

The Life and Work of Bernhard Nikolas Johann Roskott (1811–1873) on the Island of Ambon, Indonesia¹

Dr. Chris de Jong

1. Foreword

An alteration in certain elements of a culture or the adaptation of a culture to changing circumstances is seldom attributable to the work of one individual, whichever way one judges these changes. All manner of forces and factors play a part, some perhaps less obviously than others, but together they form a network of cause and consequence, or rather causes and consequences, which it seems impossible to disentangle. It is the task of historians, anthropologists and sociologists to unravel this tangled web, and to point out certain patterns which are fundamental in the processes of change which are being investigated.



B.N.J. Roskott. Photo
Roskott family

However, in spite of the complexity of facts and developments, it occasionally happens that one can identify a particular person who played such a significant role in a certain period of history that he or she merits special attention. Such a figure was the German teacher Bernhard Nikolas Johann Roskott, who from 1835 till long after his death in 1873 left his mark on the education of the indigenous population in the residency of Ambon. This essay is dedicated to this teacher, who was sent to the area by the Dutch Missionary Society (Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap, NZG).²

This essay begins with a brief sketch of the state of affairs in the Moluccas Roskott encountered when he arrived there in 1835. This is followed by a detailed account of his life and work. Finally I shall try to assess the significance he has had for the development of the indigenous population of residency of Ambon.

2. Introduction

2.1. Residency of Ambon and its population

In the Protestant Christian villages in residency of Ambon, or the Central Moluccas (consisting of Ambon, the western and central parts of Ceram, Buru, Haruku, Saparua, Nusalaut, Ambelau, Manipa, Kelang and Boano), schools had played an important part in public life from the beginning of the Dutch East India Company era, not least because the teachers were also preachers in the local congregations of the church and as such, together with village chiefs and other prominent members of the population (*orang kaya*, *raja*, regents) were pivotal in the daily life of the community. The schools were the “backbone ... of Ambonese Protestantism”.³ The children learnt to read and write by means of bible study and had singing lessons during which they sang psalms. The Muslim part of the population, which resided chiefly on Hitu (the northern peninsula of the island of Ambon), as well as in a few indigenous villages along the north coast of Saparua, on Haruku, along the coast of Ceram and on small islands off the west coast of Ceram, was completely excluded from formal school education in a European sense until the end of the 19th century.

This was the result of government policy dating from the Dutch East India Company era. Its purpose was to prevent all disputes and quarrels between the Christian and Muslim sectors of the population. It was related to an official policy of limiting the spread of Islam. Add to this that Dutch Calvinism was considered the only salvation and “True Religion” while Islam was seen as a “sect” which harked back to a “false prophet”.⁴

This policy was continued during the two periods of British rule in the Moluccas, which lasted from the 17th of February 1796 to the 1st of March 1803 and from the 19th of February 1810 to the 25th of

1 Translated from the Dutch by Truus Daalder-Broekman, Adelaide, Australia.

2 For the history of the church and mission in the Central Moluccas in the 19th century the reader is referred to: De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*.

3 Knaap, *Kruidnagelen*, 85, 94-97.

4 *Ibidem*, chapt. IV.

March 1817. Throughout the 19th century the government persisted in its attitude of suspicion of Islam, because Islam had from early days formed a source of inspiration for resistance against foreign domination.⁵ Missionaries in the Moluccas were prohibited from working in Islamic indigenous villages, while the Islamic population limited its contact with the Dutch and with Christians as much as possible. At first no thought was given to the establishment of a separate form of education for the Islamic indigenous population as a parallel to the Christian education provided. It was not until the second half of the 19th century that this changed. More about this later. According to a census held in 1833 the total indigenous population of the residency of Ambon was 54,935 souls, although only the indigenous villages along the west and south coasts of Ceram had been included in this number.

Ambon Township, including its suburbs and *dusun* (gardens in the hinterland), had 11,814 inhabitants, of whom 6829 were Christians and 1675 Muslims. The other 3310 inhabitants were Europeans, Chinese, and other “foreigners” who were not regarded as belonging to the indigenous population. Apart from Ambon Township the residency comprised 108 indigenous villages with 43,121 indigenous people. Of these 59 indigenous villages had a Christian population with a total of 24,488 people and the rest, or 49 villages, had an Islamic population with a total of 17,884 people.⁶ The (Christian) government education programme therefore reached approximately two-thirds of the indigenous population. Besides government schools for indigenous people there were also one or two smaller private schools, and a Dutch school in Ambon Township. However, generally these private schools only existed for brief periods and will not be considered in this essay. Roskott was not involved with them.⁷

2.2. *The church, mission and education: Carey and Kam*

Of the first generation of missionaries who attempted to rebuild the church in residency of Ambon after the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company, Joseph Kam (1815-1833) is undoubtedly the best known. But he was not the first: that was Jabez Carey, a missionary of the BMS who from 1814 to 1818 worked on Ambon and nearby islands. When he arrived he noted a shortage of well-educated teachers. The British government in Ambon appointed him as “Superintendent of Schools”, and in this capacity he tried to improve the condition of the schools and church congregations, by reorganising the training of teachers who were also preachers and by travelling to inspect them. But a stay of four years was too short to achieve a great deal, and the Dutch objected to his remaining in the position after the Moluccas had been returned to them. After Carey’s departure Kam took over his work as supervisor of the schools. In addition he established the “Institute for the training of competent assistants” (1819). However, the emphasis of this training was on work for the church rather than on education. The Institute did not produce an adequate number of good teachers.

In 1825 P. Merkus (1822-1828), Governor of the Moluccas, intervened and decreed that a few teachers were to be educated at the primary school in Batavia under the close supervision of the Inspector of Indigenous Education. The other teachers required received their education from the largest primary school in Ambon Township, as had been the case under the British.⁸ Those who matriculated were placed in villages on Ambon and nearby islands, but also as far away as the Minahasa in North-Celebes⁹ and on the Southeastern and Southwestern islands, the so called Arafura Islands, where they

5 Knaap, “Godsdienstpolitiek”.

6 There is a difference of 749 persons. These were slaves whose religious beliefs were not registered. “Generaal Overzicht der zielsbeschrijving”, app. to: GM, “Algemeen Verslag van het Gouvernement der Moluksche Eilanden over den jare 1833”, 31/7/1834, INA, AA 1101. See also De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 22.

7 *EA 1837*, 173; *EA 1838*, 177, 178.

8 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, docs. 35, 48.

9 I.e. present day North-Sulawesi. In the Minahasa the DMS did not have its own teachers’ training college until 1851. In that year such a college was established in Sonder, in 1854 it moved to Tanawangko and in 1886 to Kuranga in Tomohon. The school was closed in 1936. “Wat deelen reizigers ons over de zending in de

were put in charge of the local school and parish of the church.¹⁰ However, the Merkus solution also achieved few positive results.

Kam, apart from being a missionary, was, after the death of the Reverend C. Auwerda in 1828, also acting minister of the congregation of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies or Indies Church (*Indische Kerk*) in Ambon and president of the Church Council. In addition he was chairman of the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society, which had been founded in 1821 to safeguard the interests of the missionary work in the Moluccas and supervise its financial position on behalf of the DMS.¹¹

Towards the end of his life Kam was no longer able to fulfil all of his many duties. In December 1832 the German DMS missionary G.F. August Gericke arrived in Ambon and took over a number of Kam's tasks, accompanying him on his journeys to inspect the church communities and schools outside Ambon Township.¹² From May 1833 onwards Gericke shared this work with missionary P. Keyzer who, like him, was appointed acting minister replacing Kam.¹³ In the following years the DMS appointed a few other missionaries in this region.

Gericke described Joseph Kam, who had been elaborately praised and elevated to “the Apostle of the Moluccas” by church historian Ido Enklaar, as an “honourable greybeard”, but added that in spite of this he had to “make serious complaints and definitely critical remarks” about him.¹⁴ After Kam's death on 18 July 1833 Gericke reported the following to the DMS:

The church communities, both on Ambon itself and in the outer villages, are in a deplorable condition. Their education, received from ignorant teachers, is paltry; their very limited Christian beliefs are mixed with pagan heresies, ancestral customs, superstition and stupidity. They indulge in the grossest extravagances, addicted as they are to sensuality; they find enjoyment in orgies of eating, drinking and dancing. Their morals are totally compromised and often I have found that in the villages the ratio of illegitimate children to legitimate ones is 1 to 3. Church attendance is reasonably large. For three or four weeks before Holy Communion they lead a sober life, but hardly is the ceremony over or they resume their previous ways. Their customs at the funerals of their parents, friends and acquaintances are moving. As soon as, for example, the father of a family has died, it is immediately reported to the whole extended family and all friends. These at once don black clothing and proceed to the deceased's abode to convey their condolences and to deliver their gifts for the coming days of festivities. The corpse is properly laid out and placed in a coffin; and even before the dead person has been buried a fairly cheerful meal is held. Once the deceased has been given a proper funeral the friends return to the house of the dead person to console the widow. Because of the consumption of copious amounts of alcohol this consolation soon changes to merriment. On the first evening still they go home, but at the break of dawn they return to the dead person's home. Eating and drinking is now accompanied by gambling, and at the end of the three day feast the widow has found a new consort and the drunk friends part in brawls and hostilities. Such coarse sensuality and appalling customs! Are these days of mourning? At such feasts it is common for the young daughters of the family to be robbed of their innocence, and the greatest number of illegitimate children is the result of these occasions. Money is saved up for years for such festivities. Oh how

Menahasse mede?”, spec. 68-69.

10 Enklaar, *Joseph Kam*, 112-116.

11 *EA 1822*, 776.

12 Letter G.F.A. Gericke to Board DMS, 12/1/1833, UA, AMB 29/5/A.

13 P. Keyzer, ca 1804-1840; 1833-1837 missionary in Ambon-city, acting minister Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies (or Indies Church, *Indische Kerk*); 1837-1840 at Waai (Ambon).

14 Letter G.F.A. Gericke to Board DMS, 9/6/1833, UA, AMB 29/5/A.

firmly the reign of darkness is entrenched here! How powerful the seat of Satan? Only the all-powerful force which resurrected Christ from the dead can destroy and conquer this reign to some degree.¹⁵

While Gericke's focus was principally on the appalling religious life of the Moluccans as seen through the eyes of a Dutch Calvinist, the acting Governor of the Moluccan islands, F.V.A. Ridder de Stuers (1837-1841), soon after his arrival expressed his dissatisfaction with the current state of indigenous education:

When, on entering a village, one hears the young people, completely dressed in black, and, in an orderly gathering under shady trees, under the guidance of their teacher, begin their mournful singing of the psalms, one is encouraged to believe that the pleasing impression of this spectacle is an indication of the great usefulness of such schools; what a pity that this impression largely disappears on closer inspection; for the schools which in different circumstances are so useful in the development of young people, here only serve for the mechanical rote learning of a few psalms and the copying of the Bible as it has been translated in Malay.

— — — it were desirable that they had access to different textbooks than those in use up to now, in order to give them a better understanding of the duties they owe to their leaders and to the Government. They could also be exhorted to greater industry and an increase in labour and might come to appreciate the satisfying results of this, according to their capacity for understanding, if this learning were directed towards their needs and advances in their civilisation; a need which has for many years been recognised as urgently required, but which up till now has not been acted upon.¹⁶

3. B.N.J. Roskott

3.1. Origin

In the Netherlands such accounts are bound to have had a negative impact on the memory of Kam. The DMS realised that it was essential to direct all energy to the improvement of the training of indigenous teachers and preachers. The man appointed to raise the standard of education was a German called Bernhard Nikolas Johann Roskott. He was born on the 12th of October 1811¹⁷ and died in Ambon on the 5th of September 1873. His place of birth was Gildehaus in the county of Bentheim in Germany, to the east of Oldenzaal in the Netherlands. His grandfather, Augustus Ernestus Roskott, had been a minister in Gildehaus and had died in 1770. His father, who was also called Augustus Ernestus Roskott and had suffered significant losses as a result of the Napoleonic wars, was a shopkeeper there; between 1842 and 1846 he was also mayor of his home town. There were nine children in the shopkeeper's family: the three eldest were girls, then came Bernhard, who is the subject of this essay, and after him came two boys and three girls.¹⁸ Bernhard completed a teachers' training course, after which he obtained employment in Amersfoort as a teacher, third grade, and assistant teacher at the French School, which was the (in those days modern) counterpart of the Latin School. Roskott was a member of the Netherlands Reformed Church (*Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*) and was, according to his own state-

15 Letter G.F.A. Gericke to Board DMS, 9/6/1833, UA, AMB 29/5/A.

16 Letter F.V.A. de Stuers to GGDEI, 18/12/1837, in *EA 1939*, 9-10.

17 According to "Parenteel van August Ernst Roskott" (<http://www.roskott.nl/Reports%20-%20Character%20based/JWE%20Parenteel.htm#p13>) he was baptised Sept. 15th, 1810.

18 Data provided by M.A. Lotronto-Roskott, Spijkenisse, Netherlands, and Truus Daalder-Broekman, Adelaide, Australia.

ments, proficient in the Dutch language as well as High and Low German, French and English.¹⁹ He presented himself at the DMS Board in Rotterdam at the beginning of January 1834, and in April of that year he was employed as “assistant in the education of young people and in the training of assistant teachers from the indigenous population” as the Board of the DMS formulated it in its instructions.²⁰ He was not ordained as missionary. The training the DMS gave him in Rotterdam lasted two months and concentrated on knowledge of the Bible. He was not given supplementary training in pedagogy (education).

3.2. *To Ambon*

In July 1834 Roskott departed for the Netherlands Indies²¹ and on the 17th of March 1835 he reached Ambon, almost a year after the death of Gericke (1st of June 1834) and almost two years after the death of Kam.²² Roskott and Gericke were completely different characters. In contrast to Gericke, who saw sin and perdition everywhere and who destroyed or threw into the sea images and other sacred or magical objects of the pre-Christian religion wherever he could, Roskott was impressed by what he found and drew the attention of his superiors in Rotterdam to the possibilities and opportunities to improve indigenous education. In one of his first reports from his new post he stated that he had been struck by the excellent manners of the population and its intelligence. In his view the Ambonese Christians were “pleased” with Christianity.²³ He did endorse the complaint that many schools had teachers who were unsuited for their job.²⁴ A number could not write and most of them had difficulty reading.²⁵ His criticism of the teachers was blunt, but he was effusive in his praise of the children who attended the schools:

— — — the teachers are, with few exceptions, execrable wretches in their profession, who cannot teach for the life of them; the children have an excellent disposition, and most have an exceptionally strong memory, so that small children who did not yet know any letter, could recite complete catechisms.²⁶

3.3. *Roskott and the Twijfels*

The fact that Roskott was impressed with the civilisation and intelligence of the Ambonese was undoubtedly in part due to the circles he mixed in from the start of his stay: the Indo-European Twijfel family. His marriage to Sara Maria Elizabeth (Elize) Twijfel (1818 - 14/9/1856) was of great importance to him both personally and professionally. She was a niece of J.E. Twijfel, one of the richest and most prominent inhabitants of Ambon.²⁷ It is possible that this was an arranged marriage, for not only did Roskott write to his employer in the Netherlands that this step had been “strongly recommended” to him, but also the ceremony was concluded only a few months after his arrival on Ambon.²⁸ The Twijfel family were descendants of Georg Everhard Rumphius (Hanau, Germany, 1628 - Ambon, 1702), a builder of fortifications for the Dutch East India Company, and also the founder of the scientific study of the flora and fauna of Ambon and the surrounding marine environment. Some members

19 Letter P.J. Laan to J.L. Vorstman, 9/1/1834, UA, AMB 34/5.

20 His instructions in *EA 1834*, 354-360.

21 *EA 1834*, 327-328.

22 *EA 1835*, 143-144.

23 *EA 1835*, 144.

24 *EA 1835*, 169.

25 Enklaar, *Joseph Kam*, 112-116.

26 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 80.

27 J.E. Twijfel; 1796-1843; businessman on Ambon; 1824 member of the Council of Justice; 1825-1826 board member of the Orphanage; board member of the local Wees- en Boedelkamer; board member of the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society.

28 *EA 1835*, 169.

of the Twijssel family had positions with the Government, others owned a building firm, a brick and tile factory, and J.E. Twijssel had extensive country estates at Laha and Rumah Tiga on the northern peninsula, Hitu. According to Roskott these were the “largest and most beautiful, not only of their surroundings, but also of the whole island”.²⁹ J.E. Twijssel, and after him his son G.E. Twijssel (born 1823), was a merchant with Government contracts, and supplied roof tiles, bricks, timber and meat. He imported rice, linen cloth and iron from Java and Macassar, and cotton cloth, copper utensils, china and other goods from the Coromandel Coast (Indian subcontinent). Elize herself was also “a woman of means”.³⁰ As a result of this marriage Roskott belonged to the “elite, to the high aristocracy of Ambon”.³¹ In the 1850s his livestock was the biggest herd on Ambon. The sales of animals for slaughter made him a handsome profit, which he used in part for his work.³² He also used a part of the revenue earned from his sago plantations for this.³³ His relationship with the government of Ambon was, and remained, excellent.³⁴ In 1847, in the company of the then Governor of the Moluccas, J.B. Cleerens (1846-1850), he made a journey of discovery through the virtually unknown northern part of Buru island. Almost inevitably he obtained honourable appointments, as in the years 1850-1852, when he was a member of the Council of Justice in Ambon, to which some members of the Twijssel family had also belonged. In 1862 he became an extraordinary member of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*).³⁵ His prominent social position enabled him to achieve to a significant extent his aims with regard to the education and development of the indigenous population.

4. Roskott's Work

4.1. The Malay schools

As in the days of the Dutch East India Company, after the departure of Jabez Carey in 1818 the ministers of the Indies Church were the most prominent inspectors of indigenous education in the residency of Ambon. The Dutch Education Act of 1806 made this arrangement possible. Despite the fact that both on Java and in the Netherlands the state school system and the church were formally separate and different institutions, in the Central Moluccas the church in this way supervised the Christian bias of government schools by means of its ministers, particularly Kam. Moreover, the government relied on the church for supplying schools with personnel and teaching material.³⁶

After Kam's death in 1833 it was not so much the Christian bias of the government schools which became a point of discussion, but the intimate relationship between on the one hand the government education of the indigenous population and on the other hand the Church Council of Ambon and the DMS in Rotterdam. In the first years after the handover of the archipelago by the British in 1817 this issue had also been raised, but then the discussion had been short-lived and had had no consequences.³⁷ This time there was a different outcome.

4.2. The “Ellinghuysen Institute”

In 1833 Gericke had proposed to the then Governor of the Moluccas, A.A. Ellinghuysen (1829-1836), to establish a teachers' training school for indigenous education, and had submitted a curriculum.³⁸ Although the Governor appeared to have a favourable attitude towards the proposal, in his view a

29 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 6/8/1860, UA, AMB 34/5.

30 *EA 1839*, 105.

31 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 6/8/1860, UA, AMB 34/5.

32 Letters B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 7/5/1843, 2/6/1860, UA, AMB 34/5.

33 *EA 1864*, 54-56.

34 “Varia” (1850).

35 “Bestuursvergadering — — — 13/7/1861”, 121.

36 Enklaar, *Joseph Kam*, 112-116.

37 Van der Kemp, “Van den Ambonschen zendeling J. Carey, 1814-1817”, 228.

38 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 69.

missionary was not the right person for such an undertaking. Obviously the DMS was of a similar opinion, and sent a professional teacher, Roskott. Initially, however, the Governor had other plans for Roskott. He invited him to become a government employee and serve as headmaster of the Dutch school in Ambon Township. Roskott declined this offer and stood by the wish of the DMS to establish a teachers' training school. Eventually the Governor agreed. Undoubtedly Roskott's alliance with the Twijssels played a part in this. Following this Ellinghuysen put his stamp on the teachers' training school to such an extent that it was soon known as the "Ellinghuysen Institute".

With regard to the place occupied by Roskott's training school or Institute in the Moluccan society there were two points of view, which, in their consequences, to some extent overlapped. On the one hand there was the DMS, which considered the Institute as a continuation of the work of Kam, and therefore its responsibility. In its view its primary purpose was to develop and strengthen indigenous Christianity and the conversion to Christianity of the non-Christian part of the population, by means of the training of teachers and parish preachers. The partly opposing view was that of the Dutch Government, which saw Protestant Christianity as a guarantee of a stable society.³⁹ The Government wished the Institute to concentrate on the education of the indigenous population to become literate, prosperous and loyal subjects, who lived in harmony with one another and with the Government. Roskott attempted to meet the desired outcomes of both the DMS and the Government. He did not have much room to move. The later assessment that his work "is lacking in a more purely pedagogical foundation" was certainly accurate, but can only be blamed on Roskott to a very limited extent: no one could guarantee that good parish preachers would also make good teachers, and vice versa.⁴⁰ One of the first Government officials who explicitly formulated his views on indigenous education was Governor P. Merkus, in 1825. He decreed that the curriculum of the trainee teachers would encompass "writing, reading, arithmetic, knowledge of the Dutch language, and any other branch of knowledge which would be useful and beneficial for the daily life of the indigenous person".⁴¹ His successor, Ellinghuysen, went a step further and thought that "because of the instability of their nature" the subjects of geography, other than that of Palestine, and general history, were not to be taught".⁴² Roskott strictly adhered to this edict. Using the same curriculum for both, he trained boys who, in his opinion, were suited to the posts of teachers and of parish preachers.

Also the Ambon Sub-commission of Education prescribed which textbooks Roskott was to use at the indigenous schools. Like Merkus, Ellinghuysen thought of the year 1817, when, among other matters, fear of the consequences of Enlightenment ideas which had spread from Europe – in particular the idea of the separation of church and state – had undermined the loyalty of a part of the population towards Dutch colonial rule. Fear that the prominent position of the church and its pillars, the teachers, would be undermined in Moluccan society had then led to the "pious" Pattimura rebellion.⁴³ For the Dutch it was not just disturbing that the rebellion had erupted among Christians, and that the most important leaders were teachers, but also that the Christian indigenous villages were generally more turbulent and more difficult to control than the Islamic ones. This was in no way to be encouraged.⁴⁴

39 Knaap, *Kruidnagelen*, 83-89.

40 De Clercq, "De tegenwoordige toestand van het inlandsch onderwijs", 337.

41 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 35.

42 *EA 1836*, 30.

43 The leader of this rebellion was Thomas "Pattimura" Matulesy. Fighting took place on the mainly Christian islands of Saparua, Haruku and Nusalaut, in several Islamic villages along the Piru Bay on southwestern Ceram and further tot the east, as well as in the predominantly Islamic coastal area between Hila and Larike on the Hitu peninsula.

44 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 95.

Matters were different from the changes that took place in Europe under the influence of the Enlightenment, where, for instance, the Biblical Fall had developed into a paradigm of the intellectual and moral maturity of mankind. On the Ambon islands (or elsewhere in the Netherlands Indies), the education of the indigenous population during the 19th century had no emancipatory function. Its task was to deliver loyal subjects of church and state, and the curriculum had to be limited to neat writing, singing, religious instruction, pure or high-Malay (Malacca-Malay) to be able to understand the Bible and other useful Malay works, and arithmetic to teach the children the use of Dutch weights and measures.⁴⁵ It was Ellinghuysen's intention to place the graduates of the three-year training school, according to need, in the villages, where they would also provide instruction in the catechism and on Sundays would conduct readings during religious ceremonies. Preferably sons of regents and prominent indigenous Christians were to be trained to become teachers, a practice which had already been in use since the 17th century.⁴⁶

Despite the initial objections by the DMS Board Roskott stuck with this practice, and most of his trainee teachers were the sons of regents, teachers, free citizens and village elders. However, sometimes boys from the lower orders of society were accepted.⁴⁷ Ellinghuysen saw as an important advantage, perhaps even the most important advantage, of this that it was possible to recruit loyal and competent village headmen and other indigenous pillars of colonial rule from the teachers, so that in a village worldly, moral and religious authority were combined in one person.⁴⁸ When, in the beginning of 1840, Joseph Pattiasina was appointed head of the indigenous village Booy on Saparua in addition to his teaching position, the first teacher who had graduated from the Institute to whom this happened, this was entirely in conformity with the wishes of the Government. The DMS also agreed wholeheartedly with the appointment of Christians to governmental positions of leadership. It wished this double function to be introduced in as many places as possible.⁴⁹

4.3. The trainee teachers

The Institute was housed in a small building which Roskott had caused to be built in 1835 in the *kampong* of Batu Merah, to the north of the fortification New Victoria, aided financially by his Twijssel-in-laws. This was traditionally a significant centre of Islam in the Moluccas.⁵⁰ The building was in use until 1838, when it had become too small. In that year a new complex was erected in Batu Merah, consisting of a workshop for the printing press which had been ordered, and a work area and living quarters for the trainees. The building contained twenty beds, and an infirmary with six to eight beds. Roskott also started a preparatory class, which was conducted by his wife, and from which the vacancies at the teachers' training school could be filled.⁵¹ In 1842 the indigenous school at Mardika, a nearby quarter of Ambon Township, was attached to the Institute in order to be used as a "normaalschool", a school where the trainee teachers were given the opportunity to gain practical experience.⁵² From 1843 a teacher worked in the orphanage of the Poor-Relief Board in Ambon Township. At times one of them was temporarily put at the disposal of a missionary as assistant.⁵³ The number of indigenous schools steadily increased and with it the demand for teachers. The first graduates left the training school as early as after attending one year (1836) to be given a posting to a

45 EA 1841, 307-308; De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 126.

46 Knaap, *Kruidnagelen*, 91-92.

47 In 1845 only five of the eighteen students were sons of a common village man, De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 127; EA 1841, 305.

48 GM, "Algemeen Verslag van het Gouvernement der Moluksche Eilanden over den jare 1833", 31/7/1834, INA, AA 1101; Knaap, *Kruidnagelen*, 81.

49 EA 1841, 55; EA 1843, 167.

50 Heeres, "Eene Engelsche lezing", 324.

51 EA 1839, 22-23.

52 EA 1843, 164-165.

53 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 110; EA 1843, 166-167.

school.⁵⁴ Later too it happened that trainees left the school after one or two years to fill an urgent vacancy somewhere.⁵⁵ Although initially no more than seven trainees were admitted to the Institute, within a few years their number was expanded to twelve.⁵⁶ In 1843 there were eighteen,⁵⁷ by the end of 1854 there were 29, and at the end of 1858 the number was 30. At the end of 1859 there were 40 trainee teachers, and 80 pupils in the preparatory class. In 1860 there were more than 50 vacancies at the 77 schools (with 8141 pupils) in the residence of Ambon;⁵⁸ most of these were for the position of assistant teacher. During these years the number of one-teacher schools began to diminish, which must have greatly benefited the quality of education.⁵⁹

The contribution which Roskott's Institute and the DMS – the latter by means of financial and logistical support – made to the Christian education of the indigenous population was significant. Roskott received requests for teachers not just from the Ambon Sub-Commission of Education on Ambon but also from the Chief Commission of Education in Batavia. During the time of its existence the Institute provided many dozens of teachers. These were placed as far as all the remote corners of the East of the Netherlands Indies, from the Moluccas and North-Celebes, to the Lesser Sunda Islands and West-Timor and islands surrounding it such as Roti, and on the Arafura Islands.⁶⁰

4.4. Roskott's publishing work

Textbooks and other materials were required for the schools and for the teaching of the catechism. In the Central Moluccas, as in many other regions in the Netherlands Indies there was a great scarcity of such materials at the beginning of the 19th century. The little that was available, such as the still much-used Bible translated by Leijdecker dating from 1731-1733,⁶¹ the catechism and accompanying books of questions, was usually written in high-Malay, also called “that scientific, that book- or manuscript –Malay”, pure Malay, “Malacca-Malay”⁶² and “classical Malay”. Because of the many mistakes, strange expressions and Arabic and Persian words, Leijdecker and other texts were often difficult to understand for indigenous Christians, a matter already raised by Fr. Valentijn at the beginning of the 18th century, and much complained about in the 19th century.⁶³

As education and religion experienced a revival after 1800, the demand rose for arithmetic and reading books, Bibles, manuals for the reading of the Bible, maps of Palestine, hymn and psalm books, sermons and mission songs, Biblical stories, the Heidelberg Catechism, all sorts of tracts, constructive reading material for the people, and other things like these. To meet this demand occasionally collections of sermons and a catechism from the days of the Dutch East India Company were used. Sometimes existing Dutch texts were translated into Malay, such as the *Stukjes (Short Articles)* of the DMS.⁶⁴ Missionaries in the Moluccas, North-Celebes, West-Timor, Java, and Singapore⁶⁵ and the British and Foreign Bible Society in Malacca also revised parts of the Malay Bible and wrote in, or translated into, Malay and a number of regional languages, tracts, sermons and school-, church-, and textbooks.⁶⁶ The

54 *EA 1836*, 120.

55 *EA 1838*, 129-130

56 All students were between 20 and 25 years old. More information about the class of 1839, in *EA 1840*, 119-121; idem for 1841, in *EA 1841*, 301-302.

57 *EA 1847*, 15-16. De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 110.

58 The schools which were run by the DMS were in these years transferred to the Government. *EA 1862*, 47.

59 “Algemeen Verslag aangaande de inlandsche Christen Scholen in de Residentie Amboina voor het jaar 1860, opgemaakt door den schoolopziener B.N.J. Roskott”, Nov. 1860, UA, AMB 34/5; see also *EA 1863*, 501.

60 *EA 1846*, 13; *EA 1858*, 133.

61 Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers Voetspoor*, vol. I, chapt. VIII.

62 So called by Niemann, in: *EA 1866*, 72.

63 Brumund, “De Maleische Christenen hebben geen Bijbel”, 170; *EA 1873*, 27-35; Niemann, *Bijdragen*, 23.

64 *EA 1839*, 29-30.

65 *EA 1838*, 156; *EA 1840*, 79-80; *EA 1843*, 99-100; among them was B.P. Keasberry, who in Singapore corrected and modernized parts of the Malay Bible, Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor*, vol. I, s.v.

66 *EA 1835*, 12; *EA 1838*, 33-34, 85-95, 156, 160-161, 200; “Survey of Protestant Missions for 1823”, 258-260.

Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society in British India arranged for the reprint of a Malay New Testament both in the Roman and the Arabic character, of which 3000 copies were sent to Ambon.⁶⁷ In particular Dutch missionaries R. le Bruijn and G. Heijmering on West Timor translated a great deal, but most of their work after some time turned out to be unsuitable for use.⁶⁸ According to BMS historian Payne⁶⁹ Jabez Carey too, during his stay on Ambon translated some pieces of writing, such as Watts' *Catechism*⁷⁰ and *Call* by the Puritan Baxter⁷¹. All this activity, however, could not address the shortage in the Moluccas, the more so because the Malay spoken there, low-Malay or Ambonese Malay, was different from Malacca-Malay, which only a few people on Ambon could understand.

From the time of his arrival Roskott set about the preparation of booklets in Ambonese or low-Malay, or, as he referred to it, "middle-Malay", to assist his trainees. He also translated a number of small textbooks from Dutch and German for the indigenous schools.⁷² One of his first Malay textbooks concerned itself with weights and measures (about 1836).⁷³ His work and plans met with a good reception, for in 1837 he received an exhortation from Governor De Stuers to continue his work in similar vein. De Stuers was annoyed at the poor quality of many of the Dutch textbooks translated into Malay, including those done by Le Bruijn, which at the time were in use in his jurisdiction.⁷⁴ De Stuers at the same time reminded Roskott of Ellinghuysen's instructions. The Governor not only feared a repeat of the 1817 rebellion,⁷⁵ but also of that of 1829:

The missionary teachers can be very useful if they – – – try to impress good ideas upon the children, and to ensure ever greater attachment of the school teachers to the Government. During the well-known rebellion in the year 1829 many were suspected of holding totally different views, although in only one or two cases proof could be found of this.⁷⁶

In the eyes of De Stuers kinship of the indigenous population with the colonial masters in cultural and religious affairs was a potent way to cement the social and political ties. Political and administrative stability was at the top of his agenda, and Roskott could be of assistance to him in these matters. According to De Stuers, good teaching was a much better way to enhance the loyalty of the population to their rulers than the "so-called conversions, the outcomes of which, at least in this country, have shown themselves to me to be of little import."⁷⁷ This judgement was possibly not entirely uninfluenced by the fact that De Stuers was a Roman Catholic, who therefore would have had little sympathy for the Protestant mission.

Others, however, were less pleased with Roskott's translations. The criticism of J.E. Höfker (Höveker), a missionary who since 1834 had been acting minister of the Indies Church on Ternate, was particularly

67 "The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society", 67-68.

68 *EA 1846*, 124-125, mentions 27 titles written by Heijmering.

69 Payne, *South-East of Serampore*, 21.

70 Isaac Watts, *A Catechism for Children*. Windhah [Windham, Conn.], 1795.

71 Richard Baxter, *Call to the unconverted to turn and live, etc.* London: W. Baynes, 1806.

72 *EA 1835*, 169.

73 *EA 1837*, 264-165.

74 Among these were Le Bruijn's translations of booklets by H. Wester, like *Kitab Midras jang dalamnja ada tersimpan babarapa fatsal jang pendekh dan berguna, akan debatjakan*. Terkarang dalam bahasa Wolandawija, Guna segala Anakh² Midras, awleh Tuwan Pemarentah Midras H. Wester, dan Tersalin kapada bahasa Malajuw awleh R. le Bruyn, Surohan Indjil di-pulaw Timor. Tertara di-Batawijah, di-Pataraan Karadjaan. 1829; repr. in 1838, 1861, 1862, 1863; cf. *EA 1840*, 121-122, and De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, note 577.

75 Idema, "De oorzaken van den opstand van Saparoea in 1817".

76 *EA 1839*, 12; "Beknopt verhaal"; "Extract uit het Register der Handelingen en Besluiten van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden", Nr 3; and Letter C. Boers to SCO, Ambon, 27/10/1829, both documents in INA, AA 1056b.

77 *EA 1839*, 8, 10.

sharp. In a letter dated the 10th of May 1837, he informed the DMS Board that Roskott had been in the Indies for too brief a period, and had too inadequately mastered Malay to be able to publish school books in this language, and to be able to start a teachers' training school where he had to train indigeneous teachers. He urgently advised the Board to remove him from the Institute and give him a different task.⁷⁸

4.5. Printing Office

The DMS had three printing offices in the East of the Netherlands Indies: in Ambon, in Kupang (West Timor), and in Tomohon (North Celebes). The printing office which Kam had had in Ambon and which had been tended by his pupils had been decaying for years and was unusable.⁷⁹ From 1841 Roskott had a new printing press at his disposal, but not even the smallest piece could be printed on it without the explicit permission of the DMS.⁸⁰ Given the views of the DMS this was logical. The Society's mission was not "the propagation of theological concepts, but of True Christianity", as the Board stated in 1799, without however indicating what exactly this "True Christianity" consisted of.⁸¹ Their intention was to prevent European theological and church disputes being transferred to the areas where the DMS was active and causing a spiritual division among the newly converted Christians.

At first missionaries were allowed to proceed in good faith, but from 1852 the Board scanned all manuscripts in advance, not only for their standard of Malay, but also for their content. Like a number of other missionaries Roskott paid little heed to this, except for the fact that his Malay was acceptable in Dutch eyes, not because of its purity, but because it closely agreed with the Malay spoken in the Moluccas.⁸² As against this it can be argued that Roskott and others by their use of low-Malay withheld the population the chance of learning a better form of Malay. However one wishes to judge this, when the DMS for whatever reason refused permission to print a book or tract, or when there simply was no room in the budget for it, something that also occurred, his colleagues and he printed the work at their own expense, or got the pupils at the Institute to copy the texts by hand, which then circulated in the form of manuscripts.

4.6. Translation

Over the years Roskott revised and translated books of a diverse nature, among which were arithmetic, linguistic and reading textbooks for his trainee teachers' school and the schools for the indigenous population, and other books and tracts for use in the church congregations. To give some examples, he translated such books as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,⁸³ Caron's *Leerredenen*,⁸⁴ and Zahn's *Bibelgeschichte*⁸⁵. The Chief Commission for Education in Batavia was so impressed with Roskott's

78 EA 1837, 264-265.

79 EA 1837, 172.

80 EA 1838, 1; EA 1843, 177.

81 EA 1799, 84,

82 EA 1866, 69-74.

83 John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come*. Written between 1660 and 1675. Malay title: *Perdjalanan sa'awrang mesehhi kapada rumahnja jang kakal. Terkarang awleh J. Bunjan. Dan tersalin kapada bahasa malajuw awleh B.N.J. ROSKOTT*. Pada Tahun 1860 [=1861].

84 *Voorbeeldt des Openbaeren Godtsdiensts, Bestaende in de verhandelinge van de XII Articulen des Geloofs, de Wet Godes, 't Gebedt des Heeren, Mitsgaders de Feest- Bid- en Danck-texten, ten dienste der Inlandtse Christenen op Amboina, in 40 Praedicationen eenvoudelyk gestelt door Franchois Caron, Wel eer Bedienaer des Goddelycken Woordts op Amboina in Oost-Indiën. Tsjeremin Acan Pegang Agama, Itoula mengartinja deri Artigo XII deri Pitsajahan, Sabda Allah, Mintahan - Doa Tuan, Lagi Issinja deri Hari Raja Raja, Sombayang dan Poudjihan, Gouna orang Nassarani di Ambon, berator dalam 40 parracarra rewajat Deri pada Franchois Caron, Daulo pandita di Tanna Ambon, t'Amsterdam, Door ordre van d'E.E. Heeren Bewinthebberen der Oost-Indische Compagnie by d'Erfg. van Paulus Matthysz. in 't Muzyc-boek, gedrukt, 1678.*

85 F.L. Zahn, *Biblische Geschichte: nebst Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*. Mit einem Vorworte von Tholuck. Dresden: Walther, 1831.

endeavours to prepare useful textbooks that they awarded him a prize for a successful reading text, which was subsequently printed at the expense of the Government in Batavia.⁸⁶

When in 1839 Roskott heard that the DMS intended to reprint the Malay psalms of 1735 by G.H. Werndly, he proposed adding footnotes or possibly a glossary to explain the most difficult words, in particular those derived from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. These were poorly understood in the Moluccas. However, the DMS rejected this proposal, in conformity with the orthodox-reformed belief that the Bible, being God's Word, needed no explanation.⁸⁷ Because it was a problem which confronted him on a daily basis, Roskott in 1846 published a short book in which such words were explained; as said before, these words were also frequently found in Leijdekker's translation of the Bible of 1731-1733, which was still in general use in the Central Moluccas.⁸⁸ In order to create greater uniformity in the Malay Bibles which were used in the various missionary regions in the East of the Netherlands Indies, Roskott in the 1850s made a start with a translation of the New Testament. In 1863 he offered the first product of his labour, a translation of the Gospel of Matthew, to the Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia, which, however, refused to publish it. This was considered to be the duty of the Dutch Bible Society (*Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap*). Because of Roskott's death this project was not completed.⁸⁹ At the end of the 1870s his manuscript served as a starting point for an attempt at a Bible translation undertaken by a number of assistant ministers of the Indies Church in the Moluccas. This work also remained unfinished.⁹⁰

5. The Ambon Sub-commission for Education

Of the 65 teachers who in 1840 were active in the residency of Ambon, 58 had their salaries paid by the Government, while the other seven were paid by the DMS. The Ambon Sub-commission for Education, of which the Governor was the chairman, supervised these 58 teachers. The DMS teachers as well as Roskott's Institute were supervised by the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society. This had as its chairman one of the ministers of the Indies church in Ambon, and as its secretary Roskott. It acted on behalf of the DMS.⁹¹

Because there existed virtually no inspection or supervision of the Government schools, Roskott in 1842, with the approval of the Government, assumed the (honorary) position of Inspector of indigenous education in the residency of Ambon. Although he tried to delegate his duties to local missionaries in the case of the schools on the islands outside Ambon, he from then on made his annual voyages of inspection as the representative of the Sub-commission for Education.⁹² Occasionally he did so in the company of the Governor, who was very keen to show the population that Roskott's work had the full support and approval of the Government. In addition Roskott remained head of the Institute.⁹³ During his absences he placed Jacob Picaulij, who became his deputy in 1843, in charge.⁹⁴

6. Separation of Church and State

86 *Kitab Pembatja'an guna sakalijen anak-anakh midras di pulaw-pulaw Molukko baserta dengan sawatu pengadjaran akan Ilmu Dunja*. Terkarang awleh B.N.J. Roskott hulu-peng-adjar deri pada midras Institut, dan pamariksa sakalijen midras di tanah kami. Tertara atas titah dan dengan balandja deri pada Gubernament Indiä Wolandawi, [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1862]; Letter CCE to GGDEI, 4/6/1861, INA, ACCE 153/3.

87 *EA 1839*, 102-104.

88 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 104; on Werndly and Leijdecker, cf. Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers Voetspoor*, vol. I, s.v.; *EA 1840*, 196; *EA 1854*, 109-110.

89 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 16, 118; *EA 1862*, 243.

90 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 16;

91 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 16/7/1841, in *EA 1842*, 20-25.

92 *EA 1846*, 12-13.

93 *EA 1843*, 164-165; *EA 1844*, 13-14; *EA 1845*, 56-61; *Maandberigt* (1844, nr. 3) 46-47.

94 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 120.

The Government wished to reduce to a minimum the influence of the Church Council of Ambon, and of the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society which it dominated, on the Institute. The conflict which resulted from this came to a head in 1840/1841.⁹⁵ Under pressure by the Governor and supported by J.E. Twijssel Roskott chose the Government's side and terminated, as far as the Institute was concerned, the cooperation with the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society and the Church Council. Subsequently the Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society was abolished (December 1842). Although the DMS did not greatly regret the disappearance of the rather inactive and at times somewhat obstreperous Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society, it was unhappy about the fact that the Institute now more than it had been before came to be under the supervision of the Government, even though this was benevolent.⁹⁶ The DMS which, according to the minutes of its Board meetings, had no reason to doubt Roskott's loyalty, continued to provide funds for the Institute, and occasionally was even summoned by the Government to undertake to bear the cost of a school or teacher.⁹⁷ The DMS never considered withdrawing its financial support from the Institute, or turning to the Government for partial compensation of the costs, since it was afraid of losing control of the Institute.⁹⁸ This situation continued until Roskott's dismissal and the formal abolition of the Institute in 1864.

The events of 1840/1841 were an important milestone on the road towards the administrative separation of church and state in the Moluccas, without the Christian nature of the Institute, and of indigenous education provided by the Government in general, being jeopardised, at least for the time being.

7. Community development projects of the Institute

7.1. Agriculture

Roskott played a part not only in the area of indigenous education, but also in that of the development of the indigenous economy. While it had hardly recovered from the Dutch East India Company monopoly with regard to the cultivation of, and trade in, mace and cloves, the population of the Ambon Islands was in the 19th century confronted with an equally crippling agricultural tax (*cultuurstelsel*). In 1828 the obligation for every indigenous man "able to work" to cultivate 90 clove trees was introduced, turning every man into a slave of his land. Trade did not amount to much since the Government had introduced a great many regulations, and such trade as was still carried out was for the greater part in the hands of the indigenous "burgers".⁹⁹ The islands produced little apart from sago, cloves, nutmeg, canary, scented oil and tobacco from Buru, poor quality dry rice from Ceram and Buru and produce of a few vegetables and fish, so that the inhabitants for a significant part of their daily needs had to rely on expensive imports.¹⁰⁰ To alleviate the poverty the Government from the 1830s stimulated the planting of "free" crops. These were crops not affected by monopolies, which therefore the population was able to cultivate and trade without restrictions. The Moluccan Governor G. de Serrière (1842 - 1845) continued this programme, but because on the one hand the planting for a variety of reasons did not go smoothly, and on the other hand because the population hardly used it profitably where planting had taken place, he involved Roskott and his teachers' training school in the process.¹⁰¹ De Serrière, a one-time minister of the church,¹⁰² placed all his confidence in him and described him

95 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 95.

96 *EA 1843*, 169-173; *EA 1845*, 60;.

97 *EA 1846*, 16.

98 *EA 1858*, 136.

99 On the positions of the "burgers" and "villagers" within Ambonese society, cf. De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 104.

100 Ludeking, "Schets van de Residentie Amboina", 116-117.

101 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 108; *EA 1844*, 13-14.

102 G. de Serrière, subsequently minister of the Wallon Church at Zutphen and Deventer (Netherlands), 1821 minister at Batavia, 1825-1828 at Surabaya. Cf. De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 107.

as a man — — — of enlightened intelligence and inspired by the best intentions to achieve something truly beneficial and useful. I should not disguise the fact he is the principal support for the hope which I have for the success of my scheme; because in him I have not just seen determination and industriousness, but also the inclination to implement at once the measures which have to be tried in order for my wish to be fulfilled.¹⁰³

Because the Government did not permit the free cultivation of most commercial crops by the indigenous population Roskott at his own expense established market gardens with among others cinnamon, nutmeg, coconut and sago trees, as well as nopal and mulberry trees for the production and dying of silk. The indigenous population farmed these in return for part of the harvest.¹⁰⁴ In a few places school gardens were added to these.¹⁰⁵ Roskott experimented with the dry and wet cultivation of rice, with one or the other better suited to certain regions, depending on rainfall and soil. The pupils of the Institute were familiarised with the cultivation of various crops, the use of simple tools and agricultural implements, a lathe and the manufacturing process of various kinds of oil. The aim of this was that they would use their knowledge in their future indigenous villages to enhance the standard of living of the population.

Not all these projects succeeded; in particular the production of silk and the wet rice cultivation failed, and Roskott's hope to find a market in the Netherlands for the oils and other products was equally unsuccessful.¹⁰⁶ His sago plantations also failed. These were neglected by the population. Government officials blamed laziness, but an observer from the Netherlands put it down to fear that this cultivation, if successful, would be turned into a monopoly by the Government.¹⁰⁷

7.2. *Double success*

In 1860 Roskott reported that the Government in Batavia, at the insistence of the Moluccan Governor C.F. Goldman (1855-1862), had made a ton of gold available to Ambon as an interest free advance, to be used for the encouragement and support of indigenous agriculture.¹⁰⁸ This was related to the abolition of the "cultuurstelsel" by 1863. Large forests which no one had ever entered before were transformed into market gardens. Roskott was involved in many of these enterprises. He made a significant long-term contribution to the economic development of the indigenous population of Ambon and the adjacent islands, or rather, in later years he eased the decline in the standard of living which resulted from the collapse of the price the farmers received for their cloves in the free market, after 1863.

Because of this, his work served as guidance during DMS discussions in the 1860s. Since he was by then in disgrace and had been dismissed, one looks for his name in vain among the minutes of the DMS board meetings. However, for the reform of the training of missionaries in Rotterdam, which began in these years and in which development and education of the indigenous population were the guiding themes, Roskott's agricultural programme served as the example.¹⁰⁹

8. The life of the church in the 1840s

An important question is to what extent Roskott's Institute has contributed to the religious and moral rebirth of church life in the Moluccas, insofar as this was required. One can deduce from the words of

103 De Serière, "Bijdrage"; "Aanteekeningen".

104 *EA 1843*, 93; *EA 1844*, 132; *EA 1846*, 22-23.

105 B.N.J. Roskott, Verslag van een schoolinspectie, gehouden in januari, februari en maart 1849 op het eiland Ambon, Ambon, maart 1849; UA, AMB 34/5; "Aanteekeningen"; "Varia" (1850); Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, 78-80.

106 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 108; *EA 1845*, 22; *EA 1847*, 17.

107 Ludeking, "Schets van de Residentie Amboina", 87.

108 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 6/8/1860, UA, AMB 34/5; Ludeking, "Schets van de Residentie Amboina", 101.

109 *EA 1867*, 171-193.

L.J. van Rhijn, a Dutch minister of the church who on behalf of the DMS from 1846-1848 made a voyage of inspection to a number of mission posts in the Netherlands Indies and who arrived in Ambon in May 1847,¹¹⁰ that the situation at that moment had hardly improved since the time of Kam.¹¹¹ He noted with respect to the indigenous Christian communities that “the total structure of the church on the Ambon islands is in decay and must be completely renewed if the population, which had sunk to very low depths and which had been neglected, is to be helped.”¹¹² He blamed the Indies Church of Ambon and its ministers. Although it was their duty, these pastoral shepherds, who were paid by the state, rarely or never visited the indigenous church communities. Only a roving Roman Catholic missionary was able to prompt them into action in this respect.¹¹³

Although Van Rhijn’s judgement was perhaps too harsh, it was certainly true that European ministers were loath to stay in the Moluccas. They looked on their period of service in this out-of-the-way place as exile in the interior and were half in and half out of local society. Part of the reason for this was the unhealthy climate which led to some dying soon after arrival or leaving quickly because of illness or fear of this. According to Van Rhijn most of them “are in need of the company of others and hanker after a quick departure.”¹¹⁴ Their command of Malay was usually restricted, and some did not speak it at all. Their social interaction was limited to the small circle of Europeans and Indo-Europeans. To this must be added that 70 parishes, spread out over eight islands, with a total of about 30,000 Christian parishioners was in any case too much for the four (from the early 1850s on only two) ministers stationed in Ambon Township.¹¹⁵

Neither could one count on the missionaries located in the region for the pastoral care of the indigenous communities, even though in 1840 these had been placed under the supervision of the Ambon Church Council.¹¹⁶ Illness and mortality figures among them were also high, even if they generally remained in their position far longer than the ministers of the Indies Church in Ambon Township. The number of three missionaries who worked in the Central Moluccas between 1840 and 1850, viz. the Dutchmen W. Luijke¹¹⁷ and J.E. Jellesma¹¹⁸ and the Swiss J.J. Bär sr.,¹¹⁹ was inadequate. Moreover, Bär was too ill to be able to do much, and Jellesma was stationed in an isolated village on the north coast of Ceram Island.

This unfavourable state of the indigenous Christians was in no way caused by a lack of industriousness and motivation on the part of Roskott. From 1835 to 1850 his Institute supplied 60 teachers who were at the same time preachers. For a short while he, as well as Luijke and Bär, toyed with the idea of leaving if the Church Council or the Government did not intervene. But it did not come to that. Roskott’s request for greater authority was realised when the Moluccan Governor C.M. Visser (1850-1855) appointed him Inspector of Schools, employed on a part-time basis by the Government, and charged him with the supervision of all Government schools in the residency of Ambon.¹²⁰ The DMS,

110 His report in: L.J. van Rhijn, *Reis door den Indischen Archipel in het Belang der Evangelische Zending*. Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1851.

111 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 144.

112 *EA 1847*, 146.

113 This happened as the result of the visit of the Roman Catholic missionary C. de Hessele to the Moluccas in the early 1850s, mentioned in: “Nog ’n paar brieven”, 291.

114 *EA 1847*, 146-147, 154.

115 *EA 1851*, 111.

116 Letter H.H. Schiff to AAMS, 14/4/1840, UA, AMB 43/3.

117 W. Luijke; 1798-1886; 1827-1828 missionary at Ambon; 1828-1829 at Moa (Southwestern Islands); 1829-1841 Seray (Leti, Southwestern Islands); 1841-1842 at Ambon Township; 1842-1849 at Haruku; 1849-1854 at Ambon Township; 1854-1855 at Hutumuri (Ambon); 1855-1883 at Rumah Tiga (Ambon).

118 J.E. Jellesma; 1817-1858; 1844-1846 missionary at Wahai (Ceram); 1846-1848 travelled with Van Rhijn; 1848-1858 at Mojowarno (Java).

119 J.J. Bär sr.; 1786-1851; 1823-1825 at Ambon, studying Malay; 1825-1841 missionary at Kisar (Southwestern Islands); 1841-1843 at Ambon; 1843-1846 at Waai (Ambon); 1846-1851 at Poka, retired.

120 *EA 1852*, 73.

which objected to this because it considered this to be the task of the ministers of the Indies Church, or possibly of its missionaries, reluctantly agreed to this on the advice of Van Rhijn. For he argued that many of the indigenous teacher-preachers could not be left unsupervised and that the Indies Church of Ambon was not going to take any action in this matter.

Roskott made another proposal: to replace two of the four ministers on Ambon with seven missionaries.¹²¹ In his opinion this could be arranged without incurring extra costs. These extra missionaries, who have sometimes been called the “generation 1854”, after the year of the agreement between the Government and the DMS, were to be given the task of carrying out the day to day supervision of the indigenous teacher-preachers in their jurisdiction in addition to their work in the parishes.¹²²

The proposed new missionaries did arrive, but the Sub-commission of Education did not agree to this latter proposal, which was particularly what the DMS had wanted to happen.¹²³ The Sub-commission was of the opinion that supervision of Government education by missionaries contravened the new Dutch Education Act of 1857. This Act stipulated that education at public schools should be accessible to pupils of every religious faith and that therefore it should adopt a neutral position. What was important about this decision was that (since the revision of the Dutch Constitution in 1848) the rule of the Netherlands Indies was subject to the rule and judgement of the Dutch legislature.

However, other wishes and proposals by Roskott were granted, after a longer or shorter period, such as an increase in Government funds for indigenous education.¹²⁴ The arrangements thus put in place were not entirely in tune with the wishes of the DMS, but in any case the missionaries of the generation-1854, who arrived on Ambon from the mid-1850s, found a body of teachers and parish preachers in the indigenous Christian communities which was significantly better trained than had been the case at the time of Joseph Kam. In this respect “the effective intervention by the Inspector of Schools, Roskott” had been of conclusive importance.¹²⁵

9. Van Rhijn and Roskott’s position

The voyage of inspection by Van Rhijn (1846-1848) caused a great deal of unrest within the Indies Church of Ambon. Public criticism by the mission of the functioning of the ministers and the Church Council with respect to the indigenous parishes, which appeared, among other places, in the report of Van Rhijn’s voyage and in the church press in the Netherlands (1852), was unprecedented, and only accepted with great difficulty. Roskott’s proposal to replace two ministers with a number of missionaries also aroused antagonism, the more so because for already a considerable period of time criticism had been voiced both inside the DMS and outside it, of the manner of selection and training of the missionaries, and of the way they performed their duties. Roskott and his Institute too became the target of reproaches from the Indies Church of Ambon and, at a later stage, also from the central Government in Batavia. Linked to this is, among others, the name of Th.C.M. Hanegraat, who was a minister on Ambon from 1852 to 1854.¹²⁶ He published a number of articles in the church press which attacked Roskott, Van Rhijn and the work of the DMS in the Netherlands Indies in general.¹²⁷ The DMS, however, did not seem greatly impressed. The reputation of Roskott and his Institute was still excellent with the DMS. As late as 1861 the DMS publicly took his part when his reputation and honour were once again attacked in a missionary magazine.¹²⁸

121 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 158; *EA 1853*, 101-107; *EA 1854*, 22-26; *EA 1854*, 108. They were R. Bossert (1854-1880), C.G. Schot (1855-1862), J.J. Bär jr. (1856-1884), A. van Ekris (1856-1868), M. Teffer (1856-1863), J.J. Verhoeff (1856-1872), L. Tobi (1859-1865), S.J. de Vries (1863-1873).

122 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, doc. 142; *EA 1851*, 109-110; *EA 1860*, 56.

123 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 16/9/1860, UA, AMB 34/5.

124 *EA 1857*, 114; *EA 1858*, 132, 135.

125 *Algemeen verslag* — — — 1852, 191.

126 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. I, note 1427.

127 *Ibidem*, vol. I, doc. 152.

128 *EA 1858*, 100, 105; *EA 1861*, 9-11.

The minutes of the DMS Board meetings without exception speak about Roskott with appreciation. In his letters and reports he was always frank and honest, possibly at times too frank. He defended himself at length against accusations that his Institute did not live up to expectations or that it was in a state of chaos and disorderliness. Although he saw his task, in conformity with his job specifications, of necessity in strict educational terms – he was not an ordained missionary – he always remained faithful to the objectives of the DMS. His numerous requests for the forwarding of books, tools, drawing cases, paper, ink, pencils, inkwells, writing pens, slates and other materials, were invariably complied with. Although the DMS never openly showed its displeasure, Roskott's affluence, which he never made a secret of, caused uneasiness in the Netherlands. Financial independence gave employees of the mission a certain freedom of action which the DMS did not appreciate, leave alone the barely concealed envy of other missionaries. The schoolteacher's salary Roskott received was half that paid to missionaries such as Gericke and others, i.e. 200 guilders monthly as against 350 to 400 guilders monthly, although from 1852 the Government paid him an additional 100 guilders per month for his work as Inspector of Schools. Moreover, he had from 1844 waived the regular increases of salary and the allowances to compensate for the high cost of living, which his colleagues did receive. Nor did he request a children's allowance, and he paid for all sorts of professional expenditure out of his own pocket.¹²⁹

10. The seven missionaries

All this could not prevent a gradual deterioration in the relationship between Roskott and the DMS. This was caused by the arrival of so many new missionaries, which made relations in the mission more complex. In some senses a generation gap arose. Roskott, a man of stature, prosperity and with authority in the Ambon community and with 25 years in his position behind him, was annoyed at these seven newcomers, who, having only just arrived, openly criticised both his work and his teachers cum parish preachers – with whom they had to cooperate, but over whom they had, to their great vexation, no say, and to whose schools they had no access.¹³⁰ Moreover, there was absolutely no unanimity among the younger brothers and some of them indulged in tactless if not improper behaviour towards members of their parish, as well as towards the population in general and its leaders, the negative effects of which also affected Roskott.¹³¹ They found the same deviations of the strict doctrine which Gericke had noted three decades earlier and their view of the life of the church on Ambon therefore did not markedly differ from his. They openly showed their contempt for the indigenous Christians who they regarded as merely Christians in name. One of them in 1862 described the situation as follows: “As soon as I had arrived here I heard complaints from all brothers, and I saw with my own eyes that Christianity here was a mere formality. In all religious sentiment here a trembling before God's Word is absent, in a life full of the most appalling sins, arrogance and self-righteousness, which beggars belief.”¹³² By all sorts of means, harsh treatment, discipline and punishments he and his colleagues tried to lead their parishioners back to the straight and narrow, but the tensions and unrest this caused took on such threatening forms that even the governmental Indies Council (*Raad van Indië*) in Batavia intervened. In 1863 it noted in understated terms which were nevertheless not open to misunderstanding that the decision taken ten years earlier to replace ministers with missionaries had not lived up to expectations:

The missionaries, after a ten-year posting in Amboina, apparently find themselves in a false position. They are antagonistic towards the Regents and the population is becoming more and more averse to them. One fears that, in time, this will give rise to serious collisions; that they will be perceived by the indigenous leaders as an awkward and

129 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 6/8/1860, UA, AMB 34/5.

130 *EA 1862*, 82-83, 85; *EA 1863*, 247-248; *EA 1867*, 105-111.

131 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, note 737.

132 Letter L. Tobi to Board DMS, 10/1/1862, UA, AMB 24/1/B.

hostile element, covertly and overtly resisted, deprived of any influence, yes – possibly personally endangered. The missionaries have, in the opinion of the Council, not chosen the right way to endear themselves to the population, if they intend to improve their morality by means of severity and spiritual punishment.¹³³

The Council judged that the Dutch missionaries should be replaced by indigenous spiritual leaders. For the DMS, which had been aware of the missionaries' objections to certain organisational aspects of their work, but had until then generally been pleased with their "firm stand" against the "wilfulness and secretive machinations and tricks of the population and the Regents",¹³⁴ this judgement came as a bolt out of the blue. Even the Minister for Colonial Affairs in The Hague had not anticipated these developments. Whereas he had recently made a number of proposals to the DMS to expand its work in the Moluccas,¹³⁵ the organisation suddenly saw its role in Ambon ended.¹³⁶

It seemed as if the Netherlands Indies had been jolted out of its slumber by the issue of the missionaries' behaviour. All eyes were on Ambon. National dailies, both in the Indies and in the Netherlands wrote about the conditions there.¹³⁷ Friend and foe considered it in violation of the Education Act of 1857 that the Ambon training of teachers for the indigenous government schools was in the hands of the mission, i.e. Roskott and the DMS. The outcome of all this to-do was that governmental indigenous education and the pastoral care of the indigenous Christian parishes were separated. This meant that the old and proven figure of the teacher- parish preacher, so powerfully supported by both the earlier Ambon Governors as well as Kam and Roskott, was buried.¹³⁸ Indigenous education was no longer combined with the teaching of the catechism. The DMS deplored this, calling it "absurd and ungodly", but was powerless.¹³⁹

The nine schools of the DMS were transferred to the Government along with their teachers (1864) and most of the missionaries departed within a few years, some of whom by direct order of the Government.¹⁴⁰ Others were allowed to remain and in 1873 accepted appointment to assistant minister of the Indies Church. From then on their position was that of Government employees. Only the aged Luijke remained as DMS missionary. He died in harness.

11. The end of an era

The difficulties surrounding Hanegraat were insufficient for the DMS, and most certainly for the Government, to renounce confidence in Roskott. However, this changed, as far as the DMS was concerned, when one of their missionaries learned that Roskott "was guilty of an illicit relationship with a woman".¹⁴¹ This woman was a niece of the missionary Luijke, Joanna ("Jans") Margaritha Luijke. When it became known in the Netherlands that a child had been born as a result of this liaison,¹⁴² Roskott was instantly dismissed. This happened during a Board meeting of the DMS held on July 13th, 1864.¹⁴³ It made no difference to the Board that he, a widower since 1856, married Jans the day after (July 14th, 1864). It was immovable – although not unanimous. At the same time it stopped financing the Institute and instructed Roskott to dismiss all pupils.

133 The Council of the Netherlands Indies, Advice Oct. 23th, 1863, AAS b337/s101, Bt Dec. 27th, 1863, nr 2, in: De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 91; *EA 1864*, 62-63.

134 *EA 1862*, 88; *EA 1863*, 333; *EA 1864*, 28-30; De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, II, doc. 36, 58.

135 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 39; *EA 1862*, 109-117, 206-214; *EA 1862*, 128.

136 *EA 1864*, 154-159.

137 *EA 1865*, 203.

138 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 91.

139 *EA 1864*, 154.

140 *EA 1865*, 36; De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 109.

141 *EA 1864*, 87.

142 His name was Jonathan Luijke Roskott. He was born Jan. 22th, 1864.

143 *EA 1864*, 87.

It was, however, not this incident that ended the involvement of the DMS in the training of teachers in the Moluccas, although in all likelihood it accelerated the end.¹⁴⁴ This involvement was coming to an end anyway because of the change in Government policy with respect to the separation of church and state which has been outlined above. Notwithstanding the Government's respect for Roskott, it became more and more dissatisfied with his methods. De Clercq stated the following about Roskott's Institute: "the geography of the Holy Land was among the subjects taught there. When, in 1872, I, newly appointed to the post of Adjunct Inspector of indigenous education for the Moluccas, for the first time inspected the schools in this region, it became clear to me that the particulars of the Promised Land were known virtually everywhere, but that the simplest questions about the land in which they lived remained unanswered by the pupils". He was very unhappy about this.¹⁴⁵ Obviously he had no idea that this deficiency was a direct consequence of a ruling by the Government of Ambon!

No one was in a hurry actually to close the Institute. In size and reputation it was a significant institution. At the end of 1862 it had 30 trainee teachers and the preparatory class had 144 pupils. The Government of Ambon constantly needed teachers and did not yet have an alternative training course. The number of schools in the residency was at that moment 110 (as against 51 in 1817), attended by more than 8000 pupils. On top of this there was Roskott's printing business, which employed eight men and worked at full capacity. In 1863 alone it turned out 6000 text books.¹⁴⁶

As early as 1858 and 1859 the Chief Commission of Education pointed out that a shortage of training capacity was looming in the Moluccas.¹⁴⁷ The Government ignored the 1867 DMS request to establish a teacher training school which would cater to the needs of the indigenous Christian population¹⁴⁸ and decided to set up a non-denominational one.¹⁴⁹ This school opened its doors in 1874. Until that time Roskott continued to train teachers in cooperation with the Ambon Sub-Commission of Education.

The fact that from 1874 the Government itself trained teachers could not prevent that the education of the indigenous population during the next decades was still dominated, albeit to a gradually diminishing extent, by teachers who had received their training and value systems at Roskott's Institute. Moreover, most of the teachers trained by the new Government training school came from Christian families. It was only after the year 1900 that the last teachers of the Roskott generation had disappeared from their positions.

Finally the question must be asked: what was the quality of the education of the indigenous population at the time Roskott's Institute closed its doors. Ludeking, a physician who worked on Ambon for three years in the 1860s, briefly described this as follows:

The education is generally deficient and also has a strongly religious flavour. The children learn arithmetic, reading and writing, as well as a few verses from the Bible, and the accurate pointing to places on maps related to the Bible, preferably that of Palestine. Quick and without inhibitions, they show they have an excellent memory and a good understanding. They are taught knowledge of the Bible by an indigenous teacher who himself has only a superficial understanding of this book. Classes are usually conducted in so-called Ambonese Malay.¹⁵⁰

12. Islam and indigenous education after Roskott

144 *EA 1864*, 217.

145 De Clercq, "De tegenwoordige toestand van het inlandsch onderwijs", 337.

146 *EA 1864*, 26; "Wat deelen reizigers ons over de zending in de Menahasse mede?", 68; *AE 1866*, 64.

147 "Algemeen verslag".

148 *EA 1867*, 115.

149 *EA 1865*, 230.

150 Ludeking, "Schets van de Residentie Amboina", 48.

As stated, government education in the residency of Ambon initially only benefited the Christian part of the population, not the Islamic sector. Because all indigenous education was Christian, Muslims had not the slightest interest in it. Insofar education was provided in Islamic villages, this happened without any contribution or intervention by the Government. Nor was the DMS interested in this part of the population, it was even forbidden by the Government that it tried to convert Muslims to Christianity. Its view was that the Government had the duty to provide Christian education, or, in other words, all Government education must be Christian education. Since the beginning of the 17th century boys on Hitu, the northern, predominantly Muslim peninsula of Ambon Island, had received lessons in reciting the Koran. This took place in a simple village school, called the *langgar*. However, the faithful did not know Arabic, so they understood little of the contents of the Koran. Even Malay, which was often used to explain the teachings of the prophet Mohammed, was a “foreign” language for many Muslims.¹⁵¹ In the first part of the 19th century the Government paid no attention to this issue. The 1857 Education Act changed this. The establishment of a Government teachers’ training school in 1874 was the first tangible sign of this change. The reading and writing of Malay, both in Latin and Arabic script, formed part of its curriculum. It was to be many years, however, before Islamic pupils presented themselves. In 1886 the Adjunct Inspector of indigenous education was able to make mention for the first time of a school to which Muslims sent their children in significant numbers. Because an Islamic assistant teacher had been posted to Larike, the number of Islamic pupils there was greater than the number from Christian families.¹⁵²

13. Evaluation

It is obviously unfair to reproach Roskott for being a faithful servant of church and state and for not going against the wishes of his superiors. Of his considerations and motives not a trace has been found back in his written estate, other than the wish to serve the promotion of Protestant Christianity, although in fact he did much more than that. But in an evaluation of his work these considerations must be balanced against the social consequences these have had. In other words, without wishing to argue that adequate education accessible to everyone could have conquered the – even in his time centuries old – ideological contrasts and differences between Christians and Muslims, and could have prevented that the Islamic population lagged behind in education, or at least was less disadvantaged, it must be pointed out that the form of indigenous education which he had assisted in establishing and maintaining, at the very least contributed to the fact that the polarisation of Moluccan society in religious, social and political respects was continued far into the 20th century and possibly even intensified.

151 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 94; Knaap, *Kruidnagelen*, 75.

152 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk*, vol. II, doc. 159.

Abbreviations

AA	Ambon Archive, Indonesian National Archives, Jakarta
AAMS	Ambon Auxiliary Missionary Society (Hulpzendinggenootschap Ambon)
ACCE	Archive of the Chief-Commission of Education, Batavia
AMB	Archive of the Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church, Utrecht Archives (Archief van de Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Het Utrechts Archief)
app.	appendix
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CCE	Chief-Commission of Education, Batavia
DMS	Dutch Missionary Society (Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap)
EA	<i>Extract-Acten van het Nederlandse Zendelinggenootschap</i> (gedrukt) (printed Acts of the DMS)
(Lt.) GGDEI	(Lt.) Governor General of the Dutch East Indies ((Lt.) Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië)
INA	Indonesian National Archives, Jakarta (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta)
NAN	National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague (Nationaal Archief, Den Haag)
SCO	Sub-Commission of Education
UA	Utrecht Archives (Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht)

Literature

Articles

- “Aanteekeningen”, *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*. (Journal of the DMS). Vol. 4 (1860) 186-192
- Algemeen verslag van den staat van het schoolwezen in Nederlandsch-Indië onder ultimo December 1852*. S.a.; s.l.
- “Algemeen verslag van den staat van het schoolwezen in Nederlandsch-Indië”, in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*. Vol. 23 (1861) 315-329
- “Beknopt verhaal van den opstand op Amboina, in 1829”, in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Vol. 11, 4/II (1862) 374-387
- “Bestuursvergadering Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 13/7/1861”, in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Vol. 12, 4th series, vol. 3 (1862) 112-133
- Brumund, J.F.G., “De Maleische Christenen hebben geen Bijbel”, in: J.F.G. Brumund, *Indiana, Verzameling van stukken van onderscheiden aard, over landen, Volken, oudheden en geschiedenis van den Indischen archipel*. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1853
- “The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society”, in: *The Friend of India*. Vol. 1, no 3 (May-Dec. 1818) 64-69
- Clercq, F.S.A. de, “De tegenwoordige toestand van het inlandsch onderwijs”, in: *De Indische Gids*. Vol. 5 (1883) 335-357
- Heeres, J.E., “Eene Engelsche lezing omtrent de verovering van Banda en Ambon in 1796 en omtrent den toestand dier eilanden groepen op het eind der achttiende eeuw, uitgegeven en toegelicht door J.E.H.”, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*. Vol. 60 (iii-iv) (1908) 249-368
- Idema, H.A., “De oorzaken van den opstand van Saparoea in 1817”, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*. Vol. 79 (1923) 598-641
- Kemp, P.H. van der, “Van den Ambonschen zendeling J. Carey, 1814-1817”, in: *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap. Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap* (Journal of the DMS). Vol. 61 (1917) 218-235
- Knaap, G.J., “Godsdienstpolitiek in Nederlands-Indië, in het bijzonder ten aanzien van de Islam, 1816-1942”, in: <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/GodsdienspolitiekInNederlands-indie1816-1942>.
- Ludeking, E.W.A., “Schets van de Residentie Amboina”, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3rd series. Vol. 3 (1868) 1-272
- Maandberigt van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*. Several volumes.
- “Nog ’n paar brieven van den Z.E. Heer C. de Hessele”, in: *Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift*. Vol. 18/1 (Jan. 15th 1935) 290-297
- Serièrè, G. de, “Bijdrage tot de kennis van de tegenwoordige toestand der Molukko’s”, in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*. Vol. 13, nr 1 (1851) 30-49
- “Survey of Protestant Missions for 1823”, in: *The Friend of India*. Vol. 8, nr 74 (Sept. 1824) 257-263
- “Varia” (1850), in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*. Vol. 12, nr 2 (1850) 471-475
- “Wat deelen reizigers ons over de zending in de Menahasse mede?”, in: *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*. (Journal of the DMS). Vol. 2 (1858) 5-83

Monographs

- Enklaar, I.H., *Joseph Kam “Apostel der Molukken”*. Den Haag: Boekencentrum, 1963
- Jong, Chr.G.F. de, *De Protestantse Kerk in de Midden-Molukken 1803-1900*. 2 Vols; vol. I, 1803-1854; vol. II, 1854-1900. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006

- Knaap, G.J., *Kruidnagelen en christenen. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1987
- Kroeskamp, H., *Early Schoolmasters in a developing country. A history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia*. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1974
- Niemann, G.K., *Bijdragen tot geschiedenis der verbreiding van het Christendom*. Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1864
- Payne, E.A., *South-East of Serampore. More chapters in the story of the Baptist Missionary Society*. London: The Carey Press, [1945]
- Swellengrebel, J.L., *In Leijdeckers Voetspoor*. 2 Vols, vol. I, 1820-1900. Amsterdam, 1974; vol. II, 1900-1970, Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1978
- Visch, W.F., *Geschiedenis van het Graafschap Bentheim*. Zwolle: J.L. Zeehuisen, 1820