

*“In our lonely place in the forests and wilderness”*

**Dutch Missionary Wives in the Netherlands East Indies  
in the Late Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century**

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a study about the experiences and the role of Dutch women in the Protestant mission, with particular reference to the existing letters written by four missionary wives who lived in separate areas in Sulawesi (Celebes) and North Sumatra between 1855 and 1931. It locates some aspects of missionary and colonial discourse in relation to women in the Christian mission within the broader framework of social history. Initially, the work of the Dutch Protestant mission was attributed only to men. Until 1935, the Protestant mission in the Netherlands East Indies was officially run by male missionaries. Women were considered to be supplementary, rather than being essential actors. In many cases, we have limited information on the role played by women in the mission field. There are only a few studies on Christian missions in the Indies that pay specific attention to women and their experiences. This thesis therefore aims to contribute to the studies of mission history in the Netherlands East Indies, specifically focusing on the experiences and role of women in the mission.

This thesis suggests that missionary wives were active agents in the missionary effort to bring Christianity to the 'heathens' in the Indies. Furthermore, this study asserts that given the diversity of experiences and lifestyles of colonial women in the Indies, greater attention should be paid to non-urban women who lived in remote outposts outside of Java. Among studies of European women, missionary wives have been neglected as category of colonial women in the Indies. Missionary wives were part of the increasing number of European women who settled in the colonies towards the end of the nineteenth century. Scholars have pointed out the ambiguity of European women's position as the subordinate sex within the master race, which resides at the core of the debate about gender and colonial historiography.<sup>1</sup> Yet, most studies focus on European women in Java, and those who lived in the plantation belt of Sumatra. It was argued that European

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<sup>1</sup> See, among others, Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (Madison: University of Washington Press, 1983); Frances Gouda, "Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide: White Women in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1942". *Gender & History* Vol 5. No 3 (1993): 318-42; Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000); Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (eds), *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1998); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); G. Roger Knight, "East of the Cape in 1832: The Old Indies World, Empire Families and "Colonial Women" in Nineteenth-century Java". *Itinerario* Vol 36. Issue 01 (2012): 22-48; Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas Colonial Practice in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008).

women in the colonies 'became the shock troops of racism by insisting upon a definitive *apartheid*'.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, missionary wives, who mostly lived in the remote outposts outside Java, in fact reached out to local society as part of their participation in the Christian mission. The agency of missionary wives thus offers a different perspective that complicates the existing debate about gender and colonial historiography.

Furthermore, studies on missionary wives in the American Protestant mission in Hawaii demonstrate women's frustration when they encountered the constraints that domesticity and motherhood placed on their participation in evangelization. They were unable to engage extensively in teaching and proselytizing due to their childrearing years. Missionary wives eventually focused their hopes and energies on their families' futures rather than on evangelical goals.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, studies on missionary wives in the British Protestant mission in China show that married women were active in visiting, in teaching, in giving Bible training and in offering simple medical care.<sup>4</sup> How about missionary wives in the Dutch Protestant mission? We cannot assume that women's missionary experience everywhere has been the same. While both the British and the American Protestant missions recruited female missionaries to spread the Gospel to different parts of the world in the late nineteenth century,<sup>5</sup> the Dutch Protestant mission did it in the early twentieth century. Therefore, using the letters written by four missionary wives as principal sources, this study addresses the following questions: How and to what extent did missionary wives contribute to missionary practice in the Netherlands East Indies? How did they perceive their work and personal life? How did they express their relationships with local people and how did they represent local people in their writings?

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<sup>2</sup> Gouda, "Nyonyas": 331.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> Delia Davin, "British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China" *Women's History Review* Vol 1. No 2 (1992): 257-271.

<sup>5</sup> See, among others, Rhonda Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); Peter Williams, "'The Missing Link': The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in some English Evangelical Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century" In *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Women*, Vol 11: *Women and Missions: Past and Present*, eds Fiona Bowie., Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener (Oxford: Berg, 1993): 43-69.; Delia Davin, "British Women."; Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1997).

## **The Letters, the Wives, and the Mission Fields**

Because missionary wives' experiences were seldom recorded in missionary journals or reports, we can only rely on the records left by the women themselves, such as their personal letters. The letters of these women constitute a rich archive that provides a compelling picture of the mission experience as it was perceived by the women themselves. Nevertheless, locating the surviving letters of these women is a challenging task for researchers. Referring to her research, Rita Smith Kipp notes that "there was *almost nothing to be found*, neither in the mainstream scholarly journals and periodicals in which missionaries published nor in the form of readily available autobiographies by male missionaries".<sup>6</sup>

Dutch women's writings in the nineteenth and early twentieth century about the Netherlands East Indies can be seen in travel accounts or exploration narratives and in literary works such as novels and short stories. These types of writings reveal insights into the life of European women in the Netherlands East Indies from the perspective of the women themselves. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that most of these types of publications concentrate on lives in Java, where the center of the colonial administration and most European communities were located. Description of life in the outer islands is mostly found in the writings of colonial administrators and missionaries, which were led and written by men and therefore contain little information on women, let alone a woman's perspective. In this case, the existing letters of missionary wives are an alternative source that helps to fill the gap. The letters provide first hand, personal expressions on the aspects of life and the cultural world that non-urban Europeans inhabited. Moreover, the letters might enrich the history of particular places in the Indies in which the mission played a significant role. Most importantly, such records produce a deeper understanding of women in the Protestant mission in remote areas of the Netherlands East Indies.

Personal letters are not designed to be read publicly or officially like administrative reports or ethnographic studies. Yet some personal letters were sent to a particular group of people within missionary circles, therefore the letters were not always intended to be 'private'. In reading these letters, it is also important to consider who they were addressed to, as the intended audience was a significant factor in determining the tone and the theme of the narratives.

Two of the four Dutch women whose letters I examine in this thesis wrote their letters in the late nineteenth century. The other two women wrote their letters in the early twentieth

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<sup>6</sup> Rita Smith Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bushnatives?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 63 (2004): 600.

century. Three of the women lived in different areas in Sulawesi (North, Central and South) and one in North Sumatra. They came to the Indies in more or less sequential period. In the same way, their letters were also written in relatively consecutive intervals. However, in this analysis, I will use the letters interchangeably to follow the research's core questions, rather than organizing the information by author. I will briefly introduce the four women in the following section.

*A. Henriette Ulfers (1815-1872)*

K. Henriette Ulfers Kisner is the wife of missionary Siebold Ulfers, who was commissioned by the Dutch Missionary Society (Nederlands Zendinggenootschap, NZG) to work among the people of Minahasa in North Sulawesi starting in 1847. She died in 1872 in the city of Manado, North Sulawesi. Two of her letters written in January 1855 from her home in Kumelembuai, near Tomohon, were published in a little booklet by the NZG under the title *Iets Uit Het Huisselijk Leven en De Werkzaamheden Eener Zendingvrouw* (Something from the Domestic Life and the Work of a Missionary Wife).<sup>7</sup> She addressed her letters to her 'sisters in the Lord', namely staff and members of the NZG Women's Auxiliary Society (*Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap*) in Rotterdam. Her letters discuss her sewing class students, her family, her experience of being sick, and her feelings of loneliness.

*B. Dina Wijngaarden (1863-1954)*

Dina Wijngaarden-Guittart is the wife of missionary Jan Kornelis Wijngaarden, who was commissioned by the NZG to work among the Karo-Batak people in Buluh Hawar, North Sumatra, beginning in December of 1892. Before working in North Sumatra, Jan Wijngaarden had worked in Savu Island, in the eastern part of the archipelago from 1889 to 1892. He was married to a woman also named Dina (Dina Wijngaarden-Berg), who died in Savu in 1890. Two years after the death of his wife, Jan Wijngaarden married Dina Guittart in October 1892 in Mojowarno, East Java, and received a new assignment to do missionary work among the Karo-Batak people. On September 22, 1894, having spent two years working among the Karo-Batak people, Jan Wijngaarden died after suffering from dysentery. In December of 1894, Meint Joustra, a new missionary commissioned by the NZG to continue the work of the mission, arrived in North Sumatra. However, Dina Wijngaarden stayed until 1895 and then returned to the Netherlands.

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<sup>7</sup> In her research Kipp used four series of letters written by K. Henriette Ulfers Kisner between 1855 and 1863. See Kipp, "Two Views": 597-624. Unfortunately I have access only to one original series of letter published in 1855.

The letters of Dina Wijngaarden were written between 1894 and 1895. Five of her letters were addressed to the Board of the NZG. The first letter in the series was written in February 1894, several months before her husband's death. In the letter, she relates her first experience in the mission field and her impression of the people of Karo. In the remaining letters, she communicated with the NZG Board regarding her situation and the continuity of the mission in Buluh Hawar. Dina Wijngaarden also wrote personal letters to Hendrika Velds, the future wife of Meint Joustra. Four of her letters to Hendrika Velds that are used in this thesis were previously quoted in Rita Smith Kipp's *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission: The Karo Field* (1990) and have been translated into English by Kipp.

### C. Jo Kruyt (1867-1963)

Johanna (Jo) Hendrika Moulijn Kruyt is the wife of missionary Albert C. Kruyt, who was commissioned by the NZG to work in Gorontalo, Central Sulawesi starting in 1891. During their early mission period, the couple moved to several places within Central Sulawesi due to the arrival of new missionaries. In 1893 they moved to Poso and lived there until 1905. From 1903 to 1907, Jo Kruyt left Poso with her two daughters for a furlough period and stayed in the Netherlands (Albert Kruyt followed his wife in 1906). The couple went back to Poso in 1907 and stayed in Kuku until 1909. From Kuku, Jo and Albert Kruyt moved again to Pendolo and stayed there until Albert Kruyt retired in 1932 and returned to the Netherlands.

From 1908 to 1931 Jo Kruyt and Albert Kruyt were prolific letter writers. Their letters were published by the NZG in a series of booklets under the title *Brieven van den zendeling Alb. C. Kruyt en zijne Echtgenoot, uitgezonden door het Ned. Zend. Genootschap, aan hunne vrienden* (Letters from missionary Albert C Kruyt and his wife, commissioned by the Dutch Missionary Society, to their friends). In this series, Jo Kruyt wrote twenty letters between 1908 and 1931. Her letters narrate her activity in the mission field and include stories about local people. Almost all of her letters include fragments of her conversations with local people. She wrote three specific letters about two local women, whom she regarded as exceptional,<sup>8</sup> and one letter about her mail runner.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Een Bijzondere Vrouw". 18 January 1913. In *Brieven van den Zendeling Alb. C. Kruyt en zijne Echtgenoot uitgezonden door het Ned. Zend. Genootschap, aan hunne vrienden*. No. 20 (Leeuwarden: C.C. Hoekstein, 1913): 11-20.; Kruyt-Moulijn, "Labonggoe (Ine i Bombo)". 2 August 1915. In *Brieven*. No. 31: 2-11.; Kruyt-Moulijn, "Iets van eene oude bekende". 28 February 1916. In *Brieven*. No. 33: 2-9.

<sup>9</sup> Kruyt-Moulijn, "Onze Postlooper". 11 April 1914. In *Brieven*. No. 25: 12-16.



#### D. Alida van de Loosdrecht (1891-1953)

Alida Petronella van de Loosdrecht-Sizoo is the wife of missionary Antonie Aries van de Loosdrecht who was commissioned by the Reformed Missionary League (*Gereformeerde Zendingbond, GZB*) in 1913 to work among the people of Toraja in Rantepao, South Sulawesi. For the first few months the couple stayed in Tentena, Poso, Central Sulawesi to get established and become familiar with the language and the traditions of the Toraja under the guidance of Dr. Nicolaus Adriani, a linguist commissioned by the Netherlands Bible Society and missionary Albert Kruyt. The couple began living in Rantepao among the Sa'dan Toraja people in 1914. Due to the tension in the Torajaland between the local people and the colonial government, several native leaders instigated an uprising with aim of killing all Europeans in the area. After an unsuccessful attempt to kill the local colonial administrator, the rebels killed Anton van de Loosdrecht in 1917. Alida van de Loosdrecht, who was pregnant at the time, moved to Palopo, South Sulawesi to give birth to her third child, and then went back to Rantepao. In 1918 she obtained a position as Manageress of a small mission hospital in Solo, Central Java, where she lived with her three children. In 1922 she received an offer to become an administrator of a girl's school in Bandung, West Java. After accepting the position she wanted to spend the summer in the Netherlands with her children. When they were in the Netherlands, her youngest daughter, Antonia, became very sick, so she decided not to return to the Indies.

Fourteen of Alida's letters written between 1913 and 1917, along with her husband's letters both to his family and to the mission, were translated into English and published by her daughter and son in law, Antonia A. van de Loosdrecht Muller and Jan E. Muller in 2006, under the title *The Mustard Seed became a Tree: Life and work of Anton and Alida van de Loosdrecht, First Missionaries to the Toraja church of Indonesia, 1913-1917*.<sup>10</sup> In this publication, ten of Alida's letters were addressed to her family. Three other letters were addressed to the mission circle and also published in the GZB journal, *Alle den Volcke*. Her letters recount her experiences and her impression about the places she lived and visited and the local people she encountered. One letter written in July of 1914, which was also published in *Alle den Volcke*, was addressed to the Ladies of

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<sup>10</sup> The book denoted that Alida had written eighteen letters, however only fourteen letters were included. The other four letters to her family were mentioned at the "Epilogue" and only partly quoted and paraphrased. See Antonia A. van de Loosdrecht Muller and Jan E. Muller, *The Mustard Seed became a Tree Life and work of Anton and Alida van de Loosdrecht, First Missionaries to the Toraja Church of Indonesia 1913-1917* (Canada: Ricoh Document Management, 2006): 212-215.

the Mission Society. It describes the visit of the wives of a Torajan chief, Pong Maramba, to her house.<sup>11</sup>

## **Archival Material**

In addition to the letters written by missionary wives, I have supplemented the primary sources with data drawn from missionary publications and missionary reports, mainly from the *Maandbericht NZG* and the *Extract-Acten NZG*. The Archives of Utrecht provided the bulk of the original research materials used here, especially the letters and documents of missionary personnel and organizations.<sup>12</sup> The letters of missionary wives are filed along with the documents and correspondence of the husbands. Some of the letters written by Dina Wijngaarden and Jan Wijngaarden to the Board of the NZG were also published in the *Maandbericht NZG*. The Rotterdam City Archives provided the documents of the NZG Women's Auxiliary Society (*Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap*) and the published letters of Henriette Ulfers.<sup>13</sup> The rest of the materials were provided by the KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) and the Special Collections of Leiden University Library.

The letters of Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds and all of the letters of Alida van de Loosdrecht have been translated into English. The rest of the letters, as well as some other published sources, are in Dutch. Except for the letters of Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, and the letters of Alida van de Loosdrecht, the English translation of the Dutch sources quoted in this thesis is mine. The original versions of all of the Dutch sources I quoted and translated in this thesis are provided in the Appendices section.

## **Chapter Descriptions**

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter shows the importance of studying missionary wives in the framework of mission history and colonial history. It argues that missionary wives deserve particular attention because of their unique position. Furthermore, this chapter presents an overview of studies on women and Christian mission, pointing out the scarcity of studies on missionary wives in the Netherlands East Indies. The chapter also outlines the

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<sup>11</sup> Ida to Ladies of the Mission Society, 6 July 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 101-104.

<sup>12</sup> The series of published letters by Albert Kruyt and Jo Kruyt (1908-1931) are also available at the Special Collection of Leiden University Library.

<sup>13</sup> The published letters of Henriette Ulfers (1855) is also available at the KITLV collection, which is managed by Leiden University Library since July 2014.

purpose of this thesis: to recover the experience and the role of missionary wives in the Dutch Protestant mission.

The second chapter first presents the historical context of the Protestant missionary in the Dutch colonial period, followed by an exploration of the place of women in the Dutch Protestant mission with particular attention to the position of the Protestant missionary wife. This chapter argues that although missionary wives are not acknowledged as professional mission workers, and therefore unpaid, they are actively involved in missionary works with responsibilities equal to those of professional unmarried women employed by the mission. The presence and contribution of the wives were therefore highly significant, and in addition to their domestic chores, their tasks were far heavier than their unmarried sisters in the mission.

In the third chapter, the experience of missionary wives in the mission in relation to their role as wife, mother, teacher and evangelist are discussed. It points out the ambiguous roles of the wives in relation to gendered notions within missionary discourse. This chapter aims to present the range of the work and the contribution of the wives to missionary practice. It also looks at how the wives perceived their work and personal life as reflected in their writings.

Chapter four outlines the relationships of the wives and the local people while looking at the representation of local people in their writings. It discusses the wives' perspective on particularly local people's spiritual life as well as the wives' daily interactions with local people inside and outside their house. This chapter also specifically analyses to the wives' relationships with young boys or girls who lived in their house.

This research aims to fill the historiographical gap in the studies of mission history in the Netherlands East Indies by presenting the experiences and the role of Dutch missionary wives in the Outer Regions. It also investigates the ambiguities of women's role within missionary practice. In the debate about gender and colonial historiography, this study also points out the lack of attention to European women in rural areas of the Indies. As European women in the Outer Regions, missionary wives had an even more ambiguous role. Their involvement in the mission contradicted the notions of European women's position in colonial discourse as demonstrated in the studies about European women in Java and plantation belt of Sumatra. Therefore, this study will contribute to an understanding of European communities, and the role of white women in rural parts of the colonies, especially the Outer Regions.

## CHAPTER I

### WHY MISSIONARY WIVES?

The broad theme that runs through this study is the importance of women to the Protestant mission in the Dutch colonial setting. This chapter presents the historiographical background of studies on women and Christian mission. It also connects the importance of gender as a category of analysis that affects the experience of missionary wives. The final section provides the reasoning for why I consider the missionary wife to be a distinct and significant category to be examined in the framework of mission history.

#### 1.1. Significant but Nearly Invisible

During the missionary endeavors in the Indies, Dutch women played a considerable role either as wives of Protestant missionaries, nuns of Catholic mission, or as professionals such as nurses and teachers. On the other hand, we know very little of the lives of these women in the mission field. Women seemed to be invisible in terms of their appearance in missionary journals, reports, and publications, which were mostly written and published by men. In the introduction of *Women and Missions: Past and Present*, Fiona Bowie argues: 'in being seen as adjuncts to men, rather than as historical protagonists in their own right, women have been systematically written out of historical and anthropological records.'<sup>14</sup> Another reason the record of women's experiences is thin is because few women had the time to write memoirs or journals that summarized their missionary experience.

The Dutch missions were comparatively late in commissioning women to become missionaries (female evangelists). Unlike the British and American missions that had started to employ women as missionaries in the nineteenth century, the NZG only began to commission women in 1935. Before that, single women who joined the mission were hired as nurses and teachers. As Caan points out, 'as a rule, only the unmarried woman, who has an independent sphere of work, is called a missionary sister, but that does not mean that the married woman does less real

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<sup>14</sup> Fiona Bowie, "Introduction: Reclaiming Women's Presence." In *Cross-cultural*: 1.

missionary work'.<sup>15</sup> A wife was considered so essential to the success of a mission that single men were not allowed to go the mission field. Caan mentioned that in 1913, there were ninety missionary wives (*echtgenooten van zendelingen*) and twenty four single women working for the missions as nurses and teachers in the Netherlands East Indies. She gave passing examples of some missionary wives in the Indies such as Mrs. Steller in Sangir Island, North Sulawesi; Mrs. Roskott in Ambon, Moluccas; and Mrs. Hofman-Stolk in Central Sulawesi. She also briefly described the work of missionary wives based on the account of Augusta de Witt about a missionary wife (her name was not mentioned) in Madja-Warna (Mojowarno), East Java, who helped the local women to make clothes, gave medicine to sick children and talked to young girls about love and marriage.<sup>16</sup> Caan's writing, however, does not provide clear reference notes or a comprehensive bibliography of the sources she used, and it also does not give the complete names of many of the missionary wives she mentioned.<sup>17</sup>

Even when women have high level of participation in the mission, the level of recognition is low. Missionary work has been regarded as the work of men. Referring to the work of London Missionary Society (LMS), Valentine Cunningham notes that '*Missionary* is a male noun; it denoted a male actor, male action, male spheres of service.'<sup>18</sup> The wives of Protestant missionaries were not regarded as missionaries but more as supplements to the mission due to their domestic and childcare responsibilities. The wives 'filled the traditional roles as providers of conjugal comfort and as homemakers.'<sup>19</sup> Thus, the wives' achievement in the mission field was often credited to their husbands or to other male missionary colleagues. Studies by Van der Woerdt show the remarkable work of J.C. van Andel-Rutgers, the wife of Rev. Dr. H.A. van Andel in their missionary work in Solo, Central Java from 1912 to 1942.<sup>20</sup> The wife was the leading figure in the mission field. Nonetheless, the success of the mission was seen as the accomplishment of her husband because of the portrayal

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix A. 1. H.B. de. La Bassecour Caan, "De Positie der vrouw in de Christelijke zending in de Ned. Bezittingen in Oost en West Indie." In *Van Vrouwenleven 1813-1913: Ontwikkelingsgang van het leven en werken der vrouw in Nederland en de Koloniën* (Groningen: G. Römelingh & Co, 1913): 140.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 129-154.

<sup>17</sup> H.B. de. La Bassecour Caan herself was employed by the mission. Her involvement in the mission is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>18</sup> Valentine Cunningham, "'God and Nature Intended You for a Missionary's Wife': Mary Hill, Jane Eyre and Other Missionary Women in the 1840s." In *Cross-cultural*: 89.

<sup>19</sup> Deborah Kirkwood, "Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters." In *Cross-cultural*: 24.

<sup>20</sup> A. A. van der Woerdt, *Werken zolang het dag is: Jacqueline Cornélie van Andel-Rutgers (1874-1951) gereformeerd zendelinge in Midden-Java* (Kampen: Kok, 2004).

of wives as inhabiting a subordinate role in the mission. A similar pattern can be seen in regard to nuns in the Catholic mission. In their successful mission work in Flores, the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters (*Servae Spiritus Sancti*, SSpS), who arrived on the island in 1917, were subordinate to the priests of the Society of the Divine Word (*Societas Verbi Divini*, SVD) who arrived in 1913. In the establishment of the SSpS congregation, it was clearly stated that the sisters were needed to supplement the work of the SVD missionaries.<sup>21</sup> Although seemingly independent, the sisters had to consult with and needed approval from the priests in doing their work. In their early years in Flores, the sisters were also excluded from the decision making process and did not have financial independence, as all financial matters for the mission were handled by the priests.<sup>22</sup>

Gendered notions of women's role in missionary practice and in society played a critical part in shaping women's experience in and with the mission, and also contributed to the mission rhetoric, 'women's work for women'. These notions were further negotiated between men and women due to the challenges and circumstances they faced in the mission field. As a result, women were inevitably entangled in the ambiguities required by their position. In the Dutch colonial setting, the ambiguities were more complex. Missionary wives belonged to European groups of population and most of them were the so-called *totok*, born in Holland. As European women in the colonies anywhere, as Margaret Strobel has argued, they 'played ambiguous roles as members of a sex considered to be inferior within a race that considered itself superior'.<sup>23</sup> As I have previously mentioned, the ambiguity of European women's position in the Indies has been one of the central debates about gender and colonial historiography. Nevertheless, most studies focus on European women in Java, and those who lived in the plantation belt of Sumatra. Locher-Scholten argues that when studying women in colonial Indonesia, focusing on Java can hardly be avoided, because 'political life in colonial Indonesia was centered in Java; it was the most developed, the most 'colonized' and the most densely populated island in which the largest numbers of Europeans (80%) and the largest numbers of Indonesians (almost 70%) lived'.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, Sumatra's

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<sup>21</sup> Hermann Fischer, SVD., *Leven van Pater Arn. Janssen Stichter der Missie-Congregatie van het "Goddelijk Woord" en van de Missiezusters "Dienaressen van den Heiligen Geest"* (Uden: Missiehuis St. Willibrordus, 1936): 99.

<sup>22</sup> See Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia 1808-1942 A Documented History Vol 2. The spectacular growth of a self-confident minority, 1903-1942* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Margaret Strobel, 1987. "Gender and Race in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Empire". In *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed Renate Bridenthal et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987): 375.

<sup>24</sup> Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*: 6.

plantation belt, which was opened by the Dutch in the late nineteenth century, was also vital as 'one of the most lucrative investment sites in Southeast Asia.'<sup>25</sup>

In the debate about gender and colonial historiography, the position of missionary wives is unique and offers a different perspective of European women's experience. Missionary wives were often an exception to the general picture of European women in the Indies. Most of them lived in isolated areas in the Outer Regions, and because of their tasks in the mission, they did not experience the urban culture of most colonial women. European women in the Indies, as pointed out by Locher-Scholten, 'generally enjoyed a life of leisure, with four to ten servants to do the housework'.<sup>26</sup> She refers to European women in big cities in Java, in areas with quite a number of European communities. Living apart from most European communities and often being the only white woman among the native people of the Indies, missionary wives were frequently challenged by the circumstances of the mission field. They did have servants or helpers to do the housework, but not only that, they usually also had in their house young girls or boys who they raised and educated as 'foster children', whom at the same time were ambiguously often used as servants.

Furthermore, for most European women in the colonies, 'the Western image of the ideal woman prevailed, in theory and in practice. They remained at home without a profession, devoted to their loved ones, doing welfare work in women's organizations or they led a life of social outings, tennis, and parties.'<sup>27</sup> This description is only partially true for missionary wives. Although they were devoted to their loved ones and being a wife of a missionary was not regarded as a profession, they did not practice the lifestyle of most European women in the Indies. Colonial discourses, as pointed out by Gouda, 'assigned to white wives and daughters, the role of defending both the social pecking order and the cultural superiority of European civilization in their daily life'.<sup>28</sup> I would add that mission women bore the responsibility of defending Christian values as well.

## **1.2. The Studies of Women and Christian Mission**

There is a growing interest in the subject of women in the Christian mission, as reflected by a number of recent studies and research across a variety of academic disciplines. Scholars have

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<sup>25</sup> Ann Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule". In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol 31. 1 (1989): 139.

<sup>26</sup> Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*: 125.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>28</sup> Gouda, "Nyonyas": 337.

been raising various questions regarding power and authority, the contextualization of evangelization, different nuances in women's experience to particular circumstances, the benefit of mission on both the mission women and the local people where they worked, and gender roles within missionary discourse and practice. On the latter, studies by Patricia Grimshaw on American missionary wives in nineteenth century Hawaii explores the challenges faced by women in their role to become exemplary Christian housewives of an exemplary Christian household, which involved a continual struggle to survive in unaccustomed circumstances.<sup>29</sup> Grimshaw explored issues of motherhood, childrearing, and reproductive experience that are often officially unrecognized and unrecorded in missionary reports. This raises questions as to the experience of missionary wives and women in other circumstances. We cannot assume that women's experience within missions have been the same. Each mission organization has its own emphasis and policy for the mission's work. Furthermore, every mission field also has its own geographical, political, social and cultural character. All of these elements contribute to the experience of both men and women within missionary work.

In 1993, thirteen essays by anthropologists, historians and missiologists were published in *Women and Missions: Past and Present*. The essays cover a wide-ranging set of themes from the recruitment, position, and achievement of women missionaries, to mission impact on indigenous women, particularly sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>30</sup> This pioneering book is one of the most important scholarly contributions to what Bowie refers to as the move to 'reclaim women's presence'. She concludes that 'what does become clear is that women have been active participators in the modern missionary movement and that their experience cannot simply be subsumed under that of men.'<sup>31</sup> In broadening the perspective on missionary discourse and practice, another noteworthy publication, *Gendered Missions*, connects gender's importance in missionary life and work with the larger colonial project of which the missionaries were a part.<sup>32</sup> Focusing on the period of high imperialism (1870-1914), this interdisciplinary collection of seven essays shows how 'colonial experience not only made gender negotiable in many missionary organizations but through them, contributed to the negotiation of gender in other institutions "abroad" and "at home"'. This book also suggested 'the relevance of looking at past histories of colonial missions as a means toward

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<sup>29</sup> Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*.

<sup>30</sup> Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener, *Cross-cultural*.

<sup>31</sup> Bowie, "Introduction". In *ibid.*, 18.

<sup>32</sup> Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds, *Gendered Missions: Women and men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).



understanding their legacy and role in the dynamics of gender and religion in our increasingly postcolonial world.’<sup>33</sup>

In the context of Dutch Protestant missionary in the Netherlands East Indies, Rita Smith Kipp and Arina Adriana van der Woerdt have contributed important researches in the study of women and Christian mission. Van der Woerdt’s *Werken zolang het dag is: gereformeerd zendelinge in Midden-Java* is perhaps the first in-depth study on the biography of a mission woman in the Netherlands East Indies. This substantial study describes the life and the extraordinary work of Jacqueline Cornelie van Andel-Rutgers (1874-1951), who worked in the service of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (RCN, *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*) as a head nurse at the RCN mission hospital in Yogyakarta in 1900. In 1912 she married a missionary pastor, Dr. Huibert Antonie van Andel, and stopped working as a nurse. However, as a missionary wife, she devoted herself to missionary work together with her husband in Solo, Central Java. In terms of gender division of labor within missionary activity, as I have mentioned earlier, Jacqueline van Andel-Rutgers proved to be an exceptional case as she was deeply involved in all aspects of the missionary work. Her intelligence, organizational talent and knowledge of the Javanese language and customs made her, and not her husband, the primary figure in their missionary efforts. The missionary deputies of the sending church in Amsterdam, and later in Delft, ‘accepted with gratitude the missionary activities of a woman in a period in which only a subordinate role was reserved for women in the RCN. The men and brothers in the Netherlands were only too pleased to share in the success of the Solo mission.’<sup>34</sup>

Focusing on the personalities and relationships of missionaries in the Karo field, Kipp expounds the role of Dina Wijngaarden-Guittart, the wife of missionary J.K. Wijngaarden, as part of the historical narrative of the first fifteen years of Karo Mission.<sup>35</sup> In her article “Emancipating Each Other: Dutch Colonial Missionaries’ Encounter with Karo Women in Sumatra, 1900-1942”, Kipp examines a colonial encounter between the NZG and the women of Karo, in which Western views of women’s subordinate role within the family influenced missionaries’ misunderstanding of the

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<sup>33</sup> Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, “Introduction: Gendered Missions at Home and Abroad.” In *ibid.*, 24-25.

<sup>34</sup> Woerdt, *Werken zolang*: 319.

<sup>35</sup> Rita Smith Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission: The Karo Field* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

highly respected position of Karo women.<sup>36</sup> In another article on Karo mission, discussing the bureaucracy of the NZG in dealing with female employment, Kipp critically examined how professional women who entered the mission were disadvantaged not only by their structural position, but also by their previous socialization and personal experience.<sup>37</sup> Women were only able to be involved as professionals in the mission if they were unmarried. The majority of the women professionals who worked for the NZG were nurses. Nevertheless, Kipp's study shows that even when single women could escape from the dilemma faced by married women (between doing mission work and putting homemaking and childcare first), 'their expertise, unlike that of their male colleagues did not include education for work in an intercultural setting or for the challenge of translating Christianity across great cultural and linguistic gap.'<sup>38</sup>

In her other article, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bushnatives?", Kipp paid particular attention to the representational style of the account of Henriette Ulfers, the wife of missionary Siebold Ulfers, on the people of Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Kipp also compared her letters with the writing of another woman, H.B. De La Bassecour Caan, who was involved in missionary work but not as the wife of a missionary but who wrote on the same subject.<sup>39</sup> Kipp points out that besides gender, class also affected missionary work; in this context, the representational style of women's writings. Her analysis also revealed the different roles played by women within the missionary organization. In many ways, Kipp's important works provided the inspiration for this present thesis. Two of the women studied in this thesis were also examined in Kipp's analysis. Nevertheless, in Kipp's studies, both women were analyzed in a separate context with a different focus. The present thesis deals with more than just those two women. It focuses on the experience and the role of four women in the mission, as well as their relations with and the representation of local people in their letters.

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<sup>36</sup> Rita Smith Kipp, "Emancipating Each other: Dutch Colonial Missionaries' Encounter with Karo Women in Sumatra, 1900-1942". In *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, eds Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1998): 211-235.

<sup>37</sup> Rita Smith Kipp, "Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Man?: Bureaucratic Contradictions in the Dutch Missionary Society." In *Gendered Missions*: 145-177.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>39</sup> Kipp, "Two Views": 597-624.

### **1.3. Conclusions**

Studying missionary wives in the Netherlands East Indies is important for several reasons. First, they were present and their lives constitute a valuable human record. Secondly, the presence of their letters presents an opportunity to listen to women's voices and to look at the mission from women's perspectives. The recovery of the role played by women in the mission offers a deeper understanding of the history of the Dutch Protestant mission in the Netherlands East Indies. Thirdly, the experiences and the writings of missionary wives will contribute fresh insight into studies on colonial women in the Netherlands East Indies.

## CHAPTER II

### PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN DUTCH COLONIAL CONTEXT

This chapter presents a historical context of Protestant missionary in the Dutch colonial period, followed by an exploration of the place of women in the Dutch Protestant mission with particular attention to the position of the Protestant missionary wife. It aims to show that although missionary wives were not acknowledged as professional mission workers, their presence and contribution were highly significant, and in addition to their domestic chores, their tasks were heavier than their unmarried sisters in the mission.

#### 2.1. Between Mission and Colonial Project

Christian missionaries in the Netherlands East Indies became increasingly active during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1800 and 1900, about fifteen missionary societies started working in the Netherlands East Indies. Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink point to the years between 1870 and 1940 as the 'mission age' of the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>40</sup> During this period, especially after the implementation of the Ethical Policy in 1901, which was instituted to bring progress and prosperity to the people of the Indies, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries enjoyed considerable autonomy. As pointed out by Kipp, 'the ethical trend in colonial policy and the domination of religious parties in Netherlands politics benefited missions in their goal to spread the Gospel. The speech of Queen Wilhelmina in 1901 precisely mentioned the duty of the Dutch to bring Christianity to the Indies.'<sup>41</sup> This was also strongly supported by the Minister of Colonies, A.W.F. Idenburg, who later became the Governor General of the Netherlands Indies (1909-1916).<sup>42</sup> Since the task of providing education and health care for all the native people of the Indies was too costly for the government to handle alone, 'mission schools and hospitals, subsidized by government funds, could relieve some of the government's responsibility in these spheres'.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, eds. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008): viii.

<sup>41</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 31.

<sup>42</sup> Idenburg promoted the activities of the missionaries, including private education, so that missions could work side by side with the government in fulfilling Holland's duty towards the population of the Indies. See Pieter N. Holtrop, "The Governor a Missionary? Dutch Colonial Rule and Christianization during Idenburg's Term of Office as Governor of Indonesia (1909-16)". In *Missions and Missionaries*, eds, Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod (Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 2000): 155.

<sup>43</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 31.

The turn of the century also saw a change in the government policy with respect to the Outer Regions. The 'non-intervention' (*onthoudingspolitiek*) policy was abandoned. Several factors influenced this change in policy. Areas like the East Coast of Sumatra developed into an affluent agricultural industry, and a more effective administration was needed. At the same time, the colonial government also feared foreign intervention. Around 1900, the Dutch colonial government expanded its authority over most of the Outer Regions.<sup>44</sup> The Ethical Policy brought an increase in the level of administration throughout the islands. The situation of the missionaries was also improving, particularly in terms of financial support because the government began subsidizing missionary schools and hospitals.<sup>45</sup> The missions were expected to assist the local people in adjusting to a Western presence, and to introduce them to Western civilization. Furthermore, politically, Christian mission also became an instrument for the government to hamper the spread of Islam, which was considered to be a threat to colonial wellbeing.

Among the Dutch Protestant missionary organizations in the Indies, the Netherlands Missionary Society (NZG), established in the Netherlands in 1797, was the oldest and the largest. The NZG began their mission work in the region known as Minahasa (North Sulawesi) in 1831, in East Java in 1849, in Karo Batak (North Sumatra) in 1890, and in Central Sulawesi in 1892. Other Dutch Protestant missionary societies that also started their mission work in the nineteenth century were the *Nederlandsche Zendingsvereniging* (NZV) in West Java (1863), the *Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging* (UZV) in Western New Guinea (1862), and the Mennonite *Doopgezinde Zendingsvereniging* (DZV) in Central Java (1851).<sup>46</sup> During the Netherlands East Indies period, the Dutch Catholic mission made inroads starting in 1859 after the arrival of Jesuit missionaries. In the beginning, Catholic missionaries worked in small parts of Java, East Flores, Timor and the Kai islands (Moluccas), and expanded to other territories after 1900 (Sumatra, Sulawesi, Sumba, and Papua).<sup>47</sup>

To control the work of the missionaries in the Indies, Article 123 of the East Indies Government Act of 1854 stated: 'no Christian minister, priest, or missionary may pursue his profession in any part of the East Indies without first obtaining a special permission to do so from

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<sup>44</sup> Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago Around 1900 and the Imperialism Debate". *South East Asia Colonial History Vol II Empire-building during the Nineteenth Century*, ed, Paul H. Kratoska (London and New York: Routledge, 2001): 111.

<sup>45</sup> Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity*: 143.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

the Governor General'. Moreover, 'whenever the permission is found harmful, or its conditions not adhered to, the permission may be revoked by the Governor General'.<sup>48</sup> With this policy, also known as the 'ban on double mission', the government regulated the placement of missionary personnel in a particular mission post.

Additionally, due to the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, who strongly opposed Christian missionaries working in Muslim communities because their presence would provoke anger and perhaps confrontation, most missionary activity was allowed only in non-Muslim areas, usually plateau or remote areas where the inhabitants practiced locally particular indigenous religions. As the most influential advisor of colonial policies on religion, Hurgronje proposed that 'the Dutch would win more goodwill by following pro-Islamic policies than by trying to convert Muslims to Christianity'.<sup>49</sup> For this reason, Christian missionaries typically worked in the outer islands where Muslim communities were small or did not exist at all. Missionaries were not allowed to enter the western part of Java (Banten) or the northern part of Sumatra (Aceh).<sup>50</sup>

Studies on the context and complexities surrounding the relationship between missionaries and colonial government in the East Indies showed mutual cooperation as well as tension between the mission and the government's interest. In his studies on Poso, Central Sulawesi, Joost Coté demonstrated how missionary activities supported the colonial policy on basic development programs on one hand, but conflicted with its modernization policies on the other.<sup>51</sup> Central Sulawesi was 'initially discovered' by Dutch officials in the 1860s, but suggestions made at the time for the annexation of the region were turned down in the context of the then current non-expansionist policy. The region entered into formal relations with Batavia in 1888 as part of a flurry of diplomatic activity designed to secure the area against English political and economic intrusion.<sup>52</sup> The first District Officer (*controleur*) in Poso was appointed in 1894. This post was created to act as a customs office to tax the growing volume of trade between local inhabitants and Chinese

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<sup>48</sup> See Appendix A. 4. Staatsblad 1854. No. 129. Article 123.

<sup>49</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 32.

<sup>50</sup> See N.A.C. Slotemaker de Bruine, "Missionary Occupation" ,In *The Netherlands Indies*, ed Rauws, J., Kraemer., et al. (London: World Dominion Press, 1935): 109-119.

<sup>51</sup> See Joost Coté, "Missionary Albert Kruyt and Colonial Modernity in the Dutch East Indies." *Itinerario* Vol 34. No 3 (2010). In this paper he discusses the question of mission and modernity in the context of the debate about "native development" in the Dutch East Indies through the case of the Poso mission in Central Sulawesi, led by missionary Albert Kruyt.

<sup>52</sup> Joost Coté, "Colonising Central Sulawesi: the "Ethical Policy" and Imperialist Expansion. 1890-1910". *Working Paper Series Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. No 94-4 (1994): 7.

merchants. All at once, the government encouraged and supported the posting of a missionary to commence 'civilizing work' whereby 'the natives' (referred to at the time as *Alfurs* and later *Torajans*) who had a reputation for being ferocious head hunters, could be 'gradually made amenable to a European presence' while at the same time helping to create a barrier to the growing influence of Islam in the area.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, Kipp's study on the Karo mission showed that the establishment of a missionary post involved colonial authority, Christian mission organization, and entrepreneur such as planters. The opening of the first missionary station in Karo Batak was upon the initiative of J.T. Cremer, head administrator of the Deli Company, a tobacco plantation in Sumatra's East Coast region. Cremer was also one of the most powerful leaders of the Liberal Union party. He saw the Acehnese 'fanatik' Muslims as a threat to his interests, and therefore, he wanted both the government and Christian missionaries to dominate the Karo Highlands.<sup>54</sup>

In many areas, the involvement of missionaries was regarded as a crucial factor in the establishment of the Dutch colonial administration. The Poso mission, for example, 'was directly involved in advising on military strategies and the creation of the territorial and political entity that became the new kingdom of Poso, and the subsequent reorganization of Pamona society'.<sup>55</sup> The mission also played an essential role as an intermediary between the local people and the colonial administration. Through the years of sojourn in a particular community, missionaries acquired a thorough knowledge of the customs, social institutions, and thought patterns of its people. Government officials are not in a position to make an equally intensive study of a people since they seldom remain long enough at one post, and do not undertake the kind of close, sustained contact with the people as the missionaries did. The missionary thus acquired a far greater authority with the local people than the official did, though the latter is clothed with governmental authority. Despite differences in motivation and orientation between the missionary and the colonial government, mission activity in fact contributed to the broader colonial objective of systematizing colonial administration across the archipelago.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 39-41; Marten Kuitenbrouwer, *The Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism: Colonies and Foreign Policy 1870-1902* (New York: Berg Publishers Limited, 1991): 280-281.

<sup>55</sup> Joost Coté, "Creating Central Sulawesi. Mission Intervention, Colonialism and 'Multiculturalism'". *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* Vol 126. No 2. (2011): 12.

## 2.2. The Place of Women in Dutch Missionary Work

The position and experience of women in mission work was significantly determined by ideas about gender in the missionary enterprise. Because missionary work was regarded as 'a clerical, and therefore male, occupation,' patriarchy was predominant in both the structure of missionary organization and the fieldwork.<sup>56</sup> The Dutch Missionary Society (NZG), for example, never included women among its top leadership, although it was doctrinally more liberal than other Dutch missionary societies such as the Utrecht Missionary Union (UZV), which was orthodox in doctrine but offered women more possibility for leadership. 'In the UZV, women had a great influence, also when the board still consisted entirely of men'.<sup>57</sup> From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, negotiations about the work of missionary men and women were increasing. Studies on women in mission practice during this period often show contradictions between expectations about gendered work, and the realities of life in the field.<sup>58</sup> Surely, the early missionary movement held conservative views on women's participation in public and domestic domains. On the other hand, women's participation in missionary work provided opportunities for them to perform their skills and abilities beyond the culturally established roles as mother and wife.

Despite the fact that there is only limited information available about them, women had already been involved in the Dutch Protestant mission from the early nineteenth century. In 1805, a single woman named Ms. Burgmann was accepted to serve as a missionary sister (*zendingszuster*) by the NZG. She was sent to Africa and married a missionary named Albrecht, who worked for a German missionary there.<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that the Dutch word '*zendingszuster*' can have two different meanings: a missionary sister and a missionary nurse. The term 'missionary sister' suggests that a woman is participating as a professional employed by the mission or as a missionary (evangelist) in her own right. Because there is no further information presented about Ms. Burgmann, we can assume that before she became a missionary wife, she was accepted to work in the mission as a professional, most probably as a nurse. The NZG only started to recruit and train women as missionaries to do evangelistic work in the 1930s. Nevertheless, in their involvement

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<sup>56</sup> Huber and Lutkehaus, "Introduction". In *Gendered*: 13.

<sup>57</sup> Kipp, "Two Views": 618.

For sketches of various Dutch missionary organizations see S.C. Graaf van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1981): 65-85.

<sup>58</sup> Huber and Lutkehaus, *Gendered*; Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener, *Cross-cultural*; Kipp, *The Early Years*.

<sup>59</sup> Caan, "De Positie": 132-133.



within the mission effort, missionary wives and their unmarried sisters frequently became unofficial evangelists, especially among the native women.

In her observations about the position of women in the Dutch Protestant mission from 1813 to 1913, Caan concluded that except for a growing number of women working and involved in missionary work, their situation and position did not change significantly.<sup>60</sup> Her observation might be attributed to the fact that until the early twentieth century, Dutch missionary organizations still did not have professional female missionary, while missionary organizations from other countries such as America had sent missionary women (female evangelists) overseas in the nineteenth century, followed by Britain and Switzerland in the first two decades of twentieth century. From the beginning of the Dutch Protestant mission in the Netherlands East Indies, single women were involved professionally in missionary work in other professional capacities consisting of different categories such as *verpleegster* (nurse) and *wijkzuster* (ward nurse), teachers (*onderwijzeressen*), fröbel teachers (*fröbel-onderwijzeressen*), and in different positions in the internal organisational body of the mission.<sup>61</sup>

Jonkvr. H.B. de la Bassecour Caan (1857-1925) was among the very few women in her period who were involved in the mission as professionals and who performed leadership tasks. An independent woman, she was a researcher, a writer, and an editor. She published a number of books regarding missionary life, as well as biography and stories. She wrote articles that were published in missionary journals such as the *Lichtstralen op den Akker der Wereld* (1903-1917) and the *NZG Mededeelingen* (since 1919). She also wrote a historical sketch of Old Batavia.<sup>62</sup> She was the editor of the missionary magazine *Nederlandsche Zendingsbode*. Moreover, Caan was board member of the UZV and a leading member of the Sangir and Talaud committee, a committee to support the native Christian society in the Sangir and Talaud islands, in the North of Sulawesi.<sup>63</sup>

Studying the bureaucracy within the NZG through the stories of two professional women working as nurses in Karo, North Sumatra, Kipp showed that there was an implicit hierarchy of callings available to women involved in missionary work. The opportunity to work in a mission was open only to single women, and marriage necessarily resulted in the resignation of women already

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.,131.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>62</sup> Jonkvr. De La Bassecour Caan, "Oud Batavia" in *Lichtstralen op den Akker der Wereld* (Rotterdam: J.M. Breede, 1903).

<sup>63</sup> For more about her, see Kipp, "Two Views".

so employed.<sup>64</sup> Kipp also argued that ‘if bureaucracies are gendered as male, the ethos of mission is female’ and that ‘missions have been historically a women’s cause’,<sup>65</sup> by referring to the donation raised by lay women in financing missionary activity. Lay women in the Netherlands were the major financial supporters of the mission.<sup>66</sup> They read the missionary newsletters, told their children stories about missionaries, and prayed for and gave moral support to missionaries. They were what Caan called the ‘silent power’ (*stille kracht*)<sup>67</sup> in supporting the mission work.

Women in the Netherlands also established organizations that gave strong support, including financial support, for missionary work. Every member of the NZG Women’s Auxiliary Society of Rotterdam (*Vrouwen Hulp-Zending Genootschap*), established in 1822, contributed her handcrafts (*vrouwelijke handwerken*) and paid a 60-cent quarterly membership fee. Those who were not contributing handcrafts could pay an annual membership subscription of 6 guilders, and those who donated 60 guilders would be members for life. All of the donations were given to the NZG or to the London Missionary Society, or to any other kindred institution approved by a majority of the subscribers.<sup>68</sup> These kinds of groups stayed in touch with and often sent supplies to missionary wives for their sewing classes in the Indies and later, when there were mission hospitals, provided them with linens.<sup>69</sup>

Although being the wife of missionary was not regarded as an occupation, and therefore there was no fixed job description, and of course no salary, missionary wives had more laborious tasks compared to their unmarried sisters in the missionary work.

Preferably a missionary’s wife must be a missionary herself. Such a woman will bravely bear all the efforts and hardships, which are necessarily associated with the (mission) work. She will herself seek contact with the people, especially with the women and girls. And if her husband is away from home for days and weeks, she will be able to act in his place.<sup>70</sup>

No doubt, wives of missionaries were religious women who believed to have the “call” to do missionary work. They chose or were chosen as marriage spouses on the basis of a mutual

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<sup>64</sup> Kipp, “Why”: 171.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix A. 5. C.J. Hoekendijk, *De Vrouw en de Zending* (1914): 7.

<sup>67</sup> Caan, “De Positie”: 149.

<sup>68</sup> Leaflet. *Vrouwen Hulp-Zending Genootschap*. Rotterdam Stadsarchief. 1840.

<sup>69</sup> See Appendix A. 6. Joh. Rauws, “Het Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap te Rotterdam. 1822-1922”. *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift Voor Zendingwetenschap*. (Rotterdam: M. Wytt & Zonen, 1922): 228.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix A. 7. M. Rauws-Laats, *De Vrouw en De Zending* (Utrecht: G.J.A. Ruys, 1924): 15.

commitment to spreading the Gospel among the 'heathen' in distant and often remote places. Nevertheless, the household and childcare responsibilities of the wives often limited their availability for missionary work and in some cases there was terrible loss of health and life within missionary family.

As a matter of policy, Dutch missionary organizations obliged their missionary personnel to be married or at least engaged when they were sent to the field. Each student in the missionary program had to find a suitable wife before he received his assignment, usually under the advice of the house father (*huisvader*) who the student stayed with. The student was not allowed to become engaged until his last year of the program, or to marry while still a student. The period between the engagement until the departure of the student as a missionary was also used to prepare the fiancé for her tasks in the future mission field, and if possible, to learn the language of the local people or Malay. Dr. A.M. Brouwer, the Rector of Dutch Missionary School in 1912, who was also a house father, wrote:

Usually the girls also stay at a deaconess house for a while, helping in community work, etc. On the first Sunday of each month, in the evening at eight o'clock, all the students, and their girls, gather in the family of the father for a social, pleasant evening.<sup>71</sup>

It was not unusual for a missionary to marry a girl from a missionary or clergy family. Albert Christiaan Kruyt (1869-1949), the missionary in Poso (Central Sulawesi), married Johanna Hendrika Moulijn (1867-1963), the daughter of preacher Jacob Moulijn from Nijmegen. Kruyt himself came from a missionary family. He was the third son of Johannes Kruyt, a missionary in Mojowarno, East Java. His eldest brother Arie Kruyt became a missionary and continued their father's work in Mojowarno. His second elder brother Hendrik Kruyt was a missionary in Karo, North Sumatra. Two of his sisters, Niescina Kruyt and Christien Kruyt, married missionaries, the former marrying Simon van Eendenburg, a missionary in West Java, and the latter marrying Sieste S. de Vries, a missionary in Saparua, Moluccas.<sup>72</sup>

There were several reasons of why it was important for missionaries to have their wives with them in the mission field, as Kirkwood pointed out:

Their presence could be interpreted by the host society as an indicator of peaceful intention and this gave the missionaries hope that they would be received as friends ... Secondly, it

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<sup>71</sup> See Appendix A. 9. A.M. Brouwer, *De Opleiding onzer Zendelingen* (Baarn: Hollandia-Drukkerij, 1912): 25.

<sup>72</sup> See Gerrit Nort, *De weg van magie tot geloof: Leven en werk van Albert C. Kruyt (1869-1949), zendeling-leraar in Midden-Celebes, Indonesië* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2006).

was believed that wives would serve as models of female behavior, and with their husbands demonstrate the merits and virtues of the monogamous family... A further consideration was the belief that the presence of his wife would reduce the risk of sexual temptation to which a single man might be the subject.<sup>73</sup>

As a homemaker, as well as provider of conjugal comfort, the role of a wife was to enable her husband's work and, to demonstrate high standards of housekeeping for the natives.<sup>74</sup> The family of a missionary must be an example for the local people as a good Christian family. The order and cleanliness of their house and the upbringing of their children were largely done by the wife. Together with her husband, a missionary wife also took care of sick people in the area where they lived. Whether she had any medical training or not, a missionary wife often functioned as the local 'doctor' and 'midwife' in areas with no doctors and medical facilities.

Additionally, the education of local girls and women was her responsibility, especially in remote areas in Java and in the outer islands. Missionary wives taught local girls and women various household activities such as sewing, cooking, and gardening, and trained them in matters of cleanliness, neatness, and discipline. Missionary Riedel, one of the pioneers in Minahasa, wrote: 'When we settled here it took a long time before we could get to know people, especially women, because when we wanted to visit them they went away'.<sup>75</sup> After having a consultation with his wife, he decided that through the head of the villages, he would invite all of women who wanted to learn to come to his house. More than forty women came and he wrote: 'They got to know my wife and as a consequence my wife could educate in spelling and reading some who are now members and do honour to Christianity'.<sup>76</sup>

Missionary couples often had many children. When their children were around six to eight years old, they sent them to the Netherlands for the purposes of education. Many missionary children followed in the footsteps of their fathers and studied to become missionaries. Albert C. Kruyt was seven years old when he left his parents to study in the Netherlands, following his two brothers who were already there before him. As their childcare responsibilities lessened, 'many missionary wives entered gradually into the work of the mission through their life course, taking on

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<sup>73</sup> Deborah Kirkwood, "Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters." In *Cross-cultural*: 26.

<sup>74</sup> J.C. Neurdenburg, *Proeve eener Handleiding bij het Bespreken der Zendingswetenschap*. (Rotterdam: Wyt en Zonen, 1879): 67.

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix A. 2. Caan, "De Positie": 145.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix A. 3. Ibid.

teaching or administrative duties.<sup>77</sup> However, being separated from her children is a hard and cruel thing for any mother. Four years after he left Java, Albert Kruyt's mother, Dorothea van der Linden, died. Some people said that it was the thought of her children that caused her death. 'In the evening she always walked westward so as to be closer to her children in the Netherlands.'<sup>78</sup> Regarding this difficult task for missionary wives, Rauws-Laats wrote:

Can you imagine what she feels when she says goodbye to her darlings? It must be a heavy, very hard battle for the mother to leave her children to someone else to be raised and to, far away, gather to herself the children of the people.<sup>79</sup>

Kipp's studies showed that in the late nineteenth century, there was already an agreement between conventions of missionaries in Amsterdam and Batavia that it was a good idea to send out 'missionary sisters', serving as evangelists, especially among the women. Nevertheless, nothing had come of it. One of the objections to sending women missionaries to the mission field was that 'there were many unmarried men and few marriageable women in the Indies, the chances were great that unmarried workers would soon marry and leave missionary service'.<sup>80</sup> Ideas about having women missionaries appeared in the writings of Meerwaldt, Hoekendijk and Rauws-Laats.<sup>81</sup> Finally, in 1935, under the initiative of the *Vrouwen-Zendingsbond* (VZB, Women-Mission League) established in 1927, the NZG sent Christina Slotemaker de Bruine as the first Dutch women missionary in the Netherlands East Indies.

It is also important to mention that in the Netherlands East Indies, there were lay women who initiated evangelization even before the mission reached their areas. In Central Java, three lay women pioneered evangelization activities in the 1850s. They were Christina Petronella Phillips-Stevens in Banyumas (1825-1876), Johanna Christina van Oostrom-Phillips in Purbolinggo and later in Purworejo (1815-1877), and Elisabeth Jacoba Le Jolle-de Wildt, later Mrs. Van Vollenhoven, in Salatiga (1824-1906). Mrs. Philips-Stevens was the wife of a Dutch planter in Ambal, Central Java who did evangelistic activities in the villages around Bagelen and Banyumas. Mrs. van Oostrom-Phillips, who owned a batik industry, was the sister in law of Mrs. Philips-Stevens. She undertook evangelical activities among her own servants and workers in her house. Both women were fluent

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<sup>77</sup> Kipp, "Why": 153.

<sup>78</sup> See Appendix A. 10. Nort, *De weg*: 18.

<sup>79</sup> See Appendix A. 8. Rauws-Laats, *De Vrouw*: 16.

<sup>80</sup> Kipp, "Why": 155

<sup>81</sup> Kipp has specifically discussed the issue of Dutch women missionaries proposed by Meerwaldt (1905) and Hoekendijk (1905 & 1914) in her article. See Kipp, "Why": 152-158.

in Javanese, and they also worked together in translating catechisms, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments into Javanese.<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Le Jolle, who was the wife of a cavalry captain in Salatiga and later an administrator of a coffee plantation in Simo, began her evangelistic activities in 1853 among the workers and inhabitants around the plantation. Because she had not mastered Javanese and only spoke Malay, she asked the support of missionary Jellesma in Mojowarno (East Java) and later missionary Hoesoo in Semarang (Central Java). After her husband died, she married again with W.V. van Vollenhoven, who was also active in evangelism among Dutch Christians. Because of her initiative, the 'Salatiga Mission' was set up in Utrecht in 1889. Mrs. van Vollenhoven was also called the 'the mother who gave birth to the Salatiga Mission'.<sup>83</sup>

The last category of women involved with Dutch missionary activities in the Netherlands East Indies, who were often silenced or unseen in missions' publications and journals, is the wife of the native teacher (*guru*), who is often called as 'nyora' or 'njora'. Although their involvement might seem small, their presence was important for the mission. The native teachers, besides the native converts, represented the successful results of the missionary work. The teachers were baptized and educated by the missionary, and then employed by the mission to teach and spread the Gospel. Just like the policy for the missionaries, a native teacher was highly encouraged to marry a Christian girl, in order to establish and serve as an example of a good Christian family for the local inhabitants around them. The Christian girls were those who had received household training, and sometimes possessed skills of reading and writing from the missionary wives. Often in a remote mission field, the nyora could be the first native (female) acquaintance for a newly arrived missionary wife. Through the nyora, a missionary wife was introduced to and learned about local societies, particularly the realm of native women. Missionary Hendrik Kruyt in Karo Batak, North Sumatra noted in his report to the NZG Board regarding Suzanna Wenas, the wife of Minahasan teacher Benjamin Wenas, that she expressed her willingness to join the mission work 'independently of her husband'.<sup>84</sup> Suzanna Wenas was one of four Minahasa women who came with her husband to support the mission work in Karo. These women had been trained in the houses of missionaries.<sup>85</sup> Kruyt believed 'these Minahasa women were critical for reaching Karo women with the Christian

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<sup>82</sup> Th. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1991): 20.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-20.

<sup>84</sup> See Appendix A. 11. No. 1. Hendrik Kruyt to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht Nederlandsche Zendingenootschap*. August and September 1891 No 8 and 9 (Rotterdam: M. Wyt & Zonen): 129.

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix A. 11. *Ibid.*

message; almost as important, he hoped that they would set an example of European housekeeping'.<sup>86</sup>

### **2.3. Conclusions**

This chapter has shown that government support to Christian missions increased especially after the implementation of the Ethical Policy. The missions were crucial for the government to hold back the growing influence of Islam and to introduce Western civilization to the local people. Women had been involved in the Dutch Protestant mission since the early nineteenth century. In their position within the Protestant mission, missionary wives were regarded as supplement. However, they had more laborious tasks compared to their unmarried sisters in the missionary work. Single women could be involved in the mission professionally such as nurses and teachers. H.B. de la Bassecour Caan was one of the very few women involved in missionary organizations as a professional. She was board member of the UZV and a leading member of the Sangir and Talaud committee. Furthermore, lay women in the Netherlands were also significant for Dutch Protestant mission. They were the major financial supporters for the mission. They also supported missionary wives by sending supplies for the wives' sewing class. In addition, there were three important Dutch lay women in Java, who initiated evangelization activities in the 1850s before there was any Christian mission in their area. Women were able to perform independent and leadership tasks, however, gendered division of labour within missionary organization put women as subordinate to men.

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<sup>86</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 84.

## CHAPTER III

### FAITHFUL WOMEN AND DEVOTED MISSIONARIES

*“Let God make us loyal in fulfilling the big, but also those small duties, which are such a big part of especially the life of the women, including that of the wife of the missionary.”<sup>87</sup>*

The following two chapters will detail the social, missionary and domestic activities of four missionary wives, as well as their perception of their role in the mission and of the society in which they lived.<sup>88</sup> These themes are deeply intertwined and thus some topical overlap occurs between chapter three and four. However, the chapters have different analytical objectives. While the current chapter will focus primarily on the domestic, educational and healthcare pursuits of the wives, chapter four will deal with their understandings of local customs and cultures and their perspectives of the local society. The first section engages with women’s roles as wives and mothers. The second section deals with their role in education, health, and evangelism. The third section is the conclusions. Four women whose letters are analyzed in this thesis were mothers. Two of them became widows at a young age. As far as the archival materials allow, their letters reveal parts of their life experience, which is structured following the theme being discussed.

### 3.1. Domestic Life

#### 3.1.1. Household

All four wives understood that their main task as a missionary wife was in the home, especially to make a home from which their husbands could draw strength and support for their work in the mission field. Running a Dutch-style household in an isolated area was an extraordinary task. Women had to adjust to their circumstances. Nevertheless, they kept their Western standards of housekeeping. While local people’s houses were mostly simple with limited furniture and kitchen utilities, the house of missionaries were usually equipped with furniture, mats covering the floors, mirrors, pictures, paintings, clocks, porcelains and knickknacks. Even when she was ill with muscle pains and a fever, Alida van de Loosdrecht had to check the arrangement of her new little house in

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<sup>87</sup> See Appendix C.5. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Een jaar te Pendolo”. 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No.11: 23.

<sup>88</sup> To avoid confusion when referring to their husbands, in both Chapter three and four I address the four wives using their first names, sometimes in combination with their husbands’ last names. Their husbands are included in the analysis in both Chapters and I also address the husbands by their first names and sometimes in combination with their last names as well.



Rantepao, South Sulawesi, because her husband and the local people who helped the newly arrived missionary couple set all the ‘shining and strange objects’—probably seeing them for the first time—did not know how to arrange them in the cupboards.

Mother, you should have seen those cupboards, no wonder they were full. They had everything next to each other instead of stacking the plates. Every cup and saucer was set apart. My whole buffet and all cupboards were full of china! After I explained how to stack plates, serving bowls, etc., everything went well and a lot more than our dinner set could go into my buffet.<sup>89</sup>

When the arrangement of her new house was done, she went on in her letter, proudly describing it.

The picture of the queen hangs on the wall and there is a small table with the beautiful table-cover of the ladies’ circle and a lounge chair... Although there are no mats on the floor yet it still looks quite nice and cosy. On one side of the room Anton’s desk is in the corner and above it the beautiful painting of the Lord Jesus in Gethsemane, next to the desk is the bookcase, in the corner hangs the little cupboard given to us by the Youth Society, above it the picture of Grandma van Neede. On the other side of the room we have first of all our beautiful organ. ... Opposite the organ is mother’s little sewing table and in the corner the buffet. The walls are made of bamboo that formerly apparently had been white-washed, but now it is a dirty grey. Fortunately much of it is covered with those nice small paintings that were framed by Mr. van der Griend.<sup>90</sup>

All the furniture and knickknacks in the house definitely required continual dusting. A wife had to take care of the cleanliness of everything in the house which included pots, dishes and silverwares to wash, as well as curtains, tablecloth, napkins, sheets and their clothes, that required laundering. Like most European women in the colony, missionary wives did have servants or local people to help them do the housework. Most missionary households had boys or girls staying with them to be educated for a certain period. These children, who were referred to as *murid* in Malay (pupil), or sometimes as *pleegkind* in Dutch (foster child), often functioned as the wives’ assistants in helping them to do the housework and in taking care of their children.<sup>91</sup> Even when a wife had support in doing the housework, she still had to control it to make sure they did it right, because her household and cleanliness must be an example for the local people. In her letter to Hendrika Velds, the future wife of missionary Meint Joustra, who was about to arrive in Buluh Hawar, North Sumatra, Dina Wijngaarden illustrated her daily activities:

I get up in the mornings at 6 o’clock (always then) ... then I open the door to our back porch, and the boy comes in to sweep. Directly I put water on the stove to heat, and then get

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<sup>89</sup> Ida to her family, 23 May 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 86.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

<sup>91</sup> The relationships between the wives and the foster child are discussed in Chapter four.

dressed. The boy sweeps the floors and carries out the dust. So it goes, if it goes. Often I do it myself to set a good example. The fellow does everything too fast. Does he do it well? That is the question. Often it leaves much to be desired. Then the table is set, and between 8 and 8:30 we have breakfast. When that is done I take up some sewing until 10:30. Then the cook comes to prepare food and to talk about what to prepare. At one o'clock we eat (*rijstaffel*) then rest a bit. Then at 3:30 I set out the tea and I am usually so busy with the two little boys that I never get to sit down to drink it ... Then again I determine what we will eat in the evening, and between 5:00 and 5:30 dress myself and walk, even if it is just around the house. I used to go into the village or do some walking with my husband every evening. At 8:00 we eat a Dutch meal and are finished by 9:00. Then I do some more sewing or letter writing, and between 10:00 and 11:00 go to bed.<sup>92</sup>

Food in the house became another responsibility for a wife, although sometimes they did not have to prepare it themselves as they often had a cook to do that work. Nevertheless, it was a challenge for a wife to prepare Dutch style food. On this matter, Dina Wijngaarden suggested to Hendrika Velds to prepare herself before she came to the Indies.

Let me advise you to learn to make good bread (here we do that ourselves, you know)... Not so much the baking as the preparation takes a lot of effort, as one has no yeast. We use sap from the paula tree, but sometimes it is a lot of trouble to get it; perhaps people in Holland would have some advice about this.<sup>93</sup>

Most people in the Indies eat rice three times a day, which was not the custom of the Dutch, yet bread was nowhere to be found in the remote areas of the Indies. Therefore, wives had to make their own bread.

### **3.1.2. Loneliness**

As part of their mission's tasks, husbands frequently had to go to other places to meet and talk with native leaders, to recruit students, to find a location to establish school or a church, and to perform inspections. The wives stayed at home to take care of the house, to receive guests, and when they had children they would take care of the children or teach. As her husband was gone for days, a wife often felt lonely. In addition, the thought of being alone in a remote area, far from her family and friends at home, also contributed to woman's feeling of loneliness, as Henriette Ulfers expressed in her letters to the NZG Women's Auxiliary Society:

Oh! It is not easy to bear when memory brings me back to my family and friend, - when the thought: down here I am forever separated from them, makes me cry the most heavy-hearted and painful tears...<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, 12 March 1895 quoted in Kipp, *The Early Years*: 150-151.

<sup>93</sup> Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, 1 January 1895 quoted in *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>94</sup> See Appendix B.1. Henriette Ulfers, *Iets uit het huisselijk leven en de werkzaamheden eene zendelingsvrouw* (Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1855): 8.

The word 'lonely' (*eenzame*) and 'loneliness' (*eenzaamheid*) appeared six times in Henriette Ulfers's letters, and was often combined with expressions of her faith in God, from which she gained strength in her mission life. In the beginning of one of her letters, she described her experience of a heavy thunderstorm that had just subsided when she started her letter, and her feelings afterwards:

It was a terrible darkness, and yet the lightning shot such bright rays, that heaven and earth were as ablaze, while the thunder made my feet tremble beat after beat. Such storms are not known by my friends in Europe ... But is it then a miracle, beloved sisters!, that I, sleeping here with my four dear children around me, in my loneliness, while my Ulfers (*husband*) is 50 paal<sup>95</sup> away from us, that I feel so much of the Lord's love and grace.<sup>96</sup>

Writing letters was a consolation for women's loneliness. In fact, letters from home were priceless gifts for women, as they could feel close to their family and friends, and knew what happened to them. Alida van de Loosdrecht was involved in all the concerns of the family, despite the delay of months before her letter would be received and she was able to reply to it.

Do you find that the medicines of Dr. Bijsterveld have done any good? Can you read the paper now Dad, and our letters, and are you going to the exchange again? Is it not difficult for Jan to earn enough money for housekeeping and tuition for Gerard, etc? ... I have not yet had an opportunity to thank the ladies circle in Gouda, because I have forgotten to take writing paper and pens with me to Sadan and now I have such poor ink, borrowed from the guru. Mother, would you please send them a postcard for me to thank them? ... We have also celebrated your birthday, Mom!<sup>97</sup>

Due to the enormous distance between the Netherlands East Indies and the Netherlands, and due to her activities in the mission field, Henriette Ulfers, like other missionary wives,<sup>98</sup> begged her readers' forgiveness for being late in writing back to them. It took her two years to reply to the letter from the NZG Women's Auxiliary Society that came with supplies to be used in her sewing classes. The frequency of letters usually trailed off when a woman became a mother. She was busy with her maternal role. It was on the wives that main responsibility for childcare rested.

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<sup>95</sup> 'Paal' was often used as a measure of distance in the Indies. 10 *paal* is about 15 km, therefore, 50 *paal* is about 75 km. When Henriette Ulfers wrote this letter, her husband, Siebold Ulfers, was in Manado.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix B.2. Ulfers, *Iets*: 4-5.

<sup>97</sup> Ida to her family, 7 May 1915. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 152-153.

<sup>98</sup> See Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*.

### 3.1.3. Childcare

Missionaries would speak seriously of the duties of parenthood according to Christian values, yet in practice, the daily burden of childcare fell to women. Mothers had to accustom themselves to these additional challenges and responsibilities. In order to deliver a baby, most missionary wives had to go to the nearest town that had a doctor or medical facilities. For some, like Alida van de Loosdrecht, the journey itself was a challenge and took days because most remote areas did not have roads and the trails were difficult to pass. When Alida traveled, she often had to be carried by two people on a “kati” (a carrying chair) of braided bamboo.<sup>99</sup>

All four wives took care of their children with love and happiness, and also with concern for their health and development. Henriette Ulfers dedicated a section in one of her letters to describe her four children, who were aged one to five and a half. She wrote that their eldest daughter, Marie, read quite well, mostly Dutch and not Malay because she and her husband did not speak Malay with their children.<sup>100</sup> After becoming a mother, Alida’s letters always contained updated stories on the development of her children. Although her letters were not as detailed as Alida’s, Dina Wijngaarden wrote of the same subject in her letters to Hendrika Velds. Even in her letters to the Board of NZG, she rarely neglected to write about her son.

Growing up, children first received education from their mothers, because their fathers were busy with mission tasks. Albert Kruyt wrote in praise of Jo Kruyt’s efforts to educate their children in a letter to her:

What a blessing that we had our children, and, with such a great faith you had given them lessons every day, first the playing lesson (*fröbelen*) and then the ordinary school education. Sometimes they required much of your patience, because they were healthy children, for whom their learning was not playing. We ate early in the evening, and after the most wonderful time had come for the little ones, when you told them a story. Where you always got a new tale from has been a mystery to me. You studied on it, and you took them from all sorts of magazines and booklets. Had that teacher, who first got our Jan at school after his arrival in Holland, seen you so busy, then he would surely not have spoken so disapprovingly of the “method”, with which our children were taught by you. That method was good, all the way that of a true mother. And so our little ones were sufficiently caught up.<sup>101</sup>

As missionary children grew older, their parents sent them to the Netherlands for further education. This practice was usual for missionary families in the Indies. Johannes (Jan) Kruyt, the eldest son of Albert and Jo, born in Gorontalo in 1893, went to the Netherlands at the age of seven.

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<sup>99</sup> Ida to her family, 24 April 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 77.

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix B. 3. Ulfers, *Iets* : 14.

<sup>101</sup> See Appendix C.1. Albert Kruyt, “Aan mijne vrouw”. 5 July 1922. In *Brieven*. No. 58: 4.

In the case of Kruyt's family, three years after Jan left, his mother, Jo Kruyt, together with his two sisters, Miep Kruyt and Doortje Kruyt, also went to the Netherlands, and Albert Kruyt followed them a year later. In 1907 Albert and Jo went back to Poso, leaving their three children in the Netherlands for the sake of their education. Being parted from children is no easy task, most especially for a mother. The days after leaving her children behind were Jo Kruyt's 'difficult days', and she could only surrender everything to God in order to keep on working for the mission without their children in the Indies.<sup>102</sup> Jo Kruyt was the most productive writer compared with other women studied in this thesis. The period of her letters (1908-1931) indicated that she did not have any childrearing duties and therefore she devoted her life to God through her involvement in the mission. At the same time, her activities can also be seen as her way to get through her 'difficult days' without her children.

### **3.1.4. Health**

Henriette Ulfers described her children as 'healthy and cheerful', and they gave her and her husband 'in their loneliness, great happiness but also a lot of concern'.<sup>103</sup> After a few near death experiences due to illness, Henriette expressed that her biggest fear was of being separated from her beloved children and husband. She asked her readers especially to pray for her children when they (the readers) thought of her and the mission work. Henriette used the word 'storm' to describe other 'storms' (*onweders*) that hit their life in their 'lonely region'.<sup>104</sup> Her letters further explained that the year before, she had spent three months in the city of Manado being taken care of by a doctor and receiving medication. She was very sick with throat inflammation and a lung problem, thinking on three separate occasions that she was going to die. While she was very ill, her husband had to take care of everything.

The latter (*my husband*) has continually and faithfully supported and consoled me in my illness, although sometimes it was very difficult for him with all the works that he had in his church, in his house, with his students, with his children and with me, his ill wife. He is actually my doctor...<sup>105</sup>

Men, women and children alike experienced health problems during their lives in the mission field. To a certain extent, women were susceptible to more medical issues, especially in

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<sup>102</sup> See Appendix C.4. Ibid.,5.

<sup>103</sup> See Appendix B. 4. Ulfers, *Iets*: 14.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix B.5. Ibid., 6.

<sup>105</sup> See Appendix B.6. Ibid.,7.

relation to their reproductive experience. There were extra physical burdens on women's bodies during the cycle of childbearing, as well as the associated health and mental problems like miscarriages, blood loss, and depression. The first wife of missionary Jan Wijngaarden, Dina Wijngaarden-Berg, died of a miscarriage at the age of twenty three after suffering from a lot of pain and vomiting.<sup>106</sup> On her death, Jan Wijngaarden wrote:

How difficult, endlessly difficult it is to me to continue life without her. We were one in all respects: one heart and soul: one in thoughts, feelings and will: also one in the goal for which we were working. It is almost impossible to go through live alone. To stand alone for the work, that we so far have performed together, and that both of our strength have progressed so much. It is immeasurably heavy. I am broken, my courage and passion are gone. There is so much to do here! My work was my passion. To enjoy my life. And now!<sup>107</sup>

Jan Wijngaarden himself died of dysentery at the age of twenty nine. The same disease also caused the death of Alida van de Loosdrecht's son, Bobby (Pieter Marianus), at the age of five.

### **3.1.5. Marriage**

In the absence of family members and friends, husband and wife found comfort in each other and invested the marital relationship with full emotional and mutual devotion. They assisted each other crucially in sustaining their spiritual beliefs as well as their behavior in the mission field. In her letter written from her new house in the mountains, Alida van de Loosdrecht expressed how she used the binoculars her family sent her from the Netherlands to see if her husband is on his way back home:

I can spot his white jacket and horse from quite a distance. Then I rush into the kitchen to get dinner started and set out his clean clothes.<sup>108</sup>

Further, she expressed the joy of her hour together with her husband: 'Anton came back early at noon, so we could have our cup of coffee together and read our magazines. I just love this hour'.<sup>109</sup> A year after she wrote the letter, her husband was murdered. She became a widow at the age of twenty six, four years after her first arrival in the mission field. In a letter that she wrote in deep sorrow to her father and brothers (her mother died few months before) she described her husband's death as emotional, and for her, the suffering also became her grace, her salvation, and a

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<sup>106</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 103.

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix D. 1. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. 29 December 1890. In *Maandbericht Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* November 1894. No 11 (Rotterdam: M. Wyt & Zonen, 1984): 174.

<sup>108</sup> Ida to her family, 20 August 1916. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 179.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

token of God's love. To her, 'Anton was called from his work', and to herself: 'I had to let go of all worldly help, so I could totally and alone trust my Lord, my Father in Heaven. Faith was tried and love purified and peace within was found again'.<sup>110</sup> In a letter to her sister in law a few weeks later, she wrote:

I was heartened to read all those compassionate letters, because even though everyone here is very kind to me, I often feel disheartened. I miss Anton so terribly and everything reminds me so many times about that wonderful time that is now past forever. Then the contrast, the feeling of inner loneliness is so large. Because here in the jungle you are always alone and you almost never can talk to someone to whom you can express your thoughts. Then you completely immerse yourself in one-another and your inner life becomes one.<sup>111</sup>

Dina Wijngaarden also became a widow only two years after her marriage and the start of her life in the mission field. Her letter to the Board of NZG in September 1894 informing them of the sudden death of her husband was emotional, and at the end of her letter she apologized twice for her sloppy handwriting.<sup>112</sup> However, unlike in Alida's letter, which was written to her family members, Dina could not really express her sadness. She attempted to keep her letter formal and she also mentioned her initiative to take care of her husband's work. A few months later, probably in trying to console herself as well, she gave advice to Hendrika Velds:

Faith is something so indispensable. Without that, no one can really be happy. Pray often for the one you love, and also for wisdom and understanding and give all else safely over into the hands of our Heavenly Father.<sup>113</sup>

All of these women were faithful to God, to their husbands, and to their duty in the mission. They knew that they would have difficult times in the mission field, but losing their loved ones would be one of the hardest things the women could imagine.

### **3.2. Mission Works**

There are at least three main activities performed by missionary wives in addition to their domestic work: giving lesson such as household training (including sewing, washing, cooking, and sometimes ironing, and working in the garden); informal evangelical activity (telling stories from the Bible); and taking care of sick people. Except for Dina Wijngaarden, all of the other women studied in this thesis gave sewing lesson to girls or women in their house. Dina did intend to give

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<sup>110</sup> Ida to her father and brothers, 3 August 1917. In *ibid.*, 198.

<sup>111</sup> Ida to her sister in law, 31 August 1917. In *ibid.*, 212.

<sup>112</sup> See Appendix D.2. Dina Wijngaarden to Board, 26 September 1894.

<sup>113</sup> Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, 18 February 1895 quoted in Kipp, *The Early Years*: 150.

sewing lessons upon her arrival, but it did not happen for three reasons. First, in the beginning, her language capacity was not good enough to be able to communicate well. Second, there were some boys who were interested in sewing, but she preferred girls because 'later she hoped to shape them into housewives.'<sup>114</sup> Third, her husband's death and the arrival of the new missionary kept her busy in managing other matters related to missionary work before she returned to the Netherlands.

Henriette Ulfers had about twelve girls as students who came to her house three times a week and had sewing lessons for three hours. Outside their school time, the girls would be busy helping their parents pounding rice. Her students were all under the age of twelve. They learned how to make clothes for themselves or their parents. She believed that by having the girls coming to her house, they could 'see and hear how a Christian family lives and behaves'.<sup>115</sup> Like other missionary families, Henriette also took in children who she raised in her household. She had eleven girls living with her between the ages of four and six. The girls came from the surrounding villages and stayed for four to five years and then they would be married, usually to boys who were trained to become teacher-evangelists (*guru*) or to head of a village. Henriette preferred to take in young girls because, according to her, they were easier to train compared to older girls (between twelve and sixteen). She gave them household training: washing, ironing, cooking, baking, sewing and working in the garden. Missionary families during this period usually took in boys to do the first four of these tasks, but her husband said: 'this work belongs to women in a good Christian society', and Henriette was 'of the same opinion'.<sup>116</sup>

In Pendolo, Jo Kruyt gave sewing lessons to twenty girls three times a week. Eight little girls would come for one and a half hours every Monday morning, and the rest of the older girls would come on Wednesday and Saturday. The first thing the girls had to do before they started to sew was to complete the hand washing. Then Jo Kruyt would sit on a low stool in front of the girls who sat in a semi-circle formation in front of her. For her, sewing lessons were among the most pleasant activities of her week. 'There truly is a bond created between the students and me, because also during the holiday they came to visit me many times.'<sup>117</sup> Besides giving sewing lessons to girls, Jo

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<sup>114</sup> See Appendix D.5. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 11 February 1894.

<sup>115</sup> See Appendix B. 7. Ulfers, *Iets*: 3.

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix B. 8. *Ibid.*,12.

<sup>117</sup> See Appendix C.6. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Een Jaar". 10 Oct 1910. In *Brieven*.No. 11: 12.



Kruyt also gave singing lessons twice a week to the boys who stayed in her house, and she would also sing with them every Thursday evening from seven to eight.<sup>118</sup>

Sewing lessons, as well as other types of household training especially for young girls, was in service of the goal of all missionary wives to form good Christian housewives and mothers. Often, missionary wives used this opportunity to do informal evangelical activity by talking about the Gospel to their students. On her first interaction with some of the local women who came to visit her in her house, Alida van de Loosdrecht started by showing them the picture of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane and tried to explain that 'he was the Son of Puang Allah and he was praying to his Father' but the women did not understand the word 'praying'.<sup>119</sup> Dina Wijngaarden attempted similar thing to local girls by telling stories and showing pictures from the Bible, 'but they were quickly bored with it'.<sup>120</sup>

In their interactions with local people, missionary wives always attempted to engender conversation about faith and Christian values. Jo Kruyt was very active in this matter. She paid attention to women's attendance in Sunday gatherings. The passage below illustrates her concerns and efforts to persuade women to come for church on Sunday.

It was unfortunate that the limited space did not allow to push for greater "church attendance". Women were rarely attending or only in very small number and they gladly gave as a reason for their absence: there is no place for us. So when in April the spacious, large school was finished, I did not fail to encourage them each time, also to come for the celebration on Sunday, because I said: "now you cannot say anymore that there is no place." Laughing shyly they agreed. And if this argument does not avail, I use a real Toraja style argument and say: "after so many nights it will be Sunday, come too then, I am so "ashamed" if am the only woman." That hit them. It sounded almost pityingly: yes, that is true, we will come. And truly, we have no complaint in that respect about the female part of the society. Now we can already notice that there are several among the women, who do not come for my sake, but because they become interested in what is talked about.<sup>121</sup>

Jo Kruyt was not only fluent in speaking the local language but also able to use the local way of communicating to reach her goal. She had an initiative exchanging goods with local people. It was during this interaction that she made acquaintances with more people and she spent time talking with them about many things. Her house was open to anyone. On a daily basis, she received many guests who came for different purposes, including those who just came to have a chat:

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<sup>118</sup> See Appendix C.7. *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>119</sup> Ida to Ladies of the Mission Society, 6 July 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 103.

<sup>120</sup> See Appendix D.6. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 11 February 1894.

<sup>121</sup> See Appendix C. 8. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Een jaar". 10 Oct 1910. In *Brieven*. No. 11: 8.

The visits go on the whole day. People bring me all sorts of things: local leafy vegetables, cucumbers, pumpkins, Spanish peppers, corn, bananas, eggs, etc. and in exchange people would ask for *gambir*,<sup>122</sup> matches, coins, yarn, needles, but especially salt. But on Sunday, they already know this, people leave us alone. Just a few friendly visits are paid to us on Sunday, but on the whole Sundays are truly rest days for us.<sup>123</sup>

A house of missionary also often functioned as a 'clinic', as local people often came to ask for medicine. Missionary wives did whatever they could to help take care of sick people who came to their house or to visit the sick in their homes. Jo Kruyt's house was often crowded with patients she received.

In the morning before six o'clock, there were already patients sitting on the front verandah. Only during the short moments that we use to pray, read and sing with everyone in our house do I excuse myself, but before and after those times I help the sick. This part of the labour I've taken upon me out of necessity. It is known to you that, since the departure of the Hofman family, my husband has, aside from his own work sphere, also replaced for Mr. Hofman. Because of this he is often away from home for a month or longer. Moreover I do it so gladly, because I can show people through that help, which I also want to be something for them. In general all are aided in 1 to 1.5 hours, in slow times even shorter.<sup>124</sup>

Not only serving the sick that came calling to their residence, Jo also took the initiative to visit sick people in their homes to distribute medicine to them. Other wives did more or less same thing. Often, people called them to come and visit the sick in their house. One morning, Alida van de Loosdrecht was called to see a njora (wife of a teacher) who was very sick. When she arrived she learned that the njora was about to deliver a baby.

I was totally unprepared and didn't have anything with me and the young couple (she was not yet 15) was even more unprepared and worried. It was their first child and I could not expect any help from him, he was too nervous and totally helpless. I spent some anxious hours, the girl suffered a lot and I was really worried. It took three hours and then a very tiny baby was delivered, only 3 pounds, but it lived! I took the man's shirt (the one he was wearing and probably the only one he had) and cleaned as best I could mother and child. Then I had to hurry home over that same awful path to get the most necessary items and medicine for both of them. Thank goodness my little medicine bag was ready at home. I just grabbed it and went back again. ... Every morning after Boby and Nellie have had their bath and breakfast they are often ready again for a morning nap. When they are asleep I go back again to Kalambe to help with the baby because the mother is still so clumsy and helpless.<sup>125</sup>

Five months after she gave birth to her son, Dina Wijngaarden and her husband decided to adopt a baby whose mother had died two days after giving birth. According to the local custom,

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<sup>122</sup> Gambir: an herb used to make *sirih* (betel) for chewing.

<sup>123</sup> See Appendix C. 9. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Een jaar." 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No. 11: 13-14.

<sup>124</sup> See Appendix C.10. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>125</sup> Ida to her family, 30 April 1917. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 195.

'children whose mothers die at birth are misfortune's children. They do not deserve to live.'<sup>126</sup> Because no one would look after the child, Jan and Dina Wijngaarden decided to take care of him and named him Sangap. Three weeks after that, Jan Wijngaarden died and was buried in Medan. Dina stayed in Medan for one week and then returned to Buluh Hawar. Her first plan was to stay and to take care of the mission field. After receiving news about the sudden death of Jan Wijngaarden, and the information from G.C. Klerk, a minister in Medan, that Dina planned to take care of the mission work in Buluh Hawar, the Board of the NZG decided as soon as possible to find a new missionary to continue the work of Jan Wijngaarden. 'The work is too heavy for a woman and the new missionary will have a lot to do to reach the point where his predecessor stood.'<sup>127</sup> The Board had decided to send Meint Joustra, who departed a week later to Sumatra. From Medan, Dina went back to Buluh Hawar and took over the leadership. She reported to the Board that she sent the teachers back to their posts and that school and church activity proceeded normally.<sup>128</sup> At the end of her letter, she initiated:

... if Brother Joustra is unmarried, then I am willing, if God gives me health, to stay here for some time, for the benefit of the work. Should my presence here be unneeded then my task here is done and I wish to return to my family. Then, the raising of my child would be my designated task.<sup>129</sup>

After Joustra's arrival in Medan, the Board wrote her a letter to clarify the authority. 'We consider Joustra the missionary, and *you* as his help in that work as long as this remains necessary.'<sup>130</sup> Dina stayed for almost a year in Buluh Hawar and helped Meint Joustra as well as exchanging letters with Hendrika Velds, Joustra's fiancé, who would soon come to Buluh Hawar to marry him. The foster child, Sangap, lived with Dina and her son, Cornelis, for a while until Dina and Cornelis left. The Wijngaardens had agreed with Sangap's family that he should be left with them if the Wijngaardens returned to Holland.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> See Appendix D. 18. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board, In *Maandbericht NZG* November 1894. No 11: 178.

<sup>127</sup> See Appendix D. 24. Extract-Acten *Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*. 26 October 1894: 145-146.

<sup>128</sup> See Appendix D. 20. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 10 October 1894.

<sup>129</sup> See Appendix D. 21. Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> NZG Board to Dina, 26 January 1895 quoted in Kipp, *The Early Years*: 148.

<sup>131</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 148.

Missionaries did appreciate the dedication and support of their wives in their mission life. After thirty one years working in the mission, Albert Kruyt dedicated a letter to Jo Kruyt as his appreciation of her support and all the works that she had done during their mission life. He wrote:

Usually the people stayed to talk with you: in this way you heard of all sorts of affairs in the village, of the gossip, of the disputes that prevailed. That way, you could gain deep insight into the domestic lives of people, and through that brought you closer to them. How much has your labour lightened my pastoral work! For if now there is someone, who we have not seen for some time in the Sunday gathering, you would then naturally ask for the reason of this absence, and you could motivate them to not be negligent.<sup>132</sup>

Referring to how often he had to leave his wife alone because of his missionary tasks, which sometimes took months, he wrote:

I cannot tell you, how grateful I am to you for that. Truly, we have borne the troubles of those years together, we have made those journeys together: myself in action, and you empathising through prayer. I do not believe my part was the heaviest.<sup>133</sup>

The dedication of a missionary wife was also recognized by the NZG Board. On the death of Dina Wijngaarden-Berg, the NZG Board wrote about the meaning of being a missionary wife from the life experience of Jan and Dina Wijngaarden.

His Dina was a true help at his side. In her showed what the Missionary wife could do. Because of her the simple house became a "home" in the full meaning of the word, where the housewife committed the native women and girls to her and raised them to be Christian home-makers, where she educated other girls in female handcrafts and made all familiar with order, rules and cleanliness.<sup>134</sup>

Clearly, the wives' hard work in the mission, both in and outside their domestic sphere were only seen as supplementary to their husbands' mission work.

### **3.3 Conclusions**

All four wives were devoted to their missions, and saw it as their duty to bring the Gospel to the local people. Not only were they active in creating Christian societies, but also in maintaining them. They also faithfully supported and shared their husband's opinions on missionary work, and themselves contributed to the mission not merely in the domestic sphere, but also in education and public healthcare. Wives doubled as foster mothers, training and giving lessons to the local children who lived in her house. Despite being structurally subordinate to their husbands and other male

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<sup>132</sup> See Appendix C.2. Kruyt, "Aan mijne". 5 July 1922. In *Brieven*. No. 58: 9.

<sup>133</sup> See Appendix C. 3. *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>134</sup> See Appendix D. 25. "J.K. Wijngaarden." In *Maandbericht NZG* November 1894. No 11: 171.

members within the missionary organization, the wives were active mission workers themselves. Jo Kruyt encouraged local women to attend church services. Dina Wijngaarden showed her dedication to her husband's mission by continuing his work despite the orders of the NZG Board.

This chapter has shown that the expected gender roles of women in the mission were complex, and even subverted these expectations. The Mission Society determined that the chief role of a wife as a homemaker. However, at the same time, she was expected to perform educational tasks and support the work of her husband. As these wives have shown, they were not merely passive homemakers, but independent, active workers in the mission. In their husbands' absence, the wives acted as missionaries themselves, giving lessons, speaking with the locals, caring for the sick, and encouraging school and church attendance. Nevertheless, the Mission Society saw this work simply as 'help', subordinate work to that of their husbands.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MISSIONARY WIVES AND THE LOCAL PEOPLE

*"Maybe it is possible that we can all be one, one unit as children of the same God."*<sup>135</sup>

This chapter examines the interactions of the four missionary wives, and their depiction of local people in their writings. In this matter, the length of stay and the period during which these letters were written become important considerations. Of the four wives studied here, Jo Kruyt stayed the longest (1892-1932) in the mission field and was the most prolific correspondent, with her letters spanning seventeen years since she first arrived in the Netherlands East Indies. Henriette Ulfers stayed for twenty five years (1847-1872) and her letters were written seven years after her arrival. However, because only two of Henriette's letters are available for this study, they do not reveal much of her relationships with local people as those of Jo Kruyt. Dina Wijngaarden and Alida van de Loosdrecht stayed for three years in the mission field, and their letters date to the beginning of their stay. As a result, their letters include their early impressions of the local people.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part focuses on the wives' perspectives of the spiritual lives of the locals. The second part looks at the wives' daily interactions with the locals. The third part specifically discusses the wives' relationships with the house-boys or house-girls, who lived with them as pupils or foster children. The fourth part is reserved for conclusions.

#### **4.1. Living among the 'Heathens'**

Conversion to Christianity was central to missionary efforts, and within that context the term 'heathen' was part of missionary discourse, as it was often used in missionary reports and publications. With the exception of Dina Wijngaarden, the three other women used the word 'heathen' (*heiden*) or 'heathenism' (*heidendom*) in their letters to assert their views of the spiritual aspects of local people's life. Henriette Ulfers used this word twice in her letters. She felt that to replace her faraway European friends, God gave her 'new *Alfoersche*<sup>136</sup> friends as compensation'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Ida to her family, 7 June 1915. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 153.

<sup>136</sup> The term 'Alfoersche' or 'Alfurs' means native people. 'In that era, the heathen Minahasa of the interior were termed Alforese, distinguishing them from some coastal Borgo of Eurasian background, most of whom had taken Christian identity centuries before under the Portuguese.' Kipp, "Two View": 604.

<sup>137</sup> See Appendix B.9. Ulfers, *Iets*: 9

She valued her friendships with them from a Christian perspective as she saw her new friends as materially and spiritually poor heathens.

It is yet not a small thing, that such a poor Alfoersche heathen woman, who before never had a sense of morality (*zedelijkheid*) or sincerity (*opregtheid*), is now filled with feelings for both sorrow as well as truth, because she believes, yes truly believes in Jesus Christ our Lord!<sup>138</sup>

Her statement shows that such friendships, however, were obviously affected by her concerns with the morality of the local people, which she interpreted from her own religious perspectives. It also indicates her pride of the mission efforts to 'raise up' the local people to a higher level of civilization. She explained further that she had more than one such friends and there were even two in the village, who 'in every way have acquired much outward civilization' (*uiterlijke beschaving*) so she 'can also have rational conversation with them.'<sup>139</sup> To her, these kinds of friends met her standard of good and civilized Christians as she added 'especially their modest (*zedig*) and civilized (*beschaafd*) appearance altogether could be an example for many European ladies'.<sup>140</sup> Although it was very unlikely that she would call the concerned European ladies 'heathens', it was clear that for her not all European ladies were modest and civilized according to her Christian standards. Further, she also called herself and her readers as 'us, poor sinners' (*ons, arme zondaars*), and the local people around her as 'poor, wild bush people' (*arme, verwilderde boschmensen*).<sup>141</sup> The word 'poor' (*arme*) appeared twice to describe both the material and spiritual poverty of the local people. She also used the word 'poor' two times to describe the spiritual poverty of human being in general including herself, her readers and her own children (poor lost children of Adam<sup>142</sup>).

Jo Kruyt's letters used the word 'heathenism' once and the word 'heathen' ten times. In her description of Christmas celebrations in Kuku, she also used the term 'animists' (*animisten*) to describe the people of Poso.

My husband started with a prayer. And then he explained in a simple, clear way: the meaning of the Christmas tree. Because in a heathen environment, there is a great danger that people

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<sup>138</sup> See Appendix B.10. Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> See Appendix B. 11. Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> See Appendix B.12. Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> See Appendix B. 13. Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix B. 14. Ibid., 14.

connect such a tree with superstitious thoughts. Just as you know, the people of Poso are animists and they attribute souls to all things.<sup>143</sup>

The importance of evangelism in local society was one of Jo Kruyt's main themes in her letters. She paid attention to the natives' local beliefs and practices, describing them in vivid detail to her correspondents. When she and her husband visited a sick girl named Waliegi, the mother informed them that Waliegi had seen a "tau mepongko" (werewolf) when she worked alone in the rice field.

People generally believed that there are people who are determined to make other people unhappy. A "tau mepongko" is a certain person. He takes someone's liver from the body and eats it. After that he lets the person go but once the person is home he will feel miserable and lies down to die. If many people die in a relatively short period of time, without a particular cause that it can be attributed to, these cases are attributed to a "tau mepongko". ... Waliegi herself—and people around her— thus believed that she would die. With a pitiful tone sat her sad mother and told us that she had cried the whole night, that she loved her daughter so much, but Waliegi had seen a "tau mepongko", a man from Tampeta'a, therefore—she should die.<sup>144</sup>

Jo Kruyt thought that 'it would have been useless to say that Waliegi had only imagined it but what was not useless was to tell Waliegi and people around her: 'God is mighty. If He wants Waliegi to live, evil power can do nothing.'<sup>145</sup> Her husband then gave Waliegi medicine and eventually the girl got better and became healthy. At the end of her letter Jo Kruyt reflected the presence of local beliefs as a challenge to bring the Gospel to the people of Poso.

When one lives among the heathens, one feels first how free the *redeemed* person is and one can pray so sincerely, that God's Spirit enlightens these dark hearts. Until now, the people of Poso have truly been moved back and forth like a reed in the wind. Therefore, friends, pray with us, that these wavering people may become strong through the faith in the Redeemer.<sup>146</sup>

After two years living in Kuku, Jo Kruyt happily reported to her readers that it was 'so delightful' that because 'the influence of the Gospel,' there were 'inner changes' that happened to local people.<sup>147</sup> The first 'inner change' was related to the friendliness of local people, especially school children.

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<sup>143</sup> See Appendix C. 15. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Iets Over De Koekoe'sche Schoolkinderen". 15 January 1909. In *Brieven*. No. 4: 14-20.

<sup>144</sup> See Appendix C. 16. *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>145</sup> See Appendix C. 17. *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>146</sup> See Appendix C.18. *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> See Appendix C. 21. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Onze Koekoe'sche Vrienden". 20 August 1909. In *Brieven* No. 6:4.



While before during our walks through the village we were often painfully struck by the sullen looks on many people's faces. The children—the school going youth excepted—were afraid, shy if they saw us. And now we hear an incessant 'tabe',<sup>148</sup> sometimes spoken in a mischievous tone. All too often such a little rascal paid for that politeness with a punch or a push from an older brother or sister. "What are you, a school kid", is indignantly asked of him then. This "saying tabe" was then apparently considered by the school children as their special privilege.<sup>149</sup>

The second 'inner change' was related to women's attendance in Sunday gathering that was carried out in the school building.

Entering the school we see a hundred people sitting orderly on long benches. From where the speaker stands, the men sit on the right, the women on the left. The latter are often the most represented. That was different before, when it was exceptional for a woman to attend the gathering.<sup>150</sup>

Her observation of the spiritual changes of local people resembles Henriette Ulfers' pride on the achievement of evangelism efforts, particularly to local women.

The spiritual aspects of local people also became the concerns of Alida van de Loosdrecht. On her first arrival in Sulawesi she stayed for a few months in Tentena in the Poso area. She reported that there existed 'the odd Christian Toraja but most Torajas have an Animist religion'.<sup>151</sup> The word 'animist' in Alida's letters is a translation of the Dutch word *heiden*.<sup>152</sup> This word was used four times in her letters. In her first few months in the Poso area she wrote about her impressions of a local ritual led by a priestess in bringing 'the Spirit of Life for the children'.<sup>153</sup>

What we saw was for us an interesting Animist spectacle. In a corner were two large drums, made from hollowed-out tree-stumps, covered with snake-skins, and two boys were beating them. Two girls, dressed in their best clothes, were dancing. They were carrying a sword and a shield to fight off the bad ghosts. We were really amazed and a little bit shocked about that.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Tabe is a polite term in local language that can be translated as 'greetings' or 'excuse me'. Local people use this term to politely greet other person when they meet and when they excuse themselves at the end of a conversation or a meeting.

<sup>149</sup> See Appendix C. 22. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Onze Koekoe'sche". 20 August 1909. In *Brieven*. No 6:4.

<sup>150</sup> See Appendix C. 23. *Ibid*.

<sup>151</sup> Ida to the mission circle. 10 March 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 61.

<sup>152</sup> In the Foreword section of the book, Anthonia Arisa Muller-van de Loosdrecht notes that they have elected to translate the Dutch word "heiden" into "animist", a definition which is also frequently used in the letters for the old time religion of the Torajas. See *ibid.*, 3.

<sup>153</sup> Ida to the mission circle. 10 March 1914. In *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*.

At the end of her letter she connected her impressions of the ritual with her presence in the mission field.

We are privileged, that we may tell them that God has entrusted their children to them, and can protect their children from illness and danger. We longingly look forward to the time, when Toraja fathers and mothers will come before the God of Life instead of the priestess, to dedicate their children to Him and receive the holy Baptism in the Covenant of Grace.<sup>155</sup>

Alida realized that bringing the Gospel to the Toraja people was not an easy task because they already had their own local beliefs. At the same time, her Christian faith kept her confident.

That the God of white men wishes to be their God too they find difficult to believe. But the Lord has the power to illuminate their understanding and open their eyes. Perhaps he will let us experience, that what is hidden to the wise and the learned men, will be revealed to the children.<sup>156</sup>

The letters of Alida van de Loosdrecht and Jo Kruyt demonstrated that they acknowledged the existence of local beliefs in their area and they saw it as a challenge for the mission's evangelical efforts. While Henriette Ulfers labeled local people as heathens, her letters did not provide information regarding the existence of local beliefs. Dina Wijngaarden's letters were the same. However, although her letters did not use the word 'heathen', Dina was also concerned about the spiritual life of the Batak people. In her first letter she stated that there was an already baptized woman, who came to her house almost every day. About her, she wrote:

Do not think for that reason that she is better than her sisters, oh no! Not yet. Nevertheless I hope that through time, some zeal to be active will awaken in her. I tried sewing with her several times but she does not have enthusiasm for it.<sup>157</sup>

For Dina, a local Christian woman should be better than a non-Christian one. However, it was unclear what she meant by 'not yet better'. Presumably it was connected to the woman's ability—or in this stage at least, willingness—to sew. She might view that the ability of sewing will lead to Christian women's modest and civilized appearance. At the end of her letter she wrote that she was 'still a newcomer in the missionary work' but she also had 'a silent hope' that she and her husband 'will win the Batak although it will not happen soon'.<sup>158</sup> Like Alida van de Loosdrecht, since the beginning Dina was also optimistic that they will win the hearts of the Batak people to Christianity.

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>156</sup> Ida to Ladies of the Mission Society. 6 July 1914. In *ibid.*, 102.

<sup>157</sup> See Appendix D. 12. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 11 February 1894.

<sup>158</sup> See Appendix D. 13. *Ibid.*

## 4.2. Friendship Evangelism

Friendships with local people were essential for missionary wives for at least two reasons. First, it was part of the strategies to gain the trust of local people, especially women and children, for evangelism. Second, for wives like Henriette Ulfers and Jo Kruyt, it was one of their ways to cope with loneliness. Furthermore, through their sewing class especially for young girls, the wives established a teacher-student relationships, and, in the case of Jo Kruyt, friendships with her students' family. When her students had finished with their lesson, she maintained the friendships. Aside from being strongly driven by the spirit of evangelism, through their friendships the wives learned about the local customs and, to a certain extent, adjusted themselves to it.

In her efforts to make friends with local women, Dina Wijngaarden invited them to come to her house to sit on her front porch. She tried to keep them there, because if they come into her house, they would examine everything, especially mirror.<sup>159</sup> She also tried to follow the local customs, by offering betel to her visitors, because 'they really loved a betel-plum'.<sup>160</sup> She found out that 'needlework like sewing, crocheting or something like that are entirely foreign for local women. They never sew.'<sup>161</sup> Later she noticed that 'the local women were surprised' that she always 'finds a work to do inside the house.'<sup>162</sup> Dina learned that between her and the local women, what considered 'work' was not the same.

The women of Buluh Hawar now just about know the way we live; but when women from other villages come, then the first question that they would ask each other is: "what does that wife of Mijnheer do all day?" And the answer to that is "sewing, sleeping, sitting. She does not go to the field like us."<sup>163</sup>

To Dina, it was because the women had never seen a European woman before. She then explained the life of local women in Buluh Hawar.

Her way of life is completely different from ours. When the sun rises in the morning or sometimes already before then, they stamp rice: later they go to the river to collect water that they carry in bamboo cylinders on their heads. One woman often has three of these water barrels on their head, sometimes of a meter in length. The little girls cook the food, and the older daughters go with the mothers to the field to work. There they stay until evening and return homeward with all sorts of things from the field, such as vegetables, food for the

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<sup>159</sup> See Appendix D. 14. Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix D. 7. Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> See Appendix D. 8. Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> See Appendix D. 9. Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> See Appendix D. 10. Ibid.

pigs and also firewood. All of that they again carry on their heads. When they have brought home the little loads, then again they go to the river to bathe and to collect water, like in the morning. After that the pigs and chickens are fed, and then the outdoors work is finished.<sup>164</sup>

After two years living among the Batak people, Dina Wijngaarden described them to Hendrika Velds as ‘good people, very ignorant and dirty’ and ‘that is why we are here—to teach them how people can become’.<sup>165</sup> She saw that it was the duty of the mission (including her) to teach the good Batak people to be educated—as opposed to ignorant—and to be clean. She considered the level of intelligence of the native people as an important thing. While informing the funeral of Jan Wijngaarden to the Board of the NZG, she mentioned in her letter that many gentlemen from Medan and its surroundings came, including the new Resident, Mr. Kooreman. After the Pastor delivered a short speech, a Minahasa teacher, Johan Pinontoan, who came to work for the Karo-Batak mission since 1891, also gave a brief speech of appreciation for ‘his beloved Meester’.<sup>166</sup> She wrote that ‘people were very pleased with the guru’s speech; it generated amazement, that a native could speak like that’.<sup>167</sup> She was proud of the teacher’s speech and considered it significant to be reported to the NZG Board.<sup>168</sup>

Besides opening their house to local people, Dina also shared her husband’s opinion that visiting people to their house, helping sick people and giving medicine were strategies to win the hearts of Batak people to Christianity. Jan Wijngaarden reported that ‘among the Batak, medical assistance of the missionary is greatly appreciated. In 1893, no less than 1368 people were treated and to these people 5034 medicine have been distributed.’<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, the case of Sangap, their foster child, as I have illustrated in the previous chapter, was part of these strategies. By adopting the child, Jan Wijngaarden stated that, ‘we have won trust’ because ‘the family of the little child has

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<sup>164</sup> See Appendix D. 11. Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, 1 January 1895 quoted in Kipp, *The Early Years*: 149.

<sup>166</sup> See Appendix D. 3. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 26 September 1894.

<sup>167</sup> See Appendix D. 4. Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Teachers from Minahasa often became agents in supporting missionary works outside their area, such as Johan Pinontoan in the Karo Batak mission. Minahasa was considered as a success story for Dutch Protestant mission and the literacy rates of the Minahasans themselves was high, and all over the archipelago they were to be found in positions requiring qualifications, such as missionary assistants. See Maria J. Schouten, “Manifold Connections: The Minahasa Region in Indonesia”. *South East Asia Research* 12 No 1 (2004): 222.

<sup>169</sup> See Appendix D. 17. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* No 6. June 1894. (Rotterdam: M. Wytt & Zonen, 1894): 87.

become much better disposed towards us; earlier they always kept a distance.’<sup>170</sup> Dina repeated this viewpoint in her letter to Hendrika Velds regarding the fate of Sangap when she left for the Netherlands.

Now I find it very understandable that you are a little hesitant to take on his care. Please don't let this be a burden; at first you would naturally find it strange, but later you would find it very congenial because people want to talk to you about the child a lot, and so it is very friendly in the house. At first I think you can just give him to his grandmother or to one of the teachers to care for, and then later you can see what you want to do. I tell you this Rika, above all considering that you are coming to take my place that it is indeed necessary that you seek to win the hearts of the people here in this way.<sup>171</sup>

The practice of distributing medicine and helping sick people was also done by Albert Kruyt and Anton van de Loosdrecht. Like Dina Wijngaarden, both Jo Kruyt and Alida van de Loosdrecht perceived this as one of the ways to reach local people, to be friends with them, to gain their trust and finally to win their hearts to Christianity. In one of her letters Jo Kruyt described that her husband or one of the teachers regularly visited local people who have pseudo-leprosy disease. During the visit they also prayed together and talked to the patients as part of their evangelism efforts.<sup>172</sup> In a similar view, Alida saw that their friendly relations with local people increased because of the visits of their patients.

These people are, as a rule, not in any hurry to depart because usually they cannot work anyway due to their illness, and so we are better able than we otherwise would be to talk to them and teach from Gods word. In addition, most of them must return every day and that is just what we need to gain their trust and friendship. ... When all the patients have been helped and the necessary medicines have been prepared I sit down at the organ and sing a hymn. We found this to be a good way to get them interested. Just after playing a few hymns I can sense the people coming! Soon the living room and the veranda are full of people.<sup>173</sup>

Alida also used her skills of playing organ and singing to reach people. Jo Kruyt did the same thing. She also played organ and sang, and local people enjoyed it very much. Furthermore, as most wives have accounted in their letters, local people were interested in examining all the ‘strange’ properties (furniture, pictures, mirror, kitchen utilities, sewing machine, organ, etc) in the house of the missionaries because they had never seen them before. In this matter however, Alida had unpleasant experiences because she lost some of her possessions that she put on her veranda.

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<sup>170</sup> See Appendix D. 19. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* No 11. November 1894: 182.

<sup>171</sup> Dina Wijngaarden to Hendrika Velds, 13 March 1895 quoted in Kipp, *The Early Years*: 151.

<sup>172</sup> See Appendix C.12. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Een Jaar”. 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No 11:7.

<sup>173</sup> Ida to Ladies of the Mission Society. 6 July 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 105-106.

We are gradually starting to feel at home with our Mountain Torajas and are becoming familiar with their virtues and vices. Many of those beautiful things we brought with us from Holland have disappeared in the last while. Things are taken and we think often: "Now what would a Toraja do with that?" Just to mention a few missing things: my husband's raincoat, a complete suit, a table-cloth cover, etc. In particular, anything that looks even a bit like gold is very much in favour with them. The front veranda that used to look so cosy is now only adorned with just a table and a bench. The Torajas, or perhaps the Buginese, have really helped us very efficiently to get rid of one thing and another, and so for safety's sake, we have stored the rest inside.<sup>174</sup>

Nevertheless, she stayed positive as she continued: 'I have never for one minute been sorry that our work has taken us to Rantepao, only I often think that we should have come here earlier!'<sup>175</sup> Alida's description of her encounters with local people generally contained positive tone. On her first journey to Rantepao together with Albert Kruyt, she described:

That afternoon we reached a kampong. There was a small *pasanggrahan* (*government guest house*) where we rested. The whole kampong came to see us. They did not dare to come too close, they just stared from a distance. Finally the kampong head came to see us and when Dr. Kruyt spoke to him and the man realized we were friendly people he relaxed. Dr Kruyt explained to him where we came from and where we were going. After fifteen minutes he left but later he came back with some more men, each carrying a chicken and a basket with rice. These were presents for me they said because I was the first white woman to visit their village. Wasn't that nice?<sup>176</sup>

One month after she had been living in Rantepao, she learned that the local people 'show much interest' in her condition due to her pregnancy.<sup>177</sup> Her husband told her that 'when he goes on his tours people always ask him about it.' Alida concluded that 'families and little children are very precious to them.'<sup>178</sup>

The friendliness of local people was also demonstrated in the letters of Dina Wijngaarden and Jo Kruyt. Dina described the response of Buluh Hawar people on her departure to Medan to give birth to her first child.

There was a general shout: "Oh, how sad we will be if you are gone!" Days later they came to say good bye to me and ask, how many more days it would take before I went or if I actually would comeback? ... Finally we left. When we came to the kampong we had to say goodbye. Every one came out and called out as one voice: "do not stay away too long!"<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Ida to mission circle. 25 February 1915. In *ibid.*, 148.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* 149.

<sup>176</sup> Ida to her family, 24 April 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 78.

<sup>177</sup> Ida to her family, 19 June 1914. *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> See Appendix D.15. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 11 February 1894.

She ended her letter by stating that when she has recovered, she would go back to her Batak people as soon as possible because 'there is our home; although such a trip to Medan sometimes is pleasant'.<sup>180</sup> Several months later, while she was in deep sorrow for the loss of her husband, the Batak people also mourned with her. People from different villages came to her house to express their condolences on the death of Jan Wijngaarden. Dina wrote:

In their way the people of Batak participated in my fate. On Monday a whole group from Salaboelan en Permandien came to see me and to cry over their Mijnheer. "Ah", said a woman, who came to me this morning, "although there come 200 Mijnheer here, not one is as good as the Mijnheer who has died."<sup>181</sup>

Within two years, Dina Wijngaarden and her husband had made friends with local people. Dina Wijngaarden's letter suggested that her loss was also the loss of the local people.

Because of her length of stay in the mission field, Jo Kruyt's letters indicated that she had more friends compared to the other three wives. She and her husband even had local titles. The people of Poso call her Ine i Dorontji (Mother of Doortje, her eldest daughter) and her husband Papa i Dorontji (Father of Doortje). Sometimes local people also called them Grandmother and Grandfather, not because of their age, but as a local way of showing respects to them. Jo Kruyt paid a lot of attention to many local people in general: young and old, men and women. Unlike Henriette Ulfers, who wrote that she had friends without mentioning her friends' names, Jo Kruyt almost always mentioned the names of people she described in her letters. A good story teller, she sometimes added her observation of the face expressions and the character of the person she talked about. For example: 'Tamesampo is the head of the village. He is a lovely man, with an open honest face',<sup>182</sup> or, 'Ine i Alipa makes a positive impression with her soft, sweet face. Ine i Iti, although not unfriendly when she sees us, would sooner avoid our company, that look for it'.<sup>183</sup> Most probably she did that to make her story more vivid as well as to describe her impressions of the person to her readers. After living for one year in Pendolo, Jo Kruyt reflected her presence in the area and her relationships with local people:

Thus I did not arrive here as a stranger. I saw around me friendly, well-meaning faces and during the first months it was my daily task to receive the women and children who came to visit me. By far most of them had never seen a white woman before and thus it was again the

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<sup>180</sup> See Appendix D.16. Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> See Appendix D. 22. Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 10 October 1894.

<sup>182</sup> See Appendix C. 13. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Een Jaar." 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No 11: 7.

<sup>183</sup> See Appendix C. 24. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Onze Koekoe'sche". 20 August 1909. In *Brieven* No 6: 7.

same old story: Women put their brown hands next to mine and “admired” my soft, white skin and then said: “how dark we are, how white you are.”<sup>184</sup>

She was used to local people’s reaction when they saw her different skin color for the first time. That the local women “admired” her soft and white skin was an interesting remark. Obviously the local women were astonished by the comparison of their skin colors. Yet, Jo Kruyt chose the word “admire” (*bewonderden*) and put it in a double quotation mark. It can be interpreted that she was either proud of her soft, white skin that made the local women admired it, or, she thought that the attention towards her skin color was too much. Another way of seeing it is that she wanted to share with her audience her feelings of racial superiority to the brown local women.

Similar to the story of Alida van de Loosdrecht and Dina Wijngaarden, Jo Kruyt also described how local people come to her house to examine everything in her house particularly the picture of her children. She found it nice that some school girls and different little children told her that they wanted to be friends with her eldest daughter, Doortje, if she were there in Pendolo.<sup>185</sup> Her three children were in the Netherlands when she wrote the letter, therefore she was happy when local children paid attention to the picture of her children, and additionally, wanted to be friends with her daughter.

On her observation about men and women in Pendolo, Jo Kruyt described to her readers: ‘like everywhere in the Indies, the woman here is also much more diligent than the man and a mother has much more help from her daughters than from her sons, who are not nearly as obedient and who go their own way’.<sup>186</sup> Most probably Jo Kruyt received information about other local men and women in the Indies from missionary reports and therefore she could make a comparative observation with local men and women in her area. Nevertheless, three years later she reported a different observation of the women of Pendolo. Comparing them to other Poso women, she described that the women of Pendolo were ‘lazy’ (*lui*) and ‘untidy’ (*slordig*).<sup>187</sup> Not all of them, because there was one special woman, who was different compared to other women of Pendolo: Ine i Ajoentowe. Jo Kruyt described her as a woman who had ‘aristocratic mind’ because ‘very rarely will she ask something’. For the unmarried teachers, she was like ‘a mother’ and ‘through her

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<sup>184</sup> See Appendix C. 19. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Een Jaar.” 10 October 1910. In *Brieven* No 11: 4.

<sup>185</sup> See Appendix C. 20. *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>186</sup> See Appendix C. 11. *Ibid.*: 11.

<sup>187</sup> See Appendix C. 28. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Een Bijzondere”. 18 January 1913. In *Brieven*. No. 20: 12.



diligence and cleanliness, she stands far above the other women.’<sup>188</sup> Further, she described how Ine i Ajoentowe ‘no longer believed in the goddess of rice but in God, the Lord of rain and sunshine and that she only asks for His help.’<sup>189</sup> Jo Kruyt was very impressed by Ine i Ajoentowe that she wrote two letters to tell only the story of this special woman and her strong Christian faith. Her second letter about Ine i Ajoentowe was written three years after the first one, in which she proudly stated:

For us working in the Mission, it is a great privilege to see firsthand the invigorating force of the Gospel affects our Poso people. I wish for all mission fields one or more women, animated by so much spirit and strength as our Ine i Ajoentowe.<sup>190</sup>

Like Henriette Ulfers, Jo Kruyt’s view of a ‘special’ (*bijzonder*) woman is strongly related to her Christian perspective. Moreover, she also dedicated another letter to tell the story of her mail runner, Oema i Parisa. She wrote about him not only because of his Christian faith, but also because of his faithful work in serving the Kruyt’s family.

Oema i Parisa is a strong man. ... For ourselves we would not gladly lose Oema i Parisa as a mail runner. Not only does he complete his task honourably, but it is always a pleasure to us to witness this upbeat, brown brother. He is a kind, attractive type and truly not devoid of spirit.<sup>191</sup>

Here, Jo Kruyt made another remark on the skin color of her ‘brother’. Perhaps she intended to tell her audience that even though Oema i Parisa was not white, he was a brother in Christian society. The remark of skin color also appeared in Alida van de Loosdrecht’s letter. On the death of a young Toraja teacher she reflected the meaning of being a Christian for her, who was white, and for the teacher, whom she saw as a colored friend.

I was deeply moved by his death, as so often I wondered if it was possible that a Toraja could be a Christian like we are. You can really never tell what goes on inside their minds. At his deathbed the difference between white and colored had completely disappeared. Maybe it is possible that we can all be one, one unit as children of the same God. I feel privileged that twice in my young life I have been at their bedside when they were dying and for both of them their death was just a change-over to a new life. It teaches you to be willing to let go of this world at any time, to be prepared.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> See Appendix C. 29. Ibid.,12.

<sup>189</sup> See Appendix C. 30. Ibid.,17.

<sup>190</sup> See Appendix C. 31 Kruyt-Moulijn, “Iets van.” 28 February 1916. In *Brieven*. No.33: 8.

<sup>191</sup> See Appendix C. 32. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Onze Postlooper”. 11 April 1914. In *Brieven*. No. 25:13-14.

<sup>192</sup> Ida to her family, 7 June 1915. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 154.

Alida's presence on the last hours of the dying teacher also represented her role as a missionary wife. Her husband was away in another district therefore she accompanied the teacher until he died. She was very touched by the moment that while she was writing her letter she could hardly hold back her tears.<sup>193</sup> She wrote 'there was a feeling of great peace and no fear, only a feeling of sadness for the departure of a good friend.'<sup>194</sup>

Jo Kruyt was not only a wife of a missionary but also a foster mother for local boys who lived in her house. On her story about the wedding of Pentjali, her foster son, who has become a teacher, she described her conversation with Ine i Maseka, the mother of the bride, that reflected her own situation and her own mother. Ine i Maseka at first rejected the proposal of Albert Kruyt (as Pentjali's foster father) and Pentjali, who asked for her youngest daughter, Naka, to marry Pentjali. The mother was worried that Pentjali, who was a teacher, would take Naka to another place far away from her because of his work for the mission. Jo Kruyt then talked to Ine i Maseka about her own experience:

I told Ine how confident I was, that *my* mother often thanked God, that I married Papa i Dorontji, because we bring the Gospel to the Poso people. "And what a difference there still is between my mother and you. If you long for your child very much, you can go to her, but my mother is so old, that I will surely not see her again on earth". Ine listened with interest, and she said, that it comforted her, that my husband and I will love Naka as much as Pentjali.<sup>195</sup>

Besides adults, Jo Kruyt also paid attention to children and their appearance. On the celebration of Christmas she gave her impression of school children's appearance.

A nice sight awaited us there. The pupils of the various schools looked without exception clean and neat; the girls clothed in neat white or colored cotton shirt and a neat sarong, the boys in the nimble, short, so-called Buginese pants with white shirts, while a fresh headscarf completed the appearance of all.<sup>196</sup>

Attention to clothing, discipline and cleanliness, of mostly local children and women, were themes that occurred in all the wives' letters. Henriette Ulfers' letters were sent to the ladies circle that supported her with supplies for her sewing class, thus to stress the importance of her sewing lesson activity, she described her concerns on the way the local girls dressed up. She wrote that in

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 153

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.,153-154.

<sup>195</sup> See Appendix C.27. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Het Huwelijk van Pentjali". 20 January 1912. In *Brieven*. No. 16: 13.

<sup>196</sup> See Appendix C. 25. Kruyt-Moulijn. "De Eerstelingen Te Koekoe". 15 January 1910. In *Brieven*. No. 8: 6.

the beginning of her arrival at Kumelembuai, 'it was painful to witness' the girls came into the school 'naked or with a torn cloth bound around the waist.'<sup>197</sup> When she established her sewing school, the girls came with usually their mother's *sarong* or *kabaja* that were consequentially 'so torn and ripped to pieces, that they could barely cover their nakedness with it.'<sup>198</sup> According to her, 'it was because the parents and the girls could not or did not have the willingness to sew'.<sup>199</sup> Her descriptions were not only to emphasize the need of sewing skills but also how poor and less motivated the local people were.

Furthermore, on her observations of discipline and cleanliness she described that in Kumelembuai, 'laziness (*luiheid*) and filthiness (*vuilheid*) are terribly great'.<sup>200</sup> She added that Kumelembuai was 'completely different than all other places' in Minahasa because 'they are still backward in everything'.<sup>201</sup> It happened often that half of the girls who stayed with her soon runaway because it was 'impossible for many of the girls to submit to the order and cleanliness' that she prescribed.<sup>202</sup> She also expressed that the girls who stayed at her house needed a lot of supervision because 'it is not easy to form such wild bush girls (*wilde boschmeisjes*)'.<sup>203</sup> Yet, it is ambiguous that the girls were trained to be housewives but also used as servants. When the girls had finished with the training, she had to let them go although she wanted to keep them to help her with her own household matters.

We have a lot of work here, every time one of my girls leaves, I would gladly keep her, for the work that she had learned; but when they know something, then they should just leave and marry, because that is why they are here.<sup>204</sup>

Comparing the difference between before and after the girls received her training, she stated that the girls who stayed with her are 'brought out from deep heathenism to the Lord's light

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<sup>197</sup> See Appendix B. 15. Ulfers, *Iets*: 2.

<sup>198</sup> See Appendix B. 16. *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> See Appendix B. 17. *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>200</sup> See Appendix B. 18. *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>201</sup> See Appendix B. 24. *Ibid.*, 12-13. The NZG first started their mission in Minahasa, North Sulawesi in 1831. Kumelembuai, where Henriete Ulfers lived since 1847, was one of the early mission posts. However, since 1830s the number of conversions in Minahasa increased, that around 1880 some 80.000 or 80% of the population was baptized and had embraced Christianity. See Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History*: 422.

<sup>202</sup> See Appendix B. 19. *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>203</sup> See Appendix B. 20. *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>204</sup> See Appendix B. 21 *Ibid.*

and life'.<sup>205</sup> They have not only received her training but also learned how to live as Christians. She added that before they came to her house, the girls 'only knew nothing other than to pound, to plant, to harvest and to eat rice'.<sup>206</sup> Henriette Ulfers implied to her readers that she had made progress in forming good Christian girls.

Alida van de Loosdrecht also paid attention to local children's appearance. Additionally she was also happy that the school her husband established for local children went well.

In the morning I often go to watch in the school. There are 72 children, all boys and most of them don't wear a shirt yet. The girls are still afraid to come. It is nice to see how they are already used to discipline and there are kids five and six years old that can read quite a bit.<sup>207</sup>

Besides children's appearance and education, Alida, as well as Jo Kruyt also made remarks on the social status of the local people. The letters of both women indicated the presence of upper class family in local society and their impressions of them. Jo Kruyt told her readers of her impressions of Ine i Bombo, the wife of the village head. On her behavior she wrote:

She always looked so down, even frightened. For a while we wrongly believed, that she was more or less crazy. Because she could act very weird. The few times for instance that she visited me, she sat herself down on the stairs, instead of on the benches that stand in our entrance hall for visitors. And that for a headman's wife!<sup>208</sup>

Jo Kruyt's expectations of the behavior of a village head's wife were clearly different. She was surprised that Ine i Bombo did not choose to sit on the benches and for her it was a very strange act.

Alida van de Loosdrecht wrote that the local chief of Rantepao district, Pong Maramba, who had power and influence, was very important for the mission because 'if he ever became a Christian, many would follow'.<sup>209</sup> To her family she described her impression of Pong Maramba and his family.

Pong Maramba is tremendously rich, but he has not obtained it by honest means. There are many rich people here, even if it does not show on them, several of them have a much higher income than we have, even though they do not wear a shirt. Pong Maramba's children almost never come to our house anymore. The girls, although of upper class family, live very loosely with all kinds of men of lower class; even though this is against their own adat.<sup>210</sup> The boys

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<sup>205</sup> See Appendix B. 22. Ibid., 5.

<sup>206</sup> See Appendix B. 23. Ibid. 11-12.

<sup>207</sup> Ida to her family. 7 May 1915. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 151.

<sup>208</sup> See Appendix C. 33. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Labonggoe (Ine i Bombo)". 2 August 1915. In *Brieven* . No. 31: 3-4.

<sup>209</sup> Ida to Ladies of the Mission Society, 6 July 1914. In Muller and Muller: *The Mustard*: 101-102.

<sup>210</sup> Adat: customs.

follow the example of greed from their father. Only a little grandson comes to us every night for Bible lesson. He is a nice little chap, about 12 years old, he learns well and likes to listen to the storytelling.<sup>211</sup>

She acknowledged their wealth and even compared their income with her family and at the same time connected it with her observations of their appearance and behavior.

### **4.3. Foster Child System**

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter and in the discussions above, most missionary families in the Indies had boys or girls staying with them to be educated for a certain period of time and to benefit morally and religiously from close interaction with the missionary family. The boys were given extra religious education outside their school to prepare them for a higher level of education to become teachers. The girls were trained to perform Western standards of housekeeping and to become good Christian housewives. In many instances they married teachers who had been studied at the mission schools. All four wives in this research had either boys or girls or both in their house. Although not in detail, the letters of the wives indicated their relationships with local girls or boys in their house. The presence of local girls in the house of Henriette Ulfers as well as her relationships with them have been discussed partly in the previous chapter and the discussions above, thus this section will mostly focus on the other three wives.

Except for the case of Sangap, Dina and Jan Wijngaarden did not take in Karo girls or boys. They had tried but could not find local girls or boys who were willing to live with them nor families who trusted them to take in their children.<sup>212</sup> Nevertheless, they had two Savunese boys, Jozef Hilde Lilo and Jozua Lobi, whom Jan Wijngaarden brought along from Savu. Jan Wijngaarden had planned to prepare them to be sent to the teacher school in Tomohon, North Sulawesi.<sup>213</sup> Dina Wijngaarden's letters only slightly mentioned about them. Except for the fact that the boys helped her to clean her house,<sup>214</sup> there was no more information on their trainings or their life in Buluh Hawar. Dina Wijngaarden mentioned about them again in her letter to the NZG Board regarding the

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<sup>211</sup> Ida to her family, 5 April 1916. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 176.

<sup>212</sup> Kipp, *The Early Years*: 108-109.

<sup>213</sup> See Appendix D. 28. Extract-Acten NZG. 25 January 1895: 7.

<sup>214</sup> See Chapter Three on Domestic Life.

future of the boys after the death of Jan Wijngaarden.<sup>215</sup> Upon her request, the NZG Board decided that the boys would be sent to the teacher school in Tomohon.<sup>216</sup>

Compared to the Savunese boys, the case of Sangap was different. Jan Wijngaarden wrote to the NZG Board that 'as long as we are in the Batakland, the child is ours, we will take care of him until he is married.'<sup>217</sup> Sangap was adopted since he was born because he was abandoned by his family after his mother's death according to the local customs.<sup>218</sup> Further Jan Wijngaarden explained his plans for him.

We will feed the little child and teach him all that is good. He will be baptized together with our child. ... We will teach him who his father is, who his grandparents are, his uncles and aunts are, so that he will not be estranged from his family. His family may come every day to see the child, however, not every hour of the day because it would be too tiring. Only after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. ... We hope and pray to God that this child should remain alive and grow up to be a man. May he then become something for the Kingdom of God among his people, then we will have been richly rewarded.<sup>219</sup>

Perhaps because he was still very small, there was no clear statement whether Sangap will be educated and prepared to become a teacher like the two Savunese boys. Jan Wijngaarden only hoped that Sangap will become something for the Kingdom of God among his own people. Nevertheless, the story of Sangap is a special case for a foster child of a missionary family.

In her letters Alida van de Loosdrecht mentioned that she had a few boys and girls who lived in their house. On her two Toraja boys, Kadang and Boho, she wrote:

We don't give them money but they receive free food and lodging and sometimes I give them a new shirt. They really look smart. One of our boys is Kadang, he is very eager to help Anton.<sup>220</sup>

She further mentioned that the two boys only stayed for a short while because they had to go back to an agriculture school. There were two other Minahasa boys, Abraham and Minahassa. Alida and Anton van de Loosdrecht took in the two boys because Kadang and Boho had to leave.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> See Appendix D. 23. Dina to NZG Board, 10 October 1894.

<sup>216</sup> See Appendix D. 29. Extract-Acten NZG. 2 May 1895: 31.

<sup>217</sup> See Appendix D. 26. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* No 11. November 1894: 180.

<sup>218</sup> See Chapter Three on Mission Works.

<sup>219</sup> See Appendix D. 27. Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* No 11. November 1894: 182.

<sup>220</sup> Ida to her family. 24 April 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 79.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

Anton van de Loosdrecht was very impressed by Kadang's intelligence. Kadang was the son of a village chief. At his own initiative he approached Anton van de Loosdrecht, who was on his first visit to Rantepao. Kadang told him that he wanted to become a Christian. Anton selected him and two other boys (their names were not mentioned) to go along with him to Poso. On Kadang and the two boys who went with him to Poso Anton writes:

... we have had a lot of benefit from them. The oldest, Kadang, turned out to be a real master of Toraja language and he has given us invaluable service. The other two were also very useful boys, for during our stay in Poso we did not have any domestic help and that was at times quite difficult for my wife. How faithfully did these three boys perform their tasks! They boiled our rice, baked our bread and performed all kind of household duties and did it with diligence and devotion to our constant admiration. Now, as we become more familiar with the habits of the Torajas here, we respect that attitude even more. ... they adapted themselves very well to the new conditions and in a short time my wife had converted them into usable house-boys.<sup>222</sup>

As foster children, the students were used to help Alida with her household chores. Alida mentioned that there was another boy, Menggo, who was a student but also a handyman carpenter. She wrote that 'he knows how to build schools, wooden seats, tables, etc. and he played the flute very well.'<sup>223</sup> Every night, Anton van de Loosdrecht told the boys stories from the Bible.

On the girls who stayed in her house, Alida's letters did not state clearly whether she gave any kinds of household training to them. Her description about the girls was more on their function as helpers.

We also have a few girls; they all come from the Minahasa (North Celebes). They call themselves Christians but it is rather superficial. Our two girls, Konda and Barina are helping Mrs. Brouwer<sup>224</sup> now, her babu<sup>225</sup> is sick. The boys help her with the laundry.<sup>226</sup>

The boys as well as the girls were used to help the household chores not only in the van de Loosdrecht's house, but also in the house of a district officer. Alida's letters did not mention whether she has servants or not. However, her foster boys and girls were also used as servants. In her later letter, Alida mentioned another girl named Dina, who was expected to help her more because the other girl, Barina, had left and got married. Alida already had two children at the time

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<sup>222</sup> Anton van de Loosdrecht. Undated letter. In *ibid.*, 141.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> M.R. Brouwer was a former civil administrator of Palopo, who in 1914 occupied the function temporarily at Malili district. Anton and Alida stayed at his house at Malili for two weeks on their journey from Tentena (Poso) to Rantepao. In 1915 he was appointed as the Controleur of Rantepao.

<sup>225</sup> Babu: servant.

<sup>226</sup> Ida to her family. 24 April 1914. In Muller and Muller, *The Mustard*: 80.

she wrote the letter. Her description about Dina implied that both Dina and Barina not only helped her with housework but also took care of her children.

I am much busier now that Barina is gone. Now I have only Dina and she is not nearly as capable, nor is she very strong and she runs around coughing all the time and I don't dare to let her come near Bobby or little Sis.<sup>227</sup>

Alida's remark about Barina was similar to Henriette Ulfers' wish to be able to keep her students who had finished with their household trainings because of their skills. Presumably Dina was a new house-girl, who was still not as capable as Barina.

Due to their length of stay, Jo and Albert Kruyt might have plenty of foster children. In Jo Kruyt's letter written in January 1910 she indicated that she had foster sons from Minahasa without further explanation about them.<sup>228</sup> In another letter a few months later, she mentioned that there were 'housemates' (*huisgenooten*).<sup>229</sup> Some of them may be her foster children because further in the letter she mentioned two names: Soemba and Ontjo, whom she hoped to be 'dignified students' at the mission school for Toraja boys.<sup>230</sup> Nevertheless, none of Jo Kruyt's letters mentioned whether they had taken in local girls to live in their house. Of all their foster children, Pentjali was the most special. He was not only their first foster child who became a teacher but also the first Gospel preacher (*Evangelieprediker*) among his own people.<sup>231</sup> Albert Kruyt called him as 'the first fruit of the Poso mission' (*de eerste vrucht der Poso-Zending*).<sup>232</sup> Both Jo and Albert Kruyt wrote a specific letter about him. Jo Kruyt wrote about his wedding<sup>233</sup> while Albert Kruyt wrote about the story of Pentjali since the first time he took him as their foster son until he became a teacher. Pentjali was six years old when he came to stay with the Kruyt family in 1894. In 1905 he went to study at the teacher school in Tomohon for four years. On Pentjali's life as a foster son Albert Kruyt wrote:

In the morning he went to school and outside school he was given easy tasks, which he usually undertook together with our children. One of these tasks was also the feeding of the pigs that we kept.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Ida to her family. 5 April 1916. In *ibid.*, 175.

<sup>228</sup> See Appendix C.26. Kruyt-Moulijn, "De Eerstelingen." 15 January 1910. In *Brieven* No. 8: 3.

<sup>229</sup> See Appendix C.10. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Een jaar." 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No. 11: 5.

<sup>230</sup> See Appendix C. 14. *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>231</sup> See Appendix C. 34. Kruyt, "De Eerste Vrucht Der Posso-Zending". 29 October 1909. In *Brieven* No.7: 15.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> Kruyt-Moulijn, "Het Huwelijk". 20 January 1912. In *Brieven*. No. 16: 3-15.

<sup>234</sup> See Appendix C. 35. Kruyt, "De Eerste Vrucht". 29 October 1909. In *Brieven*. No. 7: 14.



Except for his task to feed the pigs, there were no further explanations in both the letters of Albert and Jo Kruyt whether Pentjali also did household chores like laundry or cleaning the house. Pentjali was also the playmate for the Kruyt's children. While playing with them he learned Dutch as well. On Pentjali's relationships with their children, Albert Kruyt wrote:

His proud nature made him hold back little to our children when playing, as one usually sees in the Indies, where white and brown children associate with each other. Because of this many arguments broke out, which my wife and I attempted to settle as justly as possible; but we were in any case certain, that our children would not be corrupted by these contacts. If we had a children's party, Pentjali was always one of the leaders, and the children submitted themselves to him.<sup>235</sup>

Both Jo and Albert Kruyt were fond of Pentjali. Albert Kruyt also sometimes took him on his tour. He wrote that he was 'never afraid of getting lost, since Pentjali had a talent for remembering roads'.<sup>236</sup>

The presence of the foster children was not only important for the mission goals in forming a local Christian society but also for the household of a missionary family. These children were given training and education, and at the same time performing household tasks to support especially the domestic tasks of missionary wives. For the girls, the aim of the trainings became ambiguous. The girls were trained to be housewives but at the same time used as domestic servants in the house of a missionary.

#### **4.4. Conclusions**

All four wives studied here interacted with local people on a daily basis and in all cases maintained positive relationships with them. Their relationships, established through sewing classes, housekeeping training sessions, medical visits, and the foster child system, were strongly driven by their mission goals. Missionary wives assumed different roles in their interpersonal relationships with the locals—educator, foster mother, housewife, nurse, and evangelist—while the local people played the role of students, foster children, patients, and members of Christian society. In these relationships, the wives also negotiated their identities as the wives of Dutch missionaries while adapting to local customs in varying degrees. Although the responses to the missions' evangelical efforts were diverse, local inhabitants were generally positive towards the presence of the missionaries in their community.

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<sup>235</sup> See Appendix C.36. Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> See Appendix C.37. Ibid.

Moreover, the Christian values of all four wives heavily influenced their perceptions of the local people. The wives shared their husbands' mindsets of bringing the Gospel and civilization to the local people, whom they saw as spiritually and materially poor heathens, uncivilized, lazy, and dirty. Although each wife emphasized different aspects of their missionary experience in their letters, five major themes emerged on the matter of the local people: spiritual life, cleanliness, education, discipline, and, proper manner, which included appearance and behavior.

For the wives, these were significant factors in improving the standards of living of the local populace—raising them up from poor heathens to civilized Christians. In the wives' letters, the differentiation between Christians and non-Christians was tantamount to the dichotomy of civilized/uncivilized.

Furthermore, all four wives saw themselves as racially and culturally superior to the local people. Only when the local people met their standards of civilized Christians did the wives regard them as kindred children of God. However, despite all being children of God, the wives continued to make racial distinctions between them and the local people, who were their brown brothers and sisters.

## CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has sought to illustrate and analyze the experiences and roles of four Dutch missionary wives in the Netherlands East Indies. As shown in Chapter 1, gendered notion of women's roles in missionary practice was critical in shaping women's experiences within the mission. Because of their status as wives, women were merely considered as supplementary to the mission, and were nearly invisible in missionary publications, which were mainly written and published by men. However, a few studies on missionary wives in the Indies show that women played important role in the mission and were active agents in bringing Christianity to the 'heathens'.<sup>237</sup> Furthermore, the fact that these women were missionary wives differentiated them from most European women in the colonies. Missionary wives, who mostly lived in the Outer Regions, were less studied as a separate category of colonial women. Studies on European women in the colonies mainly focused on wives or daughters of administrators and plantation owners in Java and the plantation belt of Sumatra. Ann Stoler argued that the arrival of large numbers of European women coincided with an embourgeoisment of colonial communities with a significant sharpening of racial lines.<sup>238</sup> The presence of European women in some cases intended precisely to enforce the separation between Asians and whites.<sup>239</sup> This was true for wives of administrative and plantation owners, but not for the case of missionary wives.

To fully understand the role of missionary wives and their experiences in the mission field, it is necessary to study the position of women in the Dutch Protestant mission, as well as the relationship between the Protestant missions and the colonial government. Chapter 2 showed that Protestant missions became increasingly active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After the implementation of the Ethical Policy, missionary organizations were financially supported by the colonial government. Christian missions were also used by the government to hamper the spread of Islam and to introduce Western civilization to the local people. Chapter 2 also showed that Dutch women were involved in the Protestant mission as nurses, teachers, missionary wives, and professionals. Missionary wives had more laborious tasks compared to their unmarried sisters in the mission work. Gender division of labor in the Dutch Protestant mission put women as subordinate to men within missionary enterprise. A professional woman like H.B. de la Bassecour Caan was among the very few women in her period who were involved in the mission and performed leadership tasks. Another prominent woman was J.C. van Andel-Rutgers, a former head

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<sup>237</sup> Caan, "De Positie"; Kipp, "Two Views"; Woerdt, *Werken zolang*; Kipp, *The Early Years*.

<sup>238</sup> Ann Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20<sup>th</sup>- Century Colonial Cultures". *American Ethnologist*, Vol 16. No. 4. (1989): 640.

<sup>239</sup> Ann Stoler, "Rethinking": 147.

of nurse and a missionary wife who performed a leading role in her missionary work. The similarities between these exceptional women were their background. Unlike most women involved in the mission, both Caan and Andel-Rutgers were women from higher social class.<sup>240</sup> Furthermore, lay women in the Netherlands were crucial as the major financial supporters for the mission efforts. There were also three Dutch lay women in Java, who initiated evangelization activities in the 1850s. This proved that women were capable of being missionaries in their own right. The Dutch Protestant mission sent their first female missionary in 1935. Besides Dutch women, local women in the Indies were also involved in the Dutch Protestant mission as a *nyora*, or a wife of local teacher.

Although each of the missionary wives studied here had different and unique experiences, all worked faithfully in service of their mission goals, as discussed in Chapter 3. The wives perceived their tasks, including domestic tasks, as part of their duty to bring the Gospel to local society, supporting and reinforcing their husband's opinions on the mission's work. In their own ways, they were actively involved in mission work as teachers, medical assistants, foster mothers, and evangelists. The case of Dina Wijngaarden was exceptional, as it showed her initiative and dedication regardless of the refusal of the NZG Board of her proposal to continue the work of the mission after the death of her husband. Her feminine attributes cloaked her competence and led to her being underestimated and undervalued by the male authorities of mission society. Due to the prevailing patriarchal structure, women were thus prevented from exerting much influence on the mission's operation. Nevertheless, Jo Kruyt proved to be very active in evangelism by reaching out to local people in different ways, tirelessly encouraging local women to go to church. Despite being structurally subordinate to their husbands and to other male members within the mission organization, the wives could and should be seen as true female missionaries.

The relationships of all four wives with the local people were strongly affected by their mission goals and Christian values, as shown in Chapter 4. In these relationships, the wives also negotiated their identities as Dutch missionary wives, at the same time adapting to varying degrees to local customs. Although the local people gave diverse responses to the mission's efforts at evangelization, they were largely positive in their reception towards the missionaries, because of the perceived benefits of the missionaries' presence—education, medical support, and their care and concern for individuals.

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<sup>240</sup> For H.B. de la Bassecour Caan see Kipp, "Two Views", and, for J.C. van Andel-Rutgers, see Woerd, *Werken zolang*.

In their foster child system however, the line between merely imposing traditional Western customs on the children and exploiting their labour and goodwill was often subtle. The boys and girls, who were given education or training, were at the same time ambiguously used as servants. The girls were prepared to be good Christian wives and mothers on a European model, and their education was largely domestic: cooking, cleaning, sewing, laundry work, hygiene. It was expected that the boys, who had finished with their education and became teacher-evangelists (*guru*), would marry these Christian girls. Missionary practice in the East Indies replicated and reinforced the gender roles between men and women within missionary discourse.

Furthermore, all four wives saw themselves as racially and culturally superior to the local people. Evidently, missionaries and their wives had held ethnocentric views of non-Western societies and that 'saving the heathen' was a motivating force throughout their mission period. On local people who were not Christians, the wives saw them as heathens, spiritually and materially poor, uncivilized, lazy, and dirty. On local people who were Christians, the wives saw them as their brown brothers and sisters. Even when the wives had great sympathy for the local society and had mutual respect with them, the wives could never identify completely with them because of their cultural differences. Therefore, the feelings of being a marginal white woman, far from her family and friends, could lead to women's loneliness.

This research has shown the role and experiences of white women in the remote posts of the Indies. As European women, missionary wives had a more ambiguous role compared to those of European women in other areas in the Indies. Like all European women in the Indies, within a race that considered itself superior, missionary wives were structurally subordinate to men while at the same time considered themselves superior to local people. Nevertheless, while other European women in the Indies would keep distance from local people, missionary wives on the contrary, went out to reach and interacted with them on a daily basis. They visited local people and invited them to come to their house. The house of missionary family was open for local people, which was not the case of other European family in the Indies.

This study has shown that the presence of missionary wives, unlike other European women, in fact did not contribute to racial division between the colonized and colonizer. Fueled by their spirit to evangelize, missionary wives embraced local people to convert them to Christianity. Yet, in their Christian society, the wives' acceptance of local people was affected by her racial and cultural superiority. Additionally, in the process of creating a local Christian society, the wives were also utilitarian in treating local young boys and girls living in their house.

In the literatures of gender and colonial historiography, as shown in the Introduction and Chapter 1, mission studies have played smaller role than they deserve. This study has shown that Protestant mission in fact provided space for European women to mingle with local society. Scholars who have engaged with gender and colonial studies seem to generalize the presence of European women in Dutch colonial setting by only looking at women in urban areas of the Indies. There should be more research on European women in the Outer Regions because their circumstances might show diverse picture and shift the general perspective about European women in the Indies.

Compared to women in the American Protestant missions and the British Protestant missions, the Dutch Protestant mission has its own characteristics. First Dutch Protestant mission was comparatively late in commissioning women as its first female missionary. This is related to the gender notions within Dutch missionary practice in which women were still subordinate to men and seen as supplementary for mission work. Second, due to the absence of missionary women until early twentieth century, the role of missionary wives was crucial in reaching out especially the female society in the mission field. While studies on the American Protestant mission in Hawaii show that missionary wives focused their hopes and energies on their families' futures rather than on evangelical goals, missionary wives in the Dutch Protestant mission were active agents in missionary efforts. Similar to those of the British Protestant mission in China, the domestic tasks of missionary wives in the Dutch Protestant mission did not mean that they did less missionary activities. Furthermore, in their missionary practice in the Indies, missionary wives played a considerable role, including especially being a foster mother, which was not the case in both the American and British Protestant mission.

Finally, this research is an attempt to make women in Christian mission visible. It fills a historiographical gap in the studies of mission history in the Netherlands East Indies. In many respects, each of the wives studied here deserves further research in their own contexts. While some general conclusions can be drawn from the experiences and role of the four missionary wives, they could not fully represent the whole picture of missionary wives' presence in the Indies. Therefore, it would be worth exploring the experiences and role of missionary wives in other areas in the Netherlands East Indies. Furthermore, the period of this study ends in 1931, which was the period when the NZG had decided to train and send women as missionaries before finally sending the first female missionary to the Indies. Thus, the role and experiences of female missionaries in the Indies is another topic worth exploring. In this context, this research can function as a comparative background for further studies on female missionaries in the Indies.

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix A.**

Source: H.B. de La Bassecour Caan, "De Positie der vrouw in de Christelijke zending in de Ned. Bezittingen in Oost en West Indie." In *Van Vrouwenleven 1813-1913: Ontwikkelingsgang van het leven en werken der vrouw in Nederland en de Koloniën* (Groningen: G. Römelingh & Co, 1913).

1. In den regel wordt alleen de ongetrouwde vrouw, die een zelfstandigen werkkring heeft, zendingszuster genoemd, maar de getrouwde vrouw doet daarom niet minder echt zendingswerk.
2. Toen wij ons hier vestigden, duurde het lang, voordat wij in kennis met menschen, vooral met vrouwen konden komen, want wanneer wij hen wilden opzoeken liepen zij weg.
3. Zij leerden mijne vrouw kennen en dit had ten gevolge dat mijne vrouw aan eenigen onderwijs in het spellen en lezen kon geven, die nu lidmaten zijn en tot eer van het Christendom strekken.

Source: Staatsblad 1854 No. 129 Article 123.

4. De Christen-leeraars, priesters en zendelingen moeten voorzien zijn van eene door of namens den Gouverneur-Generaal te verleenen bijzondere toelating, om hun dienstwerk in eenig bepaald gedeelte van Nederlandsch Indie te mogen verrigten. Wanneer die toelating schadelijk wordt bevonden, of de voorwaarden daarvan niet worden nageleefd, kan zij door de Gouverneur-Generaal worden ingetrokken.

Source : C. J. Hoekendijk, *De Vrouw en De Zending* (1914).

5. Wat zou er van onze zendingsactie worden, wanneer wij daarbij niet de hulp hadden van de vrouw? Wij durven dat niet vaststellen, maar vast staat het toch zeker wel, dat vooral de vrouw bij het verzamelen van gelden voor de zending een voorname plaats inneemt. Het zendingsgeld komt doorgaans niet bijeen door bankjes van 100 pop, maar door de penningen der weduwen en nu is het een eigenaardige gave, die God aan de vrouw heeft gegeven, n.l. om bijeen te houden en te sparen, om, in een woord de betekenis en de macht van het kleine te illustreren. ... Maar over het geheel genomen zit het de vrouw in het bloed om de kleintjes bij elkaar te brengen en te houden. Daarom heeft de vrouw in Holland zulk een betekenis bij het bijeenbrengen van het zendingsgeld. Laat ons maar eens denken aan haar trouw in het bijeenzamelen van stuivers en halve stuivers, wat zeg ik, van centen en halve centen.

Source: Joh. Rauws, "Het Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap te Rotterdam. 1822-1922". *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor zendingswetenschap* (Rotterdam: M. Wytt & Zonen, 1922).

6. Een bizonderen invloed oefenden ook onze zendingshospitalen op dezen tak van arbeid. Het bleek noodig, in den tijd toen er nog geen of geringe subsidie gegeven werd, dat de linnenkast werd voorzien, en deze zorg hebben de dames op voortreffelijke wijze op zich genomen.

Source: M. Rauws-Laats, *De Vrouw en De Zending*, (Utrecht: G.J.A. Ruys, 1924).

7. Een zendelingvrouw moet liefst zelf zendinge zijn. Zoo'n vrouw zal moedig alle moeiten en ontberingen dragen, die noodzakelijk aan het werk verbonden zijn. Ze zal vanzelf aanraking zoeken met de bevolking, vooral met de vrouwen en meisjes. En als haar man dagen en weken van huis is, zal zij in zijn plaats handelend kunnen optreden.
8. Kunt ge u voorstellen, wat zij voelt, wanneer ze afscheid van haar lievelingen neemt? Het moet een zware, zeer moeilijke strijd zijn voor de moeder om haar kinderen ter opvoeding aan een ander te laten en zelf, ginds in de verte, de kinderen van de bevolking om zich heen te verzamelen.

Source: A.M. Brouwer, *De Opleiding onzer Zendingen* (Baarn: Hollandia-Drukkerij, 1912).

9. Meestal vertoeven de meisjes ook een tijdlang in een diaconessenhuis, helpen in het wijkwerk, enz. Op den eersten Zondag van iedere maand, des avonds te acht uur, verzamelen zich alle kweekelingen, met hun meisjes, in den familiekring van den huisvader tot een gezelligen avond.

Source: Gerrit Nort, *De weg van magie tot geloof: Leven en werk van Albert C. Kruyt (1869-1949), zendeling-leraar in Midden-Celebes, Indonesië* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2006).

- 10.'s Avonds wandelde ze altijd in westelijke richting om zo dichterbij haar kinderen in Nederland te zijn.

Source: Hendrik Kruyt to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* August en September 1891. No 8 and 9.

11. Met vrijmoedigheid koos ik:

1. Benjamin Wenas, wiens vrouw, Suzanna onafhankelijk van haren man, ook gesproken had van te willen gaan. Zij hebben en kind.
2. Johan Pinontoan, wiens vrouw, Penina, eenige maanden bij Zr. Tendeloo heeft geleerd.
3. Richard Tampenawas, wiens vrouw, Sara, anak pijara (huis kweekelinge) van Mej. Krook en van mijne vrouw was.
4. Hendrik Pesik, wiens vrouw, Mijntje, anak pijara was bij Zr. Schwarz.

## **Appendix B.**

Source: Henriette Ulfers, *Iets uit het huisselijk leven en de werkzaamheden eene zendelingvrouw* (Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1855).

1. O! het is wel niet gemakkelijk te dragen, als de herinnering mij nu en dan nog eens weder terugvoert naar mijne familie en vrienden,--als de gedachte: ik ben hier beneden voor altijd van hen gescheiden, mij de zwaarmoedigste en zeer smartelijke tranen doet schreijen ...
2. Het was eene verschrikkelijke duisterniss, en toch schoot de bliksem zulke felle stralen, dat hemel en aarde als in een vuur en vlam stonden, waarbij de donder slag op slag mijne voeten deed trillen. Zulke onweders kennen mijne vrienden in *Europa* niet ...Maar is het dan nu wonder, geliefde zusters! dat ik hier met mijne vier lieve kindertjes slapende om mij heen, in mijne eenzaamheid, terwijl mijn ULFERS 50 paal van ons verwijderd is, zoo veel van 's Heeren liefde en genade gevoel ...

3. MARIE, de oudste, 5½ jaar oud, begint vrij goed te lezen, namelijk Hollandsch en geen Maleisch, want wij spreken geen Maleisch met onze kinderen.
4. Onze kindertjes zijn gezond en vrolijk; zij geven ons hier in onze enzaamheid groote blijdschap, maar ook veel zorg.
5. Wat hebben ons hier in onze eenzame streken, bij vergelijking gesproken, reeds vele onweders getroffen!
6. Deze laatste heeft mij gedurig en getrouw in mijne ziekte geholpen en vertroost, hoewel het hem soms zeer moeilijk viel met al het werk, dat hij in zijne gemeente, in zijn huis, met zijne kweekelingen, met zijne kindertjes en met mij, zijne zieke vrouw, had. Hij is eigenlijk mijn doctor ...
7. Maar in die uren waarin zij bij ons in huis verkeerden, zien en hooren zij ook hoe een Christelijk gezin leeft en verkeert...
8. ... want hij zegt: "dit werk behoort in eene goede Christelijke maatschappij aan de vrouwen" en ik ben van dezelfde meening.
9. De Heer heeft mij hier, in plaats van mijne Europesche vriendinnen, nieuwe *Alfoersche* gegeven, en dit is dan eene vergoeding ...
10. Het is toch niet gering, dat zulk eene arme *Alfoersche* heidin, die vroeger nooit gevoel voor zedelijkheid of opregtheid had, nu vervuld is met gevoel, zoowel voor smart als voor waarheid, omdat zij gelooft, ja waarlijk gelooft in Jezus Christus onzen Heer!
11. Ik heb hier meer zulke vriendinnen dan een, die den Heer opregt liefhebben, en daaronder zijn er zelf hier in 't dorp twee, die zich allezins vele uiterlijke beschaving hebben eigen gemaakt; ik kan met haar ook verstandig spreken.
12. Maar vooral haar zedig en beschaafd voorkomen in het geheel, zou zelf voor vele Europesche dames een voorbeeld kunnen zijn.
13. ... wil Hij ons, arme zondaars! Ook reeds weder gebruiken om deze arme, verwilderde boschmensen tot Zijne kennis en Zijne liefde te brengen.
14. Mogt de Heer reeds vroeg Zijnen Geest over hen uitstorten, en zij zich zelven leeren kennen als arme verlorene Adams-kinderen ...
15. ... was het smartelijk om aan te zien: naakt of met een gescheurde lap om het midden gebonden, kwamen zij in de school.
16. ... kwamen zij wel met een sarong of kabaja bij mij aan huis, maar die behoorden dan meestal aan hunne moeders, en waren dan ook zoo gescheurd en aan flarden gereten, dat zij er hunne naaktheid bijna niet mede konden bedekken.
17. ... omdat ouders noch kinderen hier naaijen konden of er lust toe hadden ...
18. Luiheid en vuilheid zijn verschrikkelijk groot; om die redden loopt de helft dan ook spoedig weder weg.
19. Het is voor velen niet mogelijk zich aan de orde en de zindelijkheid, die ik haar voorschrijf, te onderwerpen.
20. Er behoort veel toezigt over zulke meisjes, en het is niet gemakkelijk zulke wilde boschmeisjes te vormen.

21. Er is hier bij ons echter ook veel werk, iedere keer als er een meisje van mij weggaat, dan zoude ik ze gaarne willen houden, om het werk wat zij dan geleerd heeft; maar als zij wat weten, dan moeten zij maar weg en trouwen, want daarom zijn zij hier.
22. ... en mijne elf meisjes, die pas uit het diepe heidendom tot 's Heeren licht en leven zijn toegebracht...
23. ... weten zij niets anders dan rijst te stampen, te planten, te oogsten en te eten.
24. Het is in dit opzigt hier aan het einde der Menahasse, geheel anders dan op al de andere plaatsen. Zij zijn in alles nog achteruit.

### **Appendix C.**

Source: Albert Kruyt, "Aan mijne vrouw". 5 July 1922. In *Brieven* No. 58.

1. Wat een zegen dat we onze kinderen hadden, en met welk een groote trouw heb je ze iederen dag les gegeven, eerst fröbelen, daarna het gewone schoolonderwijs. Ze vergden soms veel van je geduld, want het waren gezonde kinderen, voor wie hun leeren geen spelen was. We aten 's avonds vroeg, en daarna was het heerlijkste uurtje voor de kleintjes aangebroken, wanneer je hun een verhaal deed. Waar je altijd een nieuwe vertelling vandaan haalde, is mij een raadsel geweest. Je studeerde er voor, en je diepte ze uit allerlei tijdschriften en boekjes op. Had die onderwijzer, die het eerst onzen Jan na zijn komst in Holland op zijn school kreeg, je zoo bezig kunnen zien, dan had hij zeker niet zoo afkeurend gesproken over de "methode", waarnaar onze kinderen les van je hebben gehad. Die methode was goed, op en top die van een echte moeder. En onze kleinen waren dan ook voldoende bij.
2. Gewoonlijk bleven de menschen met je praten: je hoorde op deze wijze van allerlei toestanden in het dorp, van de praatjes die er gingen, van de oneenigheden, die er heerschten. Je kon daardoor een diepen blik slaan in het huiselijk leven der menschen, en daardoor bracht je mij ook nader tot hen. Wat heeft jou arbeid mijn herderlijk werk verlicht! Want als nu iemand, die we gedurende eenigen tijd niet in de bijeenkomsten hadden gezien, je iets kwam brengen, dan gaf je dit vanzelf aanleiding om eens te vragen naar de reden van dit wegblijven, en je kon ze opwekken om niet nalatig te worden.
3. Ik kan je niet zeggen, hoe dankbaar ik je daarvoor ben. Werkelijk, we hebben de moeiten van die jaren samen gedragen, we hebben die reizen samen gemaakt: ik handelend, en jij biddend meelevend. Ik geloof niet dat mijn aandeel het zwaarste was.
4. Hierdoor waren onze kinderen 14, 12 en 10 jaar, toen we hen in 1907 in trouwe vriendenhanden konden achterlaten. Ze waren dus op een leeftijd waarop ze hun ouders niet meer zouden vergeten. Je hebt mij vaak gezegd, hoe God je in die moeilijke dagen bijzonder gesterkt en gesteund heeft.

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Een jaar te Pendolo". 10 October 1910. In *Brieven*. No. 11.

5. God make ons getrouw in het groote, maar ook in het vervullen van die kleine plichten, waaraan vooral het leven van de vrouw, ook dat der zendelingsvrouw, zoo rijk is.
6. Er ontstaat werkelijk een band tusschen de leerlingen en mij, want ook in de vacantie kwam men mij telkens eens bezoeken.

7. Tweemaal in de week geef ik hun zangles en met alle moerids zing ik iederen Donderdagavond van 7 tot 8 uur.
8. t Was jammer dat de beperkte ruimte niet toeliet aan te dringen op meerder "kerkbezoek". Vrouwen kwamen er zelden of maar in zeer klein getal en gaarne voerden ze als reden van haar wegblijven aan: er is geen plaats voor ons. Toen dus in April de ruime, flinke school voltooid was, liet ik niet na haar telkenmale op te wekken, ook den Zondag te komen vieren, want zei ik: "nu kunt ge niet meer zeggen, dat er geen ruimte is." Verlegen lachend stemde men toe. En als deze redeneering niet baatte, gebruikte ik een echt Toradja'sch argument en zei: "over zooveel nachten is het Zondag, komt dan toch ook, ik ben zoo "beschaamd" als ik de eenige vrouw ben". Dat sloeg in. Bijna meewarig klonk het: ja, dat is zoo, wij zullen komen. En waarlijk, we hebben in dat opzicht over het vrouwelijk deel der bevolking niet te klagen. Nu reeds kunnen we merken dat er verscheidenen onder de vrouwen zijn, die niet meer komen om mijnentwil, maar omdat zij belangstellen in hetgeen er gesproken wordt.
9. De bezoeken gaan den heelen dag door. Men brengt mij dan allerhande zaken: inlandsche bladgroente, komkommers, pompoenen, Spaanschepepper, maïs, bananen, eieren enz. en in ruil vraagt men dan: gambir, lucifers, haantjes-duiten, garen, naalden, maar vooral zout. Doch Zondags, dat weet men reeds, laat men ons met rust. Een enkel vriendschappelijk bezoek wordt ons wel op den Zondag gebracht, maar over het geheel zijn de Zondagen werkelijk rustdagen voor ons.
10. 's Morgens vóór zessen zitten de patienten reeds op de voorgalerij. Alleen gedurende de korte oogenblikken die wij gebruiken om met onze huisgenooten te bidden, te lezen en te zingen verontschuldig ik mij, doch vóór dien tijd en daarna help ik mijn zieken. Dit deel van den arbeid heb ik van lieverlede op mij genomen. Het is U bekend, dat mijn man, sedert het vertrek der familie Hofman, behalve zijn eigen werkkring ook dien van den heer Hofman waarneemt. Hierdoor is hij telkens een maand of langer achtereen van huis. Bovendien doe ik het zoo gaarne, omdat ik door die hulp den menschen kan toonen, dat ook *ik* iets voor hen wil zijn. In den regel zijn allen in 1 à 1½ uur geholpen, in den slappen tijd zelfs nog korter.
11. ...zooals overall elders in Indië is ook hier de vrouw veel ijveriger dan de man en heeft eene moeder van hare meisjes veel meer hulp dan van haar zoontjes, die lang zoo volgzaam niet zijn en meer hun eigen gang gaan.
12. Mijn man of een der onderwijzers gaat de menschen geregeld bezoeken, bidt en praat met hen en tracht ook op deze wijze het Evangelie ingang te doen vinden.
13. Tamesampo is het doorpshoofd. Hij is een prettig man, met een open, eerlijk gezicht.
14. Op de laatst gehouden conferentie van Zendelingen is besloten tot de oprichting van een kweekschool voor Toradja jongens, die voorloopig onder leiding van mijn man zal komen. Hoe hoop ik dat onze Soemba en Ontjo eens waardige leerlingen van die school zullen zijn.

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Tets Over De Koekoe'sche Schoolkinderen". 15 January 1909. In *Brieven*. No. 4.

15. Mijn man begon met gebed. En daarna legde hij op eenvoudige, duidelijke wijze uit: de betekenis van den Kerstboom. Want in een heidensche omgeving schuilt er groot gevaar in, dat men aan zulk een boom bijgeloovige gedachten verbindt. Zooals U bekend is, zijn de Possoers animisten en stellen zich alles bezielde voor.
16. Men gelooft algemeen dat er personen zijn die het er op aanleggen den evenmensch ongelukkig te maken. Zulk een "tau mepongko" is een bepaald person. Deze haalt iemands

lever uit het lichaam en eet die op. Daarna laat hij dien mensch gaan, doch thuis gekomen voelt hij zich ellendig en legt zich neer om te sterven. Indien nu vrij veel menschen in betrekkelijk korten tijd sterven, zonder dat hiervoor een bepaalde oorzaak te geven is, worden die gevallen toegeschreven aan een “tau mepongko” (werewolf). ... Waliegi zelve—en haar geheele omgeving—geloofde dus dat ze sterven zou. Met een klagelijke stem zat de bedroefde moeder ons te vertellen, dat ze den geheelen nacht gehuild had, dat ze haar kind zoo lief had, maar Waliegi had een “tau mepongko” gezien, een mensch van Tampeta’a dus—sterven moest ze.

17. ‘t Zou nutteloos geweest zijn te zeggen, dat Waliegi het zich maar verbeeld had. Maar wat *niet* nutteloos was, was haar en allen die haar omringden te zeggen: God is machtig. Als Hij wil dat Waliegi leven zal, vermogen booze machten niets.
18. Als men te midden van heidenen leeft, voelt men eerst hoe vrij de *verloste* mensch is en kan men zoo van harte bidden, dat Gods Geest deze duistere harten verlichte. De Possoërs zijn tot nu toe werkelijk als een riet door den wind heen en weder bewogen. ... Daarom vrienden, bid met ons, dat deze wankelmoedigen sterk mogen worden door het geloof in den Verlosser.
19. Zoo kwam ik hier niet als een vreemde aan. Vriendelijke, welwillende gezichten zag ik om mij heen en het was gedurende de eerste maanden mijn dagelijksche taak de vrouwen en kinderen te ontvangen die mij kwamen opzoeken. Verreweg de meesten hunner hadden nimmer te voren eene blanke vrouw gezien en het was dus weer het oude liedje van vroeger: Vrouwen legden hare bruine handen naast de mijne en “bewonderden” mijn zacht, blank vel en zeiden dan: “wat zijn wij donker, wat zijt gij blank”.
20. i Dorontje lacht, i Dorontje lacht, klinkt het dan vroolijk en aardig was het te hooren, hoe enkele schoolmeisjes onze oudste dochter tot vriendin zouden nemen, als ze maar hier was en hoe verscheiden kleintjes in koor uitriepen: en wij i Dorontje.

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn, “Onze Koekoe’sche Vrienden”. 20 August 1909. In *Brieven*. No. 6.

21. Maar nu is het zoo heerlijk, dat we na 2 jaren ook mogen spreken over innerlijke veranderingen, ontstaan door den invloed van het Evangelie.
22. Werden vroeger op onze wandelingen door het dorp dikwijls pijnlijk getroffen door de norsche uitdrukking op veler gelaat, thans zien we overal vriendelijke gezichten. De kinderen—de schooljeugd uitgezonderd—waren bang, schuw als ze ons zagen. En nu klinkt ons onophoudelijk een “tabe” toe, soms op schalkschen toon uitgesproken. Maar al te vaak moet zoo’n kleine schelm die beleefdheid met een stomp of een duw van een ouder broertje, of zusje boeten. “Ben jij soms een schoolkind”, wordt hem dan verontwaardig gevraagd. Dit “tabe zeggen” beschouwden de schoolkinderen dus blijkbaar als hun bijzonder privilege.
23. De school binnengetreden zien we een honderdtal menschen ordelijk gezeten op lange banken. Vanwaar de spreker staat zitten rechts de mannen, links de vrouwen. Deze laatsten zijn vaak het talrijkst vertegenwoordigd. Dat was vroeger anders, toen liet zich bij uitzondering een vrouw in de bijeenkomst zien.
24. Ine i Alipa maakt een gunstigen indruk met haar zacht, lief gezicht. Ine i Iti, hoewel niet onvriendelijk als ze ons ziet, vermijdt toch eer ons gezelschap, dan dat ze het zoekt.

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn, “De Eerstelingen Te Koekoe”. 15 January 1910. In *Brieven* No. 8.

25. Een aardig gezicht wachtte ons daar. De leerlingen der verschillende scholen zagen er zonder uitzondering helder en netjes uit; de meisjes gekleed in keurige baadjes van wit of gekleurd



katoen en een nette sarong aan, de jongens in de vlugge, korte, zoogenaam de Boegineesche broek met witte baadjes, terwijl een frissche hoofdoek aller toilet voltooide.

26. We namen de beide onderwijzers en van onze Minahassische pleegzonen een hartelijk afscheid en nog lang nadat ...

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Het Huwelijk van Pentjali". 20 January 1912. In *Brieven* No. 16.

27. Ik vertelde aan Ine hoe zeker ik er van was, dat *mijn* moeder God dikwijls dankte, dat ik met Papa i Dorontji getrouwd ben, omdat wij aan de Possoërs het woord des levens brengen. "En wat een verschil is er nog tusschen mijne moeder en U. Als gij al te zeer naar uw kind verlangt, kunt gij naar haar toegaan, maar mijne moeder is zóó oud, dat ik haar op aarde wel niet meer zal zien". Ine hoorde met belangstelling toe, en zij zeiden, dat het haar troost is, dat mijn man en ik Naka even lief zullen hebben als Pentjali.

Source: J.H. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Een Bijzondere Vrouw". 18 January 1913. In *Brieven* No. 20.

28. Een trek, die tegen de vrouw hier inneemt is, dat ze lui en slordig is.
29. Eene vrouw die mij dadelijk opviel bij mijn zijn hier is Ine i Ajoentowe. ...Ook heeft ze een aristocratischen geest, hoogst zelden zal ze iets vragen. Voor onzen onderwijzer was ze, zoolang hij ongehuwd was, eene moeder. Door haar ijver en netheid, steekt ze ver boven de andere vrouwen uit. Ze is altijd in de weer.
30. ...dat ze niet meer in de rijstgodin geloofde, maar in God, die de heer is van regen en zonnenschijn en dat ze Hem alleen om hulp vroeg.

Source: J. H. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Iets van eene oude bekende." 28 February 1916. In *Brieven*. No. 33.

31. Voor ons die in de Zending werken, is het een groot voorrecht om zoo uit de eerste hand de levenwekkende kracht van het Evangelie op onze Possoers te zien werken. Alle zendingsvelden wensch ik een of meer vrouwen toe, beziel met zooveel geest en kracht als onze Ine Ajoentowe.

Source: J. H. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Onze Postlooper". 11 April 1914. In *Brieven*. No. 25 .

32. Wij voor ons zouden Oema i Parisa ongaarne als postlooper missen. Niet allen volbrengt hij zijne taak met eere, maar 't is ons altijd een genoegende dezen opgewekten, bruinen broeder te aanschouwen. Hij is een aardig, aantrekkelijk type en waarlijk niet van geest ontbloot.

Source: J. H. Kruyt-Moulijn, Labonggoe (Ine i Bombo)". 2 August 1915. In *Brieven*. No. 31.

33. Zij keek altijd zoo somber, zelfs angstig. Een poos hebben wij in den waan verkeerd, dat zij min of meer onwijs was. Want ze kon heel vreemd doen. De enkele malen bijv. dat ze mij kwam bezoeken, zette zij zich neer op de trap, in plaats van op een der banken die op onze voorgalerij staan voor de bezoekers. En dat voor de vrouw van een hoofd!

Source: Albert Kruyt, "De Eerste Vrucht Der Posso-Zending". 29 October 1909. In *Brieven* No. 7.

34. Onze God heeft onze gebeden verhoord, en Pentjali is de eerste Evangelieprediker onder zijn eigen volk geworden.

35. s'Morgens ging hij naar school en buiten de school werden hem gemakkelijke werkjes opgedragen, die hij gewoonlijk te zamen met onze kinderen ondernam. Een van die werkjes was ook het voederen van de varkens, die wij er op na hielden.
36. Pentjali was de speelkameraad van onze kinderen. Met hen spelende leerde hij Hollandsch, dat hij steeds heeft onderhouden. Zijn trotsche aard deed in het spel weinig toegeven aan onze kinderen, zooals men anders gewoonlijk in Indie ziet, waar blanke met bruine kinderen omgaan. Hierdoor ontstond menig geschil, dat mijne vrouw en ik zoo rechtvaardig mogelijk tractten te beslechten; maar wij hadden in ieder geval de zekerheid, dat onze kinderen door dezen omgang niet zouden worden bedorven. Hadden wij een kinderfeestje dan was Pentjali altijd een der aanvoerders, en de kinderen onderwierpen zich van zelf aan hem.
37. Wanneer ik Pentjali bij mij had op eene tournee was ik nooit bang op de boschpaden te zullen verdwalen, want Pentjali had talent in het onthouden van wegen.

### **Appendix D.**

Source: Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. 29 December 1890. In *Maandbericht* NZG November 1894. No 11.

1. Hoe moeilijk, eindeloos moeilijk valt het mij zonder haar het leven te moeten doorgaan. Wij waren zoo in alle opzichten een: een van hart en ziel: een in denken, gevoelen en willen: een ook in het doel, waarvoor wij werkzaam waren. Het is bijna niet mogelijk zoo alleen den levensweg te vervolgen. Alleen te staan voor het werk, dat wij tot dusverre samen verrichtten en dat ons beider krachten zoo zeer vorderde. Het valt onnoemlijk zwaar. Ik ben gebroken: mijn moed en mijn lust zijn verdwenen. Er valt hier zoo veel te doen! Mijn werk was mijn lust. Te leven mijn genot. En nu!

Source: Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 26 September 1894.

2. Mag ik voor deze keer eindigen, vergeving vragende voor mijn slordig schrift, ik ben niet helder van hoofd om te schrijven zooals het behoort. ... Mijne gezondheid is heel goed en van mijn kleine Cornelis ook, nogmaals vergeving voor mijn slordig schrift.
3. Verder sprak Pinontoan een kort woord van waardeering over zijn geliefden Meester ...
4. Naar ik mocht vernemen, was men zeer ingenomen met het spreken van den goeroe; het wekte verwondering, dat een inlander zoo kon spreken.

Source: Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 11 February 1894.

5. Later hoop ik ze tot huisvrouwen te vormen, voorzoover dat is mijn vermogen is.
6. Ook heb ik al eens geprobeerd kleine meisjes wat te laten zien, of ik vertelde ze wat uit een Bijbelsch prentenboek, maar het verveelt haar spoedig.
7. Mijn eerste werk is altijd ze boven (in huis) te noodigen en sirih te presentereen; ze houden erg veel van een sirih-pruimpje.
8. Wat het doen van eenig handwerk aangaat, zooals naaien, haken of iets dergelijks, dat is de vrouwen geheel vreemd. Deze naaien nooit; een enkele die het wel eens geprobeerd heeft.
9. Wat ik steeds opmerk is hare verbazing, dat ik altijd werk in huis vind.

10. De vrouwen van Boeloeh-Hawar weten nu zoowat hoe onze levenswijze is; maar komen er van andere kampongs, dan is de eerste vraag, die ze elkander doen: "Wat doet die vrouw van Mijnheer den geheelen dag?" En het antwoord daarop is: "naaijen, slapen, zitten. Ze gaat niet naar het veld, zooals wij."
11. Hare levenswijze is geheel verschillend van de onze. Als 's morgens de zon opkomt of soms al voor dien tijd, gaan ze padi stampen: later gaan ze naar de rivier om water te halen, dat ze in bamboe kokers op het hoofd dragen. Eene vrouw heeft dikwijls drie van die watervaten op het hoofd, soms van een meter lengte. De kleine meisjes koken het eten, en de groote dochters gaan met de moeders mede naar het veld om te werken. Daar blijven ze tot den avond, en keeren huiswaarts met allerlei dingen van het veld, zoo als groenten, eten voor de varkens, ook brandhout. Dat alles dragen ze al weder op het hoofd. Hebben ze de vrachtjes thuisgebracht, dan weder naar de rivier om zich te baden en water te halen, evenals 's morgens. Daarna worden de varkens en kippen gevoederd, en dan is het buitenwerk afgelopen.
12. Denk daarom niet, dat ze al beter is dan hare zusteren, o neen! Dat nog niet. Toch hoop ik, dat door den tijd eenige ijver bij haar zal ontwaken om bezig te zijn. Met haar probeerde ik verscheidene malen het naaijen, maar lust heeft ze er niet in.
13. Ik ben nog eene nieuweling in het zendingwerk, toch heb ik ook eene stille hoop, dat wij de Battaks zullen winnen, al is het niet spoedig.
14. Komen zij in huis, dan zijn ze onverzadelijk met alles te bezien; vooral de spiegel wekt hare bewondering.
15. Het was een algemeene roep: "O wat zullen wij bedroefd zijn, als u weg zijt!" Dagen vooruit kwamen ze al bij mij om afscheid te nemen en te vragen, hoeveel daagjes het nog duurde eer ik heenging en of ik toch wezenlijk terug zou komen? ... Eindelijk gingen wij. Tot bij de kampong gekomen moesten wij afscheid nemen. Allen kwamen naar buiten, en riepen als uit eenen mond: "niet lang wegblijven hoor!"
16. Ben ik hersteld, dan weer zoo mogelijk naar onze Battakkers; daar is ons thuis; al is ook zoo'n uitstapje naar Medan wel eens aangenaam.

Source: Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board. In *Maandbericht NZG* No 6. June 1894.

17. Ook onder de Battaks wordt de medische hulp van den zendeling zeer gewaardeerd. In 1893 werden niet minder dan 1368 personen behandeld en aan dezen te samen 5034 malen geneesmiddelen uitgereikt.

Source: Jan Wijngaarden to NZG Board, In *Maandbericht NZG* No 11. November 1894.

18. Dit is gewoonte. Kinderen waarvan de moeder bij de geboorte sterft zijn ongeluiskinderen. Zij verdienen niet leven.
19. Wij hebben aan vertrouwen gewonnen. De familie van het kindje is ons veel beter gezind geworden; vroeger hield zij zich steeds op een afstand.

Source: Dina Wijngaarden to NZG Board, 10 October 1894.

20. De onderwijzers gaan naar hunne standsplaatsen terug. ... Hier gaan school en kerk den gewonen gang.

21. Mocht Br. Joustra ongetrouwd zijn, dan ben ik bereid, als God mij gezondheid schenkt, nog eenigen tijd hier te blijven, ten bate van het werk. Mocht mijn zijn hier overbodig blijken dan is mijne taak hier afgedaan, en wensch ik tot mijne familie terug te keren. De opvoeding van mijn kind is dan de voor mij aangewezen taak.
22. De Battakkers bewezen mij op hunne manier deelneming in mijn lot. Maandag kwamen van Salaboelan en Permandien heele troepjes om mij te zien en over hun Heer te weenen. "Ach", zeide eene vrouw nog heden morgen tot mij, al komen er 200 Heeren hier, niet een is zoo goed als Mijnheer die gestorven is."
23. Altijd zijn hier nog twee Savoeneesche jongens. In deze zaak heb ik de hulp ingeroepen van den Heer Hiebink Rooker, aangezien er sprake van was, dat deze jongens naar de school te Menado zouden gaan.

Source: Extract-Acten NZG, 26 October 1894.

24. Het werk is voor eene vrouw te zwaar en de nieuwe zendeling zal veel te doen hebben om te komen tot het standpunt, waarop zijn voorganger stond.

Source: "J.K. Wijngaarden." In *Maandbericht* NZG November 1894. No 11.

25. Zijne Dina was hem eene ware hulpe aan zijne zijde. In haar bleek wat de Zedelingsvrouw vermag. Door haar werd de eenvoudige woning in de volle beteekenis van het woord een "te huis", waar de huisvrouw inlandsche vrouwen en meisjes aan zich verbond en tot christelijke huismoeders opvoedde, waar zij andere meisjes onderwijs gaf in vrouwelijke handwerken en allen aan orde, regel en netheid gewende.
26. Zoolang wij in de Battaklanden zijn is het kind van ons, zorgen wij er voor, tot zijn trouwen toe. (!) Gaan wij weg, dan krijgt de vader zijn' zoon terug.
27. Wij voeden den kleine op en onderwijzen hem in alles wat goed is. Hij zal tegelijk met ons kind gedoopt worden. ... Wij zullen hem leeren wie zijn vader is, wie zijne grootouders, zijne ooms en tantes zijn, opdat hij niet vervreemde van zijne familie. Deze zal iederen dag naar het kind mogen komen kijken, evenwel niet op ieder uur van den dag, dit zou te lastig zijn, alleen 's middags na 3 uur. ... Wij hopen en bidden God, dat dit kind in leven mag blijven en opgroeien tot een man. Moge hij dan iets worden voor het Godsrijk onder zijn volk, dan zullen wij ons rijkelijk beloond achten.

Source: Extract-Acten NZG. 25 January 1895.

28. Br. Wijngaarden gaf inlichtingen omtrent de beide Savoeneesche jongelieden Jozef Hide Lilo en Jozua Lobi, die hij naar de Battaklanden had medegenomen en die voor de kweekschool te Tomohon bested waren.

Source: Extract-Acten NZG. 2 May 1895.

29. Wordt besloten Zr. Wijngaarden te verzoeken de Savoeneesche jongelingen, die te Boeloeh-Hawar zijn, naar Tomohon te zenden om daar te worden opgeleid op de onderwijzers-kweekschool.

