

Missionary Commemoration in a Colonial World

**Collective memory and Dutch colonial discourse on the Indonesian archipelago in obituaries
of Calvinist missionary workers published between 1930 and 1951**

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originated at the end of the eighteenth century. Although he points out that the Dutch missionaries felt a “colonial responsibility” towards the Dutch East Indies, he did little to explain this responsibility. For Kraemer, the relationship between colonialism and mission existed predominantly in activities the mission employed when settling the inland of islands other than Java; methods that were subsequently used by the colonial administration. He did not question portrayals of “primitivism” on the islands, defining the Toba Batak people as follows:

‘The Toba Batak were a pure heathen, largely unaffected people, “primitive”, but forceful, even of a wild nature, fragmented in different clans accompanied by all the wars between villages and insecurity this entailed.’⁴

Kraemer failed to discuss issues surrounding Eurocentrism and Ethnocentrism and, most importantly, did not question whether missionary initiatives did, in part, originate in Western colonial thinking.

Colonial Encounters and Dutch Mission History

Academic studies of Protestant mission in the Netherlands have predominantly focused on historical descriptions of the administrative side of mission, sometimes supplemented by biographical information about the “big men” of Dutch mission, such as Hendrik Kraemer, Nicolaas Adriani and Albert C. Kruyt.⁵ Dutch mission historians accept that mission was embedded in a world-view that favoured discourses of Western superiority, however, they rarely move beyond establishing this fact.⁶ In 2006, Hans van de Wal published a book detailing the opinions expressed by the Dutch

4 H. Kraemer, ‘De zending en Nederlands-Indië’, 301: ‘De Toba-Batak waren een zuiver heidens, grotendeels onberoerd volk, “primitief”, maar krachtig, zelfs wild van aard, versplinterd in verschillende clans met al de dorpsoorlogen en onzekerheden, die dit meebracht.’

5 A.C. Kruyt and N. Adriani both worked at Poso. Kruyt as a missionary for the NZG and Adriani as a Bible translator for the NBG (*Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap*). Their combined work is considered one of the most successful Dutch missionary operations. On A.C. Kruyt, see: Noort, Gerrit, *De weg van magie tot geloof* (Doctoral thesis Utrecht University 2006). For N. Adriani: H. Kraemer, Dr. N. Adriani. *Schets van leven en arbeid* (Amsterdam 1930).

6 For a long time, the emphasis was on a description of relations between missionary societies and the colonial government as a one-way street. Rather like the analysis of Kraemer outlined above, the opportunism of the colonial administration was underlined, while missionaries were described as opposing colonial centralisation. The 900 page study, *Handelen en Denken*, written by former Mission Consul S.C. Graaf van Randwijck and published in 1981, occasionally still reminds of this perspective. In an article published in 1997, Van den End pays more particular attention to the ongoing push and pull between both the colonial agents and the missionaries. Van den End, for instance, outlines the changing relationships between missionary societies and the colonial administration and emphasises that there was a high level of coordination between the two after 1900. Mr. S.C. Graaf van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending. Oegstgeest 1897-1942 Deel 1 and Deel 2* (‘s Gravenhage 1981) and Th. van den End, ‘Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending: een overzicht’, Van den End et al. ed., *Twee eeuwen*

colonialism in theory and practice. As professor of world Christianity and history of mission, Dana Robert, has tried to encapsulate in the term “converting colonialism”, mission history can move beyond understandings of binary oppositions towards a more complex understanding of hierarchical taxonomies present in mission and the reactions to these complex interactions at home and abroad, embedded in a specific cultural and political context. In her own words:

‘Rather than assuming that missionaries in all times and places supported colonialism, it is more accurate to speak in ambiguous terms of missionary effort to “convert” it.’¹³

Anthropologists have been more successful in maintaining a balance between the introduction of theoretical concepts, the relationship between colonial government and missionaries at the site, and the specific context of a mission site in their research on mission in the Dutch East Indies. Currently, this field of study is best represented by Webb Keane and Rita Smith Kipp, who are both Professors of Anthropology at American universities. Given their background in anthropology, their research focuses on missionary practice embedded in theoretical frameworks, and pays less attention to the administrative side of mission. In further contrast to the studies by Dutch mission historians, the best known works of Keane and Kipp that deal with mission history, *Christian Moderns* and *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission*, relate more explicitly to the theories and suggestions made by post-colonial studies.¹⁴ The relations between mission and colonial politics are central to both publications. One other significant difference in approach between mission historians and anthropologists is the acknowledgement and attention paid by the latter to the conception of mission by the populations at the mission sites. This perspective is usually lacking in the studies by Dutch mission historians.

The Study of Missionary Representations

Studies in Dutch mission history have focused primarily on either the level of administrative missionary politics or missionary practice at a particular mission site. In all of these studies, the relations between missionary societies and the Dutch colonial state have been addressed, albeit more structurally in studies on the field of anthropology. It may be argued that Dutch mission historians, in contrast to anthropologists, have functioned as a self-contained group, rarely engaging with new theories in historical studies or the results of studies in academic fields on the margins of

¹³ Robert, ‘Introduction’, 4.

¹⁴ Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns. Freedom and fetish in the mission encounter* (Berkeley 2007) and Rita Smith Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission. The Karo Field* (Ann Arbor 1990).

As late as 2004, Rita Smith Kipp remarked on the negligence of the study of missionary texts as representations. In her article 'Two Views of the Minahasa', which is the only study of representation in Dutch mission history that I am aware of, she uses Mary Louise Pratt's work and the studies of anthropologist David Richards as the basis for her comparison of two marginal missionary publications written by women in 1855-1863 and 1909.¹⁷ In this study, Kipp analyses differences and constancies in the representation of the Minahassa population. She pays attention to authors and textual genres of the sources, turns to the representational strategies concerning class and gender in the texts, and relates the representations to the changing colonial politics and the religious context of mission during the sixty years separating the publication of both texts.

Earlier, Rachel A Rakotonirina set out to follow up on the essays of Sharpe, Peel and Etherington by writing a PhD-thesis on the representation of martyrdom of Malagasy Christians in British and French missionary circles through the use of post-colonial theory.¹⁸ In doing so, she assessed the creation and representation of a 'tradition, history, and identity' in martyrological texts, including letters, books, and journal articles written between 1837-1937 and produced by both the French and the English, as well as Malagasy Christians.¹⁹ In her research Rakotonirina paid particular attention to the discourses that worked to include or exclude Malagasy Christians from the larger group of Christian converts. European discourse on the Malagasy martyrs sought to "correct" historical interpretations of the martyrdom, instituting a tradition of representation of the events, in which the identity of Malagasy Christians was defined by, and subordinated to, European missionaries. Subsequent Malagasy discourse, in an attempt to define a Christian identity of their own, used the European interpretations of Malagasy martyrdom and thus reflected the dominance of European discourse.

One of the key aspects of the studies performed by Rakotonirina and Kipp is that they show how a religious based world-view, influenced by the specific political, cultural, and social context in their home country, was implemented by missionaries at a specific mission site, which in turn was influenced by the local context. This world-view then had to be re-formulated in order to be transmitted to the home audience. In this process, the dominant discourse, with its expectations and models, interacted and vied for attention with particular experiences in concrete encounters between missionary and population at a specific mission site. As such, these representations may have

17 Rita Smith Kipp, 'Two Views of the Minahasa: or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bushnatives?', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 63 (2004), 597-624, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York 1992) and David Richards, *Masks of Difference. Cultural Representations in Literature, Anthropology, and Art* (Cambridge 2001).

18 Rachel A. Rakotonirina's PhD thesis is unpublished, 'Representations of Martyrdom. The Case of Madagascar, 1837-1937' (University of Birmingham, Ph.D. thesis 1998), but she wrote about her study in two essays: Rakotonirina, 'Re-reading Missionary Publications' and Rakotonirina, 'Power and Knowledge in Mission Historiography: A Postcolonial Approach to Martyrological Texts on Madagascar, 1837-1937', *Studies in World Christianity* 5 (1999) 156-176.

19 Rachel A. Rakotonirina, 'Re-reading Missionary Publications', 158.

removal and death of many missionaries, leaving their posts in the hands of Indonesian missionary workers. After liberation, a fight for Indonesian independence commenced and during this time missionaries had to renegotiate with the Indonesian churches for a return to the mission sites. When Indonesia became independent in 1949, leaving New Guinea under Dutch supervision, the context in which the Dutch Protestant Mission had worked for a century-and-a-half had changed forever.

An analysis of textual representations in obituaries allows us to see how missionary societies altered their commemorative practices in light of this changing context, and raises many questions: Which elements stayed the same? Which elements slowly changed? How do these elements relate to dominant discourses and the cultural and political context of the time? Changes in representation may not directly reflect an alteration in the relationship between colonial politics or missionary practice, but, when reversed, these combined factors may have influenced the ways in which missionary societies represented their efforts abroad and at home. As a framework for understanding the interaction between changes in the context and in representational practices, I utilise Rakotonirina's statement that martyrologies make up a tradition, history and identity, and look at obituaries of missionary workers as expressions of collective memory in which an ideal group self-image was reflected. In an obituary an individual life was commemorated, but, as will be further analysed in Chapter two, the representation of the life of the deceased was often cast in a shared format influenced by expectations of the collective, effectively reiterating a group identity. Thus, collective memory was (re)produced, a memory that all supporters and members of the SZC could, to some extent, identify with. An analysis of obituaries in the light of collective memory and identity studies allows for the model-like form these texts usually took, but also recognises that disruptions in discourse, such as decolonisation in 1949, lead to changes in the representational models adopted.²⁰

By concentrating on a single genre of texts published in one medium, I eliminate one of the aspects that could explain divergence and change, in order to concentrate more fully on other factors that influenced the (re)formulation of a missionary identity during a time of upheaval in the Dutch East Indies. Other aspects singled out by both Kipp and Rakotonirina are important to this study, in particular the intersection of class, ethnicity and gender that has become an important focus in post-colonial studies. Furthermore, several scholars have remarked that a study of obituaries can provide significant insight into the construction of ideals and images surrounding certain groups of people and elite formation in society.²¹ This is another research topic that is

20 Chris Lorenz, *De constructie van het verleden. Een inleiding in de theorie van de geschiedenis* (5e druk; Amsterdam 1998), 273-303.

21 Peter Brusse, 'Celebration of Life', in: Hans Renders ed., *Het leven van een doodsbericht* (Amsterdam 2005), 88 and Mineke Bosch, *Het Geslacht van de Wetenschap. Vrouwen en hoger onderwijs in Nederland 1878-1948* (Amsterdam 1994), 160. Two monographs have appeared on the subject of representation in obituaries: Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture* (Jackson 2000) and Bridget Fowler, *The Obituary as Collective Memory*

comparison with the chaotic circumstances brought about in Indonesia by the Second World War and decolonisation. Second, this time frame also signalled the start of a development that was to accelerate during the years after the Japanese capitulation, when several churches in the Dutch East Indies became increasingly independent. Taking the research beyond 1951 would have been helpful to glimpse more of the long-term effects that decolonisation had on changes in the commemoration of missionaries and would also have allowed an exploration of the consequences of the conflict concerning New Guinea from 1950 onwards. However, the organisation of mission changed considerably on the first of May in 1951. On that date, after more than one-hundred-and-fifty years of voluntary societal missionary initiatives, mission again became the domain of the Dutch Reformed Church. Taking these organisational changes into account, and looking at the consequences of the war and the post-war period, would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In looking at obituaries as commemorative texts in which a missionary identity was (re)formulated, the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis consists of the school of collective memory studies, supplemented by tools from discourse and identity studies. Tools from post-colonial and gender studies are also utilised, but will be discussed when used in later chapters.

Collective memory was introduced as a social and cultural historical object of study by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in 1925.²³ Interest in the term renewed with Pierre Nora's ground breaking project on French national collective memory in his *Lieux de Mémoire* project.²⁴ While most studies following Nora's have focused on national memory and identity, in recent times other group identities have also been analysed.²⁵ In 2009, a collection of essays was published on the topic of the collective memory of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. Its aim was to show that religious commemorative cultures functioned to

'legitimate the religious groups themselves, as an instrument of socialisation of new members or as a means of marking the boundaries of the community.'²⁶

23 Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris 1925). English translation by Lewis A. Coser: *On Collective Memory* (Chicago 1992).

24 Pierre Nora, 'Mémoire collective', in: Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier and Jacques Revel ed., *La Nouvelle Histoire* (Paris 1978), 398-401 and Pierre Nora ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris 1984-1992).

25 For a concise overview of collective memory studies and the possible application in studies of Dutch history and religion, see: Willem Frijhoff, *De Mist van de Geschiedenis. Over herinneren, vergeten en het historisch geheugen van de samenleving* (Nijmegen 2011).

26 Herman Paul, 'Inleiding: een program voor de studie van religieuze herinneringsculturen', in: George Harinck, Herman Paul and Bart Wallet ed., *Het Gereformeerde Geheugen* (Amsterdam 2009), 11-32, esp. 13: 'Hoewel ze,

Positioning is a key term used to assess how missionary societies viewed and represented their relation to colonial politics. This is done by looking at moments of denial, amnesia, and nostalgia in the texts. Nostalgia signals longing for a past time and an implicit approval of it, while denial or systematic forgetting can distance the author or missionary society from certain policies. In the case of denial this occurred in an explicit manner. Amnesia, on the other hand, is more implicit; by not mentioning a group of people or a certain policy, they are indirectly set apart from the missionary group identity. Authorship, multivocality, and intertextuality help understand “who” is speaking “whose” words and what role [they are] taking in the “speech”.³⁰ Not only is the author of the obituaries (whether named or unnamed) important in the process of memory, identity, and group formation through the commemorative texts, there are also mechanisms concerning authorship that allow for distancing by the missionaries as a group from practices adopted by a single individual. In some cases, the obituaries contain direct quotes from letters or personal interactions. When this happened, it allowed the author (or missionary society) to ‘stress an idea, evaluate behavior, [or] to summarize an opinion.’³¹ In this manner, the author could position himself in opposition, or in agreement, with opinions expressed by others.

Another important tool to understand the process of the formation of a missionary group identity through obituaries is the concept of indexicality. This is the idea that linguistic signs, such as words, refer to aspects of the social context which relate to complex systems of meaning:

‘Linguistic forms at all levels may be used to signal relationships of memberships within, or dissociation from, particular groups via the association of those forms with ideologies, stances, attitudes, actions, and practices attributed to members of those groups.’³²

I have used the idea of indexical words and phrases as a heuristic tool by looking at words or narratives that were repeatedly used in missionary obituaries to establish a repertory of what were considered key-characteristics of missionaries. An analysis of these same phrases and words used in colonial discourse leads to an evaluation of the explicit and hidden colonial implications in missionary obituaries. Furthermore, subtle variations in the use of indexical words may signal marginalisation and encompassment in obituaries. As such, I study the encompassment of missionary identity in obituaries by looking at the general indexical words and narrative patterns used. Then, I turn to specific indexical words and narratives used to highlight exclusionary tendencies. Here, the categories of ethnicity and gender come into play.

30 Anna de Fina et al ed., *Discourse and Identity* (Cambridge 2006), 10.

31 Ibidem, 12.

32 Ibidem, 15.

Outline of the Content

To answer the main research question I undertake five subsequent steps before giving my concluding remarks.

In the first chapter, I give an outline of the history of Dutch missionary societies united in the SZC. I focus on the reaction and positioning of the missionary societies towards the peoples in the Indonesian archipelago and the colonial government following three key-events during the period of 1930-1951 as portrayed in available academic literature: the growing independence of churches in the Dutch East Indies, the Japanese occupation and the Indonesian fight for independence or decolonisation.

The subject of the second chapter is obituaries as an instance of collective memory and identity making. I analyse previous studies on collective memory, obituaries, and missionary biographies in order to shed light on the nature of missionary obituaries as a source. Subsequently, the ways in which the missionary obituaries under scrutiny act as places of (re)negotiation of missionary identity are outlined by looking at the format, authors, and readership of the sources.

In chapter three I explore the most important encompassing character traits praised in missionary obituaries, by looking at general indexical words and narrative sequences in the sources. Here, the inclusive group identity is key: which traits were considered to be part of “true missionaries” regardless of their gender, class, or ethnicity? I then compare this discourse of encompassment in the missionary obituaries with obituaries of colonial administrators, to gauge if it is possible to speak of an (un)conscious adoption of colonial forms of remembrance by a preliminary comparison of these sources.

Chapter four deals with questions of class, occupation, and gender. The demarcation of boundaries between “true” missionaries and marginal missionary workers is emphasised in this chapter. I look at specific indexical words and phrases used to distinguish secondary missionary initiatives from the work of conversion. These demarcation techniques are then related to colonial developments and prevalent discourses of a colonial calling and domestication at that time.

Considerations of class and gender are not complete without taking ethnicity into account. In chapter five, I concentrate on the question of a possible change in representational positioning of the missionary society in the obituaries vis-à-vis colonial and decolonisation politics. I do so by concentrating on three interrelated themes: the representation of Indonesian missionary workers and converts, and the corresponding group membership negotiation in obituaries; use of the terms Dutch East Indies and Indonesia in the obituaries, working from the premise that the terms used to denote the Indonesian archipelago imply an acceptance or rejection of colonialism; and (changing) descriptions of “the exotic” and the population at the mission sites.

The History of Voluntary Missionary Societies in the Netherlands

Establishment of Voluntary Missionary Societies

The Dutch Reformed Church had been active in the Indonesian Archipelago since the Dutch East India Company (VOC) settled there for trade. Between 1602 and 1799, the Dutch Reformed Church carried out church responsibilities, including mission, in the areas the VOC controlled. Traditionally, the initiatives of the Dutch Reformed Church are seen in a negative light: the Church is portrayed as having been unable to perform true evangelical work because the VOC treated it as a trade church, solely there for Dutch tradesmen. Furthermore, the main purpose of the VOC and the church was considered to be the pursuit of profit.³⁶ However, a recent study rejects this entirely negative image of the church and argues that these evaluations were written with more modern notions of mission and the division between church and state in mind. According to the Dutch historian G.J. Schutte, the Dutch Reformed Church in the Indies did perform mission, although never in the structural manner that would become influential during the nineteenth century.³⁷

Despite these differences of opinion, historians agree that the role of the church in the Indonesian archipelago diminished during the eighteenth century.³⁸ Concurrent with this development, the *Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap* (abbreviated as NZG), the first voluntary-based missionary society, was founded in the Netherlands in 1797, following the example of the London Missionary Society (LMS). Like the LMS, the NZG was an interdenominational organisation that wished to perform missionary work independently from the church. The establishment of the NZG is generally considered to be the beginning of modern Dutch Protestant mission.³⁹

By the time church and state were separated in the Netherlands in 1796, it had become unpopular to consider mission a matter of state business, which stimulated the founding and success of the Dutch Missionary Society. The bankruptcy of the VOC at the end of the eighteenth century proved disastrous for the Dutch Reformed Church in the Indies, and created a further opportunity for the NZG to step in. In 1815, the NZG sent its first official missionary to the Indonesian Archipelago. In the years to come, the missionary initiative would be firmly placed in the hands of the Dutch Missionary Society, from which the *Protestantse Kerk in Indië*, the continuation of the

36 S. Coolsma, *De zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (Utrecht 1901) and C.W.Th. Van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam, *De Gereformeerde kerken in Nederland en de zending in Oost-Indië in de dagen der Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Utrecht 1906).

37 G.J. Schutte ed., *Het Indisch Sion. De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum 2002).

38 P.N. Holtrop, 'Van kerkstaat naar particulier initiatief. De Indische kerk en het Nederlandse Zendelingengenootschap', in: Schutte ed., *Het Indisch Sion*, 225-236 and Van den End, 'Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending: een overzicht', 1-2.

39 David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York 1991), 274-284.

1859 under the name *Nederlandse Zendings Vereeniging*. In 1859 the *Utrechtse Zendings Vereeniging* (UZV) was established. Both societies were influenced by the *Reveil* movement, yet both adopted different strategies to hold modern theology at bay. The NZV and the UZV formulated exclusionary slogans and the NZV added a clause to its charter that rendered cooperation with other societies impossible.⁴³ The UZV felt this may not offer enough resistance to ward off modern influences so, they sought their solution in a more hierarchical organisation of their administration: administrators were appointed through co-optation, a system that was only abandoned in 1904. The NZV, like the NZG, was organised in a more democratic manner. Members of the society could influence who was elected for administrative functions and they also played a part in the administrative decisions made at annual meetings. Another difference between the two organisations was that while members of the UZV in the Netherlands were predominantly from upper-class families, the NZG and the NZV found their supporters in the middle-class. In addition, more so than the NZV or the NZG, the UZV's motto was 'clearly related to the confession of the Protestant churches.'⁴⁴ Whereas the NZV had few theologians as members, the UZV (like the NZG) had many members who were church ministers.⁴⁵

This state of division between the several missionary societies lasted until the beginning of the twentieth century. The first indicator of a renewed cooperation between several societies is found in the initiative to start one united institute in order to train the new missionary recruits who would be sent to the Dutch East Indies. In 1905, the *Nederlandsche Zendingsschool* was established, combining the educational facilities of the NZG and the UZV. In 1908, these two missionary societies also united their secretarial offices, which led to the establishment of the *Samenwerkende Zendingcorporaties*. Important factors in this renewed cooperation included the declining influence of the modern theological school within the NZG, and the leadership of NZG's

43 The NZV excluded modernist theology from their ranks by stating that their members 'admitted that the Lord Jesus Christ is their absolute Saviour', by 'showing this in their life journey' and by 'declaring that cooperation with those who deny the true and eternal God is impossible.' As quoted in Van den Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie*, 70: 'De Vereeniging bestaat uit Leden, die erkennen dat de Heer Jezus Christus hun volkomen Zaligmaker is, die dit in hunnen wandel vertoonen, en, die verklaren niet te mogen samenwerken met degenen, die Zijne waarachtige en eeuwige Godheid loochenen.' In contrast, the UZV's statement held that: 'The aim of the UZV is to educate and send out such Evangelical messengers, who possess an intimate and sincere faith and are permeated with ardent love towards the Lord and the Heathens, will surrender their soul to Him, and, on the grounds of the Holy Gospel, on which authority and divine origin they trust, in the deep feeling of their absolute dependence, preach Jesus Christ as the only and sufficient Saviour of sins, Son of God and Saviour of the world, one with the Father and to honour like Him.' As quoted in Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 77: 'De Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging heeft ten doel de opleiding en uitzending van zulke Evangelieboden, die met innig en oprecht geloof vervuld en doordrongen van vurige liefde tot den Heer en tot de Heidenen, Hem hunne ziel willen overgeven, en, op grond der Heilige Schriften, van welker goddelijken oorsprong en gezag zij de overtuiging bezitten, in het diep gevoel van hunne volstreckte afhankelijkheid, Jezus Christus verkondigen als den éénigen en algenoegzamen Verlosser van zondaren, den Zoon Gods en den Zaligmaker der wereld, een met den Vader en te eeren als Hij.'

44 Van den Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie*, 78.

45 Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 77-78 and Van den Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie*, 77-78.

sent to the East Indies by the *Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap* were, J.G. Supper and G.W. Brückner, who were German, and Jozef Kam, who was Dutch. All three were located on Java, but Jozef Kam relocated to Ambon in 1815, where he consequently became famous as the Apostle of the Moluccas.⁵⁰

In the course of the first thirty years of the NZG's presence in the Dutch East Indies, there was an amicable relationship between the colonial government and the Dutch Missionary Society. Josef Kam's transfer to Ambon, for example, was directed by the Church of Batavia and the governor. Most missionaries from the NZG were located at old church communities founded at the time of the VOC. Contrary to the motto of the missionary society these missionaries did not work among "heathens", but instead served both indigenous and European Christians.⁵¹

From 1840 onwards, the relations between the NZG and the colonial administration cooled. Mission historian Th. van den End gives two reasons for this change:⁵² the first one being the completion of the formation of the *Indische Kerk* in 1844. While mission was not considered a task of this church, ministers did perform work similar to that of the missionaries in the Moluccas, the Minahassa, the Sangir Island and on Timor. As these were areas where missionaries were also active, this led to tensions between the church and the missionary societies.

The second reason Van den End suggests for the changed relationship between the NZG and the colonial government concerns the neutral policy towards religion adopted by the colonial administration. The colonial government was careful not to be seen as supporting Christian mission in an effort to appease the Muslims in the Indonesian archipelago. For missionary societies, this meant that their efforts to expand their mission sites beyond those they had first settled were often frustrated by the colonial administration. Missionaries needed permission from the government to settle at a new site and when the local population of a proposed site was Muslim, the colonial administrators were reluctant to allow access. Mission initiatives on Java were particularly tightly regulated. The first Javanese translation of the Gospel was confiscated and it was only by the middle of the nineteenth century that official missionaries were allowed to work on the island outside of Christian settlements, and always under specific government supervision.⁵³ While the missionaries and their societies supported the common world-view of Western superiority implemented by the Dutch colonial government, during the nineteenth century they often criticised colonial politics, due to its reluctance to support Christian mission.⁵⁴

50 Lems, 'Het ontstaan van de zendingsgenootschappen', 14-15.

51 Van den End, 'Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending', 3-4.

52 Ibidem, 4-6.

53 Robert W. Hefner, 'Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java', in: idem ed., *Conversion to Christianity. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley 1993) 99-125, esp. 99-100.

54 Th. van den End, 'Zending, gouvernement en Indonesische nationale beweging', in: Lems and Van Vliet ed., *Geroepen tot Zending*, 87-94, esp. 89-90 and Van den End and Aritonang, '1800-2005: A National Overview', 158-

with their own converts or with the growing repression displayed by the colonial government from 1927 onwards?⁶¹

Ideas about independent churches were relatively new to Dutch mission. Until the turn of the century, evangelisation and the conversion of individuals had been the primary aim of the missionary societies working in the Indonesian archipelago. It was only during the twentieth century that thought was given to the establishment of national churches. According to the missionary societies, these churches could only be established through a slow adaptation in which the concepts of education, civilisation, and Christianisation were central, rather like the ethical policy of the Dutch colonial government. Most missionaries would keep to these ideals until the Japanese occupation, when their own position as paternalistic educators was disrupted by the spoils of war.⁶² The previously mentioned former missionary Jan Kruyt, for example, writing about the period prior to the Second World War, states that

‘What is striking now, in retrospect, is that we had no idea back then how little time we were allotted: our pace in the propulsion towards development was much too slow.’⁶³

Before the establishment of independent churches, the organisations at the mission sites could not be considered proper churches. Usually, the Christians were assembled in one village where the missionary had both religious and secular influence. Smaller congregations were led by teacher-preachers or elders and supervised by the missionary. The missionary also often appointed the elders. In turn, the missionary was held responsible by the missionary society at home, and also directly by his colleagues at the site. The organisation of missionary work was hierarchical and reflected a colonial class-based society. Th. Van den End remarks that:

‘In point of fact, the existing situation on the mission sites was a very a-Protestant system of church government: the missionaries functioned as bishops (the conference of missionaries as a college of bishops), with far away in the Netherlands a higher agency above them; beneath them were parish pastors and below them the parish members. However, (...) the allusion to a Roman-Catholic hierarchy is less fitting than a reference to the nineteenth-century class-based society or, better yet, the colonial variety of this society.’⁶⁴

61 Van den End, ‘Zending, gouvernement en Indonesische nationale beweging’, 92 and M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (4th edition; Basingstroke and New York 2008), 196, 216-232.

62 Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 447-453.

63 Kruyt, *Het zendingsveld Poso*, 339: ‘Wat nu, achteraf gezien, opvalt, is dat wij toen geen idee hadden van hoe kort de ons toegemeten tijd was: ons tempo in de voortstuwing der ontwikkeling was veel te laag.’

64 Van den End, ‘Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse Zending’, 16: ‘In feite existeerde op de zendingsterreinen een zeer onprotestants systeem van kerkregering: de zendelingen fungeerden als bisschoppen (de Conferentie als college van bisschoppen), met ver weg in Nederland een nog hogere instantie boven zich; onder hen stonden de

The Second World War and the Japanese Occupation

The nationalistic movement in the Dutch East Indies, which had steadily grown between 1900 and 1927, became even more vocal from 1927 onwards. Demands varied and nationalism was divided into several (and an increasing number of) factions. By May 1939, most organisations were united in the *GAPI* (*Gabungan Politik Indonesia*, Indonesian Political Federation). The *GAPI* demanded a full parliament for Indonesia and a union based on equality between the Netherlands and Indonesia. During the 1930s and the rise of fascism, the Dutch were reluctant to agree with any political reforms claiming that reform may make the Indonesian archipelago more unstable at a time of increased political uncertainty. On the other hand, Indonesians felt that their willingness to side against fascism should encourage the Dutch to accede their demands for greater autonomy. Instead, the colonial government placed greater restrictions on Indonesian organisations and arrested local leaders. By 1940, however, the gaze of the Dutch was firmly focused on other developments in the world: Hitler had invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, and the Dutch government was exiled to London. For the East Indies, war loomed on the horizon with the initiation of the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, Hong Kong, Malaya, and the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies declared war on Japan on 8 December 1941. Subsequently, Japan invaded Indonesia on 10 January 1942. The Dutch surrendered on 8 March of the same year.⁶⁹

During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, the archipelago was divided into three regions. Sumatra was designated as being the first region and the second was comprised of Java and Madura. These two regions were controlled by the Japanese army (the *Gunseibu*). The third region was made up of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and East Indonesia, and was administered by the navy (the *Minseibu*). Policies towards these regions differed according to the economic advantage they offered the Japanese and the perceived state of civilisation. Java was considered politically advanced, but economically unimportant, and here the Japanese encouraged Indonesian nationalism. East Indonesia, by contrast, was considered essential to the Japanese war economy but politically primitive, and the Japanese governed this region in a repressive manner. Nevertheless, all regions were considered to be part of the Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and the Japanese disbanded all political organisations, placed strict surveillance on all other organisations, and subjected the population to indoctrination.⁷⁰

At the same time, the Japanese set out to eliminate all elements of the Dutch presence. Dutch properties were confiscated, including missionary hospitals and schools, and the use of the Dutch language was forbidden. Furthermore, all Europeans except Germans were interned in

⁶⁹ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 230-232.

⁷⁰ Van den End and Aritonang, '1800-2005: A National Overview', 179 and Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 235.

challenges and general upheavals brought about by the Japanese occupation.

Occurrences during the war had consequences for the development of mission and autonomous churches after 1945. Missionary societies had lost a third of their active Dutch workers in the war and Indonesian workers had carried most of the responsibilities at the sites. Whereas prior to 1945, Christians had mostly lived in seclusion, during the war their interactions with fellow Christians and other religious groups increased. As a result of this greater interaction, Indonesian Christians developed the confidence to reject their subordination to the Dutch missionaries, and in 1950 they finally succeeded in transgressing the demarcations between Christian congregations, set out by the different missionary societies, and formed the Council of Churches in Indonesia.⁷⁷

Decolonisation

For some historians, the Japanese occupation of the Indonesian archipelago meant the end of Dutch colonialism and the Dutch East Indies.⁷⁸ Of course, this depends on the viewpoint of the author, as some would claim the Dutch East Indies lasted until the treaty of independence became valid in 1950. Certainly, Dutch authority was severely shaken and never completely restored after 1945. On 17 August 1945, two days after the Japanese had surrendered, Sukarno and Hatta declared independence for the Republic of Indonesia. In the Netherlands, the Dutch heard about anarchy and chaos in the Indonesian archipelago. Surmising that Dutch people residing in the Indonesian archipelago were being threatened by nationalistic groups, which the Dutch denoted as “terrorists”, they were reluctant to acknowledge the Indonesian claim to independence. Effectively, the Indonesian archipelago now consisted of two spheres of influence, one in which the Indonesian Republic had control and another area in which the Dutch had regained political influence. A first attempt at a treaty between the Dutch and the Republic of Indonesia, on 15 November 1946, was met with mistrust by both parties and eventually collapsed. The Dutch continued building up an armed force in the Indonesian archipelago and was active in two military campaigns, on 21 July 1947 and 19 December 1948, which were called the First and Second *Politioenele Actie*. International support, as well as support from national trade and industry, had meanwhile turned against the Dutch, especially since the second military campaign had resulted in guerrilla warfare. The Dutch were forced by the United States and Australia to negotiate with the Indonesians, which eventually led to a transfer of sovereignty from the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the *Republik Indonesia Serikat*. It was agreed that the Dutch would keep supervision of New Guinea, a concession that was supposed to be renegotiated at the end of 1950, but was eventually ignored by

77 Van den End and Aritonang, ‘1800-2005: A National Overview’, 183, 186-187.

78 Ricklefs is clearly a supporter of this view. As he states on page 232 of his *A History of Modern Indonesia*, in 1942 ‘Dutch rule in Indonesia was at an end.’

did not succeed in radically casting off the old paternalistic patterns, not any more than they had done before 1942, even if these [paternalistic patterns] were now expressed in taking a political position.’⁸⁴

Mission historian Hans van de Wal, in his monograph about the policy of the Dutch Reformed Church concerning New Guinea between 1949 and 1962, also characterises the position of the Church as one caught between sympathy for decolonisation and the unwillingness to criticise the Dutch government. However, he does not draw the ultimate conclusion that mission, as well as church, were unable to let go of their former paternalistic policies. His evaluation is based more on the inability to choose, and the restraints experienced through the ever-growing need to compromise in face of the differences dividing opinion within the ranks of the church.⁸⁵

As a study concerned mainly with the church, Van de Wal’s evaluation of the missionary societies before they were united with the institute of the church could be said to be slightly more positive with regards to the question of decolonisation in Indonesia than the policy of the church itself. Van de Wal emphasises the impact of the statement made by Oegstgeest that the missionary societies advised decolonisation along the lines of the Queen’s speech in August 1942, in face of opposition towards negotiations with the Republic by confessional political parties as well as by members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The statement, published in the December 1945 issue of the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*, read that:

‘The boards of the *Samenwerkende Zending Corporaties* located at Oegstgeest declare, that they, obedient to the command of God, on the grounds of justice and charity, for their part unambiguously and open-mindedly have to stand up for a complete liquidation of the colonial relations and for a generous recognition of the Royal Speech from 7 December 1942, that promised Indonesia an equal and equivalent partnership in a voluntarily accepted National Association.’⁸⁶

The above official statement was complemented by negative opinion of several missionaries towards Dutch politics in the Indonesian archipelago and the advice against military operations by the Mission Council in subsequent years. However, Van de Wal also acknowledges that the ambivalent church policies were in part influenced by the reserve expressed by members of the

84 Van den End, ‘Zending, gouvernement en Indonesische nationale beweging’, 93: Zending en kerk slaagden er in deze jaren evenmin als voor 1942 in zich radicaal los te maken uit de oude paternalistische denkkaders, ook al uitten die zich nu in politieke stellingnamen.’

85 Hans van de Wal, ‘Het dekoloniatiedebat in de Hervormde Kerk’, in: idem, *Een aanvechtbare en onzekere situatie*, 62-83.

86 ‘Verklaring’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 39: ‘De Hoofdbesturen der Samenwerkende Zending Corporaties te Oegstgeest spreken uit, dat zij, gehoorzamende aan het gebod Gods, op grond van gerechtigheid en naastenliefde voor hun deel ondubbelzinnig en onbekrompen hebben op te komen voor een algeheele liquidatie van de koloniale verhouding en voor een royale honoreering van het Koninklijke woord van 7 December 1942, dat Indonesië een gelijkwaardig en gelijkberechtigd deelgenootschap in een vrijwillig aanvaard rijksverband toezegde.’

Republic in August 1945. The Dutch government was not ready to give Indonesia independence outside of their own terms. Opinion is divided on the stance missionary societies took with regards to the possibility of independence. However, both Van den End and Van de Wal agree that the position of the *Samenwerkende Zendings Corporaties*, soon to be changed into the VNZ, was one characterised by indecision and an inability to unreservedly choose one side. Whether missionaries at the site were represented as supporters of Indonesian nationalism or Dutch colonial politics in obituaries, and if so in what terms, is the subject of subsequent chapters.

broader field of collective memory and identity studies in recent decades. Here, I will outline how Hume and Fowler in particular located commemorative texts, in the form of obituaries, within this developing school of thought.

In her study of American newspaper obituaries published between 1818 and 1930, *Obituaries in American Culture*, Associate Professor of Journalism Janice Hume, analysed 8,000 obituaries as sources that reveal changing social values surrounding death and citizenship. She emphasised that for most of this period, collective values were most influential in decisions about who was commemorated and in what manner.

Seven years later, in 2007, Professor of Sociology Bridget Fowler, published the results of a study of recent newspaper obituaries as instances of collective memory. She linked the rise of representation of certain groups to the social context by citing Bourdieu's work on habitus, doxa, elite reproduction, and cultural, social, and economic capital. She concluded that although obituary editors claim that there has been a "democratic revolution" in obituaries, they in fact still reveal the influence of an entrenched dominant Western elite.⁹⁰

According to Hume, 'obituaries link published memories of individual lives with generational, or family, memory and with American collective memory.'⁹¹ Her argument supporting this claim includes sociologist Paul Connerton's statement in *How Societies Remember* that 'images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order.'⁹² Hume's emphasis is on the ideal image represented in obituaries, an ideal formed by collective values at the time of commemoration. Commemoration in obituaries takes the form of reinforcing dominant values instead of chronicling historical fact. Whether or not a citizen's death is commemorated depends on her or his adherence to the dominant social norm. Throughout the monograph Hume analyses in what manner historical changes are reflected in the people commemorated and the character traits they are commemorated with. Furthermore, she argues that people like George Washington appear as national symbols in obituaries. The deceased, she argues, was more likely to be commemorated if a link between the person and a national symbol could be established.

Hume's work has been criticised for failing to show exactly how obituaries work as a link between individual, family and national memory.⁹³ Part of this criticism is legitimate. It seems logical to relate commemoration of individuals to collective memory, but Hume does not move beyond showing that changing collective values were reflected in the narratives of obituaries,

which is a different form of commemoration than obituaries. Furthermore, Eid's main focus is on statistics of gender (in)equity and change in death notices and less on qualitative analysis.

90 Fowler, *The Obituary as Collective Memory*.

91 Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture*, 12.

92 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge 1989), 3.

93 Andie Tucher, 'Book Reviews: Obituaries in American Culture', *Journalism & mass communication quarterly* 78 (2001), 203-204.

only a small margin were deemed important enough to be commemorated.

While Fowler focuses on modern obituaries and Hume on historical ones, both agree that before the 1980s, which saw a revival of obituaries in newspapers of the Anglo-Saxon world, obituaries were more conservative in both who they commemorated and the form these commemorations took. Fowler calls this type 'the traditional, highly coded form of the obituary' and states that it fits Paul Connerton's claim that memory is incorporated into the mind through rituals.⁹⁸

It is interesting that both Fowler and Hume refer to Paul Connerton's *How Societies Remember* in their discussion of obituaries as public, or collective, memory. Granted, Fowler only refers to him as a stepping stone to her more general contention about contemporary obituaries, but the argument she cites is interesting. In his book, Connerton states that collective memory is reinforced through rituals. He takes up the definition of ritual provided by sociologist Lukes: a 'rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance.'⁹⁹ Furthermore, Connerton notes that although rites are 'formalised acts' that 'tend to be stylised, stereotyped and repetitive', they are not a 'mere formality'. In fact, the persons involved interpret these rites as authentic expressions. Referring to Clifford Geertz, Connerton claims that rituals are not limited to ritual occasions, which are often related to the beginning or ending of life, but that the values and meanings expressed extend to group life and mentality beyond the rituals. Thus, commemorative rituals are related to group identity. By their very repetitiveness they reference a relation with the past. This relationship becomes even more pronounced when a historical religious event is re-enacted in the commemorative ceremony.¹⁰⁰

Can obituaries of missionaries in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* be understood as ritualised commemorations of past lives that were highly coded and followed a model established over a longer period of time? I will elaborate in what manner these obituaries can be understood as such and how they relate to collective memory as set out by Paul Connerton in the paragraphs below. However, before doing so, I want to draw attention to the work done by Associate Professor of English literature, Terrence L. Craig, on missionary biographies as a genre, because it provides a further clue as to how missionary obituaries can be understood as a form of collective memory.

98 Fowler, *The Obituary as Collective Memory*, 35.

99 S. Lukes, 'Political Ritual and Social Integration', *Sociology* 9 (1975) 289-308, esp. 291, as quoted in: Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 44.

100 Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 44-48.

illusion.¹⁰⁷ This is a rhetorical device found in obituaries and biographies that presents the subject's life as a cohesive whole. The biographic narrative often reflects a sense of directive in the person's development, representing life as a linear progress towards a supposedly preordained conclusion with little to no room for deviations or coincidences. In Bourdieu's own words:

'[L]e fait que "la vie" constitue un tout, un ensemble cohérent et orienté, qui peut et doit être appréhendé comme expression unitaire d'une "intention" subjective et objective, d'un projet. (...) Cette vie organisée comme une histoire se déroule, selon un ordre chronologique qui est aussi un ordre logique, depuis un commencement, une origine, au double sens de point de départ, de début, mais aussi de principe, de raison d'être, de cause première, jusqu'à son terme est aussi un but.'¹⁰⁸

Craig does not refer to Bourdieu's concept, but he does show that missionary biographies tell stories of the lives of persons *as missionaries*. All other details are ignored, or at least presented as secondary to the story. Craig further points out that in missionary biographies, this sense of directive is ascribed to God: the missionaries are elected by God to perform missionary work, it is their calling. And so a linear unfolding of their lives is presented as a logical consequence of this calling.

Second, Fowler describes traditional obituaries as highly coded; Hume's study reveals that obituaries often follow the same pattern that justified and reinforced the dominant social order. Similarly, Craig notes the highly patterned form and content of missionary biographies. However, every missionary biography not only portrays a similarity in phrases and lauded character traits, but also reflects the exact same pattern of when what trait is named, or when an event occurs in the narrative. This is related to the highly ideological nature of missionary biographies. They were published as propaganda material and, more explicitly than the obituaries studied by Hume, influenced the next generation; missionaries-to-be read biographies of former missionaries, which then shaped their own lives. Unlike the national scope of Hume's obituaries, these texts were written, edited, produced, and read by a self-contained group of people who shared the same ideals. The biographies were meant to reinforce the group's ideals and since they functioned in such a small sphere of people, they were often very similar over long periods of time. Missionary biographies were texts that provided an exemplar to be followed and a means of interpreting missionary situations which then again shaped the texts. Thus, the content and structure of these lives were caught in a closed circle in which change was slow to occur.¹⁰⁹

107Fowler, *The Obituary as Collective Memory*, 60-61.

108P. Bourdieu, 'L'Illusion Biographique', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 62/63 (1986), 69-72, esp 69.

109Craig, *The Missionary Lives*, xvi, 55, 89, 101.

1940s.¹¹² Since circulation numbers are unavailable it is hard to form a definite understanding of how many people read the journal. Title pages of the journals show that readers received monthly editions of the journal for 1.50 to 2 guilder a year. The journals were sent to overseas areas; based on the written reactions to published articles found in missionaries' personal archives, it is certain that many missionaries at the sites read them. Other readers would have included the active members of the missionary societies united in the *SZC* in the Netherlands, the missionaries in training, and interested church members.

As set out above, the obituaries studied by Hume and Fowler were published in newspapers with a national scope. In contrast, the missionary obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* reflect a group memory and identity of the small social niche of Dutch Christians who identified with missionary societies. The missionary journal was produced and read by this niche and the commemorated deceased were those who were considered important to *SZC* supporters. Usually these were active participants in the missionary endeavour, although sometimes politicians or other note-worthies who had engaged with the mission were lauded too. Thus, the analysed obituaries do not reflect national collective memory, but that of a more self-contained group like the missionary biographies studied by Craig. This need not negate the claim of these obituaries as repositories of collective memory, but may even enhance it.

Another fundamental difference between the media studied by Hume and Fowler and the missionary journal, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*, is the overt way in which the journal was used to convey propaganda. The specific purpose of missionary journals, like the biographies studied by Craig, was to promote the mission as well as provide information.¹¹³ The content featured in the journal reflects this: many of the articles published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* portrayed the mission sites, described the needs and circumstances of the population, and made claims about the accomplishments of the missionaries. These articles legitimated the actions undertaken by the missionary societies and their workers by directing readers' attention to the poor circumstances and the Indonesian people's call for help, as well as highlighting the results of work performed by missionaries. Accompanying these articles were small features on new missionaries leaving for the mission sites, including stories about their personal calling. Furthermore, the journal drew attention to financial needs by featuring campaigns and advertisements to support the mission. Every edition also contained an account of the money received and spent, and occasionally included a list of people who had donated.

Clearly, the entire range of content was meant to transform passive readers into active participants, either by calling for financial support or by trying to draw in new missionary workers.

112Van den End, 'Voorlichting en publiciteit', 78.

113Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 716.

between 1930 and 1951. The number of texts does not correspond to the number of deceased people because sometimes more than one person was commemorated in one text. The most extreme example of this is the *in memoriam* of a group of missionary teachers in which twelve deceased persons are mentioned.¹¹⁸ At the same time, some people received more than one dedicated text. When this happened, missionary workers either received extra memorial articles on their account, or were first mentioned in a death notice before receiving an obituary. The latter was especially frequent in the years preceding the Second World War.

Overall, different groups of missionary workers were represented unequally in the commemorative texts, with some groups predominantly receiving more death notices than obituaries. Dutch male missionary workers, including missionaries, medical missionaries and missionary teachers were best represented. Female missionary workers or missionary wives received a significantly smaller number of commemorative texts, while Indonesian missionary workers were even more marginally represented, especially in comparison with the large number of workers that hailed from the archipelago.¹¹⁹

Missionary Obituaries: Authors

As in Craig's study of missionary biographies, the people active in the missionary societies were not only the subjects, readers, and editors of the obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingblad*: they were also the writers. However, until 1940 almost none of the commemorative texts explicitly mention an author. Exceptions to this are the obituaries of female missionary workers, who often received an obituary authored by a male missionary from the site at which they resided. The same holds true for Indonesian missionary workers. From 1940 onwards, an explicit mention of the author became standard for all obituaries, often achieved via the printed initials of the author at the bottom of the text. In the last few years of the studied period, all the obituaries became more personal, signalled by a turn from printing the authors' initials to using their full names. Commonly, the authors were mission directors and one in particular, K.J. Brouwer, seems to have had chief responsibility for writing obituaries. Sometimes obituaries were written by colleagues from the same mission site as the deceased. This happened particularly often for commemorative texts written about missionary workers who died during the Japanese occupation.

The obituaries dedicated to Dutch male missionary workers that were published anonymously seem to proclaim a shared commemoration in which every reader could recognise

118Hs. 'In Memoriam: overleden onderwijzers', *Nederlandsche Zendingblad* 29 (1946), 15.

119More information about the quantitative and qualitative differences in group representation will follow in the fourth and fifth chapter. An overview of statistics can be found in Appendix D.

1940 onwards, the authors of obituaries commemorating a Dutch male missionary worker was most often a mission director. The director was a person who could, as it were, still speak for the group at large. However, after the Second World War personal memories began to become more dominant, and Dutch male workers too were commemorated by old friends and colleagues from the mission site. It is hard to say whether the distinction between male and female, Dutch and Indonesian, which was partly colonial-based and forged through authorship, disappeared at that moment, but it did become less distinct.

A second measure of distinction can perhaps be found in the fact that not only the subjects of the obituaries, but the authors too, were unevenly distributed in terms of ethnicity and gender. Out of all authors, only one was an Indonesian *goeroe*, writing a more detailed commemoration of the missionary he worked under. Two authors are women: one was the author of a piece on a colleague and the other described her memories of the friendship between her husband and missionary Kruyt. The lack of opportunity to write about colleagues, and thus to represent them, underlined the marginality of Indonesian and female missionary workers.

Missionary Obituaries: Form and Structure

The obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* also resemble the missionary biographies studied by Craig in that they ^{are} were highly patterned, keeping to a certain structure combined with patterned anecdotes that flesh out the obituaries.¹²⁴ To illustrate that structure, I will explicate an obituary dedicated to Albertus Johannes de Neef, nicknamed Albert de Zaaier. De Neef was born on 27 August 1892 and died on 1 September 1948. He worked as a missionary for the UZV in New Guinea for eight years, and later devoted his time to missionary work in the Netherlands. His obituary was published in the September 1948 issue of the *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad*.¹²⁵

Every obituary began with a paragraph in which the death of the missionary worker in question was announced. Often, this one-sentence announcement contained the date and place of death, the age of the person, the name and possibly the title, the profession, and his or her relationship to a missionary society. In case of Albert de Neef, the first line of his obituary reads:

¹²⁴Craig, *The Missionary Lives*, 73: 'most of these stories are the same stories. There are, in each case, certain touchstones that accumulate to represent convincingly a complete missionary.'

¹²⁵W.F.D., 'Ter gedachtenis aan Albertus Johannes de Neef'. 27 aug. 1892 – 1 Sept. 1948', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948) 102-103. This obituary is printed in Appendix E, for further reference. A month later, in October of 1948, a second commemorative article dedicated to Albert de Neef was published in the missionary magazine, in which he is predominantly commemorated as a missionary in New Guinea: F.C. Kamma, 'Albert Zaaier als Zendeling', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948) 111-112. However, the first obituary provides a sufficient example of the general structure of an obituary of a missionary worker.

of course!

'In 1920 he departed, sent by the Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging, to his site on New-Guinea and there he and his wife, first at Hollandia and later at Jappen, with a furlough between 1926-1928, have worked with great dedication under their beloved Papua's. In 1928 De Neef started missionary work in the Netherlands and there he, too, was a missionary in the full sense of the word.'¹²⁹

Another central element of the obituaries is the emphasis placed on character traits. Some individual character traits were mentioned, but more often they were common traits which were mentioned in the obituaries of all missionary workers. Common characteristics included: a complete dedication to the missionary work and the people the missionary served plus total disregard for the missionary's own needs, an innocent and strong faith that was often referred to as being "childlike", perseverance in the face of difficulty, a warm and friendly disposition, a practical world-view, and a thorough understanding of the culture and language of the people the missionary served.¹³⁰

A third element in obituaries is an outline of the results of the labour performed by the commemorated missionary worker. These results may be presented by listing the constructed buildings, the educational or medical jobs performed and the contributions made to missiology and ethnology. Despite often-recurring debates in missionary societies about the need to remain focused on conversion as a primary goal, the number of converted Christians was rarely mentioned in obituaries. At times, mass-movements to Christianity may be mentioned, or the best-known converts were referred to, but more often we find that the measure of Christianisation is ignored. Yet, as obituaries were texts published in a medium that had legitimation of the mission as its goal, the authors seem to have understood that converts were the results most readers of the missionary journal were looking for. This is suggested by the significant number of obituaries in which an explanation for the lack of converts was given, or the insistence that later mass-conversions were grounded in work performed by the commemorated worker. The impact of missionary labour was further stressed in the obituaries by referring to the reputation of the missionary worker. This often happened by insisting that the worker would be severely missed by the population at the sites.

The closing paragraph(s) of a commemorative text usually consisted of the assurance that the missionary would be kept in loving memory as well as a stress on the loss to the family. Moreover, the loss to the mission was commonly emphasised. Sometimes, this statement was followed by one that assured the reader that the loss to the mission was only of a personal nature

129W.F.D., "Ter gedachtenis aan Albertus Johannes de Neef", 102: 'In 1920 vertrok hij, uitgezonden door de Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging, naar zijn arbeidsveld op Nieuw-Guinea en daar hebben hij en zijn vrouw, eerst op Hollandia en daarna op Jappen, met onderbreking van een verlof in 1926-1928, met grote toewijding gewerkt onder hun geliefde Papoea's. In 1928 kwam de Neef in het binnenlandse zendingswerk. En ook daar was hij zendeling in de volle zin van het woord.'

130For a more detailed analysis of the common character traits praised in obituaries, see Chapter 3.

obituaries, a romantic and heroic feel was inherent to the content, suggested by the emphasis put on hope and devastation throughout the narrative. In the tragic obituaries of missionary workers the tone was less official than in usual missionary obituaries. They often expressed surprise, through which the devastation following the missionary worker's early death was conveyed. This was accomplished by allowing the reader to feel more personally involved with the deceased person through the use of anecdotes in the obituary. For example, the obituary of Mrs. Swellengrebel-Norel, who accompanied her husband to Bali but died less than a year after they left the Netherlands, began with a description of her wedding:

'Yes really: an in memoriam! We can hardly imagine it, but nevertheless we had to write the following. We remember a beautiful summer afternoon and a solemn assembly in the chapel of the Lutheran nursing home. We see a young man and a young woman, radiant and in the spring of their lives. Soon, they will be united in matrimony; and then they will leave for the Indies, to the beautiful Bali (..) But now... after just a few months.'¹³⁵

Not just the anecdote about the wedding, but the direct and repeated use of the pronoun 'we' did not occur in other obituaries. Perhaps the collective was drawn together more explicitly by tragedies?

Another important genre of obituaries identified by Fowler is the negative obituary. While there were no completely negative obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*, nor was an ironic perspective ever used, the studied obituaries provide numerous examples of the statement that 'obituaries rarely simply praise their subject (...); their praise acquires authenticity by the administration of countervailing weaknesses.'¹³⁶ However, when weaknesses were mentioned, or criticism towards certain imperfections in a missionary's character appeared in obituaries, it need not only reflect a strategy to authenticate the text. Criticism or defences of certain character traits can also provide important clues to what was considered the norm, and reveal tensions between the format of collective memory and the commemoration of individual lives. For example, when an author paid specific attention to the theoretical inclination of a missionary worker, and felt the need to emphasise that the missionary did not fail to achieve practical results, it may tell us that missionaries were not supposed to be thinkers.¹³⁷ But weaknesses or criticisms may also have been

(2004) 148-171, 158.

135 'In Memoriam Mevrouw Swellengrebel-Norel': 'Ja inderdaad: een In memoriam! Wij kunnen het ons niet indenken, maar toch moest dit woord uit de pen vloeien. Wij denken aan een mooien zomermiddag en een plechtige samenkomst in de kapel van het Luthersch Diakonessenhuis te Amsterdam. Wij zien een jongen man en een jonge vrouw, stralend in de lente des levens. Spoedig zullen zij in het huwelijk worden verbonden; en dan gaan zij naar Indië, naar het mooie Bali. (..) En nu.... na enkele maanden.'

136 Fowler, *The Obituary as Collective Memory*, 162.

137 An example of this can be found in C.W. Nortier, 'Barend Schuurman', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 26-27.

commemorated in obituaries explicitly called examples for current or future missionaries, but the obituaries also often contained (in)direct appeals to the reader to sign up as a missionary. Often, an indirect appeal was made in the obituary by declaring that the work the missionary did will continue with God's will. This implies that the deceased contributed to the missionary effort, but that the work was still unfinished. An example can be found in the obituary of G.J. Scholten, a missionary doctor: 'God grant us a man, who can carry on the work that he so recently accepted with love and dedication.'¹⁴⁰ This passage is a good example of Craig's assessment that the mention of unfinished work in missionary biographies was an implicit invitation to the reader to continue it.¹⁴¹ Moreover, some authors of obituaries refer to the sense of loss at a time when the mission was in dire need of more people who were willing to give their life to mission. In addition, some stress the need for new missionaries by referring to the Christian obligation of mission, which so few people follow, thus calling on a sense of guilt. This occurred in the obituary of H.J. Eggink, published in 1940: 'Certainly, a useless servant, who but did, what he owed. But... one who did!'¹⁴²

Conclusion

Looking at the obituaries published in the missionary journal *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* in light of the studies performed by Hume, Fowler, and Craig suggests that missionary obituaries were never solely stories about the lives of the individual subjects. Rather, the obituaries were commemorative texts in which a collective memory was constructed and reinforced among the supporters and members of the SZC.

The patterned narrative structure, the implicit and explicit statements that promoted emulation in the texts, and the similarity to the closed circle of authors, publishers, and readers suggested by Craig are all indicators that missionary obituaries can be understood as commemorative texts that reinforce collective memory. This claim is strengthened by the analysed need to correct and draw attention away from behaviour or character traits of individuals that were not considered to fit the common missionary identity through the use of narrative strategies reminiscent of the obituary genres established by Fowler. Furthermore, as shall be explicated in the next chapter, the commonalities in character traits praised in the obituaries refer to a shared Christian past as well as a contemporary missionary ideal.

A thorough study of the development of missionary obituaries over a period longer than two

140 'In Memoriam Dr G.J. Scholten', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 22 (1939), 98: 'God geve den man, die dit pas met zooveel liefde en toewijding aangevatte werk kan voortzetten.'

141 Craig, *The Missionary Lives*, 101.

142 K.J.B., 'Zendeling H.J. Eggink', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 23 (1940), 53: 'Zeker, een onnutte dienstknecht, die slechts deed, wat hij schuldig was te doen. Maar... Een die het dééd!'

Chapter 4: Negotiating a Missionary Identity

Introduction

At the end of *Jane Eyre*, John Rivers (referred to as St John), the saint-like, but cold, man who went out to India as a missionary, is remembered by the narrator Jane, in light of his imminent death:

‘A more resolute, indefatigable pioneer never wrought amidst rocks and dangers. Firm, faithful, and devoted; full of energy, and zeal, and truth, he labours for his race. (...) His is the exaction of the apostle, who speaks but for Christ, when he says - “Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up this cross and follow me.” (...)

I know that a stranger's hand will write to me next, to say that the good and faithful servant has been called at length into the joy of his Lord. And why weep for this? No fear of death will darken St John's last hour: his mind will be unclouded; his heart will be undaunted; his hope will be sure; his faith steadfast.’¹⁴³

In perhaps the most famous epigraph about a missionary in fiction, Charlotte Brontë portrays John Rivers as a classic male missionary hero. By using phrases and textual analogies from the New Testament and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, she reiterates contemporary conventional images of mission.¹⁴⁴ When the book was first published in 1847, readers would have recognised the attributes listed in *Jane Eyre* as typical of missionaries. Today, readers may recognise some of the narrative as belonging to public memory and/or hagiography about missionaries from any country. Could the same be said for the manner in which missionary workers were commemorated in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*?

In the previous chapter I argued that obituaries of missionary workers can be understood as repositories of collective memory and a medium through which missionary identity was constructed and reinforced. In this chapter I answer the question regarding what elements were considered part of the ideal construct of missionary identity as represented in the obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*. I then analyse how the obituaries represented narrative re-enactments of a shared Christian past, and discuss how they related to a contemporary understanding of colonial politics. I do so by examining three key elements common to all obituaries of missionary workers

¹⁴³Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (Oxford 2008; originally published 1847), 452.

¹⁴⁴Valentine Cunningham, “‘God and Nature Intended You for a Missionary's Wife’: Mary Hill, *Jane Eyre* and Other Missionary Women in the 1840s’, in: Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener ed., *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* (Providence and Oxford 1993), 85-105, esp. 96-105.

teachers who died during the Second World War. The author of the text did not write about them as individuals, because he knew too little about them, but they were honoured as a group, and described as having been called back by God 'from their labour, which they cherished, and which they wanted to continue, according to the demands of their calling.'¹⁴⁸ Since personal details were not present in this particular obituary, it is clear that the author deliberately emphasised desirable common traits in the commemoration of this group of missionary workers.

When the word calling was used it was often in combination with one of three keywords: work (*werk*), the task (*taak*), and most commonly, labour (*arbeid*). In the obituaries, the missionary worker's calling is described as a life-long devotion to mission and this devotion is portrayed as having been expressed through an industrious life. While the word calling may not have been used in every *in memoriam*, the theme of zeal was present in all of the studied obituaries, whether they were about members of the board of missionary societies living in the Netherlands, or missionary workers on active duty in the Indonesian archipelago. Sentences such as, 'Thus ended a devoted and industrious life' were prevalent in the obituaries.¹⁴⁹ Living an industrious life was a theme that united the group of people serving the SZC.

Zeal was not just expressed in the obituaries through keywords like devotion, labour, and industriousness, but also in the narrative itself. In the mini-biographies, emphasis was placed on the accomplished work by presenting summaries of the missionary sites and the performed labour. Furthermore, the repeated assurance that the missionaries sacrificed everything in favour of the labour at hand served to highlight their devotion. One way in which the trope of self-sacrifice was presented was in the form of an explicit statement, such as 'persistently they continued their work, loyal to their calling despite the great difficulties.'¹⁵⁰ However, self-sacrifice was also integrated into the obituary narrative in a more nuanced way, through references to persistent devotion to the job despite illness. The wife of hospital administrator Luinenburg, for example, was described as follows: 'Despite her weak constitution and her many illnesses, she was always ready to advise and assist others in any way she could.'¹⁵¹

Two other elements indicate that the SZC attached particular importance to a zealous life. One is the frequently-used phrase that missionaries were to be Christians in both words and deed.

wist.'

148Hs., 'In Memoriam: Overleden onderwijzers', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 29 (1946), 15: '(..) maar van hen samen weten we, dat God ze riep, terug, uit den arbeid, die hen lief was, en dien ze hadden willen voortzetten, overeenkomstig hun eisch hunner roeping.'

149N. Kieft, 'Goeroe de Fretes', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 19 (1936), 14: 'Zoo is aan een toegewijd en arbeidzaam leven een einde gekomen.'

150'Mevrouw H.C. Agter-Dijkman en haar zoon Theo Agter', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 32: 'Maar standvastig bleven zij doorwerken. Trouw aan hun roeping ondanks de groote moeilijkheden.'

151H. d. J.-M., 'Mevrouw H.J. Luinenburg-Pelle', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 29 (1946), 15: 'Ondanks haar zwakke gezondheid en veel ziek-zijn stond zij ook voor anderen steeds klaar met raad en daad, om te helpen waar zij maar kon.'

understanding of calling as a request for help from the population is also present in missiology throughout the time period under study, especially in the Netherlands, where the request of the Macedonian man in Acts 16:9 to 'come over... and help us' was a dominant missionary motif.¹⁵⁷

Heroes at the Mission Site

Obituaries function as accolades, distinguishing the people who receive one from the group of people who do not. Themes in the obituaries of missionary workers functioned to emphasise the heroic role accorded to them, thus commemorative texts cast their subject in the role of honourable people, or memorable heroes.

The narrative of self-sacrifice, which took the form of emphasising missionary workers' complete dedication to their labour, cast all such workers in the role of heroes. They were depicted as willingly doing without sleep and proper food, and sometimes not heeding the advice of doctors. Such acts of self-sacrifice are clearly evident in the obituaries of missionary workers who engaged in missionary labour in the Dutch East Indies. Their willingness to follow a calling to devote their lives to the service of Christ in a foreign country, combining self-sacrifice with adventurous heroism, set them apart from the group of people who also dedicated their lives to mission, but did so from their relatively comfortable homes.

Missionary Pioneers

Missionary workers were also given heroic status due to the colonial and 'exotic' location of the mission sites and the difficult nature of the labour they performed. Most obituaries includes descriptions of the natural world and the indigenous people, and sometimes reference was made to the notion that not only God's calling, but also the promise of adventure, led workers to their labour at the mission sites. The theme of the missionary worker as a trailblazer in an exotic place was explicitly expressed in the obituaries of missionary workers who were designated as pioneers.

The honorary term 'pioneer' is frequently considered the missionary archetype in scholarly literature about mission and missionary texts. However, all of these texts seem to take the meaning and associations of the word for granted and none explain exactly what it was that made a missionary a pioneer. In reading the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* obituaries it becomes clear that the term 'pioneer' was considered masculine and denoted pragmatic and adventurous action. The obituaries reveal that being a 'pioneer' involved the practice of mission in areas that were relatively

¹⁵⁷Bosch, 'Mission in the Wake of the Enlightenment', 289 and I.H. Enklaar, *Kom over en help ons! Twaalf opstellen over de Nederlandse zending in de negentiende eeuw* (Den Haag 1981).

daredevilry, but they nevertheless held great respect for such a sailor.¹⁵⁹

Hazardous journeys were often commemorated as the basis for a growing influence of mission in the region. Missionary Van Hasselt, who travelled the length of New Guinea, was commemorated as providing the foundation on which later missionary initiatives were built.¹⁶⁰ The narrative of travelling also honoured the missionary workers for their brave and courageous labour, emphasising the ideal of pragmatic men whose heroic actions displayed perseverance in the face of dangerous and treacherous natural surroundings.

The prominence of difficult journeys emphasises that the pioneer narrative was irrevocably tied to a colonial discourse in which pioneer missionary work was equated with labour on terrains that were not yet considered civilised through Dutch colonial policy. In the Dutch *Koenen* Dictionary, the Dutch word *pionier* includes 'trailblazer' as a definition, together with 'missionaries are the pioneers of civilisation' as its illustrative sentence.¹⁶¹ For pioneer missionaries, civilising meant both the uplifting of the population at the mission site, and also providing "proper" infrastructure. In the obituary of Madam v.d. Berg-v.d. Pol, for example, the pioneer labour of her husband was related to a slow progress of organised living, in which the old manner of travelling not only accentuated the heroic nature of missionary labour but also illustrated what improvements were later made by making Deli more accessible and organised:

'She was a part of that first, difficult pioneer period, the moment that the upland plain was first opened, and slowly came under organised rule. She was familiar with the old primitive manner of travelling, along difficult mountain paths and through groundless mud.'¹⁶²

The commemoration of a missionary worker as a pioneer implicated that the worker had laboured at a mission site that was considered "uncivilised" and "backwards". This is most prominent in the obituaries of missionary workers who had been employed in New Guinea. These *in memoria* included the word 'pioneer' and travel narratives, and often feature works such as

159D.C., 'In Memoriam Dr G. Cseszko en mevr. E. Cseszko-Hadady von Eörhalma', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 40: 'Dr Cseszko betoonde zich echter van den aanvang af een onverschrokken zeevaarder, niet alleen bij reizen langs de kust van Groot Sangi, maar ook bij den urenlange oversteek naar andere eilanden. Het weer kon niet zoo ongunstig zijn of de dokter ging er met zijn ranke sloep met aanhangmotor op uit om de menschen, die op den voor de polikliniek lang van te voren vastgestelde dag rekenden, niet te leur te stellen. De kapiteins van de K.P.M. schudden menigmaal het hoofd over zulke waaghalzerij, maar hadden niettemin groot respect voor zo'n zeeman.' The K.P.M. is the abbreviation used for the *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*, this was a company that primarily engaged with shipping passengers and freight between the islands of the Dutch East Indies.

160K.J.B., 'F.J.F. Van Hasselt', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1940), 13.

161 'baanbreker: zendelingen en missionarissen zijn de pioniers vd beschaving'.

162D.C., 'In Memoriam Mevr. J. v.d. Berg- v.d. Pol', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1941), 78: 'Zij heeft nog volop de eerste, moeizame pioniersperiode meegemaakt, den tijd dat de Hoogvlakte geopend werd eerst, en gaandeweg onder geregeld bestuur kwam. Zij heeft nog de oude primitieve manier van reizen gekend, lands moeilijke bergpaden en door grondeloze modder.'

Mollema was 'killed by terrorists while on travel for his work' in 1950 and was not lauded as a martyr in his *in memoriam*. The only indication that his death was considered martyrdom occurs in the statement that, 'in the end, he had to bring the sacrifice of his life.'¹⁶⁷ The dominant motif in Mollema's obituary is that of the difficult and dangerous circumstances that had always surrounded his work as a missionary on Celebes. These circumstances were implicitly related to Muslims. The other missionary who was killed, J. van de Weg, received two commemorative texts. In the first, the official *in memoriam* written by a member of the missionary board, that was published in 1945, he was not called a martyr, but like missionary Mollema was said to have been 'killed by people with malicious intent' and 'robbed of his life by a foolish mob' after his return to Western-Java from a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp.¹⁶⁸ However he was designated a martyr in the second commemorative text, written by *pandita* K. Joenoes, who worked with Van de Weg, and published in 1948. Additionally, Joenoes identified the murderers as supporters of the fight for Indonesian independence, who, according to the *pandita*, were rounding up Dutch people and those who collaborated with them.¹⁶⁹

Perhaps it is telling that the word martyr was not used in the two texts pertaining to the murder of Dutch missionaries at a time when the missionary societies were trying to maintain a balance between cautious support for an independent government of Indonesia, and re-establishing their work as missionaries in this contested space. In the official obituaries, the murderers were not explicitly identified with the population of the area, but were instead described as misguided mobs. Nevertheless, terms such as "angry mobs" were often in negative portrayals of nationalists in the Indonesian archipelago. Indirectly, then, these obituaries do portray nationalists in a negative light.¹⁷⁰ Only in the text written by the *pandita* were the murderers linked to the population as a whole and the Muslim proponents of independence in particular. The missionary societies condoned this representation by printing it in their magazine, but could claim they were not responsible for writing it. However, their implicit criticism can be seen in the official obituary when they question how, and why, a missionary who was closer to the indigenous population than many Westerners, could be killed by select members of that population. By raising this question, they not only criticised the low level of acceptance by the population, but also distanced themselves from other "Western" people, like colonial agents, who worked in the Indonesian archipelago.

No such scruples were felt when identifying victims of the Japanese occupation as martyrs. Not all the deceased during this time were explicitly called martyrs in their obituaries, but the

167J. Schuurmans, 'Ter gedachtenis aan Gerben Willem Mollema. 15 Maart 1903-5 Juni 1950', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 34 (1950), 350: 'Tenslotte heeft hij het offer van zijn leven moeten brengen.'

168D.C., 'J. van de Weg', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 41: 'hij is (...) door kwaadwilligen vermoord' and 'door een verwaasde bende van het leven werd beroofd'.

169K. Joenoes, 'Ter nagedachtenis aan J. van de Weg', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 30-31.

170Van de Wal, *Een aanvechtbare en onzekere situatie*, 22, 63.

tensions he signals include the disparity between the represented model and the reality encountered at the mission sites, and the need to manage the portrayal of the mission sites so that there was a balance between the assertion of control over the mission sites and a convincing amount of excitement at being in alien surrounding, in order to make the narrative more interesting for possible new recruits. The latter was present in the narratives of pioneer mission and martyrdom, in which danger and fear were alternated with statements about missionaries as the bearers of order. However, the very nature of biographies and obituaries carry another tension: that between a narrative of individual heroism and subordination to the common cause of Christianisation under the command of God. There is an irony inherent in biographical texts about missionaries, according to Craig, who states that 'these biographies, somewhat paradoxically, are not about individuals as much as they are about the subordination of individuals into a collective cause.'¹⁷⁵

Commemorative texts about the SCZ's missionary workers had a set format, and featured the tropes of zeal, dedication, pragmatism, and self-sacrifice, which indicate that the missionaries were all working for a common cause. Through these two commonalities, missionary ideology took precedence over individualism in the texts. However, subordination to the common ideology of Christianisation of the world as a command of God was not limited to the nature of obituaries as represented and influenced by a common model, without being part of that model itself. The manner in which this understanding of the group effort of mission was incorporated into the obituaries is best understood as a tension between missionary workers as true individual heroes and as people subordinate to God and the (inter)national mission movement. Apart from tropes and narratives that stress the agency and zeal, *in memoria* also feature themes of subordination.

Primarily, the missionary workers were subordinated to God. The work they performed, and the results of that labour, were acknowledged as acts of God, or as work performed by God through the missionary worker. This happened by representing missionary workers as 'vessels of God' (singular: *werktuig Gods*). The phrase 'vessel of God' was not always used but the idea was still appealed to by the use of expressions such as, 'In as far as God used workers to accomplish this, he [the particular missionary] was one of the most important', 'We thankfully commemorate all that God has sought to achieve through the service of these workers', or 'She thanks God, that he had wanted to use her to bring light to the darkness'.¹⁷⁶ Obituaries functioned as accolades for missionary workers and honoured their work, but there was little place for a sense of individual

¹⁷⁵Craig, *The Missionary Lives*, 85.

¹⁷⁶K.J.B., 'E.J.F. Van Hasselt', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1940), 13: 'Hij heeft het wonder van Nieuw-Guinee beleefd en voor zoover God menschen gebruikte, om dat tot stand te brengen, is hij daarvan een van de voornaamste geweest.', 'Drievoudig In Memoriam', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1942): 'Met groote dankbaarheid gedenken wij wat God door de diensten van deze broeders heeft willen doen.' and J.L.D. v.d. Roest, 'De oude garde der U.Z.V.', *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* (1944): 'Zij dankt God, dat Hij haar heeft willen gebruiken om in de duisternis het licht te mogen uitdragen.'

of missionary workers as submitting to the leadership of God and missionary society, but was further undermined by the representation of missionary workers as expressing humility themselves. In the obituaries, missionary workers were sometimes portrayed as referring to themselves as God's vessel when people praise them for their achievements. Likewise, all obituaries refer to the workers as modest persons, who never displayed pride and always discounted themselves and their importance. Part of the trope of humility was interwoven with the narrative of self-sacrifice and dedicated zeal. But it also functioned to underline that while missionaries might be considered heroes, they were not supposed to take pride in their actions. Like any other Christian hero, they were supposed to be modest and not draw attention to themselves or their achievements.

It should be noted that humility could also be taken too far, according to the missionary societies. The obituaries of people who were shy and withdrawn often contained an apologetic element explaining that they had a kind heart once you got to know them. The SZC seems to have preferred Christian humility of the variety that allowed for engagement with the social environment, other missionary workers and the people at the mission site. This is logical, since missionary workers were supposed to associate and engage with their charges. Humour was also a highly ranked character trait, and commemorative texts of missionary workers often praised the deceased as engaging in their work with a cheerful (*opgewekt*), merry (*blijmoedig*) or cordial (*hartelijk*) disposition.

Narrative Allusions to Lives of Christian heroes

Similar to the way in which the commemoration of St. John in *Jane Eyre* contains narrative elements of the New Testament and *the Pilgrim's Progress*, obituaries of Dutch missionary workers refer to the life of Christ as told in the New Testament. Allusions to the Bible were made in almost every obituary and the author used direct quotes or sentences derived from well-known citations. The image of missionaries as sowers of the seeds of the Gospel, referring to the parable in Matthew 13:1-23 and missionary workers as responding to the call of the Macedonian man in Acts 16:6-13 were often used. Another frequently used biblical citation was Revelations 14:13 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on (...) that they may rest from their labours, and their works follow them.'

Some missionary workers were directly related to the history of the church. In missionary Albert C. Kruyt's obituary he was commemorated as comparable to 'one of the greats of church

The work of these missionaries was directly related to the work performed by Christ. The self-sacrifice for the conversion and salvation of the Papoea population by the missionaries was compared to the salvation of mankind through Christ's death on the cross. A more direct identification between the Christian past and a commemoration of contemporary performances of Christianity is hardly possible.

Colonial Obituaries?

In a collection of texts written by, and about, civil servants in the Dutch East Indies, former colonial administrator J. van Baal remarked that when people who were preparing to join development aid service frowned upon his colonial past in the 1970s, he never felt the need to apologize to them for his former job:

‘Money had little to do with the attractions of the administrative service. The young people of my generation were just as convinced of their calling as guides towards development and progress as the anti-colonial junior expert who is sent out in service of any of the international development aid organisations.’¹⁸³

In other texts in this collection, the words ‘intense labour’ as well as the calling to help “develop” the population of the Indonesian archipelago recur often.¹⁸⁴ This suggests that perhaps the trope of a work ethic and calling in the obituaries of missionary workers mirror elements of a Dutch colonial ethos.

As was shown above, the word *roeping* had two different meanings in the obituaries of missionary workers: that of a calling from God, and that of an answer to the ‘call from the mission sites’, in which the population was believed to be asking for help from the missionaries. The latter sense of a calling seemed to be present in colonial thought too, albeit with less biblical implications. Perhaps, then, a calling, as it was represented in the obituaries of missionary workers, can be understood to have both a religious and a colonial component. Submission to God and humility were elements of Christian discourse in the obituaries. That missionary workers were described in

183J. van Baal, ‘Voltooid verleden’, S.L. Van der Wal ed., *Besturen Overzee. Herinneringen van oud-ambtenaren bij het binnenlands bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Franeker 1977), 111: ‘Geld had weinig te maken met de attracties van de bestuursdienst. De jonge mensen van mijn generatie waren net zo overtuigd van hun roeping als bringers van ontwikkeling en vooruitgang als de antikoloniale junior expert, die vandaag de dag door een willekeurige organisatie voor internationale technische hulp wordt uitgezonden.’

184See, for example: S.L. Van der Wal ed., *Besturen Overzee* and *Gedenkboek van de vereniging van ambtenaren bij het Binnenlands Bestuur in Nederlands-Indië* (Utrecht 1956).

Two other elements in the obituaries of civil servants correspond to those of missionary workers. One was the emphasis on a merry and cordial disposition and the value placed on humour. Second, the civil servants were predominantly portrayed as thoroughly knowledgeable about the local population and were often represented as loving and understanding them. The latter stands out in contrast with the opinion expressed in *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*. According to Van Randwijck, missionaries distinguished themselves from colonial administrators by their particular attention to local languages and customs, as well as their protection of the indigenous culture. However, it seems both groups, missionary workers and colonial civil servants, were represented as such in commemorative texts. Perhaps, then, this was a strategy common to all groups who lived and worked in colonial society in the Dutch East Indies? By portraying their own members as knowledgeable about the Dutch East Indies, the inequalities of colonialism could be smoothed over by instead placing emphasis on the role of protectors and helpers of the population.

In the paragraph on pioneer missionaries, I argued that the travel narratives in missionary obituaries related to a colonial discourse where a distinction was made between “wild nature” and “civilised order”. Perhaps surprisingly, the obituaries of civil servants did not contain an element of travel through difficult terrains. Instead, they were explicitly portrayed as the bringers of order in primitive and difficult circumstances. Thus, the colonial pattern of pioneers and the civilising influence was certainly there, but it was represented in a somewhat different manner. The portrayal of civil servants as guides to civilisation, who sometimes had to be strict in their endeavours to help the people, fitted the ethical policy that was dominant in the Dutch East Indies at that time. In many ways, the obituaries in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* portrayed missionary workers as functioning in a colonial environment, which changed from “exotic” to “civilised”, while civil servants were commemorated as direct implementers of order.

Another difference between missionary and colonial obituaries is that colonial civil servants were represented with more agency. They were “men of action” and their commemorative texts more often than not contained words such as ‘powerful’ (*krachtig*) and efficacious interventions (*krachtdadig ingrijpen*). In the obituaries, their agency was rarely constrained by submission, even if they were called humble. The civil servants’ *in memoria* often portrayed the direct results of their actions, and it was noted that areas under their control had become effectively more organised and civilised instead of expressing the expectation that they had contributed to expected better circumstances in the future.

Another important element in obituaries of civil servants that is not present in commemorative texts dedicated to missionary workers is a sense of national pride. Civil servants were portrayed as representatives of a Dutch character. Former member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies, A.M. Hens, for example, was described as follows in his *in memoriam*:

missionary biographies.

Missionary obituaries appealed to a shared Christian past by emphasising qualities of zeal, following a calling, acting as exemplars of a Christian way of life, submission, and a willing acceptance of martyrdom in missionary workers. These elements were often explicitly tied to specific Bible verses. Also, workers could be understood as having lived lives that paralleled those of famous historical Christians, biblical figures, and sometimes even Christ himself. Furthermore, the commemorated deceased were situated in a long line of missionary workers, by relating them to family members who had also worked as missionaries in the Dutch East Indies or to famous pioneers who had worked at a specific mission site. In addition, by comparing praised character traits featured in the obituaries printed in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* with those mentioned in the epigraph of the fictional missionary, John, in *Jane Eyre*, it may be argued that these elements of missionary obituaries were part of a shared tradition in international mission.

By not calling missionary workers who were killed by members of the population from the Indonesian archipelago 'martyrs', and by identifying the murderers as "terrorists" and "wild mobs" that did not appreciate how different from other Westerners the missionaries were, the SZC set missionary workers apart from Dutch colonists. However, at the same time, they employed terms used by the Dutch in their campaign against Indonesian independence after 1945. The same ambivalence towards colonialism is visible in other aspects of missionary obituaries. The pioneer narrative was related to a colonial understanding of the world, particularly in its portrayal of missionaries as guides towards a more organised manner of living. Compared to obituaries of colonial civil servants, this pattern of stark contrasts between chaos and order is less obvious present in missionary obituaries, perhaps again reflecting the efforts of the SZC to distance itself from a direct link between mission and colonialism. However, colonialism is implicitly present in most missionary obituaries through portrayals of the mission sites as slowly becoming more "civilised" under the direction of missionary workers. Other tropes were also related to colonial discourse. Having a calling, and the theme of zeal and dedication, not only relate to Christian understandings of mission, but were also emphasised in obituaries of colonial agents, both Christian and non-Christian. In obituaries published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* between 1930 and 1951, then, missionary workers were, at least in part, commemorated with the use of colonial terms, whether it was deliberate or not.

relevant in the representation of missionary workers in obituaries. Class, for example, may have played a role in the selection of the candidates, but was rarely mentioned in the obituaries themselves. Instead of following the concepts commonly used in post-colonialism, I therefore made a few adjustments.

Furthermore, while ethnicity was highly influential, I save an analysis based on this concept for chapter five. This decision is based on two arguments. One, the influence of ethnicity is better understood in the context of other portrayals of the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia. And second, by leaving ethnicity out of the equation in this chapter, there is more room to understand marginality and stratification, and how this relates to the colonial context of mission on grounds other than ethnicity.

In this chapter my focus is on the influence of two key concepts in the negotiation of group boundaries: profession and/or the different branches of missionary labour, i.e. differences between missionaries, medical mission and educational mission, as well as gender. Furthermore, I briefly pay attention to other grounds of distinction in missionary obituaries, most notably family and academic accomplishments.

Missionary Professions and Branches of Missionary Work

Missionary work was not limited to preaching the gospel and converting the Indonesian population to Christianity. Coinciding with the period in which the ethical policy was adopted by the Dutch colonial government, medical and educational work increased in importance in missionary circles. Formerly united in the figure of the missionary, medical and educational work was professionalised further during the twentieth century, which resulted in the establishment of separate branches of missionary work that came under the supervision of people with different tasks. Mission schools had been more or less part of mission initiatives in the Dutch East Indies from 1815 onwards, but were revised through coordinated alterations of both the government and the missionary societies to improve opportunities for better education from 1900 onwards.¹⁹⁰ Medical mission led by missionary doctors and nurses was first established when Dr. Bervoets was sent to the missionary hospital at Mojowarno in 1893.¹⁹¹

190Th. van den End, 'Zending en Onderwijs', in: Lems and Van Vliet ed., *Geroepen tot Zending*, 53-60.

191J.N. Breetvelt and H. Lems, 'Medische Zending', in: Lems and Van Vliet ed., *Geroepen tot Zending*, 61-68, Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 547-569 and W.J.L. Dake, *Het medische werk van de zending in Nederlands-Indië* deel 1 (Kampen 1972).

the sites as the missionaries did, it was in their obituaries in particular that knowledge of missionary practice and theory, as well as an academic understanding of the culture, was praised. Many missionaries were depicted as having published important academic articles about their mission site. Moreover, the theme of translating the Bible, or other Christian texts, to the local language was commonly commemorated.

That knowledge of the local language and culture was emphasised in almost every obituary of a missionary had to do with the importance attached to it by the missionary societies. First, missionaries were supposed to preach the Gospel in the local language, since preaching in *Maleis* or Dutch, like the *hulppredikers* of the *Indische Kerk* did, was considered to promote the idea that Christianity was meant for the elite only.¹⁹⁴ In light of this, knowledge of the local language was considered especially important to missionaries, since they were the group defined by their work as preachers of the Gospel more than anyone else. Second, during the twentieth century in particular, the societies conceived of mission and missionaries as preservers of local culture, in the face of the hegemonic force of the colonial government who was seen to prefer the promotion of unity in the Dutch East Indies. Only in the years directly before the Second World War did the missionary societies start to accept the importance of teaching Malay to the people to avoid cultural isolation of their terrains.¹⁹⁵ Thus, the academic knowledge of language and culture provided a means of distinction not only between missionaries and other workers for the missionary societies, but also in avoiding responsibility for the Dutch hegemonic colonial discourse that led to the loss of regional awareness. Here, we are again reminded of Pratt's "seeing-man" who (un)consciously echoed colonial discourse, while retaining an aura of innocence.

Defence of Medical Missionaries and Teachers in Mission Schools

Both medical and educational mission were considered to support the main missionary task, which often led to criticism that the role of medical missionaries and teachers was not truly a missionary one. That this criticism was alive and well during the 1930s and 1940s is visible in obituaries about workers from these branches. Both obituaries of medical missionary workers, as well as those of educational workers, contained elements meant to convince the reader of the workers' dedication to mission and their contribution to the work of missionary societies.

In obituaries of deceased medical missionary workers, teaching the population about the Gospel as well as educating them to become Christian medical workers themselves took precedence over healing activities. When healing activities were mentioned they were usually related to teaching the Gospel of Christ to the ill. By doing so medical missionaries were portrayed as acting

¹⁹⁴Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 196.

¹⁹⁵Ibidem, 432-441.

needs of the people at the mission site. The need to alleviate the suffering of the people and the mercy (*barmhartigheid*) shown by the missionary workers was emphasised in the commemorative texts. *Barmhartigheid* was underlined frequently in the obituaries of medical missionary workers, while the word cannot be found in obituaries of people working for a different branch of the mission. Here, the motif of the Macedonian man to 'come over and help us' as presented in chapter three was dominant over the more general Christian calling by God. The obituary of the wife of Dr. Bervoets, Mrs. L.L. Bervoets-Van Ewijk, for example, reads that:

'Born on 2 September 1868, she was married to Dr. Bervoets in 1894 with the desire to serve the suffering Javanese together, by bringing them the message of Christianity through word and deed.'²⁰⁰

The suffering of the people, the medical need at the mission sites, and the willingness to improve these circumstances in service of God were repeatedly emphasised in obituaries of medical missionary workers.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the intimate dealings by the missionary doctors and nurses with the population of the mission sites, as was their thorough understanding of the people. Instead of intellectual knowledge of the language and customs, in these obituaries, an understanding of the needs and the daily customs of the people was highlighted. Dr. Nortier, for example, was commemorated as having had difficult relationships with his European colleagues, but it was noted that he furthered contact and mutual trust between Europeans and Javanese through the youth camps he organised.²⁰¹ And Dr. Bervoets was commemorated as follows:

'He knew the Javanese language in all its nuances as if it was his mother tongue, was thoroughly at home with the life of the Javanese *dessa* and the Javanese state of mind, and felt immensely happy living between the Javanese. He only had one desire: to serve these people in their suffering and sadness.'²⁰²

In the obituaries, intimate knowledge and understanding of the people was a component of the calling of missionary doctors to help alleviate suffering.

200G. Royer, 'In memoriam Mevr. L.L. Bervoets-Van Ewijk', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 15 (1932), 166: 'Geboren op 2 September 1868, trad zij in 1894 met Dr Bervoets in het huwelijk met het verlangen te samen met hem de lijdende Javanen te dienen, door hen de boodschap van het Christendom te brengen door woord en daad.'

201 'In Memoriam Dr A. Nortier', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1940), 143.

202 'In Memoriam Dr H. Bervoets', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 16 (1933), 151-152: 'Het Javaansch in zijn vele nuanceeringen bijna als zijn moedertaal sprekend, door en door thuis in het Javaansche *dessa*-leven en in de Javaanschen denkaard, voelde hij zich innig gelukkig tusschen de Javanen en had hij slechts één begeerte: dit volk te dienen waar het leed en in droefheid was.'

mission site for a future in which they were expected to be self-sufficient. In the obituary of Johannes Dijkhuis, the author expresses regret that the missionary societies had not worked towards self-sufficiency earlier:

‘the Protestant mission may have done little, too little, to promote the economical and social edification of the peoples for which they worked, but she has not been entirely negligent.’²⁰⁶

This statement reflected the expectation that the independence of Indonesia was fast approaching. In obituaries of teachers at technical schools, there was no particular distancing from colonialism. Instead, the teachers were portrayed as pioneers; they were the first to realise the need for improvement of economic and social circumstances outside of preaching. It was only in the small branch of technical education that the missionary societies felt comfortable enough to have their goals overlap with those of ethical colonial policy, even though the SZC tried to keep educational and medical mission as a whole separate from colonial politics.

Gender

A missionary worker did not usually go to the Dutch East Indies alone, but commonly, was accompanied by his wife. The importance of marriage was established by the NZG in 1806 as a protection against lewdness in a tropical climate.²⁰⁷ Moreover, during the first half of the twentieth century domestic life became an important part of the ethical policy in the colony.²⁰⁸ In this context, the importance of missionary workers as exemplars was once more highlighted, which meant they had to play their part in demonstrating a “decent” Christian family life to the converts by establishing their wives and children in a happy and organised household at the mission site.²⁰⁹ A missionary wife was expected to run the household for her spouse, as was reflected in the courses in housekeeping and medical care in a tropical climate provided by the SZC during the twentieth

206 ‘Johannes Dijkhuis’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 30: ‘De zending heeft misschien weinig, te weinig, gedaan voor de economische en sociale verheffing van de volken, waaronder zij werkte, maar nagelaten heeft zij het toch niet.’

207 I.H. Enklaar, ‘Een zendelingszuster: de lange reis van Agnes van der Veer naar Leti’, in: idem, *Kom over en help ons!*, 50-66.

208 Barbara Bush, ‘Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century’, in: Philippa Levine ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford 2007), 77-111 and Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda ed., *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville and London 1998).

209 Deborah Kirkwood, ‘Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters’, in: Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener ed., *Women and Missions*, 25-26, Craig, *The Missionary Lives*, 28-29, and Patricia Grimshaw, ‘Faith, Missionary Life, and the Family’, in: Levine ed., *Gender and Empire*, 260-280.

Second, obituaries of both missionary wives and female nurses were generally shorter than obituaries of male missionary workers. Exceptions to this general rule were the obituaries of Miss A.E. Adriani and widow M.L. Adriani-Gunning. As prominent women, and members of a prominent missionary family, their obituaries were significantly longer than those of regular male missionary workers.²¹⁵ Third, when men and women who (had) lived in the Dutch East Indies were mentioned in one article, men always took precedence. In an article titled ‘the old guard of the *Utrechtsche Zendings-Vereeniging*’, two wives of retired missionaries were commemorated, and one male retired missionary. The amount of text dedicated to the missionary, J. Metz, was longer than that dedicated to the two wives combined.²¹⁶ When wives and husbands were commemorated together, as often happened in obituaries commemorating those who died during the Second World War, the man took precedence in the title, and the wife often received attention only in a few short sentences.

In summation, it becomes clear that there are elements of quantity, length, and type of text that suggest the commemoration of missionary workers was gendered. What about the content of the obituaries? Was there a specific narrative reserved for missionary wives or female missionary workers on an independent appointment?

Passive Missionary Wives

In obituaries about missionary wives, as well as when they were mentioned in obituaries commemorating male missionary workers, women were described with words that implied passive obedience. Thus, they ‘followed’ their husband to the mission site, they ‘supported’ him and ‘stood by him’ in his work. In many ways, the key trope of industrious agency limited by submission to the SZC and God cannot be found in the obituaries of missionary wives. First and foremost, the wives were defined by their relationship with their husband. Often, a missionary society remained unmentioned. Agency and industriousness can be found in some of the obituaries, but were usually confined to the domestic sphere. Wives were commonly described as indispensable to the wellbeing and labour of the missionary, but they were always cast in a supportive role. This is also present in their mini-biographies. Commonly, it was not the life story of the missionary wife we read in an

to suggest that this happened because he got into conflict with his missionary colleagues: ‘F. de Munnik’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1938), 158. In light of the controversy that ended his career as a missionary, it is significant that his death notice did not end with the customary line that his life will be remembered by the missionary society. Instead, it reads that it will be remembered by the Javanese only. Kees Spreeuwenberg did not receive an obituary because of a lack in information available, as has been mentioned above. The reason for the third may be that the missionary in question only worked for the *UZV* for a small number of years due to health problems.

215 ‘Mevr. M.L. Adriani-Gunning’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1939), 185-186 and C.B. Rijnders, ‘Mej. A.E. Adriani (1866-1944)’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1944), 70-71. The obituary of Madam Adriani-Gunning is 1,3 pages long. Significantly, it does not feature a picture, nor does it seem to be written by the SZC as it was said to be copied from ‘*De Nederlander*’. Miss Adriani’s obituary is of the same length, but does feature a picture and was written by a member of the SZC.

216 J.L.D. v.d. Roest, ‘De oude garde der *Utrechtsche Zendings-Vereeniging*’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1944), 70.

It seems that a healthy domestic sphere was emphasised more in obituaries of missionary wives because it was considered harder to maintain in a tropical climate.

Active Missionary Wives

In 1941, missionary wife v.d. Berg-v.d. Pol was commemorated as follows:

‘In those 32 years she initiated a lot: the *Batak* women play an important role in the daily life of the people (...). That is why it is of such importance that great attention is paid to the maturing world of women and that the Gospel is preached and lived in that area. Madam v.d. Berg understood this and completely dedicated herself to this work.’²¹⁸

As this paragraph demonstrates, not all missionary wives were solely commemorated for their work in the household. About half of the women mentioned were remembered as the missionary's fellow-worker (*medearbeidster*). They were often identified as not just the wife of a missionary, but as someone you could ‘almost call a missionary in their own right’. Nevertheless, the SZC was sure to underline the fact that they were women, calling them ‘missionary women’ and often adding that they were *almost* missionaries, never really missionaries. Only when a wife was designated as a help meet, the work performed by the missionary might be referred to as ‘their work’ instead of ‘his’, but the identification of the wife with her husband remained.

The obituaries of these missionary wives are reminiscent of the division made by the NZG in the nineteenth century between harmless marriages and beneficial ones.²¹⁹ In obituaries of wives who were considered harmless to mission, no reference was made to this division, but in case of a wife who was considered a competent match, it was often explicitly mentioned by calling her a true missionary wife. In the obituary of missionary wife E. Steller-Huvers, the division was even explained:

‘At the funeral, Rev. Rauws pointed out that there are two types of missionary wives: there are those, who go to the mission terrain, because her husband is a missionary, a completely natural occurrence and several have done great work; but there are also those who are missionaries themselves, young women, who have heard the calling from the mission terrain themselves and who would have gone out one way or another, and to whom through marriage, the opportunity has been

218‘In Memoriam Mevr. J. v.d. Berg-v.d. Pol’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 24 (1941), 78: ‘Er is van haar in die 32 jaren veel uitgegaan; de Bataksche vrouw neemt een belangrijke plaats in het volksleven in (...). Daarom is het van zooveel beteekenis dat aan de opgroeiende vrouwenwereld groote aandacht wordt besteed en het Evangelie in die omgeving wordt gepredikt en voorgeleefd. Dat heeft mevrouw v.d. Berg verstaan en zich aan dien arbeid ten volle gegeven.’

219Enklaar, ‘Een zendelingszuster’, 50-66.

patients, or in educating, or visiting with, Indonesian women and children. These areas were considered “natural” to women and in the narratives there often occurred a shift from passive servant to active agent when the wife was described as working in one of these areas. Madam Adriani-Gunning ‘especially cared for girls and young women’, while J. v.d. Berg-v.d. Pol was ‘among the first Dutch missionary wives who came into contact with the Batak world of women.’²²⁴ The idea of feminine spheres was also underlined in the representation of the reputation of missionaries and their wives in the obituaries. While male missionaries were often expected to have held a special place in the hearts of the whole population of a mission site, women were generally said to be remembered by women and children only. Madam G. A. Tuiten-Magendans, for example, was praised for ‘the position she held in the circle of Western-Javanese mission families. Because of her friendliness she was loved by missionary wives and Sundanese Christian women.’²²⁵ In obituaries of wives who were considered a missionary’s help meer, the ideal of “women’s work for women” found expression.

Female Missionary Workers on an Independent Appointment

There are too few obituaries of independent female missionary workers to move beyond conjecture of the specific ways in which they were commemorated. What can be surmised from the three obituaries on missionary nurses and the one about Miss Adriani is that these women were commemorated with their own mini-biographies. This makes sense since they had no connection to a man. For the one wife who held an independent appointment but travelled to the Dutch East Indies with her husband, it meant that the relationship to her husband took precedence over her own biographical data. As for the characteristics of these independent missionary women, they all had in a ‘happy faith’ and a loving heart in common. Furthermore, their active service and industriousness was emphasised. Miss Adriani was even called a pioneer with driving force. However, missionary wives could also be called pioneers, so this element was not limited to independent missionary women. Zeal and industriousness were mentioned in obituaries of all missionary workers and were used in obituaries of some missionary wives too. Nevertheless, it seems that the SZC thought it less questionable to ascribe agency and an active disposition to independent missionary women in all circumstances. Likewise, when their reputation was mentioned, they were expected to be remembered by the whole population. Take, for instance, the *in memoriam* of missionary nurse H.H. De Ruijter, which ends with the following words:

²²⁴ ‘Mevr. M.L. Adriani-Gunning’: ‘Vooral naar meisjes en jonge vrouwen ging haar hart uit.’ and ‘In Memoriam Mevr. J. v.d. Berg-v.d. Pol’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 24 (1941), 78: ‘Zij was onder de eerste Hollandsche zendelingvrouwen die aanraking kregen met de Bataksche vrouwenwereld.’

²²⁵ ‘In Memoriam mevr. G.A. Tuiten-Magendans’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 20 (1937), 121: ‘de plaats, die zij in haar tijd innam in den kring van de West-Java-zendingsfamilie’s. Om haar vriendelijkheid was zij bemind onder de zendelingvrouwen en bij de Soendaneesche Christenvrouwen.’

van Hoogstraten was commemorated as 'every inch a gentleman, but of the good kind.'²²⁸ In this obituary, then, the fact that Van Hoogstraten originated from an upper-class family was not in itself valued positively.

In obituaries commemorating missionary workers who had lived in the Indonesian archipelago, family name took precedence over class. However, the name was only of importance if the parents had a connection to the Church or one of the missionary societies. In missionary circles there were families of whom several members became missionary workers, sometimes over several generations. An example of this is the Kruyt family.²²⁹ In case of a long-standing family connection to mission, this fact was always honoured in the obituaries, linking the deceased to an esteemed family of missionary reputation. Missionary Wesseldijk, for example, was commemorated as 'a minister of the gospel at heart', because his father and brothers were as well. Former missionary J.H. Hiebink Rooker was related to a family member who had been a Director of the NZG in his obituary, and to his father, who had been a pioneer missionary, in the following manner: 'The mere name recalls memories of an older period'. Likewise, family may have been part of the reason why Miss A.E. Adriani and widow M.L. Adriani-Gunning received longer obituaries than most "common" missionaries, having been part of important missionary families (both the family Adriani and Gunning). This sole focus on elements of the life of the deceased *as a missionary*, once again reminds us of the biographical illusion that was an integral aspect of the obituaries.

Accomplishments were also an important factor for distinction in obituaries of missionary workers. This is best illustrated by the commemoration of missionary Albert C. Kruyt, who received four commemorative articles on the occasion of his death. The sheer number of articles alone suggests the importance attached to him as a missionary of the SZC. One of the articles is the official obituary written by the missionary society.²³⁰ The second is a text written by J. Kruyt, the son of Albert Kruyt, who was also a missionary, on Albert Kruyt's dedication to the newly established independent church of Celebes.²³¹ The third text is a commemoration of the pioneer work performed by Kruyt, written by the wife of one of his early colleagues.²³² The fourth commemorated Albert Kruyt as an ethnologist and was written by anthropologist and member of the SZC, F.C. Kamma.²³³

228C.W. Nortier, 'Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 27: 'Op en top aristocraat, maar dan van het goede soort.'

229As part of a doctoral thesis, Gerrit Noort wrote a biographical chapter on A.C. Kruyt and the Kruyt's long-standing family connection to mission: Gerrit Noort, 'Kruyt: een biografische schets', in: idem, *De weg van magie tot geloof* (Doctoral thesis Utrecht University 2006), 11-115.

230K.J. Brouwer, 'dr. Alb. C. Kruyt', *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 33 (1949), 171-172.

231J. Kruyt, 'De Oude Meneer. Dr A. C. Kruyt en de jongste ontwikkelingen in de kerk op Midden-Celebes', *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 33 (1949), 183-184.

232Mevrouw J.M. Hofman-Stolk, 'Herinneringen bij het heengaan van Dr Alb. C. Kruyt', *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 33 (1949), 184-185.

233F.C. Kamma, 'Dr A.C. Kruyt als Volkenkundige', *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 33 (1949), 185-186. F.C. Kamma

number of years a missionary worked for a missionary society was important. Second, Kruyt combined his age with an ability to keep up with modern developments. Unlike other older missionaries, the authors felt no need to include that his methods might be viewed as conservative since times had changed. Instead, he was lauded as forward thinking in the progression from mission site to independent church. He was, as J. Kruyt states, 'not conservative.'²³⁵ Especially in the later years of the studied period, progressive thinking was often praised in missionaries. A third element of distinction was his superb knowledge of the ethnology of the Toradja people. His obituary establishes him as an example to all missionaries, because of his interest in the culture of the population at his mission site. The many publications to his name were considered of special importance, combining the practice of mission with establishing an international reputation in the field of academic studies.

Conclusion

Missionaries were located at the top of the hierarchy in commemorations of missionary workers by the SZC. Despite an increase in contributions to other branches of work besides preaching and teaching Christianity, a clear priority on Christianisation was favourable for an unambiguously positive portrayal of a missionary worker. In obituaries of workers who laboured in the more recently established branches of educational and medical mission, an unequivocally positive narrative did not appear without an appeal to a defensive strategy that outlined why this work was missionary work too. Concern that doctors, nurses and teachers contributed more to secular welfare than knowledge of Christianity led to the neglect in representation of their direct labour and an emphasis on their Christian affiliations in obituaries. Medical missionaries were thus represented foremost as following the charity of Christ and educational workers were depicted as exemplars of Christian living.

By emphasising missionary activities, even in obituaries of workers who, in practice, had little time to communicate the message of Christ, the SZC could underline the importance of the work to their supporters while at the same time maintaining a suitable distance from colonial policies. Missionary teachers, for example, may have been funded by the government, but the SZC portrayed them as revealing their true Christian nature in rejecting educational jobs in public facilities. If this representational strategy reveals an aversion to colonial strategies is uncertain. Rather, it may have been a simple case of claiming all activities as missionary in nature, rejecting the contribution to colonial civilising strategies only in an effort to emphasise the work's primary

²³⁵Kruijt, 'De Oude Meneer', 183: 'dat "de Oude Meneer" niet conservatief was'

achieved an academic reputation, he was more likely to receive a longer obituary. Furthermore, at a time when colonialism was declining and autonomy was granted to different facets of Indonesian life, progressiveness was favoured over conservatism, just as co-operation instead of authoritarianism was more likely to result in a positive portrayal in an obituary.

The boundaries of group membership were negotiated in obituaries commemorating missionary workers, with female workers more often represented on the margins of the group. The board of the missionary society in the Netherlands effectively controlled who was portrayed in what manner, placing themselves, as producers, in an elite position. Missionaries closely followed in the hierarchy, by both being the most favourably portrayed subjects of obituaries and also often taking on the role of authorship. Nevertheless, the board and the encompassing format of commemoration were not the only factors that influenced the portrayal of workers in obituaries. Missionary workers could positively set themselves apart from the group, if still suitably remaining within the borders of the expected group identity, as did missionary Kruyt, who through his successful agency, effectively placed himself above both the board and the other members of the SZC.

In this chapter I concentrate on the question of a possible change in representational positioning of the missionary society in the obituaries vis-a-vis politics of (de)colonisation. Was there a notable shift in imagery surrounding the Indonesian archipelago, its inhabitants and Indonesian missionary workers? If so, when did this shift occur, during the Second World War, after the war and in relation to the new treaty that allowed missionaries access to the mission sites on the grounds of equality between Indonesian and Dutch missionary workers, or only after the official recognition of decolonisation?

I answer these questions by concentrating on four interrelated themes, moving from a broader view to the question of ethnicity as a factor in representation of missionary workers. In the first section of this chapter I concentrate on the use of the terms “Dutch East Indies” and “Indonesia” in the obituaries, working from the premise that the terms used by the SZC to denote the Indonesian archipelago implied an acceptance or rejection of colonialism. Second, I look at changing descriptions of the archipelago as “exotic”, concentrating on the representation of the landscape and population in particular. Subsequently, I pay attention to the portrayal of the Indonesian population in missionary obituaries. Last, I analyse the representation of Indonesian missionary workers and the ways in which they were included and excluded from the larger group of missionary workers.

The Dutch East Indies and Indonesia in Obituaries

In all obituaries of missionary workers, the mission site and the name of the region in which the site was located took precedence over a denotation of the Indonesian archipelago as a whole. First and foremost, missionary workers were identified with a specific mission site and their knowledge of that field. For Indonesian missionary workers this was the only geographic relation identified, except when the worker in question was born on another island which was then named too. The Indonesian archipelago as a whole was not mentioned in their obituaries, suggesting that for them, this larger geographic area did not exist, or was at least not considered relevant to their labour by the missionary societies.

In contrast, the Indonesian archipelago did play a role in the obituaries of Dutch missionary workers. During the period that this geographical area was solely designated as the Dutch East Indies, or commonly *Indië*, the term was often used in three ways in obituaries. First, some missionaries were praised for their love of the Indies, before zooming in on their more regional interests, as happened in the obituary of former missionary J.F. Niks: ‘For Mr. Niks too, nothing else existed but *Indië*, and even though he had much to tell about Timor and the surrounding

colonial domination of the archipelago by the Dutch.

However, the obituaries reveal no unequivocal and straightforward development from 1944 onwards in which *Indië* was forever replaced by Indonesia. Rather, both words were used until 1948. There seems to be no particular rule for when which word was used, only that the use of *Indië* was more dominant in 1945 than it was in 1948. No one particular group of authors preferred one word or the other: neither missionaries nor board members seem to have had a preference. Nor was there a particular group of commemorated people for whom the use of Indies or Indonesia was favoured. Sometimes, both occurred in one commemorative text, as happened in the 1947 article dedicated to doctor Cseszkó, who was said to have 'heard of the large need for missionary doctors in Indonesia' in the 1920s, and when accepted for service underwent a test of forbearance 'on arrival in *Indië*.'²⁴² As is demonstrated in these citations, the use of *Indië* or *Indonesië* was also not tied to reflections on either the past or present.

In the introductory article to obituaries of victims of the Second World War, only Indonesia was used. The same is true for the article called 'Peace on Earth' that introduced the statement on independence for Indonesia printed in the December 1945 issue of the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*.²⁴³ Why then was there no single method adopted in the obituaries from 1945 onwards? Was it because there was little certainty what would happen until 1949, since indeed the use of *Indië* disappears from that year onwards? Or did the authors find it hard to shake off a longstanding tradition? There certainly seems to have been confusion about how to deal with the disruption of the Second World War and the sudden fast-approaching deadline of decolonisation. On the one hand, there was a definite move towards a more anti-colonial discourse in some obituaries alongside the official statement made. In such cases, the author was careful to use only Indonesia in the text. Missionary Samuel van Hoogstraten, for example, was commemorated as

'not having had anything of the colonial Dutchman about him, which makes his loss, particularly at a time like this, very regrettable. He was the right man to help express, with sincerity, a co-operation with Indonesia in freedom and equality, without being hindered by his own shadow.'²⁴⁴

On the other hand, *Indië* was recurrently used in obituaries, even in the present tense. This may not

242J.E.E. Scherrer, 'In memoriam Dr G. Cseszkó en Mevrouw E. Cseszkó-Hadady van Eörhalma', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 31 (1947), 4: 'Toen hij hoorde van de groote behoefte aan zendeling-artsen die er in Indonesië bestond' and 'Bij aankomst in Indië werd echter hun geduld op de proef gesteld.'

243C.W. Nortier, 'Vrede op aarde', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 38-39.

244C.W. Nortier, 'Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 28 (1945), 27: 'Van Hoogstraten had niets aan zich van den kolonialen Nederlander, en daarom is zijn verlies vooral in dezen tijd zoo zeer te betreuen. Hij was een man van het juiste hout gesneden om de oprechte gezindheid van een samengaan' met Indonesië in vrijheid en gelijkgerechtigdheid mee te helpen tot uitdrukking te brengen, zonder daarbij gehinderd te worden door zijn eigen schaduw.'

relinquished.

It is interesting to note that while the progression to ordered circumstances was an important theme in obituaries the word *beschaving* (civilisation), a keyword of the ethical policy, was only used once in the set of studied obituaries. The one time it was used, its connotation was negative. After illustrating the primitive circumstances surrounding Madam v.d.Berg-v.d. Pol's settlement at Deli, the author of her obituary states that, in later years:

“civilisation” had entered the society of the Karo-Batak with all of the dark sides connected to it.’²⁴⁷

Was this a conscious effort to distance the missionary society from colonial policy? Was it meant to underline an awareness of the loss of “true indigenous culture” with the arrival of European influence as another example of Romanticism in obituaries? The vague appeal to “the dark sides” of civilisation makes it difficult to ascertain. The criticism may have been vague because of a fear of criticising colonialism; it may also have been formulated in that manner because it was considered an opinion generally shared.

Naming and Classifying the People at the Mission Sites

The population of a mission site was often called either *inheems(ch)* or *inlands(ch)*, both of which can be translated as indigenous or native. In Dutch these terms had vastly different meanings. *Inlandsch* was used in official judicial discourse on the population of the Indonesian archipelago, in opposition to Europeans or people from other “Eastern” countries. According to Van Randwijck, the term was not meant to be degrading, but was nevertheless considered an insult. Furthermore, he notes that the use of the word during the colonial period prevented a direct identification of the population with the country, by means of the term Indonesian. Prior to 1942, the word Indonesian was only used by missionary societies in an ethnographic manner.²⁴⁸ No such scruples seem to surround *inheemsch* (here translated as indigenous), which is freely employed by Van Randwijck.

In this context, it makes sense that from 1945 onwards, use of the word *inlander* declined (it was used three times in 1945 and then disappeared) in obituaries and was exchanged for either *inheemsch* or Indonesian. Apparently, the SZC was well aware of the less-favourable associations of the term *inlander*, as is evident in the rectification published in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* in

247D.C., ‘In Memoriam Mevr. J. v.d. Berg- v.d. Pol’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1941), 78: ‘de “beschaving” had in de Karo-Batakse maatschappij haar intrede gedaan met alle schaduwezijden daaraan verbonden.’

248Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending*, 40.

primitive character, having experienced a movement towards Christianity during the last decades before 1950, often called 'the miracle of *Nieuw Guinee*' in the obituaries. The *Minahasa*, a region of Celebes that had long been Christianised, was considered forward, and some obituaries remark on the population from the region as the least likely to cause trouble. This is unsurprising, since many of the indigenous missionary workers hailed from this area. Java, too, was represented as a forward area in missionary obituaries, despite being predominantly Muslim instead of Christian. The Javanese were considered to be culturally and intellectually advanced in comparison with other regions in all Dutch colonial discourse. Colonial discourse on the population of the Indonesian archipelago in this case seems to have taken precedence over religious affiliation. However, a positive designation of Java only occurred in missionary obituaries from the Second World War onwards in concurrence with the acknowledgement of the existence of nationalistic feelings in the obituaries of former workers who resided on Java.

Javanese may have been portrayed neutrally, or even favourably, from 1945 onwards, but Muslims were generally represented in a negative manner. Often referred to as "Muhammadans" instead of Muslims, the *Mohammedaansche* population was blamed for a lack of interest in Christianity at the mission sites. Given the context of the belief that all "heathens", with the onslaught of modernism, would turn to either Islam or Christianity, the obituaries reflect the competition felt at the mission sites.²⁵² Muslims were portrayed as fierce and often hostile, sometimes even to the extreme of driving missionaries from their sites, for example when the house of missionary Schut was burned down. As late as 1950 the competition between Christianity and Islam was a recurring theme in obituaries, always more or less expressed in the same way, such as:

'The seeds of the Gospel fell onto a ground tough as nails in this region. The Islam was extremely powerful and made people averse to the Gospel.'²⁵³

No clear shift occurred in the portrayal of Muslims in missionary obituaries. However, there were some changes that seem related to the (predominantly Javanese) fight for independence. From 1945 onwards, *Mohammedaansch* was often exchanged for *Islamitisch* (Islamic), but the use of the word Mohammedan does not disappear. Likewise, Islamic was used in 1931 as well. In two obituaries, Muslims were represented more favourably. Once, in 1934, the grandfather of a deceased Christian woman was said to have been 'a good Mohammedan', because he kept

252 Wouter Smit, *De islam binnen de horizon. Een missiologische studie over de benadering van de islam door vier Nederlandse zendingscorporaties (1797-1951)* (Zoetermeer 1995).

253 J. Schuurmans, 'Ter gedachtenis aan Gerben Willem Mollema. 15 Maart 1903 – 5 Juni 1950', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 34 (1950), 350: 'Het evangeliezaad viel in dit gebied op een spijkerharde grond. De Islam was er oppermachtig en maakte de mensen afkerig van het Evangelie.'

appropriating local culture. At the beginning of the studied period, this was represented in the obituaries solely through the motif of the missionary worker's knowledge and understanding of the language, culture and/or needs of the people. But steadily, and in particular from 1945 onwards, the workers were also presented as living with the local people, as being one of them. This found its expression in a change of the type of pictures that accompanied obituaries too. First, only Official-looking portraits were printed in obituaries, but in the last few years of the studied period, some obituaries feature pictures of missionaries in the midst of groups of Indonesians. Furthermore, expressions arise in which the missionary was claimed as one of the people by the population itself, and receiving names such as *Pandita goeroe*. In the case of Albert C. Kruyt, the author of one of his commemorative texts, states that he was told by a convert that 'If



Albert de Neef, in the second commemorative text he received, pictured as a missionary in between the local population, "conquering" nature. The byline of the picture reads 'Albert Zaaier wading through a river at Jappen'. F.C. Kamma, 'Albert Zaaier als Zendeling', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 111.

we had been heathens still, we would venerate you like a *lamo*a (ancestor-deity) after you died.'²⁵⁸ It is likely that the missionary societies chose to publish these statements, because they reflected not only the adoption of the missionaries by the population of the mission site, but also conveyed their respect for the workers. Meanwhile, it signals the growing importance of communication between missionary and population on a more equal level.

The Commemoration of Indonesian Missionary Workers

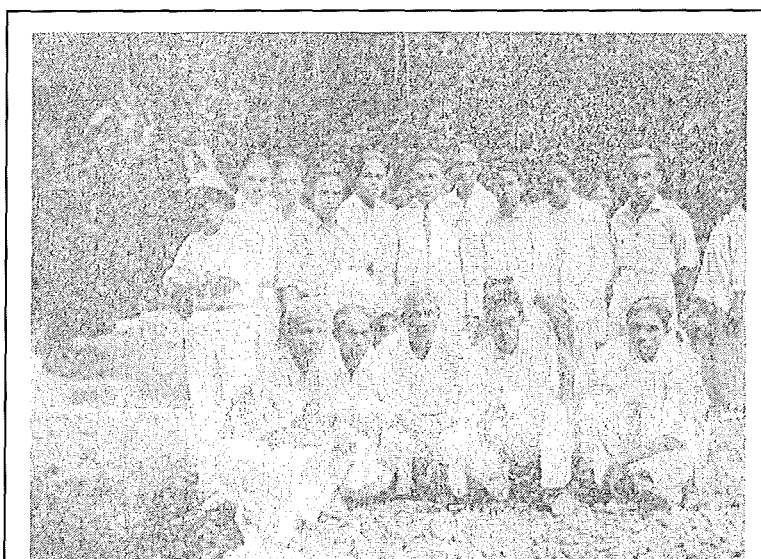
The Body and Placing

In 1938, more than one thousand Indonesians worked for the SZC in the Indonesian archipelago. There were ninety-nine independent Indonesian *gemeentevoorgangers* (translated here as pastors), sixty-seven of whom were a *predikant* (minister) for the independent churches in the archipelago.

258J. Kruyt, 'De Oude Meneer. Dr A.C. Kruyt en de jongste ontwikkelingen in de kerk op Midden-Celebes', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 33 (1949), 183: 'Een oudere, tot de gemeente toegestreden Toradja, zei hem eens: "Wanneer wij nog heiden waren, zouden wij U na Uw dood als "lamo" (voorouder-godheid) vereren".'

article. This practice became the standard after 1938. Sometimes, these texts could take a singular form, such as the *in memoriam* written for Luther Kolopita that ends with a signature and a statement that the conveyed was ‘also on behalf of the family Langeveld’, as if it was a directly printed letter.²⁶¹ Obituaries of missionary workers from the Dutch East Indies were, until 1940, not placed in the same section as obituaries of European missionary workers. This only became common after the war.

Like the obituaries of European missionary workers, the commemorative texts were usually accompanied by a picture of the deceased. The pictures used in obituaries of Indonesian workers often feature them as part of a group of other Indonesian Christians or *goeroes*. In contrast,



Picture of ‘a group of Ambonese *goeroes*’ that accompanied the article commemorating five *goeroes* who had died on New Guinea. The quality of the picture is considerably less than some other pictures posted in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*. However, this is not necessarily related to it being a picture of Indonesian *goeroes*. D.C.A. Bout, ‘Vijf medearbeiders, gevallen in de Japanse tijd’, *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 55.

commemorative texts of European workers were usually accompanied by an official portrait of the deceased, sometimes in the midst of their family. This may be a sign that indigenous workers were commemorated more as part of an ethnic group than specific individuals. The most obvious indication of this is the picture that accompanied the article published in 1948, in which five *goeroes* who died during the Japanese occupation were commemorated. The picture represents, as the by-line states, ‘a group of *goeroes* from Ambon’, never identifying one of the individual

goeroes remembered in the texts.²⁶² A commemorative text about a Dutch missionary worker would never have been accompanied by a picture of an anonymous group of missionary workers.

Format

The first paragraph of the *in memoria* about Indonesian missionary workers was comparable to those pertaining to European workers. In a few cases, no date of death was mentioned, but usually an exact date was given. Added to this were the name of the deceased, the function he or she had and the mission site the deceased person worked at. Significantly, a missionary society was rarely

²⁶¹dr. Van der Endt, ‘In Memoriam Luther Kolopita’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 124: ‘Mede namens de familie Langeveld, Adr. Van der Endt’.

²⁶²D.C.A. Bout, ‘Vijf medearbeiders, gevallen in de Japanse tijd’, *Nederlandsche Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 55.

The last paragraphs of early commemorative texts suggest the status of the deceased as an exemplar of missionary results and a call for more European help to the mission. The obituary of Ma Simah, for example, ends as follows:

'The American missionary sisters have unfortunately had to give up on their work on Java. When will the first Dutch missionary sister come to work for the thousands of Chinese women and girls at Batavia?'²⁶⁷

In contrast, later obituaries of Indonesian workers did not feature an appeal to readers for help, but instead iterated the loss to the Christian community, even if the sentiment was sometimes confined to just the Indonesian people instead of the missionary societies. More so than Dutch missionary workers, the Indonesian workers were expected to be mourned by the population of the mission site only. Somewhere between 1938 and 1948 then, Indonesian missionary workers became exemplars of missionary labour instead of examples of the results of such labour.

Agency, Submission, and Other Character Traits

Indonesian workers were incorporated into the larger group of missionary workers in their obituaries through the elements of zeal and a calling, as well as devotion to the work despite illness or age. In the obituary of *goeroe* De Fretes, he was said to continue work despite his illness and back pains. Later on, the text reads: 'a dedicated and industrious life has come to an end.'²⁶⁸ The words used to highlight the zeal of the missionary workers from the Indonesian archipelago were no different from the ones used in commemoration of European missionaries. However, the depiction of the calling felt by the deceased to perform the work of a missionary was often slightly different, and is reminiscent of the youthful force felt by the German missionaries commemorated in 1945. Minister B. Moendoeng, for example, was portrayed as having 'had one desire. He wanted to be a preacher of the Gospel.'²⁶⁹

In the obituary of Luther Kolopita, his progression from conversion to the willingness to join the mission was interspersed with sentences that were meant to guarantee that he had been tested as to whether he was a worthy and true convert:

267Blik, 'In memoriam de Bijbelvrouw Ma Simah', 41: 'De Amerikaansche zendingszusters hebben haar arbeid op Java helaas moeten opgeven. Wanneer zal de eerste Hollandsche zendingszuster uitkomen om te werken onder de duizenden Chineesche vrouwen en meisjes van Batavia?'

268N. Kieft, 'Goeroe de Fretes', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 19 (1936), 14: 'Zoo is aan een zeer toegewijd en arbeidzaam leven een einde gekomen.'

269I.P.C. Van 't Hof, 'In memoriam Ds B. Moendoeng', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 41: 'Ds Moendoeng had één begeerte. Hij wilde prediker van het evangelie zijn.'

The submissive element seems less dominant in the two obituaries commemorating independent ministers and the one dedicated to a Chinese elder. The obituaries of the Chinese elder and of minister B. Moendoeng, did not contain expressions such as “helper”, or mentioned explicit deferral to missionaries. However, the authors describe the workers as submitting to Dutch missionaries on one occasion in their obituaries. Moendoeng was said to have been ‘thoroughly influenced by his *leermeester* (tutor/master) missionary Fokkema’ in his superb knowledge about the Church.²⁷⁴ Mister Gouw Ko was portrayed as having stopped preaching when the NZV took over the site and instead starting work as a translator for the missionaries.²⁷⁵ In only one commemorative text was an Indonesian portrayed as truly independent: the obituary commemorating *Inlandsch leraar* Medelloe van Moronge credited him with his own agency.²⁷⁶ This obituary contained the heroic and zealous narratives that can be found in the *in memoria* of pioneer missionaries, including the tendency towards humour and justice. It is intriguing why he was described as such. Perhaps it was because he was not officially part of the missionary apparatus, but instead of the *Indische Kerk*, and thus did not need to be portrayed as submissive to the authority of a missionary.

The texts published from 1948 onwards contain relatively more criticism in the form of a portrayals of negative character traits in indigenous people than can be found in the obituaries of Dutch missionary workers. This form of criticism was not a sporadic occurrence, but rather, seems to have been part of a pattern, which helped underline the need for the missionary to supervise the Indonesians. Most obituaries published in 1948 remark on the ‘difficult character’ of the *goeroes* commemorated. The *goeroes* often needed to be checked by either the missionary or his wife. *Goeroe* Lucas Sahertian, for example, was described as follows by missionary Maan:

‘An easy character he certainly had not back then and especially from me he could stand very little. It would certainly have gone wrong had my wife not had a big influence over him.’²⁷⁷

Note that here the missionary wife was again represented as closer in understanding to the Indonesians than Dutch men. It is likely that here regional stratification again played a role since the obituaries stating such criticisms were dedicated to *goeroes* from Halmahera and New Guinea.

That criticism could also function as a mechanism of encompassment instead of

274I.P.C. Van 't Hof, ‘In memoriam Ds B. Moendoeng’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 41: ‘De kerk verloor in hem ook een man, die wist, wat een kerk was. Dit weten was bij hem niet louter verstandelijk. Zijn gehele bestaan was er van doortrokken. In dit opzicht was de invloed van zijn leermeester Dr Fokkema duidelijk merkbaar.’

275A.K. De Groot, ‘In memoriam de heer Gouw Ko’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* (1938), 70.

276W. van de Beek, ‘In Memoriam. De Inlandsche leeraar Medelloe van Moronge’.

277G. Maan, ‘In Memoriam Goeroe Lucas Sahertian’, *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948), 31: ‘Een gemakkelijke karakter had hij toen niet en hij kon in het bijzonder van mij heel weinig verdragen. Het zou zeker misgelopen zijn, als mijn vrouw niet een hele grote invloed op hem had uitgeoefend.’

contributed to the establishment of circumstances that enabled the Indonesian population to be in charge of their own churches, and ultimately, their own country.

The same ambivalence was present in obituaries of Indonesian missionary workers. On the one hand they were incorporated into the group of missionary workers through the use of the tropes of a calling, zeal, and perseverance. To some extent, submission also worked as a method of encompassment. On the other hand, the submissive narrative of deference to the male missionary signals paternalism that was part of a discourse of Western superiority. This paternalism was dominant in all commemorative texts about Indonesian workers. At first the workers were shown as being subject to missionaries in obituaries, which depicted them as being examples of the results of missionaries' labour. Later, this exemplar function was obscured and the role of the workers as agents for the missionary societies themselves became more important. However, even during the last years of the studied period, missionaries were always depicted as supervising the Indonesian workers, or, at the very least, as having guided them towards their positions in the church. Moreover, the small numbers of Indonesian missionary workers who received a commemorative text on occasion of their death signals a systematic amnesia that was at least in part related to colonial discourses of marginality and domination.

resulted in a visible tension in the texts, between individual character traits and interpretations of missionary work, and the shared commemorative model.

The obituaries themselves acted as both an expression of collective memory and a place where collective memory was formulated. The structure of most, if not all, obituaries was alike, suggesting a highly ritualised manner of commemoration. The undisclosed authorship of the texts about male missionaries until 1940 suggests subordination of both author and subject to the group of missionary workers. An appeal to a group identity was made in the introductory texts to two issues of the journal. These texts were almost entirely dedicated to victims of the Japanese occupation, and through the repeated use of “we” acted as a reminder to the reader that they shared more than a distant interest in the deceased. Furthermore, the obituaries contained both explicit and implicit statements that the commemorated life was presented as a model for emulation, appealing to readers to actively join missionary initiatives. Thus, the SZC not only sanctioned the life and actions of a deceased missionary worker in a commemorative text, but also appealed to the readers to follow his or her example, while at the same time maintaining and reiterating the corporation’s self-image.

The general statement that commemorative texts were a medium in which the past was made present again serves as a guide to understanding what occurred in missionary obituaries. The texts served to re-present the *past*, by an appeal to historical figures and Christian texts. Favourite Biblical texts were quoted directly, or reproduced in a more casual manner through statements in the middle of narratives using key words recognisable to the reader. One important passage was Revelations 14:13, probably related to a more general Christian expectation of life after death. More specific to a Christian tradition of mission was the use of the image of sowing seeds of the Gospel, referring to Matthew 13:1-24, as well as the call of the Macedonian man in Acts 16:9. Jesus Christ was the main figure referred to in obituaries through the use of Bible texts, but also by implicitly, and less often explicitly, drawing parallels between the life of missionaries and the witness, sacrifices, death, and salvation of Christ. Obituaries could also contain direct appeals to a specific missionary tradition, by mentioning the link between family members who had also worked for a missionary society, or by citing famous missionaries as teachers of the deceased. Generational memory thus interplayed with group identity and commemoration in making the past present again.

The past was not only re-presented in obituaries, but again made valuable to the *present*. Through denial, approval, and pardoning, acts of deceased missionaries were related to contemporary currents of thought and practice in mission. The obituaries portrayed deceased missionary workers as people who had acted out the message of Christ in contemporary circumstances, being both exemplars to passive supporters of the mission at home in following a true Christian calling, as well as exemplars to the people at the mission site by living a model

missionary worker and his or her faithful submission to God and the missionary societies. Missionaries could be heroes of pragmatism, initiative, and self-sacrifice, particularly when they were considered deserving of the title of martyr or pioneer, but they were still required to take orders from the missionary corporation. Moreover, missionary workers were cast as vessels of God, which meant that ultimately their work was claimed as an effort of God instead of their own doing.

Distinction and Marginalisation

A tension between heroic agency and faithful submission, combined with elements of zeal, applied to obituaries of all missionary workers. However, obituaries also reflected and contributed to a hierarchical ordering of missionary workers. The obituaries include elements of marginalisation and distinction in an attempt to demarcate boundaries of group membership. Women and Indonesian missionary workers were marginalised, the latter most of all. They were under-represented in commemorative texts, received little opportunity to claim authorship of obituaries, and the content of the commemorations they received differed from those of European males. Their zeal was equally important in obituaries, but their agency was minimised while their submission was stressed. Moreover, Indonesian workers, as well as missionary wives, were relegated to a missionary as their primary defining relationship, instead of to a missionary society. This same order was expressed in the authorship of the obituaries dedicated to these workers. The texts about women and Indonesian workers were predominantly authored by the supervising missionary at the site, and this being the case, a hierarchy was established in which the missionary could describe and sanction the lives of his female and Indonesian colleagues, while the missionary society at home ultimately decided what was published about any missionary worker. In addition to this, the impact of both women and Indonesian workers was portrayed as limited to the population at the mission site, while Dutch male missionary workers were more often claimed to have contributed to “the Indies” as a whole.

At the same time, there were numerous elements that could set a missionary worker apart from the group in a positive manner. To the heroic character trait of agency could be added pioneerism and martyrdom, both of which take the regularly praised character traits to an extreme. Martyrdom was not only the willingness, but the reality, of sacrificing one’s life as a witness to God. Pioneer missionaries had to take the initiative more fully than their colleagues in conquering “wild” nature for a “civilised” church. While female and Indonesian workers were marginalised through a more prevalent submissive narrative in their obituaries, they could at the same time be lauded as pioneers and martyrs. Another aspect that played a role in the distinction of a missionary

country as colonial agents were, although they could be remembered as contributors to “our Indies”; instead they were seen as servants of God.

There was a definite attempt at retaining an innocent stance on colonialism by the *Samenwerkende Zendings Corporaties* without explicitly criticising the colonial state. Missionary societies and its workers were portrayed as innocent onlookers, distancing themselves from politics by favouring knowledge of local mission sites over a hegemony of language and culture throughout the archipelago that was associated with colonial agents and ministers of the *Indische Kerk*. The word “civilisation” was rarely used and if it was used it was seen as being negative and a threat to local culture. Furthermore, the authors of obituaries insisted on the priority of mission over social, economic, or cultural *opheffing* of the population when writing about deceased missionary workers. Attempting to maintain the idea that the commemorated deceased were missionaries first and foremost in the obituaries turned into the illusion that they had nothing but this one identity.

Despite this insistence on innocence, the obituaries of missionary workers were steeped in colonial discourse and implicitly reiterated a world-view of Western superiority. Apart from the overlap between a colonial and missionary ethos, Dutch missionary workers were portrayed as guides to a more ordered “civilised” world, even if the SZC shied away from the word civilisation (*beschaving*) itself. For example, in obituaries missionaries were represented as supervising Indonesian missionary workers and guiding them to “true” Christianisation, even when the indigenous Christians had actively performed missionary labour for a long time, reiterating the paternalism that coincided with the “colonial responsibilities” felt by the Dutch. Also, in the portrayal of missionaries’ quest to “tame” the colonial *buitengewesten*, the trope of pioneer work was used to emphasise the dangers that workers faced. This trope in itself carried colonial connotations, originating as it did at a time when exploration, mission, and settling a colonial government, intersected. Moreover, the stratification of different population groups in the Indonesian archipelago did not occur according to a differentiation between “heathens” and Muslims only, but instead closely followed the colonial estimation of the various islands.

(Re)Negotiating Western Paternalism in a Changing World

An important shift in representational policies occurred after the Japanese occupation of the Indonesian archipelago ended and the Republic of Indonesia was declared independent by Sukarno and Hatta in August 1945. During the last six months of that year, the SZC spoke out in support of nationalistic developments in the Indonesian Archipelago and opposed Dutch efforts to regain control over large areas of the (former) Dutch East Indies. However, the missionary corporation

a new situation in which the role of the Dutch was no longer self-evident. In this situation, an appeal to the former commemorative tradition with its insistence on Western superiority and imagery of “our Indies” was no longer sufficient. And yet, ripples of this former world-view still appeared in the obituaries as evidenced by the frequent reappearance of words such as the *Indies* and *inlander*.

We clearly see the *Samenwerkende Zendings Corporaties* renegotiating the aims and boundaries of their project in the Indonesian archipelago in obituaries from 1945 onwards. The ambivalence we find in obituaries may be explained from the accommodation of both parties in the conflict over the independence of Indonesia to safeguard the SZC’s own intentions of continuing their work. The name Indonesia was adopted (instead of the Republic of Indonesia), the ideas tied to the stereotypical Dutch colonial were repudiated, and an interaction on the basis of equality between population and missionary, Dutch missionary and Indonesian missionary worker, became more influential in obituaries. At the same time, the *Samenwerkende Zendings Corporaties* did not, in retrospect, acknowledge its own role in colonial politics. On the contrary, it claimed that the role of missionaries as guides towards Christianisation and order contributed to the ability of the independent Indonesian churches and their ministers to function. Furthermore, while the missionaries had been allowed by their Indonesian colleagues to return to the mission sites on a basis of equality, paternalism in the form of missionaries correcting mistakes of Indonesian workers did not disappear from the commemorative texts. If anything, former *goeroes* often received more criticism in texts from 1948 onwards. That this happened in relation to the mission sites in New Guinea in particular is not surprising given the reputation of this area as being the most “backwards”, the claim that the island had experienced a relatively great development towards better circumstances, the assertion by missionary societies of a growing influence of Christianisation through the ‘miracle of *Nieuw Guinee*’, and the fact that the area remained under Dutch control after 1949.

Concluding Remarks

The commemoration of missionary workers in obituaries between 1930 and 1951 was highly patterned and placed the workers within a framework of an imagined group identity. The essentials of the obituary, the tropes of a calling, zeal, heroic agency, and submission to God and the missionary society, not only reflected a Christian religious tradition, but also contained elements from colonial discourse. Self-sacrifice, dedication, and submission referred to a Christian ethos based on Christ as the ultimate exemplar of Christian life and Biblical texts. Contemporary missionary initiatives were further legitimised by an appeal to former generations of missionaries.

section of the journal, together with the sum of money they donated. These levels of group identification could be further analysed by paying particular attention to the readership of the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* in the Netherlands, as well as to the interaction between different sections in the journal. Personal archives may contain written reactions to the published obituaries, or correspondence on the first and final drafts of the obituaries, which would provide more insight into the production and regulation of, as well as the response to, these commemorative texts.

Associated with the above is the question of how group identity or commemoration related to individual identity. In my research I concentrated on the similarities between a large number of obituaries spanning twenty years, so the influence of the group identity caught in the patterned nature of the commemorative texts may have been emphasised at the expense of the contributions made by individuals adopting new mission strategies and in turn influencing the model. It may be said that I read the sources along the grain of the boards of missionary societies in the Netherlands, while they could be read against the grain for information on the influence and resistance adopted by both Dutch and Indonesian missionary workers in the Indonesian archipelago.²⁷⁹ I found hints of these alternative (individual) identities in the studied obituaries. When the theoretical inclinations of a missionary were excused for example, these character traits were acknowledged before they were submerged under an ethos of pragmatism. The same occurred when missionaries adopted different approaches to conversion. It appears that the importance of praising the efforts of mainstream missionaries subsumed the criticism the society may have levelled at individual tactics. The fact that some initiatives, such as the support of nationalistic meetings of Indonesians at the mission sites, were often shown as having been previously criticised but were now deemed acceptable in the current climate, also suggests that the group identity did not just change in the face of larger changes in world-view without acknowledging the contributions of individuals to these changes. A detailed case study of a number of obituaries may help contrast individual identity with group identity in the commemorative texts published in the missionary journal. Here again, details about the production of specific obituaries may be of assistance, if they are available in the archives of the SZC. In light of this discussion, it could also be of interest to compare the obituaries printed in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* with the texts printed in journals edited by missionaries of the SZC but distributed mainly in the Indonesian archipelago.

The third possible direction of further research is related to the patterned nature of the obituaries. When and where did this pattern originate? Which elements were part of the pattern from the start, which elements changed, appeared, or disappeared over time? The trope of pioneer missionary workers, the appeal to previous generations of missionaries in obituaries, as well as the

²⁷⁹Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Woodstock, 2009).

Appendix A: Map of the Mission Sites and Independent Churches

On the map below, the mission fields with their most important sites are denoted with a number, using the Dutch names common in missionary circles. Following the name of the area is the abbreviation of the missionary society that first settled there, possible changes in supervision by missionary societies, and last the date and abbreviation for the name of the independent church. The numbers and information was copied from: Th. van den End ed., *Twee eeuwen Nederlandse zending 1797-1997* (Zoetermeer 1997). Source of the map is the archive of the SZC located at the *Utrecht's archief*.²⁸⁰

1. Karo-Bataklanden (NZG 1890 → GKBP 1940)
2. Toba-Bataklanden (RMG 1862 → HKBP 1930)
3. Angkola (Java-Comité 1859/1864 → HKBP 1930)
4. Mandailing (DZV 1871)
5. Nias (RMG 1865 → BNKP 1936)
6. Batu-eilanden (Ned. Luthers Genootschap voor In- en Uitwendige Zending 1889 → BNKP)
7. Mentawai-eilanden (RMG 1901 → GKPM 1968)
8. Enggano (RMG 1901 → HKBP)
9. West-Java (NZG 1863 → GKP 1934)
10. Midden-Java ten Zuiden (NGZV 1862, ZGKN 1894 → GKJ 1931, GKI-Jateng 1936)
11. Midden-Java ten Noorden (Ermelose Zending 1868, Salatiga-Zending 1884 → GK-JTU 1937)
12. Semarang (NZG 1862, SZ and DZV 1898 → GIdTJ 1940)
13. Muria-area (DZV 1851 GIdTJ 1940, GKMI 1939)
14. Oost-Java (NZG 1849, JC 1880, Ger. Kerken in Hersteld Verband 1932 → GKJW 1931)
15. Kangean (JC 1912-1932)
16. ZO-Kalimantan [Southeast Kalimantan] (RMG 1836, BMG 1925 → GDE/GKE 1935)
17. ZW-Sulawesi [Southwest Sulawesi] (NZG 1851-1864, UZV 1895-1905)
18. ZW-Sulawesi and Salayar (IK 1933 → GKSS 1966)
19. Sangir and Talaud (STC 1857/1888 → GKST 1947)
20. Minahassa (NZG 1822, IK 1874 → GMIM 1934)
21. Bolaëng Mongondow (NZG 1904 → GMIBM 1940)
22. Gorontalo (NZG 1889-1898, IK/GMIM → GPIG 1965)
23. Midden-Sulawesi [Mid Sulawesi, also called Poso] (NZG 1892 → GKST 1947)
24. Paludal (Leger des Heils 1914 → Bala Kesekamatan)
25. Toraja-Mamasa (Chr. Ger. Kerk 1928 → GTM 1947)
26. Toraja-Rantepao-Ma'kale (GZB 1913 → GT(R) 1947)
27. Zuidoost-Sulawesi [Southeast Sulawesi] (NZV 1916 → Gepsultra 1957)
28. Luwuk-Banggai (IK 1913 → GKL B 1966)
29. Bali (UZV 1864-1881, CAMA 1929, NZG/GKJW 1933 → GKBP 1948)
30. Sumba (NGZV 1881, CGK 1884, ZGKN 1892 → GKS 1947)
31. Timor (NZG/IK 1819-1855, IK 1855 → GMIT 1947)
32. Sabu (NZG 1872, IK 1901 → GMIT)
33. Halmahera (UZV 1866 → GMIH 1949)
34. Noord-Buru [Northern Buru] (UZV 1911, IK 1933 → GPM)
35. Zuid-Buru [Southern Buru] (UZV 1855 → GPM)
36. Molukken (NZG/IK 1815-1864, IK 1864 → GPM)
37. Noord-Nieuw-Guinea [Northern New Guinea] (UZV 1855/1862 → GKI-Irja)
38. Zuidwest-Nieuw-Guinea [Southwest New Guinea] (IK 1930 → GPM)
39. Areas of CAMA (Eastern-Kalimantan → GKII 1951, New Guinea → GKII 1983)

280 Downloaded from the site of the *Utrecht's archief* (5 December 2011):
<http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/archieven/algemeen/1102-1/T1102-%20Bijlage%20kaart%20van%20de%20zendingsgebieden>

Appendix B: Glossary

Commemorative text: Umbrella term for obituaries, death notices, and other forms of textual commemoration of deceased missionary workers, including the obituaries written in the form of a letter. Also used as an interchangeable term for obituary.

Death notice: A short announcement of the death of a person. The text of the announcement does not contain more than the details about the life and death of the deceased: name, place of birth, occupation, time and place of death, relation to the missionary society, and a short expression of grief.

Female missionary workers on an independent appointment: Usually single women who went to the Indonesian archipelago as missionary nurses. They received their own salary and were directly employed by a missionary society.

Goeroe: Indonesian name for a teacher or church pastor with basic education. They were usually unordained and commonly combined both the job of local school teacher and village pastor.

in memoriam: see obituary.

Missionary: Missionary worker who had Christianisation as its main job. However, he or she usually also functioned as a director of a specific mission site, directing *goeroes* and other missionary workers under his supervision. He could also fill in when a medical or educational worker was on leave. Missionaries were commonly unordained and had not enjoyed an education as minister.

Missionary worker: Umbrella term for all people who laboured for the missionary societies, including Indonesian workers, female workers, educational workers, medical workers and missionaries. Missionary wives are denoted by this common denominator as well, for ease of use. Commonly used for those workers who were active in the Indonesian archipelago, but could include administrators and workers in the Netherlands as well.

Missionary wife: Wife of a missionary, usually situated at the mission site too. In this thesis, the term is also used to designate the wives of educational and medical missionary workers.

Obituary: Commemorative text that is usually longer than one paragraph and contains a description and evaluation of the life of the deceased besides basic information about the person, death, and family.

Opheffing: There is no direct translation of this word to English. Literally, it would be “lifting up”, carrying notions of civilisation and education of the population. The word was associated with the ethical policy of civilising the population of the colony and readying them for self-government during the first half of the twentieth-century.

Teacher-preacher: a *goeroe* employed as a teacher at the local school and a preacher for the church. He received a salary from the government for his educational work, and was allowed to use the school building for worship.

SZC: *Samenwerkende Zendings Corporaties*. A corporation, or partnership, of a number of voluntary missionary societies that were renamed *VNZ* in November 1946 and became part of the Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1951.

1950:

Missionary workers working for the VNZ:

Ministers	48 (including 3 women)
Educational workers	21 (including 7 women)
Doctors	15 (including 5 women)
Nurses	39 (all female)
Total	123

Missionary workers by region*:

names as used in the *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad

Celebes	23
Timor	2
Halmaheira	9
Java	31
Bali	3
Sumatra	7
Borneo	1
Sangir	5
Nieuw Guinea	42

Source:

'Lijst van Zendingsarbeiders in dienst van of in verband met de V.N.Z. in Indonesië werkzaam', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 34 (1950), 363.

Appendix E: The Obituary of Missionary Albert de Neef

The obituary of Albert de Neef, as published: W.F.D., 'Ter gedachtenis aan Albertus Johannes de Neef. 27 aug. 1892 – 1 Sept. 1948', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 32 (1948) 102-103.

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Ter gedachtenis aan

ALBERTUS JOHANNES DE NEEF

27 Aug. 1892 – 1 Sept. 1948

Op 1 Sept. is in het Diaconessenhuis te Amsterdam op 56-jarige leeftijd onze broeder en medewerker Ds A. J. de Neef overleden. Niet alleen in de engere kring van zijn mede-arbeiders, maar in talloze gemeenten in ons land zal dit bericht met ontroering zijn ontvangen, want Albert de Neef was alom bekend en bemind. Hij heeft een uitermate zwaar en pijnlijk lijden gehad, maar het gedragen met de grote blijmoedigheid die hem eigen was, waar-

lijk als een christen. Zending was hij in hart en nieren. In 1920 vertrok hij, uitgezonden door de Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging, naar zijn arbeidsveld op Nieuw-Guinea en daar hebben hij en zijn vrouw, eerst op Hollandia en daarna op Jappen, met onderbreking van een verlof in 1926–1928, met grote toewijding gewerkt onder hun geliefde Papoea's. In 1928 kwam de Neef in het binnenlandse zendingswerk, en ook daar was hij zending in de volle

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zin van het woord. Waar hij maar gelegenheid had, getuigde hij van het Evangelie, tot zijn laatste levensdagen in de ziekenkamer toe. Vol vreugde vertelde hij mij dat hij, hoewel zelf ernstig ziek, toch nog voor zijn kamergenoten een getuige van Jezus Christus mocht zijn. En hoe velen zijn er, die de warmte van zijn persoonlijkheid, de gulhartigheid en blijdschap, die van hem uitstraalden, met grote dankbaarheid gedenken. Wie hem kende, moest van hem houden. Hij bezat die kinderlijke openheid, welke de Bijbel een voorwaarde noemt om in te gaan in het Koninkrijk Gods. Daarom hield hij ook zoveel van kinderen – en de kinderen van hem. Ze hingen aan zijn lippen als Albert Zaaijer vertelde en ze verslinden zijn boeken over de Papoea's. Nooit was hem iets

te veel en een verzoek om hulp, een spreekbeurt, een vertelavond, een filmvoorstelling, een zendingstentoonstelling kon hij onmogelijk afslaan. Eerder bracht hij zichzelf in moeilijkheden door te veel op zich te nemen, dan dat hij iemand zou teleurstellen. Voor het begrip van tallozen in den lande, ouderen en jongeren, is de Zending identiek met de persoon van zending de Neef. In het C.J.M.V. was hij voorzitter van de zendingscommissie en wekte er zendingsmedeelven onder vele jongeren. Van talloze conferenties vormde hij het bezielend middelpunt. Albert de Neef heeft zichzelf verteerd in dienst van zijn Zender. Zelfs als wij wel eens onze bezorgdheid tegenover hem uitten over zijn drukke werk met het oog op zijn gezondheidstoestand, trok hij er onvermoed op

uit. Met zijn talenten – en hij had er vele: hij was een geboren prediker, verteller, schrijver en tekenaar – heeft hij gewoerd tot hij niet meer kon. Wij kunnen ons eigenlijk het binnenlandse zendingswerk niet goed voorstellen zonder de Neef. Menselijkerwijs gesproken is hij onvervangbaar. Maar de Here God, die hem ons geschonken had, heeft Zijn dienaar weggeroepen van zijn post en in Zijn heerlijke gemeenschap opgenomen en Hij zorgt dat Zijn arbeid voortgaat en het Evangelie zijn loop heeft. Maar in onze kring en in ons hart is een leegte gekomen. Wij eren zijn nagedachtenis en dragen zijn vrouw en kinderen, die nu in droefheid zijn, op aan den levenden Heer, in Wiens hand onze dagen zijn.

W. F. D.

Locher-Scholten 2011). The research group '*Religie, identiteit en herinnering*' (religion, identity and memory) at the Religious Studies faculty of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen has recently taken up the application of memory studies on religious identity formation. This project, with its focus on commemorative practices and group identity fits especially well with the aims of this research group.

Research on Dutch Calvinist mission has favoured a descriptive perspective on missiology, missionary policies, and missionary practice at the mission sites. The study of representations has been a relatively recent development in international research on mission (Etherington 1996; Peel 1996; Rakotonirina 1999), and only anthropologist Rita Smith Kipp has performed a preliminary study of two articles published by Dutch missionary societies as representations (Kipp 2004). Additionally, international studies of mission history have taken up post-colonial concepts in the analysis of particular mission initiatives, forestalling the reductionist tendencies of early studies in post-colonialism, by paying particular attention to the political, cultural, and social context of mission in the home country and at the mission site (Robert 2008). By taking up these two new developments in research on mission, and applying them to the study of Dutch Calvinist mission in the Indonesian archipelago, the project provides a new perspective on Dutch mission history, and contributes to international mission studies by applying and adapting the framework to a different mission field.

A brief description of the relevant literature

Fowler's understanding of obituaries as (re)producing and challenging collective memory provides the starting point for this project (Fowler 2007). Other literature on (national) collective memory will also be consulted, in as far as it is relevant to an understanding of commemoration of groups other than national entities. Additionally, Terrence Craig's study of Canadian missionary biography is important for an understanding of the form and content missionary publications pertaining to missionaries' lives usually took (Craig 1997). Contextualisation of the representations in missionary obituaries will be achieved by using literature on the Dutch and Indonesian context of Calvinist mission and colonialism (Graaf van Randwijck 1981; Enklaar 1981; Van den End 1997; Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008; Van Doorn 1995; Van den Doel 1996), while previous studies of missionary representations and the application of post-colonial theory in this field provide inspiration for the adopted approach and enable reflection on the colonial and missiological perspectives inherent to many of the studies on Dutch Calvinist mission and the Dutch East Indies (Rakotonirina 1999; Cox 2002).

The primary sources primarily exist of obituaries commemorating missionary workers published in missionary journals. These journals were published approximately once a month by the missionary societies for the members and contributors, with the aim to inform the readers as well as to gather support for the missionary venture. Every Dutch missionary society published its own journal, and they changed names and outline when missionary societies experienced divisions, or joined together into corporations. This project studies the journals of the two main Calvinist missionary organisations in the Netherlands in order to compare commemorative traditions: the mission of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands and the missionary societies united in the Dutch Reformed Church in 1951. Other missionary societies are left out of this project, to avoid an exhaustive amount of sources. To advance an understanding of the commemorative traditions appealed to, or rejected, by the missionary organisations, a brief comparison will be made between obituaries of missionary workers, ministers for churches in the Netherlands, and colonial agents.

Proposed methodological approach

The proposed project involves comparative and qualitative research of serial source material in the form of obituaries commemorating missionary workers as published in the main Dutch Calvinist missionary journals. Informed by the idea that obituaries provide a link between public mourning of individual lives and the making and shaping of collective memory or identity (Fowler 2007; Hume 2000), the primary theoretical framework adopted is that of memory studies. Borrowing tools from

Additional bibliography of literature unmentioned in the thesis:

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