothers for caring for children. Housemothers were allotted *rd* 3 a month per child clothing, beddings and meals. They were to be assisted by two of the oldest orphan girls.<sup>40</sup>

By regulation every child received certain items in the presence of the supervisors each year.<sup>41</sup>

Boys:

- 2 undershirts (*hemden van gebleekt guinees*)
- 1 morning coat (*rok om de twee jaaren en verder's jaars*)
- 1 camisole (*camisool*)
- 2 pairs of striped trousers (*broeken van gingang pinas of woogan*)
- 2 vests (*borstrokken*)
- 2 colored sheets (*bonte doeken*)
- 2 pairs of cotton socks and shoes (*paeren cattoene koussen en schoenen*)

<sup>38</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 23-25.

<sup>39</sup> VOC 3964, fol. 933-934.

<sup>40</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 74.

<sup>41</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 74-75.

2 pairs of slippers and a new hat (*slofften en om de twee jaaren een nieuwe hoed*)

Girls:

- 2 delicate shirts (*fijne baetjes van guinees of Moris*)
- 2 coarse shirts (*grove baetjes*)
- 3 brassieres / undershirts (*koetangs*)
- 1 dress (*fijne cust kleeedje*)
- 2 daily dresses (*kleeedjes van bengaelse fotos*)
- 2 handkerchiefs (*bonte neusdoeken*)
- 2 pairs of cotton socks (*paaren cattoene koussen*)
- 2 pair of slippers (*paaren muilen*)
- 2 slippers (*slofften*)

A housemother had to pay special attention to the children's health, food and clothing, since they needed to learn what a decent quality of life was all about. Housemothers also needed to pay attention to the maintenance of household equipment: such as furniture and kitchenware and to keep everything in good order.<sup>42</sup> To keep the house clean there were ten Javanese helpers (*battoors*)<sup>43</sup> who were paid 2 *stuijvers* per week.<sup>44</sup> Having so many helpers was not a luxury; it must have been common for every colonial household of the time. It also gave more time to housemothers to concentrate on administration and the children's education.

Further the housemothers were required to keep the records on the children – names, ages, places of birth and origin – and send reports to the consistory every three months.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately the reports, together with other records of the house, have not survived to the present day. However the church records are sufficient to provide indirect information on the contents of housemothers' regular reports. When it was time for an orphan to leave the house, there was always a clear mention of the orphan's name, age and place of origin.

Under housemothers, no harm was to come to the children. Housemothers had to prevent anyone from entering so that no strong drink entered the house.<sup>46</sup> To prevent fire,<sup>47</sup> housemothers had to ensure that every fire and light was extinguished by 9 p.m.<sup>47</sup>

The physical well being of the children was also the concern of housemothers. They had to ensure that children played and exercised in a modest and orderly manner. Housemothers were to love the children as their own, and not as strangers. Housemothers had to see that food was served regularly and send a report to the consistory immediately if any incident happened in the house.<sup>48</sup>

Living in an orderly manner was important in the orphanage. Breakfast was to be served at 7 a.m. right after morning prayers, lunch at 12 p.m. sharp and supper at 6 p.m. at the common table. After supper the children were to modestly stand up and follow religious services (*godsdiensstige oeffenings*) and had to be in bed before

<sup>42</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 73-74.

<sup>43</sup> *Battoors* is Javanese for helper. They might have been female slaves attached to the house.

<sup>44</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 75.

<sup>45</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 75.

<sup>46</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 75-76.

<sup>47</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 77.

<sup>48</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 76.

8:30 p.m. Together with the schoolmasters, housemothers gave the children admonitions and corrections.<sup>49</sup>

The detailed regulations for housemothers ensured that their performance met a certain standard. Everything specified by the regulation was quite reasonable and workable for a woman under the age of sixty or sixty-five. Most of the work was administrative and supervisory. A housemother needed to be alert and scrupulous and nothing could escape her attention.

### *Schoolmasters and the school in Semarang*

In Amersfoort a schoolmaster received a salary *f* 200 a year in addition to *huisvesting, verwarming, verlichting, voeding en medische verzorging*.<sup>50</sup> It was also a common practice for a schoolmaster at an orphanage to be employed as its housefather as well, and his wife as the housemother. If a housefather died, the housemother might be dismissed. By the late seventeenth century the tasks of schoolmasters and housefathers were becoming more complicated. He gave a catechism lesson on Mondays from 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and instructed the children in good manners inside and outside the house. He needed to control the children who worked outside the orphanage. He collected wages from the children's employers, which went to maintain the house. As a couple, a housefather and housemother might earn as much as *f* 300 a year.<sup>51</sup>

In 1767 the opening of a *diaconij* school was proposed by the Governor of Java's Northeast Coast. The main motivation was to give children a proper place to learn to read and to write and also most importantly to learn the Reformed religion (*waar in de kinderen... schrijven en leezen niet alleen maar ook voornaamentlijk en de gronden van de Christelijke gereformeerde godsdienst konde werden onderweesen*).<sup>52</sup> In Semarang the only school in town was that at the poor children's house.

The children's poorhouse school was supposed to have three schoolmasters. The principal teacher was a Dutch schoolmaster, who received a salary of *rd* 22 a month. He was assisted by two other schoolmasters: an assistant schoolmaster (*ondermeester*) who received a salary of *rd* 15 a month and a Malay schoolmaster (*maleidsche schoolmeester*) who received *rd* 5 a month.<sup>53</sup> In late 1770s the school in Semarang had around 100 pupils; two Dutch teachers and one *inlands* teacher were sufficient.

In Semarang the deaconry supervised the poor children's house and the school. From time to time the congregation was informed from the pulpit that the school at the poor children's house would be open from 8 a.m. until 11 a.m. and from 3 p.m. until 5 p.m.<sup>54</sup> Couples who had children could send their children to the school. At the same time the congregation was reminded that they needed to support the one and only school in town.

<sup>49</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 77.

<sup>50</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 65-68.

<sup>52</sup> VOC 3214 [May 27, 1767].

<sup>53</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 78.

<sup>54</sup> VOC 3362, fol 29; VOC 3362, fol 8-11, fol 27-30.



Since it was the town's only school, it educated all the other children. The school opened everyday with a morning prayer performed by one of the children. At the school children learned writing, arithmetic and the basic principles of the Christian faith, such as prayer, the twelve articles of faith (the Apostle's Creed), the Ten Commandments, the Heidelberg catechism and most importantly, how to speak Dutch.<sup>55</sup>

Under the supervision of the housemother and schoolmasters, children were not allowed to curse and to swear. It was a Calvinist and a Christian school. The children learned to respect the housemother, the government of the land (which was appointed by God, as was held by Reformed teaching), the schoolmasters, the consistory, the supervisors and the artisan masters. The children were told to be grateful and obedient.<sup>56</sup> These were the common norms and values of Dutch Reformed society.

Schoolmasters taught the children many things. Orderly Christian life could also be reflected at mealtimes, for example, schoolmaster would let one of his pupils read the Bible and after the meal was over lead the children in singing a psalm.<sup>57</sup>

Religious instruction was highly important. A schoolmaster or housefather in Amersfoort had the responsibility to lead orphans to become valuable members of the Reformed church. On Sundays both the housefather and orphans sat on their own chairs in the church. During the service the housefather needed to ensure that the children behaved properly. After the service a member of the board of trustees might test the children about the sermon of the day.<sup>58</sup>

This was also the case in Semarang where one of the most important things in the children's education was going to church on Sunday. The schoolmaster had to bring the children from the house to the church. The children walked in a certain order: first the girls and then the boys, by twos and side by side. No one could abstain from going to the church without permission from the schoolmaster, which was not given lightly. All children had to be present in the church every Sunday by 8 a.m.; and those who were absent or ill prepared would be punished by the supervisors.<sup>59</sup>

After the church services concluded, children immediately returned to the house in the same order. On the way home they had to behave properly.<sup>60</sup> The trip between the house and the church must have been within walking distance.

In the house, the schoolmaster or the housemother had to examine the children on the text that had been preached, the psalms that were sung, and what the children found interesting and could remember from the sermon.<sup>61</sup>

The schoolmaster had to prepare the children for the fourteenth Sunday of the year (probably in the last week of March or early in April), when one of the

<sup>55</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 80.

<sup>56</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 80-81.

<sup>57</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 80.

<sup>58</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 80-81.

<sup>60</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 81.

<sup>61</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 81.

children would be asked to answer questions about the catechism lesson aloud and from memory.<sup>62</sup>

Teaching the children discipline was not the duty of the housemother alone, but also of the schoolmaster. The regulation stated that the main motive of punishment was to show children their mistakes, to show them that they were loved and *g'agt als gevreesd en ontsien te maaken*.<sup>63</sup> According to the late seventeenth century common practice in the Netherlands, it was important to let the children know the tenderness of love when they were punished, although the punishments themselves were far from tender. In the seventeenth century corporal punishment was quite common, and applied both to boys and girls alike.<sup>64</sup>

### *The orphans – admission to the orphanage*

In a town-owned orphan house such as the one in Amersfoort, only the children of deceased citizens had the right to enter. Most orphans from well-off families were raised by their next of kin; only the children of poor citizens were brought into the orphan house.<sup>65</sup>

Requirements for admission to the Amersfoort house until the seventeenth century were as follows: 1) the orphan's parents had to be citizens, 2) the orphan had to be a child between five and fourteen years old, 3) free of infectious diseases and 4) the child of a Reformed church family. Exceptions were made for children from other towns who wanted to enter the orphan house. They were usually those who had considerable financial resources. But they would not receive *uitzet* or wedding gifts, as did the orphans of the deceased citizens.<sup>66</sup>

The situation in Java was different. It was the government's initiative to bring a child into the house. The government could not bear the idea that any (European or Eurasian) children might stray or be taken to the *kampong* and raised as Muslims. The governor ordered residents and chiefs of the subaltern *comptoiren* to find any children of European ancestry that *als onwettige of zogenaamde door deselve groot gebragten daar toe aangenomen in volslage armoede nagelaten* and to send them to the poorhouse in Semarang.<sup>67</sup> Afterwards the consistory would receive a formal request for the children to enter the orphanage. These requests were usually granted.

Semarang was by no means the center of the *Indischewereld*; only Batavia enjoyed that status. People in Java's Northeast Coast came and went at a rather fast pace. A successful Governor of Java's Northeast Coast would likely be appointed as a member of the High Council or even as the Governor General in Batavia. This was also true of other lower-ranking officials – merchants as well as the military class.

<sup>62</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 81.

<sup>63</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 82.

<sup>64</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 78.

<sup>65</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 37.

<sup>66</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 75.

<sup>67</sup> VOC 3306, May 2, 1770.

<sup>68</sup> For example in ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 192: native burgher Lonny Lesander asked the consistory to place Johan Agatho Christian Bresler, the child of the late widow Petronella van Leeuwen, in the orphanage.

Only certain people chose – or were chosen by circumstances – to stay for a long time in Java. Those were either sick people, or a person such as the above-mentioned Van Stralendorff, who chose to build his legacy in the land where his descendants would live.

Well-to-do people were either left with their families for Batavia, repatriated or developed a family fortune in the Indies. Middle- and lower-class people and their children usually stayed. When the parent (i.e., the father) died, the children went to the orphanage. Unlike the children of well-to-do families, who were prepared to rule into the next century, poor orphans were prepared by society to fill working class positions or to serve in the army or navy. To that end they were educated in the orphanage.

Generally children who found their way into the poor children's house in Semarang had at least one European or Christian parent. It was not for nothing that baptisms were performed by ministers during his visitation rounds. Children, through baptism, regardless of their status, legitimate or illegitimate, were Christians. That was reason enough to bring them to the orphanage in Semarang, to get what they were entitled to, i.e., a Christian home and education. Home and education were two most important things for any Christian child, things that were lost when they became orphans.

The consistory received requests for admission to the house from time to time. Basically this was a formality; there is no record that a child was ever rejected. Requests came from all over Java's Northeast Coast. Requests came both from concerned citizens<sup>68</sup> and town head officers.<sup>69</sup> Each and every request stated clearly the parentage of the children involved. These children, for better and for worse, formed the early generation of the *Indisch* society in Java. Were they simply a mirror image of their cousins in the Netherlands, or they were bound to develop their own identity?

#### *The orphans – life and work*

Children in the orphanage lived according to a well-organized routine. Orphans in the Amersfoort *burgerweeshuis* woke up at 5 a.m. in the summer or 6 a.m. during the winter.<sup>70</sup>

In 1612 it was required that children first learn to read and write; afterwards they could learn their trade skill. Younger children, who did not yet need to learn a trade, attended school from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. and from 12 p.m. to 3 p.m. on weekdays. Older children joined school from 12 p.m. to 1 p.m., while in the morning

<sup>68</sup> For example in ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 192: native burgher Lonny Lesander asked the consistory to place Johan Agatho Christian Bresler, the child of the late widow Petronella van Leeuwen, in the orphanage.

<sup>69</sup> For example in ANRI Kerk 598, fol. 51: request from the resident of Rembang on behalf of four children of the late cannonier Feltman; fol. 57: request from the resident of Yuwana for three children of the late soldier Carel Hendrik Frekker; fol. 89: request from the *Opperhoofd* of Yogyakarta for a child of a late corporal. These were common requests that came to the consistory.

<sup>70</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 37.

and during the rest of the day they worked with the town artisans. At the school both the younger and older children learned reading, writing and good manners.<sup>71</sup>

The Amersfoort orphanage housed of thirty to sixty children at any given time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the big cities the number of children was much larger, such as in Utrecht's orphanage, which housed 300 children.<sup>72</sup> The orphanage in Semarang housed no less than 140 children, and many times even more. Unlike orphans in Dutch towns, the orphans in Semarang came from a several towns in the vast area of Java's Northeast Coast.

At school children learned to read and to write. The older children, who went to work, joined school at the designated time for one hour and afterwards returned to work. The end of the working day was 8 p.m. At 8:15 p.m. all children started their supper. Education served religion. They went hand in hand. The ability to read the Bible was imperative for all Christians. The children had to know by heart the Heidelberg catechism and the most important prayers. For writing the children used an *ABC-boekje*, which taught various ways of writing of the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the confession of faith and several prayers and psalms. Instruction in arithmetic came later in the eighteenth century.<sup>73</sup>

All of the education was aimed at teaching the children basic skills. Most orphans were expected to become artisans and or, if girls, workers or helpers. Therefore as soon as they were able to work, they were sent to work. There was no teaching according to classical instruction (which came later in the nineteenth century) everyone received individual instruction.<sup>74</sup>

Older children were prepared to work in a trade (boys) or as housekeepers (girls). The *regenten* decided where the boys should learn their trade, and the *regentessen* decided for the girls.<sup>75</sup> Boys and girls worked an average of eleven hours a day, which included an hour of education. It was a time when child labor was considered normal. When children were seven years old they were considered young adults with an obligation to work and to behave. In fact, the orphan house supplied cheap labor. However, the children's wages comprised only two to ten percent of the total income of the orphan house. The average wage for adult might reach *f* 1 a day. An orphan could only earn *f* 20 a year while an orphan's cost of living was *f* 64 a year.<sup>76</sup>

In Semarang breakfast was at 7 a.m. after morning prayers, lunch was at 12 p.m. sharp and supper was at 6 p.m. at the common table. After the supper children were expected to leave the table modestly and move to another room for religious instruction (*godsdiestige oeffenings*). Not long after their day would end, since they had to go to bed before 8:30 p.m.<sup>77</sup> Children's waking day was indeed long, but productive.

Younger children spent most of their time at school. School hours were 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. to 4 p.m., six days a week, with exceptions on

<sup>71</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 64.

<sup>72</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 68.

<sup>73</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 79, 81.

<sup>74</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 81.

<sup>75</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 82-83.

<sup>76</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 84.

<sup>77</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 76-77, 83.

Wednesday and Saturday afternoon. Those two afternoons were reserved for recreation.<sup>78</sup>

During mealtimes, children were seated at the common table in the following order:<sup>79</sup>

1. Girls twelve years and older
2. Girls four to eleven years old
3. Boys who already started training
4. Other boys according their age

The children were forbidden from doing several things under the threat of punishment: using filthy language, cursing, slander, reading indecent stories (*oneerlijke boeken*) and so forth.<sup>80</sup> Healthy children took turns looking after the sick.<sup>81</sup> The boys were not allowed to come to the girls' place, and *vice versa*. As long as orphans were living in the house they were not allowed to have sexual intercourse (*gemeenschap met malkanderen*).<sup>82</sup>

The *Ordonnantie* also provided instruction for life outside the orphanage's wall. No one was allowed to spend the night outside without consent of the housemother. Children had to return home by 7 p.m. at the latest, otherwise they would be punished.<sup>83</sup> Those who earned money from working or training were not allowed to spend it on useless things and had to consult with the housemother before spending their wages.<sup>84</sup>

In general the children were trained to be orderly, decent, fit, have a sense of responsibility, love each other and obey the authorities.

#### *The orphans – leaving the house*

Boys stayed in the orphanage for a somewhat shorter period of time than girls. As soon as a young man completed his training and started his first job he left the house.

Before 1700 the supervisors in the *burgerweeshuis* in Amersfoort decided which orphans were ready to stand on their own feet. Therefore there was no precise age for an orphan to leave the house. Orphans had to give notice three or four months before they wanted to leave so that the house could determine if the orphan was sufficiently prepared to live independently and to prepare a new outfit (*de uitzet*) for the orphan.<sup>85</sup> In the early eighteenth century the age for leaving the *burgerweeshuis* in Amersfoort was set at twenty-four years,<sup>86</sup> which was quite late

<sup>78</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 79.

<sup>79</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 83.

<sup>80</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 83-84.

<sup>81</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 84.

<sup>82</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 84.

<sup>83</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 84.

<sup>84</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 84-85.

<sup>85</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 85.

<sup>86</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 86.

when compared to orphans in the Netherlands. In Java boys left the house at a much younger age.

For unclear reasons, other than perhaps for pure attraction (*aantrekkelijk*), many orphan boys in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Amersfoort *burgerweeshuis* wanted to join the army or even to go to the East Indies. Several teenagers, all at least sixteen years old, went to the East Indies by VOC ships.<sup>87</sup>

Girls left the orphanage on the day they were married. The orphanage in Amersfoort provided the girl to be married with *f*20 - *f*24 as a wedding present (*huwelijksgift*) if she married with approval of the supervisors.<sup>88</sup> This meant that she married a member of the Reformed church, otherwise she would never have received consent from the supervisors or the church.

In the eighteenth century in the Netherlands, orphans were typically expected to leave the house when they were between eighteen and twenty-two years old. Upon their departure the house gave them a gift to help them to start their new life. Boys and girls received different farewell gifts.<sup>89</sup>

In colonial towns such as Batavia and Semarang if one wanted to marry an orphan girl, approval of the deacons (and sometime also of the *weesmeesteren*) was indispensable. Both the girl and her prospective husband ought to be members of the Reformed church. After the completion of the wedding ceremony a husband had to come to the deacons to settle the estate of his wife and other expenses that his wife generated during her short or long stay in the house.<sup>90</sup> The longer her stay, the higher buy-out cost (*uitkoop penningen*) was charged.

When a girl left (usually upon marriage) she would receive *rd* 50 and all the clothes she already had. When a boy left to work for the Company or for others he received:<sup>91</sup>

1 tailcoat (*rok*) \  
 2 camisole (*camisool*) > *van blauwe gestreepte gingang*  
 2 shorts (*broeken*) /  
 6 blue shirts (*blauw hemden*)  
 4 pairs of trousers (*lange broeken*)  
 2 pairs of shoes (*paren schoene en*)  
 2 pairs of cotton stockings and other miscellany such as combs, scissors, and knives that together cost less than *rd* 1 (*paren cattoene kousen item eenige kleenig heeden van kammen, schaeren, messen, gaerende te zaemen de laast gem. niet meer dan een rijxdaalder kostende*)

As soon as they left the house, orphans were on their own. As far as the government and the consistory were concerned, the orphan had been well prepared to live as a decent and able member of the society. Orphans had finished religious instruction and completed the *belijdenis*. As orphans had trade skills, they were ready to contribute to society. In Dutch Calvinistic society there was no place for beggars.

<sup>87</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 87-88.

<sup>88</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 88.

<sup>89</sup> Van Wees, *Het Burgerweeshuis*, p. 41.

<sup>90</sup> Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur*, p. 318-319.

<sup>91</sup> VOC 3584 *Ordonnantie en Reglement Weeshuijs Samarang 1779*, fol 67-69.

In Semarang orphan boys typically went to work for the Company when they reached a certain age. Boys between twelve and fourteen years typically received *rd* 7 a month and boys between sixteen and seventeen *rd* 9 a month for jobs with five-year contracts.<sup>92</sup> This introduction to the world of men at a young age was not unusual in early modern society. Teenagers were considered able to pull their own weight in society.

Many young men (in this sense the teenagers were no longer considered boys), after having done their confession (*belijdenis des geloofs*) and at the same time having reached a proper age, would be released from the *diaconij armkinderhuijs*. From time to time the consistory asked the government to accept these young men into the Company's service. It was not necessary for the young men to be stationed in Java's Northeast Coast. As soldiers and sailors they could be moved anywhere by their commanding officers.<sup>93</sup>

Jan van Putten of Jepara, sixteen, became a sailor. Jurgen de Jonker, seventeen, and Johannes van Stokkum, sixteen, both from Semarang, became *tamboer* and *pijper* respectively.<sup>94</sup> Another teenager, Andrias Gijtel van Tegal, fifteen, became a soldier. Each received a salary of *f* 9 a month and a five-year contract, such as other Company servant.

Not all orphans worked directly for the army or navy. Other young men, such as Jan Coenraad Kerkeling van Semarang, sixteen, and Johannes Godlieb Ditra van Surakarta, nineteen, were trained by town artisans. In time they would receive commissions to work in the Company's armory.<sup>95</sup>

From their names these young men's fathers might have been European or Eurasian. The fact that they all spent their childhoods in the poor children's house nullified the importance of their mothers. Their names betrayed their origin.

This was by far the best way of raising poor boys in the colonial town. They were church wards (in the poor children's house and at the school) when they were young. When the boys became young men, the church gave them to the Company and let the young men go out into the world. The confession of faith ceremony was a rite of passage from childhood to the adulthood. The church event carried not only a spiritual meaning, but a social meaning as well. Apparently the church still played an active public role in this period and in the area.

While the church took good care of the children by selecting, appointing and supervising good people who directly worked among the children, the government also did its part to administer and finance the whole enterprise. In spite of circumstances in the Indies, the church and the government strove to maintain the Calvinistic ideals of Christian society.

<sup>92</sup> Van der Chijs, J.A. (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakkaatboek 1602-1811*, vol. 8 [1765-1775], p. 782: February 23, 1773, 'Last op de Samarangsche ministers alle 'de weesen arm-jongens', 12 of meer jaren oud, als 'jong matrosen' op *f* 7.- 's maands in dienst te nemen en met de naar Batavia vertrekkende schepen derwaarts te zenden'; VOC 3362, fol. 92-93.

<sup>93</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 125, fol. 192-193; VOC 3813, fol. 168.

<sup>94</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 79.

<sup>94</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 79.

<sup>95</sup> ANRI Kerk 597 [August 9, 1776], fol. 81.





## CHAPTER NINE

### Providing necessities for the church: Formal relations between the consistory and the government in Semarang

#### *Government financing and administration of poor relief*

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the *diaconij*, had financial woes. In 1772 the ordinary income of the *diaconij* could no longer keep up with costs due to the rising number of children in the orphanage. By then the number of the orphans reached 117, while the year before it was 110. After careful consideration the government came up with a plan, ordering the orphanage to release some older girls to find husbands or foster parents, requiring deacons to make special visitation rounds in the city a few days before Holy Communion to collect money for the poor for everyone, without exception, to pay the *diaconij* immediately after the New Year.<sup>1</sup>

Generally girls stayed in the orphanage longer than boys, leaving only when they married. Unlucky girls stayed in the home for a very long time. Under the government's 'new' proposal some of the girls would be sent to foster parents. Apparently the government wanted to share the costs of caring for girls. The fact that this occurred in the early 1770s indicated clearly that the number of orphans was high and their maintenance was noticeably more costly for the *diaconij* in Semarang.

The government implemented its foster parent and money farming plans simultaneously. People were urged to give money when deacons visited them a few days before the celebration of the sacrament of Holy Communion. It was an expression of piety for people to give money for a noble purpose such as helping the poor and the needy. It was an obligation for all Christians to give to the church for New Year's, as was the common practice in the Netherlands.

Despite all efforts to reduce their numbers, the orphanage housed more than a hundred orphans every year. The number of the orphans in 1776 was 134.<sup>2</sup> By 1780 there were 129 to 144 children,<sup>3</sup> which grew to 147 to 156 by 1786, when the *diaconij armen* again suffered a deficit. In 1786 the *diaconij armen* collected *rd.* 5,536.41.8, but expenditures for the orphanage and the *buitenarmen* were *rd.* 7,138.24.<sup>4</sup> The *diaconij armen* suffered a deficit in 1787, when its income of *rd.* 5,877.17 was surpassed by expenses of *rd.* 7,491.32<sup>5</sup> and again in 1788 (*rd.* 5,108.10.8 against *rd.* 7,733.16). It was not surprising that every report on this matter included a statement that Christians needed to be motivated to give more to the poor and needy.<sup>6</sup> These were certainly not easy years for many people.

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<sup>1</sup> VOC 3362, December 31, 1772; VOC 3362, fol. 278-281.

<sup>2</sup> VOC 3468, December 24, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 6-8.

<sup>4</sup> VOC 3736, fol. 144-147.

<sup>5</sup> VOC 3813, fol. 61.

<sup>6</sup> VOC 3814, June 16, 1788.

The cost of living for orphans was not the only concern, where they lived was also important for the government. Repair costs for the orphanage in 1775, *rd.* 559.24, were paid for by the *armenkas*.<sup>7</sup> A few years later in 1779, *rd.* 880.22 of repairs were needed according to an estimate made by Lieutenant Engineer Fredrik Sustman. The project itself was conducted by the *baas-schilder* Michiel Jacobs. The Governor did not want to burden the *diaconij-armen* with this large expenditure therefore he issued an order that on November 9 all churches on Java's Northeast Coast should have an extraordinary collection for the repairs of the poor children's house/orphanage.<sup>8</sup> The results of the collection were quite surprising.

Repairs of the orphanage were finished in 1780. The total cost was 879.28 –, but the total amount collected was *rd.* 2,353.3.8, as reported by the administrators of the *diaconij-armen middelen*, junior merchant Martinus Leonardus Gaaswijk and burgher Pieter Drost.<sup>9</sup> As the result the orphanage repaired its roof and also added a large well (*waeterput*), two ceiling beams (*zolder balken*), many new doors and windows and a new fence around the backyard (*hek op de agterplaats*).

The fact that financial and administrative issues regularly appeared in the reports of the Company proved that both the consistory and the government took seriously their responsibility for the poor and the poor children. Time and again they brought to public attention material and financial concerns so as to share the burden of the upkeep of the poor. It seems that it was much easier to raise money for a particular project than it was for the regular costs of the orphan house.

#### *Ecclesiastical and social functions of the Company's men*

Company officials and their family members were always actively involved in ecclesiastical and social work on a personal level. This was not uncommon by the standards of early modern Christian society and was typical of other early modern European towns where Reformed churches took hold in society.

The colonial town of Semarang was a distant reflection of towns in the Netherlands. There were some similarities, but differences were also apparent. While towns and provinces in the Netherlands managed their own interests and businesses independently, a similar situation was unlikely to occur in the colonial towns administered by the VOC. Unlike the Republic, political life in the colony, especially in Semarang, was hierarchical and centralistic.

In Semarang the relationship between the government and the consistory was straightforward. It did not take too much time for the government to address an issue raised by the church or to approve a consistory request, nor did the consistory have to wait long for a reply to its inquiries from the governor and the council.

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<sup>7</sup> VOC 3468, fol. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 89-92.

<sup>9</sup> VOC 3584, fol. 23-24.

### *Political Commissioner*

Hermannus Munnik served as an elder for a long period in the time of Swemmelaar.<sup>10</sup> He later became a political commissioner. In early 1767 he left Semarang when he was promoted to be the Governor of Ternate.<sup>11</sup> His successor was Senior Merchant and Chief Administrator Mattheys Frederik Hemsing, who was welcomed warmly by an extraordinary consistory meeting on March 6, 1767.<sup>12</sup> In 1766 he had been a churchwarden.

The consistory and the Political Council in Semarang in the second part of eighteenth century represented the neat relationship between church and government. Friction between the Political Commissioner and consistory members was hard to find.

According to the minutes, there was almost no interference from the commissioner at consistory meetings. Replies from the government were read by the minister most of the time. This highlighted the close relationship between the political council and the consistory in Semarang.

### *Churchwardens*

Until the late 1750s there was no churchwarden in Semarang. Management of the church's properties was in the hand of a deacon. Deacon Isaack Siffle in 1758 made a report of *arme middelen, kerkarmhuijsen* and also on the parsonage (*pastorie*).<sup>13</sup> In following years churchwardens regularly brought these reports to the government.

One of the first of churchwardens in Semarang was Hermannus Munnik, a senior merchant and the secretary of the Political Council. He was appointed in 1762.<sup>14</sup> He held this office for four years until he was appointed the Governor and Director of Ternate. Munnik was replaced by Senior Merchant Matthijs Fredrik Hemsing in late 1766.<sup>15</sup> Hemsing took Munnik's positions in the government and church hierarchy, i.e., as head administrator and churchwarden.

Ten years later (1776) Hemsing was still churchwarden. During that particular year Hemsing was not available to serve as churchwarden. Junior Merchants Herman Lodewijks and Antonij Barkeij served in his place and submitted the annual churchwarden report to the Political Council in Semarang.<sup>16</sup> Barkeij was previously a deacon.

The next churchwarden was Senior Merchant Johan Michels van Panhuijs. He was the President of the Council of Justice and the Political Commissioner for the consistory. In 1778, when he was appointed as the Resident of Jepara, he resigned from all his posts in Semarang. Jacobus van Santen who was an elder from 1771 to 1776, was appointed as the new Political Commissioner and churchwarden.

<sup>10</sup> One can see Munnik's signature in ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 62 and the following folios (except on some occasions in 1760-1761, but appearing again in 1762).

<sup>11</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 276, 278.

<sup>12</sup> ANRI Kerk 596, fol. 279.

<sup>13</sup> VOC 2968, fol. 16-17.

<sup>14</sup> VOC 3064, March 23, 1762.

<sup>15</sup> VOC 3214, December 1766.

<sup>16</sup> VOC 3368, March 16, 1776.

His introduction was recorded in the church minutes of 1778.<sup>17</sup> In Semarang some of the churchwardens were previously deacons and elders who knew how the consistory worked. The people in office, both in the church and in the government, came from the same group.

Semarang did not have a large number of prominent people as did Batavia. People came and went since Semarang was not as important. A successful officer in Semarang, whether low-, middle- or high-ranking, was always ready to be promoted and transferred elsewhere. In Semarang churchwardens left office after they were promoted.

### *Maintaining the church building*

According to the official records of the Semarang preservation committee in 1981/1982, there were two possible dates for the construction of the city's first church building: 1742 or 1755.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence to support either of those claims. Most probably the church was built in the early 1750s or late 1740s, as soon as Batavia decided to send a permanent minister to Semarang. This is only a matter of opinion, we lack hard proof.

The oldest report on the situation of the church building dates to 1758, when the building reportedly suffered serious damage from big white ants and urgently needed repair. The head carpenter of Surakarta, Johan Nicolaas Keijser, was summoned to Semarang and calculated that repairs would cost *rd* 600.<sup>19</sup> For safety reasons, Sunday services were moved to another Company building during the duration of the repairs.<sup>20</sup>

The consistory learned from Keijser and mason Johan Godlob Herrman that the church building was already in grave danger. Together they reported the condition to H. Carel Godin, the head administrator and second in command in the government of Semarang. (Godin was probably the churchwarden or the person acting as churchwarden). The building was in danger of collapse after it was hit by hard rain, winds and a strong earthquake. It was necessary to build eight big wooden pillars on the stone foundation and replace the old ones. This meant that the whole base of the church needed to be pulled out.<sup>21</sup> Another report on the condition of the building dates to 1772, when architect Fredrik Justman said that there were leaks in several places after roofing tiles had been moved and rainwater damaged the inside wall. Justman also noted that it was difficult to hear the voice of the minister inside the building due to the disorderly reflection of sound and therefore a few adjustments were needed.<sup>22</sup> The second renovation was not as extensive as the first.

More repairs were made in 1785. Again the problem was the roof. The repair took somewhat longer since it was the *west mouzon* (monsoon) season.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup> ANRI Kerk 597, fol. 123.

<sup>18</sup> ---, *Laporan Studi Kelayakan Gereja Blenduk Semarang, tahun 1981/1982*.

<sup>19</sup> VOC 2938, fol. 67; VOC 2968, June 24, 1758.

<sup>20</sup> VOC 2968, July 15, 1758.

<sup>21</sup> VOC 2968, June 24, 1758.

<sup>22</sup> VOC 3362, fol. 66-69.

<sup>23</sup> VOC 3703, December 24, 1785, § 272.

It seems that every thirteen or fourteen years the building needed some repairs: in 1758, 1772, 1785 and then in the new century. The churchwarden was the government officer in charge for maintaining church facilities. The government paid for all needed repairs and all other necessary costs. The church building in Semarang was under the care of the government, since it was operated in the public interest, as it care for other church building in seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch Reformed society.

*The Christian cemetery*<sup>24</sup>

In 1782 Semarang had two graveyards in town. The older one was becoming dilapidated. The government decided that no more bodies could be buried there. Moreover the old cemetery hindered the construction of new houses due to a need for space. Families were given a choice either to let the tombs decay in the ground or to re-inter the remains of their loved ones at a new graveyard outside town. The most logical choice of location for the new cemetery was far south where the ground was higher than most other parts of Semarang.

The town's second graveyard was called the new cemetery. While building new mausoleums (*tombe*) was forbidden, building new crypts (*kelder*) was allowed. It would cost *rd* 50, paid to the *kerkenkas*, for those who had proof of ownership, given by the churchwarden. If the deceased were soldiers, sailors or poor people, they were buried without charge. Common burial plots (*graf*) cost *rd* 5, with additional *rd* 1 charge if the deceased had no proof of ownership. It was a customary for people to buy burial plots.

In April 1782 a committee comprised of council members Lelivelt, a merchant, and first warehouse master Van Ingen, the fiscal, and engineer Sustman reported to the council that they had found a good place for the other graveyard. It was situated outside the south gate. It had a length of 18 *Rhenish rods* (about 68 meters) and width of 12 *rods* (about 44 meters). The graveyard would be surrounded by a 3.5 foot high and 3 foot thick wall and gates. The price of this 2,989.75 square meter burial ground was *rd* 1,323.20, and was paid for by the *kerkenkas*.

This *buyten kerkhof* set a price *rd* 25 for building a mausoleum, *rd* 10 for a crypt and *rd* 1 for a common *graf* for those who had a *bewijs van eigendom*. The relatively cheaper price was an incentive for people to move their departed ones from the old cemetery to the new one and to reduce the number of people interred in the cemetery inside the town. There are no records of the people buried in the church in Semarang. One can still see their remains, or at least what is left of them, in some former Dutch churches in contemporary Jakarta. Semarang did have a cemetery (*kerkhof*) near the church, but no one was buried inside the building. This may have had something to do with church construction in the mid-eighteenth century when there was an interesting development in the Netherlands with regard to Christian burials.

Burial inside the churches were officially forbidden in the Netherlands during the French occupation (1795-1813). After the French left the old custom

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<sup>24</sup> VOC 3626, April 30, 1782, § 54; VOC 3626, fol. 21 – 23.

returned and persisted until 1827 when the Dutch king William I (1772-1843) again forbid the practice.<sup>25</sup>

Without the practice of *in de kerk begraven worden* (burial inside churches) Semarang was spared the complications of deciding who would be buried there and other practicalities. Christians in Semarang might have well boasted that they were ahead of Christians in the Netherlands with regard to burying their dead outside churches.

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<sup>25</sup> In Zevenaar, in Bunnik and in Zeist: Leen den Besten, *Begraven in de kerk, op het kerkhof of op de begraafplaats* ([http://www.protestantsegemeentezevenaar.nl/data\\_pdf/historie/Begraven in de kerk, op het kerkhof of op de begraafplaats.pdf](http://www.protestantsegemeentezevenaar.nl/data_pdf/historie/Begraven%20in%20de%20kerk,%20op%20het%20kerkhof%20of%20op%20de%20begraafplaats.pdf)); R. P. M. Rhoen, *Zeist – Het kerkhof rondom de Oude Kerk* (<http://www.dodenakkers.nl/begraafplaatsen/utrecht/483-zeist-het-kerkhof-rondom-de-oude-kerk.html>).

## CONCLUSION

### An Eastern Adventure: The early years of the Reformed Church in Java

The Reformed Church in Semarang, like other churches in the vast area of the VOC, came into existence after the government of Java's Northeast Coast was established in Semarang. This was typical of churches in Asia during the west's expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: where the Dutch went the church followed suit. In the time before the separation of church and state became the rule, development of churches following the expansion of European power was a given, much as the sun always rises in the east.

This study was not conducted with any intention to prove something completely new. My main intention is to bring to the light the unknown and forgotten past of the early Christian community in Java. Historians of the Christian mission tend to see only shortcomings in the first 200 years of Protestantism in the Indonesian archipelago. This unbalanced view is pervasive among many Indonesians and among those who study the Indonesian religious situation. In one fell swoop 200 years of Protestantism were dispatched to the gutter, according to the chair of the PGI, Yewangoe.<sup>1</sup>

The study's second objective was to contribute a piece of historical writing that might provide a better and more complete picture of the topic in the field of Indonesian socio-religious studies so that our knowledge and understanding of its pluralistic society might expand. Even before it became a nation, the Indonesian archipelago was never a monolithic society.

A historical study is not only a way to present facts or to discover what happened in the past; it is a way to understand how people lived their lives and to find a reflection of ourselves in this ever-expanding world.

The *zendingarchieff*, which was the first love of many church historians and experts on Christianity in Indonesia, proved unable to give a complete picture of the Christian presence in Indonesia. The TANAP Project introduced older materials other than the *zendingarchieff* to give a more comprehensive view of history before the nineteenth century. This also allows a new reading of seventeenth and eighteenth century Christianity under the VOC, which for a long time was under the influence of Van Boetzelaer and others. They were primarily historians and theologians who lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who found that the close-knit relationship between church and government, something quite common in the early modern period, was incompatible with their own thoughts and understandings.

Without a doubt, the first 200 years of Protestantism in Indonesia should be seen as a continuation of the late medieval and early modern Europe. The latter overlapped with the expansion of European power to the east. Most of the chapters in this book tell the story of religious practice and thought in the eighteenth century in the Netherlands and primarily in Java. Those who were trained and instructed in

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E.

the history of Indonesian Christianity of the late nineteenth and twentieth century will notice the differences between the VOC period and the period of the Netherlands East Indies colonial government.

Previous studies of church history in Java were inclined to diminish the new undertakings of churches under the VOC. Unsurprisingly those studies assessed Christianity's penetration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as superficial, marked by excessive government intervention in administration as well as pastoral and doctrinal matters.

More recent studies (including this one) have shown that despite the complicated religious and political reality of seventeenth and eighteenth century Java, the church in many respects was independent and not necessarily subordinate to the government.

Chapter Two shows that in the absence of a consultative and supervision meeting body such as the classes in the Netherlands, the consistory in Batavia played a strategic role between the Company and other churches in Asia. This was indeed unthinkable, given the principle that no single church should be higher than any other church in the Reformed tradition. Yet under the circumstances it was understandable. Without the consistory the government in Batavia would have gained the upper hand over all overseas churches.

The consistory in Batavia did, for better or for worse, play a countervailing role to the government, protecting church interests not only in Batavia, but also for most overseas churches. The church sent army chaplains to support the Company's venture to the kingdom of Mataram from the very beginning. Wherever the Company went, the church followed. Each was bonded to the other, whether by choice or proximity.

Sending ministers out was part of the classis' responsibility to supervise churches without ministers. This job was handled by the consistory in Batavia up to the time when Semarang obtained a permanent minister in the mid-eighteenth century. Even when the presence of the Company in Java was close to non-existent, as in the early seventeenth century, Batavia sent ministers to the frontiers. Later on the ministers of Semarang regularly visited Christians in the old and new settlements in Java.



**NAAMLIJST der PREDIKANTEN**  
van  
**SEMARANG**

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1. Johannes Wilhelmus Swemmelaar.	1753-1760
2. David Daniël van Vianen.	1760-1762
3. Simon Gideons.	1762-1766
4. Cornelius Goetzier.	1766-1772
5. Jonas van Pietersom Ramring.	1767-1770
6. Johannes Lipsius.	1772-1778
7. Hermanus Wachter.	1777-1777
8. Fredericus Montanus.	1778-1814
9. Gottlob Brückner.	1814-1816
10. Dr. Diederik Lenting.	1816-1817
11. Gerardus van den Bijlaardt.	1819-1819
12. Dr. Diederik Lenting.	1819-1819

That meant that ministers in Semarang not only served Christians in town in all of Company settlements in Java's Northeast coast. One of the most important public duties of the ministers was to baptize all children, regardless their legitimate status, in the area. In the following century, this important public duty was found to be unacceptable by Brückner, the missionary stationed in Semarang from 1814-1816. He resigned his commission as a minister in Semarang. The very reason he gave up the ministry of the state-church in Semarang in 1816 was his obligation to baptize illegitimate children, which went against his better judgment.<sup>2</sup> From a nineteenth or twentieth century perspective one can understand his position. However support for the widespread baptism of children (*royale kinderendoop*) is also understandable from the perspective of the eighteenth century public church.<sup>3</sup>

The close connection between company servants and the consistory in Semarang was another complaint raised by theologians for whom the separation of church and state was a ruling principle. Article 36 of the seventeenth century Reformed Dutch Church's confession concerning the government's responsibility for Christians was taken seriously by all public functionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Coolsma, S., *De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> As people who lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Coolsma and most of his contemporaries knew well enough what the Dutch state-church was. However in the early nineteenth century, people were still used to the idea of a public church. Coolsma was not aware the differences between the state-church of his own time and the public church of previous centuries.

In this new light one can judge this unknown and forgotten part of the history of Christianity in Indonesia on its own terms – and not from a modern or twentieth century point of view. Having said that, one needs to address the themes of continuity and change in the period.

There were continuities in this particular period. Chapters Two, Four to Eight showed how changes and adaptations were made in order to help Christianity take root in alien soil.

From a local point of view, the first generations of local Christians were forcibly disconnected from their local or cultural heritage. There was indeed no guarantee that this would work out. At first local Christians comprised only a small fraction of the membership of Reformed churches in the Indies. They were members as well as church helpers. As for the latter, there were indeed quite a few locals who contributed to Christian life in general. Some indeed embraced Christianity for ulterior motives, since there were social incentives for slaves to become Christian. But even so, the entry requirements for full membership in the church were still high.

It is also noticeable that no local Christians became ministers or at least junior clergymen in the era. In fact, there were some efforts by the Company to educate a few candidates from the local Christian community to become *landpredikers* (indigenous clergymen) and *proponents* (aspirant minister) with the opening of seminaries in Ceylon in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the result of this undertaking was not satisfying.

What kind of Christianity was present in Java in the late eighteenth century? Did the Dutch Reformed Church, as usual, comply with the principles of the 1618 Dordrecht synod?

I argue that there was no such a thing as a fixed or permanent Christian identity in the period. On the contrary, one ought to be aware of dynamic Christian identities. This study is one among others that show that encounters between western Christianity and indigenous populations comprised new experiences, which in turn brought about theological and legal breakthroughs.

For example, the practice of the widespread baptism of children was an abuse of the Holy Sacrament, but also a good example of a dynamic Christian breakthrough in answering the theological and legal issues at hand.

Another difference was in the understanding of church missions. As far as the period of this study is concerned, the success of missions was by no means based on the number of members of the Reformed church. Numbers were neither an indicator of success or failure for the mission and were not necessarily of importance in the period. In the early years of the Reformed church in the Netherlands the number of the *gereformeerde liefhebbers* was greater than the number of members. The presence of new churches in Company-controlled areas cannot be used as an indicator of the expansion of Christianity *per se*. VOC men (soldiers, officials and also church personnel) soon populated every new area given by the indigenous authorities to the Company. In a nutshell, the expansion of the VOC was followed by the expansion of the overseas public church, and not the other way around.

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<sup>4</sup> Van Goor, *Jan Kompenie as schoolmaster, Dutch Education in Ceylon 1690-1795*, Chapters Two and Three.

More recent studies on the field of missions have shown that in fact numerical growth is no longer the most effective measure of missionary efforts. Each and every generation is entitled to have their own definition of what missions were all about.

The common understanding of church obligations, i.e., the mission of the early modern Dutch Christianity, is exactly what I have detailed in this study. The church together with the Christian government worked to promote civilized Christian living. Its accepted method was through education, whether in the house (by parents, by foster parents or in the orphanage), in school (by schoolmasters, since all schools were basically Christian schools) and in the church (by following catechist instruction).

Dutch colonial society was neither a perfect world nor a completely terrible world. The church and government went as far as they could to root their Christian world in alien soil. In that sense, the mission effectively began when any form of Christian educational effort as mentioned above began.

This study has shown several important aspects of cultural Christianity:

- a) The propagation and Christianization of local people *en masse* in the Moluccas, which happened much earlier than the period of this study, is consistent with the notion of Christendom (Christian society) in early modern Dutch Christianity.
- b) The church, not by individual missionaries or the missionary board, promoted propagation.
- c) The government went all out to help the church to accomplish its mission. The government worked side by side with the consistory to provide society with pastoral care as well as a Christian infrastructure. Regulations (in the *plakkaatboeken*) – such as designating Sunday as day of worship (*zondagsheliging*) – and the existence of Chinese temples (in Batavia), show how keen the government worked to secure a prominent place for Christian norms and values.
- d) Compared to other places, such as Batavia, Banda or even the Moluccas, Semarang was not large. However as a latecomer, its society was formed and was well equipped with all that was necessary to present itself as a colonial Dutch Calvinistic society.
- e) The most often undervalued fact that typified this cultural Christianity was that the church functioned within the colonial framework under the VOC as a matter of fact. Colonial society was a meeting place of many cultures, therefore in the church one could find not only Europeans, but also many Eurasians and even many Asians (the *mardijkers*, slaves, former slaves, free Javanese, etc). The dynamics of this colonial setting were the result of a two-way movement, since Christianity was no longer solely defined by churches in the Netherlands. The colonial situation contributed a great deal to the characteristics of ‘local’ Christianity, which raised the suspicions of the younger missionaries who started to arrive in Java in the nineteenth century.

This study is also meant to raise more questions and stimulate investigation of the open field of the first 200 years of Protestantism in Indonesia. As the land was once

a place for adventure for European Christianity, let that piece of the past now be a new adventure for everyone, as well.

The TANAP Project has long since ended. However future projects may blossom. I look forward to more studies of this forgotten period in Indonesia, as well as in other places, so that historians and students of humanities and inter-religious studies will have more to consider.

Leiden, Jakarta, Utrecht, 2004-2010

## SAMENVATTING – RANGKUMAN

*De Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk*

De Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk was een deel van culturele identiteit van de Nederlanders.

De Gereformeerde Kerk was geen staatskerk, maar wel een publieke kerk. Zij was het gezicht van het Nederlandse christendom. De overheid had de opdracht om de kerk te steunen, volgens de zestiende eeuwse Nederlandsche Geloofsbelijdenis.

*Gereformeerde Kerk in Azië*

De Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk kwam in Azië in de zeventiende eeuw aan. Haar culturele identiteit werd wel bewaard, maar ze werd geen identieke dochter van de moederkerk, meer een zusterkerk met eigen kenmerken.

De Gereformeerde Kerk in Azië was een levende en creatieve kerk. Zij leefde, omdat zij zich ontplooidde met overschrijding van grenzen. Ze moest wel creatief zijn om het hoofd te kunnen bieden aan situaties en uitdagingen die heel verschillend waren van die in Nederland.

Veel meer dan in Nederland, kwam de Gereformeerde kerk in Azië in contact met een maatschappij van een multicultureel karakter.

*De Gereformeerde Kerk en de Zending*

De Gereformeerde kerk was net als alle andere kerken door de eeuwen heen een kerk die zich bewust was van haar roeping tot verbreiding van het evangelie.

*Gereja Protestan Belanda*

Gereja Protestan Belanda merupakan bagian dari identitas budaya masyarakat Belanda.

Gereja Protestan Belanda memiliki tanggung jawab sebagai gereja-masyarakat (*public-church*). Gereja ini, meskipun bukan gereja-negara (*state-church*), merupakan wajah kekristenan Belanda. Oleh karena itu pemerintah berkewajiban mendukung perluasan gereja.

*Gereja Protestan di Asia*

Gereja Protestan Belanda mulai hadir di Asia pada abad ketujuhbelas. Di satu pihak identitas kulturalnya tetap dipertahankan, dan di pihak yang lain gereja ini bukan sekadar salinan dari saudara tuanya di Belanda.

Gereja Protestan di Asia adalah gereja yang hidup dan kreatif. Gereja ini hidup karena ia berkembang, melintasi batas-batas. Gereja ini harus kreatif, karena berhadapan dengan situasi dan tantangan yang berbeda dengan di Belanda.

Gereja Protestan di Asia mendahului Gereja Protestan di Belanda, berhadapan dengan kenyataan multikultural di tengah masyarakatnya.

*Gereja Protestan dan pekabaran Injil*

Gereja Protestan di Asia, sama seperti semua gereja di segala zaman, adalah gereja yang melakukan pekabaran Injil.

Als Protestantse Kerk van de vroeg moderne tijd, voerde zij haar missionaire opdracht uit op drie manieren: vorming thuis, op school en in de kerk. En zij probeerde in samenwerking met de VOC-overheid christelijke normen en waarden voor de publieke samenleving in te voeren en te handhaven.

#### *Christen en Christendom*

Aanvankelijk bestond de Kerk uit alleen maar europeanen in dienst van de VOC. In de loop der tijd groeide het aantal niet-europese christenen.

De middelen van het kerkenwerk (vorming thuis of in het weeshuis, godsdienstles op school en catechisatie in de kerk), gesteund door de overheid, schiepen ruimte voor de vorming van lokale christenen.

Deze jonge christenen werd onderwezen in overeenstemming met het idealisme van Nederlandse Gereformeerde kerk: kennis van het christelijk geloof, het hebben van discipline en stevige mentaliteit en, natuurlijk, hard werkende mensen.

#### *Culturele Christendom*

Deze studie laat zien, dat de werkelijkheid dikwijls weinig lijkt op dat ideaal. Niettemin, alle beperkingen en tekortkomingen ten spijt, hebben alle elementen van de christelijke samenleving ernaar gestreefd hun rol te spelen.

De predikanten en de ziektroosters volgden de gangbare werkwijze in Nederland en soms deden zij meer dan

Sebagai gereja Protestan pada era modern perdana, kegiatan misi pekabaran Injil ini dijalankan melalui tiga cara: pembinaan di rumah, di sekolah dan di gereja. Gereja bekerjasama dengan pemerintah VOC berusaha memberlakukan dan mempertahankan nilai-nilai Kristen di tengah masyarakat.

#### *Orang Kristen dan Kekristenan*

Pada awalnya hampir seluruhnya warga Gereja Protestan adalah orang-orang Eropa yang bertugas di Asia. Bersama dengan berjalannya waktu semakin bertambah jumlah orang-orang Kristen bukan-Eropa.

Perlengkapan misi gereja (pembinaan di rumah atau di rumah yatim-piatu, pendidikan agama di sekolah dan pelajaran katekisasi di gereja) dengan didukung oleh pemerintah telah memberikan ruang bagi terbentuknya orang-orang Kristen lokal.

Orang-orang muda Kristen ini dididik menurut cita-cita dan idealisme masyarakat Protestan Belanda: mengenal dasar-dasar iman Kristen, memiliki disiplin dan mental yang kokoh, dan pekerja keras.

#### *Kekristenan kultural*

Kenyataan sejarah dalam studi ini memperlihatkan bahwa masyarakat Kristen tidaklah seperti yang diinginkan, namun juga dalam segala keterbatasan dan kekurangannya semua unsur masyarakat Kristen telah berusaha menjalankan peranan masing-masing.

Para pendeta dan penghibur orang sakit mengikuti cara kerja yang umum di negeri Belanda, bahkan mereka

dat. In Semarang, net als in andere plaatsen in Azië, bezat de predikant een bijzondere status op grond van zijn beroep. Maar ook door zijn hogere opleiding. Hij onderscheidde zich duidelijk van de ziektroosters, die van een lagere 'arbeidersklasse' afkomstig waren. Zowel predikanten als ziektroosters hadden echter dezelfde opdracht het evangelie te verbreiden en leiding te geven aan de maatschappij tot een leven volgens christelijke waarden.

De ouderlingen en diakenen stonden de predikanten bij in de kerkenraad in Semarang. Als kerkenraad droegen zij gezamenlijk verantwoordelijkheid om het geloof te verbreiden en onder de kerkleden te versterken en de christelijke normen en waarden in de maatschappij te handhaven. Evenals in Nederland ontstond er verstrengeling tussen het kerkelijk en publieke, temeer omdat predikanten en ziektroosters door de Compagnie werden aangesteld en ouderlingen en diakenen zowel uit de Compagniesdienaren als uit de burgers werden gekozen.

De overheid, wier functie door de VOC werd waargenomen, volgde het in Nederland geldende patroon. Zij steunde het kerkenwerk, van af het begin thuis in Nederland, voorts in de door de VOC beheerde gebieden, tot en met de repatriëring van de kerkelijke krachten.

Het leven van de christenen in Azië vertoonde een typerend karakter als christelijke kolonie. Structureel was de maatschappij geregeld volgens het model van de Republiek, maar cultureel bestond er een diepgaand verschil vanwege de multiculturele realiteit – de christenen kenden zeer achtergronden en

melakukan lebih dari yang biasa. Di Semarang, seperti di tempat lainnya di Asia, para pendeta memiliki status istimewa oleh karena panggilannya. Namun hal tersebut juga didukung oleh latarbelakang pendidikan tingginya. Mereka jelas berbeda dengan para penghibur orang sakit yang berasal dari 'kelas pekerja.' Baik para pendeta maupun para penghibur orang sakit, menjalankan tugas pemberitaan Injil dan menghantar masyarakat untuk hidup dengan nilai-nilai Kristen.

Para penatua dan diaken, mendampingi para pendeta dalam lembaga majelis gereja. Sebagai majelis gereja mereka bertanggungjawab untuk memelihara dan memperkuat pemberlakuan nilai-nilai Kristen di dalam masyarakat. Sama seperti di Belanda, dalam lembaga majelis gereja, terjadi tumpang-tindih antar jabatan kemasyarakatan dan jabatan gerejawi. Para pendeta dan penghibur orang sakit diangkat oleh VOC dan para penatua serta diaken kebanyakan terdiri dari para pegawai VOC, selain warga kota setempat.

Fungsi pemerintahan yang dijalankan oleh VOC, mengikuti pola yang berlaku di negeri Belanda. VOC mendukung misi gereja, mulai dari proses yang berlangsung di negeri Belanda, kemudian di wilayah-wilayah yang dikuasai VOC, sampai dengan pemulangan kembali tenaga-tenaga gerejawi.

Kehidupan warga gereja di Asia memiliki karakter yang khas sebagai suatu koloni Kristen. Secara struktural masyarakat diatur mengikuti pola yang berlaku di negeri Belanda, namun secara kultural masyarakat ini memiliki perbedaan yang mendalam karena kenyataan multi-kulturalnya –orang-

omstandigheden, spraken verschillende talen en leefden volgens uiteenlopende gebruiken en verhoudingen. Theologisch en sociaal probeerde de kerk, met de hulp van de overheid, de juiste formule te vinden om het idealisme van het 'Nederlandse Protestantisme' gestalte te geven.

De vorming van de jeugd was een poging om het genoemde idealisme te verwezenlijken.

De goede en minder goede kanten van deze realiteit verminderen de waarde van de aanwezigheid van Protestantisme in Java niet. Het kwam als typisch cultureel Christendom, dat wil zeggen een mengvorm van Christendom en de multiculturele samenleving in het late achttiende eeuwse Java.

orang Kristen berasal dari latarbelakang dan situasi yang berbeda-beda, dan telah memiliki kebiasaan dan bahasanya masing-masing. Secara teologis dan sosial gereja, dengan dibantu pemerintah berusaha untuk menemukan formula yang tepat untuk menghadirkan idealisme 'Protestantisme Belanda.'

Pendidikan orang-orang muda adalah salah satu upaya untuk mengarahkan orang untuk mewujudkan idealisme tersebut.

Baik dan buruknya kenyataan ini tidak mengurangi arti bahwa Protestantisme telah hadir di Jawa dengan corak khasnya: kekristenan kultural. Yaitu menyatunya kekristenan dengan kehidupan masyarakat multi-kultural pada akhir abad kedelapanbelas di Jawa.



## Appendix A

Formulier voor de krankbesoekers op de respective buitencomptoiren van Javas Noord Oost Cust ter hunne observantie in het waarnemen van de openbare godsdienst op 's Heeren hijlige of andere feestdagen om het zelve dusdanig woordelijk van het begin tot het eijnde der plegtigheid na te volgen: [33]

De gemeente hore eerbiediglijk na het voorlese van de 10 gebode ofte de wet des Heerens.

2

Als boven na de articulen des heijligen en algemeene Christelijke geloofs.

3

Als boven na Gods hijlig woord zoo als dat beschreve staat etc.

4

Men singen tot lof en eere Gods uijt den Psalm.

5

Ten eijnde men met vrugt en zeegen de verklaring van een gedeelte van Gods dierbaar woord aanhoren en hem voor zo veele onverdiende weldade ootmoedig danke, ook om genadige vergeving aller onser sonden en ongerechtigheden smeecken vereenige wij ons te same op navolgende wijze in den gebede:

O Allerhijligste, Almagtigste, regtvaardigste en groot gedugte God, die in het hooge en verhevene woont dog egter ook wilt nedersien op die geene die van een verbijsselde en verslagen geest zijn, en voor uw woort beeven; wij [34] verootmoedigen ons voor uw met diepste dankseggingen van weegens de zoo groote als onverdiende weldaden, bewaringen en zegeningen aan ons ook weder in de voorbijgegaane week vernieuwt; wij belijden met de uijterste schaamte, hoogst berouw en leetweesen onse snode ondankbaarheid, sonden en overtredingen waarmede wij alle Uwe goedertierenheeden misbruijkt, uwe hijlige geboden door woorden, werke en gedagten overtreden, en door onse heerschende boose luste en begeerlijkheden niet zelden de kragt van het ons beschuldigent geweeten onderdrukt en op de mond geklopt. Ja, daardoor ook wij onse volslage onmagt, kenbaare onwilligheid ten goede de teugel gegeve hebben, en dus jegens alle onse pligten en betrekkingen snoodelijk ontrouw geweest zijn, en meer de najaging onser boose togten, als oijt ter eere Gods en zaligheid onser ziele ten doelwit gehad hebben. Schept dan dog, o God, in ons een vleeschen hart en vernieuwt ons in het binnenste onses gemoeds, opdat wij bij aanvang oft voortgang de kragt daarvan in een Godzalige wandel uijt een door Jesus bloed en geest gerijngt grondbeginsel door de gelove werkzaam ondervinden mogen. Paart tot sulke ijnde, bij het voorrecht dat wij [35] heden hebben om de verklaring van Uw dierbaar woort te hooren, de medewerking van uwen Hijlige Geest, opdat het in ons vrugte

voortbrengen het gelooff en de bekeering waardig. Bewaard ons voor alle oneerbiedigheit en aftrekkingen onder het zelve die uijt ons arglistig hart, het vlees en de ijdele bedenking des grootse vergankelijke levens voortvloeyen souden, en weest ons daartoe een genadig en vergevent God om Jesu Christi wille, die de zijne aldus heeft leeren bidden: Onsen Vader etc<sup>a</sup>.

6

De woorden waarvan wij uw de verklaring in dit uur zoude voorlesen, staan beschreven etc<sup>a</sup>.

7

De verklaring van Gods woort aangehoort hebbende, zoo laat ons hem om een zegen en vreugt uijt hetzelve en ook over land en kerk ootmoedig smeek:

Wij danke uw, goedertierene God, dat gij ons weder vergunt heden de verklaring van 't hijlig woord te hebben mogen hooren. Vergeeft, smeeken wij, het zondige en oneerbiedige dat ons onder hetselve aangekleeft heeft en regvaardig in plaats van uwe zegen uwen toorn over ons brengen soude. Laat het aan ons alle mogen bevonden werde [36] een reuke des leven ten eeuwige leeven en dus wortelen nederwaarts en vrugte opwaarts voortbrengen het geloof ende bekeering waardig, opdat wij also naarstig en vlijtig onder de vertroosting van het selve aan onse beroepen en betrekkingen getrouw bevonde moge werden, en bove en in alles d'eere Godes, de saligheid onser ziele en het welzijn van onse evennaaste betragten. Wees ook, o God, in gunst en genade met uwe kerke alomme en bijzonder te deezer plaatse, doet ons alle dat een eere Christi, en van het dierbaar Evangelium dat ons nog verkondigt werde, als ware leden derselve bevonde werde en des behoedt dat uwen name om onsent willen niet gelastert werdt. Zeegen ook, o God, ons lieve vaderland, en het land onser inwoning beneevens de hooge overheijt die gij over hetzelve gestelt hebt, als in Nederland de HoogMogende Heeren Staaten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden, onse Hooge en wettige souvereinen;

de Heeren Staaten van de respective Provinciën;

zijne Hoogheid, den Heere Prince van Orange en Nassau, Erfstadhouder van de Republiek, onsen opper Gouverneur, Capitain en Admiraal Generaal; [37]

Haare Koninglijke Hoogheid Mevrouw de Princesse van Orange en Nassau, desselfs gemalinne;

De Erfprincesse en alle die van desselfs Doorlugtige Huijs zijn;

De Heeren Bewindhebberen van de Nederlandsche Oost Indische Maatschappije, onse Heeren en Meesters;

En in dese gewesten Zijn Edelheid den Heer Gouverneur Generaal nevens de Edele Heeren Raaden van Nederlands India, onse Hooge en Wettige overheden, ook in het bijzonder te deser Custe onse Eerste gebiedder den WelEdelen Gestrengen Heer Gouverneur en Directeur van Javaas Noord Oost Cust benevens het Hoofd van dese plaats, laat hun dagen veele en voorspoedig zijn. Vreede zij in onse vestingen en welvaren in haare palijse. Geeft dat wij nog lange onder hun Loffelijke Regeering een stil en gerust leven lijden mogen in betragting van ware deugd en godsaligheid. Zegen ook het Saisoen des Jaars, de landman, de zeeman en de krijgsman. Verligt

alle van uw hand besogte; geeft ijder in zijne noden een uijtkomst, uwe naam heerlijk en haare siele salig. Vergeeft ons genadelijk alle onse menigvuldige sonden en [38] ongeregtigheden, om het dierbaare soenbloed van Jesus Christus, die zijn discipelen aldus heeft leeren bidden: Onse Vader etc.

8

Men singen tot slot van onse godsdienst Psalm ... De gemeente werd versogt in het uitgaan de nood der armen te gedenken en bidden om de zegen des Heeren. De Heere zegen ons en behoed ons, de Heere verheffe zijn aanschijn over ons en zij ons genadig.

*Source: VOC 3362, Copia Samarangse Politicque Resolutiën beginnende 1 September 1770 en eindigende den 4 Mei 1771, fol. 33-38, December 1770. Copy.*  
(corrected and edited by TvdE)



## Appendix B

Onder de leeden deeses Raads ter resumptie rond geweest en door den heere Gouverneur

[64] deser kuste tans binnen gebragt zijnde, een door den kerkenraad ingevolge en in voldoening aan het besluit deeses Raads van den 28 september 1779 geformeerd nieuw verbeterde ordonnantie en reglement voor het diaconij arm-kinder-of-weeshuijs alhier, zoo is, wijl deselve ten principaale naar de lijst van het oude reglement voor dat huijs sub dato 6<sup>e</sup> april 1769 is geschoeid en de alteratiën en applicatiën daarinne gemaakt alleen de oeconomie betreft en dus niets teegen de ordres behelst, goedgevonden en verstaan die ordonnantie en reglement zooals legd te approbeeren, en het afschrift daarvan ter observantie aan gemelde kerkenraad te doen afgeeven; en deselve ook in deese te insereren.

Nieuwe verbeterde ordonnantie en reglement voor het diaconij weeshuijs te Samarang

### *Eerstelijk voor de buitenregenten*

#### art. 1

Het voormelde huijs sal voortaan worden geregeerd en bestierd, onder het gesag van den kerkenraad, door twee buitenregenten, als een uit de ouderlingen en een uit de diaconen, twee buitenregentessen [65] en een binnenmoeder, alle belijdenis doende van de waare gereformeerde christelijke religie.

#### art. 2

De regenten voormeld sullen door den kerkenraad des jaars ofte om de twee jaaren benoemd, en daaromtrent sooveel mogelijk in agt genoomen worden, dat de eene uit de blijvende en de andere uit de nieuw verkoosene genoomen werd, en dat soo verre het geschieden kan, ook daartoe althoos gehuwde de voorkeur gegeven word.

#### art. 3

Sij sullen een maal des maands, te weeten den laatsten zaterdag van de maand des morgens ten 9 uren en voorts soo meenigmaal als het de nood vereijsschen sal, vergaderen in het weeshuijs en aldaar af te handelen hetgeene noodig zal weesen, soo ten besten van het huijs in het gemeen als ook bijzonderlijk om de klagten van de weesen of anderen aan te hooren en weg te neemen, alle geschillen te appaiseeren, het huijs ook te versorgen met de ordinaire spijs en drank item kleederen en andere noodwendigheeden, en dat alles op het menagieuste en minst kostende, dog de extra ordinaire onkosten en die niet ordinaire en distinct in deesen gereguleerd zijn, niet anders dan met communicatie en consent van den kerkenraad.

#### art. 4

En sullen die gelden en de verdere administratie der armemiddelen loopen voor reekening en verantwoording van de voormelde regenten, die daarvan 's maandelijx

een reekening courant sullen opmaken en in den kerkenraad inleveren, om door de selve (goedgekeurd zijnde) bij de boeken ingenoomen te worden.

art. 5

De regenten zullen niet vermoogen eenige kinderen [66] in dit hujs te neemen dan met voorkennis van den WelEdelen gestrengen heer Gouverneur beneevens den kerkenraad.

art. 6

Zij sullen de weeskinderen alle seedig en in één couleur doen kleeden, soodanieg als sulx door den kerkenraad bereeds vastgesteld is, ofte in het vervolg door den selven beraamd sal worden.

art. 7

Zij sullen de weeskinderen straffen en doen straffen na vereijsch van saeken en de natuur van het door hem bedreeven kwaed, maar sij sullen geen kind mogen opsluiten of een blok aan het been te hangen, nogte ook geen kind uit het hujs te setten om eenig delict, anders dan met voorkennisse van den kerkenraad en met volkoomen consent van den WelEdelen gestrengen heer Gouverneur of dengeenen die hoogst denselven na ontfange rapport van de regenten daartoe sal gelieven te committeeren.

art. 8

Zij sullen agt neemen dat de weeskinderen wel onderweesen worden in het leeren van leesen, schrijven cijfferen en bidden, mitsgaders omme ter bequaemer tijd op eerlijke ambagten gesteld te worden, lettende op de geneegentheid en bequaamheid der kinderen, sullende de volgende ambagten het meest in consideratie genoomen worden, namentlijk:

Zaedelmaeken  
Kuipen  
Schoenmaeken  
Kleermaeken  
Slootmaeken

art. 9

Iemand der kinderen in dat godshuis ziek of krank wordende, sal sulx door de binnenmoeder moeten bekend gemaakt worden, soowel aan de buitenregenten en -regentessen als aan den ordinairen doctoer van het hujs voormeld, ten einde [67] hunne ordres in het plaatsen of verplaatsen derselve op te volgen, en Sorge te draegen dat soodanige zieken behoorlijk opgepast worden en de medicijnen die hen gegeven worden gebruijken.

art. 10

Sij sullen tot kostpenningen en kleeding voor de weeskinderen sooals nader sal gespecificeerd worden aan de binnenmoeder verstrecken met het begin van de maand voor ieder kind rd 3. Item jaarlijks tot een douceur een stuk fijn gemeen

gebleekt cormandels guinees,<sup>1</sup> vier pees<sup>2</sup> gingans pinase<sup>3</sup> cust en ses bengaalse kleedjes van fijne votas.<sup>4</sup>

art. 11

Eenige der kinderen genegen weesende een of meer dagen bij hunne vrienden of andere bekenden te gaen, sullen daartoe altoorens consent moeten versoeken, te weeten de jongens van de regenten, en de meisjes van de regentessen, dog sal nochtans daarmede spaarsam te werk gegaan worden ten einde alle verleiding van de kinderen voor te koomen.

art. 12

Nadat de jongens den ouderdom van 14 jaaren bereikt hebben, sullen sij niet meer in dit huijs geadmitteerd werden, maar kunnen (sulx noodig geoordeeld werdende) op een ten dien einde bij request gedaen versoeck in dienst der Ed. Comp. genoomen werden, hetzij als soldaat of jong mattruos met f. 7, ofte anders met hun baes waarbij sij tot dusverre hun ambagt geoeffent hebben gecontracteerd worden, om deselve voor cost, kleederen en inwooning totdat ze in hetselve ambagt geperfectioneerd zijn te onderhouden. Edog niet eerder uit het huijs gaan voordat behoorlijke belijdenis der gereformeerde religie hebben afgelegd.

art. 13

Eene dogter uit het huijs geneegen zijnde tot den huwelijken staat, sal daartoe altoorens verlof moeten hebben van den WelEdelgestrengen heer [68] gouverneur en kerkenraad, dewelke ten opsigte van de jongens met de regenten en ten aansien van de dogters met de regentessen communicatief sullen moeten gaan, dog sal geen acces aan een weesdogter mogen werden verleendt dan met speciaal consent van den WelEdelgestrengen heer Gouverneur voormeld.

art. 14

De dogters uijt het huijs gaande, sullen tot een uitzet genieten rd 50 aan contant sonder meer, buijten hunne gedraege kleederen.

art. 15

Insgelijks sal aan de jongens die uit het huijs gaan, hetzij om de compagnie of particulieren te dienen, tot een uitzet sonder meer in een Mattroose kisje worden gegeven

1 rok	}	
2 camisool	}	van blauwe gestreepte gingang
2 broeken	}	
6 blauw hemden		
4 lange broeken		
2 paren schoenen en		
2 paren cattoene koussen		

<sup>1</sup> *Guinness* = simple coarse cotton fabric; *Cormandel* = the west coast of India.

<sup>2</sup> *Pees* = pieces.

<sup>3</sup> *Gingan pinase* = simple fabric made of pineapple thread.

<sup>4</sup> *Fotas* or *photas* = tartan woven stuff.

item eenige kleenigheeden van kammen, schaeren, messen, gaeren, te zaemen de laast gemelde niet meer dan een rijxdaalder kostende.

art. 16

De kerkenraad sal mogen behouden, erven en na sig neemen, al hetgeene sal worden nagelaaten bij eenige perzoonen soo die in het huijs op hun overleiden nog g'alimenteerd mogte worden, als die in het zelve groot gemaakt en reeds daaruit ontslaegen zijn, en dat met opsigt tot de laast genoemde indien deselve sonder kinderen, kindskinderen of verdere descendanten na te laaten kome te overleiden, tenzij deselve met de diaconij in der tijd uitkoop van alimentatie gedaan hadden, en dit alles sonder uitsondering tot op wat tijd of van waar die nagelaten goederen door alle [69] de bovengemelde persoonen sijn geacquireert, aangeërft, of denselve aanbesteren.

art. 17

De kerkenraad sal de geringe middeltjes welke de kinderen die in het huijs reeds ingenoomen zijn, of na deese nog ingenoomen sullen worden voor de tijd hunner inneeminge, of eigen of aanbesteren soudon mogen zijn, voor het huijs mogen eigenen en behouden mitsgaders doen strecken tot subsidie van de alimentatie der armen weesen in het generaal.

art. 18

Edog de kerkenraad sal niet in eigendom mogen behouden, maar bij het uitgaen van deselve kinderen uit het huijs aan hen moeten extradeeren en medegeven alle hetgeenen deselve kinderen staande hunne alimentatie in het huijs bij erffenissen, legaten, of giften verkreegen soude mogen hebben, sullende egter het huijs daarvan de suiijvere vrugten genieten mogen, soo lange de voorschreeve kinderen in het huijs worden gealimenteerd en langer niet, en sulx alles wat in deese drie laaste articulen is gestatueerd in overeenkomst van het gearresteerde door hune Edele GrootMogende op den 17 december a° 1766.

art. 19

Eene der geallimenteerde kinderen uit het huijs gaande, het zij door huwelijk of wel dat de bepaalde jaaren bereikt hebben, en sig selven buiten de alimentatie der armen erneeren konden, sal in soo een geval konnen volstaan met voor uitkoop te betaalen eene somma van thien rd, dog sal alsdan niet gaudeeren van het aan haar hiervooren toegestaane douceur.

art. 20

En ingevalle eene der g'alimenteerd geweest zijnde kinderen eenigen tijd nadat uit het huijs vertrocken is sonder sig uitgekocht te hebben, geneegen mogte weesen hem of haar alsnog uit te koopen, sal de soodanige sig daertoe direct aan den WelEdelen gestrengen agtbaeren heer Gouverneur en Directeur deeser custe beneevens den [70] agtbaeren Raad van Politie bij requeste moeten adresseeren, dewelke, na daarop ingenoomen te hebben de consideraties en belangens van den kerkenraad, de versogte uitkoopswaarde sal arresteeren.

art. 21



Ingevalle er eenig different mogten onstaan tusschen den kerkenraad en de regenten en regentessen, soodanig dat zijlieden de saeken niet eens kunnen worden, soo sal den kerkenraad het geschil moeten overbrengen bij den WelEdelgestrengen achtbaeren heer Gouverneur omme der weegens het noodige ter uit de weg ruiming te ordonneeren.

art. 22

Zij zullen neevens de regentesse beurt om beurt alle weeken eens of meermaelen, soosls sij dat sullen goed vinden, selfs in persoon in het huijs komen om te ontwaeren hoedanig er opgedischt wordt.

art. 23

En opdat men te geruster mag weesen dat den inhoud deeses in allen deelen behoorlijk in agt genoomen werde, soo sal den kerkenraad jaarlijks onder ult<sup>o</sup> maart ofte wel bij geleegentheid der aanstelling van nieuwe regenten, vergaderen in het huijs ter plaatse voormeld en waarinne alsdan mede sullen moeten verscheinen en sitplaatse naast den praeses ter regter en linker zeide van denselve gegeven worden aan de beide regenten en regentesse, ende sulx om een generaale revue te doen over alle de kinderen van het huijs en sig nauwkeurig te informeeren nae het gedrag der kinderen, wat deselve geleerd of geprofiteerd hebben, en of zij behoorlijk na den teneur deeser ordonnantie zijn behandelt.

art. 24

Laastelijk sullen de regenten in der tijd al sulke domesticque schikkingen en reglementen kunnen en mogen maaken als zij tot nodig bestier van 't huijs sullen komen goed te vinden, en daarvan behoorlijke aantekening houden en kennisse geeven aan den kerken-  
[71] raad, sonder dat nogtans die schikkingen deese ordonnantie sullen vermogen te contrarieeren. En bijaldien men in der tijd mogte ervaaren dat het noodsaekelijk waare in deese ordonnantie eenige verandering te maeken, sullen de buitenregenten dan wel den kerkenraad de vrijheid hebben sig dientweegen met de noodige vertoogen aan den WelEdelgestrengen heer Gouverneur deeser custe te adresseeren.

art. 25

Voorts sal den secretaris van justitie aan welke de testamenten ter approbatie presentearing overgegeven worden, moeten houden een expresboek ten einde daarbij in te schrijven alle soodanige periodes en pointen als in deselve item codicillen, en andere schriftuuren van dien aard, van eenige vermakingen ofte andersints gevonden mogte werden den armen te zijn te beurt gevallen, moetende hij voor het accordeeren der extracten telkens teekenen.

*Ten tweeden voor de buitenregentessen*

art. 1

Daar sullen, soosls voorheen, door den agtbaeren Raad van Politie werden verkooren twee buitenregentessen, zijnde lidmaeten van de gereformeerde gemeente, eerlijk, godvrugtig, en van een bequaame ouderdom, welke gehouden

sullen weesen op die daegen en tijden dat de buitenregenten in het huijs compareeren sig aldaar te laten vinden om haar ampt ten besten van het selve waar te neemen.

## art. 2

Sij sullen agt neemen en sorge draegen over het bedienen van het huijs, en bijzonderlijk over de meisjes, soo over hunne opvoeding, kleeding lijwaeten en andere dingen van die natuur als over de verdere belangen van het huijshouden aldaar. [72]

## art. 3

Sij zullen dergelijks opsigt neemen op de binnenmoeder van het huijs, op de oppassing der zieken en kleine kinderen, opdat een iegelijk zijn pligt waarneemen soals 't behoord, tot welstand van 't zelve.

## art. 4

Sij sullen ook zorge draegen om in het huijs te laaten maeken de kleederen en het lijwaat voor de kinderen, en ten dien eijnde hen van der jeugd aan moeten doe gewennen tot het aanleeren van wolle en linne naaijen, breijen of andere handwerken die binnen het huijs geschieden en tot huijshouden kunnen geemploieerd worden.

## art. 5

Sij sullen sorg draegen dat de kinderen behoorlijk worden voorsien van bed- en taefelgoed, en sulx na voorige gewoonte of soodanig als zij ten nutte van het huijs en de kinderen sullen oordeelen te behooren, soowel als wegens de versorging van hetgeene tot begraevenis der kinderen mogte benoodigd weesen.

*Ten derden voor de binnenmoeder*

## art. 1

Deselven sal door den achtbaaren Raad van Politie verkooren en permanent aangesteld worden.

## art. 2

Dog sal geen ander toegelaeten nog verkooren worden als een bejaard persoon, die lidmaat is van de gereformeerde gemeente, Godvrugtig, zeedig, getrouw en voorsigtig.

## art. 3

Deese zal haar lijftogt en ouderhoud in huijs hebben, en is haar niet g'oorloofd te veranderen of te verdraegen eenige ding buitens huijs, gelijk ook niet vermogen sal iemand anders te tracteeren of te logeeren dan die in het huijs behoord, tenzij met consent van den WelEdelgestrengen [73] achtbaaren heer Gouverneur en Directeur deeser custe en kennisgeving aan den kerkeraad.

## art. 4

Sij sal een sonderlinge sorge draegen dat alle ordres daaraan zij g'obligeert is precieselijk onderhouden en agtervolgd worden, zoo bij haar als de weeskinderen.

art. 5

Als de regenten en regentesses in het huijs vergadert sijn, soo sal zij gehouden weesen haarlieden te dienen in hetgeene aangaat den welstant van het huijs, getrouwelijk rapporteerende hetgeene dat gepasseert is of nog passeert in 't huijs alsook van de klagten die daar sullen te doen zijn; opdat terstond daarin worden voorsien.

art. 6

Sij sal het oog houden en een nauwe opsigt neemen over alle de kinderen, en dat dien einde dat ze wel onderweesen worden, gehoorszaamheid beweesende aan diegeenen die over haar gesteld zijn, en wel gemaniert worden, in vrede leevende en goede eendragt onder malkanderen en met een ieder houdende, en haar soo veel mogelijk gewennende aan het spreken van de Neederduitsche taal. En bijaldien een van de kinderen ziek word, sal zij daarvan immediaat kennisse moeten geeven aan de regenten, om door deselve de noodige ordre te worden gesteld.

art. 7

Zij sal ook bijzonder agt neemen op de kinderen, dat zij bijtijds te werk gaan tot datgeenen dat wel goed past zoo tot de eerbaarheid ontrent haar lichaam en gelaat, in kleeding, eeten en drinken, als ook in het aan- en afgaan van de taefel en diergelijke dingen meer.

art. 8

Sij sal ook moeten letten op de kleederen, lijwaat en meubelen en insonderheid op de bestiering van de [74] keuken en alles wat daartoe behoord, opdat alles eerlijk en suijsver gedaan en onderhouden worden, volgens ordre en practijk van een wel gereguleert huijshouden.

art. 9

Sij sal voor het toegelegde van rd. 3 contant de kinderen behoorlijk moeten versorgen van kost, kleeren, bed en taefelgoed, soo veel mogelijk en betaemelijk ten hunnen genoegen, en sullen twee van de oudste weesdogters week om week de ordonnantie over het eeten hebben.

art. 10

Sullende de rijst aan haar volgens Compagnies inkoopsprijs uit de pakhuijsen verstrekt worden.

art. 11

De binnenmoeder sal ook gehouden weesen bij het spijsigen der kinderen present te zijn, ijder gereguleert van kost te maeken, en is haar niet geoorlooft tractementen in het huijs aan te leggen, of logies daarin te verleenen, dan wel eenige dingen te laeten pleegen die niet met de betaemelijke deftig- en zeedigheid in den hoogste graed convenabel zijn, en dus altoos geen danserijen ofte vrolijkheeden dier gelijke soo min als de daarbij gewoone speeltuigen in dat huijs sullen mogen getraceert

worden (tenzij bij bruijloften ofte ander sints), dog niet dan met voorkennis en verlof van den WelEdele Gestrenge heer Gouverneur en Directeur deeser custe.

## art. 12

De binnenmoeder sal 's jaarlijx in preesentie van de buijte regenten aan de kinderen moeten verstrecken, als

aan de jongens

2 hemden van gebleekt guinees

1 rok om de twee jaaren

en verder 's jaars

1 camisool

2 broeken van gingang pinas of droogam<sup>5</sup>

2 borstrokken

2 bonte doeken [75]

2 paeren cattoene koussen en schoenen

2 sloopen

en om de twee jaaren een nieuwe hoed

en aan de dogters

2 fijne baetjes van guinees of moris

2 grove baetjes

3 koetangs

1 fijne cust kleeedje

2 kleeedjes van bengaelse fotas

2 bonte neusdoeken

2 paeren cattoene koussen

2 paeren muilen en

2 sloopen

## art. 13

En sullen tot het schoonmaeken als andere huijsbezigheeden haar permanent verstreckt worden 10 javaensche battoors,<sup>6</sup> die sij van de noodige kost sal voorsien en des weeks 2 stuijvers ieder voor pienang geld toeleggen.

## art. 14

Sij sal 's maandelijks nog genieten voor extra ordinaire ongelden van clapper olij, brandhout, kaarsen, zout, kalk, wit quasten etc. rd 12  $\frac{3}{4}$ , die zij zal mogen in rekening brengen.

## art. 15

Zij zal mede pertinent boekhouden van de naemen, toenaame, ouderdom, geboorteplaats en afkomst der kinderen dewelke in het huijs door den kerkenraad gesonden worden, soo mede van alle hetgeene sij mede brengen of deselve bij vervolg toekoomen mogte, daarvan alle drie maanden overgeevende eene

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<sup>5</sup> *Deragem* = brown-red cotton stuff.

<sup>6</sup> *Batur* = house-servant.

specificque notitie aan de regenten en regentesse omme der weegens zulx vereijst wordende, het noodige te beraemen.

art. 16

Sij sal zorgvuldig moeten beletten dat door niemand, wie hij ook weesen mag, eenige sterke drank in het huijs gebragt worde, soo mede het dobbelen [76] en alle andere onbetaemelijkheden met kragt teengaan en beletten.

art. 17

Sij word ook gelast agt te neemen dat de speelen en oeffeningen van de kinderen op de oorlofdaegen,<sup>7</sup> om hen te vermaeken, wel geordonneert zijn, in alle eerbaarheid en modestie.

art. 18

Sij zal de kinderen van het huijs liefhebben, niet als vreemde kinderen, maar gelijk of het haar eige kinderen waeren, om deselve also te bestieren en te regeeren als een regt g'aerde moeder.

art. 19

Sij sal ook toesien dat de spijsje op de bepaalde tijd volgens eene wel gereguleerde huishouding gereed zij.

art. 20

Van alle voorvallen in het huijs waarvan het rapport tot den dag der ordinaire vergadering van den kerkenraad niet kan uitgesteld worden, sal zij aanstonds aan den eersten regent kennisse geeven, die dan sal gehouden zijn met den tweede regent daarover te aboucheeren en voorts het noodige te werk stellen.

art. 21

Het ontbijt sal gehouden worden om seeven uren, nadat het morgengebed gedaan sal sijn, het middagmaal precis om twaalf uren, en het avondmaal om ses uren, aan een gemeene taefel.

art. 22

Na het avondmaal sal sij agt neemen dat de kinders modest van taefel opstaan, de godsdienstige oeffenings (naar het reglement) waargenoomen worden, en dat de kinderen uitterlijk voor half neegen uren slaepen gaan sonder geraas te maeken of dertelheid te pleegen, sullende de meisjes te saemen en ten eenmaele afgesondert van de jongens in aparte vertrecken hun [77] slaapplaats hebben, en door de daartoe gestelde na bed gebragt en vervolgens in haar voornoemde vertrecken door deselve opgesloten worden, ten einde alle onbetamelijkeeden nae vermoogen voor te koomen.

art. 23

De moeder sal gehouden zijn, wanneer de kinderen met verlof van de regent of regentesse hunne vrienden of maegen gaan bezoeken, door iemand te laten

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<sup>7</sup> *Oorlofdaegen* = Free days.

informereren of de kinderen wel waarlijk gaan naar de plaats en persoon door hen opgegeven, en bij bevinding van het contrarie sulx immediaat aan de regenten en regentesse te doen communiceeren omme bij deselve daaromtrent het noodige te beraemen.

art. 24

Sij zal, om alle ongelukken van brand voor te komen, gehouden weesen al het vuur en ligt buiten hetgeenen ten dienste van de zieken of anders ten uitterste nodig is, des avonds om neegen uren uit te doen.

art. 25

Sij sal soowel als de schoolmeester de kinderen die sulx verdienen eene sagte vermaning en verbale correctie mogen geven, dog sij sal geene derselve vermogen te schelden, veel min te slaan of te stooten, maar sij sal verplicht zijn om, wanneer haare berispingen en vermaningen van geen effect worden bevonden, daarvan kennisse te geeven aan de regenten, om door deselve alsdan teegens sulke ongehoorsaeme kinderen de noodige correctie en straffe te beraemen.

art. 26

Het zal een ieder vrijstaan hun linnengoed in gemeld huijs te laeten naeijen, stoppen en repareren, en het daarvan proflueerende sal werden verdeeld: de eene helft voor de binnenmoeder, die daarvoor het noodige van gaar en naalden etc<sup>a</sup> sal moeten leveren, en de andere helft ten behoeve der kinderen omme daaronder na evenredigheid van haare naarstigheit nader verdeeld te worden. [78]

art. 27

Aan ordentelijke lieden sal geensints mogen verhindert of verboden worden in dit godshuijs te koomen om de weesen met een goed hart of voorneemen te bezoeken, veel min sal men deselve bij soodanige geleegentheit kwalijk mogen bejegenen, maar inteegendeel sal de binnenmoeder soodanige persoonen vriendelijk ontfangen en tot mildadigheid ontrent de arme weesen animeeren.

art. 28

De binnenmoeder sal den kerkenraad, dog in 't bijzonder de buitenregenten en -regentesen alle behoorlijke respect toedraegen in 't geen haare functie betreft.

*Ten vierden voor de schoolmeesters*

art. 1

Ten dienste van dit huijs zal ook gehouden worden een hollandsche meester, een ondermeester, en een maleidsche schoolmeester, alle van de gereformeerde christelijke religie, en, niets bijsonders daarteegen sig opdoende, altoos de hier bescheiden krankbesoeker ofte voorleeser de preferentie gegeven werden, en den eerste teefens weese cathiciseermeester, winnende den eerste soo voor het onderwijs van schoolmeester als cathiciseermeester 's maands rd 22 en den tweede rd 15 en den inlands leermeester rd 5.

## art. 2

Des 's morgens sullen de ambagtsgesellen, en kinders boven de vijf jaaren oud, te half ses uren moeten op weesen, terwijl een half uur daaraan door den meester het morgengebed sal worden gedaan en 's avonds het avondgebed te ses uren. Dog ingevalle de meester door ziekte of andere ongeleegendheeden daartoe niet in staat was, sal sulx door een van de oudste jongens of meisjes moeten geschieden bij beurten, waarbij [79] alle de andere kinderen met alle eerbied sullen moeten assistereen.

## art. 3

De gestelde tijden op dewelke de meester school houd sal worden gereguleert voor kinderen die nog op geen ambagt gaan des 's morgens ten agt uren en te eindigen ten elf uren, en des nademiddags ten een uren, en te eindigen ten vier uren, sullende daarvan uitgesondert weesen woensdag- en zaturdagnamiddag, wanneer speeltijd sal worden gegeven. En sal hij, buiten ziekte of andere hooge noodzakelijkheeden, sig uit het school niet moogen absenteeren of door een ander zijn dienst laten waarnemen dan met consent van de regenten.

## art. 4

De bestemde tijd tot het schoolhouden sal bij den meester zorgvuldig in agt genoomen worden, en de kinderen door hem in die ordre gehouden om sig precis op den gestelden tijd in het school te laten vinden.

## art. 5

Aan gemelde schoolmeesters sal ook gepermitteerd sijn andere kinderen in gemelde school te onderwijssen, mits dat deselve sig aan de wetten van het school onderwerpen.

## art. 6

De schooltijden sullen begonnen en aangevangen worden met een gebed, hetgeen daartoe bij den meester sal worden opgesteld, en tot het doen van welk gebed eenige van de oudste en bequaamste kinderen sullen gebruikt worden, om sulx bij beurtwisseling te verrigten.

## art. 7

Hij zal de kinderen na derselver jaaren, begrip en vermogen getrouw en naarstig onderwijssen in het leesen en schrijven, ook in de cijfferkonst, en vooral deselve van der jeugd af aan tragten in te scherpen de [80] beginselen van de gereformeerde religie, hen vroeg leeren het Gebed des Heeren, het morgen- en avondgebed, de gebeden voor en na den eeten, en verdere andere nuttige gebeden, de twaalf articullen des geloofs, de tien geboden en den Heidelbergsche Catechismus, voorts hen sooveel doenlijk gewinnen aan het spreekken der Neederduitsche taal, opdat zij met des te meer nuttigheid en stigting de openbaare prediking in de kerk mogen bijwonen.

## art. 8

Hij sal de kinderen gestadig voorhouden Gods naem niet ligtvaardig te gebruiken, niet te vloeken, nog te sweeren, hen tot de vreesse Gods aanmanende.

## art. 9

Insgelijx sal hij er sig op moeten toeleggen om bij alle bekwaeme geleegentheeden hun opsettelijk in te boesemen eene waare eerbied en hoogagting niet alleen voor de moeder van het huijs, maar ook voor de overheeden des lands, als van God aangesteld, alsmede voor hunne leeraer, de kerkenraad en regenten, en hunne meesters, hun inscherpende wat dankbaarheid, verpligting en gehoorsaemheid sij aan deselve schuldig zijn, en voorts alles aanwenden wat mogelijk is om deese arme jeugd te beschaeven, goede seeden, burgerlijke beleefdheid en gediensigheid in te prenten, alle deftige lieden welke zij op straat ontmoeten beleefdelijk te leeren groeten enz.

## art. 10

Onder de maaltijd sal de meester door een bekwaem scholier de heilige schriftuur laten leesen, waartoe eenige sullen gesteld worden die sulx bij beurten verrigten, en sal het selve met stilswijgen in eerbiedigheid door een ijder worden aangehoord. Ook sal des avonds na den eeten een gedeelte van een psalm gesongen worden.

## art. 11

De meester sal de kinderen van het huijs des sondags ter kerke geleiden, in deese ordre en rang: [81] eerst de meisjes en dan de jongens, gaande alle twee aan twee, en sal niemand sig van het kerkgaan mogen onthouden dan die om noodzaakelijke dienst in het huijs of door ziekte van de meester sullen geëxcuseert worden, en sullen alle deselve des sondags 'smorgens ten agt uren in de kerk ten bijwooning van de prediking moeten sijn, en sal dengeenen die op de bestemde uren sig absenteert of niet maakt in gereedheid te zijn daarover op ordre van de regenten gestraft worden.

## art. 12

Sij zullen ook in dezelfde ordre en geleide na de verrigting van den godsdienst weeder te huijs keeren, en sal de meester vooral Sorge moeten draegen dat de kinderen bij het uitgaan en op straat sig geschikt gedraegen, niet roepen, tieren, en langs de straat loopen speelen, maar behoorlijk gaan, sullende de schuldige bestraft of ook nae de zaak vereijstcht daarvoor gekastijd worden.

## art. 13

Uit de predikatie te huijs komende, sal de schoolmeester of binnenmoeder onderzoeken over wat text er gepredikt, wat psalmen er gesongen sijn, en wat ieder van de predicatie onthouden heeft.

## art. 14

En sal de meester moeten sorgen dat er om de 14 daegen des sondags een van de kinderen in staat is om overluit en van buijten te antwoorden op de catechismusvraegen over dewelke als dan gepredikt sal worden, en waarvan hij of selver of door den koster, voordat de predikant op stoel komt, aan denselve kennisse sal moeten geeven.



art. 15

Hij sal in de school geene boeken laeten gebruiken, dan [82] die stigtelijk zijn en aanleiding geven tot godssaligheid en goede seeden, en die alvorens aan de regenten sullen worden vertoond en goedgekeurd.

art. 16

Ten opsigte der kastijdinge van de schoolkinderen sal de meester, sooveel doenlijk is, het kastijden door slaegenart tot zijn laatste toevlugt neemen, en vooral van alle wreede en gevaarlijke straoeffeningen sig onthouden, zullende zij ingevallen van hooggaande hartnekkigheid en buitensporigheeden moeten adresseeren aan de regenten, die alsdan op de beste wijze sullen tragten daarin te voorsien.

art. 17

Voor het overige word hem ernstig gelast sig meest te bedienen van sulke straffen die op de schaamte werken, en van soodanige bestraffingen welke geschikt kunnen zijn om de kinderen van het kwaede en het schaedelijke hunner misdrijvan of naelatigheeden te overtuigen, en in alles sig bij de de kinderen soowel bemind en g'agt als gevreest en ontsien te maaken.

art. 18

Ook sal de meester gehouden zijn het school ten alle tijden behoorlijk schoon en gereinigd te houden, daartoe employjeerende de battoors van het huijs.

art. 19

Dog van de boeken, papieren, en verdere schrijftbenoodigtheeden dewelke door de meester ingekogt en verstrekt sullen worden, sal hij een reekening formeeren, die hij aan de regenten sal overleeveren en door dewelke hij na gedaane resumptie de nodige betaalinge daarop sal erlangen.

art. 20

En opdat al het voorschreeven in dit hoofdstuk des [83] te nauwkeuriger sal worden waargenoomen, sullen de regenten, soo dikwils zij zulx noodig agten of verkiesen, onverwagt deese school mede bezoeken en letten of de goede ordre in deselve allesints worde waargenoomen, en sal den schoolmeester en de kinders verpligt zijn deselve regenten ten allen tijden met behoorlijke reverentie te ontfangen, en rekenschap te geeven van hetgeen waarna zij met betrekking tot hun school voor deselve gevraegd worden.

art. 21

Eijndelijk sal den schoolmeester ten allen tijden onderworpen zijn de betaemelijke correctie, niet alleen van den kerkenraad, maar ook van de regenten, tot soo verre dat teegens zijne instructie merkelyk en bij herhaling sig misdraegende door denselven kerkenraad of door de regenten (dog niet anders dan met voorkennis van den WelEdelgestrengen achtbaeren heer Gouverneur en Directeur deeser custe) sal kunnen afgeset worden van zijn post.

*Ten vijfde voor de weeskinderen*

## art. 1

De kinderen sullen aan de gemeene taefel aansetten als:

1. de meisjes van 12 jaaren en daarboven
2. de meisjes van 4 tot 11 jaaren
3. de jongens die op ambagten gaan en
4. de overige jongens na ouderdom

## art. 2

De gebeden voor en na den eeten sullen eerbiediglijk en sonder te missen gedaan worden.

## art. 3

Sij zullen sig wagten van te kraceelen, verwijtingen, dreigementen van slaan, vuijle woorden, ligvaardig schreeuwen, vloeken, lasteren en van het leesen van [84] oneerlijke boeken enz. En wie hieraan schuldig zal zijn sal gestraft worden, te weeten de jongens na het goedvinden der regenten en de meisjes na het goedvinden der regentesses, met voorkennisse der regenten.

## art. 4

Niemand sal vermogen het goed van een ander na sig te neemen of tragten te verduisteren, onder wat pretex 't sulx ook soude mogen weesen of sal, sulx doende, daarover examplaar gestraft worden.

## art. 5

De gesunde kinderen sullen ter ordre van de binnenmoeder bij beurte op de zieken moeten passen, en sulx wijgerende of daarvan afloopende, gecorrigeert worden.

## art. 6

De jongens sullen niet met de meisjes verkeerren, nog ook in haar vertrek koomen, gelijk ook niet de meisjes in dat van de jongens, ook sullen zij geen gemeenschap met malkanderen mogen houden of sig aan elkanderen verlooven gedurende de tijd dat zij in het huijs zijn.

## art. 7

Niemand sal vermogen des nagts uit het huijs te blijven, nog zijn vrienden gaan bezoeken of uit het huijs gaan, sonder consent van de binnenmoeder, die sulx egter niet sal vermogen te verleenen dan op voorgaande bekome permissie ontrent de jongens van de regenten en ontrent de meisjes van de regentesses, en sullen zij (verloff bekoomen hebbende) nogtans sorge moeten draegen dat zij telkens des avonds uiterlijk ten half seeven uren weeder in het huijs terug gekoomen sijn, op poene van correctie.

## art. 8

Soo ijmand in zijn ambagt door naarstigheit wat meerder als zijn loon mogte overwinnen,

[85] sulx zal hij niet vermogen te versnoepen ofte verspillen, maar sal het selve ten zijnen nutte nogtans wel mogen besteede, mits dat sulx geschiede met voorkennis van de moeder van het huijs.

art. 9

Sij zullen elkanderen een bijzondere liefde en geneegendheid toedraegen, gelijk ook jegens de regenten, regentessen en moeder in het huijs, bewijsende haar alle eerbied en volkome gehoorzaamheid, gelijk goede en getrouwde kinderen volgens Gods gebod gehouden zijn aan hunnen vader en moeder te bewijsen.

onderstond: Samarang den 7<sup>e</sup> februarij 178

was geteckend: F. Montanus, M.L. Gaaswijck, L.H. Vermeher, P. Drost, en C.P. De Coste.

*Source: VOC 3584, Resoluties genoomen in Raade van Politie ten Gouvernemente Samarang zeedert January tot February A<sup>o</sup> 1780, fol. 64-85, d.d. Feb. 16, 1780.*  
(corrected and edited by TvdE)



## Appendix C

COMPILATION OF YEARLY REPORTS ON CHURCH  
(*KERKSTAAT*) IN JAVA'S NORTHEAST COAST

Report on the Church in Java's Northeast Coast (*kerkstaat*) sent  
to Classis Walcheren by the consistory of Batavia, 1765 - 1793<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of Christians in town	
1765	<b>&gt; 514</b>	only in Semarang, children included
1766	<b>2005</b>	in Semarang, Salatiga, Boyolali, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Tegal, Pekalongan, Surabaya, Gresik, Bankalan, Pasuruan, Rembang, Juwana, Jepara
1768	<b>2167</b>	only in Semarang, children included
1780	<b>&gt; 1959</b>	in Semarang, Tegal, Pekalongan, Surakarta, Yogyakarta
1782	<b>&gt; 1556</b>	in Semarang, Surakarta, Yogyakarta
1788	<b>&gt; 2505</b>	in Semarang, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Tegal, Pekalongan, Surabaya, Gresik,
		Madura, Sumenep, Pasuruan, Panarukan
1789	<b>67</b>	a number of new baptized children only in Semarang
1790	<b>&gt; 1056</b>	in Semarang (only new baptized children), Tegal, Pekalongan, Surakarta, Yogyakarta
1791	<b>&gt; 415</b>	in Semarang (only new baptized children), Juwana, Rembang, Jepara
1793	<b>&gt; 584</b>	in Semarang (only new baptized children), Tegal, Pekalongan

<sup>1</sup> This report was a section over the Java's Northeast Coast in the Consistory of Batavia report (*kerkstaat*) to the Walcheren classis in the Netherlands. The report was sent on yearly basis, in order that the churches in the Netherlands followed the progress of the mission in East Indies. The report was a compilation of all reports on churches in Asia.

Report on the Church in Java's Northeast Coast (*kerkstaat*) sent to Gentlemen Seventeen by the consistory of Batavia, 1753 - 1791<sup>2</sup>

Year	Number of Christians in town	
1753	> <b>1283</b>	in Semarang
1777	<b>2036</b>	in Semarang, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Surabaya, Gresik, Sumenep, Pasuruan
1779	<b>2130</b>	in Semarang, Sumenep, Pasuruan, Surabaya, Gresik, Rembang, Juwana, Jepara
1782	> <b>1556</b>	in Semarang, Surakarta, Yogyakarta
1788	> <b>2224</b>	in Semarang, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang, Surabaya, Gresik, Madura, Pasuruan, Panarukan
1790	> <b>2010</b>	in Semarang (only new baptized children), Tegal, Pekalongan, Surakarta, Yogyakarta,
		Surabaya, Gresik, Bankalan, Pasuruan, Panarukan, Banyuwangi, Sumenep
1791	> <b>433</b>	in Semarang (only new baptized children), Juwana, Rembang, Jepara

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<sup>2</sup> These reports were also *kerkstaat*, but sent by the Consistory of Batavia to the meeting of the Gentlemen XVII.

## Appendix D

## YEARLY CHURCH REPORTS OF VISITATIONS

Yearly visitation:  
1779 & 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785 & 1786, 1787, 1789, 1792

Table A<sup>1</sup>:  
Church visitation 1779 and 1780 [3 x visitations]

minister: F. Montanus		elder: <i>none</i>		deacon: Pieter Drost	
full member <sup>2</sup>	<i>liefhebbers</i> <sup>3</sup>	baptism of legitimate children <sup>4</sup>	baptism of illegitimate children <sup>5</sup>	member of the Lutheran church <sup>6</sup>	member of the Roman Catholic church <sup>7</sup>
		7	20	14-21 June 1779	<b>Surabaya</b>
				24-28 June 1779	<b>Sumenep</b>
13	73	4	7	10	4
				2-4 July 1779	<b>Pasuruan</b>
10	58	3	7	20	23
				6-11 July 1779	<b>Surabaya</b>
22	343		3	69	56
				15-24 July 1779	<b>Gresik</b>
5	30	1	1	20	17
				27-30 July 1779	<b>Rembang</b>
15	88		7	11	11
				31 July - 1 August 1779	<b>Juwana</b>
8	28	2	6	19	14
				3-5 August 1779	<b>Jepara</b>
10	71	2	5	20	11
		minister: F.	deacon: Hendrik	22-28 May 1780	<b>Tegal</b>

<sup>1</sup> VOC, 3584.

<sup>2</sup> First row [full member] is number of member of Reformed Church

<sup>3</sup> Second row [*liefhebbers*] is number of those who have yet to attain membership of Reformed Church

<sup>4</sup> Third row is number of legitimate (born of a married couple, full member of the church)

<sup>5</sup> Fourth row is number of illegitimate children (adopted and/or under responsibility of at least one full member of the church)

<sup>6</sup> Fifth row is number of: member Lutheran church

<sup>7</sup> Sixth row is number of Roman Catholic church

		Montanus	Lodewijk Palm		
31	99	6	5	10	11
				30 May - 4 June 1780	<b>Pekalongan</b>
5	38	3	4	7	13
		minister: F. Montanus	deacon: Casparus Geradrus de Coste	20 June 1780	<b>Salatiga</b>
-	-	2	4	-	-
				23 June – 3 July 1780	<b>Surakarta</b>
23	207	5	24	76	74
				5 – 12 July 1780	<b>Yogyakarta</b>
-	[92]	9	10	47	49
				13 July 1780	<b>Ungaran</b>
		3			

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

Table B<sup>8</sup>:  
Church visitation 1781

		minister: F. Montanus		elder: <i>none</i>		deacon: Casparus Gerhardus de Coste	
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church		
	[104]	[7]		16-20 June 1781	<b>Jepara</b>		
				24 June 1781	<b>Juwana</b>		
	[109]	[9]					
				28 June 1781	<b>Rembang</b>		
	[108]	[8]					
				4-18 July 1781	<b>Surabaya</b>		
		[28]					
				20-25 July 1781	<b>Sumenep</b>		
	[131]	[15]					
				27-31 July 1781	<b>Pasuruan</b>		
	[189]	[17]					

<sup>8</sup> VOC, 3626.



				5-14 August 1781	<i>Surabaya</i>
		[3]			
				16 August 1781	<i>Bangkalan</i>
		[8]			
				19 August 1781	<i>Gresik</i>
	[102]	[9]			
				25-?? August 1781	<i>Surabaya</i>
	[386/inclusi ve 90 children]	[1]		95	64

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

Table C<sup>9</sup>:  
Church visitation 1784

Church visitation 1784					
minister: F. Montanus		elder: Pieter Drost		deacon: <i>none</i>	
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
		[6]		13 June 1784	<b><i>Salatiga</i></b>
				14 June 1784	<b><i>Boyolali</i></b>
		[4]			
				15-20 June 1784	<b><i>Surakarta:</i></b>
20	180	15	19	57	64
				22 June 1784	<b><i>Yogyakarta</i></b>
53	118	8	14	43	50

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

Table D<sup>10</sup>:  
Church visitation 1785 and 1786

Church visitation 1785					
minister: F. Montanus		elder: Pieter Drost		deacon: <i>none</i>	
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
	[114]	[10]		24-28 June 1785	<b><i>Jepara</i></b>
				1 July 1785	<b><i>Juwana</i></b>
	[71]	[6]		10	10
				3-6 July 1785	<b><i>Rembang</i></b>
	[107]	[7]			
				12-28 July 1785	<b><i>Surabaya</i></b>

<sup>9</sup> VOC, 3703.

<sup>10</sup> VOC, 3736

		[6]			
				30 July – 2 August 1785	<b>Pasuruan</b>
	[188]	[22]			
				5-8 July 1785	<b>Gresik</b>
	[117]	[7]			
				9-10 August 1785	<b>Bangkalan</b>
		[5]			
				11-18 August 1785	<b>Surabaya</b>
	[334]	[8]		87	69
Church visitation 1786 <sup>11</sup> minister: F. Montanus elder: Pieter Drost (in July) deacon: Casparus Gerhardus de Coste (in May)					
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
				14 May 1786	<b>Tegal</b>
20	113	[13]		12	10
				21 May 1786	<b>Pekalongan</b>
	[39]	[7]		10	10
				9 July 1786	<b>Salatiga</b>
		[2]			
				10 July 1786	<b>Boyolali</b>
		[2]			
				11 July 1786	<b>Surakarta</b>
32	79	18	20	46	66
				23 July 1786	<b>Yogyakarta</b>
45	49	6	15	47	65
				28 July 1786	<b>Salatiga</b>
		[1]			
				30 July	<b>Ungaran</b>

<sup>11</sup> VOC, 3736

				1786	
		[3]			

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

Table E<sup>12</sup>:  
Church visitation 1787

	minister: F. Montanus	elder: P. Drost	deacon: <i>none</i>		
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
				10 June 1787	<b><i>Jepara</i></b>
8	93	6	5	18	12
				17 June 1787	<b><i>Juwana</i></b>
22	46	4	7	13	12
				24 June 1787	<b><i>Rembang</i></b>
8	80	3	6	9	10

Table F<sup>13</sup>:  
Church visitation 1788

	minister: F. Montanus	elder: Pieter Drost	deacon: <i>none</i>		
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
				16-26 July 1788	<b><i>Tegal</i></b>
28	93	[8]	7	13	10
				27-29 July 1788	<b><i>Pekalongan</i></b>
9	49			8	7
				13 October	<b><i>Salatiga</i></b>

<sup>12</sup> VOC, 3813.

<sup>13</sup> VOC, 3861.

				1788	
		[6]			
				14 October 1788	<i>Boyolali</i>
		[5]			
				16-22 October 1788	<i>Surakarta</i>
	[236]	[33]		77	72
				23-30 October 1788	<i>Yogyakarta</i>
	[170]	[19]		80	89
				1-? Novem- ber 1788	<i>Ungaran</i>

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

Table G<sup>14</sup>:  
Church visitation 1789

		elder: Pieter Drost		deacon:	
minister: F. Montanus					
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
				27 Septem- ber 1789	<b><i>Jepara</i></b>
8	98	7	8	12	14
				4 October 1789	<b><i>Juwana</i></b>
16	57	9	9	15	16
				11 October 1789	<b><i>Rembang</i></b>
10	84	4	9	10	8

Table H<sup>15</sup>:  
Church visitation 1792

		elder: Willem Beekman		deacon:	
minister: F. Montanus					
full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church
				12-21 May 1792	<b><i>Tegal</i></b>
28	77		[9]	16	6
				27 May 1792	<b><i>Pekalongan</i></b>
13	42		[6]	7	14

Note: inside the bracket [n] is the total number of children and adult Christians, the report does not make exact distinction.

<sup>14</sup> VOC, 3909.

<sup>15</sup> VOC, 3986.

## Number of Christians based on visitation reports

Table I: Semarang

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1765	120	100	35	69	90		KR Batavia
1766		[211]	46	69	46		
1767							
1768	214		179			1608	KR Batavia
1769							
...							
1776							
1777	17	735	35	73	18		VOC 3472
1778							
1779	200	805	46				VOC 3532
1780	> 200	> 800	57				KR Batavia
1781							
1782	> 200	> 800	75				VOC 3607
1783							
1784							
1785							
1786							
1787							
1788	> 200	> 800	47				VOC 3773
1789			67				KR Batavia
1790			60				VOC 3868
1791			68				VOC 3916
1792							
1793			71				KR Batavia

Table J: Surabaya

Surabaya	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766		[117]	29 of 114	71	60		KR Batavia
1777	21	289	18	72	68		VOC 3472
1778							
1779	22	343	30	69	56		VOC 3584
1779	22	468					VOC 3532
1781		[386]	32	95	64		VOC 3626
1782							
1783							
1784							
1785		[334]	14	87	69		VOC 3736
1786							
1787							
1788	40	154	25	151	28		VOC 3773
1789							
1790	38	124	36	96	74		VOC 3868
1791							
1792							
1793							



Table K: Juwana

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766		[21]	4 of 21	6	5		KR Batavia
1777	6	22	4	12	7		VOC 3472
1778							
1779	8	28	8	19	14		VOC 3584
1779	8	61					VOC 3532
1781			9			109	VOC 3626
1782							
1783							
1784							
1785		[71]	6	10	10		VOC 3736
1786							
1787	22	46	11	13	12		VOC 3813
1788	22	46	10	13	12		VOC 3773
1789	16	57	18	15	16		VOC 3909
1790							
1791	16	46	5	14	18		VOC 3916
1792							
1793							

Table L: Jepara

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766	6	20	9 of 42	17	9		KR Batavia
1777	10	66	4	19	12		VOC 3472
1778							
1779	10	71	7	20	11		VOC 3584
1779	10	102					VOC 3532
1781			7			104	VOC 3626
1782							
1783							
1784							
1785			10			114	VOC 3736
1786							
1787	8	93	11	18	12		VOC 3813
1788	8	93	11	18	12		VOC 3773
1789	8	98	15	12	14		VOC 3909
1790							
1791	14	100	9	14	12		VOC 3916
1792							
1793							

Table M: Tegal

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766	29	33	14	9	11		KR Batavia
1777							
1778							
1779							
1780	31	99	11	10	11		KR Batavia
1781							
1782							
1783							
1784							
1785							
1786	20	113	13	12	10		VOC 3736
1787							
1788	28	93	15	13	10		KR Batavia
1789							
1790	27	89	12	16	6		VOC 3868
1791							
1792	28	77	1	16	6		VOC 3986
1793							

Table N: Rembang

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766	14	18	9 of 17	5	8		KR Batavia
1777	15	23	9	16	14		VOC 3472
1778							
1779	15	88	7	11	11		VOC 3584
* 1779	15	110					VOC 3532
1780							
1781			8			108	VOC 3626
1782							
1783							
1784							
1785			7			107	VOC 3736
1786							
1787	8	80	9	9	10		VOC 3813
1788	8	80	8	9	10		VOC 3773
1789	10	84	13	10	8		VOC 3909
1790							
1791	10	84	5	10	8		VOC 3916
1792							
1793							

Table O: Surakarta

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766	21	56	26 of 101	78	78		KR Batavia
1777							
1778							
1779							
1780	23	207	29	76	74		VOC 3584
1781							
1782	29	185	20				VOC 3607
1783							
1784	20	180	34	57	64		VOC 3703
1785							
1786	32	79	38	46	66		VOC 3736
1787							
1788							
1789							
1790	14	87	35	122	121		VOC 3868
1791							
1792							
1793	28	77	10	16	6		KR Batavia

Table P: Yogyakarta

	full member	<i>liefhebbers</i>	baptism of legitimate children	baptism of illegitimate children	member of the Lutheran church	member of the Catholic church	Sources
1766		[58]	12 of 39	55	63		KR Batavia
1777							
1778							
1779							
1780		[92]	19	47	49		VOC 3584
1781							
1782	54	173	20				VOC 3607
1783							
1784	53	118	22	43	50		VOC 3703
1785							
1786	45	49	21	47	65		VOC 3736
1787							
1788							
1789							
1790	22	172	23	71	109		VOC 3868
1791							
1792							
1793							

## Appendix E

SUARA PEMBARUAN DAILY  
400 Tahun Protestantisme di Indonesia<sup>1</sup>

*Andreas A Yewangoe*<sup>2</sup>

**TEPATKAH berbicara mengenai 400 tahun Protestantisme di Indonesia?**

Tidakkah, dengan demikian kita mempersempit rentang-waktu dan ruang-lingkup kehadiran kekristenan di Nusantara yang mestinya jauh lebih lama dari waktu 400 tahun itu? Lagi pula dengan menambahkan akhiran "isme", ada kecenderungan melihat kekristenan hanya sebagai sebuah ideologi di samping ideologi-ideologi lainnya, yang secara hakiki memang bersifat kaku dan memaksa?

Iniilah, antara lain rentetan pertanyaan-pertanyaan kritis, yang mengemuka dalam seminar dua hari di Ambon, 25 dan 26 Februari lalu. Seminar itu diadakan dalam rangka merayakan 400 tahun masuknya agama Kristen dalam versi protestannya di Maluku, yang sekaligus juga dipandang sebagai gerbang masuknya Injil di seluruh Nusantara.

Alkisah, hari Selasa, 27 Februari 1605, untuk kali pertama awak kapal Belanda (VOC) mengadakan ibadah di darat, di benteng Portugis yang baru saja diserahkan kepada mereka, dan diberi

**WHAT is wrong with talking about 400 years of Protestantism in Indonesia?**<sup>3</sup>

Asking such a question seems to disregard the fact that Christianity was already here in *Noesantara*<sup>4</sup> even before the Dutch, 400 years ago. Even worse when one uses suffix “-ism”, then Christianity is seen as mere an ideology alongside many other ideologies that are essentially stiff and coercing.

These are some of the critical questions that came up during the two-day seminar in Ambon last February 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>. The seminar was held in conjunction with the celebration of 400 years of Christian Protestantism in the Moluccas. The event was also considered the first entry of the Gospel into the whole of *Noesantara*.

On that day, Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1605, for the first time, Dutch marines celebrated a church service on land, in particular at the recently captured Portuguese fort. The fort was given a

<sup>1</sup> The article *400-years of Protestantism in Indonesia* published in national newspaper in Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup> *Penulis adalah Ketua Umum Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (The author is chairman of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia).

<sup>3</sup> Translation from Bahasa Indonesia to English by Y. Soleiman.

<sup>4</sup> *Nusantara* is an old name given for the Indonesian archipelago.

nama baru, Victoria. Sebagaimana diketahui, pada 1605 itu, Laksamana Belanda Van der Haghen, bersama orang Hitu mengusir garnisun Portugis dari Ambon. Orang Hitu mendapat status sekutu. Dalam laporannya Van der Haghen, menulis: "Pada tanggal 27 bulan ini untuk pertama kalinya Laksamana turun ke darat dan pergi ke benteng. Di sana Firman Allah diberitakan disertai pengucapan syukur kepada Allah Yang Maha Kuasa berkenaan menganugerahkan kepadanya kemenangan besar bagi Tuantuannya di negeri Belanda." (Th van den End, 2005). Th van den End mencatat, itulah ibadah Protestan yang pertama diadakan di Maluku, bahkan di seluruh Asia, sehingga dapat dipandang sebagai permulaan sejarah Protestantisme di kawasan ini.

#### *Khawatir*

Kendati pada permulaannya, sesuai dengan asas toleransi yang berlaku di Negeri Belanda pada waktu itu, Van der Haghen membiarkan orang Katolik Ambon menjalankan ibadah Katolik, namun belakangan gubernur penggantinya tidak lagi konsekuen menaatinya.

Ia mengusir semua orang Katolik Eropa dari Ambon, sedangkan pelayanan bagi orang "bumiputera" diselenggarakan oleh seorang guru agama, yang hanya berwenang mengadakan ibadah sederhana.

Gubernur pengganti itu khawatir kalau-kalau jemaat Katolik di bawah pimpinan seorang Yesuit itu dapat menjadi kolone kelima, begitu orang Spanyol (yang Katolik) mengirim lagi armada dari Manila. Singkat kata, orang Katolik Ambon lama-kelamaan menjadi orang Protestan Ambon. Dengan demikian, berlakulah prinsip lama, "cuius regio eius religio" (siapa yang memiliki negara, menentukan agama yang dianut). Sebagai

new name: Victoria. Dutch Admiral Van der Haghen, together with the Hitu, succeeded in driving the Portuguese garrison out of Ambon. The Hitu were proclaimed as allies of the Dutch. In his report, Van der Haghen, wrote: "On the 27<sup>th</sup> of this month, for the first time the Admiral went ashore and entered the fort. There the Lord's Word was proclaimed along with thanks to God Almighty, who kindly granted a great victory for his masters in the Netherlands." Tom van den End said it was the first Protestant service in Moluccas and perhaps the first such service in the whole Asia, therefore it could be regarded as the beginning of the history of Protestantism in these region.

#### *Concern*

In the beginning Van der Haghen went along with principle of toleration in the Republic and tolerated the Ambonese Catholics' manner of religious practice and worship. His successors however had no use for the old religion whatsoever.

He expelled all European Catholics from Ambon, and replaced the clergy with a religious instructor for local Christians. The instructor was only allowed to perform simple religious ceremonies.

The new governor was worried that under leadership of a Jesuit priest the people would turn into the fifth column as soon as Catholic Spain sent another fleet from Manila.

In short, over time, the Ambonese turned Catholics into Protestants. The old European principle of *cuius regio*



demikian, daerah-daerah yang ditaklukkan menganut agama penguasa, yaitu Kristen Protestan. Itu tentu saja tidak berarti, bahwa segala sesuatunya berjalan mulus.

*Concern* utama VOC bukanlah pada pekabaran Injil tetapi perdagangan. Maka selama pekabaran Injil tidak mengganggu usaha-usaha perdagangan mereka, dibiarkan, bahkan didukung. Tetapi, kalau pekabaran Injil menjadi kendala, tidak segan-segan dilarang. Itulah sekelumit catatan sejarah masa lampau.

*Apa yang Diperingati?*

Ketika pada 27 Februari 2005 itu, segenap umat Gereja Protestan di Indonesia (GPI) menyelenggarakan perayaan besar-besaran, maka pertanyaannya adalah apakah yang dirayakan? Ketika semua peserta dengan khusyuk melakukan napak-tilas ke Benteng Victoria pada tanggal bersejarah itu, apakah yang menyeruak dalam pikiran kita? Ketika obor dinyalakan di Benteng Victoria dan kemudian diarak ke dalam kota, apakah yang disimbolkannya? Adakah sungguh-sungguh kita sedang memperingati masuknya Protestantisme, atau justru kita sedang merayakan permulaan kekuasaan kolonialisme dan imperialisme Barat di Indonesia?

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan kritis dan mengugut itu mengindikasikan bahwa sejarah memang bersifat multiwajah, dan karena itu juga multiinterpretasi.

Gereja Protestan di Indonesia, beserta 12 gereja mandirinya menginterpretasikan peristiwa bersejarah itu justru sebagai permulaan diberitakannya Kabar Baik (Injil) di negeri ini.

*eius religio* was transported to Asia. The conquered simply followed the religion of the conqueror, in this case Protestantism. This by no means made things easier.

The main concern of the VOC was trade, and not [a religious] mission. As long as mission did not conflict with their trade interests, it was fine –the Company even provided some support. When the mission impeded Company operations, it would suffer consequences. That was history.

*What we commemorating?*

On February 27, 2005 when all the members of the GPI<sup>5</sup> came to the celebration, our question was: what were we celebrating? What came to mind when all the participants went to Fort Victoria? What kind of symbol was represented when the torches were lit up and there was a procession to town? Were we really commemorating the arrival of Protestantism or we were we just celebrating the dawn of colonialism and Western imperialism in Indonesia?

These critical questions indicate that history indeed has many sides and hence multiple interpretations.

The Protestant Church in Indonesia (GPI), with all 12 synods members of the confederation understands that that historical event was the beginning of proclamation of the Good News to this big country.

<sup>5</sup> The Gereja Protestan Indonesia is successor of the *Indische Kerk*.

Benar, tanggal itu merupakan permulaan cikal-bakal *De Protestantische Kerk in Nederlands-Indie* yang terbentuk belakangan. Tetapi, sangatlah naif untuk berpikir, bahwa adanya gereja itu identik, sama dan sebangun, bertindih-tepat dengan permulaan kehadiran kekuasaan represif di Indonesia. Jalan-jalan Allah memang tidak terduga.

Pikiran-pikiran Allah tidak terselidiki. Bahkan dari sampah-sampah kolonialisme dan imperialisme, Allah dapat menyampaikan Kabar-Baik (Injil) kepada suatu bangsa.

Sama tidak terduganya dengan terbentuknya negara Indonesia yang merasa satu bangsa, setelah "dipersatukan" di bawah pemerintahan kolonialisme dan imperialisme Belanda. Kalau tidak, kita hanya akan menjumpai sekian negara-negara kerajaan di negeri ini. Maka adalah tugas generasi masa kini untuk terus-menerus menafsirkan sejarah secara baru dan jujur.

#### *Long Conversation*

Dalam diskusi dua hari itu, disampaikan pandangan, sebetulnya tidak terlalu tepat untuk berbicara tentang "pertobatan" (*conversion*) orang-orang Maluku (dan orang Indonesia) kepada kekristenan. Berbagai sumber sejarah memperlihatkan, ada perlawanan terhadap upaya-upaya untuk pertobatan itu. Orang tidak dengan serta-merta saja masuk ke dalam agama Kristen. Itu disebabkan oleh adanya faktor kekuasaan (*power*) dalam "pertemuan" dua kebudayaan, yaitu kebudayaan penduduk asli dan kebudayaan para misionaris.

Orang tidak rela menundukkan begitu saja kekuasaannya terhadap kekuasaan yang baru datang itu. Kenyataan itu dibuktikan dengan begitu banyaknya pengeluhan para penginjil, yang melihat upaya-upaya penginjilannya tidak

It is true that the day was the starting point of the church later known as the Protestant Church in Dutch East Indies. However it would be naive to think that the foundation of the church was identical to the coming of repressive powers to Indonesia. How unfathomable is the way of our God.

The thoughts of our God are beyond us. Just imagine: out of the wastes of colonialism and imperialism, God managed to send his Good News (the Gospels) to a country.

No one knew beforehand that Indonesia would become a nation, after 'being united' under the rule of the colonial and imperial Dutch. If history had gone another way, one might have found many petty kingdoms instead. It is solemn duty of the current generation to continuously interpret our history in new and honest ways.

#### *Long conversation*

In the two-day seminar, an interesting notion arose. It is no longer true to talk about the conversion of the local people and Indonesians to Christianity. Historical sources show there was resistance that hindered the conversion. The locals were not that easily converted to Christianity. It had to do with the encounter of two completely different cultures – that of the local inhabitants and that of the missionaries. Without power it would have been almost impossible for the conversion to have occurred.

People were not about to give up without a fight. Many missionary reports proved how difficult it was to bring the natives into the light. Some of them went home empty handed and deeply frustrated.

berhasil. Bahkan tidak kurang dari mereka yang putus asa. Maka, ketimbang *conversion*, orang lebih suka berbicara mengenai *long conversation*, percakapan panjang, bahkan maha panjang antara pemberita Injil dan penduduk, antara Injil dan kebudayaan setempat.

Percakapan panjang itu mengalami pasang-surut dan jatuh-bangun. Ada optimisme, tetapi tidak kurang pula pesimisme. Dalam percakapan maha panjang itu telah terjadi *take and give*, saling pengaruh-memengaruhi antara pemberita Injil dan "sasaran", antara Injil dan kebudayaan.

Percakapan itu, dimuarakan antara lain dalam pendidikan. Maka peranan guru-guru sekolah (*schoolmeesters*) yang adalah orang-orang pribumi yang sangat menonjol dalam pekabaran Injil patut dicatat sebagai faktor menentukan.

Alhasil, pilihan untuk menganut kekristenan adalah hasil proses percakapan maha panjang itu. Dapat dikatakan, bahwa kekristenan mengambil bentuknya sendiri dalam suatu kebudayaan, yang di Maluku secara populer disebut "Agama Ambon". Tetapi, mungkin lebih tepat untuk mengatakan, orang-orang Ambon (Maluku) menghayati kekristenan dengan mempertimbangkan berbagai warisan budaya yang dimilikinya, kendati cukup mencolok juga bahwa bahasa-bahasa daerah agak menghilang dari desa-desa yang mayoritas penduduknya beragama Kristen.

#### *400 Tahun Kemudian*

Tentu saja merupakan tantangan generasi masa kini, bagaimana menghayati dan mengamalkan kekristenan itu di tengah-tengah masyarakat Indonesia yang

Today people prefer to talk about a *long conversation* instead of *conversion*. A long conversation implies that there was unfinished dialogue between equal partners, between the missionaries and the natives, between the Gospel and local cultures in their richness.

The phrase has its ups and downs. There is optimism, but with shades of pessimism too. On the long road of the conversation, there was indeed a give and take, one influencing the other, and in turn both would change accordingly.

One immediate result of the conversation was education. The role of native schoolmasters was vital. In the field they were a decisive factor for the success or failure of the mission.

The decision to embrace Christianity was the result of the long conversation. In the end Christianity had its own form, as it became a part of local culture. In the Moluccas, it is known as *Agama Ambon* (Ambonese religion). Perhaps it is better to say that the Ambonese sense of religion is keenly focused on their cultural legacy. However it is also sad to note that old local languages disappeared in Christian-majority villages.

#### *400 years later*

The challenge for the current generation is how to bring about our Christian values and idealism into Indonesia's pluralistic society. Protestantism is not

majemuk. Protestantisme tidak mungkin lagi dikurung dalam tembok-tembok (*ghetto*).

Sebaliknya, kekristenan mesti lebih terbuka. Gereja, bahkan mesti menjadi gereja bagi orang lain. Secara kasat-mata hal itu juga telah terlihat dalam perayaan itu.

Prof Magnis-Suseno SJ, yang adalah seorang Yesuit, dulu merupakan musuh bebuyutan kaum Protestan, justru memberikan ceramah dan terlibat dalam diskusi yang intens dalam seminar dua hari itu. Uskup Amboina, Mgr Mandagie menaikkan Doa Syafaat dalam perayaan akbar yang dihadiri ribuan orang itu.

Peristiwa seperti itu tidak terbayangkan 400 tahun lalu. Bahkan juga saudara-saudara Muslim terlibat aktif. Di sinilah kita melihat, Injil adalah sungguh-sungguh Kabar Baik yang membawa orang kepada persaudaraan sejati.

Injil sejati adalah Kabar Baik yang mempertautkan dan merekat, bukan merenggangkan dan memecah antarsaudara. Kita semua diberi waktu untuk merenungkan secara mendalam, apa sesungguhnya makna Kabar Baik itu sesudah 400 tahun bagi persaudaraan di Maluku dan di Indonesia pada umumnya. Maluku, yang dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini dilanda konflik-konflik horizontal, ditantang untuk memperlihatkan pemulihan dan rekonsiliasi tulus di antara sesama anak bangsa.

Yohanes Calvin, salah seorang Reformator abad ke-16 pernah menegaskan, alam-semesta adalah *Theatrum Gloriam Dei* (Pentas Kemuliaan Allah). Itu berarti tanah-tanah

likely to be ghettoized.<sup>6</sup>

Christianity needs to be more open to all. Churches should be churches for others. Thank God, all of this is happening during this celebration.

Prof Magnis Suseno SJ,<sup>7</sup> would previously have been considered an archenemy of the Protestants. Now he joined our two-day seminar. The Bishop of Amboina, Mgr. Mandagie, said the prayer of intercession at the celebration.

Event like this were simply unthinkable 400 years ago. We even witnessed our Muslim brothers joining the celebration. Here we realize that the Gospel is indeed the Good News that brings all people into the true brotherhood.

The True Gospel is Good News that makes people connect and join each other, instead of breaking apart and distancing themselves from one another. We need to contemplate the true meaning of the Good News after 400 years and what that means to brotherhood in the Moluccas and Indonesia. In particular in the Moluccas, which has been plagued by a terrible civil war over the last several years, the challenge is now to show recovery and honest reconciliation.

John Calvin, the sixteenth century reformer, once said that the whole universe is a stage for God's glory. In our context this means that all richness of the land and sea in the Moluccas

<sup>6</sup> In this sense 'under protective walls'.

<sup>7</sup> A prominent Catholic theologian in Indonesia.

yang subur dan laut-laut yang kaya di Maluku adalah pentas kemuliaan Allah. Tetapi, Allah ini telah menganugerahkan tanah dan laut itu kepada orang Maluku, tanpa memandang agama yang dianutnya. Maka, karena itu, baik kepada komunitas Kristen maupun komunitas Islam, diserukan untuk menerima anugerah Allah itu secara bertanggung jawab.

Mereka ditantang untuk mengolah dan mengusahakan pemberian Allah itu sebaik-baiknya agar layak menjadi tempat kediaman manusia dan pantas menjadi pentas kemuliaan Allah. Karena akan ada waktunya, Allah akan meminta pertanggungjawaban, baik kepada umat Kristiani maupun kepada umat Islam, "Apakah kamu sungguh-sungguh telah mempergunakan tanah dan laut yang Aku berikan untuk kebaikan kamu semua, atau kamu hanya menghabiskan waktu dengan berbalah-balah, sehingga tidak ada waktu lagi mengolah pemberian-Ku dengan bertanggung-jawab."

Peringatan 400 tahun telah berlalu. Gereja-gereja di Indonesia telah mengalami berkat Allah melalui "Gerbang Maluku", kendati tidak semuanya. Kita teringat misalnya, akan Nommensen di Tanah Batak, Otto-Geissler di Tanah Papua, Kruyt di Tanah Poso, dan sebagainya. Apa pun saluran yang dilewati, satu hal sangat pasti, bahwa berkat Allah itu tidak boleh dikangkangi sendiri, tetapi mesti diteruskan kepada sesama demi persaudaraan dan kehidupan perdamaian sejati dalam polis (boleh dibaca: masyarakat) Indonesia ini.

islands is a stage of God's glory. And a gracious God has given it all to the people, regardless their religious affiliation. Therefore, both Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas should be grateful for this general gift and act responsibly.

Theirs is the challenge to cultivate and to develop with all their best so that the Moluccas can become adequate place to live and at the same time a theater for God's glory. The time will come when God will ask both Christians and Muslims of their deeds.

Have you with all your abilities made a good use of the land and sea so that everyone had a good life? Or you have wasted your time with bickering and had no time to do your duty?

The commemoration of 400 years of Protestantism is over. Churches in Indonesia were blessed through the gate of the Moluccas. Of course there was another entry gates for Christianity in Indonesia. Nommensen for the Batak people, Otto-Geissler in Papua, Kruyt in Poso, and many others.

The most important lesson is that God's gift is not for us to keep for ourselves. It should be passed on to others. For the sake of brotherhood and living in true harmony in Indonesian society.



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