DUTCH MISSIONARIES

VOLUME 1

To the Ends of the Earth

Eight Dutch missionaries, from Robertus Junius to Izaak Kijne

You shall be witnesses to Me … to the end of the earth.

Acts 1:8

WIM KAMPHORST

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To the Ends of the Earth. Dutch missionaries, volume 1

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The sources consulted are listed after each chapter. Stories known only from a person's own testimony or from later tradition, or that cannot be verified, are marked as such in the text and in the overview at the end of each chapter.

This book can be read and downloaded free of charge at whispermagazine.org.

Introduction: those who went

Just before Jesus went up to heaven, He said to His disciples: *But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth.* (Acts 1:8)

For a Dutchman in the seventeenth century, the end of the earth was a very real place on the map. It was an island off the coast of China, an island full of clove trees in the Moluccas, a plantation on the Suriname River. Ships sailed from the island of Texel and the port of Vlissingen and arrived months later in places where no one had ever heard of Jesus. On some of those ships there was a minister, a missionary, or later a sister in a white habit.

This book is about eight of them.

A new series

In the series *Follow Their Faith* I wrote about Dutch men and women of God who did their work in their own country. While writing, I noticed how often a brother, a sister or a friend turned up in those stories who had left for the other side of the world. Those people deserve a book of their own.

The model is still *God's Generals* by Roberts Liardon. He tells how people were called, what God did through them and where they fell. That is how I want to do it too. No saints on a pedestal, but people who left something behind that they never got back.

The eight in this volume were all born in the Netherlands. They come from Rotterdam and 's-Hertogenbosch, Tilburg and Amsterdam, Ossendrecht and Vlissingen, The Hague and Vlaardingen. They were Reformed, Dutch Reformed, Mennonite, Roman Catholic or Pentecostal. They worked on Formosa, in the Moluccas, on Java, in New Guinea, in Suriname and in China. The order is the order of time, from a minister of the VOC (the Dutch East India Company) on Formosa to a schoolteacher who came back from New Guinea in 1958, after thirty-five years.

Facts first

A lot is told about missionaries. In the nineteenth century, congregations read their letters aloud in church, and mission magazines had to keep the gifts coming in. That produced fine stories, and not all of those stories are equally reliable. A number of baptisms became a rounder number. A danger grew bigger. A saying ended up in someone else's mouth.

In this book I work the same way as in the previous series. For each person I looked into what is certain: dates, places, archives and independent sources. Stories we know only from their own letters or from the reports of their mission society, I tell as well, but I say where they come from. What is passed around but cannot be checked, I call unconfirmed. After each chapter there is a short overview, followed by the sources, so you can read further for yourself.

About colonies and churches

You cannot write honestly about these people without naming the country they traveled with. The first missionaries in this book were employed by the VOC, a trading company that used violence to hold power. Peerke Donders worked in a country where people were the property of other people. Later, missionaries in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) stood under the authority of a colonial government that was not always pleased with them.

I will not avoid that, and I will not preach about it either. I tell what happened and let you judge. Some of these people went along with the ideas of their time. Others went right against them. Often both happened in one life.

What I also want to show are the people on the other side. Mission work was never the work of one Dutchman. There were interpreters, teachers, evangelists and ordinary believers who took up the message and carried it further, often at greater risk than the missionary himself. Where their names have been kept, I name them.

How you can read this book

Each chapter stands on its own. You may begin wherever you like. Read it with a map beside you, because many place names have changed, and with an open Bible, because these people had one. A few of them worked hard so that others would have one in their own language.

And ask yourself a question along the way. Where is the end of the earth for you? For some it is another continent. For others it is the neighbor you have never talked with about God.

Robertus Junius: the minister of Sinkan

There is a painting in oil on canvas, more than a meter (over three feet) wide, with a Dutch text on it. According to that text it was made on Formosa in 1643, by a Chinese painter whose name we do not know. It shows one man twice. At the top he stands in a pulpit and preaches, with a golden glow around him. At the bottom he baptizes. A mother kneels before him and holds up her child in cloths. A second woman waits with her child. The men sit in the upper part of the canvas, the women in the lower part, with beads in their hair and around their necks.

The man in the painting is Robertus Junius, a minister from Rotterdam. For fourteen years he worked on the island we now call Taiwan. He learned the language of the Siraya, a people of the plain in the southwest, and wrote that language down in Latin letters. He set up schools and trained native schoolmasters. According to his own reports he baptized more than five thousand people. He was also a man of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, the VOC or Dutch East India Company, and that colors this story.

It began in Rotterdam, with a boy called Robert de Jonghe.

Robert de Jonghe becomes Robertus Junius

Robert was born in Rotterdam in 1606. His father was called Jan de Jonge, his mother Lijsbeth Jans Schever. We know this from archive records in the database Ecartico. The year fits an engraving from 1644, which gives his age as thirty-eight.

The sources say almost nothing about his youth. We do know that he went to study and that he Latinized his name. Robert de Jonghe became Robertus Junius.

A seminary in a house in Leiden

In 1622 the Leiden professor Antonius Walaeus opened a seminary in his own house, to train ministers for the East Indies. In its first ten years that small institute sent out twelve ministers. A seminary is a training school for future pastors, and this one had a single destination: the regions where the VOC traded.

Junius was one of those students. He finished his studies in 1628, at about twenty-two.

Why does a young man from Rotterdam choose a training that will send him to the other side of the world? Junius did not leave us an answer. We know only what he did.

A wedding in Batavia

In 1629 Junius left for Batavia, present-day Jakarta, where the VOC had its headquarters. In April of that year he married Geertruyd van Nederhoven there. That same year he traveled on to Formosa. He was about twenty-three.

The VOC had settled on the island in 1624. By the bay of Tayouan, now Anping in the city of Tainan, stood the castle Zeelandia. The Siraya lived in the villages on the plain, and those villages waged

war on one another. Sinkan, now Xinshi in Tainan, was an ally of the Dutch. Mattau, now Madou, was the largest and most powerful village, and it turned against them. George Candidius wrote about those years that without the protection of the Dutch, Sinkan would not hold out for even a month. So for Sinkan the alliance was also a matter of survival.

Junius was the second minister on the island. Candidius had arrived on May 4, 1627 and had baptized the first people in Sinkan. In the summer of 1629, the year Junius arrived, warriors from Mattau ambushed a group of Dutch soldiers. About sixty soldiers were killed. After that, Mattau also plundered Sinkan. That was the island the young minister stepped ashore on.

Two years of preaching in a language no one understood

For the first two years Junius worked around the castle Zeelandia and preached in Dutch. The Siraya in the villages did not understand it. Then he started on their language, a difficult language, because he wanted to bring the people to faith himself. That is how a later description of his work tells it.

From 1631 he lived and worked in Sinkan. He would stay there twelve years.

Learning a language that has never been written down is something different from learning a language from a book. There were no letters for Siraya. The missionaries wrote the language down in Latin letters and put together a word list. That is how what historians call the Sinkan alphabet came about. In his report of 1636 Junius used the words ta kala duscola about this work, which mean beautiful things are difficult, a saying that also appears in Erasmus. It takes effort, he means, and the effort is worth it.

The first fruit was not long in coming, if you follow the reports of governor Putmans. In 1632 he reported that the council of Sinkan had agreed with Junius to admit no more unconverted villagers, and that the priestesses had promised to stop their rites. A year later, he wrote, the whole village had given up its old religion. So Junius lived in a village that was moving with him. Candidius, his predecessor, had written about the village leaders that he had rarely heard more eloquent people, and he compared them to Demosthenes. That is how he described the people Junius went to live among: people with a voice of their own.

In 1634 Junius and Candidius together asked the VOC whether they could take boys from Sinkan with them to the Netherlands, to have them trained there as ministers. The plan shows where Junius's thoughts were heading: toward a church with its own pastors, from its own people. Two years later he argued for it himself, in a letter to the Council in Batavia. Four or six boys from Sinkan should go to Holland, he asked, for the love of Christ. His reasoning was that they could not become what he had in mind as long as they stayed in the villages, among influences he called uncivilized. We would no longer put it that way. The wish behind it was that these boys would one day preach themselves, in their own language, to their own people.

November 1635: the march to Mattau

This chapter would be incomplete without what happened in 1635. Junius was a servant of the Word, and he was also a servant of the Company. On Formosa those two roles ran into each other.

As early as 1630 Junius and Candidius had asked the governor to support the people of Sinkan in a raid against a hostile village. Their argument was that such help would bring in more converts. In

September 1635 Junius heard of plans for an uprising in Sinkan itself. He warned governor Hans Putmans, who sent soldiers.

In his letters Junius complained regularly about Mattau. The inhabitants treated Chinese laborers badly, he wrote, and they tore up the travel passes the governor had issued. In his view they had no respect at all for the Dutch. For six years, the Taipei Times wrote later, he had waited for reinforcements. In 1635 they came: Batavia sent troops to Zeelandia, and Mattau had meanwhile been weakened by smallpox, which killed hundreds of warriors.

On November 23, 1635 Junius set out from Fort Provintia, in present-day Tainan, with VOC soldiers. Along the way, warriors from Sinkan joined them. The target was Mattau. In his own report to the Lords in Amsterdam he tells how they advanced by night. The inhabitants were terrified when the Dutch suddenly stood in their village. No one resisted. Even so, twenty-six inhabitants were killed, and the next day the village went up in flames. Junius wrote to the VOC headquarters that Mattau had to be punished, because otherwise the surrounding villages would never take the authority of the Dutch seriously.

A week later came the treaty. On December 2, 1635 representatives of Mattau offered the governor betel nuts and young coconut palms planted in clay pots, as a sign that they were handing over authority over their land. Two men bowed their heads to the ground three times. Junius noted that the people of Sinkan who watched were glad of it, because they had never seen anything like it. The VOC appointed four leaders from Mattau as spokesmen. They received an orange flag, a cloak of black velvet and a rattan staff with a silver knob. Putmans had written to Junius that the treaty had to be signed where all the villages were present. They had to see it. On February 22, 1636 the treaty was confirmed and twenty-eight vil-

lages pledged loyalty to the VOC. On February 25 the villages gathered in Soulang. At a later gathering twenty-nine more were added.

About the expedition against the village of Takareiang, in those same weeks, Junius tells something you do not expect in a war report. Before they marched, the whole company knelt to ask the only true God for victory. On December 25 there was a skirmish. After that the village lay abandoned, not a soul in sight.

I find this a hard page. A minister who accompanies soldiers to a village that then burns fits poorly with the picture of a missionary that many Christians have. I will not judge him as if I had stood in his shoes. But I will not leave it out either. What do you think, when you read that baptism and the peace of the Company came to the island in the same year?

Junius himself felt the tension. In that same report he asks to be relieved of his judicial duties. He wanted to be left alone to do what he had come for. More than once he would ask for this.

In the prophet Zechariah there is a sentence that chafes against this: *Not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit, says the LORD of hosts* (Zechariah 4:6). In 1630 Junius had still argued that military support would bring in more converts. The story of Mattau shows how easily the authority of the Company and the work of the gospel could run together, even in someone who at the same time spent years on the language of a people.

The idols of Tavakan and a school in Sinkan

The year 1636 was the year the work became visible. On May 5 the people of Tavakan burned their idols. On May 26 Junius opened his first school in Sinkan. About seventy boys came, between ten and thirteen years old, and learned to write their own language in Latin letters. A Taiwanese theologian who has studied this even speaks

of seventy boys and sixty girls. Either way, here sat children of the people who until then had put nothing on paper.

Junius wrote that year that the young people of Sinkan were full of zeal. On Sunday five to six hundred people came to the service. In Sinkan he had performed fifty Christian marriages. Those figures come from his own report.

There was sorrow in it too. He was short of hands. He wrote in his report of that year that he wished there were enough workers. On October 27, 1636 he and his colleague Hogensteyn wrote to the consistory in Batavia that the harvest was truly great and the workers few, and that there was no shortage of people to teach. They sent along a reading booklet and a word list. It is Jesus' own word that he quotes: *The harvest truly is plentiful, but the laborers are few* (Matthew 9:37).

In 1637 Candidius left for the Netherlands. Junius stayed behind alone.

Thirteen booklets and an alphabet

The most important thing Junius left behind was perhaps not a church. It was a written language.

In 1994 the linguist Kees Groeneboer described in *Ons Erfdeel* (a Dutch and Flemish cultural journal) how Junius encouraged teaching in the people's own language. He put together at least thirteen school and catechism booklets in Sinkan. A catechism booklet is a little book of questions and answers about the faith, meant to teach children and new believers. Junius also translated sermons and the Heidelberg Catechism, the question-and-answer confession of the Reformed churches. His large catechism had three hundred and sixty questions. For the line hallowed be Your name in the Lord's

Prayer he chose words that mean: we praise Your name. The consistory of Tayouan would later quote that line.

His catechism was made for this people. At the sixth commandment he put: do not kill another person, and do not have an abortion. Candidius had described how women in the villages repeatedly underwent forced abortions, led by priestesses. Junius saw that as a violation of the Ten Commandments and therefore first tried to break the power of the priestesses. On October 23, 1640 he wrote that those women, who had been such an obstacle to the work, had now lost their power. Later governor Traudenius had most of them banished to Tirosen. In a letter of December 1641 Junius called that a measure that would benefit the mission, but he opposed sending them to Batavia. That was his concern for the women. The means he accepted for this are ones we have questions about.

In a sermon on Psalm 50:15 you can see how he spoke. The Siraya brought offerings of betel nuts, rice, a drink and pork. Does God want the tongue, the liver or the kidneys of a deer, he asked his congregation. What God wants, he said, is a sincere heart. *Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver you, and you shall glorify Me* (Psalm 50:15). He told his listeners that you can call on Him, sometimes aloud and sometimes in your thoughts.

In 1903 William Campbell included a number of those texts in English translation in his source book *Formosa under the Dutch*. It contains a prayer for worship, a sermon, two catechisms and a short formulary on the Christian faith. So you can still read today what the children of Sinkan learned.

And those children learned it from their own people. According to Groeneboer, in 1643 about fifty native schoolmasters were teaching in six schools, to more than six hundred children. Four years later that number had roughly quadrupled. In a letter of October 21, 1641

to governor-general Van Diemen, Junius wrote why he wanted it that way: the pupils preferred to be taught by their own people, because European catechists quickly lost patience when a child did not understand something right away.

What those schoolmasters were called, we do not know. None of the sources I opened give their names. I find that a pity. They were Siraya teaching in Siraya.

A man in Soulang

On October 23, 1640 Junius wrote a letter about a tour of five villages. He had preached and baptized. On one visit to Soulang he baptized a hundred and twenty people. In total, 1,070 had been baptized there by then. In twenty-three villages, he reports, the people had given up their idols.

In the same letter he tells of a man from Soulang who came to him of his own accord. The man had had no instruction. He said: examine me, for I want to be baptized. Junius asked his questions, and the man answered them so well that he was baptized the next day. It is one of the few moments when a Siraya says something himself in the sources, even if it comes through the minister's pen.

It recalls the Ethiopian official in the book of Acts. On the road he came to some water, and he asked himself: *See, here is water. What hinders me from being baptized?* (Acts 8:36). Among all the numbers in the reports, here stands one man who asks the question himself.

In the same letter Junius shows how tired he was. He was constantly plagued by illness, he wrote to governor-general Van Diemen. He stayed. Van Diemen had asked him to stay longer to train his colleague Bavius, and that request, Junius wrote, he could not and would not refuse.

How large were those numbers? When Junius left in 1643, according to the reports he had baptized more than 5,400 people in six villages, including Mattau and Soulang, and performed well over a thousand marriages. The *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* speaks of about 5,500 adults. In a Latin letter by his contemporary Caspar Sibelius, which appeared in English translation in 1650 with 5,900 converts in the title, the number is higher still.

Like the rolling of a heavy stone

In Soulang something happened in those years that Campbell's source book preserves. Three murderers were punished there with the noose. Rumors went around and several families fled. Junius fetched them back, and they came back.

On November 3, 1642 the Council on Formosa wrote to Batavia that the progress of the young believers in faith, reading and writing was remarkable. They mentioned Junius's great zeal and asked for a suitable successor, so that the work would not be lost. He himself asked again in early 1643 to be relieved of his administrative duties, because they clashed with his calling. He wanted to go to Batavia after the autumn monsoon, and then back to the Netherlands.

On October 7, 1643 the consistory of Formosa wrote a letter that contains the fullest description of his work. It lists more than 5,400 baptisms and well over a thousand marriages. Junius had celebrated the Lord's Supper with the chiefs of Soulang and with more than sixty people from Sinkan. The letter also speaks of his illnesses and of his longing for the fatherland and for his aged mother. It compares his twelve years of work to the rolling of a heavy stone. Now he set it down.

Before he left, two delegates, Caesar and De Hooghe, made a tour of the villages. They saw children reciting prayers and answers from

the catechism. They heard that the teachers in Soulang were studying his large catechism of three hundred and sixty questions. And in a letter of the same date Junius wrote something that sums up all his work: the Siraya could learn to manage their own church affairs and money, and they should share their authority with the Dutch, as in any church council. In Soulang such a church council came into being, half Dutch and half Formosan.

In 1643 Junius left Formosa. According to the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (a standard Dutch biographical dictionary), he went back because of his health and out of homesickness. He left his books behind. The Company and the church bought them together for 124 reals. In December he traveled to Batavia, and from there home.

The painting from the opening, in which he preaches and baptizes, dates from that same year. According to the gallery that sold it, Junius probably had it made himself as a reminder of his work.

Complaints, and a classis that cleared him

In 1644 he was in Middelburg and gave his report. That same year the engraver Pieter de Jode made his portrait, with a Latin text that calls him a servant of the divine Word among the peoples of the island of Formosa in the East Indies.

After he left there was conflict. According to the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, his methods caused controversy. His successors adapted less to the Formosans than he had done. In 1646 the minister Van Breen declared that Junius's catechism was not suitable as a textbook in the schools, because its content and order were badly chosen. The Council agreed to a new one.

In the years after, more came. In 1648 the consistory of Tayouan sent a letter of complaints to the Netherlands. Junius was said to

have claimed that Christianity on Formosa had been going downhill since his departure and that no one paid it any attention. He was said to have doubted God's blessing on the Formosan churches, to have wronged his colleagues Happart and Bavius, and to have described his brothers and the administrators without love. Overtwater, an administrator on Formosa, also disputed that Junius had brought many villages to peace: with most of them he had had little or nothing to do.

Junius heard that a letter from Formosa was on its way and asked to be informed as soon as it arrived. On August 30 and September 6, 1649 he appeared before the classis of Amsterdam. He gave an account of his work and denied the accusations. The classis praised what he had done and found the letter from Formosa malicious. It asked him to forget it. He promised that he would. To Formosa the classis wrote that Happart and Bavius themselves had voiced similar complaints about the churches. In 1650 it added that Junius had always urged for more ministers for those churches. A classis is a regional assembly of Reformed ministers and elders, which oversaw the churches and their pastors.

A house on the Koornmarkt

In 1645 Junius married again, in Delft, to Elisabeth van den Corput. What happened to his first wife Geertruyd, the sources do not say.

He became a minister in Delft and lived on the Koornmarkt, a canal street in the city, at number 42, in a house called Het Witte Hart (The White Hart). The website *Achter de gevels van Delft* (Behind the Facades of Delft), about the history of Delft houses, names him there as the minister who had earlier proclaimed the gospel on Formosa.

Formosa did not let him go. Around 1647 an ABC book by him was printed in the Netherlands. It was sent to the island and ar-

rived in August 1648, together with other books the churches and schools needed. The booklet was meant for the schools he himself had started.

The fleet and Amsterdam

In 1653 Junius was called to Amsterdam. From August to November of that year he served as a minister with the fleet of the Dutch Republic, in the months of the First Anglo-Dutch War.

In Amsterdam he trained young men who would go to the Indies as ministers. According to the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* he put the emphasis on a thorough knowledge of the languages. Anyone who had himself preached in Dutch for two years before he spoke the language of the country knew why. According to the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, one of his students was Philippus Baldaeus.

Robertus Junius died in Amsterdam on August 28, 1655. He was forty-eight or forty-nine.

Five years later the Delft faience painter Isaac Junius painted his portrait in blue on a faience plaque of eighteen by fourteen centimeters (about seven by five and a half inches). The Rijksmuseum bought that plaque in 1904.

What remained in Sinkan

In 1661 the Gospel of Matthew and a formulary of the Christian faith appeared in Amsterdam in Siraya, edited by the minister Daniel Gravius. That same year Zheng Chenggong, known to the Dutch as Koxinga, landed on Formosa with an army. On May 17, 1661 the daily register of Zeelandia recorded the report of a schoolmaster. In his village the people had left the school and

destroyed the books and belongings of the mission. In 1662 the Dutch left the island.

With that, everything seemed over. The church of Sinkan disappeared. No more ministers came, no new books, no classis.

But something remained. More than a century and a half later, Catholic missionaries on Formosa still found groups reciting the Dutch catechism. The Siraya went on writing their language in the letters they had learned from the Dutch. They used those letters for legal documents such as contracts, sometimes alongside Chinese characters. About a hundred and forty of them have been preserved. They are called the Sinkan manuscripts. The most recent dates from 1813, more than a hundred and fifty years after the last Dutchman had left.

What Junius began in Sinkan was also bound up with the power of the Company. That belongs to the story. But the letters had become the Siraya's own. They wrote down their own affairs with them, long after the pulpit had disappeared.

In 1813 someone in the south of Taiwan put a document on paper. He wrote it in his own language, in the alphabet that a minister from Rotterdam had helped to make in Sinkan almost two centuries earlier.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): birth in Rotterdam in 1606; study in Leiden and departure via Batavia to Formosa in 1629; work in Sinkan from 1631 to 1643; the request of 1634 to train boys from Sinkan in the Netherlands; his role in the march to Mattau in November 1635 and the peace treaty that followed; his translations of the catechism, prayers and sermons into Siraya; about fifty native schoolmasters in 1643; the painting from 1643

and the engraving from 1644; return in 1643-1644; ministry in Delft and from 1653 in Amsterdam; death in Amsterdam in 1655; the survival of the Sinkan alphabet into the nineteenth century.

Only from own testimony or mission reports: the numbers of baptisms (5,400 in six villages, 1,070 in Soulang, 5,500 or 5,900 in other counts) and the well over a thousand marriages; the five to six hundred churchgoers and fifty marriages in 1636; the man from Soulang who asked for baptism; the twenty-three villages that gave up their idols; his motive for learning Siraya; his illnesses and his longing for home (letters of 1640 and 1643, as Campbell preserves them); the burning of idols in Tavakan on May 5, 1636; Putmans's report of 1632 and 1633 on the council of Sinkan and the priestesses (via Lin Changhua); the comparison with Demosthenes by Candidius (via an article on Siraya education); the prayer before the expedition against Takareiang; his sermon on Psalm 50:15 and his catechism (via Lin Changhua, who quotes the sources in Campbell).

Unconfirmed or disputed: the birthday and the baptism date (not recorded); whether the school of May 26, 1636 consisted of seventy boys (Van der Burg, Taipei Times) or of seventy boys and sixty girls (Lin Changhua); the year of the first school (in his conclusion Lin also gives "around 1643"); the exact date of death (August 28 according to the NNBW, August 22 according to other reference works) and the plague as the cause of death; the content of the accusations against him, as far as known only from the letter of the consistory of Tayouan (1648); whether Philippus Baldaeus was his student (one source); family ties with Isaac Junius; the publication of Matthew in Siraya by Gravius in 1661 (Wikipedia only); the departure of Candidius in 1637 (one source); the assumption that Junius had the painting made himself; that Putmans and Junius were shocked by the reprisals ordered by Batavia (only a gallery that sold the painting); his parents (one archive database); his marriages

(NNBW and one other source); a summons to Batavia in 1641 with conditions for his return (Wikipedia only); the exact year in which Catholic missionaries still heard the Dutch catechism recited (the Taipei Times says only "about 150 years later").

Interpretation: whether the mass baptisms led to real conversion can no longer be determined. The reports were written by the missionaries and the Company themselves, at a time when baptism and political authority on Formosa were closely bound together. What the Siraya themselves thought of Junius has hardly been handed down. The priestesses and their banishment, the practice of abortion he opposed and the means he accepted for it are part of that picture, which we cannot settle by our own standards.

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Joseph Kam: the apostle of the Moluccas with a schooner of his own

On March 3, 1815 a forty-five-year-old Dutch minister arrived on Ambon. He had come a long way. Seven years earlier a mission society in the Netherlands had accepted him, and since then he had studied, waited, studied again and waited again. He came by way of England and Java, in years when England and France were at war with each other.

On Ambon he found Christian villages that had not had a regular minister for years. He took lodging with a health officer, A. Uytenbroek. Two days after his arrival he was already preaching. Three weeks later, at Easter, he celebrated the Lord's Supper, for the first time in thirteen years. That is how an Indonesian study tells it.

The man's name was Joseph Kam. He had eighteen years left to live, and he spent almost all of them on and between the islands of the Moluccas, in the east of what is now Indonesia. He printed books, trained native teachers and had a ship built to reach the distant islands. He was buried on the island where he had gone ashore in 1815. Later they called him the "Apostle of the Moluccas".

It began in his father's leather business, in 's-Hertogenbosch, a city in the south of the Netherlands.

Baptized on September 19, 1769

Joseph Kam was born in September 1769 in 's-Hertogenbosch. On September 19 he was baptized in that city. At his death in 1833 he was said to be sixty-three years and ten months old, and that fits a birth in that month.

His parents were Joost Kam and Anna Margaretha Zock. Joseph was their second son, the second of five children. His older brother Samuel later became a minister. Father Joost ran a leather business, and Joseph worked in it. He left school early to help his parents and his younger sister, and meanwhile hoped that God would open a way for his calling.

The family belonged to the Reformed church, but father Joost also felt at home with the Herrnhuters. These were Christians of the Moravian Church, a movement from Germany that strongly emphasized a personal bond with Jesus and mission among peoples who did not yet know the gospel. They had a community of their own in Zeist. According to the Dutch source from 1931, it was contact with the Herrnhuters of Zeist that gave Joseph an interest in missions.

An Indonesian Bible society tells that as a child he learned about brotherly love, peace and bringing the gospel to those who had not yet heard it. According to the same story he wanted to become a missionary at a young age. An old English-language encyclopedia, the Schaff-Herzog, says so too: he felt the calling early, but followed his father's wish and went into business.

Then there is the story of the night under the army train. In 1794 French troops besieged Den Bosch (the short name of 's-Hertogenbosch). His father sent him out of the city, to Utrecht.

Joseph walked to the gate, changed his mind and turned back. He mingled with the French soldiers, slept that night under an army train and walked back into the city when it surrendered. That is how the Indonesian Bible society tells it.

A clerk at the Court of Justice

In 1802 his parents died, and the leather business came to an end. He already wanted to go on mission then, the Bible society tells, but he put it off to care for a sick sister. He found work at the Nationaal Gerechtshof, the national Court of Justice, first in The Hague and later in Amsterdam, and took his two sisters into his home. What exactly he did there, the sources describe differently: clerk, usher, errand boy. In any case it was not a high position.

On June 24, 1804 he married Alida van Epen in The Hague, a daughter of the minister Gerrit van Epen. They had a little daughter. In March 1806, shortly after the birth, Alida died.

The girl went to the parsonage in Berkel, to the family of his brother Samuel. Joseph was by then living in Amsterdam and had lost his job. One day he was to visit her. The night before, she died, of a seizure. The news came, and Joseph received it calmly.

He was thirty-six when Alida died. Within a few years he had lost a wife, a child, his parents' home and a business.

"I want to be a missionary"

What went on inside him then, we know from two directions. An English mission magazine wrote in 1835, two years after his death, that he saw the loss of his wife and child as a sign that he was to go abroad. The Indonesian Bible society gives a saying of his that sounds similar. In English it reads: "I am now studying God's will

and ways. I want to be a missionary." The Bible society places that sentence at the moment the news about his little daughter came.

Maybe you recognize something of this moment. A life that falls apart, and a quiet question that remains: what does God want now? Joseph Kam had no theological training and was nearing forty.

In 1808 he offered himself to the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap, the NZG (the Netherlands Missionary Society). That society had been founded in Rotterdam in 1797 to send people out to peoples who did not know the gospel. They accepted him as a kweekeling, a student in training. He was then about thirty-nine.

Seven years of waiting

Anyone who signed up in 1808 for the mission to the Indies did not get away quickly. England and France were at war, the Netherlands was on the French side, and in those years the Indies came under English rule. The English magazine from 1835 writes that the French authorities blocked his departure for Java, and that his patience was sorely tested.

Joseph used the time to learn. He took lessons in The Hague and Amsterdam. From April to October 1811 he studied in Rotterdam, together with two German students, Gottlob Brückner and Johann Christoph Supper. There they were taught theology, general history, drawing and music. When the war went on and the society's money dried up, the three went to Zeist, to the Herrnhuters. There, on September 28, 1811, the next part of their training began. His father's circle was now his school.

In Zeist Kam already worked as a minister too, the English magazine writes. A nearby congregation had no regular pastor. He preached there, visited the sick and taught the children the catechism.

The Schaff-Herzog says he was also trained in Berkel, by his brother Samuel, who ran a mission institute at home. The Dutch source from 1931 does not mention that.

According to that Dutch source he did not think the training he received in the Netherlands was enough. In 1812 he went to England, and that took some doing. From the Netherlands you could not get out of the country. The English magazine of 1835 describes how Kam, Brückner and Supper crossed the border disguised as traveling machine makers. They came to Hamburg, went on to Norway and sailed from there to London. On Wikipedia it says the society "smuggled" them out of the country, and that fits this story. In October 1812 they were in London.

In the Psalms it says: *Wait on the LORD; be of good courage, and He shall strengthen your heart; wait, I say, on the LORD!* (Psalm 27:14). Kam waited seven years. He filled those years with lessons in The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zeist, and then in England. When he finally arrived on Ambon, he was forty-five.

Gosport, London and an English society

In London they came into contact with the London Missionary Society, the LMS. That was an English mission society from the evangelical, pietist wing of the church. Kam was sent to Gosport, a port town in the south of England, where the LMS trained missionaries. In London he took examinations, and he passed.

In 1813 he was ordained as a minister in London, on Sunday, November 21, 1813. After that, Kam, Brückner and Supper left for Java. Because Java was English territory at the time, they traveled under the flag of the LMS. Kam went on writing letters to London for the rest of his life. Those letters are still in the archive of the LMS, in the library of SOAS in London.

Batavia, Soerabaja and the long road to Ambon

In 1814 the three arrived in Batavia, now Jakarta, on May 16, 1814. They entered the service of the Indische Kerk, the Protestant church of the Indies. That church fell under the colonial administration: the government appointed the ministers. Supper stayed in Batavia, Brückner went to Semarang, and Kam was assigned to Ambon.

He did not get there right away. There was no ship sailing to the Moluccas. For months he worked in Soerabaja, now Surabaya, and on Madura, and he learned Malay there. According to the Dutch source from 1931, in Soerabaja he helped set up a local mission society. From May 1814 to February 1815 he stayed in East Java.

In February 1815 he could travel on. The journey was long and hard, and he became seasick. On March 3, 1815 he set foot on Ambon.

An island full of baptized people without a minister

To understand what Kam found, you have to go back in time for a moment. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese had brought the Roman Catholic faith to the Moluccas. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the islands came under Dutch rule, and the Christian villages passed over to the Reformed church. The Portuguese had made the islanders Catholic by force, according to the Schaff-Herzog. Two centuries later there were many baptized Christians in the Moluccas, and according to the same source the church was in serious decline.

On Ambon he was first asked to serve the European congregation. He did so reluctantly, the magazine wrote later, because his heart was with the Moluccans. He restored a native church that had been without a minister for more than twenty years. How long exactly, the sources differ.

He went to work at once. At home he gave catechism classes, church lessons in the basics of the faith. Every week he held a meeting for adults who wanted to be baptized. On the first Monday of the month there was a prayer meeting, and the collection came from Dutch officials.

On Ambon alone he found about three thousand children who had not yet been baptized, and hundreds of young people who had not been confirmed, and couples who had never been married in church. He baptized, the Indonesian study tells, about a hundred and twenty children a week. In the first months the number was 1,865.

Soon after his arrival he married again, on Ambon, to Sara Maria Timmerman. She stayed with him until his death. They had two sons, Izaak Joseph and Joseph Karel. Joseph Karel Kam later became a minister in the Indies himself, among other places in the Blenduk church in Semarang, and died in 1898.

In that same year 1815 he founded an auxiliary Bible society on Ambon. He proposed it to the Resident during an examination visit, on June 22.

The salt of the sea

At the end of 1815 he traveled for the first time to the congregations on Haruku, South Seram and Saparua. There he celebrated the Lord's Supper, baptized and preached. In 1816 he crossed to Boano and Manipa. He was forty-seven and still fond of sea voyages, even when the waves ran high.

On those journeys he saw what made the work so hard. Many children could read but did not understand what they read. There were too few teachers. On December 29, 1816 he wrote to London about a trip to the surrounding islands, about the role of the local

church community and about the many baptisms. And he asked for Bibles and New Testaments, because they were in short supply. He worked closely with the Netherlands Bible Society to distribute Bibles: in German and Dutch, in Malay in Latin letters and in Arabic.

His answer was to train the people he wanted to send out himself. For that he opened his own yard.

A printing press on Ambon, 1819

Kam had a problem. There were many Christian villages, spread over islands far apart. He could not be everywhere at once. He looked for the solution in paper and in people.

In 1819 he started his own printing shop on Ambon. According to the Indonesian study he paid for the press out of his own pocket. Among other things, four thousand copies of a Malay catechism were printed, the Dutch source from 1931 reports. He also had sermons printed for villages that no minister visited. He wrote sermons himself for the native teachers, who read them aloud when he was away. He translated a book of sermons by the English minister George Burder into Malay. In 1823 he wrote to London that a second printing press had arrived.

People from the region learned the printing trade from him. The English magazine of 1835 mentions this specifically: he taught young Malays to print.

With the same thought he started a school, a training course for native helpers: teachers and pastors from among the local people. On June 14, 1819, with permission from the government, he opened the Institute for the training of capable assistants in his own house. The students received board, lodging and clothing. Every month they received two guilders, and every half year a shirt and a pair

of trousers. The course lasted two years. There were seven Malay lessons a week: one from Kam, four from his wife, two from a Moluccan teacher. The evenings were for prayer and catechism.

After that the students worked for five or six years in the printing shop or on the ship, for five or six guilders a month and clothing, before they were sent out as teachers. They signed that they were willing to go anywhere.

Paul wrote to Timothy: *And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also* (2 Timothy 2:2). Kam could not be everywhere at once. The printing press and the school carried teaching further than one man could travel.

The teachers were Kam, his wife Sara Maria and a Moluccan teacher, Mattheus Huwae. Kam taught reading, explanation of the Bible and arithmetic. On Sunday evenings Sara Maria read the Bible aloud to children, to enslaved people, to orphans, to adults and to non-Christians. About Huwae we know nothing else, and I find it a pity that so little has been kept of exactly such people. The work on the distant islands rested on teachers like him.

Not work for a servant of the gospel

Kam did not stand outside the colonial system. He was a government minister, appointed by the colonial administration, and he often traveled with help from the governor. In 1817 a hard time came. On Saparua an uprising broke out in which many people died and the Dutch Resident and his family were murdered. Kam wrote to London about it. Because of the unrest he could not visit the islands near Celebes. And he was given something to do that he did not want: he had to write letters on behalf of the government to the

islands he had visited. He protested, he wrote, because that was not work for a servant of the gospel.

In that same year he made a journey along the surrounding islands. In a letter of March 1818 he reported that more than six thousand people had been baptized during that trip. And in a letter of 1817 he also reported that idols had been destroyed.

From October to December 1821 he sailed with a fleet of forty-eight kora-koras, large Moluccan rowing boats, and the warship De Koerier under Captain Stolze. It was an armed government fleet, and the minister sailed with it.

What do you think of that? I think it is honest to mention it. The Moluccas were a colony, and the church Kam worked for belonged to that administration. He also ran up against it. He would most have liked to work among people who did not yet know the gospel, but the government put him to work in the existing congregations. After 1817 he asked governor Van Middelkoop whether supervision of the schools could go to the mission. The government refused. So he started a school of his own. In 1826 the inspector J. van der Vinne reported that the schools on Ambon mainly taught reading Malay from the Bible and singing psalms, and that the native teachers were poorly paid: twelve guilders a month for the highest rank, four to ten for the lowest. Around 1827 the administration thought his school too focused on evangelism. His long journeys, it also thought, disrupted the rhythm of the lessons.

From the village of Soya, on Ambon, comes another story. In Soya the villagers kept a sacred water jar, a tempayan, which they believed brought rain. The water in it was stirred with yellow bamboo twigs and a white chicken was sacrificed. Kam is said to have destroyed that jar, as part of his struggle against what he called su-

perstition. How the people in Soya responded, the source does not tell.

The schooner Amboina

The islands southwest and southeast of Ambon lay far away: Kisar, Leti, Moa, Banda, the Aru Islands. To the north lay the Sangihe Islands. On many of those islands lived people who had once been baptized, but who had not seen a minister in years.

Two or three times a year Kam went on a journey, sometimes for months, in a small boat with a few native sailors. He sailed past islands and through storms and threatening weather, says his life story of 1835. He sought out scattered believers, brought them together again in congregations, placed teachers and had them read sermons he had written himself. Chiefs of non-Christian villages came to respect him. The government also used him to make peace between tribes, and according to the magazine he prevented much bloodshed that way.

In his letters of 1823 to the LMS, Kam describes such a visit. On the Southwestern Islands he baptized, and he found a stone church there. The people called themselves Christians, he wrote, but knew little of redemption, though many had been baptized. Another letter, from the same years, describes his journey to Banda: a hundred and twenty-five miles from Ambon, the history of the church there and the election of elders.

From May to October 1825 he made a journey that lasted five months. He came to Timor Delly, now Dili, and to Moa, Leti, Romang and the Sermata Islands. He went to Banda, to Tepa on Babar and from there to the Aru Islands. On Maikor he visited the Christian villages of Wangel, Durriella and Wokam, and after that also islands where no one was yet a Christian, Workai and Wasir,

and Larat and Tanimbar. After his sermons he baptized about nine hundred people there. On the way back he passed Nusalaut, Saparua and Haruku. That year he baptized almost 2,560 people, well over seven hundred and fifty of them adults. Six students were trained as teachers.

To be able to reach those islands regularly, he had a schooner built in 1825, a small sailing ship with two masts. He called it the Amboina. In March and April 1825 teachers went out to Banda, Leti, Moa and the Aru Islands. In 1828 he reported on his journey through the South Moluccas aboard the Amboina, and told that eight new missionaries had been kindly received by the chiefs on the islands in the Banda Sea. In 1829 the Amboina was wrecked on the coast of Kisar. Kam had a new ship built.

According to the magazine of 1835, young missionaries had a father in him. Missionaries who came from the Netherlands were given lodging in his house, help in learning the language and advice for the work. They came from 1819 on, and according to the Schaff-Herzog seventeen missionaries were sent to the Moluccas between 1819 and 1832. One of them was G.F.A. Gericke, who arrived on Ambon at the end of 1823. He would become Kam's successor.

With the LMS it ended differently. In 1828 the board in London decided to no longer recognize him as an LMS missionary. He had never received money from them. He kept writing to them all the same, until 1831.

A church, a flute and strict discipline

On Ambon Kam built a church, largely with his own money. According to the Indonesian Bible society he had an organ brought over for it from the Netherlands. In 1835, two years after his death, an earthquake destroyed the building.

The Dutch source from 1931 preserves two small details. Kam introduced flute playing to accompany the singing in church. And he exercised church discipline strictly. That means that the church council speaks to people about how they live and sometimes excludes them from the Lord's Supper.

The magazine from 1835 portrays him as a man without special gifts, but with sound judgment, great knowledge of the Bible and a great fire. He lived simply and frugally, even when he sat at a rich dinner, and did not judge people who did things differently, as long as they kept within measure.

There are few figures about his work. The Schaff-Herzog speaks of more than twenty thousand baptized people in eighty congregations, the farthest about five hundred kilometers (some three hundred miles) away. Those figures come from one source, and probably from the reports of the mission itself. In 1833 Gericke also wrote down something else. Many parents were indifferent about education. Some asked for baptism mainly to get ahead, to be seen as citizens.

March 1833: the last journey

In March 1833 he set out again to go along the islands. It was on March 24, and the journey was to last three months. He was sixty-three.

The journey went to Banda, among other places. There he fell ill. On July 14 he came back, exhausted. Four days later, on July 18, 1833, he died on Ambon, in the arms of Gericke, his young friend and successor.

So many people came to his funeral that the church could not hold them. Civil and military officials walked in the procession, and many Moluccans, Christians and others. The colonial government

published a detailed notice of his death. The English magazine closes its life story with the hope that he has now heard the words: *Well done, good and faithful servant* (Matthew 25:21).

Beside the church in Ambon

He had worked on Ambon for eighteen years. He had arrived there as a man who had lost everything. He left behind a printing shop, a school for Moluccan teachers, congregations on islands where no minister had come all that time, and a successor he had trained himself.

The Protestant Church of the Moluccas sees him to this day as one of the people who shaped its history. In Indonesia he is called Rasul Maluku, apostle of the Moluccas.

I think of the man who reported to the NZG in 1808, after the death of his wife and his little daughter, with an ordinary job at a court of justice. He was almost forty. Seven years later he stepped ashore on an island on the other side of the world.

After his death Gericke proposed a training for teachers with a fixed curriculum, which was set up in 1834 by Keyser and Roskott. What Kam had begun with his institute in his own house thus got a sequel.

His grave lies in the center of Ambon, beside the building of the Protestant Church of the Moluccas.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): baptism on September 19, 1769 in 's-Hertogenbosch and birth in September 1769; parents Joost Kam and Anna Margaretha Zock; his father's leather business and Herrnhut influence; work at the Nationaal Gerechtshof; marriage to Alida van Epen (1804) and her death (1806); death of his little

daughter in Berkel; acceptance by the NZG in 1808; training in Rotterdam and Zeist with Brückner and Supper; departure for England in 1812, Gosport and ordination in London in 1813; arrival on Java in 1814 and work in Soerabaja and on Madura; arrival on Ambon on March 3, 1815; marriage to Sara Maria Timmerman and two sons; the auxiliary Bible society of 1815; printing shop (1819) and training for native helpers; journeys to the Southwestern Islands and Sangihe; the schooner Amboina and its loss in 1829 off Kisar; building a church at his own expense; end of recognition by the LMS (1828); Gericke as successor; death on July 18, 1833 after a last journey; the nickname "Apostle of the Moluccas".

Only from own testimony or one organization: the saying "I want to be a missionary" and the death of his little daughter the night before his visit (Indonesian Bible society, in English); the night under the army train in 1794 (only the Bible society); the disguise as machine makers and the route via Hamburg and Norway (only the magazine of 1835, besides Wikipedia, which calls it "smuggling"); the first sermon two days after arrival and the Lord's Supper at Easter 1815; the stay with Uytenbroek; the 1,865 baptized children and the estimate of three thousand; the journey with the fleet of 1821; Mattheus Huwae as a teacher; the allowances to students and the incomes of teachers (the Indonesian study, which cites no letters from Kam); the organ from the Netherlands; the four thousand catechisms (only the Dutch reference work); the figures of twenty thousand baptized and seventeen missionaries (only the Schaff-Herzog, probably from mission reports); the uprising on Saparua, his objection to writing letters on behalf of the government, the destruction of idols, the six thousand baptisms of 1817 and the details of the journey of 1825 (summaries in the catalog of the SOAS archive; I have not seen the letters themselves); Gericke's statement of 1833 about parents who sought baptism for status.

Unconfirmed or disputed: his exact birthday; the year his parents died (1802; only the Bible society); training in Berkel with his brother (only the Schaff-Herzog); the year of the ordination (November 21, 1813 according to the Bible society, 1814 in another Indonesian study); the date of his second marriage (April 28, 1815 according to the Indonesian study, April 28, 1816 according to the Dutch reference work); the year his school began (June 14, 1819 according to the Indonesian study, 1821 according to the Dutch reference work); the year since when Ambon had no minister (1801, 1794 or "more than twenty years"); the year the schooner was built (1825 according to the Dutch reference work, 1826 according to the SOAS description of the letters of 1828); the place of death (Ambon in most sources, Banda in the magazine of 1835); whether the journey with 900 baptisms on the Aru Islands took place in 1825 (the letter is from March 1826; I read the description "May to October" as 1825); whether the date of the auxiliary Bible society, June 22, 1815, is correct (the source mistakenly writes 1915); the destruction of the water jar in Soya (one source, without a date); that Sara Maria Timmerman was of Indo-European descent (only Wikipedia); whether the Moravian brethren rejected him in his youth, as the magazine says (the other sources in fact call his father a Herrnhuter).

Interpretation: Kam worked as a minister in the service of the colonial government and sometimes traveled with armed fleets. The surviving sources hardly let us hear how Moluccans themselves experienced his work.

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Peerke Donders: the weaver who stayed with the lepers

On the evening of October 8, 1842 a boat sailed up the Coppename, a wide river in the west of Suriname, then a Dutch colony on the northern coast of South America. On board were two priests. The older one was Jacobus Grooff, the head of the Catholic mission in the colony. The younger was a man from Tilburg, thirty-two years old, not yet a month in the country. At the landing place Grooff fired three shots. On shore a church bell began to ring, and people came out of the huts to the riverbank.

They were lepers: people with leprosy, a disease that attacks the skin, nerves and limbs. They had been sent here so they would not infect anyone else. They rang the bell themselves. The young priest saw people without toes and without fingers, people without noses, people who were going blind, people who could no longer use their tongues. Most of them came from the plantations, he saw, where they had worked as slaves until the first signs of the disease became visible. On the bank stood a wooden cross, which the late prefect Van der Weijden had put up on that spot.

He could not hold back his tears. He wrote that on November 13, 1842 from Paramaribo to his former teacher Gerard van Someren.

That priest's name was Petrus Norbertus Donders. In Brabant, the Catholic south of the Netherlands, they later called him Peerke, the diminutive of Petrus. Fourteen years after that first visit he came back to this place, and he stayed. Until his death in 1887 he lived and worked, with short interruptions, among the sick of Batavia. In 1982 Pope John Paul II declared him blessed.

But first a poor boy from Tilburg had to find a way to become a priest. It nearly went wrong.

Yarn, a loom and no money

Petrus Donders was born on October 27, 1809 in Tilburg, a textile town in Brabant, in the neighborhood called the Heikant. His father was Arnoldus Donders, a weaver working at home, his mother Petronella van den Brekel. The family had two sons and little money. According to the vice-postulator, who handles his cause in Rome, his father lost three wives and several children to death. The boys hardly went to school, because they had to help earn a living. On rainy days his father carried him to school in a sack on his back, his schoolmaster told later.

As a child Petrus built a little altar of clay outside the house. He preached from his mother's washtub to the children of the neighborhood, and with the parish priest's permission he later gave them religion lessons. At twelve, school was over. He went to work, first as a spinner and then at the loom. That is how he described it himself, in a short life sketch he wrote in Latin in 1879: first he spun yarn, then he learned to weave. Behind that loom he prayed without ceasing, the stories say, though his weaving, so it is told, was not of the best quality.

Some biographies say his mother died when he was seven. In his own sketch he still mentions his mother when he leaves home. That fits what the vice-postulator tells: that his father became a widower more than once. So perhaps it was a stepmother. This point remains open.

What is certain: from a young age he wanted to become a priest. For that you had to learn Latin, and Latin cost money that was not there. When he was eighteen he had to draw lots for the militia, the military service of that time. According to his own account he drew a low number, and on a doctor's advice he was given a year's postponement because he looked weak. Later he was exempted.

A servant with books

In 1831 Petrus was twenty-two. At that age other students for the priesthood had already been at the seminary for years. Then an opening came. The parish priest W. van de Ven arranged for him to be accepted at the minor seminary Beekvliet in Sint-Michielsgestel, the Catholic secondary school for boys who want to become priests. He came in as a servant. He worked for the house and in the meantime learned the classical subjects, together with boys who were much younger than he was. According to his own sketch he stayed there four or five years.

It was not a friendly time. Fellow students bullied and belittled him, a biography tells. Only in the religion subjects was he good. As a grown man he sat among teenagers in the school benches, while also doing the work of the house. As far as I know he did not complain about it himself. In 1837, in spite of everything, he passed a decent final exam.

Three times no

Petrus wanted to join an order or congregation, a community of priests or brothers with its own rules and vows. First he knocked at the door of the Jesuits in Ghent. There they found him too old: he was twenty-six. Then he tried the Redemptorists. In Sint-Truiden they sent him on to their leader in Liège, Father Friedrich von Held. He too saw no calling in him. The Franciscans in Sint-Truiden said he should first go and study philosophy for a year, and that he could come back if he still wanted to then.

Three times he did not get a yes. That story is in his own sketches, and the Redemptorists tell it themselves too. They found him too frail for monastery life. I find it one of the most beautiful things about his life. The congregation that turned him away did take him in thirty years later, in Suriname, when he was fifty-seven.

At the end of the 1830s he went to the major seminary in Haaren, where priests completed their training in philosophy and theology. A benefactor paid for his studies. In that time he read the Annalen van de Voortplanting des Geloofs (the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith), a magazine with reports from missionaries all over the world. He read about the native peoples of America and wanted to go to them.

A prefect visits Haaren

In 1839 Jacobus Grooff visited the seminary in Haaren. Grooff was prefect apostolic of Suriname: the head of the Catholic mission in a region where there was not yet a diocese. He was looking for priests. One of the teachers, G. van Someren, put Donders in touch with him. Grooff accepted him. His superiors had him ordained earlier than usual, because he was the only student who wanted to go to Suriname.

In 1841 Petrus Donders was ordained a priest. The Redemptorists give the date as June 5, 1841. On July 31, 1842 he traveled from Amsterdam to Den Helder, and on August 10 he left on a ship of the Rothuis shipping company. He would never return to the Netherlands.

On September 16, 1842 he arrived in Paramaribo. Grooff came on board and led him through a crowd of people of every skin color to the church. Bells rang. He was given holy water and a white stole, and the congregation welcomed him warmly. In his welcome Grooff called the mission an iron cross. So Donders wrote on November 13 to Van Someren. Some overviews say 1843, but his own letter and the Redemptorists keep to 1842.

Suriname was then a Dutch plantation colony. The work on the plantations along the rivers was done by people in slavery. The colony was mostly Protestant, and the Catholic mission was small, with a handful of priests.

Dysentery in Paramaribo

His first year became a hard school. In 1843 an epidemic of dysentery, a serious intestinal disease, broke out. The other priests fell ill, and Donders was the only one left healthy to do the work in the city. He nursed the sick and baptized heathens, he wrote later in his life sketch. One of his colleagues, Joannes Vitus Janssen, died that year. In the Rijksmuseum hangs a painting of his funeral in Paramaribo. Behind the coffin walk two priests. An art historian who studied the painting thinks that one of them is probably Donders.

In 1851 yellow fever came to Paramaribo. Now Donders himself fell ill. According to his own sketch he lay sick for about four weeks, and he recovered. An old Catholic encyclopedia from 1909 tells the same.

Woe to Suriname

For fourteen years Donders was a chaplain in Paramaribo, a priest who assists the parish priest. From the city he traveled by boat along the plantations on the Suriname, the Commewijne, the Saramacca and the Coppename. He preached, baptized and celebrated Mass, above all for the people who worked on those plantations as slaves. Monthly visits to a plantation to teach the enslaved cost forty guilders each time, he wrote in his first letter. An old Catholic encyclopedia reports that up to 1850 he baptized some twelve hundred people. In that same letter he describes a great kankantri tree that the native people worshiped and under which they laid eggs as offerings.

Part of his letters from those years has been preserved. In 1981 the Redemptorist historian André Sampers published them, in German and Latin translation. One letter stands out. He wrote it between September 8 and December 5, 1846 to Van Someren, who was then parish priest and dean in Eindhoven.

In it Donders describes how the people on the plantations were neglected. He calls Suriname an enormous, fertile forest that was worked only by the enslaved. He writes about harsh punishments and too little food. Bananas were their main food, and that year a long drought had almost destroyed the harvest. He saw the number of people in slavery going down. As long as slavery was not abolished completely, faith could not grow among them. He referred to the papal letters of Gregory XVI against the slave trade. The enslaved had no protector but God, he wrote. And he pronounced a woe over Suriname, with a view to the great day of judgment.

In the same letter he is sharp about the Herrnhuters, the Protestant Moravian Church that worked a great deal among the enslaved in Suriname. He saw them as competitors of the true church and

thought their baptism lightly given and their mild rules a temptation. That too belongs to an honest picture. He was a man of his church and his century.

Letters do not change a colony. In 1846 slavery still had seventeen years of legal ground. What the letter does show is what a young priest saw when he sailed up the rivers. He did not look away.

In the book of Proverbs it says to open your mouth for the speechless, for the cause of all who are perishing (Proverbs 31:8). Donders wrote down what he saw on the plantations and sent it to the Netherlands. Abolishing slavery he could not do. Opening his mouth he could.

A plantation for the sick

In 1856 the apostolic vicar Jacobus Schepers appointed him parish priest of Batavia. He was forty-six. According to a story that goes around in the biographies, he offered himself after his predecessor was said to have been poisoned by a patient.

Batavia lay at the mouth of the Coppename. It was an abandoned cocoa plantation, which the colonial government had used since 1824 as a colony for lepers. Before that, the sick had been sent to Voorzorg, a place on the Saramacca. Anyone who got leprosy was set apart by the government. The historian Ellen Klinkers summarizes the research of Stephen Snelders like this: the sick were dumped there, without medical care and with little supervision. The administration left the care to the Catholic mission. For the Catholics it was the first real foothold in a Protestant colony.

Most of the residents were enslaved, but free Afro-Surinamese with leprosy were also sent there. According to Snelders it happened that planters quickly sold sick people illegally at an early stage, or

kept them working. Europeans with leprosy were often allowed to stay at home in isolation. Batavia was for the others.

Here Peerke Donders went to live. He slept on a plank floor, and for hours he prayed in the cemetery before a large cross, with arms outstretched. The sick cooked their own food with mutilated hands. He helped them eat and drink, and dressed them. He saw people sitting in the mud or on a banana leaf, and he pressed the colonial administration in Paramaribo for wooden floors for the huts. What he had himself, he gave away: food and clothes he bought with his own money. How many sick people lived there in those years differs from source to source. I therefore give no number.

When new patients arrived, some cried out in despair at the sight of the colony. Then Donders came, a biography tells, and it grew quiet. He took them to their hut and gave them sweets and something to drink. One thing he could not do: see blood. At an operation he stayed away.

In the Gospel of Mark a leper comes to Jesus. It says: *Then Jesus, moved with compassion, stretched out His hand and touched him* (Mark 1:41). Lepers were kept outside the community then too, and that is exactly why that touch stands out. On Batavia, where the sick were dumped, Donders cared for them with his own hands. Jesus says: *Assuredly, I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brethren, you did it to Me* (Matthew 25:40).

I alone was healthy

For more than ten years he was the only priest on Batavia. He wrote it himself in a letter from 1869, and again in his life sketch of 1879. In that sketch is a Latin sentence that you can translate like this: I alone was healthy among all those sick.

In the letter about his first visit in 1842, Donders describes how he baptized a few children, two old men, three old women and an eleven-year-old girl, and how he married a couple who had almost no fingers left. He let a dying girl make her first communion. Their names are not given. I would have liked to name them. The sources I could read do name prefects, fathers and a governor, but not the people it was all about.

He also wrote about the church. On a reef of shells stood a Saint Roch church made of planks, with by the river a cross from 1826 and a little chapel for Mary. The Mass was sung partly in Latin and partly in what he called, in the wording of his day, Negro English: Sranantongo, the common language of Suriname. Three times a week a procession with candles and a cross walked to the Mary chapel by the river, while the sick sang. They prayed that idolatry and immorality would disappear from the colony. The lepers who walked on sticks or limped because of the disease came to church morning and evening. His own conclusion, he wrote, was that the disease was for many the only road to eternal happiness. That was his way of seeing, in his time and his church.

When he left Batavia on October 20, 1842, he wept again.

How do you keep that up, year after year, in a place where almost nobody wanted to go voluntarily? I do not know the answer. I only notice that the man who had been turned away three times nowhere complains that he was alone here. When someone asked him whether he loved God more or people more, he said, so it is told, that you do not ask a weaver either whether the warp is more important than the weft. He gave everything away, another story tells. He sold his watch for a poor family. The dealer wanted to bring it back, but Donders was not there. Later the bishop raffled that same watch at a meal, and Donders won it back. When the bishop asked

him what would happen if he had nothing left, he said that God never dies.

Another story is about 1873. The governor wanted to take the children of lepers from their families by force, and a riot broke out. Donders had the soldiers withdraw and called on the crowd to save their children. A Chinese man ran off with his child, and wanted to kill it rather than give it up. Donders caught up with him and talked him round. Such stories come from biographies, not from his own letters.

A habit at fifty-seven

In 1863 the Netherlands abolished slavery in Suriname. Klinkers points to a bitter side of those years. At abolition, owners received compensation for each enslaved person. Planters were afraid of losing that compensation if they sent sick people to Batavia too early, and they reported fewer of them.

In 1865 the pope placed the Surinamese mission in the hands of the Dutch Redemptorists. A year later they arrived. Donders asked whether he could join the same congregation that had turned him away thirty years before. This time they said yes. On November 1, 1866 he received the habit, the monastic garment, from the apostolic vicar Johannes Swinkels. On June 24, 1867 he made his vows in Paramaribo. He was fifty-seven. Because his virtue had long been proven, his training was shortened.

In Ecclesiastes it says: *To everything there is a season, A time for every purpose under heaven* (Ecclesiastes 3:1). At twenty-six he was too old for the Jesuits. At fifty-seven the congregation that had turned him away took him in after all.

After that he went back to Batavia.

To the Arawaks and the Warau

Now that there were more Redemptorists in the country, help came to Batavia. That gave Donders room for something he had already wanted as a seminarian. From May 1868 he went out to the native peoples in the west of Suriname: along the Tibiti, the Upper Saramacca, the Wayombo and the Maratakka. He visited Arawaks, Warau and Caribs, who call themselves Kari'na. According to the Redemptorists he learned their languages. Some overviews also mention visits to the Kwinti, a Maroon community of descendants of escaped enslaved people, but for that I have found no second source.

He lived days and nights on the water, in a boat with a tent, on the Coppename and the Saramacca. Sometimes he slept alone in a hammock in the jungle. To draw the people to him, he taught himself to play the harmonium. He taught them with Bible pictures and taught them the Our Father in their own language. Among the Maroons, who were less open after what Europeans had done to them, he took away sacred objects. The vice-postulator writes that himself, and that it fits the views of his time.

In a letter of December 12, 1869 to the Redemptorist Egidius Vogels he looked back on fourteen years in Paramaribo and more than ten years alone on Batavia. He reported that he had baptized 125 native children, married six couples and admitted eight people to first communion. He called the work slow, because the groups lived scattered and moved about. He closed with a request: would Vogels say a Hail Mary for him and for the native people.

In 1879 he estimated the number of baptisms among them at about six hundred, and he added that drunkenness and immorality stood in the way of conversion. Those figures come from his own pen. A modern overview holds that he converted few people. Both can be

true at once, because baptizing is something different from a community that stays lastingly bound to the church.

How the people he baptized thought of him themselves, we do not know. That silence is in almost every story about mission from that time, in this story too.

Coronie and back again

On October 13, 1874 and on August 13, 1879 Donders wrote down his life sketch in Latin, the second time in the leprosarium of Batavia. He was then almost seventy. He closed with a prayer: that he might be a perfect Redemptorist and hold out until death.

In 1883 his superiors took him away from Batavia, to give him lighter work. A story has it that some lepers had complained: that he criticized their behavior and that, now that he had lost his teeth, he was hard to understand. In his farewell sermon Donders said that he would obey the bishop, but that he would die among the lepers. He went to Paramaribo and then to Coronie, a district on the coast, where he lived on a cotton plantation. At the end of 1885 he was back on Batavia and took up his old work again.

In December 1886 he fell ill. On December 31 he still gave his New Year's address. Asked how he was, he said he had nothing to complain about. He would die on a Friday, he predicted, around three in the afternoon. So it happened. On Friday, January 14, 1887 he died on Batavia, awake and praying, the stories say. An hour later a boat arrived, too late. He was seventy-seven. Later overviews name a kidney infection as the cause, and tell that he was first buried on Batavia, beside the church.

His will says that he owned nothing, gave no orders and had nothing to say. He could be buried where others wished, and he asked forgiveness of everyone he had offended. His hut was poorer than

the house he left in Tilburg forty-five years earlier. The lepers wept, some of them also those who had earlier wanted him gone.

Ten years later, in 1897, the government closed Batavia. The sick went to three new institutions closer to Paramaribo: Majella of the Catholics, Bethesda of the Herrnhuters and Groot-Chatillon of the state. Only between 1958 and 1973, when good medicines were available, did the forced isolation of people with leprosy end in Suriname.

A statue in the Wilhelmina Park

Donders's remains were later moved to Paramaribo. They now lie in the cathedral basilica of the city, in a burial vault that was finished in 1921. In Tilburg, meanwhile, a veneration grew. Beside his birthplace a chapel was built, designed by the architect J. Donders and blessed on October 28, 1923. Pilgrims came to Tilburg. They took home little bottles of water from the well at the birthplace, with a medal attached. The painting that A. Windhausen made in 1924, Donders among the lepers, hangs in the Goirkese church. In the Second World War people of Tilburg called on his help to keep bombs away from the city. Tilburg was liberated on October 27, 1944, his birthday.

In the Wilhelmina Park stands a statue. Donders stands upright, with a small crucifix in his hand. His other hand rests on the head of a half-naked, kneeling Black man. The statue is controversial. For some it shows a white man looking down on an African. Kenneth Stam first had trouble with it, but after research saw a blessing priest and placed an information sign. The historian Maria Grever, who studied controversial monuments for a committee, calls it one of the most complex statues of the Netherlands. For many people in Brabant it also stands for Catholic emancipation, the time when

Catholics in the Netherlands gained equal rights and a voice of their own.

I will not settle that debate here. A statue from the twentieth century says a lot about its makers. About the man himself his letters say more. In Suriname he is called the first white man who came to give and not to take. That is how the vice-postulator puts it.

Declared blessed

Beatification in the Roman Catholic Church is an official statement that someone is in heaven and may be venerated by believers. It is the step before canonization. Usually a miracle is needed for it: a healing that doctors cannot explain and that is attributed to prayer to that person.

The Redemptorists brought his cause to Rome, and that cause took a long time. On May 23, 1982 Pope John Paul II declared Petrus Donders blessed, on Saint Peter's Square in Rome. The chapel by his birthplace was restored that year and given an altar with his image.

The miracle recognized at the beatification concerned, according to the overviews, a little boy from Tilburg, Ludovicus Westland, who in 1929 is said to have been healed in one night of a serious bone disease. The child was not yet two years old. Rome is said to have rejected the healing in 1931 and 1936 and to have recognized it after all in 1978 or 1979. I have not been able to see an official document, and the overviews contradict each other about the illness: bone cancer, an inflammation of the bone marrow. Whether it was a miracle is also a question of faith, and a historian cannot answer that.

What is confirmed is a study from 2017. With the bishop's permission, the physician Jaap van Dissel of the LUMC in Leiden and George Maat examined his remains in Paramaribo, including DNA

research. Peerke Donders had not had leprosy. After almost thirty years among the sick. Van Dissel said he could not say whether that was a miracle. Denis Hendrickx of the Petrus Donders Foundation saw it as a remarkable fact that might count toward canonization. That has not happened yet.

The bank of the Coppename

Batavia no longer exists as a leper colony. The place by the river is nowadays visited by pilgrims, so you read in overviews, though I have not been able to check that in a second source. On his grave in Paramaribo flowers are laid and prayers are said every month.

Maybe you too know a place where nobody goes voluntarily. A ward, a street, a house. Peerke Donders came there as a weaver from Tilburg, turned away by three religious orders, and he stayed. In 1879, almost seventy years old, he wrote on Batavia that he alone was healthy among all those sick. He wrote it down without complaint.

His first arrival there, in October 1842, he described himself. Three shots over the water. A church bell rung by the sick themselves. And people walking to the bank, to meet the boat and welcome the priests.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): birth on October 27, 1809 in Tilburg in a poor family; parents Arnoldus Donders and Petronella van den Brekel; work in textiles (weaver); admission as a servant at the minor seminary in Sint-Michielsgestel; rejection by Jesuits, Redemptorists and Franciscans; major seminary Haaren and contact with prefect Grooff; ordination to the priesthood in 1841; arrival in Paramaribo in September 1842; the dysentery

epidemic of 1843 and yellow fever in 1851; work on the plantations; appointment to Batavia in 1856; Batavia as a government leper colony under Catholic care; entry into the Redemptorists (1866) and vows on June 24, 1867; journeys to native peoples; Coronie and return to Batavia; death on Friday, January 14, 1887 on Batavia; closing of Batavia in 1897; chapel in Tilburg (1923); beatification on May 23, 1982; the study in 2017 which showed that he had not had leprosy; the discussion about the statue in Tilburg.

Only from own testimony: the details of his first visit to Batavia in October 1842 (the shots, the bell, his tears, the baptisms and the marriage, the candle procession to the Mary chapel, his tears at the farewell on October 20); his arrival in Paramaribo on September 16, 1842; the costs of the plantation visits and the kankantri tree (letter of November 13, 1842); his work as a spinner and weaver; the postponement of the militia; the content of his letter on slavery of 1846; more than ten years as the only priest on Batavia; his tent boat on the rivers; the numbers of baptisms among the native peoples (125 children in 1869, about six hundred in 1879); his request for a Hail Mary (letter to Vogels, December 12, 1869). His letters and life sketches (October 13, 1874 and August 13, 1879) were read in the German and Latin edition by Sampers (1981).

Stories from biographies, not from his own letters: that his father carried him to school in a sack; the clay altar and the sermons from the washtub; the bullying at the minor seminary; that he came forward after his predecessor was said to have been poisoned; the plank floor and the hours of prayer at the cross in the cemetery; the wooden floors in the huts; the sweets for new patients and his dislike of blood; the weaver, the warp and the weft; the watch and the words that God never dies; the riot of 1873 over the children of lepers; the complaints of lepers in 1883 and his farewell sermon; his prediction of his own hour of death and the boat that came too late;

the will; the harmonium and the pictures; the taking of sacred objects among the Maroons (the vice-postulator); the praying to keep bombs away in 1944. Part of this comes from the vice-postulator of his cause, Claudia Peters, and from an article on the site of a pilgrimage place in Limburg.

Unconfirmed or disputed: the death of his mother when he was seven (the vice-postulator speaks of three wives of his father); the year of his appointment to Batavia (1855 or 1856); whether his superiors took him away in 1882 or 1883; the kidney infection as the cause of death; the twelve hundred baptized up to 1850 (only the Catholic Encyclopedia); visits to the Kwinti; that he probably appears in the painting of Janssen's funeral (an estimate by the researcher); the miracle at the beatification (the healing of Ludovicus Westland in 1929: the overviews differ about his age, the illness and the year of recognition); the year his remains were moved to Paramaribo (1900 or 1921) and the date of the mausoleum (1921); whether a Chinese man in 1873 really wanted to kill his child (biography).

Interpretation: whether the healing in Tilburg and the fact that he never got leprosy are miracles of God is a question of faith. The sources describe a healing and a research result, not a cause. Batavia was a place of forced isolation within a colonial and slavery system; the Catholic mission carried out the care there on behalf of the government.

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Pieter Jansz: the schoolmaster who gave Java the Bible in its own language

On Easter Sunday, April 16, 1854, Pieter Jansz baptized five Javanese in Jepara, a port town on the north coast of Central Java. Their names are not in the sources I could open. Their number is. Five people from a region where almost everyone was Muslim, baptized by a Dutch schoolteacher who had been in the country only two and a half years.

It was a small service. With those five begins the history of a church that still exists. The Gereja Injili di Tanah Jawa, the Evangelical Church of Java, names that baptism as its beginning. According to American Mennonite magazines that church now has between forty and forty-five thousand members, spread over more than three hundred congregations.

The man who baptized later became a knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion, a Dutch royal honor. Not because of those five people, but because of something he finished forty years later: the whole Bible in Javanese. He never saw the Netherlands again. He is buried on Java, beside his wife.

To understand how he came to Jepara, we have to go back to Amsterdam, and to a year of mourning.

A child of the capital

Pieter Jansz was born on September 25, 1820 in Amsterdam. His theology was orthodox Protestant with a pietist streak, the English life sketch sums up. Little else has been kept about his parents and his youth.

What he became, we do know. He became a teacher in Delft and wrote schoolbooks and stories for children. In 1849 the magazine *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* reviewed a book that was already in its second printing: *Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis voor kinderen van acht tot elf jaren* (National History for Children from Eight to Eleven). The author was introduced there as P. Jansz, teacher in Delft.

A schoolmaster, then. Someone who taught children to read and made little books to make history understandable to eight-year-olds. Anyone who knows the rest of his life can already see in this the translator he would become. He wanted people to understand what was written.

He was a Doopsgezinde, or Mennonite, as they are called abroad. The Doopsgezinden are a Protestant movement from the sixteenth century. They do not baptize babies, only people who themselves profess that they believe. That conviction would later weigh heavily in Jepara.

Two graves in one year

In 1847 Dutch Mennonites founded their own mission society, the Doopsgezinde Zendingsvereeniging. Until then they had given money to an English society. Now they wanted to send someone out themselves. They just had nobody yet.

In 1848 Pieter Jansz lost his father. In that same year his wife died, with whom he had not been married long. According to the English life sketch this happened within three months, and her name was Johanna Elisabeth van IJzendoorn.

After that he offered himself to the new society.

What went on inside him in those months, I cannot tell you, because he did not keep it for us. His diary begins only in 1851. Maybe you yourself know a year in which things fell away that you held on to. Sometimes a door opens afterward that you did not see before, or did not dare to see. With Pieter Jansz the loss and the application stand in the same year.

He became the first person the Mennonite mission sent out. To prepare, he studied Javanese language, culture and geography, and Bible and theology at the Mennonite seminary in Amsterdam. He also took private lessons in Javanese and Malay at the Royal Academy in Delft, the training for civil servants in the Indies.

During that training he met Jacoba Wilhelmina Frederica Schmilau, born in 1830 and a member of a Reformed church, the source writes. Everyone called her Wilhelmina. On June 5, 1851 they married. Two months later they went on board. An Indonesian thesis, written on the basis of the mission archives, gives August 8, 1851 and the ship *Gelderland*.

On November 15, 1851 they arrived in Batavia, now Jakarta. It was the capital of the Dutch East Indies, a colony that had been under Dutch rule for well over two hundred years, first of the VOC and then of the state. Pieter and Wilhelmina would stay on Java for the rest of their lives, more than fifty years. They never went to the Netherlands again.

He came as a teacher, not as a missionary. That was a deliberate choice of the society. It held that every Christian has a duty to tell the gospel, and teaching gave a way to do so without clashing with the rules of the government. That government, the Dutch administration in the Indies, was afraid of unrest among the Muslim population. Anyone who wanted to work as a missionary needed permission. For teachers fewer rules applied.

According to the thesis, Jansz spoke in Batavia with the governor-general, the highest administrator of the colony. He did not forbid him to bring the gospel. In December 1851 he traveled on to Semarang, on the north coast of Central Java.

A house near Jepara

His first job was as a private tutor on the estate of a man the sources call Margar Soekias, a Christian of Armenian descent, near Jepara. He had a house built for Jansz. On August 14, 1852 Jansz sailed from Semarang to Jepara. In June 1853 he moved to Blakang Gunung, a village at the foot of the mountain.

An Indonesian thesis tells it differently. In it the man is a European plantation owner in Cumbring, near Jepara, with about seven thousand workers. He saw in the gospel a means to keep those workers calm. About name and background, then, the sources differ. About the outcome they do not.

Every Sunday Soekias had the village heads come to him to give them instructions. After that Jansz spoke to the same men about the gospel. Jansz did not know, as the American researcher Lawrence Yoder describes it, that the regent who encouraged him was cooperating with the cultivation system. That system meant that Javanese farmers had to put a share of their land and labor into crops that the government shipped to Europe, such as sugar and coffee. So his

message became entangled with the system, and the village heads showed little interest.

It did not work. According to his diary, so the English life sketch tells, it went wrong over promises that had to do with sugar and rice. According to the thesis, Jansz wanted something different from his employer. He left.

A man who uses the gospel to keep workers quiet: that was the colonial reality Jansz landed in. He saw it from close by, and it would not let go of him.

He brought in a young evangelist, Sem Sampir, who had been trained in Mojowarno in East Java by the missionary Jellesma of the Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap. Jansz asked him to speak to the village heads who gathered on Sundays in Blakang Gunung. Some listened closely. Others called him a servant of the Dutch. Jansz gathered a small group in Blakang Gunung and a handful of people in nearby Mlonggo.

He also started a school for Javanese children, with little success. According to the thesis his first evangelistic work began with beggars who came to his house on Sundays. At first the people in the villages hardly responded. On May 29, 1853 his son was born on Java, Pieter Anthonie.

The Kyai comes from the mountain

On January 11, 1854 Sem Sampir knocked at Jansz's door with a man he had met on the way. His name was Kyai Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung. Kyai is a Javanese title of honor for a religious teacher.

On January 17 Jansz wrote in his diary what the man had told him about himself, and Yoder has retraced it from that entry. Tunggul Wulung was born around 1800. He had lived through the Java War,

the uprising against Dutch rule. After that he had lived as a hermit on Mount Kelud in East Java, to meditate and pray. According to the story passed on in his circle, there came a vision of a Javanese commander from a long-gone time, whose name he took. Through reading the Bible he became convinced that Jesus was the long-expected righteous King. He added the name Ibrahim and traveled around as a teacher of wisdom.

Jansz offered him a place as a helper, after half a year or a year of study. That was kindly meant. Tunggul Wulung declined and went his own way, to tell for himself what he had found.

Their paths crossed often, and they never came to agreement. Jansz found the Kyai's teaching too mixed with Islam, Buddhism and Javanese mysticism. Tunggul Wulung saw in Jansz a proud Westerner, too entangled with Dutch culture. He wanted Christian villages that stayed Javanese in language and customs, apart from the Muslim villages and free from the labor obligations of the government. When his villages grew, they drew people away from Jansz's circle. Jansz saw it as theft, Yoder writes: the Kyai was stealing his sheep.

I find this an honest moment to pause at. Both men wanted Javanese to come to know Christ. They could not go through one door together. Tunggul Wulung traveled through Java until 1875 and founded, among other places, a Christian settlement in Bondo, near Jepara. The site was a piece of jungle that they had cleared for it. To keep in touch with the people there, Jansz lent the village a team of water buffalo. The leadership stayed with the Kyai.

One difference remained. Jansz supported Christian villages, but wanted them close to Jepara. In remote regions, he thought, they could not be salt and light for their neighbors. Tunggul Wulung

chose just the opposite, far away, far from the towns and plantations.

Five on Easter morning

Then came Easter 1854. On April 16 Jansz baptized five Javanese in Jepara. It was the first native Mennonite congregation in all of the Dutch East Indies. An article from 2012 gives March 16, but Easter fell on April 16 in 1854 and the other sources explicitly speak of Easter Sunday.

Five people in two and a half years. The congregation grew slowly, and there were two reasons for that. The region was strongly Muslim. And Jansz baptized no one who had not first come to faith himself. As a Mennonite he could do no other. A baptism without personal faith was no baptism to him.

What it could cost to become a Christian is shown by the story of Pasrah Karso. Karso was the first man in Pulojati to become a Christian. He added Pasrah to his name, which means surrendered. The believers in Pulojati met with violence and moved away. In 1869 they settled in a new place, Karanggondang, and called the hamlet Kedungpenjalin. For decades Karso remained the leader there, often without a missionary living nearby.

Jansz settled in Jepara itself. According to the thesis he built a church building on a piece of land known as angker, where, the people said, evil spirits roamed. He wanted to show that Christians are protected, because in the name of Jesus they can drive out evil spirits. He lived with his family in the midst of his church members and also helped them with their work.

According to the mission reports the congregation in and around Jepara numbered about twenty-seven members in 1858, with some thirty children besides.

Out of the school benches

What do you do when your work stays so small? Jansz stayed. He taught and he wrote. Together with the missionary N.D. Schuurmans he founded schools for Javanese children. Helpers came out of those schools. Wagiman from Bondo became a teacher at the school there. When it closed, he became a government teacher in Jepara. Sanjan from Petekeyan and Siput from Karanggondang also came out of this teaching. The thesis sees in the example of Wagiman how education could change a person's place in society. In 1878 Jansz opened a school for Javanese assistants in Depok, for pupils from different churches.

In October 1856 a Dutchman came to Jepara to study under him: H.C. Klinkert. He would himself later become a well-known Bible translator. In 1866 they made a Dutch-Javanese pocket dictionary together.

The motto the thesis attributes to Jansz, translated from Indonesian: let us not love with words only, but with earnestness and real deeds.

Who gives permission here?

In 1854 the Dutch East Indies received a new Regeringsreglement, a kind of constitution for the colony. It stated that missionaries needed admission from the governor-general.

According to the English-language summary of Hoekema's research, the Mennonite mission was assigned the area around Mount Muria, in the north of Central Java. Jansz refused to apply for admission as a missionary, because he felt bound to a higher authority than the colonial administration. In 1860 the governor-general withdrew his mission permit. He could stay, but only as a teacher.

What is certain is that Jansz did not stay silent about colonial politics. In 1863 a pamphlet by him appeared with the title *De koloniën Nederland ten vloek of ten zegen?* (The Colonies: A Curse or a Blessing for the Netherlands?). In 1870 followed *Een stem uit Japara* (A Voice from Japara), with the old spelling of Jepara. According to the reviewer of Hoekema's book in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Jansz in his diary and reports criticized again and again the long-term consequences of Dutch colonial rule. He called for repentance and for a different policy.

He was no rebel. He stayed in the colony, under the authority of that same government, and later accepted a royal honor. But he wrote down what he saw. That judgment I leave to you.

A field as an answer

From what he saw, a plan grew. Javanese who became Christians, he thought, needed support and protection. He devised Christian farming settlements: villages on newly cleared land, where people worked their own land and could hear and choose without compulsion. He also thought that Javanese Christians themselves had to do the telling. A Westerner could not bridge the distance to the villagers.

In 1874 his proposal to the Friends of the Kingdom of God appeared in Amsterdam, published by Hoveker en Zoon: *Landontginning en Evangelisatie op Java* (Land Clearing and Evangelization on Java). It had a long list of conditions. The settlements were to be led by dedicated Christians with knowledge of farming. Muslims and Christians would both be welcome there. Each family would receive land and a share of the harvest. There would be no taking part in the forced cultivation system. There had to be a school and medical care, a reserve fund for disasters, a ban on opium and on immoral dance. The evangelists would not meddle in money matters. And

the Dutch missionaries would give pastoral care without pressuring anyone to convert.

The mission board in the Netherlands did almost nothing with it. According to the sources, Jansz spent the rest of his life trying to convince it of the plan.

In the list of his writings is also a piece with the title *Het Mostaardzaadje* (The Mustard Seed). I do not know what is in it. But the title points to the parable Jesus told, in which the kingdom of heaven is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field (Matthew 13:31). For a man with five baptized people and a plan for fields, that is no accidental choice.

The son takes over

His son Pieter Anthonie began in April 1878 as a missionary beside his father. On December 2, 1880 he wrote a letter to the mission board, and that letter has been preserved. He asked whether it was not time to stop talking uselessly and to take steps that suited the times. He used Paul's word that the kingdom of God is not a matter of words but of power (1 Corinthians 4:20). And he wrote, in Yoder's translation, that he almost believed that unbelieving capitalists have more faith than those who are believers.

It was sharp, but it came from someone who was at work. On January 3, 1881 the old Jansz himself applied for a piece of land on long lease, at Puncel, near Margorejo. The resident Moojen and the regent of Juana supported the plan.

In 1881 Pieter Jansz stepped down, because his health no longer allowed it. On October 23, 1881 he handed the work over to his son, thirty years after his arrival.

A year later, in 1882, the son founded, after his father's idea, the Christian village of Margorejo, in the Pati region. It happened on a limited scale. The school that Schuurmans had built in Jepara was taken down and moved to Margorejo. In the years after, more schools came around Mount Muria, among other places in Banyutowo, Bondo and Kedungpenjalin.

When Tunggul Wulung died on April 29, 1885, Yoder writes, he left at least four large congregations and more than a thousand members. Under his leadership no one had been baptized. Now most of the people in Bondo, Banyutowo and Tegalombo asked for baptism from Jansz and joined the mission church. Jansz appointed leaders for those villages. In 1887 the mission congregations numbered 368 baptized members.

Paul wrote to the congregation in Corinth, where believers rallied behind different leaders, that he planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase (1 Corinthians 3:6). Jansz and Tunggul Wulung did not work together. One church counts them both among its roots today, and an article in *The Mennonite* from 2012 bears the title: before Pieter Jansz there was Tunggul Wulung.

Reading aloud in Solo

Stepping down did not mean for Pieter Jansz that he stopped. He worked on his great task: the Bible in Javanese, commissioned by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Earlier translations already existed, by Gottlob Bruckner and by Johann Gericke. Gericke's followed the source text word for word. Jansz wanted something different.

According to an American Mennonite magazine he wrote that in translating, what matters above all is that readers come to know

the thoughts, not the words. Hoekema sees in this a forerunner of what translators now call communicative translation.

In August 1887 Pieter and Wilhelmina moved to Surakarta, also called Solo, one of the old princely cities of Central Java. There he worked with Raden Ngabehi Djojo Soepono. The Indonesian Bible Society describes what he did. He read the manuscript through. He read it aloud to Javanese listeners. And he discussed the difficult passages with Jansz. This reading aloud and discussing in a circle was the most important test of the text. A photo of the two men at work exists.

I like to picture it, without making more of it than the source says. An old Dutchman and a Javanese scholar, and a circle of people listening to hear whether it is their own language. Does it sound like Javanese, or like a foreigner speaking Javanese? That is how you test a translation.

On the first Pentecost in Jerusalem the people asked in amazement how it was that each of them heard in their own language, the one in which they were born (Acts 2:8). That is what all that reading aloud in Solo was about. The words of the Bible were not to sound like a foreign language, but like the language of home.

A Bible in fifteen volumes

At the end of 1888 the New Testament was ready for the printer. It was printed in Semarang, at the expense of the Bible Society, and came out in nine separate volumes. About the year of publication the sources differ: Wikipedia gives 1888, the Indonesian Bible Society 1890. In 1889 he was commissioned to translate the Old Testament as well. That appeared in 1892 or 1893. In 1895 followed a revised edition of the whole Bible, in fifteen volumes. That same year a two-volume Javanese dictionary appeared in The Hague.

He also wrote grammars of Javanese, dictionaries in both directions and a collection of Javanese expressions. In 1884 a collection of Javanese psalms and hymns appeared in Leiden. He set psalms to Javanese melodies, so that they could be sung the way Javanese were used to.

His translation became more beloved with the public than Gericke's, the Indonesian Bible Society writes. In the twentieth century it was revised again. In 1924 a committee, with among others Hendrik Kraemer, looked at his last revision. It found that the clear errors were out, but asked for a deeper revision, in living and natural Javanese. D. Bakker led that revision, and after him his son F.L. Bakker. The New Testament appeared in 1940, the complete Bible in 1949 and 1950. That is how it goes with translations. Each generation builds on the work of the one before.

For his language work the Dutch government appointed him a knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion. In 1896 he took an honorable leave of the Bible Society. In 1897 there was still a revision of the New Testament.

Kayu Apu

After 1881 Jansz and Wilhelmina lived in different places, among others in Salatiga, in Pati and finally in Kayu Apu, near Kudus, on the south side of Mount Muria. According to the English life sketch he lived there from 1902 with his son-in-law, the missionary Johann Fast.

In Kayu Apu the mission also had a congregation. It had begun under the missionary Hoezoo of the Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap, with a Javanese leader, Pasrah Noeriman. Around 1900 the three lines, that of Jansz, that of Tunggul Wulung and that of Kayu Apu, were brought together under the Mennonite Mission.

On June 6, 1904 Pieter Jansz died in Kayu Apu. He was eighty-three. The last part of his revised Bible appeared in 1906, two years after his death.

Wilhelmina outlived him by five years. She died in 1909. She was born in 1830 and had not seen the Netherlands since 1851.

Two graves at the foot of the Muria

In this chapter I have tried to tell nothing that I could not check. As a result much remains open. I do not know what the five of 1854 were called. I do not know what Pieter Jansz felt when he lost his wife in 1848, or when Tunggul Wulung called him a proud Westerner. His diary for the years 1851 to 1860 exists. Alle Hoekema published a selection from it in 1997 under the title *Tot heil van Java's arme bevolking* (For the Welfare of Java's Poor Population). Perhaps one of you will read it someday and fill in what I must leave open now.

What I do know is this. He was a schoolmaster who wrote children's books. He went to a country he never left again. He baptized five people there and waited. He wrote down what the colony did to Java, even when that gained him nothing. And at the end of his life he sat in Solo beside a Javanese scholar, while a circle of people listened to hear whether the words of Jesus sounded like their own language.

In a photo in an Indonesian thesis there is a grave in Kayu Apu, near Kudus. It is the grave of Pieter Jansz and his wife, at the foot of Mount Muria, in the region where his five baptized people once began.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): birth on September 25, 1820 in Amsterdam; teacher in Delft and writer of schoolbooks;

the loss of his father and his wife in 1848 and the application to the Doopsgezinde Zendingsvereeniging; marriage to Jacoba Wilhelmina Frederica Schmilau on June 5, 1851; arrival in Batavia on November 15, 1851; never returned to the Netherlands; the break with his first employer near Jepara; the baptism of five Javanese on Easter Sunday, April 16, 1854; Tunggul Wulung and his villages; the plan for Christian farming settlements; his criticism of colonial policy; stepping down in 1881 and succession by his son Pieter Anthonie; the village of Margorejo (1882); the Javanese Bible translation with the revised complete edition of 1895; the collaboration with Djojo Soepono in Surakarta; knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion; death on June 6, 1904 in Kayu Apu (the biographical dictionary of 1931 spells the place Kapi-Apoe); Wilhelmina died in 1909.

Only from own testimony or organization: the quarrel over sugar and rice with his first employer (from his own diary, via Hoekema); Tunggul Wulung's story of his own conversion (from Jansz's diary entry of January 17, 1854, via Yoder) and Jansz's judgment that the Kyai was stealing his sheep; his criticism of colonial rule as it stands in his diary and reports; the content of the proposal of 1874 and the letter of his son of December 2, 1880 (as Yoder gives them); the number of members in 1858 and 1887 and the church's present membership (from mission reports and church sources); the church building on the angker land and the helpers Wagiman, Sanjan and Siput (only in the Indonesian thesis, which rests on the mission archives); the motto attributed to him.

Unconfirmed: the assignment of the Muria area and the withdrawal of his mission permit by the governor-general in 1860 and his refusal to apply for admission (found only in the English-language summary of Hoekema's work; Yoder and the thesis describe no formal conflict); the name of his first wife; the name

and background of the landowner near Jepara; the date August 8, 1851 and the ship *Gelderland*; the conversation with the governor-general in 1851; the beginning with the beggars; the names of the Javanese leaders Pasrah Karso and Pasrah Noeriman, except that Yoder confirms Karso; his last years with son-in-law Johann Fast; the number of ten children (only Wikipedia); the precise years of publication of the New Testament (1888 or 1890) and the Old Testament (1892 or 1893).

Where the sources differ (in the story I have chosen one reading):

- *The first meeting with Tunggul Wulung.* Yoder gives January 11, 1854, the American magazines only 1854.
- *The year of Tunggul Wulung's death.* February 1885 (The Mennonite), April 29, 1885 (Yoder).
- *The plantation.* Soekias near Jepara (Wikipedia, Yoder) or a plantation in Cumbring (thesis; Yoder elsewhere speaks of Soembring).
- *Departure and arrival.* Wikipedia and the thesis give August 1851 as the departure, another Mennonite source speaks of July 1851.
- *The reason for the break with his employer.* Promises about sugar and rice (diary), a difference in aim (thesis).
- *Tunggul Wulung's conversion.* A vision on Mount Kelud and reading the Bible (The Mennonite), or a Javanese Christian hermit on Mount Celering (Yoder).
- *The first baptism.* An article from 2012 gives March 16, 1854, the other sources April 16.
- *Permits.* One letter according to Guillot, two (evangelization and education) according to Sukoco and Yoder.

Interpretation: whether the cultivation system and the government's admission policy held back the work of Jansz or rather led him to his farming plan is a question of interpretation. The sources

name both. I believe along with Jansz that the gospel is meant for every person, in his own language. The historical sources confirm that the congregation that came out of the baptism of 1854 is still there.

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Kaatje Dierkx: the girl from Ossendrecht who stayed

On November 7, 2000, Dutch pilgrims gathered in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. It was the Dutch Day of the Jubilee Year, and they had come to pass through the Holy Door. Pope John Paul II addressed them. Halfway through his speech he mentioned one name. He spoke of the "splendid figure of Sister Marie Adolphine Dierckx", who had died a martyr's death in China together with her fellow sisters. Five weeks earlier, on October 1, he had declared her a saint.

Outside Brabant, the southern Dutch province where she was born, many people did not know that name. In Ossendrecht, a village in West Brabant close to the Belgian border, they knew who she was. There she was simply called Kaatje. She was a village girl who went to work young, in other people's houses and in the only factory in the village. At thirty-three she went to China to care for orphans. A year later she was killed in the city of Taiyuan, together with six other sisters, two bishops, two priests, a lay brother and a group of Chinese Christians.

She wrote no books. There are no sermons by her, no diary that I have been able to find, and almost no words that she spoke her-

self. One sentence has been handed down, and that sentence says enough. What else we know of her comes from the village, from the archives of her order and from the life stories written down after her death. I tell it the way those sources tell it.

It begins in a village where her name got muddled early on.

A mistake in the register

Anna Catharina was born on March 8, 1866, in Ossendrecht. At home they called her Kaatje. Her surname appears in the sources in so many forms that you could make a list of them: Dierkx, Dierckx, Dierks, Dirks, Dierk. At the canonization the Vatican wrote "Ann Dierk". In his speech the pope said Dierckx. In the Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland (the Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands) she is listed under Dirks, with the first names Judoca Catharina. Judoca was her mother's name.

There is a story about this confusion that goes around in the village and on the internet. Her father is said to have had her registered as deceased when she was three. It was a little sister who had died, and the mistake stayed in the registers. I have not been able to check this. It may have happened that way, and it fits a name that was never quite pinned down.

Six children and no mother

Kaatje was one of six children. When she was five, her mother died. After that the family fell apart. The father could not care for six children, so the lives of the saints tell us. Neighbors who followed Jesus took the children in. They were poor people, but rich in love, and they told the children about the gospel. Hattaway, who wrote this down from a book that appeared in 2000 at the canonization,

adds that Kaatje longed to know God. She often prayed for hours and read the Bible.

It is a beautiful story about ordinary people who took in a family in need. About the family, the sources differ. Omroep Brabant, the regional broadcaster, wrote in 2025 that she was the daughter of the local baker. That does not have to clash with the poverty, because a baker could be poor too.

A girl who loses her mother so young learns early that life cannot be taken for granted. Kaatje went to school with the sisters of Oudenbosch. At twelve she became a nanny with a family in the village, the De Beukelaar family. So a Dutch biographical sketch by the Foundation in Ossendrecht tells it.

A factory and other people's houses

After that she worked in the only factory in the village. What was done there differs by source: one mentions processing chicory, the roasted root that in those days was widely drunk as a coffee substitute, another the packing of roasted coffee. According to Hattaway she did not keep the wages she earned for herself. She sent them to the family that had taken her in. She wanted to give something back.

At eighteen she went to Antwerp as a maidservant, with the Coveliers family. Hattaway also mentions a wealthy family. These were the jobs of a girl without education and without money. Long days, low wages, and work that nobody saw as long as it was done well.

Paul wrote to the church in Colossae: *And whatever you do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not to men* (Colossians 3:23). He wrote it, among others, to slaves, people whose work nobody noticed. Whether Kaatje had those words in mind, we do not know. Her

life did consist of that kind of work, in Ossendrecht, in Antwerp and later in Taiyuan.

Hattaway writes that deep inside she knew God was calling her to serve Him in a special way. In Antwerp she came into contact with the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary.

"To suffer for the Lord"

On March 19, 1893, she began with them as a novice, according to the Dutch biographical sketch. Wikipedia mentions the same year. She took her first vows in 1895 and her solemn vows in 1898.

For a reader who does not know the Catholic Church from the inside, a short explanation. Whoever enters a convent starts as a novice. In that trial period you learn to live as a sister, and the order and you yourself find out whether this is the right path. After that you take vows, promises before God of poverty, chastity and obedience. A sister often receives a new name when she enters. Kaatje wanted the name of the Dutch saint Lidwina. She was given the name Marie-Adolphine.

The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary followed the way of life of Francis of Assisi, the saint of simplicity and poverty, and they were focused on mission outside Europe. A girl who entered such an order was also choosing the possibility of being sent far away. In the convent she worked in the kitchen and the laundry. She baked the bread. She was known for her obedience and her willingness to do the humblest tasks.

One sentence of hers has been preserved. When she entered, someone asked why she wanted this life. Her answer, as Hattaway and the biographical sketch pass it on: she longed to be allowed to suffer for the Lord.

I let that sentence stand for a moment. Whoever answers like that is not saying she seeks suffering. She is saying that she loves God so much that she is willing to pay what it costs. This is the heart of her story, and at the same time the only piece that has come down to us in her own words.

Eight asked, seven gone

At the end of 1898 a request came from an auxiliary bishop in Taiyuan, the capital of the province of Shanxi in northern China. He wanted to start a convent with an orphanage and a hospital. The order appointed eight sisters. In the end seven left, and Kaatje was one of them. According to the biographical sketch they arrived at the mission station on May 4, 1899.

The Vatican names the seven. Their leader was Marie-Hermine de Jésus, born Irma Grivot, from France. Then Marie de la Paix (Maria Anna Giuliani) and Marie-Claire (Clelia Nanetti) from Italy, Marie de Sainte-Nathalie (Jeanne-Marie Kerguin) and Marie de Saint-Just (Anne Moreau) from France, and Marie-Amandina (Paula Jeuris) from Schakkebroek in Belgium. Kaatje was the only Dutch one. The sisters were between twenty-five and thirty-six years old.

According to the life of Jeanne-Marie Kerguin, Bishop Francesco Fogolla had chosen the group himself. Fogolla and Gregorio Grassi were the two Italian Franciscan bishops of the mission in Shanxi. Of Marie-Hermine it has been preserved that before she left she trained as a nurse in Marseille. There she wrote about her longing to be the bride of the King of kings. Of Jeanne-Marie it has been preserved that she had earlier become seriously ill in North Africa and had to return to France, and that she did not complain in spite of her illnesses.

I find it something special: seven women from four countries traveling together into the interior of China, to a country that was not theirs. They went because they believed they were called.

Two of them we know better than the rest, because Hattaway wrote down their life stories. Irma Grivot was born on April 28, 1866, in Beaune, in France, the daughter of a cooper. She was bright and did well at school. Her parents were fiercely against her wish to become a nun, and at first she worked as a governess so that she could be independent. In 1894 she entered the convent. She was often ill, which delayed her training. Jeanne-Marie Kerguin was born on May 5, 1864, in Brittany, in a farming family. She too lost her mother young and took on a lot of housework, just like Kaatje. She loved nature and liked to walk in the mountains.

An orphanage in Shanxi

About their work in Taiyuan the sources are brief. They cared for the children in an orphanage that belonged to the Franciscan mission. Wikipedia mentions about two hundred children. Writing about the group as a whole, Hattaway says they also nursed the sick and taught women to sew and embroider. They ran a pharmacy and they trained young people. According to Hattaway they had won the hearts of the people within a short time.

Kaatje did what she had done for years: she took on every task, heavy or dull, without complaining. According to Wikipedia she was in charge of the laundry. Laundry work shows in clean sheets and never in a name. Of Jeanne-Marie it has been handed down that no task was too heavy for her, from the washing to the care of the sick, and that her love for God shone on everyone around her. That picture fits all of them.

Whoever tells the history of this work must also describe its surroundings. The Catholic mission in Shanxi was old: the first missionaries came there in 1633. Protestant churches arose there from 1865 on. The missionaries came from the countries that in those years were gaining more and more influence in China. The Franciscan historian Dominic Monti speaks of martyrs who were caught between political currents. For those who opposed that foreign influence, the churches belonged to the West.

Kaatje herself had no voice in that. She cared for children and prayed. Without choosing it, she was seen as part of something much bigger than herself.

The edict of July 1

In 1900 the Boxer Rebellion reached its peak. The Boxers were a movement in northern China that attacked foreigners and Chinese Christians and destroyed everything connected with the West. In June 1900 the imperial court declared war on the Western powers.

In March 1900 Yuxian had become governor of Shanxi. On July 1 he issued an edict, an official order. Foreign missionaries were to be sent away. Chinese Christians were to renounce their faith, on pain of death.

The sisters knew what was going on. They knew that the Boxers had already killed missionaries elsewhere. At the end of June the bishops advised them to take off their habits and flee in plain Chinese clothes. Mother Marie-Hermine refused, so her life story says. She begged Bishop Fogolla not to hold them back from dying with him. God would give them strength, she said, and they were not afraid of death or of torture. Whether Kaatje herself said anything, we do not know. She stayed.

When Marie-Hermine was first asked to be superior, she had answered that she would gladly have God take that burden from her and appoint someone more worthy. A woman who begins like that does not stop at running away.

The two bishops of the mission lived in Taiyuan. Gregorio Grassi was born in 1833, Francesco Fogolla in 1839. Grassi was bishop of North Shanxi and lived in Taiyuan. Fogolla was his auxiliary bishop. The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, built in 1870, was an insult to their culture in the eyes of some Chinese.

On the afternoon of July 5, writes the Franciscan historian Dominic Monti, a mob overran the mission station. Five Franciscans were seized, the seven sisters, eleven Chinese members of the Third Order and four other workers. The Third Order is a form of Franciscan life for people who do not live in a monastery or convent. Six of those Chinese men were seminarians, young men preparing for the priesthood. The prisoners were held in a building that the order calls the Hôtel de la Paix Céleste, the hotel of heavenly peace.

On July 8 a visitor came. A Chinese layman, James Zhao Zhunsen, visited the prisoners. The next day he joined them of his own free will. He was neither priest nor sister, but a layman, and he came by his own choice. His name stands in the same row as those of the seven sisters.

Monday, July 9, 1900

On July 9, 1900, the prisoners, stripped of their outer garments and tied together, were taken to the governor's residence. On the way they were mocked and beaten. After a short mock trial Yuxian gave the order to kill them. In Taiyuan dozens of Christians died that day, Catholic and Protestant. Among them were Protestant missionaries with their wives and children, and besides the foreigners a group

of Chinese believers who are named in the Vatican's lists. The historian Nat Brandt later called it the greatest single disaster in the history of evangelical missions.

The same day the Protestant missionaries were killed as well. According to the English Wikipedia they had been lured to Taiyuan with the promise of protection, and it concerned forty-four or forty-five people, women and children too. The sources say the killings took place in the presence of the governor. In a row that includes two churches at once, Kaatje stands beside them.

Besides the sisters, the bishops Grassi and Fogolla died, and three other Franciscans: Elias Facchini, Theodoric Balat and Andrew Bauer. Eleven Chinese members of the Third Order died, among them John Zhang Jingguang, Patrick Dong Bodi, John Wang Rui, Philip Zhang Zhihe, Thomas Shen Jihe and Simon Chen Ximan, the assistant of Bishop Fogolla. And workers of the mission died, such as James Yan Guodong, James Zhao Quanxin and Peter Wang Erman. I mention the names because none of them was able to leave a story of their own.

Kaatje was beheaded with the sword. The Leiden thesis, Omroep Brabant and the Franciscan sources all say so. She was thirty-four.

The story that keeps coming back in the literature of the order is about the last minutes of the sisters. The men were killed first, the bishops, the priests, the seminarians. The sisters had to wait, and had to look on. In this way the executioners hoped, so it is told, that the sisters would fall away from their faith. It did not happen. In the life story of Jeanne-Marie Kerguin it says that the sisters knelt, with their eyes toward heaven. They prayed for the martyrs, for the conversion of their persecutors and for the steadfastness of the Christians. No mockery and no uproar disturbed their calm while they waited for their turn. They embraced each other. They sang the

Te Deum, the ancient hymn of thanksgiving to God. Mother Marie-Hermine died last. This is in the life story that the order wrote of her, and in the lives of the saints written for the beatification and canonization. I tell it as those sources tell it, and I would rather leave the violence itself at rest.

Of Jeanne-Marie a saying has been preserved that fits this day: she said she was glad to suffer, because suffering set her free from the world.

Psalm 116 says: *Precious in the sight of the LORD is the death of His saints* (Psalm 116:15). How those last minutes went exactly is not certain. That Kaatje and the others were killed that day as Christians is certain. The psalm does not call such a death pointless, but precious.

When the news reached the founder of the order, Mother Mary of the Passion, she said, according to the order, that she could now say she had seven true Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. She was grieved, but she had a Te Deum sung, a hymn of thanks.

What the witnesses did and did not see

Here I must be honest about what historians know of that day. That the Christians were killed in Taiyuan on July 9, 1900, is certain. Exactly how it happened is less certain.

The historian Roger Thompson has pointed out that the best-known accounts come from people who cannot have seen it themselves. In his view their stories resemble older martyr literature. He also has doubts about Yuxian's role and puts more emphasis on the violence of the mob. The historian Anthony Clark came to a different judgment: the accounts from that time agree with each other on the main lines.

That also affects the stories about Kaatje. The hymn that was sung, the kneeling, the order in which they died: it may all have happened that way. It only comes from sources written with love and from faith, by an order that honored its sisters. That does not make them untrue. It does make them testimonies rather than reports.

That summer, according to the Franciscan historian Monti, more than two thousand Chinese Christians died a violent death in Shanxi. Of them we often know even less than we know of Kaatje. That the church stayed there, in spite of everything, shows in the figures of half a century later: in 1950 the diocese of Taiyuan counted forty-one thousand Catholics in twenty-four churches.

After the rebellion the province of Shanxi had to pay compensation. With part of that money a university was founded in Taiyuan in 1901, with the British Baptist Timothy Richard as its first chancellor. That too belongs to this story. Afterwards the deaths of the Christians became a matter between China and the foreign powers.

Blessed in 1946, saint in 2000

In the Catholic Church a person can be declared blessed after a long investigation. That means the church recognizes that this person is with God and that believers may honor him or her. For a martyr, someone killed for the faith, no miracle is needed for this. Canonization is the next step: the veneration then applies to the worldwide church.

On November 24, 1946, Pope Pius XII declared Kaatje blessed, together with her fellow sisters. On that occasion a devotional booklet about her was published. In 1951 Louis Lockefeer wrote a play about her. It was called *Ik ben uw brandhout* (I am your firewood).

More than half a century later came the canonization. When the pope addressed the Dutch pilgrims on November 7, he placed her

in the long row of missionaries that the Dutch church has produced. There she stood, a girl who never wrote a book, among the names of people who did. On October 1, 2000, John Paul II declared one hundred and twenty martyrs of China saints: Chinese believers and foreign missionaries, killed between 1648 and 1930. Sister Marie-Adolphine was one of them. Of those one hundred and twenty, eighty-seven were Chinese and thirty-three were missionaries. According to Omroep Brabant she is the only woman from North Brabant to have been declared a saint.

A chapel where her house stood

In Ossendrecht they have not forgotten her. In 1951 the Stichting M. Adolphine (the M. Adolphine Foundation) bought the house where she was born and set up a memorial chapel there. On the spot where her house had stood, a chapel was built in 1954. In 1966 the building next to it was bought and demolished so that the square could be made larger. It is now called the Adolphineplein, Adolphine Square. In 1981, after a Mass in the Sint-Gertrudiskerk (St. Gertrude's Church), a relic of her was venerated. In 1983 the first chapel was replaced by a new one. On May 29 of that year Bishop Hubertus Ernst of Breda opened it. Inside stands a white statue of the sister. In the village's Sint-Gertrudiskerk there are two more statues of her, one of stone and one of wood. Pilgrims come to the chapel.

Every year, on the Sunday after the day of her death, a procession walks past her birthplace, the house of her foster parents and the Eikelhof, the former property of the Coveliers family, whom she served in Antwerp as a girl. In good weather a Holy Mass is celebrated there.

That an evangelical author like Paul Hattaway includes the seven sisters in his book about the martyrs of China shows that Kaatje

is also read outside her own church. For many Protestant readers, the veneration of saints does not come naturally, and I write this chapter as a Protestant. About the veneration itself I make no pronouncements. A woman who wanted to suffer for the Lord and stayed when she could have fled, I can honor. I also understand what a village is doing when it builds a chapel where the house of a poor girl stood. It is saying: she belongs to us.

A monument without glitter

In October 2025, twenty-five years after the canonization, a work of art was blessed next to the chapel. It was designed by Paul Versijp from Bergen op Zoom. Johan den Ouden, chairman of the Stichting Zuster Marie-Adolphine (the Sister Marie-Adolphine Foundation), described it to Omroep Brabant as "a sober little monument without glitter or glamour". In his view that fitted who she was.

Den Ouden also said that until then she had been honored mainly in the chapel and the church. With the work of art she would from now on stand in the middle of the village, among the people. He called her, for her time, an incredibly strong woman, who knew that China was dangerous and went anyway. And he summed up Kaatje's message: see each other, give something up for each other and give each other room. In Ossendrecht they also say that she did not want to abandon her children. So Omroep Brabant wrote it down in 2025.

How would you feel about being remembered like that? Not for what you said or wrote. For where you stayed.

I think of the title of that play from 1951. *I am your firewood.* Firewood is nothing special. You no longer see it once the fire is burning. Kaatje Dierkx worked in a factory, in other people's houses and in

an orphanage on the other side of the world. When it became dangerous, she stayed with the children and with her sisters.

On the Adolphineplein in Ossendrecht there is now a sober statue, right among the houses, next to the chapel on the spot where she was born.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): birth on March 8, 1866, in Ossendrecht; her mother who died young and the family with six children; entry in 1893 into the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary in Antwerp; departure for China with six fellow sisters and work in the orphanage in Taiyuan from 1899; Governor Yuxian's edict of July 1, 1900; her death by beheading on July 9, 1900, in Taiyuan, together with her fellow sisters, Bishops Grassi and Fogolla, other Franciscans and Chinese Christians; beatification on November 24, 1946; canonization on October 1, 2000; the pope's speech to Dutch pilgrims on November 7, 2000; the chapel on the site of the house where she was born; the work of art of 2025.

Only from lives of the saints and the literature of the order: the children being taken in by neighbors who were believers; that she gave her wages to that family; her answer that she wanted to suffer for the Lord; that she did every task without complaining; her wish to be named Lidwina; the small details about the sisters (Marie-Hermine in Marseille, Jeanne-Marie Kerguin); the bishops' advice to flee and Marie-Hermine's refusal; the singing of the Te Deum, the kneeling and the order in which the sisters died; the reaction of Mother Mary of the Passion. The biographical sketch from Ossendrecht (nanny with the De Beukelaar family, Antwerp with the Coveliers family, vows in 1895 and 1898) I have found only in an English adaptation on a Catholic website, without the name of the writer or a source.

Unconfirmed: the registration as deceased at the age of three (only Wikipedia); the number of two hundred orphans and her charge of the laundry (only Wikipedia); that her father was a baker (only Omroep Brabant, while other sources speak of a poor family); the capture on July 5 (Monti and the FMM); the building Hôtel de la Paix Céleste (only the FMM); that she did not want to leave "her children" behind (only Omroep Brabant).

Where the sources differ (in the story I have chosen one reading):

- *Date of birth.* March 8, 1866 according to Wikipedia, Hattaway, the New Catholic Encyclopedia and the biographical sketch. In the earlier version of this chapter it said March 3, which I could not find anywhere. The Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland I could not consult.
- *The work in the factory.* Chicory (Wikipedia) or roasted coffee (encyclopedia and biographical sketch).
- *Arrival in China.* 1898 (Hattaway), May 1899 (Leiden), May 4, 1899 (FMM, biographical sketch). Another source gives May 12, 1899 as the date of departure from Marseille, which cannot be reconciled with May 4.
- *Nationality.* Franciscan Tradition calls her French, the other sources Dutch.
- *Feast day.* July 9 (Wikipedia, FMM), July 8 or July 4 (other sources).
- *The first chapel.* 1951 (biographical sketch, purchase of the house) or 1954 (Wikipedia).
- *Who led the killing.* Yuxian (Franciscan sources) or the mob (Thompson).

Interpretation: historians disagree about the accounts of July 9, 1900. Roger Thompson doubts whether the best-known accounts come from eyewitnesses; Anthony Clark sees agreement on the main lines. The Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland (entry

Dirks) and the article by Charles Caspers on the veneration in Ossendrecht (2005) could not be consulted for this chapter. Whether a person can suffer out of love, and whether God receives it that way, is a question of faith. I believe along with Kaatje that she stayed for the sake of those she loved.

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Jacqueline van Andel-Rutgers: the bookshop in Solo that reached Suriname

In 1934 a missionary in Surakarta published a collection of short stories and sketches. He called it *Morgenrood* (Red Dawn). One of those stories is set in 1914. A boy named Soeparti walks with his parents through the keraton of Surakarta, the palace grounds of the Javanese prince, and passes a bookshop. There a term is spoken that the boy does not know: *boekoe Kristen*, a Christian book. Years later, so the story ends, Soeparti is an evangelist in Wonogiri.

Whether that story happened exactly this way, I do not know. It is a sketch by the man who wrote it, Huibert Antonie van Andel. Nor do I know whether the shop in that story was the bookshop his wife opened in Solo. What is certain is that she had a bookshop, and that her books reached farther than the keraton.

Solo is the name by which Surakarta is known, a city in Central Java. The bookshop of Jacqueline van Andel-Rutgers served Central and East Java. It supplied Javanese people who had moved to Sumatra. And it supplied Javanese laborers in Suriname, on the other side of the ocean.

She was the daughter of a well-known Reformed professor. She came to Java as a nurse, married a missionary and stayed in Solo for thirty years. She founded schools in dozens of remote villages. She wrote booklets and brought Javanese women together. She did all this in a church that did not yet give women an official place in missions.

There is less to find about her than about most of the people in this book. There is one solid biography, the doctoral thesis of Rineke van der Woerdt from 2004, and I could not consult it myself. All I have are the review by the historian Chris de Jong, a few civil records and what I found about her husband and her surroundings. So this chapter is shorter than the others, and gaps remain. I would rather have a short story that is true than a long story that I filled in myself. Where I do not know, I say so.

It begins in a port town in Zeeland, the southwestern province of the Netherlands.

Record 352, Vlissingen

Jacqueline Cornelie Rutgers was born on November 15, 1874, in Vlissingen. A day later the civil registry recorded her, under record number 352. Her father is listed in the record as a minister, thirty-seven years old. Her mother was called Cornelie Catharine Hermance Guije. No occupation is given for her.

The record itself is kept by the Zeeuws Archief, the archives of Zeeland, and anyone can look it up.

Her father, Frederik Lodewijk Rutgers, came from the north. He was born on November 26, 1836, in Breede, in the municipality of Warffum in the province of Groningen. He studied theology in Groningen and earned his doctorate there as well. After that he served as a minister in a series of congregations, among them Brum-

men from 1867 to 1874. In 1874 he came to Vlissingen, the year his daughter was born there. The family did not stay long. In 1877 he left for 's-Hertogenbosch.

From 1880 he was a professor at the Vrije Universiteit (Free University) in Amsterdam. He belonged to the Doleantie, a church secession of Reformed congregations from the Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (the Dutch Reformed Church). So Jacqueline grew up in a family that stood right in the middle of that movement. Later she belonged to the Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands), the GKN for short. She is listed in the Amsterdam population registers. Beyond that I have found nothing about her childhood and education.

She had a sister, Jeremina, who married the minister B.J. Esser in Purbolinggo, on Java. The review names her as someone who inspired the work among women. So the Rutgers family had its hands in missions in more than one place.

"A name of weakness"

To understand her life, you need to know how her church thought about missions. In 1894 the Gereformeerde Kerken took over the mission work in the south of Central Java from the Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingsvereeniging (the Dutch Reformed Missionary Society). At that time there were fifty-three congregations and groups, with about five thousand members in all. Only a small minority joined the Reformed mission. The fields were assigned to individual churches in larger cities, which paid for the work and staffed it. Chris de Jong calls the Reformed mission a family business.

Two years later, at the synod of Middelburg in 1896, Abraham Kuyper went a step further. A synod is the national assembly of

the church, where delegates make decisions together. Kuyper did not think "missionary" was a good word, nor anything derived from it. He called it, as De Jong writes, "a name of weakness". By no means everyone went along with that.

For a woman it was even more complicated. According to the same historian, Reformed missions were a male stronghold, at least on the formal side of the work. A woman could go to the mission field. But women were not officially sent out as mission workers until the early 1930s.

How do you go somewhere when there is no place for you yet?

A hospital in Djokja

There was a place for nurses. In Yogyakarta, then often called Djokja, stood the Petronella Hospitaal, opened in 1897 according to the review. Other sources give 1899 as the year it was founded. It was the first hospital in the city. The name came from the wife of a retired minister who had supported its construction. Among the people it was called Dokter Tulung, Doctor Help, because treatment was free.

The man who started it was Jan Gerrit Scheurer, born in Borculo in 1864. He was the first mission doctor of the Gereformeerde Kerken. He studied medicine in London, went to the Indies in 1893 and worked in Solo and Djokja. The colonial government had at first forbidden him to preach. In its first ten years, according to an American historian, the hospital saw on average about a hundred people a day in the outpatient clinic, more than thirty thousand a year. On the wards lay about a hundred and twenty-five patients on an ordinary day.

In 1900 Jacqueline Rutgers arrived in Yogyakarta. She was twenty-five. She went to work as a nurse in the Petronella Hospitaal.

In those years Java was a Dutch colony. The colonial government ruled the Dutch East Indies, with a governor-general at its head.

From her years in Djokja one trace has been preserved that comes from her own hand. In the annual report of the society behind the hospital, for the year from September 1, 1904, to August 31, 1905, there is a piece that she wrote. An American historian refers to it in his footnotes. He gives her name with it, and about the report of two years earlier he says it may be by her, or by a colleague, Johanna Kuyper. What she wrote, I could not read. But her words are in an archive, in the annual report of a hospital where she worked for years.

On which ward she worked is not known to me. Nor do I know whether she learned Javanese in the hospital or only later.

A marriage and a resignation

In 1912 Jacqueline married Huibert Antonie van Andel, a missionary of the Gereformeerde Kerken. With that marriage she left the mission service. She was then thirty-seven or thirty-eight.

He came from the Netherlands to Java that year or the next. He was born on June 21, 1875. Before he began, he studied the Javanese and sought contact with the nobility. He spoke with Susuhunan Paku Buwana X and with Sri Mangkunegara VII, the two princes of Surakarta, to ask permission for church services and for spreading the gospel in the principalities.

That Surakarta opened up to Reformed missions was not a matter of course. According to the reviewer it happened through the intervention of the governor-general, A.F.W. Idenburg. He was himself a member of the Gereformeerde Kerken. Before that, under Governor-General Van Heutsz, the work had been limited. The Re-

formed church of Amsterdam took care of the field first, and from 1922 that of Delft.

It is fine to simply state that fact here. The opening of a mission field depended on the highest official of the colony, and he belonged to the same church. What the Javanese in Solo thought of that is not in the sources I could consult.

The couple went to live in Surakarta. From that year on Jacqueline was no longer a mission nurse. On paper she was the missionary's wife. In practice she became much more.

The work was built up from departments: a main department for the church work itself, a school department and a medical department. Later a literature department and a youth and women's department were added. The main department was to plant independent churches on the model of the GKN. The Gereja-Gereja Kristen Jawa, the Javanese Reformed churches, grew out of this work.

Reading material and education: her field

The review of her biography shows a clear division of tasks. The distribution of Bibles and reading material, and education for Javanese people, were her specialty. Her husband left those fields entirely to her. She organized the distribution of Javanese Christian literature.

The Solo mission, according to an Indonesian study that leans on the memorial book *Vijfentwintig jaren Solo-zending 1912-1937* (Twenty-five years of the Solo mission), led the way in opening Christian schools in the principalities of Surakarta. The colonial government supported those schools, to counterbalance Islamic schools. The researchers also read this work as part of what the colonial government wanted to achieve with the Ethical Policy, including Christian values about marriage, family and children. It

is a critical reading. You can lay it beside the story of Jacqueline without the story becoming unbelievable.

About Van Andel himself the testimonies are warm. His colleague J.H. Bavinck wrote an in memoriam in 1945 in the magazine *Timotheus*. He calls him a man with talents for everything: organizer, scholar, speaker, sometimes a humorist, and someone who could handle money. A missionary through and through. He built schools, large schools, and education was the special love of his heart. He saw the importance of literature and took it on in a big way. His wife, writes Bavinck, was his constant support in his plans and in the burden of the work. He does not name her. Since 1912 Jacqueline was his wife, and it is natural to think he means her.

Bavinck also tells a small thing. Van Andel wrote his sermons as an argument, because he was afraid his feelings would overwhelm him in the pulpit. And yet Bavinck often saw him standing before young people with tears in his eyes. The man with his figures had a remarkably tender heart.

Jacqueline wrote booklets. She translated an English booklet about Islam. I have not found the titles of those writings, nor in what language they appeared.

Most striking is what she did in the villages. In dozens of remote villages, called desas in Javanese, she founded schools. The review does not give an exact number. How the schools were paid for, who taught in them and how many children came, I could not check either. Perhaps it is in the thesis. I am not going to guess.

One picture from the years after comes from the research on Wonogiri, a region south of Solo. There a Javanese Christian, Djagaswara from Gemantar, walked long distances on foot to hand out Christian writings. He is the only colporteur I found by name. In 1916 a

Javanese evangelist was working in Gemantar, and in 1918 eighteen people from that village were baptized in Surakarta. The work in the villages was carried by people like him. He is in this chapter because a researcher wrote his name down.

Another story from *Morgenrood* is about a man from Gemantar, Karsasemita. His wife had been ill, and in a hospital in Yogyakarta he found a Javanese New Testament. He also bought a booklet, *Kort begrip van den Christelijken godsdienst* (A short outline of the Christian religion). Later, while preaching, he chopped down a sacred village tree, and Van Andel called him a Javanese Willibrord. Which hospital it was, the article does not say. It is a story a missionary wrote, and I put it here as it is.

What must it have meant for a child in a village far from the city to learn to read? I cannot fill that in with names. The sources I could open name not a single pupil, not a single teacher and not a single Javanese helper, except Djagaswara. I find that a loss. The work was done by more people than one Dutch woman, but in the documents I saw their names have not been kept.

Books across the sea

And then the bookshop. Jacqueline opened it in Solo. According to the review, the shop served Central and East Java. It also supplied Javanese migrants on Sumatra, and even in Suriname.

That last place needs explaining. From 1890 the Netherlands brought Javanese contract laborers to Suriname. The first group consisted of ninety-four people. At a commemoration in 2023, Minister Dijkgraaf spoke about the dilapidated barracks, the poor pay and the bad food they had to deal with. Many had been lured with false promises.

Those Javanese lived an ocean away from home. So some of them read books that came from a shop in Solo. Which books those were, and how many, I do not know. But the picture stays with you: reading material from Central Java, on the other side of the world.

In Ecclesiastes the Preacher says to cast your bread upon the waters, for after many days you will find it again (Ecclesiastes 11:1). Whoever sends books across the sea does not see what becomes of them. From Solo, Jacqueline could not see who in Suriname or on Sumatra turned a page.

Women together

Jacqueline had an eye for women. She encouraged work among women and by women in the Javanese church, among other things with conferences for Javanese women. Those women were already doing such work in their own church, the GKJ, the Javanese church that grew out of this mission work.

I would have liked to name those women, and to know what they talked about. This too I cannot do. What is certain is that there were Javanese women doing work in their congregations, and that Jacqueline brought them together.

Her biographer devotes a separate part of her book to this work among Javanese women, and to women in church and missions. She also writes about the first mission sisters. In the early 1930s some sending churches officially began to send Dutch women to Central Java as mission sisters. The review names four of them: Sarah J. Bos, Louise Goemaat, C. Baarbé and A. Hoeksema.

Jacqueline had by then been working in Solo for almost twenty years, without such an official title. The reviewer counts her among the first Reformed women to leave a clear mark on missions. He

calls her dedication extraordinary, despite all the objections around the word missionary.

At the end of his letter to the Romans, Paul first commends a woman: he commends to them Phoebe, our sister, who is a servant of the church in Cenchrea (Romans 16:1). He named her and he named her work. In those twenty years Jacqueline had no official title. Her work was there all the same.

It belongs to the picture that she was not the very first. The Salatiga mission, another mission work in Central Java, sent out a woman missionary as early as 1915. That falls outside the book about Jacqueline, but it is part of the whole.

Their own Reformed way

What drove her? Her biographer describes her theology of mission in a separate chapter, which I have not been able to read. From the review I take one thought of the biographer, in my own words: Jacqueline and her husband went their own Reformed way.

The reviewer adds a question. How far could you go your own way in Central Java? Javanese society and the colonial government helped decide what was possible. In his view the book pays too little attention to that. It tells the story from the inside, from the mission's point of view.

I think that is a fair question, for this chapter too. I know Jacqueline mainly through Dutch eyes. The Javanese side of her story has largely stayed silent for me. The research on Wonogiri shows how that works: in their travel reports, Dutch missionaries saw a region in the dark that needed the light, while the researchers who read that now recognize a European gaze in it. Whoever lived in the village wrote nothing down that I could find.

Whoever sees someone's work but not the people around her sees only part of the story. That is where this chapter falls short.

1942

The period in Solo that the review mentions runs until 1942. That year everything on Java turned upside down. On March 1, 1942, Japanese troops attacked the island. Nine days later the Dutch authorities surrendered. For more than three years Japan occupied the Dutch East Indies. Some one hundred thousand Dutch civilians and many Indo-Dutch people, of mixed Dutch and Indonesian descent, ended up in internment camps. The Petronella Hospital in Yogyakarta, where Jacqueline had nursed years earlier, was given a different name under the Japanese and lost its Christian character.

What Jacqueline went through in those years, I do not know. No source I found says whether she was in a camp, whether she was still in Solo, or when she went to the Netherlands. In 1942 she was sixty-seven. About her husband I know a little more, and it is heavy. In his in memoriam in 1945, Bavinck writes that Van Andel did not survive the occupation: God took him away in the midst of misery and exile. The text gives no date or place. Where Jacqueline was when he died, I cannot say.

It is tempting to tell a story here that is known from other missionaries. I will not do that. It remains unknown.

On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered. After that, the struggle for independence began for Indonesia.

A knighthood without a date

At some point in her life Jacqueline van Andel-Rutgers was made a Knight in the Order of Orange-Nassau, a royal decoration for people who have served society in a special way. She appears in the records

of the Kanselarij der Nederlandse Orden, the Chancery of the Dutch Orders. The date and the reason are not in the index I could consult.

I suspect it had to do with her work in Solo. But a suspicion is not a fact, so I will leave it at this sentence.

Soest, September 1951

Jacqueline Cornelie van Andel-Rutgers died on September 3, 1951, seventy-six years old. The death record was drawn up on September 6 in Soest, in the province of Utrecht. It names her husband, Huibert Antonie van Andel, and also her parents.

Exactly where she died, I cannot say for certain. The archive's index gives a place that does not fit a record from Soest. Because a death in the Netherlands was registered in the municipality where it happened, Soest is the most likely. That has not been confirmed.

There is a small confusion around her name. There was also a younger Jacqueline Cornelie Rutgers, born on November 13, 1908, in Hilversum. Anyone searching online for Jacqueline will come across her too. They are two different women.

Working while it is day

In 2004 Rineke van der Woerdt earned her doctorate at the Vrije Universiteit with a book about her life. She gave it the title *Werken zolang het dag is* (Working while it is day). Those words come from the Gospel of John, where Jesus says: *I must work the works of Him who sent Me while it is day; the night is coming when no one can work* (John 9:4).

Whether this verse meant anything to Jacqueline herself, I do not know. It is the title her biographer chose. But it fits what I could find of her. Years as a nurse in Djokja. Thirty years in Solo. Schools in remote villages. Books that went to Sumatra and to Suriname.

Of her own words I have found almost nothing: a piece in the annual report of a hospital, which I could not read. The church that grew out of the work of her and her husband still exists. The Gereja-Gereja Kristen Jawa have, according to Wikipedia, about two hundred and twenty thousand members in three hundred and seven congregations. In Solo stands the church of Margoyudan, which has been designated a cultural heritage site because of its building. What remains is a birth record from Vlissingen, a record from Soest, and a shop in Solo whose name I do not know. Somewhere in Suriname a Javanese laborer once opened a book that came from that shop.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources): birth on November 15, 1874, in Vlissingen, as the daughter of the minister F.L. Rutgers and Cornelie Catharine Hermance Guije (birth record); her father's career as a minister and from 1880 as a professor at the VU; her death on September 3, 1951, with the record in Soest and Huibert Antonie van Andel as her husband (death record); her appointment as Knight in the Order of Orange-Nassau (Chancery records, date unknown); the publication of her biography in 2004; that Scheurer founded a mission hospital in Yogyakarta and that Idenburg made the Reformed mission in Surakarta possible; that Van Andel worked in Solo and did not survive the occupation (Bavinck, in memoriam 1945).

Only from one source (the biography, through the review in BMGN): her work as a nurse in the Petronella Hospitaal from 1900 (her name is also under a piece in the annual report for 1904 and 1905, according to Kevin Ko); her marriage in 1912 and departure from the mission service; her work in Surakarta from 1912 to 1942; the role of Governor-General Idenburg in the opening of Surakarta;

her booklets, the translated booklet about Islam, the schools in dozens of villages, the bookshop and the conferences for Javanese women; her sister Jeremina Esser. This rests on the biographer's archival research, but I could not consult the thesis itself.

Only from own testimony or the circle around her husband: the portraits of Van Andel in Bavinck's in memoriam (the sermons as arguments, the tears, the support of his wife); the stories and sketches in *Morgenrood* (1934), including the story of Soeparti and the story of Karsasemita, which were written by a missionary and should not be read as reports. No statement by Jacqueline herself has been preserved.

Unconfirmed or unknown: what she and her husband went through in the Japanese period (1942 to 1945) and where and when Van Andel died; her exact place of death (probably Soest); the name of the bookshop, the number of schools and the names of Javanese co-workers and pupils; the date and reason for her knighthood; whether John 9:4 was her own motto; the contents of her piece in the hospital's annual report; whether the bookshop in the story of Soeparti was hers.

Where the sources differ (in the story I have chosen one reading):

- *Opening of the hospital.* 1897 (review) or 1899 (Wikipedia, Bethesda).
- *Start of Van Andel in Surakarta.* 1912 (the review) or 1913 (Wacana article).
- *Van Andel's date of birth.* June 21, 1875 (Wacana article); an entry in the Amsterdam registers gives June 22, which I could not verify.
- *Scheurer's service.* 1893 to 1900 in Solo and Djokja, then director of the hospital (parlement.com); Wikipedia calls him director from 1899 to 1906.

Not opened: the memorial book *Vijfentwintig jaren Solo-zending 1912-1937* (Breukelaar and Van Anken, 1937), Van der Woerdt's thesis itself, the hospital's annual report of 1904-1905 and the collection *Morgenrood*. What I mention from them, my source knows only through others.

Interpretation: the reviewer calls her dedication extraordinary and counts her among the first Reformed women to leave a clear mark on missions. He also thinks her biography tells the story too much from the inside and pays too little attention to the Javanese context. That limitation applies to this chapter as well. Whether a bookshop can be a form of mission is a question of faith and of taste.

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Margot Alt: Moesje with the orphans

In September 2603, a woman of sixty filled the first pages of her life story in the Beschermingskamp (Protection Camp) in Malang. That is how she dated it herself, by the calendar of the Japanese, who governed Java that year. It became a manuscript of ninety pages, eighty-two of them written by hand. In the preface she said who it was for: "It is my purpose to leave these pages behind after my passing."

That passing was no writer's gesture. On August 24, 1943, two days after her sixtieth birthday, the Japanese occupiers had arrested Margot Alt. She was sentenced to death: beheading. A publication in which she had mentioned the birthdays of the Royal House with a blessing was held heavily against her. The sentence was not carried out. Because of her age, the punishment was changed to imprisonment.

The manuscript is now in the library of the Vrije Universiteit (Free University) in Amsterdam. Alongside the story of her life lie two diaries, a sermon book with 622 numbered sermons and a collection of poems from her youth.

In the Netherlands, Pentecostal believers know her mainly from a songbook, *Glorieklokken* (Glory Bells), and from a little devotional book with Bible verses, *Het Volle Licht* (The Full Light). On Java they knew her as Moesje, a Dutch pet name for "little mother", the woman with the orphans. For fifty-eight years she lived in the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea. She led her own mission movement with about sixty congregations, after her denomination had come to have difficulty with a woman in charge.

It began in a family in The Hague that fell apart early.

Three years old and then two losses

Margaretha Adriana Alt was born on August 22, 1883, in The Hague. At home she was called Margot. She was the younger of two children. Her father, Johannes David Alt, was a furniture maker. Her mother was called Johanna Margaretha Wigleven.

At the beginning of 1887 her parents separated. Margot was three. About half a year later her mother died of tuberculosis, not yet thirty years old. Margot and her brother Bram went to live with their grandparents on their mother's side. Two little cousins who had lost their mother were also growing up there. A house full of children without a mother.

Her grandmother was a woman of faith who went to church faithfully, and so Margot was raised as a Christian. Around the age of twelve she decided to become a missionary. She was not yet a committed believer then. So her biographer Cees van der Laan tells it, on the basis of her own papers.

She loved to sing. She took choral singing lessons at the Koninklijke Muziek- en Zangschool (the Royal School of Music and Singing), but was not admitted to the advanced course. In 1900 she earned a diploma as a needlework teacher at the Haagsche Kookschool (the

Hague Cookery School). Around eighteen she made her profession of faith in the Hervormde (Dutch Reformed) Grote Kerk in The Hague. In the Protestant church, making your profession of faith means that as an adult you declare for yourself that you accept the faith of your baptism. She did it mainly to please her grandmother.

Between 1899 and 1906 she wrote poems. The collection holds sixty-two poems on 111 pages, the last one dated February 8, 1906. She dedicated the collection to Dirk de Visser Smits, her childhood sweetheart.

Nanny, nurse, spiritist

In 1903 Margot left for the Dutch East Indies, the colony that is now called Indonesia. She went as the nanny of an Indies family that had lived in the Netherlands for a while. As a teenager she had already longed for the land where she would bring the gospel. First she lived in Batavia, now Jakarta. A photo of February 20, 1906, shows her there.

Almost immediately she got malaria. The disease would trouble her for the rest of her life.

At the beginning of 1906 she moved to Lawang, a town in the mountains of East Java. There she worked as a student nurse in a psychiatric institution. She earned diplomas there as a general nurse and as a psychiatric nurse.

Faith played little part in those years. Through her brother Bram she had come into contact with spiritism, seeking contact with the spirits of the dead. In Lawang she took part a few times in séances held by a colleague. After her grandmother's death she wrote a poem about losing her childlike faith in God. All this we know from her autobiography, as Henk Dik retells it in *Vriend van Opwekking*, a Dutch Christian magazine.

"God entered into judgment with me"

Around 1908 things came to a standstill. Margot developed what was then called a nervous complaint. She was afraid of going mad, she of all people, who worked every day among psychiatric patients. She could no longer eat and no longer sleep. The Vrouwenlexicon (the Digital Women's Lexicon of the Netherlands) speaks of a spiritual and psychological crisis.

In her autobiography she tells how that night ended. Her sins passed before her like a film. That is how she experienced it: "God entered into judgment with me." She knelt, for the first time in years, and prayed. Then she fell asleep peacefully. When she woke up, she knew that Jesus had forgiven her, and that she had become a child of God. No one else was there. She told it later as she had lived it.

In Psalm 32 David describes the same road: *I acknowledged my sin to You, And my iniquity I have not hidden. I said, "I will confess my transgressions to the LORD," And You forgave the iniquity of my sin* (Psalm 32:5).

After that night she broke with spiritism. Her life motto became "Jesus alone". Those two words also stand on her gravestone later.

Have you ever had a night when you did not know how to go on, and when you prayed again for the first time in a long while? For Margot Alt it was the night her life was given a direction.

The engagement she broke

In 1908 she had become engaged to Dirk de Visser Smits, her childhood sweetheart. After her conversion she saw a problem: he did not share her faith. In February 1910 she broke off the engagement, with a letter of February 13. She never married.

What that cost her is shown by her diary. It begins on September 26, 1910, in Tajoe, and according to the description in the archive it is very candid, especially about her spiritual development and about the struggle after the broken engagement. It is closed to the public until 2048, so I cannot quote from it. I can only tell you that it exists, and that a woman of twenty-seven wrote down her struggle in it.

A baptism in March and a colony for the poor

At the end of 1908, together with a colleague at the institution, she had begun keeping the Sabbath, the day of rest on Saturday. That colleague was a Seventh Day Baptist. The Seventh Day Baptists are a small Protestant group that baptizes believers by immersion and keeps Saturday as its day of rest. On March 12, 1910, Margot was baptized by them. That year a notice appeared in the magazine *De Boodschapper* (The Messenger) with the title "De doop van Zr. Alt" (The baptism of Sister Alt). She became a member of the Seventh Day Baptist congregation in Haarlem, which supported mission work in the Indies.

She resigned from the institution. That same year she became a mission sister in Tajoe, on the north coast of Central Java. There was a colony for the poor there, Pangoengsen, also called the Toevluchtsoord (the Place of Refuge). Uprooted Javanese lived there, people who had nowhere else to go. Marie Jansz had founded the colony, so *Vriend van Opwekking* says.

Marie Jansz remained in her life. On August 22, 1911, Margot's twenty-eighth birthday, she gave her a book as a present: *Lichtstralen op den Levensweg* (Rays of Light on the Road of Life) by Abraham Kuyper. In the years after, Margot wrote 659 notes in it, most of them between 1921 and 1927.

In 1912 Margot took in her first foster daughter, Annie, a girl of three who had been given up by her mother. Margot herself had been three when her own family fell apart. The sources do not make that connection. I only place the two side by side for a moment. That same year the brochure *Donker Java* (Dark Java) of the Pieter-Hendrik Fund appeared, which is kept in her archive.

Gambang Waloeh, where no one was a Christian

In 1914 she moved to Gambang Waloeh, also spelled Gambang Waluh. In the archive it is described as an abandoned coffee plantation, a farming colony that had yielded little, in a mostly Muslim area. By her own account she had received the calling to begin there. For the first time Margot herself was in charge.

She told the Javanese about Jesus, founded a Christian congregation and started a school. She took in orphans, and people with an intellectual disability for whom there was no place elsewhere. Sometimes she cared for some thirty children at once. Her second foster daughter came to her here, Dora, whom she called Zusje (Little Sister). Margot herself was given a nickname there: Moes, or Moesje. That is what she would be called for the rest of her life.

In Psalm 68 God is described like this: *A father of the fatherless, a defender of widows, Is God in His holy habitation* (Psalm 68:5). Margot herself had been a child without a mother. In Gambang Waloeh she became Moesje to children who had no parents left.

Her biographer sums up the years there in a striking sentence. When she came in 1914, according to him, no one was a Christian. When she left fifteen years later, the whole community had become Christian. He bases this on her diaries and letters.

She worked in a colonial society. The Netherlands held authority, and Javanese worked on plantations laid out by Europeans. A

Dutch woman with her own colony and her own congregation was a person with power in that world, even though she lived among the poor. What the people of Gambang Waloeh themselves said about her is not in the documents I could consult. I would have liked to name them.

Sounds she did not know

Margot had been searching for something she did not yet have for a long time. Her diary shows that as early as 1911 she was longing for what Pentecostal believers call the baptism in the Holy Spirit. By this they mean an experience in which God gives His Spirit so powerfully that a person begins, for example, to pray in unknown languages, the so-called speaking in tongues. She had read about it in the Dutch Pentecostal magazine *Spade Regen* (Latter Rain). She wanted the full Pentecostal blessing, with tongues, healings and prophecy, but above all she wanted love. In 1920 she heard someone speak in tongues for the first time.

In 1921 the Pentecostal movement came to the Indies. Two missionary families from a congregation in Seattle, with the Dutch names Groesbeek and Van Klaveren, began working there. Out of their work came the Pinkstergemeente in Nederlandsch-Indië (the Pentecostal Church in the Dutch East Indies), PGNI for short.

In February 1922 Margot broke with the Seventh Day Baptists. She no longer kept the Sabbath and could no longer share their teaching about it. A year later she joined the Pentecostal movement.

In 1926 she herself received the baptism in the Spirit. She noticed that she was speaking and singing in sounds she did not know. That is how she told it later, and that is how I pass it on. Shortly afterwards she called her "family" together, forty-six children, and also her congregation. She told them what had happened.

What came after that is in more sources. Many people in Gambang Waloeh received the same experience. Among the mountain people in the area a revival broke out, a time when many people come to faith at once or rediscover their faith.

A magazine, a devotional and a songbook

At the beginning of 1927 the PGNI took her on as an evangelist. In 1928 she became editor of the magazine *Pinksterkracht* (Pentecost Power). She gave it a new name: *Gouden Schooven* (Golden Sheaves), later spelled *Gouden Schoven*. Every issue opened with a poem or a song, mostly her own. The magazine appeared until 1962: the archive counts 546 issues in 32 volumes. In the Netherlands too it gained many readers.

A year later *Het Volle Licht* appeared, a little devotional book with a Bible verse for every day. In 1930 the first version of *Glorieklokken* came out, a songbook that according to the Vrouwenlexicon became the standard songbook of the Dutch Pentecostal movement. She translated songs and added to it, and her working book with handwritten and typed songs and translations has been kept. The first parts came out between 1930 and 1935. Later the collection was expanded until 1962, and it was reprinted until 2013.

So the girl who was not allowed to go on at the singing school in The Hague came to shape what a whole movement in the Netherlands sang.

Thirty orphans on the move

In 1929 she handed over the work in Gambang Waloeh. She left with about thirty Javanese orphans and half-orphans. The children went with her, as they would do more than once. According to an Indonesian article, she also traveled to Kalimantan that year, with Ong Tjay

Bo and H. Horstman, and thirty people were baptized there. The PGNI appointed her as a traveling evangelist, and she went from congregation to congregation to preach.

From 1932 to 1936 she was the pastor of the Pentecostal congregation in Kediri, in East Java. A pastor here means the permanent leader of a local congregation. She lived there with her orphans, and a large congregation grew up, especially among the Chinese. In April 1935 Howard Carter visited Kediri, as a photo in her archive shows. Henk Dik writes that in those four years more than four hundred people were baptized.

Her biographer points to a detail that says a lot. Moesje did not baptize new believers herself. She left that to male pastors. She preached, she led, she wrote. But that one act she left to others.

In those years she also published a Malay magazine, *Gandoem Mas* (Golden Wheat), from 1933 to 1942. From August 1934 her *Bijbelstudie voor zelfonderricht* (Bible study for self-instruction) appeared in thirty-four installments. In 1951 they came out together in one book.

The break over a woman in charge

In 1934 it came to a break with the PGNI. An important reason was that leaders had difficulty with a woman in a leading role. According to Henk Dik she was criticized because as a woman she was not supposed to speak, anoint the sick or serve communion. The archive inventory mentions a second point: a difference over the words to be used at baptism.

She did not leave it there, not even on paper. In 1948 her tract *Mag de vrouw spreken in de gemeente?* (May a woman speak in the congregation?) appeared, and again in 1956. She put the question to the church twice, with eight years in between.

An Indonesian article mentions another reason: Margot felt overshadowed by Van Gessel. He worked in the same region as she did and had first made her think, in 1926, about the teaching of the movement. I know the people on the other side of the break only from these summaries, and I am not going to judge them.

What Margot did next is certain. In 1935 the Vereeniging de Pinksterzending in Nederlandsch-Indië (the Pentecostal Mission Association in the Dutch East Indies) was founded, with Moesje as chair. In 1936 she moved back to Lawang, where she had once begun as a nurse and had come to faith. There she founded a new congregation and again took in dozens of children. She gave on average about twenty talks a month. Her sermon book begins in 1936 and holds 622 numbered sermons, each with a title, Bible verse, place and date. Sometimes she noted that it was a mixed service.

Around 1940 the Pinksterzending had about sixty congregations, about a third of the number of congregations of the PGNI. A woman who was not welcome as a leader now led a movement of that size.

On the first day of Pentecost, Peter quoted the prophet Joel, who had said: *Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy* (Joel 2:28). Sons and daughters stand side by side in those words. What place a woman could have in the leadership of a congregation, Pentecostal believers in the Indies disagreed about.

A sentence for a woman of sixty

In 1942 Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies. Europeans were locked up in camps. On August 24, 1943, Margot was arrested. The Japanese sentenced her to beheading. Her sixtieth birthday had only just passed, and that age was decisive: the sentence was changed.

She ended up in Japanese camps, among them the Beschermingskamp in Malang and Mangkoeboemen in Solo, now Surakarta. In the Beschermingskamp she wrote her autobiography, for those who would come after her. The manuscript contains more details about the break with the PGNI, and it later became the basis for her book *Herinneringen* (Memories).

I sometimes think of those eighty-two handwritten pages. A woman of sixty, a few weeks after a death sentence, sits down at her table and writes out her life for people she does not know yet.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945 the war was not over for her. Indonesia declared independence, and the Netherlands tried to regain control. Margot was first held in a camp of the Republicans in Lawang. Her second diary begins on December 15, 1945, in Lawang. Four pages of it, 19 through 22, she tore out for fear of a house search. After that she was in a reception camp in Soerabaja, first under British and later under Dutch administration. Only in June 1947 was she released.

That diary runs until 1961. It tells of a lonely struggle against illness and of the aftermath of the camp years.

Another congregation in Soerabaja

She stayed on in Soerabaja. In 1947 her tract *Van hart tot hart* (From heart to heart) appeared, in 1948 *Wat geschiedt er met ongeboren kinderen?* (What happens to unborn children?). According to the Vrouwenlexicon she could not resume her work for the Pinksterzending under the new regime. The archive inventory shows something else: there she again brought a congregation to flourish, from 1946 to 1951. In her Bible of 1928 there are about 254 notes from 1948 to 1950, among them 164 dated sermon slips.

In December 1949 she witnessed the transfer of sovereignty, the moment when the Netherlands officially handed over authority over Indonesia. She advised her congregations to join the Assemblies of God, an international Pentecostal denomination. Some of them continued independently as Gereja Utusan Pantekosta.

Starting over at sixty-eight

After prayer, Margot left in April 1951 for Netherlands New Guinea, the western part of the island that was still under Dutch rule. Today that area is called Papua, in Indonesia. Photos of the departure still exist. She was sixty-seven when the year began and turned sixty-eight that year.

Near Manokwari, on the north coast, she founded a new mission post. According to her biographer, the congregation grew to several hundred members. From sermon 619 in her sermon book, Manokwari appears as the place, in 1951 and 1952. In her birthday lists from Manokwari, which run from 1951 to 1961, she wrote down the birthdays of her congregation members.

She read a lot. In her archive stand Spurgeon, Hannah Whitall Smith and Oswald Chambers with her notes. She had received the Chambers book in 1957 from The Evangelical Alliance Mission, the same organization that would take over her congregation after she left. In 1958 she read *Het Gebed* (Prayer) by Hallesby. On July 29, 1958, she decided to make prayer lists. On August 2, 1953, she preached in Manokwari on 2 Corinthians 4:7 through 11. In her Bible she wrote beside that sermon that this was her personal testimony. Paul writes there about people who carry a treasure in weak vessels: *But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellence of the power may be of God and not of us* (2 Corinthians 4:7). He goes on about people who are under pressure on every side and are not crushed, who are perplexed and not in despair, who are perse-

cuted and not forsaken. A woman of almost seventy, who had had malaria all her life, called that her own story.

In 1955 her work was recognized by the Dutch government. There is a decision of April 21, 1955, about an honorary medal for her, and a photo of a royal decoration of April 29. From January through May 1961 she still wrote a series on the book of Revelation for *Gouden Schoven*. About her return there is a request from the Ministry of the Interior of February 3, 1961.

From those years, or from her time on Java, comes one story that according to a reviewer makes her biography special. Moesje is said to have set a man free from an evil power while he was floating above the ground. So it stands in the biography. Where and when it happened, the review does not say.

Meanwhile she was becoming better and better known in the Netherlands. New editions of *Glorieklokken*, *Het Volle Licht* and *Gouden Schoven* found their way to Pentecostal congregations. People who had never seen her sang her songs. In 1955 her book *Bergopwaarts* (Uphill) appeared, five Christian Indies novellas.

Back after fifty-eight years

In 1961 the tension between the Netherlands and Indonesia over New Guinea became so great that Margot had to leave. According to *Vriend van Opwekking* she herself felt that God was calling her to the Netherlands. Her congregation was handed over to The Evangelical Alliance Mission, an American mission organization. On August 1, 1961, she gave a speech in Manokwari that was recorded. Around October a song practice with a radio talk followed. On October 12, 1961, she wrote the last lines of her diary in Manokwari. On October 23 she arrived in the Netherlands. She had been away for fifty-eight years.

She traveled briefly around the country and spoke in Pentecostal congregations. On December 3, 1961, she spoke in Arnhem, on January 31, 1962, in Alkmaar, on March 13 in IJmuiden. Six recordings have been kept, from Manokwari and the Netherlands. Johan Maasbach, a well-known Dutch Pentecostal evangelist, had started a congregation in Arnhem and asked her to lead it. She settled in Arnhem, and so De Pinksterzending Arnhem came into being.

How far she got there, the sources tell differently. *Vriend van Opwekking* writes that she died before she could begin the work. The archive inventory mentions her last sermon, on March 18, 1962, in Arnhem. The recording of that sermon lasts almost an hour and still exists.

Four days later, on March 22, 1962, she died unexpectedly in Arnhem. She was seventy-eight. On March 26 she was buried. After her death her life story was published under the title *Herinneringen*. Two pastors continued the work in Arnhem.

Two words on a stone

In 2016 the biography by Cees van der Laan appeared, in Dutch and in Indonesian. *Glorieklokken* was reprinted until 2013, so there are Pentecostal congregations where her songs are still sung.

I find it hard to capture her life in a single picture. As a child she lost her mother, and she herself became a mother to dozens of children who were not her own. She broke down while working in a psychiatric institution, and found her faith there. In the church she was set aside, and afterwards she led sixty congregations. She received a death sentence and eight years later began again, on another island.

Perhaps you think you are too old, or too alone, or that you are the wrong person for what needs to be done. Moesje Alt was sixty-eight when she began near Manokwari.

Her gravestone has no title and no list of achievements. It has two words, the same ones she had made her motto as a young nurse in Lawang: "Jesus alone".

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several sources): birth in The Hague on August 22, 1883; her parents' separation and her mother's death in 1887; upbringing by her grandparents; departure for the Indies as a nanny in 1903; nursing training in Lawang from 1906; conversion around 1908; broken engagement in 1910; baptism by the Seventh Day Baptists on March 12, 1910; work in Tajoe (1910) and Gambang Waloeh (from 1914), with orphans and disabled people; break with the Seventh Day Baptists in 1922; baptism in the Spirit in 1926; evangelist of the PGNI; *Gouden Schooven*, *Het Volle Licht* and *Glorieklokken*; pastor in Kediri (1932-1936); break with the PGNI in 1934, partly over female leadership; founding of the Pinksterzending in 1935; arrest on August 24, 1943, and a death sentence that was not carried out; work near Manokwari (1951-1961); return to the Netherlands on October 23, 1961; last sermon on March 18, 1962; death in Arnhem on March 22, 1962. A note: the sources go back largely to the research of one biographer, Cees van der Laan, who managed and described her archive. The archive itself (diaries, autobiography, sermon book, photos, recordings) is a primary source.

Only from own testimony: the decision in her youth to become a missionary; the spiritism and the séances; the crisis and the night of her conversion, with her sins "like a film", the sentence "God entered into judgment with me" and waking up with the certainty of forgiveness (autobiography, through Henk Dik); the calling to Gambang Waloeh; the experience of her baptism in the Spirit and the calling together of forty-six children; the revival among the

mountain people; her feeling in 1961 that God was calling her to the Netherlands.

Unconfirmed or from one source:

- *Baptisms in Kediri.* The number of more than four hundred comes only from Henk Dik.
- *Marie Jansz.* That she founded the colony in Tajoe is found only with Henk Dik. The archive does confirm that Marie Jansz gave Margot a book in 1911.
- *Place of the baptism in the Spirit.* Surabaya according to Lathrop's review, Gambang Waloeh according to other accounts, no place according to the Vrouwenlexicon. An Indonesian article has her get to know the organization in Gambang Waluh in 1926 and join in 1927. Henk Dik gives 1923.
- *Destination in 1929.* Waroe (Vrouwenlexicon) or Soerabaja (archive). The Indonesian article gives Kalimantan, with Ong Tjay Bo and H. Horstman and thirty baptized.
- *Break with the PGNI.* 1934 (Vrouwenlexicon and archive), 1936 (Henk Dik). The number of congregations of the Pinksterzending is about sixty (Vrouwenlexicon) or seventy (Henk Dik).
- *Place of her baptism in 1910.* The archive gives Gambang Waluh with the notice in *De Boodschapper*, her life course places her in Tajoe at that time. I have not been able to resolve this. In the story I name no place.
- *Camps.* The names Beschermingskamp in Malang (where the autobiography of September 2603 was written) and Mangkoeboemen in Solo come only from the archive inventory. The order of her camps cannot be followed there.
- *Her age in 1903.* Henk Dik writes eighteen, but from 1883 it follows that she was nineteen or twenty.

- *The story of the floating man.* Tradition in her biography, without place or date.
- *The picture of a Gambang Waloeh that had become entirely Christian.* Only her biographer.
- *Whether she still worked as a pastor in Arnhem.* The sources differ.
- *The museum in Gambang Waloeh (2016)* from my first draft is in no source that I opened. I have removed it from the story until someone confirms it.
- *The decoration of 1955.* The archive mentions a decision about an honorary medal and a photo of a royal decoration. Which decoration it was, I do not know.

Interpretation: what she experienced in the night in Lawang and in 1926, we know only from her own words. I believe it along with her. What the people in Gambang Waloeh and Kediri themselves thought of her work has not been preserved in the sources I could consult.

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Izaak Samuel Kijne: the schoolmaster of Miei

Somewhere in New Guinea, far from any concert hall, a choir of young Papuans stood singing. They sang the St. Matthew Passion by Johann Sebastian Bach, the story of Jesus' suffering in music written in Leipzig. In front of the choir stood a Dutch teacher with perfect pitch.

The historian Tom van den Berge, who worked on a biography of this man at the KITLV (the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) in Leiden, mentions that performance in the same breath as who he was: an experienced educator, a true teacher, an excellent choir conductor. Exactly where and when the choir sang, he does not write. It is mentioned briefly. But it says a lot about the way Izaak Samuel Kijne worked. He gave his pupils the best he knew, and he assumed they could handle it.

For thirty-five years he worked in New Guinea. Hundreds of Papuans sat in his classroom. From those classrooms later came politicians, civil servants and pastors. He wrote a song that is still sung in Papua today, even where it is forbidden. A theological college in Jayapura bears his name. In 2025 the church in Papua

celebrated that he had begun his work a hundred years earlier, and the World Council of Churches sent a letter.

In the Netherlands he is almost forgotten. I tell his story here, with the gaps that are still in it.

A year and a few traces

About the childhood of Izaak Samuel Kijne little is known. He was born in 1899. Place, day and parents I have not been able to confirm in a civil record, and so I list them at the bottom under what remains uncertain.

How he came to faith and why he became a missionary is not in any document I could open. Perhaps the biography by Tom van den Berge will one day answer that. He tells himself how that project began. In the autumn of 2013 an elderly Dutch anthropologist, who had published a great deal about New Guinea, asked the KITLV for a biography of Kijne. He even offered money for it. Van den Berge hesitated at first, and began on March 1, 2014. In Indonesia a biography appeared in 2016, written by Hanz Wanma. Until more is known, I leave Kijne's childhood open.

With some lives you know mainly the work and almost nothing of the beginning. With Kijne it is like that. His story only really begins on an island off the coast of New Guinea.

Mansinam, June 1923

In June 1923 Kijne arrived on Mansinam, a small island off the coast of Manokwari, in the northwest of New Guinea. At that time the area belonged to the Dutch East Indies. Today Manokwari lies in the Indonesian province of Papua Barat (West Papua).

He came on behalf of the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging, the UZV, a Protestant mission organization from the Netherlands.

Kijne was put in charge of the training school for gurus. That was the name for the local teachers who taught in the villages and often also led services in the church. Kijne described that first period himself: young people from every direction, from the north and the west of New Guinea, worked and studied at the school, and life on the island of Mansinam gave joy. The school had begun on Mansinam in 1917 under F.J.F. van Hasselt, a name that comes up again and again in the history of this mission. An Indonesian article calls the training the Cursus Volksschool Onderwijzer (the Course for Village School Teachers). Kijne became its head.

It was colonial education, and I must say that honestly. The Dutch government held authority, and the mission worked within that framework. Historians point out that Protestant and Catholic missions often helped to justify colonial rule. The same historians point out that it was missionaries who brought ideas from which a Papuan identity of its own later grew. With Kijne you see both.

A coast that asked for teachers

To understand Kijne's work, you need to know what had happened in the years before he came. Mission work in New Guinea began in 1855, writes Prof. A.M. Brouwer in his handbook on missions from 1930, with Christian workmen. In 1862 the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging took it over. The first missionary-teacher, J.L. van Hasselt, was born in 1839. The climate took many lives: "The deadly climate has, moreover, claimed many victims." For years the work bore little fruit.

Then, on New Year's Eve 1907, the people of the island of Roon began to move. They threw their ancestor figurines into the sea and wanted to be Christians from then on. So the handbook describes it. The movement spread as far as Lake Sentani, the outermost edge of the Dutch territory. After that came requests for mission schools,

more than the mission could fulfill. Sometimes a village had already built a school and put up a house for the teacher, and nobody came.

On January 1, 1928, the mission counted 11,440 baptized in the north and 4,002 in the west. In the north ten missionaries worked with their families, in the west three. The handbook considered twenty missionaries necessary for the whole area.

That is where Kijne stood. In 1930 his name is already in that Dutch handbook, in a single clause: in Miei there is "a training school for native teachers under the director Kijne". The teachers he trained were needed for all those villages that asked for a teacher. I imagine he knew that himself.

Papuans teaching Papuans

Kijne had a firm opinion about what his pupils needed. An Indonesian research article, based on the work of the Papuan historian Albert Rumbekwan, gives his position, after F.J. Rumainum in 1966: Papuan children above all had to be raised to live independently. He preferred teachers from Papua itself to teachers who came from elsewhere.

A mission school in those days had five aims, write researchers of the Universitas Cenderawasih: teaching children to read the Bible and sing Christian songs, forming character, training the leaders and teachers of tomorrow, teaching modern agriculture, and bringing the gospel to adults through the children. What Kijne himself had in mind within this list, I do not know, because it is not attached to his name.

There were also teachers from outside Papua working in New Guinea. Kijne wanted Papuans to teach their own people, in their own villages.

Paul wrote to young Timothy, to whom he had entrusted a congregation: *Let no one despise your youth, but be an example to the believers in word, in conduct, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity* (1 Timothy 4:12). That is how Kijne looked at his pupils. He saw not children who only had to receive something, but the future teachers of their own people.

Of his faith little has been preserved. In the same study by Rumbekwan and Yambeyapdi he is named in connection with the thought that the gospel is not a matter that you possess, but a bond with the living God.

An article on the Indonesian news site Tirto quotes a sentence of his: "Anak-anak Papua rajin bekerja." Papuan children work hard, and they can work for their own land and their own people. Another source also puts a warning in his mouth: knowledge without wisdom will get this people nowhere. Both sentences fit everything else that is told about him.

On the way to Miei

After about two years Kijne made a decision. He moved his school, with all his pupils, to Miei. That village lies on the Wandammen peninsula, on Geelvink Bay, which is now called Teluk Cenderawasih. Today the area falls under the regency of Teluk Wondama.

On October 25, 1925, he arrived there, so an interview on the Papuan news site Jubi tells it. With him were two Papuan teachers, Johan Ariks and C.M. Gossal, and thirty-five schoolchildren. They came from Biak, Serui, Numfor, Sorong, Jayapura and Nabire. In Miei they got a boarding school: the children lived at the school, far from their own villages. Kijne kept the Papuan children separate from children from elsewhere, because he thought they could better dis-

cover their own culture that way. Many of the pupils of that time later became teachers, nurses or civil servants.

The school came to stand at the foot of a hill called Aitumieri. Indonesian sources give the date as October 25, 1925, and one source gives October 26. On the year and the place all sources agree.

In Papua that day is seen as the beginning of something new. An article by the Indonesian police from 2023 calls it the first formal school on the hill of Aitumieri and speaks of a new era for the Papuans. The regency of Teluk Wondama has nominated the site as national heritage and has put money into restoring it. In July 2025 a festival was even held in Jakarta under the title "a hundred years of Papuan civilization". There Elysa Auri, the head of the regency, called the area a place of reflection and revival for Papuan culture. According to Republika, Papuan children learned to read, write and do arithmetic through this education.

The word civilization grates a little on Dutch ears. It brings to mind the colonial idea that Europeans came to bring civilization. In Papua the word is used differently. There it stands for reading and writing, for education, for the moment when Papuans themselves became teachers.

"On this stone"

By the hill of Aitumieri lies a stone. It is now called the batu peradaban, the stone of civilization. In Papua it is told that Kijne stood on that stone when he taught, reflected or led in prayer, with his pupils around him.

On that stone he spoke, so it is handed down, the words that are most often quoted in Papua. It was October 26, 1925, and his pupils stood around him. He said that on this stone he was laying the civilization of the Papuan people. Later, people would come with

more knowledge and wisdom to lead this people. But the Papuan people would rise up themselves and lead themselves.

Many Papuans hear a prophecy in those words, a prediction about the future of their people. They pass it on from generation to generation. The story comes from Indonesian tradition and from publications of recent years, such as Tirto and the article by the Papuan researchers Albert Rumbekwan and Ester Yambeyapdi, which refers to the Indonesian biography of Kijne by Hanz Wanma from 2016. A letter or mission report from 1925 in which Kijne writes down those words has not been found. The Dutch historians of the KITLV do not mention them. They do fit what he thought about independence.

How do you deal with a word that others call a prophecy? I think it is honest to let the story stand and to say what we do and do not know.

A song for the choir of Miei

Kijne wrote a song in Indonesian. It begins with the words *Hai tanahku Papua*: O my land Papua. That first line also became the title.

The song was written for the choir of the teachers' school in Miei, around 1925, so an Indonesian study of its origin writes. Tom van den Berge gives the same year in his blog for the KITLV. The melody is borrowed from the Dutch song *Aan mijn Vaderland* (To my fatherland) by Marius Brandts Buys. The text sings of the land as a place of birth, of the nature of Papua, of joy and gratitude. It contains references to Genesis 1:1, Psalm 24 and Psalm 19. *The earth is the LORD's, and all its fullness, The world and those who dwell therein* (Psalm 24:1). So that psalm resounds in the song too.

Anton Rumbewas calls it in his book *With All Your Heart* (2015) a hymn of praise that expresses what believers believe. He reads it

as a prayer. Reverend Hans Wanma says in an interview that Kijne offered music and football at his schools, to pass on the love for the land of Papua. Between 1925 and the 1960s the song became popular in North and West Papua.

Other sources place the song in the 1930s. According to Tirto the poem appeared in a collection called *Seruling Emas*, the golden flute. In the catalog of Stichting Papua Erfgoed (the Papua Heritage Foundation) there is a collection *Seruling Mas*, sixty songs for young people, by I.S. Kijne, published in 1958 in The Hague. According to Tirto, Kijne also wrote a story, *Kota Emas*, the golden city.

Long before anyone called it a national anthem, it was a song of the mission school.

Readers, a malaria booklet and a film

Kijne wrote more than songs. In the catalog of Papua Erfgoed there are readers by his hand: *Itu dia!* and the second part, *Itu dia, II*, both from 1951, published by J.B. Wolters in Groningen and Djakarta, in Indonesian. They are readers for schools. In 1953 a publication of his about malaria appeared, also with Wolters. In addition there is a text by him in *Alasan jang hidup*, published by the mission council of the Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk. In 1957 *Binatang Nieuw-Guinea* appeared, a book on the animals of New Guinea, to which he contributed alongside L.D. Brongersma, among others.

His voice as a thinker has been kept too. In 1953 *Kruis en Korwar* (Cross and Korwar) appeared, a book by F.C. Kamma on the meeting of the gospel with the Papuans' own religion, with the cooperation of Kijne. Kamma quotes him there: "Man seeks three things everywhere: security in life, fulfillment in life, and honor or name."

In 1956 Anthony van Kampen made a film report of a journey through Netherlands New Guinea. The report describes how

Rev. Kijne leads the Joka boarding school in Hollandia. About two hundred boys receive vocational training there: farming and gardening, technical skills, keeping a jeep running, laying telephone lines. In the film they sing. The description calls the boarding school the beginning of a Papuan elite working on the development of the country.

A bride from Arnhem

About the years of the Second World War in Kijne's life I have found no reliable information. In 1942 Japan invaded New Guinea. What that meant for Kijne, I leave open.

On February 15, 1933, he had married in Arnhem, as the marriage record in the Gelders Archief shows. His wife was called Johanna Regina Uittenbogaard. She was twenty-five and born in Arnhem, and her father was the head of a school.

After the war Kijne returned to New Guinea. The Indonesian research article names him together with his mission colleagues Johannes Eygendaal and F.C. Kamma in the rebuilding of the mission work. The same article names him as leader of the mission in the years around 1948 to 1953.

In 1950 the teacher training in Miei was reopened, and one was started in Serui as well. Meanwhile the world around him was changing. In 1945 Indonesia declared independence. After a few years of struggle, the Netherlands handed over most of the Dutch East Indies in 1949. New Guinea was left out of that transfer and remained under Dutch rule.

A man with an opinion

Kijne was not a man who stayed out of politics. According to the KITLV, after the war he at first favored including New Guinea in the

United States of Indonesia, the federal state that was being set up at the time. When President Sukarno turned Indonesia into a unitary state in 1950, he changed his mind. From then on he wanted New Guinea to continue developing under Dutch rule.

You can think differently about that. Whoever finds Papuan independence important sees in him an early ally. Whoever finds the unity of Indonesia important sees in him a Dutchman who wanted to stretch out the colonial era. I do not take sides here. I note that he changed his mind when circumstances changed, and that he always thought from the point of view of the people he had trained.

Those people became important. The KITLV writes that his pupils became the politicians and administrators who shaped the debate about the future of Papua. Van den Berge speaks of a self-confident elite. Their names are not in the sources I have been able to read for this chapter. I find that a pity, because Kijne's story is their story too.

In 1950 the first Papuans were ordained as ministers, and in 1956 the church held its first synod. In 1954 a theological school bearing his name was founded in Hollandia, now Jayapura: the Sekolah Tinggi Teologi "I.S. Kijne". It belongs to the Evangelical Christian Church in Tanah Papua, the GKI, the Protestant church that grew out of the work of the mission.

October 1961

In October 1961 Kijne's song ended up in a place he probably never intended it for. The Nieuw-Guinea Raad (the New Guinea Council), the representative assembly of the territory, together with a national committee chose a flag, the Morning Star, and a national anthem. That anthem became *Hai Tanahku Papua*. According to Wikipedia, the Dutch government recognized the flag and the song

in November 1961, taking effect on December 1. On that day it was sung for the first time as a national anthem in Hollandia.

It did not last long. In 1963 the territory came under Indonesian rule, and the song disappeared from official use. It became a symbol for those who strive for an independent Papua, also of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka, the Free Papua Movement. The Indonesian government forbids its use in the province. Rev. Herman Saud says in an interview that from 1961 to 1999 the song was considered politically dangerous and was therefore not sung.

Here I want to be careful. The political future of Papua is still fought over today. Some sing the song as a prayer for their land, others see it as a threat to the unity of their country. Kijne wrote it for his pupils. What happened to it afterwards was beyond his control.

Back to Oegstgeest

As early as 1958 Kijne had returned to the Netherlands, according to Tom van den Berge against his will. After thirty-five years he left behind the land to which he had given his life.

He went to live in Oegstgeest, near Leiden. At the Protestant mission college there he taught ethnosociology, the study of peoples and their societies. He stayed there until 1969.

In that year the so-called Act of Free Choice took place in Papua, in Indonesian Pepera. Under the supervision of the United Nations, 1,025 tribal leaders voted, and they voted unanimously to join Indonesia. That vote is disputed to this day. Critics, among them Van den Berge in his blog, call it a sham. For Indonesia the result is the basis of its authority over the territory.

In 1970 Kijne is said to have told his wife that Indonesia had taken over the land and the people in a short time. He is said to have called the vote *The Act of No Choice*. So Tirto tells it.

March 1970

On March 12, 1970, Izaak Samuel Kijne died. His death was registered in Leiden. He was seventy years old.

Tom van den Berge writes that he died in sorrow. The land for which he had worked for thirty-five years had finally become part of Indonesia a few months earlier. What exactly he felt, we do not know. I know only that one word from his biographer's blog.

In the Netherlands he was forgotten. In Papua the opposite happened. Children there are still named after him, writes Van den Berge. His name is on the front of a college. By Aitumieri lies the stone on which, according to tradition, he stood.

A hundred years later

In October 2025 the GKI in Tanah Papua celebrated that Kijne had begun his ministry a hundred years earlier. The World Council of Churches could not be there, but sent a letter. General Secretary Jerry Pillay wrote to the synod in Jayapura that Kijne's significance was great. He called him a forefather for faith, democracy, community building and justice. In his words, Kijne had bound himself to the Papuans and learned from them, and had had to pay dearly for it. The letter names his work for education, for Papuan identity and for respect for indigenous peoples and their languages. Pillay describes him as someone who wanted to help a church grow that does not let itself be defined by colonial structures.

It is a warm letter, and it is also political. Pillay links Kijne's legacy to human rights in Papua and to care for the rainforest. Everyone

may think of that what they will. What strikes me most is that a large church lets its history begin with a teacher with a classroom full of pupils on a hill.

I think of the choir that sang Bach. Of the pupils of Mansinam and Miei who later stood in front of a classroom themselves. They learned to read and write, they learned to sing the story of the Passion, and they learned a song about their own land.

Psalm 78 says: *We will not hide them from their children, Telling to the generation to come the praises of the LORD, And His strength and His wonderful works that He has done* (Psalm 78:4). In Miei it went that way. A teacher taught a class, and that class later stood in front of children itself.

Somewhere in Papua today a teacher is getting a class to sing. Perhaps he does not even know the name Kijne.

What is certain and what is told

Certain (several independent sources or archival records): birth in 1899; arrival in New Guinea in 1923 on Mansinam on behalf of the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging; charge of the training school for gurus; move of the school to Miei by the hill of Aitumieri in 1925; the writing of *Hai Tanahku Papua* for the choir of the school; the choice of the song as national anthem by the New Guinea Council in 1961 and the later ban in Indonesia; his influence on a generation of Papuan administrators; the theological college in Jayapura bearing his name (founded in 1954); return to the Netherlands in 1958; teaching in Oegstgeest until 1969; death in 1970 (according to the record on March 12, registered in Leiden); the commemoration by the GKI and the World Council of Churches in 2025. His readers *Itu dia!* (1951), the malaria booklet (1953), *Seruling Mas* (1958) and *Binatang Nieuw-Guinea* (1957) are in the catalog of Stichting Papua

Erfgoed. The marriage in Arnhem on February 15, 1933, and the registration in Nijmegen in 1910 are in archival registers.

Only from one source: the performance of the St. Matthew Passion and his perfect pitch (KITLV blog); his political positions after 1945 (KITLV); the arrival in June 1923, the name of his wife, the collection *Seruling Emas* and the story *Kota Emas* (Tirto); the return with Eygendaal and Kamma and his leadership of the mission after the war (Indonesian research article); the teaching in Oegstgeest and that he died in sorrow (KITLV blog); the arrival in Miei with Johan Ariks, C.M. Gossal and thirty-five children, and the children who came from Biak, Serui, Numfor, Sorong, Jayapura and Nabire (Jubi, interview); the melody of *Aan mijn Vaderland*, the choir of Miei and the Bible references in the song (Indonesian study of its origin); the Joka boarding school in Hollandia in 1956 (film description of Beeld en Geluid, via Papua Erfgoed); his contribution to *Kruis en Korwar* (1953), as F.C. Kamma quotes him.

From the article by Rumbekwan and Yambeyapdi (Universitas Cenderawasih, on the Onderwys-Centrum in Serui 1950-1962): the description of the young people on Mansinam, the position on independence (after Rumainum 1966), the five aims of a mission school (not specifically attributed to Kijne), the reopening of the teacher training in Miei and Serui in 1950, and the thought about the gospel as a bond with the living God (Kijne is mentioned in parentheses with it).

From a handbook of 1930 (Brouwer): the beginning of the work in 1855, the takeover by the UZV in 1862, the movement on Roon on New Year's Eve 1907, the numbers of baptized on January 1, 1928, and the training school in Miei under director Kijne. The text was read in by text recognition and is illegible in some places; Kijne's name appears there as "KijiNE". For the first ministers of 1950 and the synod of 1956 I have only Wikipedia.

Unconfirmed or disputed:

- *The saying on the stone of Aitumieri.* It counts in Papua as a prophecy, but appears only in recent Indonesian sources (Tirto, after Hanz Wanma 2016) and in an interview. A Dutch source from 1925 is missing, and the KITLV does not mention the saying.
- *The day of the move.* October 25, 1925 (police and Republika) or October 26 (Tirto).
- *The year of the song.* 1925 (KITLV blog and the Indonesian study) or the 1930s (Wikipedia and Modern Ghana). Which text is in *Seruling Mas*, I could not verify.
- *Source of the words on the stone.* Tirto refers to the biography by Hanz Wanma (2016). Rumbekwan and Yambeyapdi give the same words as words of Kijne, without, in what I read, naming a document from 1925.
- *His sentence about wisdom.* The quotation that knowledge without wisdom will get this people nowhere appears only in Jubi.
- *His remark about the Act of No Choice in 1970.* Only Tirto.
- *Place of birth, date of birth and parents.* Vlaardingen, May 1, 1899, Hugorinus Kijne and Maria Fiegee come from the earlier draft of this chapter, which took them from his marriage record and death record. The file notes that the place could not be confirmed and that Openarchieven has no birth record. I have not been able to open the records myself.
- *First performance as a national anthem.* December 1, 1961 in Hollandia (Indonesian study). Wikipedia gives December 1 as the effective date of the regulation and October 30, October 31 and November 18, 1961 as dates of decision, presentation and recognition.
- *Date of the WCC letter.* October 16, 2025 according to the letter itself, October 15 according to the file name.

- *Name of his wife.* Uittenbogaard (earlier draft, after the marriage record) or Uitenbogaard (Tirto).
- *Whether the Nijmegen Izaäk S. Kijne of 1910 is the same man.* An Izaäk S. Kijne is registered in 1910 in the population register of Nijmegen; if that is the same man, he was then about eleven and the family lived there. He is probably the same.
- *The biography project.* Whether the book by Tom van den Berge has appeared, I could not establish.

Interpretation: the political future of Papua is disputed to this day. This chapter describes how the song and Kijne's legacy came to play a part in it, without passing judgment on that question. What Kijne himself believed and prayed has hardly been preserved in the sources I could read. His pupils and his church have preserved his work, and the hymn of praise he wrote is still sung.

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Afterword

Eight lives, from Rotterdam in 1606 to Leiden in 1970. A minister who helped create an alphabet in Sinkan. A widower who went to the Moluccas at forty and was given a schooner of his own there. A weaver from Tilburg who stayed with the lepers. A schoolmaster who baptized five people and then waited for years. A factory girl from Ossendrecht who stayed with the orphans in China. A woman with a bookshop in Solo. Moesje with the orphans. A schoolmaster who taught his pupils to sing Bach.

They differ enormously. The VOC minister (the VOC was the Dutch East India Company) and the Redemptorist, the Mennonite and the Pentecostal woman, each had their own church and their own words. What they share is that they left for a place that was, for them, the ends of the earth, and that most of them stayed there.

I have tried to be honest. About the power that traveled with them. About the numbers that come from their own reports. About the gaps in what we know. For a few of these people, little is left: a birth record, a review, a grave. I have left that as it is too. Now you can check for yourself what you are building on. The sources are given with each chapter.

What touched me most while writing were the names that are missing. The five people Pieter Jansz baptized. Most of Joseph Kam's helpers. The children in the orphanage of Taiyuan. The pupils of Miei. They carried it on when the missionary was no longer there. Most of their names are in no book I could find, but God knows them.

There are many more Dutch missionaries about whom a chapter could be written. Perhaps one comes from your village, or there is a letter from one of them in an old church chest.

And you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth. (Acts 1:8)