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Karel Steenbrink

Catholics in Indonesia

A documented history

CATHOLICS IN INDONESIA 1808-1942

V E R H A N D E L I N G E N
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
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KAREL STEENBRINK

with the cooperation of Paule Maas

CATHOLICS IN INDONESIA, 1808-1942

A documented history

VOLUME 2

The spectacular growth of a self-confident
minority, 1903-1942



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Abbreviations

ADC	Assistant District Commissary
AJAK	Archives of the Archdiocese of Jakarta
CAMA	Church and Missionary Alliance
CEP	Christelijk Ethische Partij
CGK	Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken
CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary/ Missionaries of Scheut
CIDES	Centre for Information and Development Studies
CIJ	Congregation of the Sisters of the Imitation of Jesus (Serikat Suster-suster Pengikut Yesus)
CM	Vincentians or Lazarists
CMB	Central Office of the Mission/Centraal Missie Bureau
CP	Passionists
CSD	The Brothers of Our Lady of the Seven Dolours/ 'Broeders van Voorhout'
CSP	Christelijk Staatkundige Partij
DZV	Doopsgezinde Zendingsvereeniging (Dutch Mennonite Missionary Society)
ECS	English-Chinese Schools
ELS	Europeesche Lagere School/European Primary School
FMM	Franciscan Missionary Sisters
GAPI	Gaboengan Politik Indonesia
GKN	Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Reformed Churches in the Netherlands)
GPM	Gereja Protestan Muluku (Moluccan Protestant Church)
GZB	Gereformeerde Zendingsbond
HCS	Hollandsch-Chineesche School
HIS	Hollandsch-Inlandsche School
HKBP	Huria Kristen Batak Protestan
IEV	Indo-Europeesch Verbond
IKP	Indische Katholieke Partij
IKWV	Indische Katholieke Wetenschappelijke Vereeniging
IMV	Indische Missie-Vereeniging

KDC	Katholiek Documentatie Centrum (Nijmegen)
KJO	Katholieke Jongeren Organisatie
KKS	Kongregasi Suster-suster Dina Keluarga Suci dari Pangkalpinang (Humble Sisters of the Holy Family)
KMM	Kommissie Memoires
KNI	Verbond van Katholieke Nederlanders in Indië (Association of Dutch Catholics in the Indies)
KOB	Katholieke Onderwijzers Bond
KPM	Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatschappij
KS ^B	Katholieke Sociale Bond (Catholic Social Bond)
LPHC	La Pa Hong Club
MSC	Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu (Sacred Heart Missionaries)
NA	National Archives of the Netherlands (The Hague)
NIOG	Nederlandsch-Indisch Onderwijzers Genootschap
NIPV	Nederlandsch- Indische Padvinders Vereeniging
NIVB	Nederlandsch-Indische Vrijzinnige Bond
NZG	Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society)
OCarm	Order of Carmelites
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscan Mendicant Order)
OFMCap	Capuchin Franciscan Mendicant Order
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
OMI	Oblates of Maria Immaculate
PERTI	Persatuan Tarbyah Islamiyah (Society for Islamic Education)
PGAI	Persatuan Guru Agama Islam (Association of Teachers of the Islamic Religion)
PPKD	Perkoempoelan Politiek Katholiek di Djawa (Katholieke Javanen Vereeniging voor Politieke Actie)
RMG	Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft
SCJ	Sacerdotes Cordis Jesu (Priests of the Sacred Heart)
SVD	Societas Verbi Divini (Society of Divine Word)
SSCC	Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium Jesus et Mariae (Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary)
THHK	Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan
UZV	Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging

Preface

In 1901 Sierk Coolsma published a history of nineteenth-century Protestant missionary work in Indonesia under the proud title of 'De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië' or 'The Age of Mission in the Dutch East Indies'. This was a valid label to compare developments in the nineteenth century to those of the two previous centuries. Indeed, in the period 1600-1800 little missionary zeal was shown in the territory of the VOC, the Dutch East Indies Company. Any public Catholic activity was banned, and in most regions Protestant ministers and teachers were supposed to restrict their activities to their own flock. In the nineteenth century Protestant and Catholic missionary organizations started the expansion of their faith, mostly in territories in the Outer Islands. Some spectacular results were seen in Minahasa (after 1832) and in the Batak lands (after 1860). But the real 'Age of Mission' was not the nineteenth century. It started together with the firm turn in colonial policy from restriction and containment towards true and determined interference in local Indonesian affairs in the early twentieth century. The 'ethical policy', officially declared as the main colonial strategy to achieve a greater direct impact on indigenous people from 1901 on, included an effective control of the interior of the so-called Outer Islands, the spread of elementary-school education in the whole colony, and many other measures that can be seen as creating openings to tribal societies for Western influence. Among other factors we must mention here the introduction of Malay as the lingua franca and coins and paper money as means of trade.

In this process of drastic and often dramatic change in the late colonial period, the appearance of the world religion of Christianity was for many societies another breach of their traditional culture. The most complete change perhaps was experienced in Papua, where not only traditional rituals, but also clothes, housing, family and marriage and social structure had to be reformed under pressure of the new world. Such radical changes could also be found in regions like Kai, Tanimbar, inland Kalimantan and inland Sumatra. The spectacular growth of Catholicism in the first four decades of the twentieth century (with its climax in the period 1920-1940) cannot be understood separately from the great changes in Indonesian society that were connected

with the triumph of colonialism. Over a period of 40 years, the number of Indonesian Catholics rose from 53,000 (in 1903) to 636,766 (June 1941). These are remarkable figures, but should be taken in the context of the whole of the Indies, where Catholics remained a small minority of only 1.2% (of a total population of about 78 million in 1941).

This volume documents and describes the spectacular growth of Catholicism in Indonesia from 1903 to 1942. Owing to the much larger scale of Catholic presence, I was unable to describe it in as much detail as I did in Volume I for the nineteenth century. Yet a more elaborate story could be told about the deciding moments of new missionary initiatives. Again in this volume the framework is regional. The mission territory after 1903 was divided into more and more ecclesiastical regions, each with its own characteristics, centres and methods. The Catholic church has cherished the regional identity of the major cultures of the archipelago, partly as a defence against the Muslim majority of Java, Sumatra and many coastal regions, and partly as a result of the administrative division of the mission area among various religious orders. This did not lead to independent ethnic churches as it did for the Protestants. The strong hierarchical tradition of Catholicism also made their cooperation under the vicar apostolic of Batavia easily accepted by all clergy.

For the period discussed in this book there was much more archival and library material available than for the nineteenth century. There are many missionary magazines and bulletins in Dutch and in some Indonesian languages, and therefore the documents included in this volume are restricted to archival material, mostly in Indonesian languages, with the exception of a few documents taken from journals that are not readily available, like the Javanese *Swara Tama* and the Malay *Geredja Katholik*. Because of the division of the mission territory into more prefectures and vicariates, the major source for the first volume, the Archives of the Jakarta Archdiocese, or AJAK, had to be supplemented with sources from various orders. We thank the archivists of the Capuchin Friars (Den Bosch), Missionaries of the Holy Family (Tilburg), Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Tilburg), Society of the Divine Word (Teteringen, Breda), and the Montfort Fathers in Voerendaal for their generosity in sharing their rich resources. In various ways the library, archives and sound collection of the KDC, Catholic Documentation Centre of Nijmegen, was once more very helpful.

IIMO, the Centre for Intercultural Theology within the Department of Theology at Utrecht University, provided the facilities to continue work on this project. Anneke Scholte never tired of bringing books and other resources from Leiden to Utrecht. Many colleagues helped check earlier versions and added material. I must mention Capuchin Friar Dr Huub Boelaars in Tilburg, Jesuit Adolf Heuken in Jakarta, SVD pioneer Dr John Prior, mostly on the way somewhere but also often in Maumere, Dr Kees de Jong in Yogyakarta.

Dr Jan Aritonang from Jakarta helped me to write this text in an ecumenical mood. Doctoral student Mujiburrahman was among those who reminded me that this text should always take account of the overwhelming Muslim majority of Indonesia. My wife, Dr Paule Maas, joined me again in my travels to Indonesia, but also to various archives. She developed a special affection for Kalimantan. As in the first volume, she brought many documents to my attention, arranged the bibliography, turned my attention to the sisters and to women in general and prevented me from indulging in too much speculation. Her name has rightly been placed on the title page of this book.

CHAPTER I

From one mission to fifteen ecclesiastical districts

In 1934 Catholics in Indonesia commemorated the 400th anniversary of their arrival in the archipelago. This was an expression of their self-confidence. The monthly *Geredja Katholik*, in a special issue celebrating this anniversary, summarized the official collective memory of Indonesian Catholics. Their history begins in 1534 with the baptism of the king of Mamoya on the island of Halmahera. In some 15 lines, the introduction of Catholicism in Amboin (1538) and other parts of the archipelago is described, up to the visit of the priest Alexander de Rhodes to Batavia in 1648. This priest was put in prison under the strictly Protestant VOC rule, had to pay a fine of 400 guilders, and was then sent into exile. All his ecclesiastical garments and altar vessels were burnt. Catholic history after 1648 is summed up in only three lines:

1808: Freedom of religion. The first two priests arrive in Batavia.

1859: The Jesuits arrive in the Indies to work in the whole archipelago.

1934: The Indies is divided into twelve districts under the authority of vicars and prefects apostolic. About 2,000 priests and sisters work for 400,000 Catholics.
(*Geredja Katholik* 1934:165)

This is the story of the initial (Portuguese) success in the sixteenth century being followed by two centuries of persecution (1600-1800), then by a modest nineteenth-century revival, and finally by triumphant growth in the twentieth century. It is the story of an emancipation nearly like the one that took place among the Catholics in the Netherlands. After the restoration of the Dutch ecclesiastical hierarchy with five bishops in 1853, there was such rapid growth in church personnel, priests, religious sisters and brothers, that in the period 1900-1940 it far exceeded the needs of the Catholic church in the Netherlands. Many of these personnel were sent to overseas missions. The sharpest growth was between 1918 and 1940, when Dutch mission personnel working overseas increased from 1,174 to 6,293. Nearly one third of these worked in the Dutch East Indies (Roes 1974:32).

A second development in the Indies that is related to what happened in Dutch Catholicism was the spectacular growth in social organizations that

made the religion visible in society. From political parties and trade unions to schools, hospitals, organizations for the arts and sciences, sports, and social welfare, social life was deeply influenced by these denominational organizations. So much so that Dutch society in the period 1900-1950 is often described under the label of denominational division or *verzuiling* (pillarization). The first chapter of this book deals with the growth of Church personnel, the second chapter with the growing influence of the Catholic faith on the social and political life of European, Eurasian, and Chinese Catholics, through the kind of organizations that were first developed in Europe. This style of well-organized, some might even say over-organized, Catholicism was most developed for these non-indigenous Catholics and it was much less dominant among the growing native Catholic communities that are discussed in Chapters III to X.

In the Catholicism of the Indies there was no formal separation between established church and missionary work, as was found between the Protestant Indische Kerk and the Protestant communities founded by missionary societies. But still, it was not only in the statistics that a distinction was made between European and non-European or native Catholics: the former made use of the Dutch language as their means of communication, the latter used Malay or local languages. It was especially in the European and Eurasian sector of Catholicism where there was clerical expansion in this period. The majority of lay brothers and sisters who arrived in the interbellum period (1918-1940) started work in the main cities for the Dutch-speaking Eurasian and Chinese population. They reactivated many members of the religiously indifferent white or mixed population into obedient and sometimes even devout Catholics. The religious revival among the native population starting in the 1870s also played a role about 50 years later among the European population.¹

The spread and revival of Catholicism was a top-down movement. Quite different from the growth and proliferation of Islam, for which lay traders and individual religious teachers were the main agents, the spread of Catholicism (and to a large extent also of Protestantism) was part of a well-planned programme, set up and financed by a professional organization with dedicated full-time personnel that in most cases had a life-long commitment to the missionary enterprise. This should not be understood in the sense of a global strategy for the spread of Catholicism that was to be systematically carried out in the twentieth century. Many initiatives depended on unexpected possibilities, and on availability of personnel and funds. However, after the Catholic developments of the nineteenth century, where the beginnings in Bangka, Larantuka and other parts of Flores, Timor, Sumba, Minahasa, and Central Java depended on fortuitous openings, the twentieth-century growth of Catholicism rested upon a much more solid organization and steady continuation of work within the same structure.

¹ For this revival theory see Steenbrink 2003:27-42.

Because people do not spend most of their time on religious ceremonies and reflection, and in fact give at best a few hours per week to religion, religious expansion needs other vehicles. For Islam it was mostly the social and economic network; for Christianity in general and more specifically Catholicism, it was primarily education for children in a modern, western-style school that was the way to baptism, church, and further Catholic rituals and practices. These activities will be further elaborated in the following chapters, while below I concentrate on the organization of the clergy.

From religious to socio-educational symbiosis: Financing the mission

The colonial state considered religious affairs as one of the areas that should be administered, regulated, and controlled by the supreme authority of the state. For non-Christians, these duties were delegated to traditional rulers, *regenten*, and chiefs.² For the official Protestant Church (the Indische Kerk in which Reformed and Lutherans in the colony were united by royal decree shortly after 1815), a committee under direct supervision of the Dutch king or queen selected the Protestant ministers to be sent to the Indies. Like the Catholics, Protestant missionaries working outside the framework of the Indische Kerk needed a special permit (*radicaal*) to work in the colony. The Catholic Church was at a somewhat greater distance from the colonial administration than the Indische Kerk. The vicar apostolic could formally appoint his priests, but only after they had received the *radicaal* in the Netherlands and then obtained permission from the governor-general to work in a specific place. Until the 1880s most priests received a government salary. The number of salaried priests had increased from just a handful in the 1810s to one first-class priest (the vicar apostolic of Batavia) and 22 second-class priests in 1890. During the 1890s a new class was instituted, priests of the third class, of which there were allowed to be 14 in the early twentieth century. After that time, the total number of salaried personnel remained stable, and because of an increase in the number of clergy, by 1900 a majority of the priests worked *buiten bezwaar van den lande*, 'without burdening public funds' (Steenbrink 2003:32-3).

The vicar apostolic of Batavia coordinated the allocation of salaries over an increasing number of ecclesiastical territories, and he also functioned as an intermediary in the administration of salaries, pension plans (about which the celibate clergy continued to complain that they had to pay for 'wives and widows' like ordinary colonial officials), travel reimbursements, and furloughs in Europe. There were many efforts to increase the number of salaried priests.

² See the colonial constitution of the Dutch Indies, *Regeeringsreglement* 1854, art. 124: 'De priesters der inlanders die het Christendom niet belijden, zijn geplaatst onder het oppertoezigt der vorsten, regenten en hoofden, voor zooveel betreft de godsdienst die elk hunner belijdt.'

In 1929, when the Catholic nobleman *Jonkheer* Charles Ruys de Beerembrouck was appointed prime minister of the Netherlands, Bishop Bernard J.J. Visser MSC of Purwokerto wrote an extensive report trying to prove that in 1856 a solemn pledge was made by the colonial government that the number of salaried priests would increase together with the number of Catholics. He was not successful.³ The vicar apostolic of Batavia earned slightly over 1,000 guilders per month, while most second-class priests received between 650 and 850 guilders per month. Most third-class salaries were between 400 and 500 guilders. In 1929 Catholic priests received a total of 360,358 guilders in salaries and 30,530 guilders in further government allowances. This total of 390,888 guilders was much less than the 1,096,939 guilders for the Protestant church of the Indies, and far below the more or less sacred balance of 2:1 for Protestant-Catholic expenditures.⁴ These arguments did not lead to an increase in the salaries, which were even reduced in the 1930s due to general budget measures during the economic crisis. Protestants always received some extra subsidies for researchers and specialists in native languages. Only in the late 1930s did Catholics apply for similar subsidies, namely for the work by the Franciscan friar N. Geise in the central Sundanese area (on the Badui language).⁵ In 1927, after long deliberations, two Catholic chaplains for the army (Bandung and Magelang) and one for the navy (Surabaya) could be appointed, at the generous salary of 1,100 guilders per month (Donckers 2004:139). In 1941 the possibility was debated of appointing separate army chaplains for native Protestants and Catholics as well. It was noted, however, that this would certainly provoke protest by Muslims, who had no army chaplains. In defence of its policy, army leadership suggested that European soldiers had been separated from their natural family and church environment and brought to a faraway country and culture, and therefore needed special spiritual help.⁶

In symmetry with the rulings for Protestants, there were also some salaried catechists, called *inlandsche hulpleeraren*. Their number was never very large.

³ The nine pages of the Nota in the Archives of the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia (hereafter AJAK) E 12-7-1, together with a French summary and a full Italian translation *Nota sulla concessione di stipendi ai sacerdoti Cattolici nelle Indie Neerlandesi Orientali*, apparently for use by Catholic diplomats in The Hague and Rome.

⁴ In an undated and unsigned report, written in German, in AJAK E 12-8-1. In 1938 there were three priests with second-class salaries in Padang; the 19 others were all in Java, *Nota* of the CMB, 18-5-1938 in AJAK E 8-3-4.

⁵ AJAK E 8-3-4.

⁶ 'De uitgezonden Europeesche militairen die op jeugdigen leeftijd aan hun gezinsverband en kerk-gemeenschap werden ontrokken en daarom in het voor hen geheel vreemde land en milieu geestelijke leiding behoeven. Inheemsche militairen die in hun eigen land verblijven en vrijwel overal op voldoende geestelijken bijstand kunnen regelen, verkeeren in veel gunstiger omstandigheden.' Letter by A. Bröcker MSC, 17-7-1941, AJAK E 8-3-3, with reference to the proposed budget for 1941-1942 in the *Handelingen van den Volksraad Nederlandsch-Indie* 1941.

In 1938 there were two in Central Java, two Chinese in Padang, one Chinese working in Pontianak, six local catechists in Minahasa, one in Makassar, and two in Bangka.⁷

The lack of a substantial salary increase for priests was partially compensated by a different kind of government reimbursement for missionary activities, especially in the Outer Islands. In the Flores-Sumba agreement on education, the colonial government granted not only the costs for school buildings and salaries of teachers, but also the supervision of these schools, which entailed paying government salaries to priests who served as school inspectors. In the 1921 agreement on the development of the southern part of West Papua, all priests and brothers working in this territory were given modest salaries of 100 guilders per month, while financial support was also given for children in boarding schools. In Java and in cities like Medan, Padang, and Makassar, where Catholic work concentrated on the European and Chinese population, government subsidies for schools and for salaries of qualified nuns and brothers provided substantial funds for missionary work. It is not surprising that the Ursuline sisters were nearly always at the front of the line for subsidies for the building of new churches and for activities like the Catholic daily *De Koerier*. Finally, towards the end of the colonial period, the bonds between the colonial administration and clergy were again tightened by the new regulations on marriage, which assigned a more important role to religious officials, including Catholic clergy.

In line with increasing involvement of the colonial government in the daily life of the religion of Islam, Christianity remained in many respects dependent upon government funding. It was often not religion per se that was important to the colonial government. In the early twentieth century it was the complex combination of goals that together formed the so-called ethical policy that made the new symbiosis of religious institutions and colonial administration necessary. It was not pastoral work for European, Eurasian, and some native Catholics that was important to the colonial government, but rather general support of what was euphemistically called pacification (mostly through establishment and control over the resettlement of people in villages, overseen by teachers under supervision of the clergy), including educational and medical work. Through this shift the relationship between the colonial administration and Catholic (and Protestant) church changed deeply. It was not a move towards greater independence of one party from the other. It was rather a move from subsidized internal ecclesiastical work towards broader cooperation for social and economic aims.

In 1935 a formal separation of church and state was established for the Protestant Church of the Indies. It terminated the practice of appointment of Protestant ministers by the state. Catholics were happy with the rulings

⁷ Full list of names in AJAK E 12-9-1.

of 1847 that guaranteed freedom of religion. In occasional discussions of this matter, it was suggested that in the Indies, with its strong state administration of Islamic affairs, it would be a bad idea to suggest a stronger separation of church and state.⁸ On the other hand, Deputy Josef Schmutzer, member of the Volksraad from 1918 to 1930, repeatedly warned that every year the salaries for Protestant ministers and Catholic priests were included in the colonial budget, and were the subject of general debates in that semi-parliamentary body. The high salaries of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers caused many critical remarks from Muslim deputies, who concluded that Christianity was a privileged religion. Schmutzer therefore suggested that these salaries should be abolished in exchange for a large sum of money to be given to the churches as a lump sum.⁹

Regular salaries for some 40 members of the clergy and for educational activities were only part of the financial basis for the Catholic church in Indonesia. Besides some donations from local sources (with lotteries providing substantial extra financial support for large projects), there was foreign money from the Vatican and the Netherlands. In the last case there were national funds to support the mission in the Indies, besides the considerable funds that were collected by the rapidly growing number of orders and congregations for regions and special activities entrusted to them. There are not sufficient sources to make even a rough guess of the total amount of money spent for the spread of the Catholic faith in Indonesia during this period. The most generous and wealthiest Protestant missionary organization, Gereformeerde Zendingsbond (GZB), working in the Toraja lands, donated in the period 1920-1940 from 60,000 to 100,000 guilders yearly and received additional gifts amounting to 50% to 90% of government subsidies, with an average of 70-75% (Van den End 1985:756). If we take the same proportion for Catholics in the whole of Indonesia, with government allowances and subsidies running up to one million, the generosity of Catholics themselves must have been between 1.5 and 2 million per year.

More thorough missionary activity: Division of church territories

Until 1902 Catholics of the Dutch East Indies were served from one centre, the office of the vicar apostolic of Batavia. In the five-volume *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*

⁸ Unsigned letter, probably by J. van Rijckevorsel SJ to Father Driesen OFMCap, Semarang, 12-8-1937, AJAK E 8-3-4: 'Een der gewichtigste argumenten tegen scheiding lijkt mij juist het feit dat wij in Indië zijn. Daar is immers scheiding tussen Binnenlandsch Bestuur en Mohammedanisme iets ondenkbaars. Die kerk wordt gedragen door het Binnenlandsch Bestuur.'

⁹ Unsigned letter, probably by Mgr. P. Willekens to G. Baptist, on furlough in the Netherlands, January 1936, AJAK E 8-3-5.

Indonesia (History of the Indonesian Catholic Church), the general editor and author of the chapter on Batavia 1900-1942, Dr Martin Muskens, opens with the solemn title of 'Mater Ecclesia Omnim Ecclesiarum', Mother Church of All Churches (Muskens 1974:729). This title suggests that the whole Catholic Church of Indonesia spread from Batavia to all other places in the archipelago. This fits well with the centralistic style of the Suharto period, when this grand history was composed. The actual process was not a well-thought-out spread from one centre, however, but more one of a gradual mutilation, loss, or surrender of one region after another to religious orders other than the Jesuits.

Starting in 1902, fourteen new religious provinces were founded. The lower level here was the prefecture apostolic (not ruled by a bishop but by a prefect apostolic), while the higher institution was the vicariate apostolic, led by a vicar apostolic who was ordained as a full bishop, not for his own mission territory but for a no longer existing diocese, usually in Turkey or North Africa. Bishop Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, who was vicar apostolic of Batavia from 1898 to 1923, was addressed as pastor of Batavia (as such he received a government salary), vicar apostolic of Batavia, and also bishop of Orose i.p.i. (*in partibus infidelium*). This Latin reference should be understood as 'formal bishop of a diocese that is now a territory of unbelievers'.¹⁰

The process of division of the colony into new prefectures and vicariates was related to the system of *ius commissionis*, where ecclesiastical districts were entrusted to specific religious orders who were entitled to propose one of their members as head of the local church. The following regions were taken from the Batavia territory:

1902: 'Dutch New Guinea', including the Moluccas, especially Kai and Tanimbar and the southern part of West Papua, entrusted to the MSC priests with Langgur as their centre;

1905: Kalimantan to the Capuchin friars, with Pontianak as its centre (after a short period in Singkawang, 1905-1909);

1911: Sumatra to the Capuchin friars, with Padang as centre; in the late 1930s the seat of the vicariate apostolic moved to Medan;

1913: Flores and Timor and related islands (Lesser Sunda Islands) to the SVD order;¹¹

¹⁰ Orose or Oropus was a town in southeastern Turkey. The diocese of Oropus, or Olba as it also was called, is mentioned several times between the sixth and tenth centuries. See *Catholic Encyclopaedia* under the heading Oropus.

¹¹ In formal Catholic speech only a religious order founded before 1300 can be called an order. After that time other names were used: Society for the Jesuits (1540), Congregation for the Redemptorists (1732), and many others. The SVD call themselves a society. I sometimes use the term order as a common name for all religious orders, societies, and congregations. See Appendix 1, 1.4.

- 1919: Minahasa became a separate prefecture apostolic, under the MSC¹² order;
- 1923: South Sumatra to the SCJ¹³ congregation with Palembang as centre;
- 1923: Bangka, Belitung, and the Riau archipelago to the SSCC congregation, with Pangkalpinang as centre;
- 1927: East Java, the easternmost districts with Malang as centre, to the Carmelites;
- 1928: East Java and some regions of Central Java, with Surabaya as centre, to the Lazarists;
- 1932: Central Java, western districts with Purwokerto as centre, to the MSC priests;
- 1932: West Java, the eastern or Preanger districts, with Bandung as centre, to the OSC, Order of the Holy Cross;
- 1936: Timor became a prefecture of its own, although still entrusted to the SVD missionaries;
- 1937: Southern Sulawesi entrusted to the Scheut fathers (CICM),¹⁴ with Makassar as centre;
- 1938: Southern and western Kalimantan entrusted to the MSF¹⁵ (Missionaries of the Holy Family) with Banjarmasin as centre;
- 1940: Central Java was separated from the vicariate of Batavia and became a separate vicariate under the first Indonesian bishop, Albertus Soegijopranoto.

It took seven years of discussions (1896-1902) between the Vatican, the Dutch government, and the vicariate apostolic of Batavia before the first of these divisions could start. The governors general in Batavia did not like the idea of separate and independent mission territories. They were in favour of strong centralism, where one person would be responsible for the whole mission. The Vatican preferred to give full responsibility to the various missionary orders and hoped that each would act independently. Finally, it was decided in 1913 that all discussions with the government of the Indies would be handled through the vicar apostolic of Batavia, just as all central regulations with the growing number of Protestant missionary organizations were channelled through the mission representative, *zendingsconsul*, who had established his office in Batavia in September 1906. By decision of the governor-general of 12 August 1913, no. 29, the prefects and vicars apostolic in the Outer Islands were recognized on the same level as the vicar apostolic of Batavia, but for practical matters the lat-

¹² For explanations of abbreviations related to religious orders and congregations, see Appendix 1. For MSC, see Appendix 1, 1.8.

¹³ Appendix 1, 1.8.

¹⁴ Appendix 1, 1.11.

¹⁵ Appendix 1, 1.9.

ter continued to handle contacts with the government.¹⁶ This developed in the 1920s into the office of the *missie-afgevaardigde*, ecclesiastical delegate for contacts with the government, and in the 1930s into a full-fledged central mission office for contacts with the government, Centraal Missie Bureau (CMB).

Portraits of three vicars apostolic in Batavia

From 1898 to 1923 Edmund Luypen was vicar apostolic in Batavia. He was born on 3 June 1855 in Hoofdplaat, a Dutch village close to the Belgian province of Flanders. He studied theology and was ordained priest of the diocese of Breda in 1879. After a doctorate in church music (Regensburg, Germany) he entered the Jesuit Society (1883) and was sent to the Indies mission in 1889, where he worked for eight years in Flores, most of that time as head of the Maumere parish. On 21 May 1898 he was appointed titular bishop of Orose, a defunct diocese, and vicar apostolic of Batavia. He was ordained in Oudenbosch, the Netherlands, on 13 November 1898. On the occasion of the ordination in his homeland, his main concern was financing the cathedral of Batavia and acquiring more personnel for the mission.

Luypen was not a dynamic organizer or an energetic and inspiring leader, but a supportive and sympathetic follower of developments that other people initiated. The Java mission had already been started by Van Lith.

The divisions of the one vicariate were more the result of negotiations between parties in the Netherlands and the Vatican than a Batavia-orchestrated strategy. Luypen was greatly concerned with the building of churches in Java. First of all was the new cathedral, to replace the ruins of the church that had collapsed on 9 April 1890. Most of the money needed, 300,000 guilders, came from a national lottery in the Indies. During Luypen's trip to Europe, the parish priest, Karel Wenneker, celebrated the laying of the first stone on 16 January 1899. In a grand celebration on 21 April 1901 the new cathedral was inaugurated. At that time it was the highest building in Batavia, with its 60-metre-high tower.¹⁷ Besides this cathedral, during Luypen's administration, other new churches, mostly for European Catholics, were opened in Surabaya, Manado, Magelang (1900), Sukabumi (1902), Mendut and Tomohon (1903), Bogor, Salatiga, Medan and Koting in Flores (1905), Malang (1906), Lela (1907), Muntilan and Semarang-Candi (1915), and Solo (1916). The founding of many new ecclesiastical districts led to the situation that by 1920 the Batavia vicariate was restricted to the island of Java, with Jesuits working only in this island. Luypen died while still in office, on 1 May 1923.

¹⁶ For this agreement between the government of the Dutch East Indies and the Vatican in 1913 see Document 11.

¹⁷ Details in the book celebrating the history of this building, Kurris 1992:129-39.

Anthonius van Velsen was born in Haarlem on 8 February 1865. He entered the Jesuit Society in 1885 and was ordained to the priesthood on 7 September 1895. After arriving in the Indies (1 November 1897) he was sent to Minahasa, where he founded the teachers training college at Woloan.¹⁸ He educated teachers, but was also the initiator of more than fifteen primary schools. After 1913 he became supervisor of the still small Minahasa mission. When this mission was handed over to MSC priests in mid-1921, Van Velsen became the parish priest of Bogor (then still called Buitenzorg). From this rather quiet position he was called to lead the Batavia vicariate after Luypen's death. Thanks to the preparatory work of his predecessor, the one vicariate of Java was divided in his period into five ecclesiastical districts.

Van Velsen was already 59 years old when he succeeded Edmundus Luypen, and his 23 years of work in a tropical climate had already taken a great toll on his health. But he continued his way of organizing in a very personal, rather stubborn way, just as he had done in Minahasa. He experienced the strong growth of the Javanese mission, with quite conflicting strategies. During his period in office he inaugurated no fewer than eleven church buildings in Central Java: Ambarawa, Yogyakarta, Sedayu, Medari, Somohitan, Bara, Kalasan, Klepu, Ganjuran, and Yogyakarta. At these ceremonies, however, he was not the real driving force because he did not speak Javanese. He was much more involved in work for Malay- and Dutch-speaking Catholics. In Chapter II we will see how tensions among the European and Eurasian communities of Java led to his retirement at the age of 69. Van Velsen remained in office until April 1933, when he resigned from his position and returned to the Netherlands, suffering from diabetes and nearly total blindness as a result of this disease. He died in Amsterdam on 6 May 1936.

The next vicar apostolic of Batavia was Petrus Willekens, born in 1881 in Reusel, in the province of Brabant, the Netherlands. As a youth he was a student at the Jesuit College in Turnhout, Belgium, and entered the Jesuit Society in the Netherlands in 1900. He was ordained a priest in 1915, after an extended period of study owing to poor health. He soon received important positions within his society, as educator and administrator. From February until October 1928 he went to the Dutch East Indies for an inspection of the Jesuits' work there, followed by an inspection of the Jesuits in India and several other countries. Willekens, with a tall and slender figure, exhibited a somewhat aristocratic behaviour. He was more an ascetic and an intellectual than the activists his predecessors had been. A high colonial official gave him the nickname *Romani Imperii Majestas* ('Majesty of the Roman Empire') (P.J. Koets quoted in Bank 1983:36). He never learnt proper Malay, let alone Javanese, because most of his dealings were with the Dutch colonial administration in Batavia. Being himself

¹⁸ For this period see Chapter VII.

the son of a mayor who worked in the Catholic south of the Netherlands, he complained about the situation in the Indies where the mission had to accommodate to ‘the anti-Catholic, Freemason, Muslim and materialistic spirit of the officials’.¹⁹ Willekens was no strong supporter of the nationalist movement, to put it mildly. In his view, Catholic and Protestant missionaries were the ‘true representatives and bearers of Dutch Christianity. [...] Should they be put on the same level as the *hajis* and *penghulus*, to the effect that Christianity will be obstructed in carrying out its contribution in the implementation of the Dutch duty in these regions?’²⁰ Willekens’s main fear was that freedom of religion would be endangered in an independent state with a Muslim majority.

In 1952 Petrus Willekens resigned in favour of an Indonesian bishop in Jakarta, the capital of the independent republic. He stayed on in the country as spiritual counsellor of the retreat house Giri Sonta (until 1962) and later in Yogyakarta, where he died in 1971. He was buried in Muntilan.

The office of the missieafgevaardigde and Centraal Missie Bureau (CMB)

The various Protestant missionary associations had founded the office of the *zendingsconsul* in 1906 as their official liaison with the colonial government. For the Catholics, the vicar apostolic of Batavia remained the sole liaison for the government, notwithstanding the agreement (in 1913) between the Dutch government and the Vatican about official recognition of the various mission territories under separate vicars and prefects apostolic. In 1924 W. Burer, a retired official of the central colonial government, who in his final years was the highest bureaucratic official, *gouvernements-secretaris*, was appointed *missieafgevaardigde*, or mission representative. Burer did the job on his own and from his own house until 1931, when the task was turned over to the CMB, founded following a proposal by the council of heads of the mission in 1929. Initially the CMB started its work in a room at the Jesuit secondary school, Canisius College. Later the office moved to a grand house at Van Heutszplein 10 in Batavia, now Taman Cut Mutiah 10.²¹ The CMB consisted of two sections: section A for general, more political matters, and section B for educational subsidies.²²

¹⁹ From his letter ‘Aan onze Vrienden’, 10-6-1949. AJAK, B 12-1-3.

²⁰ Willekens in a private letter to the minister of colonial affairs, Ch. Welter, May 1941. Quoted in Bank, 1983:38.

²¹ The name was changed quite deliberately: the name of the most prominent Dutch general who fought the Acehnese was replaced by one of the fierce female fighters of Aceh!

²² W. Burer, a very devout Eurasian Catholic, needed the money because with 12 children, many of them still in school, and a pension of 480 guilders per month, he could not live properly. Burer initially received 175 guilders, later 300 guilders per month until 1931, when he was dismissed with full honours from his duties and another pension of 83 guilders per month or 1,000 per year. Letter of 11-9-1926 in AJAK 8-2-1, and E 9-1-4.

MSC priest G. Baptist, who had arrived at the mission in October 1931, was appointed to section A, while section B was entrusted to Jesuit priest J. van Baal, experienced director of the Canisius College of Muntilan and secretary of the Canisius Foundation, which supervised Javanese primary schools in Central Java. Van Baal became the acting director of the CMB, with W. Burer still assisting until his formal retirement in November 1932. After the unexpected death of Baptist in 1936 (typhus), Capuchin father Boddeke became an important lobbyist for Catholic affairs. In that same year, 1936, another Capuchin friar, G. Driesen, became head of finances and administration. Like so many activities in the Indies that were started by laypeople, within a decade this office was dominated by the clergy.

Burer started his work on 5 August 1924. He was in intensive correspondence with officials at several offices, but also paid regular visits to the most important government departments. On 16 October 1924 he met Daan van der Meulen, director for religion and education, and first secretary J. Hardeman, and later reported that they seemed to be very happy with his work. They had proposed that he should pay regular visits 'in order to prevent much administrative writing'. These high government officials complained that a number of questions still had to be handled through the papal nuncio in The Hague, such as the division of mission territories, and suggested a renewal of the concordat of 1847.²³ It became standard procedure for Burer and all later CMB staff to be in regular personal contact with the higher government officials at several departments in Buitenzorg and Batavia.

From December 1935 until mid 1936 G. Baptist MSC used his European furlough to do lobbying work in The Hague, and he complained that it was so difficult to be in direct contact with government officials, 'much more difficult than in the Indies where I can see officials without much trouble'.²⁴

Besides seeking government subsidies for schools and medical care, the mission representative devoted time to obtaining formal permission for mission work, especially for territories like the Batak lands, Bali, Minahasa, and the northern part of Dutch Papua. He also handled travel reimbursements and Catholic income from national lotteries.²⁵ These lotteries were an important source of financing for the Catholic mission in the Indies. The Department of Justice in Batavia restricted the total number of lotteries per year and per region; therefore the *missieafgevaardigde* consulted with this department. The mission could not indicate its priorities, submitting the requests in chronological order and leaving it up to the Justice Department to decide which areas to issue permits for. I deal in more detail with these practical relations between government and Catholic mission in Chapter XI.

²³ 'waardoor inderdaad veel schrijfwerk voorkomen kan worden,' AJAK E 8-1-1.

²⁴ Baptist to Bishop Willekens, Tilburg, undated, probably early 1936, AJAK E 8-3-4.

²⁵ A long list of Burer's activities in 1925 is in AJAK 8-1-2+3.

M.J.D. Claessens (born in 1852), the last diocesan priest to work in the Indies, returned to the Netherlands in 1907 after a long period of duty in Buitenzorg since 1877. In 1912, together with politician and member of parliament W.H. Boogaardt, he established the Indische Vereeniging van Nederlandsche Katholieken, soon renamed Indische Missie-Vereeniging (IMV). This union for the mission in the Indies became an important lobbying group for Catholicism in the Indies. In 1917 they founded a monthly called *Onze Missiën in Oost en West* (Our Missions in East and West), soon renamed *Koloniaal Missietijdschrift* (Colonial Mission Journal). In 1928 the IMV established in The Hague the Centraal Indische Missie Bureau, soon renamed Centraal Katholiek Koloniaal Bureau (Central Catholic Colonial Office), as the place where lobbying and service for the mission in the colonies were concentrated (besides the Dutch East Indies, also for Surinam and the Dutch islands of the Caribbean). An important figure in this lobbying was P.G. Groenen, a professor teaching at the major seminary of Warmond and as such a worthy successor to Mgr Cornelis L. van Wijckersloot in the early nineteenth century, who was also a professor in Warmond, a small village close to The Hague (Steenbrink 2003, I:254).

The 'kerkhoofdenconferenties', conferences of the Catholic leadership, 1924-1939

In 1924 the six vicars and prefects apostolic came together in Batavia for the first time on 15-16 May, after the ordination to bishop of A. van Velsen as the vicar apostolic of Batavia. In 1925 a second, more formal meeting was held, attended by a papal delegate. Succeeding national meetings were held in 1929, 1934 and 1939. Although many of the subjects discussed at the conference of *kerkhoofden* are mentioned elsewhere in this book, I summarize the main points here, to indicate the cooperation between the various regions of the Catholic mission. Only subjects of national importance were discussed, because for local matters the vicars and prefects apostolic were free to exercise full authority in their own districts. For questions of national importance, however, there was a strong urgency to promote unity and even uniformity. To present a façade of harmony and unanimity of the various mission districts in dealings with the government, and other parties outside the Catholic community, as well as to their believers, was the main goal of these national meetings.

The 1924 conference decided to establish the special agency of *missieaf-gevaardigde*, as the representative of the Catholic mission for dealing with the government. Another topic of common concern was the allocation of the ten *hulpleeraren*, teachers of religion for European Catholics, with modest government salaries (about 30 guilders per month). The total number of ten was divided according to the number of Catholics: two for Kalimantan, two for the Moluccas (and Papua), four for the Flores-Timor region, one for Sulawesi, and

one for Sumatra. To educate people for the priesthood, in addition to a minor seminary in Flores, one in Java would also be built. Both institutions would be open to students from the whole archipelago. Article 123 of the Constitution of the Indies, requesting a *radicaal* for religious work to be carried out by people from outside the colony (and thus in practice a measure preventing the work of two missionary societies in one region) should be contested as strongly as possible. Debate about this article (known in the revised constitution of 1925 as article 177) was continued until the end of the colonial period without any formal change. Many Protestant missions were in favour of it, while the Catholics vehemently protested. There was also a debate at the conference about the Catholic press. Besides the current affairs of the Dutch-language weekly *Javapost* and the wish to develop it into a newspaper, there was the suggestion that the best-known Malay-language Catholic monthly, *Geredja Katolik* (The Catholic Church), published in Woloan, Minahasa, had the potential to develop into a Malay daily newspaper for the whole archipelago (something that was never realized: the Woloan monthly even experienced competition from the Javanese *Swara Tama* (The Good News) and the Malay *Soeara Katholiek* (The Catholic Voice), which had been published in Java since 1920 and 1924, respectively). It was decided that for Dutch-language schools a uniform catechism would be composed (see Van Velsen 1928). There was already de facto a uniform catechism in Malay, written by Van Velsen, but its language and content needed to be updated. For regional languages the various church leaders had to feel free to write catechisms. Finally, there were to be firmer and better orchestrated efforts to obtain more money from the Vatican, especially its mission department or Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.²⁶

The 1925 conference was formally presided over by a papal representative, the Dutch Dominican friar Bernardus Jordanus Gijlswijk, the Vatican's apostolic delegate in South Africa. According to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Dutch East Indies was part of the territory of the Pacific, with an apostolic delegate in Sydney. In practice, however, many deliberations between the Vatican and the Catholics of the Indies were held in The Hague between the papal nuncio and the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. In this case the choice of the South African diplomat of the Vatican was also prompted by the fact that he could speak Dutch.²⁷ The agenda for the meeting was decided by the Sacra Congregatio de

²⁶ Full report in AJAK KDC 1-2; summary of the results in Muskens 1974:1434-7.

²⁷ For an Indonesian summary of the proceedings see Muskens 1974:1437-42. A type-written official report, 61 pages in Dutch and a French summary of 21 pages in AJAK E 4-1. There was apparently none or only a very short reaction from the Vatican to this official report. In his letter from Bloemfontein, 7-9-1931, Gijlswijk wrote to Van Velsen that 'Vatican reactions to local councils are rare and even then very short' (*zeer schaarsch en dan nog bondig*). According to his experience the main purpose of these meetings for the Vatican was that local church leaders should enforce above all their undivided cooperation (*eendrachtige samenwerking*). Only if they endorsed a dissident practice would the Vatican react, AJAK E 4-2.

Propagande Fide. Because it was formally presided over by a Vatican official, this meeting was later sometimes considered as the first formal conference of church leaders in the Indies.

The conference started on 31 August 1925 with a reception for Catholic leaders given by Governor-General D. Fock in his palace in Bogor. That same evening discussions started in the parish house of the Batavia cathedral. The conference lasted until 8 September. Sunday, 6 September, there was no meeting, because of the solemn celebration of the canonization of the Dutch Jesuit Petrus Canisius on that day in Rome. Canisius (1521-1571) is considered to be one of the most important leaders of the counter-reformation, the new found self-confidence of Catholics after the rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century.

The first point on the agenda (due to lack of preparation it was not discussed until halfway through the conference) was reports from the mission territories. They all showed a great optimism.²⁸ Mission leaders were grateful and proud of the growth of their flock in recent decades, and envisioned good prospects for the future, especially if more permanent mission stations could be opened and staffed with European missionaries or local priests, and if more Catholic schools could be built and staffed with religious personnel. For all this they hoped for more financial aid from the Vatican, but it was decided that first a request would be sent to the Dutch bishops for an increase in the membership fee for papal missionary organizations (like Propaganda Fide and Papal Mission Work for Children) and that the extra income be sent directly to the mission in the Dutch colonies. Bishop J. Aerts MSC of Langgur promised to send a request to the Dutch bishops about this matter.

President Gijswijk mentioned several problems faced by all missions, one of which was the national pride of natives (*nationaliteitsgevoel der inlanders*). Reactions to his intervention were mixed. Bishop J.A. Aerts of Langgur bluntly stated that in his region of the southern Moluccas and West Papua ‘there is no native culture. Everything coming from the West is highly valued. We only experience problems in our work from the side of Protestants and Muslims, related to the prohibition of article 123.’²⁹ Quite different in char-

²⁸ Most reports show a nice balance between bright prospects and problematic hindrances. Only the superior of the Carmelite mission in Malang, Cl. Van de Pas, gave an overly optimistic, nearly propagandistic account. After praising the Jesuits, who had given him such a flourishing mission with a warm devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (*een bloeiend godsdienstig leven, vooral een groote devotie tot het Heilig Hart van Jezus*) in 1923, he remarked that initially few children attended church service on Sundays. But after they had started a special mass for children, nearly all 350 Catholic children of Malang came to mass (*misverzuim is zeldzaam, Zondag-communie vrij algemeen*), AJAK E 4-1:10.

²⁹ ‘Eigen cultuur bestaat daar niet. Wat van het Westen komt, wordt juist hoog gewaardeerd. De moeilijkheid komt van den kant der protestanten en mohammedanen, terwijl juist hier gevoeld wordt de rem van art. 123,’ AJAK E 4-1.



The leaders of the Catholic Church during their June 1929 meeting in Muntilan, Xavier College. Front row from left: J. Aertis (Langgur), A. van Velsen (Batavia), P. Bos (Pontianak), Arnold Verstraelen (Ende). Standing from left: Rev. A. Kouwenhoven (probably a guest), C. van der Plas (Malang), J. Goumans (Bandung), M. Brans (Padang), A. van Kalken (Jesuit superior), J. Panis (Manado), B. Visser (Purwakarta), Th. de Backere (Surabaya), H. van Oort (Palembang), V. Bouma (Pangkalpinang), J. van Baal (Batavia, Mission Office)

(Source: Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

acter was the presentation by Dr Julius Schmutzer about his efforts to create a Javanese Christian style of art. An angel created for the Christian chapel in Javanese style (*candi*) for the church of Ganjuran was exhibited during the conference.³⁰

In order to promote the unity and uniformity of Catholics in the various ecclesiastical regions, many small details of Catholic life were discussed at the conference under the heading of 'church discipline'. Days of fasting and abstinence from meat were set for the whole colony at the utmost minimum, because it was felt that in the Dutch colony it was not possible to fast the full 40 days before Easter. Therefore only the seven Fridays of Lent and the preparation days for Easter and Christmas were fixed as days of fasting (awaiting final approval by the Vatican). As Catholic holidays only Ascension Day, Mary's Assumption (15 August), and Christmas were proposed. The period for the paschal communion was extended, because in many places priests only visited their flock every two or three months. At the time it was not attendance at weekly mass, but this paschal communion that was the criterion for sincere and true Catholics. There was ample discussion on how to achieve a reliable registration of paschal communions. People felt it should not be combined with confession, since no names could be asked at confession. Church leaders were very anxious to keep all administration out of confession. In all areas of the Indies the short formula of baptism for children should be used and not the long formula for adults. The Carmelite priests of Malang were allowed to use the Carmelite liturgy for baptism. For extreme unction the Latin liturgical texts were to be used, but after the formal ceremony some parts could be repeated in the local language. There were several proposals to expand Catholic marriage ceremonies by including traditional local rituals, some of pagan origin. 'Because of the wish to promote uniformity, this should not be encouraged.'³¹ To prevent mixed marriages, these had to be celebrated, when possible, outside the church building. If celebration nevertheless took place in a Catholic church, it could not be during mass. Mixed marriages had to be conducted without music and without singing. Sermons on such an occasion had to be very short, so as not to give people the idea that the Catholic Church supported the practice of mixed marriage (which in general was restricted to European and Eurasian people: for native Indonesians permission was very seldom granted). Local ceremonies at burials were to be forbidden; the common Catholic book for rituals, the *Rituale Romanum*, had to be followed as far as possible without local additions.

For Catholic schools and boarding schools, the policy of the previous decade to avoid admitting non-Catholic children had to be continued, not-

³⁰ See Chapter X for J. Schmutzer's work on Javanese Christian art.

³¹ AJAK E 4-1:32: 'Daar het evenwel juist de wensch is, dat er uniformiteit zij, moet dat niet worden bevorderd.'

withstanding the financial disadvantages. The practice of the later nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when half or even more of the pupils of the elite schools were not Catholic, was considered to lead to a secular character of the institutions. The conference decided to continue efforts to make them more fully Catholic in staff, pupils and character. Non-Catholic children were no longer to be accepted. Those non-Catholics that were at that moment in school had to be urged to follow Catholic catechism classes, if possible (which means, if their parents were willing to give permission for these classes). In this discussion only the Dutch-speaking schools were taken into consideration. Only at the end of the discussion was it said that in schools for native pupils ample space should be allotted for non-Catholic pupils. It was explicitly regretted that some Catholic schools still had some non-Catholic teachers on their staff. Only in places without separate Catholic schools for boys and girls could coeducation of both sexes in the same class be allowed.

There was a lack of Catholic books for schools in the Indies. Textbooks for Dutch Catholic schools were considered unsuitable for the colony, and therefore more efforts were to be made to produce adequate books for Catholic schools in the Indies. Church leaders recognized that they had no authority to prescribe textbooks for schools, but they could urge religious and lay teachers to work in this direction. Especially for textbooks in history the necessary uniformity had to be sought. Because of the heavy financial burden, caused by the large number of Catholic schools and hospitals, no new institutions were to be founded without permission of the highest church authority.

The conference accepted the analysis that there were a lot of high-quality primary schools for Catholics, but few secondary schools for girls and not even many proper Catholic secondary schools for boys (only the three-year MULO, the equivalent of a junior high school). Besides the major seminary for educating priests, there was no Catholic academic institute nor even a boarding house for Catholic students in Batavia, Bandung, or elsewhere. Therefore, in the near future, priority was to be given to secondary and higher education and to providing pastoral help for Catholic students.

The conference also held long deliberations about the education for priesthood. In line with the policy of centralization and uniformity, it was decided that the minor and major seminaries of Muntilan and Yogyakarta would be used as central seminaries for the whole colony. We will see below that the Outer Islands opted for other methods: either sending priests to locations of the various religious orders in the Netherlands and even China (Hong Kong: the priest Jan Boen of Bangka), or founding seminaries in other islands, as happened in Flores and Minahasa.

The relation between church and state was an important matter of discussion. The common objections against the special permit for Christian mission (article 123, later article 177, of the Constitution of the Indies) received ample

attention, but the only concrete decision on this matter, in line with the general theme of uniformity, was to refer this problem to the *missieafgevaardigde*, the representative of the whole Catholic mission in Buitenzorg.

The third meeting of church authorities took place at the Muntilan seminary, from 4 to 11 June 1929.³² The position of *missieafgevaardigde* was discussed again, and it was deemed necessary to seek a larger accommodation for this office (until then one person working from a private house in Buitenzorg), to be called the Centraal Missie Bureau, with a building of its own. The work was to be divided into several departments, one for general policy and one for financial subsidies for education. W. Burer, the retired government official who as a layperson had set up the office in 1924, had to cede the top position in the expanded office to members of the clergy.

The conference also agreed on the proposal to create a central mission office (Centraal Bureau der Indische Missievereniging) in the Netherlands as a means to coordinate financial and political support for the mission in the Indies.

Besides many practical, mostly financial matters, the need for more uniformity among the various ecclesiastical regions by drawing up common regulations for the colony was also discussed at the 1929 meeting. Although compiling such a document was deemed necessary, there were no concrete steps taken to do so. Examples of issues on which more well-defined decisions had to be made included coeducation in secondary schools, division of responsibility between priests and sisters or brothers, use of clerical dress on different occasions, ecclesiastical examination, jurisdiction (for baptism, confession, marriage) outside one's own church district, baptism for Protestants who embraced Catholicism, and the precise responsibility of the central mission office.³³ New regulations for marriage were also eagerly discussed at this conference. For Flores and Timor the ecclesiastical superiors deemed a civil marriage unnecessary and they were happy with the double ceremonies of traditional and church marriage. Javanese authorities speculated about a new concordat that would make the Catholic ceremony at the same time valid for the civil administration.³⁴ There was also ample discussion about Catholic educational facilities for special groups such as for the deaf and mute, and for the training of midwives and nurses.

As to the Catholic press, in 1929 it was thought that the Flores journal *Bintang Timoer* (Star of the East) could develop into a religious monthly for the whole of Indonesia, with many religious items, like the popular Javanese monthly *Tamtama Dewi Mariah* (The Most Holy Saint Mary), and Malay-language magazines like *Geredja Katolik* in Minahasa, and *Soeara Katolik* published in Java. There was also ample discussion of practical subjects like insurance

³² Report in AJAK E 4-4.

³³ Report of the 1929 conference, AJAK E 4-4:16.

³⁴ Report of the 1929 conference, AJAK E 4-4:37-9.

for Catholic church buildings. A combination with the Catholic insurance company of the Netherlands, Donatus, proved to be impossible, partly because earthquakes occur much more frequently in Indonesia. Therefore the mission had to apply for insurance at 'neutral' (non-sectarian) companies.³⁵

The fourth meeting of Catholic leaders took place from 19 to 27 September 1934 at the retreat centre of Giri Sonta, Ungaran, on the eve of the ordination of Petrus Willekens as vicar apostolic of Batavia, 3 October 1934. There were five vicars apostolic (in Batavia, Langgur, Padang, Ende, Manado), while the vicar apostolic of Pontianak had sent a priest (Tarcisius van Valenberg) to represent him at the meeting. There were six prefects apostolic (in Malang, Pangkalpinang, Bengkulu, Surabaya, Bandung, Purwokerto), besides seven superiors of missionary orders and congregations (all male; the superiors of the sisters' orders had not been invited) as well as the two priests from the central mission office in Batavia. Willekens presided at the meeting as just-appointed vicar of Batavia, but he experienced inconveniences related to his short stay in the colony and most days he was absent due to sickness.

An important issue at this conference was the question whether there should be a delegate of the Vatican (*nuntius*) in Batavia. There was a strong written plea from the papal nuncio of Sydney on this matter. He suggested that there should be a direct envoy of the Pope in Batavia. But the conference did not agree with this proposal. They felt that existing diplomatic channels through the vicar apostolic of Batavia with the governor general in the Indies, and the Vatican nuncio in The Hague for discussions with the Minister of Colonial Affairs in the Netherlands, were still very useful and should not be superseded by a papal delegate in Batavia.

The issue of political parties was a hot topic at the conference. Rev. De Backere of Surabaya, who was the great proponent of a strong political union of Catholics and who opposed the Eurasian IEV, Indo-Europeesch Verbond, was absent on sick leave, and acting prefect Th. Smet had taken his place. As discussed in Chapter II, church leaders were not willing to take a firm decision on this matter and to excommunicate Catholics who became members of the non-sectarian IEV. The general policy was that, even in politics, the Catholic faithful should obey the clergy, who wanted a unified Catholic political party, but no ban was announced on membership of 'religiously neutral' (non-sectarian) Eurasian associations. At the request of Kasimo and the Javanese Catholic political party, there was a debate about the use of the word Indonesian, a word already considered common enough to be used in Catholic correspondence and documents.

³⁵ Report of the 1929 conference, AJAK E 4-4:18-26. On the island of Java the Catholic Church insured buildings to an amount of nearly 12 million guilders. The Ursuline sisters were the most prominent with 3,512,502 guilders in value, followed by the Franciscan sisters (1,710,814 guilders), while the Jesuit priests had insured their buildings for 952,000 guilders.

A further issue debated at this conference was the consequences of the drastic decrease of state subsidies for schools since the economic recession of the early 1930s. The most severe consequence was at teacher training schools. Private schools of this type were only allowed to train students for existing schools of their own denomination or favourite ideology (besides Protestant and Catholic private schools, there were private schools run by Freemasons and by Javanese organizations like Taman Siswa and Muhammadiyah). One of the few common actions taken after this conference was a letter to the governor-general about this matter signed by all church leaders. In his answer of 5 April 1935, a positive decision was announced: at their own cost and at their own risk, Catholic institutions were allowed to train more teachers than were necessary to fill vacancies caused by sick or retiring teachers at their own schools. As a successor to Van Velsen's Malay catechism, there was a presentation of the *Katekismus* by Father J. Kraanen MSC, who had arrived at the mission in 1906 and had since then worked in the Kai and Tanimbar islands. Although there were some missionaries who felt that his language was sometimes too close to Kai local dialect, it was deemed necessary to use one Malay catechism for the whole archipelago. This decision was in line with the main goal of these conferences: harmony, cooperation, and even homogeneity among the different mission territories. As will become clear below, it was quite often impossible to reach this goal, because of the extreme differences in the colony between the various ethnic groups and local variations.³⁶

The fifth conference of church leaders was again in Girisonta, 16-22 August 1939, and welcomed as its special guest the nuncio apostolic J. Pacino, residing in Sydney. Because of his position he was also the formal chairman of the meeting.

This was the first meeting of church leaders after the economic recession of the early 1930s had eased somewhat. There were some new possibilities for increase in government subsidies. The conference tried to reach a harmonization of the requests for subsidies. The training of teachers for three-year village schools was underlined in a request to the government, with emphasis on the education of women to become teachers. Therefore, teacher training schools for women in Tomohon, Ambarawa and Makassar were put at the top of the list for new subsidies.

At this meeting there was also ample discussion about rules for Chinese Catholics who wanted to practise traditional rituals for their ancestors. The representatives from Sumatra and West Kalimantan, both Capuchin friars, took opposite positions. This threatened the firm goal in these meetings, that harmony and uniformity should be sought. Finally, however, some kind of a

³⁶ Most of the material for the 1934 and the 1939 conferences is taken from Muskens 1974:1444-60.

compromise was found, granting freedom to local Catholic leadership to act differently, according to the views of local Chinese Catholics in this matter.

A related topic was the possibility of using traditional indigenous art forms for Christian purposes. Bishop A. Albers of Malang introduced the topic, presenting only Javanese examples, probably because Javanese culture was considered to be more highly developed and sophisticated, quite superior to the culture of the eastern islands of the archipelago.

A rather important issue that was again debated at this conference was the training of priests. With one exception (the diocesan priest Jan Boen in Bangka), the whole clergy belonged to a religious order or congregation. Bishop Willekens of Batavia defended the Vatican position that the diocesan clergy should be preferred, because they would not depend on religious orders that might send them to other regions or even to other countries. The Vatican fund for the education of priests was willing to provide money only for institutions that were training their students for the diocesan priesthood. According to the conference report, Bishop Willekens's instruction was not followed by new suggestions or by arguments against the idea.³⁷ Willekens's action led to a rapid increase in the percentage of diocesan clergy in the country. In 1950 there were already 32 native diocesan priests, or 43% of the total of 75 native Indonesian priests. After that, the percentage stabilized. In 1989, out of 1,180 native Indonesian priests, only 441 or 37% were diocesan priests (Boelaars 1991:200).

³⁷ For various reasons the majority of missionaries did not share this opinion, but at that time nobody would dare openly oppose a directive from the Vatican. The most often heard opinion was that the individual lifestyle of diocesan priests would make their work very difficult. Living in the social group of religious priests would be much safer. There is an extended discussion about this matter in the Archives of the Dutch Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (hereafter MSC) Inv 174:294. MSC Inv. 174:299 has a letter by Mgr. Panis of 12-11-1930: 'onbegrijpelijk dat Rome zo aandringt op diocesaan vanaf het begin: kloosterlingen ware toch veel veiliger' (it is unbelievable that Rome so presses us to opt for diocesan. Religious life would be much safer).

CHAPTER II

European, Eurasian and Chinese Catholics

Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg was appointed governor-general of the Dutch East Indies in 1909. Born in Rotterdam on 23 July 1861, Idenburg was an army officer in the colony for some time, a member of the Dutch parliament for the orthodox Protestant party, and served as minister of colonial affairs until he was appointed to the highest office in the Indies, which he held from 1909 to 1916. He was called 'the first Christian on the throne of Buitenzorg' for his forthright support of Christianity in the colony. His first measure as governor general was to issue a decree to prevent holding markets on Sundays. He hoped that the Indies, ruled by the Dutch nation, would demonstrate publicly a more Christian character. Opposition did not come from Muslims but from liberals and religiously indifferent white people in the colony. He was very pessimistic about the Christian devotion of the European population in the colony: 'the greatest enemy for Christianity *at this moment* is not yet Islam – it will be so only if it has been specifically aroused – but the European population in these countries'.¹ This chapter shows that it was during Idenburg's period as governor-general (1909-1916) that a revival of Catholicism started among the European and Eurasian population that was quite different from the mentality of these groups up to 1909. This new religious self-confidence can be seen in Catholic and Protestant circles alike. It also attracted parts of the ethnic Chinese population to accept the religion of the colonizers.

The Dutch East Indies was not a nation of *apartheid* in the sense that it came to have in that other former Dutch colony, South Africa, between 1950 and 1990, but its society certainly was one based on race. Ethnic identity was very important and even decisive for many aspects of one's social position. In government and church statistics an ethnic division was used without question. Between 1900 and 1940 there was not only a sharp increase in number of Catholics but also a decline in the percentage of European (meaning European and Eurasian) Catholics relative to 'Indonesian' Catholics (in these statistics Chinese Catholics are counted among Indonesian Catholics).²

¹ Quote from De Bruin and Puchinger 1985:262.

² According to Boelaars 1991:65. In the general statistical survey of 1930 the official number

Year	Indonesian Catholics	European Catholics including Eurasians	Total	Increase during previous decade
1900	26,187	24,051	50,238	
1910	34,197	29,659	68,856	27%
1920	72,590	34,489	107,079	68%
1930	233,116	66,911	300,027	180%
1940	478,130	88,172	566,302	89%

The strongest growth was in the 1920s, probably as a result of the sharp increase in missionaries after World War I. The 1920s were also the decade of the strongest economic growth. In the whole period the percentage of 'European' Catholics among total Catholics dropped from 48% in 1900 to 16% in 1940. Nevertheless, there was quite a strong increase among the 'Europeans' as well. This can be explained largely by the greater number of Dutch and other European women who arrived in the colony after 1900. In the early twentieth century the colony became much 'whiter' than it ever was before. Until 1900 most European men – soldiers, government officials, as well as planters – took an Indonesian woman as a sexual partner. This 'housekeeper', commonly called *nyai*, had an informal but important role in the European household. The children of such a relationship were usually officially recognized by the father, but they grew up in a *mestizo* climate. After 1900 more and more 'pure' European families settled in the colony. This is the reason why there was such a sharp increase in European Catholics, 3.6 times as many in forty years, while the average natural population increase doubled in thirty years.

The new totally 'white' families (*totok*) preferred Dutch as their language. They often preferred a European style of cooking, although European women did not do much cooking themselves: in most households there were housekeepers for cooking and washing. In religious culture, quite a few families practised a stricter obedience to ecclesiastical rules than was common in the nineteenth century. Until 1900 nominally faithful Catholics very seldom had thought of trying to bring their *nyai* to the Catholic faith, but the new situation created more and more 'pure' Catholic families. Because of the minority situation of Catholics, there were still many mixed marriages.

The main goal of Catholic leaders in the twentieth century was to establish a vibrant and 'pure' Catholic community. There were two main centres in this strategy, the church and social activities. The church building was the place of lively liturgical communities starting with baptism and the first

for the European population was 76,541 (see *Indisch Verslag* 1937:32). But this number probably included Chinese Catholics, because the ecclesiastical statistics usually did not include them in the standard formulas for 'indigenous Catholics'. In 1930 the total European population was 240,162. This makes the Catholics roughly one-third of the total European Catholic population in the Indies. The increase in the European population of the colony between 1860 and 1870 was a meagre 1.13% per year. It rose to slightly over 2% for the next three decades, but to 3.91% per year for the period 1905-20 (*Indisch Verslag* 1937:33).

communion, to be continued with weekly mass on Sunday as the standard and basic obligation, afternoon blessing of the sacrament, processions, joyful celebrations of Christmas, Easter, feasts for the Sacred Heart of Jesus and for the Holy Virgin Mary (15 August as a major celebration), observation of fasting, regular confession, and, most of all, proper celebration of marriage in a church ceremony. There was not much emphasis on religious practice in families: praying before and after meals was propagated, but religious life concentrated much more on what was done in church buildings than in family homes. Examples similar to the nineteenth-century Chinese Tsen On Njie of Bangka and the Eurasian MacMootry in Semarang are not known for European Catholics in the colony.³ This is quite different from Islam and Hinduism in Indonesia, where prayer in family homes is a daily religious practice, while mosque or temple visits are reserved for more solemn occasions, once every one or two weeks. There were not many signs of religious activities for Catholics at home. Most of the renewals in Catholic life in this period were related to social or devotional associations that held activities in churches or parish centres. With the exception of plantations that could not be visited regularly, the majority of European Catholics lived in an urban environment and were able to attend church-centred religious devotions. They attended in increasing numbers.

Catholic life was not restricted to church ceremonies, but also included many social activities. Most prominent was the education of children, besides the use of medical facilities in a growing number of Catholic hospitals. For social and political life in the early twentieth century more and more organizations were founded for European Catholics, on the local and the national level (although usually limited to the main cities of Java). In this chapter I discuss these social institutions, while more general considerations about religious life and educational and medical facilities are given in the concluding chapter.

In his doctoral dissertation on the rise of Muslim organizations in West Sumatra during the 1910s, Dutch sociologist H. Bouman presented a theory about the phenomenon of association as an important element in the structure of Western and Eastern society. He considered associations as a kind of social structure different from family, clan, and nation where the individual becomes a member by birth. The association is built on free choice. Members of a society have the free choice to become a member or not. In Western societies the phenomenon of organizations or associations became necessary because of the disintegration of natural structures like family and small villages. In Asian societies, however, the phenomenon of associations started at a time when the social community, at least outside large cities, was still healthy and vibrant. The new phenomenon of associations was said to be the cause of the disintegration of traditional societies (Bouman 1949:74). Bouman mentions the

³ For these cases see Steenbrink 2003:16-7; 47-59.

rise of organizations like Boedi Oetomo (1908), Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam (both 1912), and their Sumatran followers like the PGAI, Persatuan Guru Agama Islam (Association of Teachers of the Islamic Religion, 1913) and PERTI (Persatuan Tarbyah Islamiyah, Society for Islamic Education, 1922).

Can we put the development of the numerous Catholic organizations founded between 1911 and 1942 in the same framework? It is quite tempting to do so. In indigenous society, especially in Java, there were so many people involved in the development of this new social structure that it seems quite reasonable to assume some influence. This is the more likely because it was only on the island of Java that indigenous Catholics were organized in a fairly large number of free associations. Outside Java, there were no special Catholic organizations besides the basic parish. However, we should also take into consideration the growth of Christian organizations, leading to the pillarization of society in the European homeland. This process, which had started in the second half of the nineteenth century, entered the Indies probably due partly to the growing number of well-educated Dutch-born women who quite drastically changed the European community of the large cities of the colony. They provided the strong sociological context for the quick blossoming of so many organizations among European Catholics.

The model for this quite new way of organizing became popular after the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891. In the Netherlands this model was elaborated by a Jesuit professor of ethics at the Jesuit school of theology in Oudenbosch, P.B. Bruin SJ. The great problem for European society was the gap between rich entrepreneurs and poor industrial workers. In Catholic terminology this was called 'the social question'. Socialist (or even communist or Bolshevik) solutions, as well as liberal ideology, were severely criticized in this discourse. The heart of the social question was the miserable and inhumane situation of many industrial workers. Only through cooperation of all parties involved, and under the benevolent guidance of the Catholic Church, could these problems truly be solved. Unity was a requisite for any improvement, first of all because industrial workers were ready to accept a job for any salary and were in fact competitors of each other.⁴ In the Indies, however, there was very little industry. The greatest social problem perhaps was the low wages and weak status of contract coolies in the tin mines of Bangka and Belitung, and on the plantations of Kalimantan and Sumatra. But social organizations as conceived and developed after 1909 among European and Eurasian Catholics were not oriented towards the lower classes of society. They were focussed on

⁴ For a short summary of the 'social question' see Bruin 1904:72-94 and esp. 88-9 about the 'ellendig en onwaardig bestaan', the miserable and inhumane condition of many industrial workers, especially children and women. Jesuit training started with a three-year course of philosophy, which in this period was given at the Jesuit seminary of Oudenbosch where P.B. Bruin was teaching. For a discussion of this work see also Van Klinken 2003:54-5.

middle and upper classes, and were primarily intended to spark a religious revival among these circles. They took the same names and sometimes even the same style of organization as in the Netherlands, but the social status of European Catholics in the colony made these organizations different. The avalanche of new organizations was more related to changes within colonial society, with more numerous and somewhat more devout European men and women, than to the European 'social question'.

The personality of the fervently religious Protestant Alexander Idenburg was certainly an important factor in this process. He brought more respect for religion to middle and upper classes of society. It became more fashionable to go to church and to participate in church activities. We should not, however, exaggerate the change. Especially among the Eurasian population there was less enthusiasm to join Catholic organizations. And Europeans who were poor did not participate either.

Among European Catholics the number of organizations was much larger than among Javanese Catholics. In both cases the organizations were established primarily to promote the internal cohesion of the dispersed Catholic community. Catholics did not live together in particular districts of cities or the countryside. They were not found in certain occupations. As in the Netherlands, through the process of pillarization, the strategy of the clergy was directed towards a more conscious commitment, expressed in cultural, political and even economic arenas. The clergy were far less successful in the Indies than in the Netherlands. One reason was the extreme division of Catholics in politics: Javanese Christians did not feel at home in a white political party. Besides, there were major tensions within the political party of the European population, between liberals and colonial diehards. In the socio-economic arena, the large group of Eurasian Catholics felt more at home in their ethnic group than in a religious association.

Katholieke Sociale Bond: The 'mother' of all other organizations

On 28 March 1909 a Bond van Katholieken (Union of Catholics) was established in Surabaya, at the location where most male Europeans felt at home, the school of the Oudenbosch brothers. It soon received official recognition (a decision of the governor-general, 24 July 1909). In fact the Surabaya Catholic Union had started early in 1909 with preparations for the municipal elections. A group of Catholic laymen had promoted the name of the superior of the Oudenbosch brothers, Willibrord Keens,⁵ to be a member of the city coun-

⁵ Austin William Keens, born in London on 7-5-1856; arrived in Surabaya in 1877. He died on 4-4-1931.

cil. His colleague, Brother Stephanus A. Christan,⁶ also strongly supported this candidate. However, the head of the parish, Jesuit father C. Laane, in consultation with Bishop Luypen of Batavia, prohibited Brother Willibrord from running in the elections. Following this disappointment, a committee of Catholic laymen took the initiative to found the Bond van Katholieken. The head of the parish, Father Laane, was absent at the time, and only two other Jesuits, working in the parish as assistant priests, were invited to the opening ceremony on 28 March 1909. According to the superior of the Jesuit mission, Father E. Engbers, also residing in the Surabaya parish house, the idea was first to form a committee in support of some prominent Dutch Catholics to be elected members of the city council. Because of the official ban on a religious person's becoming a political figure, a union was established with a more general purpose: 'for common interests and social events'. At the opening evening some 75 men present elected Brother Willibrord Keens as president and Jos Suys, teacher at a government secondary school, as secretary.

Certain aspects of this process raised suspicions with the head of the parish, Father Laane, and with Bishop Luypen of Batavia, who followed the development very closely.⁷ Although there was a formal acknowledgment by the government, Bishop Luypen initially refused to give his approval. There were complaints about the whole development. First, Laane and Luypen thought that the Bond was in fact a political association, using a religious disguise, after the ban on the candidacy of Brother Keens.⁸ Second, during one of the April meetings of the Bond not only men but also women were invited to the meeting, which was more a social event than a serious talk about the duty of Catholics in modern society. Third, some alcoholic drinks were served at these first meetings at the brothers' school. Brother Willibrord defended the organization, stressing that members' wives had been invited to a social evening that was held to promote the association. The only strong drink that was served was whisky soda, while further only non-alcoholic drinks like cola, lemonade, and fruit juices were served. Brother Willibrord noted that the presence of women was also common in the schools of the brothers in the Netherlands, and that in the Indies a whisky soda could not be considered extravagant.

Notwithstanding this defence, for quite a long period in 1909 there was something like a cold war between the newly established Bond, including the brothers, and 'the parish house', which was located just next to the school and the religious house of the brothers. The chief opponent of the brothers,

⁶ Simon A.C.M. Christian, born in Nijmegen on 18-12-1861; arrived in Surabaya in 1887; died on 12-8-1924.

⁷ There are some fifteen letters by Luypen about this case, from the year 1909 alone. See also the letter by E. Engbers to Luypen, 6-4-1909. All letters are in AJAK M 1-7-1.

⁸ The purpose of the Bond was formulated as 'to increase the social interaction among Catholics and promote entertaining togetherness' (*met het doel het gemeenschapsleven onder katholieken te verhogen en het gezellig onderling verkeer te bevorderen*), see *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* 12-3-1909.

Jesuit C. Laane, died of malaria on 21 November 1909. Bishop Luyken continued his severe policy: by his order in December 1909 Brother Willibrord Keens had to resign from his position as president of the Bond (although he was immediately re-elected as honorary president) and Brother Stephanus Christian also had to resign from the nine-person board of the association of some 70 members. The secretary of the Bond, Jos Suys, was elected to the city council in this period, a position first sought for Brother Willibrord Keens. As usual, the individual players had their own reasons for their position. Brother Willibrord Keens was the senior teacher at the Oudenbosch brothers' school. He viewed the Bond van Katholieken as an important means to maintain contact with the former pupils of his school. Jos Suys was a teacher at the government senior high school (HBS) in Surabaya. In Catholic circles there were rumours about his past in the Netherlands (probably a divorce). He was not such a strict Catholic, and became a member of the Volksraad in 1919 not for the Catholic but for the Liberal Party (Nederlandsch-Indische Vrijzinnige Bond). He was never listed among Catholic members of that council.⁹

There were very mixed reactions to the intervention by Bishop Luyken. In the local newspaper, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* of 24 December 1909, it was written that some prominent Catholic politicians in the Netherlands had welcomed the new Bond and accepted honorary membership: 'Among the members in Surabaya there is a movement that wants to continue the association even without support of the clergy. The majority of the members cannot explain why Catholics in the Indies should not be allowed to do what is usual and normal for them in the Netherlands. We also may see from this move how the Jesuit Society deals with basic rights, like the right of association, a political prerogative that must be considered a tool for the promotion of human civilization and freedom.'¹⁰

Debates could be very hot and sharp in the Indies, and this one continued for some time, with ups and downs. At a meeting on 23 January 1910, the Bond discussed the possibility of starting a members' bank for savings and insurance. A meeting on 5 February was described by another Jesuit, Jacob Hoevenaars: 'it was a delight to hear such true Roman (Catholic) language. Also for members of the Bond it was apparently a pleasure that they could talk in an intimate atmosphere about religious matters.'¹¹ In 1910 the magazine *Onze Bode* was established as a means of communication for the Bond van Katholieken.

⁹ Vriens, 'Honderd jaar':833-4.

¹⁰ *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 24-12-1909, also in AJAK, M 1-7-1, where it is guessed that Raaijemaker, vice-president of the Bond, was the author of this article criticizing the clergy in a very uncommon way.

¹¹ 'Het deed mij goed daar zoo'n echt Roomsche taal te hooren. Ook voor de Bondsleden was het blijkbaar een voldoening daar hun hart eens vertrouwelijk te kunnen uitspreken over godsdienstige zaken.' J. Hoevenaars to Bishop Luyken on 6-2-1910, in AJAK M1-7-1.

There was quite a variety of opinions about the young Bond, even among the clergy themselves. Jacob Hoevenaars was appointed as an assistant parish priest in Surabaya on 3 April 1909, shortly after the beginning of the whole affair. He was quite open to this new initiative. He also persuaded his younger brother Petrus Hoevenaars (the 'rival' of Father Van Lith in Muntilan-Mendut until 1905, appointed on 11 May 1910 as assistant parish priest in Semarang after a period of service in Batavia) to start a similar Bond in Semarang. This was established in late 1910 or early 1911. In May 1911 Jos Suys, as president of the Bond, had a meeting with Governor-General A.W.F. Idenburg, who supported the idea of this association, promised some financial support, gave his cooperation for a lottery of 50,000 guilders for funding the initiative, and also welcomed plans to raise money in the Netherlands for the overseas education of Eurasian youth in Europe.

For some time there were close relations between the two unions of Surabaya and Semarang, which were both viewed with some suspicion by the clergy, especially in Batavia, although the second and third annual reports (for 1911 and 1912) were reproduced in full in the Catholic weekly *Javapost*, published in Batavia under supervision of the clergy.

To 'clear the air' in Surabaya, on 5 May 1911 Jacob Hoevenaars was moved from Surabaya to Semarang, to serve in the same parish where his brother Petrus was the leading parish priest. They had few serious problems in Semarang, where the regulations of the new Batavia Bond were accepted as early as mid-1913, although it took a full decade before the two oldest KSB branches of Surabaya and Semarang really joined the younger branches in all respects. They kept their own separate magazines until 1922.

In Batavia the clergy, especially Jan van Rijckevorsel, were quite anxious to avoid the Surabaya and Semarang problems.¹² In early 1913 Jan van Rijckevorsel took the initiative to establish a Catholic union for laypeople. When in 1913 a small group of Batavia Catholics approached Bishop Luypen, this priest was assigned to manage the establishment of the new Catholic union

¹² Jan van Rijckevorsel (born on 1-01-1876 in 's-Hertogenbosch, entered the Indies as a priest in 1908 to work at the Cathedral of Batavia) worked in the parish of the Batavia Cathedral until June 1925. After a European furlough he returned in September 1926 and started work at the newly established major seminary of Yogyakarta, where he taught until the Japanese occupation as a professor of philosophy. He died in a Japanese concentration camp in 1944. Biography in *Claverbond* 1947:211-3. Jan van Rijckevorsel, the stimulating person behind the establishment of the Batavia KSB and its nationwide development, must be distinguished from his younger nephew Leo van Rijckevorsel, born in 1884, who did his Jesuit novitiate between 1909 and 1914 (and taught in Muntilan) in the Indies and returned as an ordained priest in August 1919 to work in Muntilan as a school director (until 1927), director of the Teacher Training College of Ambarawa (until 1936) and president of the major seminary in Muntilan until his furlough in 1939. He returned to Indonesia in 1946. He is a relevant figure in the founding of the Javanese Catholic political union. His biography is in *Claverbond* 1953:15-17.

more smoothly than in the other cities.¹³ On 2 April 1913 Jan van Rijckevorsel discussed the matter with a preparatory committee of four people: the lawyer W.J.M. Brantjes van Rijn, who soon would become the first chairman, N.J. Orie, B.J. Nijman, and C.Th. Deeleman. The Jesuit had already drawn up a short list of 12 prospective members. These were Navy Lieutenant-Colonel C.T. Veltman; W. Schrader, manager with the Butor trade firm; F. Haakman van den Bergh, a trader; L.S. Jansen, a teacher; W. Raul, manager of an industrial firm; H.P. Matthee, an official in the Education Department and himself a teacher; Van Dale Meier, police officer; E. van Arcken, chief engineer in the Department of Public Works; J. van Arcken, head of a section of the Department of Internal Affairs; S.A. Gonçalvez, civil engineer with the railways; J.A. Monod de Froideville, teacher at a senior high school (HBS); C.J. Flikkenschild, an official at the postal services in Meester Cornelis. During the meeting five names were added and the small preparatory committee accepted the task of personally inviting these and other persons for the founding meeting of the union.

On 12 May 1913 the Katholieke Sociale Bond (KSB) was formally established at a meeting with a mere 38 participants, much less well attended than the quick start of the Surabaya union. Article 4 of the statutes stipulated that members should be 'adult male Catholics who really fulfil their Catholic duties.' This last sentence apparently was added to prevent the influence of marginal Catholics like Suys in Surabaya.¹⁴ The religious advisor had to be consulted before new members could be accepted. The goal of the KSB was the 'social advance of the Dutch Indies' (*mede te werken tot den sociaalen bloei van Nederlandsch-Indië*). This included abstention from politics, and the exclusion of non-religious goals like education and relief for the poor (which were the domain of the Saint Vincent and Saint Elisabeth organizations). In October 1913, after the articles of the Batavia KSB were accepted by Bishop Luyken, the latter was appointed *beschermheer* (patron or protector) by the laypeople, while Jan van Rijckevorsel was appointed by the bishop as *geestelijk adviseur*, or spiritual advisor. The precise lines of authority should be clearly distinguished here! Brantjes and Deeleman were appointed chairman and secretary and remained so until 1916 and 1915, respectively.

¹³ Who took the first initiative for the Batavia KSB? Vriens, 'Honderd jaar':840 suggests that a committee of laypeople addressed Luyken, who appointed Van Rijckevorsel 'who in 1909 still was too fresh in the colony to play a role but had developed very fast'. In AJAK M 1-7-1 a note typewritten by Rijckevorsel has the four names of the preparatory committee and the list of 12 potential candidates.

¹⁴ A four-page-long report of a peppery debate between Jan van Rijckevorsel and Jos Suys, 13-5-1913 in Batavia, in AJAK M 1-1-4. Here Suys is openly considered anti-Catholic by Van Rijckevorsel. In another letter of 20 May Van Rijckevorsel mentions that his colleague Jacob Hoevenaars was a loyal supporter of Suys. In this period there was not yet consensus among the clergy.

The Batavia initiative was not only of local importance, it was also an effort to coordinate the central management of similar initiatives among Catholics in other towns. It took some time, but a year later the Semarang union and still a year later the Surabaya union joined the Batavia initiative, although for some time the Surabaya-Semarang name of Bond van Katholieken continued to be used in these towns. In 1915, after Medan had also established a KSB, a central council (*centrale raad*) was established. By 1920 there were 18 local KSB branches. Formally, Batavia was just one branch of the KSB, but in fact most initiatives came from this town, like almost everything in the very centralized colony.

The Batavia KSB had a very modest start, but it had 102 members by the end of its first year. J. Monod de Froideville, teacher at a Batavia senior high school, proposed that occasional social meetings be held at the Ursuline sisters' school on Sundays after high mass. In 1916 the Batavia KSB bought its own compound, three houses in between the cathedral and the large school of the Ursuline sisters on Waterloo-plein (now Lapangan Banteng). The three houses were owned by the government and were sold for the price of 41,525 guilders. In a short period the KSB raised the money through emission of bonds.¹⁵ In the largest building a billiard room, a café, and other facilities created the impression that the KSB was developing into some kind of a Catholic social club. N. Orie was the man to call the string orchestra together, while Jesuit priest W. van der Kun led the choir in a number of secular songs. For social events women were invited. There were continuous warnings by the clergy about this development, which was seen as the initial weakness of the Surabaya and Semarang branches. As a result a number of quite serious activities were started, like the *lectuurbureau*, which started a library in the KSB building, and a *leesmap*, a lending system whereby people could borrow recent journals and magazines for one week. This was the period of a return to stricter morals, owing to the presence of more and more Dutch women in the colony, and the library activities should be seen as a means to prevent Catholics from reading improper materials. A *missiebureau* was soon founded, literally a mission office, but in fact a committee to raise funds for mission work in the Indies. A *studiekring* organized lectures on religious and social subjects, a *militairen-commissie* supported the opening of meeting places for military personnel, the *militair tehuis*, while a *commissie voor het vrouwenvraagstuk* discussed the position of women and girls.

From the first year, 1913, special attention was given to the presence of the KSB on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. On the first day members held candles and accompanied the host to the special place of repose during the three days preceding Easter Sunday. On Good Friday they accompanied the procession carrying the relics of the holy cross around the cathedral. Was it the

¹⁵ Letter from J.A. Monod de Froideville to KSB members, 20-3-1916 in AJAK M 1-1-4.

memory of the festive procession in East Flores, especially Larantuka, where Luyken had worked during 1889-1898, that gave him the idea of holding this festive procession in Batavia? Members of the choir and of the KSB joined in with great enthusiasm, giving a more religious flavour to this Catholic club. During the first year of the KSB much attention was paid to new initiatives: in 1913 four formal meetings were held on procedures and the discussion of plans, two social gatherings with music and speeches, and the executive committee met no fewer than 27 times.¹⁶

The KSB never opened a special branch or organization for women, in contrast to its Central Javanese counterpart, the Katolika Wandawa, founded in 1913, which in 1923 established a female branch, Wanita Katolik (see Chapter X). Still, the exclusively male membership of the KSB was soon challenged by several women. One of the fiercest attackers was Mrs Ine Aufderheyde-Muller, a Dutch Catholic who had married a non-Catholic with ecclesiastical dispensation. When she arrived in Batavia about September 1916 she reported to the parish house of the cathedral expressing her wish to become a KSB member. This appeared to be impossible, because only adult male Catholics could become members. Father Jan van Rijckevorsel told her that she was welcome as a benefactor, but not as an active member on her own. Similarly, unmarried women, widows, and divorced women could never become members. Mrs Aufderheyde complained about this situation in a long letter to Bishop Luyken, mentioning that she had been active in Catholic women's organizations in the Netherlands and that she had direct contacts with friends in other European countries like England, France and Germany. She found the Batavia regulations very severe compared to the European situation.¹⁷ Apparently this and similar cases brought about a change in KSB regulations. In 1920 female members were admitted for the first time as full members, including Mrs Aufderheyde-Muller. By May 1920 there were about 200 members in Batavia, among them six unmarried women and 16 women who were registered only in their own names (without their husband being a member – probably Catholic women married to non-Catholics).¹⁸

During its early years the Batavia KSB published its annual reports and news in *Javapost*, the Dutch-language Catholic weekly for the colony. In 1919 it published a monthly, *Sociaal Leven* (Social Life). This initiative was soon followed by the unions of Surabaya, Semarang and Yogyakarta, who published *Sociaal Streven* (Social Struggle), partly as a continuation of the *Orgaan van de*

¹⁶ Report of the first year in the printed eight-page report of 9-5-1914, also in AJAK M 1-1-3.

¹⁷ A five-page letter by Ine Aufderheyde-Muller to Bishop Luyken, Batavia, 12-4-1917, relating to her meeting with Jan van Rijckevorsel 'eight months earlier'. There is also a draft of the answer by Luyken, 23-4-1917, who thanks her for the letter with the eight enclosures that were returned to her. AJAK M 1-1-4. She is also mentioned as Mrs M.E. Muller-Aufderheyde.

¹⁸ List of May 1920 in AJAK M 1-1, 1 and 2.

Bond van Katholieken, the Surabaya publication. In 1922 both monthlies were united under the title *Sociaal Leven en Streven*, a weekly publication of some eight pages. All KSB members were automatically subscribers to this weekly and this guaranteed a good number of subscriptions and contributions. In 1930 the weekly publication turned into a monthly magazine. In contrast to the more general *Javapost* and later *De Koerier* (The Messenger), which were dominated by the clergy, in KSB publications there was seldom a contribution by the clergy until the late 1920s. In the 1930s, however, when the central council ran into problems, the clergy took over this duty, and for a long time Father Victorius Beekman OFM was the editor. In the 1930s it was difficult to persuade the best people to join the central council of the KSB, because work in the trade unions and the Catholic political party had become much more prestigious positions for Catholic laypeople.

As we will see below, under the authority of the KSB central council, Catholic trade unions started between 1916 and 1920. The first union was for teachers. In 1917-1918 a national political party for the white population was established. Trade unions and this political party enjoyed a degree of independence within the body of KSB. After its formal organization had developed in the 1910s, there were no important developments in the KSB itself. Under the umbrella of the central council or Centrale Raad in Batavia, the 18 local branches were the focus for the most devoted Catholic European and Eurasian families. In the 1930s the central council became weaker and weaker, due to the economic depression. It was, however, not only the economic depression that caused the decline of the central council. In 1928 the Bandung KSB, with 180 members the largest branch after Batavia, decided to stop their collective subscription to the weekly and to buy a new billiard table instead. This sparked a renewed debate about the function of the magazine and the aims of the KSB: should it be a nice social club on the local level, or an instrument for socio-religious discussion and development of the Catholic community?¹⁹ The weekly was turned into a monthly bulletin, renamed *De Toorts van het Sociale Leven* (The Torch of Social Life) in 1938, but it stopped publication in mid-1939. Apparently the central council was not really important anymore. Neither was the division of the island of Java into six ecclesiastical districts helpful for the development of the KSB as a unifying body. For socializing there were the local unions, for political affairs there was a political party, while working people had their trade unions. The last major endeavour sponsored by the central council of the KSB was the festive journey of popular preacher and Franciscan friar Borromaeus de Greve to the Indies, September-December 1937.²⁰

¹⁹ See the various hot debates in *Sociaal Leven en Streven*, 9 (1928) 162.

²⁰ Report on 1938, dated 17-4-1939, typewritten, AJAK M 1-11-1

Katholieke Onderwijzers Bond: Pioneer of Catholic trade unions

The NIOG or Nederlandsch-Indisch Onderwijzers Genootschap (Association of Netherlands Indies Teachers) was established in 1894 as a trade union for teachers at public schools in the Indies. It was the 'second founding' of an earlier NIOG established in 1851, but later inactive. In the early 1910s the NIOG magazine *De School in Nederlandsch-Indië* started criticizing the growing number of denominational schools in the colony.²¹ Jos Suys, teacher in Surabaya, whom we met above as one of the founders of the Bond voor Katholieken, started a defence in his Surabaya magazine against the anti-clerical attacks of NIOG representatives. In 1913, after the NIOG annual meeting in the Freemasons' lodge of Semarang, Suys proposed in *Javapost* that all Catholic teachers should unite in a Catholic teachers' union. As happened with other proposals by Suys, this one was carried out later by other people, even though his own suggestion was hotly disputed at the time. Besides Suys, quite a few Catholics who were NIOG members felt embarrassed by the anti-clerical attacks and wanted to found their own union. The KSB central council held a special meeting on the matter in Surabaya, 11-12 June 1916, where the decision was taken to establish a denominational union. After continuing debates in Catholic circles, and between the Catholics and the 'Freemasons' of the NIOG, on 1 January 1917 the central council of the KSB established the Katholieke Onderwijzers Bond, KOB, as the only Catholic teachers' union recognized by the bishop of Batavia. Its first chairman was A.B. ten Berge, a teacher in Buitenzorg (Bogor). The Jesuit A. van Hoof, the parish priest of Buitenzorg, became the spiritual advisor of the new union.

Although initially only a few dozen Catholic teachers joined the union, by mid-1917 their number rose to 103, and in 1922 the KOB had more than 200 members. It was primarily its magazine, the biweekly *Het Katholiek Schoolblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, that had given prestige to the union. In the first decade major social and political questions dominated the union: the right style of education, Dutch or more Indonesian, non-sectarian or religious? After 1930 it was financial questions that were discussed: the reduction of salaries versus the reduction of posts and even schools.

Besides A.B. ten Berge, prominent KOB leaders included Jos Suys and J.A. Monod de Froideville, who were both active in the KSB as well. In the late 1930s Jef Notermans (1898-1987), one of the first leaders of the Bellarminus student union, became the president of the KOB.

The Catholics were not alone in having a denominational union for teachers. About the same time Protestants started the Christelijke Onderwijzers Vereeniging in Nederlandsch-Indië (Christian Teachers' Association in the Netherlands Indies). A union of Chinese teachers (Chineesche Onderwijzers-

²¹ On the NIOG see Groeneboer 1993:128-9; also R. Sikkes 1986: 21-37.

Bond, its Chinese name was Chung Hwa Hui) was also founded, in 1927, with a Dutch-language magazine, *De Chineesche Onderwijzer* (Christian Teachers' Association in the Netherlands Indies).

In 1932 the KOB took the initiative of establishing a Katholieke Vakcentrale, an umbrella association of Catholic trade unions. By the end of the first year, 1933, they had five unions and a total of 1,700 members: 700 teachers (KOB), 80 Douanebond (tax officials), 400 railway personnel, 75 members of the R.K. Bond van Overheidspersoneel (Roman Catholic union of government officials), 200 of Saint Joseph's union (private enterprise, shopkeepers, planters), and 200 individual members.²² For the nearly 70,000 European and Eurasian Catholics in the colony at the time, it was a modest number, but certainly a solid effort in line with the overall strategy of establishing a more vibrant Catholic community as a separate social force in a society of growing pillarization.

Saint Ignatius and Saint Raphael: Catholic trade unions for army and railway personnel

Around 1930 the colonial army counted some 30,000 soldiers. About 1,050 of the officers and some 4,500 common soldiers were European or Eurasian. Somewhat more than one-third of these army personnel had a Catholic background. Among the Indonesian members of the army there were quite a few Ambonese and Menadonese (nearly 10,000 in 1931, compared to 1,648 Timorese, 15,469 Javanese, 1,716 Sundanese, and 592 Madurese, Achehnese and Malay soldiers). This made the colonial army about half Christian and half Muslim. Among the Indonesian soldiers most Christians were Protestant. Most Catholics were European or Eurasian.²³

Pastoral care for European soldiers starting early in the nineteenth century was a task of the regular Catholic clergy. During the Java war of 1825-1830 Rev. J. Scholten was appointed to join the army in its campaigns. In 1871 Father Smit SJ established a 'congregation' for soldiers in Padang. After the start of the war in Aceh, 1873, this congregation ceased to exist. Father Henricus Verbraak, who served in Aceh until 1907 as a military chaplain and continued his work in Padang from 1907 until 1917, resumed these activities in 1874. In 1919 Sub-lieutenant J.C. Radder proposed the establishment of a union of Catholic soldiers, but his plans were discouraged by the clergy. They suggested that soldiers become ordinary members of the Katholieke Sociale Bond at a reduced fee. Radder continued his efforts and gathered a small number of non-commisioned officers (*onderofficieren*), the middle ranks of the army, who wanted to

²² Letter from the secretary of KVC to Bishop Van Velsen, Batavia, 28-8-1933, AJAK M 4-4-1.

²³ Much of the material for this section was taken from a series of 14 articles by Vriens in *Claverbond* 1937-8. See also Donckers 2004.

break with the dominant religious indifference in their profession. During a furlough in the Netherlands, Radder contacted the head of Catholic army chaplains in the Netherlands, Colonel F.J.H. Evers, and sought the support of the Dutch union of lower officers, Saint Martin. Back in the Indies, in Bandung, he contacted the Jesuit J.I. van Beckhoven, who had worked with Father Verbraak in Padang, 1905-1912. Van Beckhoven supported the idea and on 3 December 1922 Saint Ignace, the first union of lower officers, was founded in Bandung with 30 members. Until the appointment of the first full-time Catholic army chaplain in 1927, Van Beckhoven remained the spiritual advisor of the union.

There was suspicion not only from the clergy, based on a long tradition of religious indifference in the army. The union of army personnel, Ons Aller Belang, did not support the idea of a separate Catholic union. These more liberal activists used the term *splijtzwam*, or 'dissenter', for the denominational union. During the 1920s and until late in the 1930s, besides Radder, his fellow sub-lieutenant, H.J. Bossard, was the strong man behind the union.

Although the union was explicitly established for the middle ranks (lower officers) of the army, lower ranks and common soldiers were accepted too, although only as associate members. They joined in good numbers, soon outnumbering lower officers. The separation between European and Indonesian soldiers (also reflected in the use of different languages) was continued in the union with a special section for indigenous soldiers. Some activities, however, were done together, like excursions to the Buddhist monument of Borobudur from the barracks of Magelang.²⁴

In 1924 a monthly magazine *St. Ignatius* was published. The monthly communion at Sunday mass was given a festive character. There were retreats for soldiers as a special activity. Until 1930 they took place at the orphanages of Bogor and Batavia, and during school holidays in the dormitories of Xavier College, Muntilan. From 1931 onwards, they were held in the retreat house of Giri Sonta, Ungaran. In its first 15 years until 1937, St. Ignatius organized 37 retreats with a total of 833 military participants, an average of 23. In cities with larger garrisons the Katholieke Sociale Bond opened KMTs, Katholiek Militair Tehuis, places where soldiers on their days off could find entertainment, like playing cards or billiards, reading materials, inexpensive food and drinks, and occasionally parties. The largest and most successful was in Cimahi, the garrison town of Bandung, which in 1937 had some 1,800 visitors per month, an average of 60 per day. Second was Semarang, with 750 visitors per month. Batavia and Surabaya also had a KMT. In the latter town the marine chaplain, Major G. Litjens CM, established two special unions, the St. Jozefbond for European and the St. Paulusbond for Indonesian navy personnel.²⁵

²⁴ A photograph of a trip from the garrison of Magelang to Borobudur, with a stop at the parish house of Mendut probably in 1937, in *Claverbond* 1938:69, shows 33 European and Eurasian military men, as well as 20 Indonesians and two priests.

²⁵ For this history Vriens 1937-8:42-5 and 60-70. Donckers 2004:140 and throughout.

Katholieke Jongelingenbond, Katholieke Meisjesbond, and Catholic scouting

Jan van Rijckevorsel was the patron of another KSB branch, Katholieke Jongelingenbond or KJB, an organization for teenagers who had completed at least primary school, up to the age of 20 (because 21 was the minimum age for the KSB). Most of these boys were enrolled at a secondary school where no religious classes were given. In 1912 the dynamic Van Rijckevorsel had transformed these classes into a debating club that gained some popularity. The first group of KJB members consisted of 40 boys who followed these catechism classes regularly in the parish house of the Batavia cathedral. The weekly catechism course became the main requirement for membership. Just as the car was an important vehicle for adults in facilitating social interaction, including the KSB, the bicycle, which became popular among Batavia middle-class youth in the 1910s, made socializing much easier.²⁶ Besides catechism courses and debates about religious issues, the KJB started clubs for music, for mission work, sports (gymnastics and fencing), and theatre. Members joined competitions in football and billiards. They also started their own lending library. By March 1918 the KJB even had a building of its own, constructed on the premises of the Batavia KSB compound. *Indische Voorhoede* (The Indisch Vanguard) was its magazine, which was also used for the girls' club, the Katholieke Meisjesbond, KMB, established in August 1920 by the same Jan van Rijckevorsel.²⁷

As a non-sectarian youth organization, scouting became popular in the Indies among European and some indigenous youth starting in the early 1910s. In 1917 members of European origin established a national scouting association NIPV, Nederlandsch-Indische Padvinders Vereeniging. In the 1920s Islamic scouting became popular only among Indonesian youth who had studied at Dutch-language Islamic schools run by organizations like Muhammadiyah, and among members of the Dutch-speaking Islamic youth movement Jong Islamieten Bond. The largest non-European scouting groups came together in the SIAP, Sarekat Islam Afdeeling Pandoe, and Hizboel Wathan, Muhammadiyah's scouting group. Among Catholics there were discussions about fusions within indigenous Indonesian groups as well as with European scouting, but ethnic and religious dividing lines were too strong.

From the late 1920s on, there were local Catholic scouting groups, starting probably in Bandung, where the national training centre for 'neutral' (non-sectarian) scouting was established. In the 1930s we see the same process and conflicts as with many other organizations. The national NIPV was consid-

²⁶ See the observation in Vriens, 'Honderd jaar':845.

²⁷ It began in 1922 as a magazine for Catholic youth *De Indische Voorhoede; Maandblad voor Indische jongens en meisjes* and existed for six years in Batavia, had 1,100 subscribers, was then halted, but revived in 1935; see Missieprocuur der P.P. 1935:83.

ered by some to be anti-religious or dominated by 'Freemasons'. (Since the Catholic church was opposed to its members joining the Freemasons, the term was often used by Catholics to refer derogatorily to non-Catholics.) In order to make the admission of Islam-oriented groups possible, the NIPV in its statutes of 1929 even recognized 'a religious principle' and included some non-denominational, inclusive prayers in its handbooks. This was sufficient for some Catholic clergy, but not for all. For this reason some clergy wanted a Catholic national umbrella for the local Catholic scouting groups. The champion of the inclusionists, who wanted to continue cooperation with the non-sectarian scouting organization, was Father J.J. Zoetmulder CM in Surabaya, who had Vicar Apostolic Willekens as his chief opponent. Zoetmulder, who had arrived in the Indies in 1935, protested against the high position of the clerical religious advisor in Catholic scouting, and ended a letter to Willekens with the nasty expression: *le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi*, or 'clericalism is our greatest enemy', a French expression commonly used by liberals and Freemasons, who were Protestant. Willekens replied in a personal mood:

I definitely cannot agree with your expression *le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi*. I was born and educated in a small village in Brabant, where the parish priest could rule as he wanted, but where my father, as mayor, stuck to his rights and duties. Therefore, I think that I really know very well where we find the true 'danger' of clericalism. As a son of my father, I do hope that I may avoid this mistake. But it is my conviction that this danger does not really exist here in the Indies.²⁸

The minor and in fact unimportant conflicts and debates in the margin of this organization show the narrow-mindedness and provincialism of some members of the clergy that were so vehemently criticized by Mangunwijaya in the 1990s.²⁹ I will mention just one other example, the position of W.F.A. Kagie in 1941 as national Catholic scout leader, posted in Bandung. Kagie, who had worked as an assistant in a drugstore, had been active in scouting for 15 years, first in Kutaraja, Aceh, and since 1937 in Bandung. He was depicted by the ADC (assistant district commissary) B.G.A. Mahieu of Surabaya as someone who had declared that 'Catholic leaders put themselves under command of leaders of the non-sectarian NIPV, whereas in my district, the Freemasons lodge, the Rotary and theosophy dominate'. Mahieu, the candidate from Surabaya who was on the list to be Kagie's successor, was in turn criticized by the priest H. Bijlhout OCarm³⁰ of Malang, who wrote about B. Mahieu:

²⁸ Letter from J. Zoetmulder, Surabaya, to Willekens, 3-9-1938, and response from Yogyakarta, 10-10-1938, in AJAK C5-6-4

²⁹ Especially in his book on Christianity as a diaspora, Mangunwijaya 1999. See also Steenbrink 1998a. This is further elaborated in Chapter XI.

³⁰ About this order, see Appendix 1, 1.5.

This man was for some time, as I remember, leader of the Catholic sea scouts in the Netherlands. He is an administrative officer in the royal navy and indeed a very pious Catholic. I see him very often. But there is some delicate detail involved here. His wife has good 'friendly connections' with a Protestant minister who virtually does not believe any longer in divine revelation. People talk about this relation. But Mr Mahieu himself is considered by many people as somewhat of a 'saint'.³¹

On the whole, Catholic scouting groups were not very numerous. In May 1940 there were the following groups:

District	Number of groups	Scouts
Batavia	9	337
Buitenzorg/Bogor	1	46
Sukabumi	1	22
Central Java	10	280
Prefecture Surabaya	5	189
Prefecture Purwokerto	8	387
Prefecture Bandung	9	299
Vicariate Padang	5	217
Vicariate Palembang	2	70
Total	50	1,847

There were 138 male and female leaders involved in these activities. The ten groups of Central Java were concentrated in the bigger towns of Yogyakarta and Semarang, or were based in the Dutch-language schools of Muntilan. In 1935, in negotiations with the non-sectarian NIPV, Willekens, in his extremely concise style, had already formulated the basic principle: 'We say, care for youth is care for souls and therefore must be under the control and direction of the church. Even though the NIPV state that they are responsible for the scouting tradition, we have our responsibility and can never delegate it.'³² The discussion between the Catholic and the non-sectarian scouting organization continued until the end of the colonial period, but the Catholics could never accept a marginal position within the NIPV, and formally they stayed outside the organization. Here too, pillarization was transplanted from the Netherlands to the Indies.

³¹ B. Mahieu to Willekens 11-11-1941 and H. Bijlhout to Willekens, Malang, 16-11-1941, in AJAK C 5-6-2.

³² 'Wij zeggen: Jeugdzorg is zielzorg, moet dus onder controle en leiding van de kerk staan. Redeneert de NIPV: "Padvinderij is ons werk", wij zijn verantwoordelijk voor de leiding en mogen die niet aan wie dan ook afstaan.' Willekens to Zoetmulder in Surabaya, 8-6-1935, AJAK C 5-6-3.

Bellarminus: Catholic student union and related organizations

Until the 1910s, European and Indonesian students had to go to Europe if they wanted a university education. Higher education was introduced quite late in the Indies. The first academic institution was the technological college in Bandung in 1920. It was followed by the law faculty (Rechtshoogeschool) in Batavia (1924). A medical faculty was established in 1927 in Surabaya, while a faculty of arts was started in December 1940, again in Batavia, and was the beginning of a full university that only developed after independence. Those who studied at teacher training colleges and at schools for administrative and lower medical occupations also belonged to the category of students. The Catholic student union was one of the few Catholic organizations that was racially mixed. Among the first group that started the initiative in November 1928 in the parish house of the cathedral of Batavia were the Jesuit priest J. Wubbe of Batavia, medical doctor Nico van der Muyen, and senior government official Dr Han Levelt (later *regeeringsgemachtigde* or spokesman for the colonial government in the Volksraad). The first students involved were Max Blondeau, Max Goewie, Jan van Slooten, C.A. Egter van Wissekerke, Jan Teng, and one female member, the medical student Erna Peters. Two of them were Chinese Indonesians (Teng and Goewie), and Chinese Catholics apparently continued to play quite an important role in the union (which restricted its activities to the city of Batavia). At a later stage (in 1932) the union was renamed Bellarminus, after Robertus Bellarminus (1542-1621), a learned Jesuit and fierce defender of Catholic doctrine after the Reformation. Initially only law students and medical students were accepted as members. Dr Levelt had been an active member of the Saint Thomas Aquinas student union in Amsterdam during his studies in the Netherlands. After the first formal meeting on 9 December 1928, Dr Levelt spoke at the January 1929 meeting about the practice of Catholic student unions in the Netherlands. In the first formal season, 1929-30, a Chinese student, Cornelis Njo, was elected as president (*praeses*), another Chinese, Max Goewie, as secretary (*abactis*), while C. Egter van Wissekerke was the first treasurer. Until 1932 Bellarminus was a very small group of students (mostly with fewer than ten participants at the few and very serious activities) who came together once a month to discuss some serious subject, like the theory of evolution. In 1932 the Jesuit H. Awick became religious advisor and he brought more dynamism to the union. In 1933 he was succeeded by the more popular Jesuit A. van Hoof and in 1937 by another Jesuit, Nicolas Brantjes. In 1932, the new president, Jef Notermans, was able to make the union more vibrant. He brought Bellarminus to the same level as the non-sectarian Bataviaasch Studenten Corps, the Christelijke Studentenvereniging (Protestant union), and the Chinese Tsa Hsioh Sing Hui.

In line with the usual practice of pillarization in the Netherlands, the forty members showed the strong Catholic identity of the union, with annual retreats in Giri Sonta, Ungaran, a choir, an orchestra, theatre plays, and similar activities. However, Catholic students also participated in the common rituals and practices of other student unions, including an extended, drastic, and sometimes crass period of initiation of new members. By 1938 the union had some 100 members. It was the only multi-racial student union in the Indies and expressed this even in its song:³³

[...] Ondanks rassenverschil of wij bruin zijn of geel
 wij zijn één en als makkers fideel.
 Wij wensen te zijn ideale student
 Een ieder z'n plicht tot het uiterste kent.

[Notwithstanding difference of race – brown or yellow –
 we are as one and loyal friends.
 We want to behave as ideal students
 All of us know our duties]

Until 1935 the Bellarminus student union was so small that it was formally still part of the KJO, Katholieke Jongeren Organisatie (Catholic Youth Organization), the association of Catholic youth. It took several difficult years and hot debates for them to become an independent organization, under the supervision of sometimes severe Jesuits, but their Catholic faith proved to be stronger than the gap between newer and older generations.³⁴

The presence of quite a few ethnic Chinese members in Bellarminus (in 1938 the magazine of the union had J. Koei San Lim and Hap Lie Tjoa as contributors, to give just another example of Chinese names) led the union to co-operate with the Chinese Ta Hsioh, especially its orchestra.

³³ From the article by Notermans 1938:67-76.

³⁴ For some smaller conflicts, especially between Jef Notermans and the Jesuit priest H. Awick, see AJAK C 5-1. The subject of the hottest conflict was whether Catholic students were allowed to join the sporting activities of non-sectarian associations. There was also a repeated irritation about the wish of the students to be independent as a union and the wish of the clergy that the central unity of the youth organizations should not be disrupted. On 24-3-1935 president Jef Notermans sent a letter to Vicar Apostolic Willekens with quotations from a Vatican document to prove that student organizations should have a special status. On 28 March he received a rude answer: 'Dear Mr Notermans, please, do simply what I wrote to you in my letter of 25 January. It is so important, it deserves every effort, that we give to everybody the proper conditions in our social relations. The little student union found its place of birth, its first development, its first meritorious work within the common union, KJO. We should recognize and honour this past. The independence of Bellarminus certainly will be reached. But: whether the Papal views ask this from me? Do you allow me to have my doubts about this?' On 29-3-1935 Notermans wrote a very humble comment: 'It was only out of true love for the Catholic student union that we wanted to make Bellarminus as solid as possible. Perhaps this love was for some moments blind', AJAK C 5-3-1.

On 20 January 1927 Dr Josef Schmutzer initiated another activity within the KSB, the Indische Katholieke Wetenschappelijke Vereeniging (Catholic Academic Union of the Indies, IKWV). It immediately had some 30 members and organized debates. The learned Jesuit Dr Jos Kurris was its spiritual advisor. In the 1930s the IKWV was no longer so active and did not attract new members. Independent of the KSB and the IKWV, the St. Hieronymusgilde was established in 1938 as the guild or union of Catholics 'who by view of development and culture belonged together'.³⁵ The founders, the scholar of Javanese C.C. Berg, lawyer A. de Groot, lawyer Th. Bot, medical doctor J. Cohen, and the young literary scholar Jef Notermans, already known from Bellarminus, had in mind the Dutch Adelberts-vereniging, established in 1935 as a Catholic social organization for the upper class. The clergy suggested an association with the KSB and its branches, but the new organization initially was reluctant. Because of this reluctance the clergy did not give formal permission to the guild, which only had some 24 members (and an additional 200 prospective members) in Batavia and applied for official but also independent recognition, not under the KSB, in November 1941. The answer given to this request is not known, but there was a very negative memo from the inevitable Jan Rijckevorsel to the bishop: 'They are misleading themselves. They must realize that they as Catholics must join Catholic organizations. They call this an organization of class and think that they are free to remain outside the other movements and have already fulfilled their duties.'³⁶ On the eve of the involvement of the Indies in World War II there was still the animosity of 1909, of laity that wished to remain as independent as possible from clerical regulations, while the ecclesiastical authorities wanted to keep their flock united under their control.

Indische Katholieke Partij: Political party of European Catholics

Until the 1910s, Catholics in the Netherlands had no political party of their own. There were local committees to support Catholic candidates, who until 1900 most often voted with the liberals in parliament, while after 1900 coalitions with Protestant candidates were more often sought. In the Indies until 1917 the same thing happened. For the local election of city councils, held for the first time in 1903, there were committees like the one in Surabaya in 1909 that supported the election of Brother Willibrord Keens and later of Jos Suys. In Surabaya, however, it was not an exclusively Catholic committee: the

³⁵ 'die uit een oogpunt van ontwikkeling en cultuur bij elkander behooren', from a letter giving an overview of the Hieronymus history since 21-11-1938 by chairman C.C. Berg and secretary A.H.G. de Groot to Bishop Willekens, AJAK M C 6-4-1-3

³⁶ 'Het is een beetnemerij van zichzelf. Ze voelen als katholiek, dat zij aan het katholieke organisatieleven moeten meedoen, noemten dit nu eene standorganisatie, en kunnen zich dan verder buiten alles houden en hebben hun vollen plicht gedaan,' AJAK C 6-4-1-3.

Soerabaia's Kiesvereeniging (Surabaya Election Association) brought together people of all convictions 'with the exception only of extremists' and therefore supported some Catholics.³⁷ Only in 1915 was the ban on political parties and organizations in the Indies lifted, and in preparation for the elections for the national council or Volksraad in 1918, real political life became possible. The first truly national political party was the liberal NIVB, Nederlandsch-Indische Vrijzinnige Bond (Liberal Political Union of the Dutch Indies, established in 1916). In 1917 both the Protestant CEP, Christelijk Ethische Partij (Christian Ethical Party), and the IKP, Indische Katholieke Partij (Catholic Party of the Indies), were established.

In fact the history of the IKP goes back to the elections for the municipal council of Batavia on 30 July 1917. Only one week before this political event, on 22 July 1917, the Katholieke Vereeniging voor Politieke Actie (Catholic Union for Political Action) was established in Batavia with B.F. Boerma Jr as chairman and L.J.M. Feber, E. van Arcken, Paul Karthaus, and L. Willemse as members of the committee. L. Feber was born in the Netherlands in 1885 as the son of a retired colonial soldier. Feber studied engineering in Delft and after graduation in 1908 left for the Indies, where he worked until 1920. In 1912 he was stationed in Bondowoso as a railway engineer, when he became active in the Bond voor Katholieken of Surabaya. In 1917 he was living in Batavia, where he would become the first chairman of the national IKP in 1918. Not much about his political activities in the Indies is known, because no IKP member was directly elected for the first Volksraad. Because of his past experience in irrigation works, Feber was appointed to give advice on social and agricultural affairs. In the Dutch parliament, where he was a member from 1922 to 1925, he became known for his lobbying to prohibit an indigenous Indonesian majority in the Volksraad.

The municipal elections of 1917 in Batavia were a failure, but were also the start for Catholic co-operation on similar initiatives in Surabaya and Semarang. Time was limited, because the first elections for the Volksraad followed on 16 October 1917. The Batavia Catholic election committee had put Dr Josef Schmutzer and P. Karthaus on its list. Neither of these was elected, but Schmutzer was later appointed by the governor-general. Feber, who had already succeeded Boerma as the chairman in late 1917, made a promotional tour in early 1918. The tour resulted in the formal founding of the IKP on 7 November 1918 in the KSB building in Batavia with the support of a similar organization in Surabaya.³⁸ On 22 November 1918 the IKP was acknowledged as a Catholic organization by Bishop Luyken.

³⁷ Anonymous article on the start of the IKP in Surabaya in the special issue of *De Nieuwe Tijd* 1938:28.

³⁸ About Feber and the start of IKP see the special issue of *De Nieuwe Tijd* 1938:16-21 and Bank 1983:55-6.

As was the case with the KSB, the structure of the IKP was that of a federation of local election committees, with the Batavia chapter as a very powerful and even dominating centralizing body. Semarang only joined formally on 27 March 1919, while two branches, Magelang and Yogyakarta, joined in May 1919 at the instigation of Josef Schmutzer.

The IKP always remained a Javanese organization: outside Java there were only branches in Makassar, Padang, Medan, Palembang, Bukittinggi, and Sawahlunto. In 1938 there were a total of 34 branches. Of the 60 members of the Volksraad, the IKP had three delegates, thus the Catholics, who constituted less than 2% of the total population, were quite well represented. However, if we look at the 25 European members of the Volksraad during this period, the Catholic claim that they formed one-third of this section was not reflected in the voting. In the Netherlands in this period the Catholic party obtained nearly one-third of the seats in parliament. In this sense the colony remained much less denominational in its political work than the Netherlands. In 1928 the IKP annual convention concluded that the majority of Catholics were not united in the IKP and therefore a committee was installed to formulate a strategy to reach that goal. The committee wrote a report, but this did not lead to the goal of uniting a majority of European Catholics in the colony under the banner of the IKP. The committee thought it impossible that the goal could be reached, owing to indifference in religious matters (only in larger towns was there a revival of religion), and the fundamental division of Catholics into three groups (indigenous, Eurasians, and people recently arrived from Europe). People in the last group would stay in the colony only for a short time, and their attitudes remained those of expatriates.³⁹

During its first decade (1918-1929), Josef Schmutzer was the dominant figure in the IKP faction of parliament. He was one of the two leading figures of the Gondang Lipoero sugar plantation south of Yogyakarta. Here he introduced better social conditions as well as an adapted style of Catholicism. After Schmutzer left the Indies in February 1930 to accept an academic post in the Netherlands, the IKP experienced six years of turmoil. The last period (1935-1941) was dominated by Piet Kerstens.⁴⁰ Born in 1896 in Ginneken, a suburb of Breda in the Netherlands, Kerstens was educated as a teacher. He arrived in the Indies in 1926 and taught at a junior high school, first in Semarang, later in Batavia. A gifted speaker, comedian, and musician, Kerstens became an important figure in the Catholic society of Batavia, where he became the director of the Catholic junior high school (MULO) and director of the Caecilia choir of the cathedral. He was a true *totok*, a new arrival from overseas who

³⁹ *Verslag der Commissie tot Onderzoek van de Organisatie en Werkwijze der Indische Katholieke Partij*, with preface and signed by P.H.M. Hildebrand as secretary, 30-1-1929 (printed as a brochure, copy in KITLV Leiden, M 1996 A 83).

⁴⁰ Portrait in Bank 1983:50-2.



Piet A. Kerstens (1896-1958), caricature by Wim van Wieringen (KDC, Nijmegen, 4633936)

had little sympathy for Eurasians, and it was widely known that his greatest fear was that 'one of his children would marry a Eurasian'. In the early 1930s he gained more and more influence, through the cathedral choir and essays in the newspaper *De Koerier*, but his central position became that of chairman of the IKP, the last in a long series.⁴¹

Period	Chairman of IKP	IKP members in Volksraad
1918-21	L. Feber Sept. 1920: J. Bruineman	J. Schmutzer (appointed)
1921-24	August 1921: L. Willemse Dec. 1922: J. Treine June 1923: J. Bruineman	J. Schmutzer (appointed, elected in 1923) W. Burer (appointed for IEV*) J. Buffart (devout Catholic, member not for IKP but for East Sumatra)
1924-27		J. Schmutzer (appointed) A.B. ten Berge (appointed) Soejadi (appointed)
1927-31	1928: J. Schmutzer January 1930: G. Pastor	J. Schmutzer (elected; after January 1930 succeeded by R. van Nessel) A.B. ten Berge (appointed) J.A. Monod de Froideville (appointed) (J. Bruineman appointed for sugar planters)
1931-35	February 1932: J. Monod de Froideville August 1932: F. Knaapen August 1933: P. Kerstens	J.A. Monod de Froideville (elected) G. Pastor (appointed) (R. Nessel for civil servants, mid 1934-35)
1935-39		P.A. Kerstens (elected) P. Hildebrand (elected) I.J. Kasimo (appointed)
1939-		P. Kersten (elected) I.J. Kasimo (appointed)

* This appointment of Burer, in part also for the IEV, was not mentioned in the IKP overview for 1938. See, however, Bosma 1997:334. Later Burer complained that no Catholics were welcome in the IEV leadership. See his letter to W. van Dijck, 29-4-1933, AJAK M 6-7-4.

The frequent change of chairman was related to the European furloughs of Feber (who did not return), Bruineman (in 1920), and Willemse (1923). As we will see below, the replacement of G. Pastor by Monod de Froideville was related to conflicts within the IKP.

⁴¹ The list of representatives and leaders was taken from several mostly anonymous contributions to the special issue of *De Nieuwe Tijd* 1938:34-47.



Cecilia Choir of Batavia during a trip to Buitenzorg/Bogor in 1919.
 Seated, with black cassocks, the Jesuit priests A. van Hoof, Th. J.M. Madlener,
 A. Nolthenius de Man, H.A. Sterneberg. Row 2, standing between Madlener
 and Nolthenius de Man: a member of the Van Arcken family;
 standing second from right W. Burer. From the Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen

The Catholic character of the IKP was not too visible in the party's actual political strategy. The political manifesto of Surabaya, 15 March 1918, signed by Josef Schmutzer, E. Geelen, and E. Schette, had just the meagre formula 'in the spiritual arena the party asks for the support of the government for Christian mission, as far as this can be seen as a powerful means for civilization'.⁴² The IKP party platform of September 1919 was even more modest in the active support of the government for missionary work, but had a somewhat longer list of wishes: abolition of article 123 of the constitution of the Indies preventing double mission (this prevented Catholics from working in 'Protestant' or

⁴² 'Op geestelijk gebied verlangt zij den steun van de Regeering voor de Christelijke zending, in zoverre deze is een machtig middel tot beschaving', from the *Manifesto; Aan de katholieke ingezetenen van Soerabaia, 15-3-1918* in AJAK M 3-6-1.

'Muslim' areas), removal of obstacles for missionary work, and revision of the 1847 concordat with the Vatican. In social affairs the platform advocated the abolition of corvée, and measures against extremely high interest rates and unfair economic competition. For the future rule of the Indies there was the proposal of more autonomy for districts and regions, and the division of the Indies into autonomous regions. This would have meant reduction of the influence of the European homeland and was acceptable to Eurasians, those born in the colony. There was no debate about independence. In the 1925 session both Schmutzter and Ten Berge took a position in favour of the Indology faculty of Utrecht, which paid more attention to economics, a weak point of Indology studies at Leiden University, which was known for its support of the nationalist movement.

The impossibility of political unity between European and Javanese Catholics

In June 1923 the Muntilan-based Leo van Rijckevorsel initiated a Javanese sister union to the IKP. It started with a Dutch name, quite similar to that of the preparatory election committee, Katholieke Javanen Vereeniging voor Politieke Actie (Union of Catholic Javanese for Political Action). Among this group were Raden Mas Soejadi Djajasepoetra, a veterinarian in Purwakerta, and Ignatius Kasimo, an agricultural consultant in Tegalgondo, Surakarta; other members were C. Pranoto and F. Soetrisno. The small core organized a public meeting in Yogyakarta, 5 August 1923, with some 45 attending, and on 14 August 1923 they submitted the statutes of the union to be authorized by the government.⁴³ After the 1924 elections, Governor-General Fock appointed Soejadi as member of the Volksraad. He joined the IKP faction. Soejadi was not a revolutionary nationalist, but insisted repeatedly on small improvements for the native population. His first intervention on 17 June 1925 was in favour of lower taxes for private slaughtering. Later in that session he attacked the principle of division of the colony according to ethnicity and language. He proposed the use of local languages in local councils, while recognizing the principle 'that we still need Dutch' and therefore advocating wider access to the prestigious Dutch-language ELS, or European primary school. He was not an exclusive Catholic and in his first year did not even mention his religion. He once praised the Protestant Petronella Hospital of Yogyakarta for its openness to serving the native population, and remained silent about the then much weaker Catholic activities.⁴⁴

⁴³ AJAK M 4-1-1 several documents. See also Van Klinken 2003:55.

⁴⁴ *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 19-6-1925, p. 238; 23-6-1925, p. 346; and 17-11-1925, p. 85. After Soejadi retired from the Volksraad in 1927 he remained active in the PPKD. He was a member of the commission to discuss the details of more separation between state and religion until 1933, besides his positions within the PPKD; see Kwantes 1978:670.

The Dutch name for the Javanese initiative was soon abolished. In 1927 the name PPKD, Perkoempoelan Politiek Katholieke di Djawa, was used. At that time there was also the idea that branches should be established in several Outer Islands like Minahasa and Flores. Schmutzter was in favour of this expansion, but the more cautious W. Burer opposed the idea. Only if there were real possibilities for the Catholic party would it be useful to expand to these territories, he felt.⁴⁵

During the period 1927-1931 there was no native Catholic delegate in the Volksraad. On 15 January 1931 the PPKD sent a formal request to the governor general that again a native Catholic be appointed, because 'the number of Catholic indigenous has grown to over 200,000, and even since the appointment of Soejadi in 1924 it has grown by more than 40%, [...] while quite a large percentage of these Catholic indigenous belong to the better educated and better situated of their people and many of them work as teachers or school inspectors for the national education system and in this way exercise great influence on the population. The Catholic indigenous of the Dutch Indies really want to cooperate with the government in order to attain gradual development.' The request was signed by four people: Kasimo, Soejadi, Raden Mas Sastrawinata (teacher at a Catholic school in Yogyakarta), and Raden Djajaatmadja (teaching at the teacher training school of Muntilan).

Later in 1931 Ignatius Joseph Kasimo Endrawahjana was appointed a member of the Volksraad and he would stay in this body until the Japanese occupation as the sole indigenous Catholic. Kasimo was born in 1900 in circles connected to the court of the sultan of Yogyakarta. He went, still a Muslim, to the Catholic primary school in Muntilan and was baptized after finishing the school in 1912. He went to the agricultural school in Bogor and then worked as an agricultural consultant, first on a private estate, but after a conflict with a traditional colonial planter who did not show proper respect to the well-educated Javanese, he entered government service, as a teacher and advisor.

Kasimo gave his most important speech on 19 July 1932, during the general discussions in the Volksraad. This speech was partly written by a peculiar *totok* Catholic, H. Buurman van Vreeden. According to Buurman himself, he 'was fascinated by the ideal of a party that would occupy thirty seats [out of 60] in the Volksraad, thanks to effective propaganda in favour of a true Catholic-Ethical colonial policy'.⁴⁶ Following this liberal Catholic colonial ideology and with the approval of Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen, Kasimo communicated his vision of the development of the Indies towards greater independence. His favourite quotations were from the Catholic social thinker J.M. Llovera ('Every nation has the right to form an independent state') and his main teacher, the Jesuit Frans van Lith, founder of the Muntilan schools ('that Java, grown into

⁴⁵ AJAK M 4-1-1, letter by Burer to Endrawahjana (I.J. Kasimo), secretary of PPKD, 17-10-1927.

⁴⁶ Buurman van Vreede to Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen, 24-2-1933, in AJAK M 4-1-2.

the Indies, and the entire Nusantara, shall at last see her time of glory again and rise reborn, to take her worthy place in the gallery of nations').⁴⁷

After this glowing speech, Kasimo continued his work in the Volksraad, but like Soejadi confined himself mostly to technical details, always in favour of some better facilities for the indigenous population. His party remained small, with less than a thousand urban middle-class and lower-middle-class members. Yet, with slightly over 30,000 Javanese Catholics in the late 1930s, this was not a bad number of politically active Javanese. In 1936 Kasimo signed the Soetardjo petition, which called for a conference to arrange Indonesian autonomy within a Dutch-Indonesian union over a period of ten years. Although since the late 1920s Kasimo's party had never entered the nationalist alliance PPKI, it did so in 1939 when Kasimo became a member of the federative group GAPI (Gaboengan Politik Indonesia, Indonesian Political Federation) (Van Klinken 2003:67). These latter acts estranged Kasimo from the IKP, which had become increasingly conservative under Piet Kerstens (starting in 1935). It was a foreseeable development. By the 1920s the clergy had realized that the ideal of a united front of Catholics in politics was impossible. The three groups of indigenous, Eurasians, and recently arrived Europeans were too different for that to be possible.

The Ten Berge affair, 1931-1932

The Jesuit Jan J. ten Berge (born 1892) had his first Javanese experience in 1919-1922 when he followed religious training and studied philosophy in Yogyakarta. After further study in the Netherlands and ordination to the priesthood, he arrived in October 1927 in Muntlan, where he worked in the parish and at Xavier College.⁴⁸ In April and June of 1931 Jan ten Berge published two articles on the Koran in the journal *Studiën*, published by the Dutch Jesuits. The articles were written in a general Orientalist style, with very few references to Malay or Javanese Islamic terminology. At the end of the second article there were some sarcastic, even malicious, remarks. Ten Berge quoted Koran verse 5:75 : 'The Messiah, son of Mary, was no more than a messenger; other messengers preceded him and his mother adhered wholly to truthfulness and they both ate food.' He comments on this text as follows: 'One can see that according to Muhammad, Christians conceive of a father and a mother and a son in a sexual sense. How would it have been possible for him, the an-

⁴⁷ For these sources and their place in the thinking and speeches of Kasimo see Van Klinken 2003:55-6.

⁴⁸ The Jesuit priest Jan J. ten Berge should be distinguished from his relative A.B. ten Berge, who was a high school teacher in Buitenzorg/Bogor. A third Ten Berge is Hein ten Berge, brother of the Jesuit priest Jan ten Berge and a lay teacher at Xavier College in Muntlan between 1929 and 1946. There is a booklet about this letter by a nephew, Gied (Egidius) ten Berge 1995.

thropomorphist, the ignorant Arab, the gross sensualist who was in the habit of sleeping with women, to conceive of a different and more elevated conception of fatherhood!' Ten Berge's final conclusion is that the Koran can only be considered as a 'confirmation and interpretation of the historic gospels, and as such a very poor result!' If one were to discount that result, 'what is left is a mere collection of fables, concoctions, and misunderstood stories'.⁴⁹

In contrast to many similar products of Dutch and other Western anti-Islamic apologetics, this article did not go unnoticed in Islamic circles in Indonesia. The Persatuan Islam society of Bandung published a pamphlet in which the Italian invasion of Libya and Ten Berge's article were given as examples of an anti-Islamic tendency in European countries. The resident of Bandung and the attorney-general took great pains to hush up the matter and promised to bring the Ten Berge case to court if Persatuan Islam agreed not to hold protest demonstrations. In the end, however, it turned out that it was impossible to formally bring Ten Berge to court. The offence had not been committed in the Indies, since the journal was printed and circulated in the Netherlands. By the end of July 1931 an extensive report on the case appeared in the Malay press of Batavia.⁵⁰ Most likely the leader of this counteraction was the 23-year-old Muhammad Natsir, a graduate of the Dutch-language teacher training college in Bandung. From 1930 onwards he proved himself to be a sharp and critical observer of colonial policy towards Islam, writing a number of articles in the magazine *Pembela Islam*, published by Persatuan Islam.⁵¹ Natsir criticized the government for exercising a double standard because Indonesian Muslims were quickly punished for 'articles which sowed hatred', while white Christians were not punished. Natsir also mentioned a discussion in a Dutch law journal on the 'penalization of blasphemy' (Van Oyen 1931:313-6).⁵²

The article was also discussed in the Volksraad. On 29 July 1931 Wiwoho Poerbohadidjojo, member for the Jong Islamieten Bond, complained about an article in a Chinese magazine *Hoa Kiao*, published in Surabaya, that made derogatory remarks about the Prophet Muhammad. This had led to a demonstration of 6,000 Muslims in Surabaya. Government spokesman Kiewiet de Jonge replied that no actions should be taken, because the editors of the magazine had offered their apology. On 7 August 1931 Wiwoho returned to the theme of offences against the Muslim community, this time in relation to Ten Berge's article:

⁴⁹ '[...] een onnozel stel fabels en verzinsels en verkeerd begrepen verhalen.' J.J. ten Berge 1931:58-78; 285-307, quotations from pp. 302 and 307.

⁵⁰ ARA Mailrapport 1931:797x (secret).

⁵¹ On Persatuan Islam: Howard Federspiel 1970. The articles are collected in Natsir 1969.

⁵² This discussion did not arise because of the incident in the Indies but in connection with a bill which was particularly directed against the Dutch Communist daily *De Tribune*.

Public offence of Muslims is silently endorsed and protest actions against this offence are considered unwelcome by the government. This will only show the way to an increase in these insults and it should be considered as unchristian that the government of a Christian nation accepts the continuation of this offence. It is my sincere wish that the government will take measures to prevent these acts in the future.⁵³

On 17 August Kiewiet de Jonge responded to Wiwoho's complaint about the Ten Berge article, arguing that publication had taken place in the Netherlands and therefore no action could be undertaken in the Indies. He said:

In general the article is written in an academic style and should be considered as a defence of Christianity rather than an attack on Islam. However, in this text there are some unfortunate expressions and one single sentence that should be plainly condemned. The government has asked the director of education and religion to act as an intermediary to communicate to the author of the article the reprehensible character of his deeds and to insist that no copies, off-prints, or translations of his article be spread. The government is convinced that such a request, based upon this priest's feelings of tolerance and love for humanity, will be sufficient to prevent the possibility of distribution in this country.⁵⁴

The next day, 18 August, there was a response by Monod de Froideville, who stated mildly: 'I also regret the inclusion of the disputed sentence in an article that otherwise will be considered as a writing of truly academic value. I fully agree with the action of the government in this affair.' On 19 August a letter was sent by the head of the Department of Education and Religion (Onderwijs en Eeredienst) to the vicar apostolic, with the request that he should give a serious warning to Father Ten Berge. Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen did not agree with this measure, and wrote quite bluntly directly to Governor-General De Graeff that he could find no good reason to issue this warning because of the academic standard of the article. On 12 September the new governor-general, Jonkheer B.C. de Jonge, arrived. He decided that the affair should not be continued. Perhaps he had also heard that Father Ten Berge had been transferred on 5 July from the Central Javanese Catholics (and Muslims) of Muntilan to Bandung where he was appointed editor of the Dutch-language newspaper *De Koerier*. De Jonge wrote on 13 October that he considered that the affair had ended in a satisfying manner for both sides.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Handelingen Volksraad*, 7-8-1931, p. 822.

⁵⁴ '[...] enkele minder gelukkige uitdrukkingen voor, en één enkele bepaald zeer afkeurenswaardige zinsnede', *Handelingen Volksraad*, 17-8-1931, p. 1098.

⁵⁵ In another affair in early 1933, J.J. ten Berge was not so lucky. As a temporary journalist for *De Koerier* he wrote a sharp article against J.H. Ritman, chief editor of *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, and was called to court. He had to pay a fine of 20 guilders. Letter from W. Burer to *provicaris* Van Hoof, 29-4-1933, AJAK M 6-7-4. In another discussion against H.C. Zentgraaff (frequently spelled as Cent-graaf or 'Lord Money' in this discussion) of *Het Soerabajasch Handelsblad* and H. Mulder

On 27 August 1931 Catholics of Batavia organized a protest meeting against the 'harsh measures of the government' in this matter. Muslims, in turn, were not satisfied by the mild account of the government spokesman in the Volksraad, and protest meetings all over the country were announced for 11 October 1931. These meetings were held in a number of large towns and attended especially by educated Muslims. The meetings were held under strict police surveillance and restrictions: the Italian invasion of Tripoli in particular was not to be mentioned. They proceeded in good order and a few weeks later the matter disappeared from the Indonesian press for the time being.⁵⁶

The case had serious consequences within the Catholic community of the Indies, especially for Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen and the IKP leadership. As mentioned above, Van Velsen continued to disagree entirely with the government's criticism, and this caused a split within the Catholic community, clergy, and laypeople. First, Van Velsen was quite angry that Monod de Froideville, as the IKP spokesman in the affair, had not consulted the bishop, 'as he never did at his own initiative', even though the bishop should be seen as 'the single spiritual authority in general affairs'. Monod de Froideville had only consulted the head of the Batavia cathedral parish, Father Wubbe, shortly before the Volksraad meeting, because Van Velsen was absent for a visit to Bandung. Monod's defence, that Wubbe, and also the Jesuit superior A. van Kalken, considered his action to be appropriate, did not appease the vicar apostolic.⁵⁷ While the debate between Muslims, government, and Catholics calmed down, the internal Catholic conflict escalated. The conflict divided clergy as well as IKP leadership. The national IKP leadership supported Monod's lenient reaction, but the local IKP leaders of Batavia were angry and rejected any government criticism of a text written by a Catholic priest. In other places there were also internal conflicts within the party.

of *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Ned. Indië*, the two were compared with Herod and Pilate, 'two very different persons, but who met in a common attack against Christ'. The two journalists now attacked the Catholics in the same way (*Observer* 1933): 'Juist als Herodes en Pilatus hebben Zentgraaf en Mulder elkaar gevonden'.

⁵⁶ For some later references to the affair by Indonesian Muslims see Steenbrink 1993:118-21.

⁵⁷ Staunch defender of the bishop, W. Burer to Van Vianen, Buitenzorg, 27-9-1931, AJAK M 3-5-2: 'stelselmatig hebben de leidende personen elk contact met de Geestelijke Overheid tot zelfs in de belangrijkste zaken, die zich hebben voorgedaan met betrekking tot de algemeene zaak der katholieken hier te lande, ontweken. De leider dier fractie [G. Pastor], die zich zelf immer noemt "leider der IKP" heeft, in tegenstelling tot zijn voorganger, den bekwamen prof. Schmutzer, die steeds contact zocht met den bisschop (wij kennen immers geen andere Geestelijke Overheid in de algemeene zaken, de zaken van algemeen katholiek belang dan den Apostolisch Vicaris van Batavia), Monseigneur nooit geraadpleegd, terwijl hij toch moet begrijpen dat in ieder geval in de quaestie pater Ten Berge dat overleg geboden was. Om van "Mijnheer van Velsen" (sic!) af te zijn heeft deze leider een half uurtje voor hij zijn nu berucht geworden "rede" in den Volksraad uitsprak, in de gauwigheid even een Pastoor gesproken, ZEerw. als het ware overvallen. En dat noemt de leider "overleg" [...]'.

Things became even worse when the quite authoritarian prefect apostolic of Surabaya, Theophilus de Backere, issued a statement on 15 November 1931 that ‘those who continue to fully endorse the position of the Catholic members of the Volksraad and the national leaders of the IKP are speaking against the ecclesiastical authority and should think about the consequences this standpoint entails.’ Many Catholics interpreted this as a threat of excommunication or exclusion from the sacraments.⁵⁸ Although this opinion was rejected by many members of the clergy, Van Velsen agreed with the statement by his Surabaya colleague. The IKP national leaders thereupon resigned from the party leadership on 7 December 1931. However, G. Pastor and Monod de Froideville did not give up their seats in the Volksraad, where they continued their work until early 1935. It took until 13 August 1933 before there was renewed continuity: there were three temporary appointments before Piet Kerstens was chosen as the new chairman of the central board of the party. He would remain the strong personality in the party until the Japanese occupation in 1942.

Kerstens too had his clashes with the clergy. One of the first was related to the publication of a special magazine for IKP members, *De Nieuwe Tijd*. It started as a biweekly in late 1933, shortly after Kerstens had assumed the presidency of the party. At that time Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen had resigned and returned to the Netherlands, and Jesuit A. van Hoof was *provicaris*. He blamed the IKP leadership for not asking for permission to start the new magazine, referring to canon 335 of the Catholic code of canon law: a bishop is the leader of a diocese *tum in spiritualibus tum in temporalibus* (in spiritual and temporal affairs), they are the representatives (*plaatsbekleders*, literally ‘stand-ins’) of the pope. The IKP president had heavily criticized the Catholic newspaper *De Koerier*, and this new magazine would of course take away subscriptions from the Catholic newspaper, which was already going through a difficult period. Buurman van Vreeden, who was in correspondence about this case with the *provicaris*, apologized that they had already signed contracts for advertisements and therefore could not withdraw.⁵⁹ When reading this correspondence, one gets the impression that the clerical leaders tried to control all aspects of the life of their flock and had difficulty acknowledging the talents of laypeople. In the history of the Protestant church of the Indies, such political affairs were not considered to be religious or ecclesiastical matters, and church leadership did not interfere.

⁵⁸ ‘[...] alwie zonder meer goedkeuring uitspreekt over Hoofdbestuur en Volksraadfractie, stelt zich tegen de kerkelijke overheid en “[moet] bedacht zijn op de gevolgen die daaraan verbonden zijn”’ quoted in the 27-page pamphlet *Het Conflict der IKP Toegelicht*, published by a staunch defender of Van Velsen, W. Burer, quotation from p. 27. I used this pamphlet several times for the reconstruction of the conflict, in addition to archival sources from AJAK M 3-5-2, where two copies of the booklet are found. On p. 27 it is mentioned that the pamphlet was published with Bishop Van Velsen’s permission.

⁵⁹ Van Hoof to Buurman van Vreeden, 7-12-1933, AJAK M 3-5-1.

Looking again at the Van Berge affair, it was important primarily because it was one of the first cases of the public defence of Muslims against Catholics. Through the institution of the Volksraad and also through organizations like Muhammadiyah (1912), Nahdlatul Ulama (1926), and most of all the apologetic Persatuan Islam (early 1920s), Christians could no longer easily talk about Islam in Dutch publications. There was, however, another important aspect to the Ten Berge affair. It was the wish of the clergy, especially the vicar apostolic of Batavia, to be the unchallenged leader of a strong and united Catholic community. Time and again this proved to be an impossible dream. The IKP never represented indigenous Catholics, whereby Javanese politicians were increasingly free to follow their own strategy in the Volksraad. In the 1930s it also became clear that the IKP was a *totok* organization, while Eurasian Catholics joined the IEV. Many of the numerous conflicts within the IKV, at national and local levels, can probably be attributed to this difference. Without going into too much detail, I will concentrate in the next section on one of the most painful events in this development.

The conflict about IEV membership in the 1930s: The failure of pillarization in the Indies

The IEV or Indo-Europeesche Bond (Indo-European Association) was started in 1919 as a schism within the Indies Party of Eduard Douwes Dekker. From the beginning it was a movement in favour of the Eurasian population of the colony. Between 1925 and 1939, under the leadership of F.H. de Hoog, it rose to prominence and soon developed into an important political party, both on the local and the national levels. We must keep in mind that party politics was restricted to active voting people who had a working knowledge of Dutch, earned more than 50 guilders per month, and had taken the trouble to register as voters. In 1934 a total of some 80,000 people in the whole colony had registered. This was not even one third of the European population, not to mention the 35 million indigenous. In that year 27,784 people actually voted in the municipal elections. Not less than 79% of the votes were for the combination of IEV with the Vaderlandsche Club (Homeland Club, VC), an ultra-nationalist party of *totok* Europeans. This gave the IEV 144 seats and the VC some 50 seats in municipal councils. The other combination was a joint venture of the IKP Catholics and the Protestant CSP (Christelijk Staatkundige Partij, the continuation of the CEP, Christelijk Ethische Partij). They got 7.4% and 5.3% of the votes, respectively. From these figures we may conclude that out of the about 30% Catholics of the European plus Eurasian population of the colony, some 7.4% or one-quarter voted for their own Catholic party. This was much less than the nearly 100% Catholics of the Netherlands who voted

for the Catholic party. Apparently many Catholics in the colony voted for the Eurasian IEV. But the Catholic percentage was still high compared to the Protestants, who were some 60% of the European population of the colony and got only 5.3% of the votes for their party (Drooglever 1980:170-1).

At episcopal meetings the issue of the political unity of Catholics in the colony was discussed again and again. During the 1920s it became clear that the majority of Eurasians would never join the KSB or IKP. They did not feel at home in the stricter Catholic revival that found most of its followers among *totok* Catholics, men who had recently arrived in the Indies and had married 'pure' European women. At the church leaders' conference in June 1929 in Muntilan, the vicar apostolic of Batavia had stated that for the time being no action would be undertaken against the IEV, because if there was the bishops would be fighting 'a mighty enemy in the Indies that we could not defeat'.⁶⁰ At the following meeting of vicars and prefects of Java in March 1930 in Yogyakarta, it was merely decided that local pastors would be asked for advice on this delicate question. The matter was again on the agenda of the Catholic leaders' conference planned for 1933, but postponed to 1934. The authoritarian Theophilis de Backere of Surabaya deemed that his colleagues were much too lenient. He therefore planned a move of his own. Preceding the national meeting, De Backere wrote to his colleagues in early 1933: 'as to the IEV [its] deleterious influence among our Catholics is still growing to the detriment of the Catholic case, especially Catholic thought and our flock's practical life. For years, the conclusion, or rather our observation, has been that it is better not to do anything. Surabaya can no longer accept this conclusion *propter evidens animarum detrimentum* [because of the evident harm to the souls].'

In line with this complaint, De Backere prepared an annual pastoral letter at the beginning of Lent in February 1933 to proclaim a ban on membership of IEV (and of other non-Catholic social organizations, the most important probably being the non-sectarian NIOG for teachers) under threat of excommunication. The pastoral letter was in fact also published, containing the prohibition on membership, but not yet including the threat of excommunication. The other vicars and prefects of Java (Batavia, Bandung, Purwokerto and Malang) were quite astonished. What to do with people who moved from one ecclesiastical district to another? They held a meeting in Bandung, on 3 March, and came to the conclusion that the situation in Java did not call for such a drastic prohibition as published by De Backere. This conclusion was sent to Surabaya, but for some time there was no reply. By accident the other bishops then heard that a decree had been prepared (the coercive Russian loan word *oekase* 'ukase' was used) to be read from pulpits on the Sunday before Easter.

⁶⁰ 'Een machtigen tegenstander zouden hebben, waartegen we in Indië niet opgewassen zouden zijn', AJAK A 2-1-4, Dutch draft of the letter that was sent in French to the Vatican, 1-6-1933. See Document 29.

They asked De Backere for the text of this decree, whereupon he sent it to them. At a meeting in Giri Sonta, Ungaran, 29 March, the other vicars and prefects unanimously concluded that this decree would be a grave error (*een misstap zou zijn*). De Backere, present at that conference, did not agree with that position and insisted on his right and duty for his own territory. Some kind of compromise was sought, but not found. De Backere's colleagues proposed that in the near future special Catholic organizations for Eurasians should be established. Only after these were founded should the ban on IEV and similar membership take effect. This was not enough for the vicar apostolic of Surabaya. Finally, the desperate Catholic leaders used two strategies. First, the intervention of the apostolic delegate in Sydney was sought. They sent him a telegram focussing on the threat to the unity of Catholics in Java if the prefect of Surabaya were to publish his verdict against the IEV notwithstanding the negative advice of the four other church leaders. Second, they asked the attorney general of Batavia, R. Verheijen, a devout Catholic, to intervene.⁶¹ The latter received full information and immediately was so convinced about the urgency of the affair that he promised to travel from Batavia to Surabaya to persuade De Backere of the negative effects of his ban-cum-excommunication for IEV membership. In fact, after just one telephone call from this high government official the vicar apostolic of Surabaya surrendered, and blocked the distribution of his decree. That same day there was a telegram from the papal delegate in Sydney, in Latin, the common language among this kind of clergy: *Suspendatur publicatio de associatione indo-europea. Adeatur Roma pro decisione* (Publication about the Eurasian association must be delayed. Go to Rome for a decision). The highest judicial authority, Verheijen, expressed his opinion in private to Van Velsen: How could a religious person like the prefect apostolic of Surabaya speak in such a malicious way about other people, fellow Christians, and this on the first day of Holy Week?

The 1933 discussions about IEV membership show that besides the Javanese PPKD and the *totok* IKP, many Eurasian Catholics remained in favour of politicians from their own ethnic group. In the words of Rita Kipp (2000), writing about Batak people: *bangsa* (ethnicity) goes above *agama* (religion). Local election committees also favoured their own ethnicity even after national political parties were established in the late 1910s. Between 1932 and 1937 there was even a KNI, Verbond van Katholieke Nederlanders in Indië (association of Dutch Catholics in the Indies, mostly of Eurasian origin), led by the Batavia financial controller C.F.H. Braun. There were branches in West Javanese places like

⁶¹ R.J.M. Verheijen was *procureur-generaal*, or attorney-general, from 1930 to 1934. He had been in the colony since 1909, always in some position in the judicial system. There are numerous references to his position as one of the highest defenders of law and order in the colony during the period in Kwantes 1975-82, III. Other than this case, there are no further signs of his involvement in specifically Catholic cases.

Bandung and Sukabumi. The association was officially dissolved in February 1937, but prejudices against the ‘white overseas’ character of the IKP remained. In 1938, on the twentieth anniversary of the IKP, B.J. Visser MSC, prefect apostolic of Purwokerto, wrote a nasty comment on the party to his Batavia colleague in reply to the invitation to join the festivities in Batavia:

Insiders certainly will have in mind the two church leaders who went home to Europe, broken by the affairs surrounding the IKP [Van Velsen of Batavia in late 1933 and De Backere of Surabaya in early 1936]. I am perhaps too emotional, but I cannot suppress a certain feeling of antipathy. There are too many business affairs related to the chairman [Piet Kerstens]. [...] In the eyes of many, the IKP is purely a *totok* movement. Eurasians, who are after all the majority of the European Catholics in this country, are very poorly represented.⁶²

The right strategy on political parties caused many problems for the clergy. In that same IKP jubilee year, the Franciscan friar A. (Seraphicus) van der Kun received a letter from the central board of the IKP, complaining that someone named W. van Vianen had been given the honour of holding the baldachin during a recent procession. Van Vianen had been a candidate for the IEV during the previous elections for the municipal council. Moreover, during the political campaigns, he had strongly criticized the IKP. Unlike the Netherlands, where a solid and unified Catholic party defended the Catholic interest in politics, in the colony religion was not the main issue, but race and ethnic identity were.

More problems with rising Islam in Central Java: The Danoesoegondo-Hildebrand debate

In the 1930s, government policy and in fact all political and social debates in the Indies were dominated by the poor economic situation caused by extremely low prices on the world market for unprocessed products like sugar, tobacco, rubber, and palm oil. Poor finances caused severe reductions in colonial government spending. Some government hospitals and clinics had to be closed down and others were handed over to missionary organizations who could operate them more cheaply. In 1934 Volksraad member Wiwoho Poerbohadidjojo proposed preventing the transfer to missionary organizations of certain institutions in the East Javanese region of Malang. Clinics and hospitals should rather be given to Islamic institutions, he said, if that was the majority religion of the region. Together with private initiatives and government subsidies, Islamic organizations like Muhammadiyah had already demonstrated that they could establish good medical institutions, such as the Muhammadiyah hospital in

⁶² B. Visser of Purwokerto to Willekens of Batavia, 8-5-1938, AJAK C 7-1-1. As far as I know, J.A. Monod de Froideville was the only Eurasian who held a seat in the Volksraad for the IKP. The other prominent Eurasian, W. Burer, was a Volksraad member for the IEV from 1921-24.

Yogyakarta. In the Volksraad session of 1935 this issue was again put forward by the senior *regent* of Magelang, Raden Tumenggung Danoesoegondo, who since 1908 had ruled this region where the major mission station of Muntilan was located. As a new member of the Volksraad, Danoesoegondo protested against the generous government subsidies for (Christian) missionary purposes, in view of the fact that the subsidies were financed by taxes paid largely by Muslims. He suggested transferring the subsidies to local governments or to Muslim organizations.⁶³ In the Volksraad itself he was opposed by a joint effort by IKP delegate Hildebrand and Protestant member Van Helsdingen. In addition, the Jesuits secretly collected information about the funding of new mosques in the Magelang region, which they labelled as a government-sponsored action to promote Islam. This detailed information, cautiously collected and described by the Jesuits of Muntilan, was, as far as I know, never actually used against Danoesoegondo's 'Islamic fanaticism'. According to this secret report, much of the funding for the new mosques came from mosque trusts, and partly from village treasuries. The main point of debate was whether these villages should be labelled Muslim or not, and whether it was the wish of the whole population of the village itself to build a new mosque, or only the wish of the village head (answerable to his superior, the *regent*).⁶⁴

Until the formation of the Volksraad in 1918, Muslims could not raise their voices against the preference given to the colony's Christians in public affairs. In the 1920s and 1930s the Volksraad became more and more important for them as a forum.

The Dutch-language Catholic press

De Java-Post started on 14 March 1903 as a Catholic weekly, though with the neutral-sounding subtitle *Weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*. W.H. Bogaardt was its first editor until late 1905, when he was elected to the Dutch parliament. On 11 November 1905 he was succeeded by the Jesuit W. van den Heuvel, and after that it was always Jesuits who led the weekly until it stopped in December 1927 to make way for *De Koerier* to be turned into a daily newspaper published by Catholics. Initiator William Bogaardt was born in 1863 in Surabaya into a Protestant family. He attended primary school with the Oudenbosch brothers and then the government secondary school, HBS. He obtained a position in the government postal service, and during his frequent travels he met more and more Catholic missionaries who brought him to the Catholic faith. Like many converts (see Chapter X about Henri Maclaine Pont) he was very dedicated to his new denomination, but also quite independent of the clergy. He took

⁶³ *Handelingen van de Volksraad*, 19-7-1935:350.

⁶⁴ For the collection of information against Regent Danoesoegondo see Document 31.

the initiative of establishing the *Java-Post*, and the support he received for this from the clergy was moral, not financial. It was his idea to choose a neutral name for the weekly rather than an obviously Catholic one. In the beginning there was even some friction between the clergy and Bogaardt. The clergy objected to Saturday as the day of the week on which the publication appeared, and the journalist was rebuked for this by Jesuit mission superior W. Hellings: 'This always happens when a layman leads the business. Until now he has not been willing to make concessions and will not do so later either. [...] But this is not a reason not to support him: we cannot reach the perfect state at once, perhaps we will never reach it'⁶⁵

Bogaardt did his work as a journalist and editor voluntarily, without a salary. In mid-1904 *De Java-Post* had 450 paying subscribers, slowly inching towards 800 in the 1910s, but the number of subscriptions never exceeded 800. Its relative success soon led to an increase in pages: from 12 to 16 per week, in tabloid format. This was the maximum. During World War I the number of pages was reduced to 12. Bogaardt's ambition was to reach people even outside the Catholic community. Without offending Protestants and Freemasons, there were many religious articles in each issue. On the whole, information given about European and even worldwide Catholicism was much more detailed than information about the Indies. Only the Papua mission was regularly reported on. After the establishment of the Katholieke Sociale Bond, the weekly served as a means of communication for them, but, as discussed above, local KSB branches continued issuing their own bulletins, and a national KSB monthly was published starting in the late 1910s.

De *Javapost* (as it was written from the second year on, rather than the initial spelling *Java-Post*) was for Europeans. Its language was Dutch. It sometimes printed light news that would seem frankly offensive to Muslims and the native population these days, but that was a common way of speaking at the time. The issue of 4 January 1908 had a short message: 'First Gedangan, then Baron, now in Ponorogo? According to the daily *Mataram* there has now been another person arrested who wanted to play the Imam Mahdi and to exterminate all Christians. Clever gentlemen!'⁶⁶ The bloody suppression of protest against taxes in West Sumatra that cost the lives of 90 members of a Muslim brotherhood was described as just 'a squabble about taxes'.⁶⁷ In February 1908 there was a critical article on the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca,

⁶⁵ Vriens, 'Honderd Jaar':825, quoting a letter of 12-2-1903. Vriens, 'Honderd Jaar':823-32 has a long section on *De Javapost*. Vriens sharply criticizes the 'official history' written by J.A. Monod de Froideville and Father A. van Aernsbergen, who wrote in 1935 in a report for the Vatican that Bishop Luyken and his clergy decided to set up the *Javapost* in 1903. For this report see AJAK, M 6-1-1.

⁶⁶ 'Gedangan, Baron en nu in 't Ponorogosche? Volgens *Mataram* is er weer een gearresteerd die liefhebberij had in Imam Mahdie en die alle christenen over de kling wilde jagen. Gedienseerde heeren toch!'

⁶⁷ 'West-kust. Belastingrelletje thans ogenschijnlijk uit,' *Javapost* 1908:280.

which saw the *hajj* as just a waste of money. The article criticized the liberal attitude of reports in the *Javabode* and suggested that the Dutch colonial government should behave as true tutors to the native population and prevent this pilgrimage, at least for those who sold property and land to finance this act of religious devotion. Snouck Hurgronje was criticized as a 'white *santri*' who gave tender motherly care to those who were the greatest enemies of Dutch rule.⁶⁸ On 31 December 1927 the weekly ceased publication, so as not to compete with the Catholic daily newspaper *De Koerier*.

De Koerier

On 1 April 1926 a group of Catholic laymen in Bandung, calling themselves the Rooms Katholieke Pers Comité, took over the management of a non-sectarian local newspaper, *De Indische Telegraaf* (established in March 1924), and published it as a Catholic newspaper.⁶⁹ Its only full-time journalist was the non-Catholic M.W. Andersen. The members of the committee did their work without being paid. When the first contract expired on 1 October 1926 it was extended to 1 April 1927. During this period there was an increase from some 500 to more than 1,000 subscriptions, and the daily made a modest profit. Andersen added some Catholic news to the daily (which was more than 50 per cent advertisements), but also gave due attention to the established Protestant churches, especially regular information about church services in the Bandung area, as well as about denominations like the Salvation Army. On 13 July 1926 an item about the arrival of five sisters for a hospital in Palembang explicitly added that this institution would 'be open to people of all denominations'. Articles voicing the private opinions of the newspaper, or in fact of its sole journalist 'Havea', were quite conservative, stressing law and order and a government that would cut spending. There were virtually no reports on native Catholics, and the few reports on Muslim native organizations were either sober and correct or somewhat more lengthy and quite negative or cynical (reporting, for example, on the luxurious lifestyle of pro-nationalist Muslim politician Umar Said Cokroaminoto). About 25 per cent of the ad-

⁶⁸ Criticism of Snouck Hurgronje's 'teedere moederlijke (althans zeker uitwendig) zorgen', *Javapost* 1908:40; criticism of Snouck's position 'that all natives are Muslims, yet that is not dangerous', *Javapost* 1908:441-2. About *hajj*, see *Javapost* 1908:89: 'Dat we als voogden niet beleetten, dat ook zij ter bedevaart gaan voor wie den bedevaart volgens den Koran uitdrukkelijk verboden is: zie dat is een raadsel.'

⁶⁹ The responsible editor (and the only full-time journalist) was the non-Catholic M.W. Andersen. The Catholic K.E. Nix printed the journal on his presses. The committee also had the following names on its list: R.L.E. de Bruijn (chairman and most active member), A.F.C.J. Corsmit, Ir (engineer) J.J.A. de Groot (who left for Europe in mid-1926), A.J. van Iersel, Ir. A.P.J. Jagtman (railway engineer), Mr. (lawyer) H.C.P. de Korte, C.W. Roothaan, M.C.J. Scheffer, and J. Zewald.

vertisements were for movies. In later years the daily's successor, *De Koerier*, had no income from cinemas, probably because the newspaper concentrated less on the one city of Bandung, but also because the clergy were very negative about movies. In a report to the Vatican, Jesuit priest Van Aernsbergen proudly declared that there were no advertisements for movies.⁷⁰

In 1927 De Lange, owner of the *Indische Telegraaf*, wanted to sell his newspaper, but demanded too high a price for what was basically just goodwill and a list of subscribers because the daily was printed at the presses of another company, that of K. Nix. Thus, the committee decided to start a new daily under the name *De Koerier*. This neutral, not overtly Catholic, name was chosen in order to include non-Catholics in the readership. To give the new initiative a solid financial base, a *naamloze vennootschap* (limited liability company) was established, with Dr Julius Schmutzer as major contributor (5,000 guilders of shares in 1927, 12,000 in 1930, and many more later). Leonardus J.A. Trip, president of the Java Bank, the official bank of the colonial government, also gave 5,000 guilders, while administrator Schmitz of the Tjipatat plantation in central Priangan bought shares for 3,000 guilders. The sole professional who was hired for the job, Theo Koemans, Jr, a former journalist with the fervently Catholic Rotterdam newspaper *De Maasbode*, and active in the Indies as a reporter for the conservative Batavia daily, *Nieuws van den Dag in Nederlandsch Indië*, bought 6,000 guilders worth of shares in the new undertaking. Later reports about the daily remain silent about this man, who was seen as the competent professional leader of a new undertaking that was to be managed by laypeople. Instead, Mrs C. (Ko) Luyckx-Sleyffer became the first editor and the only full-time journalist working for the newspaper. She was to lead the newspaper until 1 August 1929, when she was succeeded by Father Van Aernsbergen. It was the first change of editors in a long list.⁷¹

The basic weakness of the newspaper from the very beginning was the lack of a good professional journalist. In 1928 the young journalist John Schilte was hired, but after seven months Mrs Luyckx dismissed him.⁷² Again and again, priests were called in to help with the work.⁷³ In October 1929 the Jesuit priest, A. van Aernsbergen, started work for the newspaper as a journalist. He was joined in July 1931 by fellow Jesuit Jan ten Berge. Van Aernsbergen continued his work for the newspaper until June 1932, while Ten Berge resigned in May 1933. In early 1933 the Eurasian W. van Dijck, a former journalist of *De Stem*, caused much commotion because of his polemic

⁷⁰ Van Aernsbergen in his report on the press, p. 45, see AJAK, M 6-1-2.

⁷¹ Ko Luyckx continued as a journalist and as the financial administrator for the weekly youth edition until she was dismissed on 30-9-1934. For her complaints about poor management by the board of governors, AJAK 6-6-3 (letter of 25-6-1934 to the vice-vicar of Batavia, Father van Hoof).

⁷² W.P. Thijssen, who would become the main journalist from 1935-9, wrote a letter on 17-9-1928 in defence of John Schilte, AJAK M 6-6-3.

⁷³ AJAK M 6-6-2, report of the board of governors of *De Koerier* Ltd., 23-12-1929.

writings, qualifying the common people as *belastingvee* (tax-paying sheep) in a protest against high government expenditures for the army.⁷⁴ He had to leave the newspaper in September 1934. Van Dijck was one of the few professional journalists employed there.

A long list of non-professional laypeople worked at the newspaper temporarily. The most prominent of these was the architect and neo-Catholic Henry Maclaine Pont, who worked at the newspaper between October 1933 and mid-1934 as the leading figure, but left his position because of a conflict.

As of 1 May 1935 W.P. Thijesen was hired as a journalist. Until that time he had been a middle-ranking official at the Department of Education and Religion in Bandung. He brought some stability to the newspaper, although people complained that its style was more that of a calm journal than that of a daily newspaper, which ought to spark sensational debates and polemic in the Indies. Although it was not Thijesen's idea, the office of the daily and its contract for printing moved to Batavia on 1 April 1937 (the contract was with Albrecht, who also published the conservative *Nieuws van den Dag in Nederlandsch Indië*). Batavia was the real political and cultural centre of the colony. Thijesen, with only a few helpers, filled the pages until he left for Europe in mid-1939. He was succeeded by the Jesuit priest J. Burgers (born 1895, in the Indies from 1930), who witnessed the end of the undertaking on 31 June 1940 as a result of increasing debts and the impossibility of financing it any longer. This brief overview lists only a few of the tumultuous conflicts that caused changes in personnel. It is clear that the lack of continuity also led to frequent changes in the style of the newspaper. The rather dull and provincial *Indische Telegraaf* became even more provincial (but more Catholic) under Ko Luyckx. Father van Aernsbergen was the theologian, editing a weekly rather than a daily. Under Father Ten Berge the newspaper was dominated by sharp polemic rather than daily news.

The *De Koerier*'s financial situation was as eventful and dramatic as the sequence of journalists and policy changes. In 1927 Jesuit priest H. van Offeren suggested that the vicariate apostolic should buy at least a symbolic number of shares 'in order to claim some influence in this undertaking of laypeople'.⁷⁵ This was only the beginning of financing from the Batavia vicariate and even more from the rather well-to-do Ursuline sisters (in 1930 they had already bought 10,000 guilders worth of shares) for the ever-thirsty newspaper that would never make a profit. By March 1927, 50,000 guilders had already been raised for *De Koerier* Ltd.

⁷⁴ AJAK M 7-6-3, letter from Mrs Luyckx, 30-8-1933. Van Dijck was qualified by his colleague Maclaine Pont as 'implusief, zenuwachtig. Bovendien zoo loslippig [...] maar hij is een geroutineerd journalist' (impulsive, nervous, and someone who cannot keep a secret but he is an experienced journalist), letter of 17-2-1934, AJAK M 6-7-1.

⁷⁵ H. Van Offeren to Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen, Bandung, 9-3-1927, AJAK M 6-3-2.

In September 1929 the KSB held a large-scale promotion for the newspaper in order to increase the number of subscriptions. In March 1930 many local committees for the Catholic press were established, with the goal of making *De Koerier* available to all Dutch-speaking Catholic families, if necessary without charge. Most local committees silently disappeared after one year, and only a national committee, which received some funds annually from collections in churches for this purpose, survived (Van Aernsbergen 1934:351, 358).

During the 1929 conference of Catholic leaders, Father van Aernsbergen proposed a fund-raising campaign to raise 100,000 guilders. He stated that 2,195 paying subscribers generated 3,000 guilders per month, with printing costs of 4,000 guilders per month, not to mention salaries, payments to news agencies, and telephone and postal costs. Advertisements (about 9,000 guilders per month) were not enough to cover expenses, of which postal costs were the largest. By 1928 a deficit of 35,000 guilders had built up because of extra costs. Church leaders affirmed that the newspaper should continue at all costs, and immediately promised 13,750 guilders at their June 1929 meeting.⁷⁶ *De Stichting Katholieke Pers*, established for the 1931 campaign, donated an average of 2,500 guilders per month to the newspaper in its first year. This was needed because in the 1931-1932 budget year the deficit was about 30,000 guilders.⁷⁷

De Koerier was a topic of debate at all major national conferences of Catholic leaders. Preparing a discussion in 1936, Bishop Willekens made some notes on why a Catholic publication should receive so much financial, personal, and moral support. He stressed that a newspaper was important to make known to the government the wishes and complaints of the Catholic community. Opponents and outsiders like the NSB (the Nazi party in the Indies), Freemasons, liberals, and Protestants, all (at least their leaders) would take notice of the Catholic voice. Because of the tradition of intense and turbulent debates between newspapers in the Indies, the newspaper was a way to participate in public debate. Moreover, it was important for building up the Catholic community itself, and it had been strongly suggested by the pope that Catholic communities should have their own press.⁷⁸ From the incomplete records remaining, it is difficult to calculate precisely the financial expenses of the newspaper, but it is safe to estimate that between 1927 and the end of its existence in 1940, between 200,000 and 300,000 guilders were needed to publish this prestigious token of Catholicism among the European and Eurasian population of the Indies.

⁷⁶ AJAK E 4-4, pp. 45-50 (In a report by Van Aernsbergen to the conference of church leaders in Muntilan, June 1929).

⁷⁷ AJAK M 7-4-3, report of the board of commissioners of *De Koerier* Ltd., of 26-6-1937 in Batavia. In 1933-34 the deficit was 'only' 14,000 guilders.

⁷⁸ AJAK M 7-4-3, personal note of Willekens, dated 28-5-1936.

The following chapters give more details on local communities of Catholics, including European and Eurasian ones. This chapter has sketched the structures of Catholic social organizations developed in the first half of the twentieth century. They formed the framework for a solid, self-confident, and somewhat isolationist Catholic presence. These organizations were not as homogeneous and not so committed as their Dutch counterparts, but compared to nineteenth-century European and Eurasian Catholicism in the Indies, there was a much greater religious involvement.

Chinese Catholics, some national features

In the early twentieth century a revival of Confucianism was the backbone of a more self-confident Chinese cultural identity in the Southeast Asian diaspora. There were several causes for this trend. Until 1900 only men migrated to foreign countries. They usually married women from the new country, and within one or two generations they were assimilated and could no longer be considered pure Chinese, with the exception of the larger Chinese communities in West Kalimantan and Bangka. But after 1900 more and more women joined the migration. They warranted the continuation of a Chinese cultural identity. Here we see a development similar to that in the European population of the colony, where in the same period more women arrived, and they maintained the language and traditions of their country of origin.

The heart of the Chinese cultural renaissance was the school. In 1901 the first THHK school was opened, founded by Tiong Hwa Hwee Koan, the Chinese cultural union that aimed to strengthen ties with the mother country and to educate children in the language and culture of China. In 1915 there were already 442 THHK schools, with 19,636 pupils and 858 teachers, most of them educated in China and invited to the Dutch colony on a labour contract.

These Chinese schools did not come out of the clear blue: in the late nineteenth century there were already many small Chinese schools where children learned a few classical texts by heart and some Chinese characters. In general, however, what they learned at these schools was not intended for practical use – in any case, writing in Latin characters, reading, mathematics, or geography were not taught, as they were in ordinary government schools. These Confucian schools could be compared to the Koran schools where native children learned the basics of Arabic script and some Arabic phrases for use in prayer at the mosque. THHK schools had to compete with the rapid expansion of Western-style education in the colony after 1900, and they succeeded very well. Besides standard Chinese (Mandarin), English was also taught because that language was the second language for the Southeast Asian diaspora which had Singapore as its main centre. In 1908 the Dutch

government started the HCS, Hollandsch-Chineesche School, with Dutch as the language of instruction but with English as the second language. This type of school was established for the more well-to-do ethnic Chinese families. Having to compete with THHK schools, HCS schools failed to attract the majority of pupils. There were also private Dutch-Chinese schools, which introduced more Chinese into their curricula. Some of these were established by the Catholic or Protestant mission, but many more by Chinese organizations associated with THHK and were mostly Confucian. THHK could only operate these schools if they agreed not to receive government subsidies. They were therefore dependent upon the school fees paid by parents. These THHK schools were often quite tolerant in religious matters. There are quite a few examples of American and British missionaries who were invited to teach English at these schools and were well paid (Groeneboer 1993:357-65, Steenbrink 2001a:175-95).

The Catholic leadership experienced many difficulties in identifying an appropriate strategy towards the Chinese population of the Indies. Unlike the colonial government, which had special rulings for all *vreemde oosterlingen*, or 'foreign Orientals', particularly Arabs and Chinese in the colony, the Catholic leadership grouped ethnic Chinese either with Europeans or with the indigenous. In baptism statistics we find ethnic Chinese grouped under indigenous, whereas in school statistics Chinese schools and their pupils were listed together with European schools, with the exception of the HCS, or Dutch-language Chinese school. In most parishes, church services and sermons were held either in Dutch or in Malay. In Central Java the common language was Javanese, while Chinese was only used in a few places in Bangka, Kalimantan, and Sumatra, where in fact entirely Chinese parishes were established. But even in these places the strategy of the Catholic mission was directed first and foremost towards the indigenous. In practice, however, many Chinese children entered mission schools. HCS were established by Catholics in all areas, with the exception of the Lesser Sunda Islands, Timor, and South Sulawesi. In mid-1939 there was a total of 87 HCS and five ECS (English-language Chinese schools), with 13,937 pupils, while there were a meagre 17 Chinese-language primary schools, with 1,269 pupils. Besides, the 140 Dutch-language schools (HIS and ELS), with 26,000 pupils, also had quite a few Chinese pupils. In the city of Batavia alone there was one subsidized Catholic HCS alongside 15 non-subsidized ones. The latter schools could only continue thanks to school fees paid by Chinese, who preferred a Catholic education because it separated boys from girls.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ From a 12-page report *Het Missioneren van Chinezen*, written by Batavia Jesuit Th. Korndörffer, probably in the mid-1920s. Korndörffer has no hope that first-generation Chinese migrants will be converted. Only children educated in Catholic schools could be expected to become proper Catholics, AJAK B10-11-1.



March 1941, Board of the Leo Committee for youth, with Bishop P. Willekens
sitting second from right, and the first two standing from left; Jesuit priest
L. Wevers, politician Piet Kerstens (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

This major educational effort was not accompanied by a special pastoral or missionary strategy. With the exception of places where many ethnic Chinese were concentrated, ethnic Chinese were urged to join the common parish. In 1936 a Jesuit priest in Batavia, H. Awick, stated bluntly that the mission had made a mistake in privileging the Javanese language, whereby it isolated Javanese people. 'The Chinese must not be separated, as unfortunately was done with the Javanese, which caused the failure of their action.'⁸⁰ Only in some Outer Islands was there a tendency in the period 1920-1940 to direct pastoral and missionary strategy specially towards ethnic Chinese.

Language courses in China for twenty-five Dutch East Indies missionaries, 1920-1940: A special strategy for Chinese?

The first resident priest in Bangka, Jan Langenhoff, went to Malaysia in 1851 for about one year to study Chinese. For a long time, other clergy did not follow his example. The idea of a period of study in Malaysia or even China reappeared in the 1920s. It probably originated from Father Aloysius van Heertum OFMCap, who studied Chinese at Leiden University in the early 1920s with Professor Duyvendak, and there was advised to go to Swatow to study Hakka because that would be the best place for this dialect, which was not taught at Leiden.⁸¹ Duyvendak assumed that the Chinese community in the large Southeast Asian diaspora would have no proper teachers of Chinese, and also that more in-depth introduction to culture and religion could be obtained in China itself. 'To have visited Shanghai gives one a higher status among the Chinese here. Those who have never visited China are told the most improbable stories about Chinese culture and habits.'⁸²

Between 1920 and 1940 two religious orders, the Capuchin friars who worked in West Kalimantan and Sumatra and the Sacred Heart Congregation (Bangka and Belitung), sent 25 priests to Malaysia and China to study Chinese properly, mostly for one or two years. Seven Capuchin friars and 18 SSCC⁸³ were sent.

Although there was a saying that 'Chinese is an invention of the devil',⁸⁴ quick results were expected from their time studying Hakka. Capuchin friar Aloys Van Heertum, who had done some preparatory studies in the

⁸⁰ In a note to Sie Ing Hoen's request to establish a special union for Chinese Catholic Women, early 1936, AJAK M 3-7-1. 'De Chinezen moeten zich niet afzonderen, zoals helaas Javanen het gedaan hebben en daardoor is hun actie doodgelopen.'

⁸¹ Van Heertum to his Dutch superior, Rotterdam 30-1-1923, Archives of the Capucin Friars, 's Hertogenbosch (hereafter OFMCap Arch).

⁸² Father Odilo Wap OFMCap to his Dutch provincial, 8-3-1934, OFMCap Arch.

⁸³ See Appendix 1, 1.7.

⁸⁴ Father Wilbert de Wit to his Dutch superior, Tsiaolang, 2-8-1936, OFMCap Arch.

Netherlands, 'was entrusted after two and a half weeks in Swatow with hearing small children's confessions'.⁸⁵ The young Dutch missionaries lived in the houses of Spanish and German Dominican friars with French priests from the Missions étrangères de Paris, and some American colleagues, and learned to appreciate the varying styles of these different nationalities. Some went to the countryside for a period, but because of political and security problems in the 1920s and 1930s most felt safer living under the umbrella of the colonial situation. Odilo Wap reported from Amoy/Kulangsu⁸⁶ about his experiences in China: 'Kulangsu is safe: around this island a big Japanese, American, English, and French armada is watching and perhaps they will soon be joined by a Dutch ship. They certainly will not dare attack this mighty war fleet.'⁸⁷ In contrast with this admission of great fear of Chinese, the same priest says, two years later, about the Chinese consul of Medan, who visited his fishing town of Bagan si Api-api, 'the largest fishing harbour of the whole world, even larger than Bergen in Norway', with a predominantly Chinese population,

Recently we had an official visit by the Chinese consul. Well, of course a consul is a consul, but he is not the Prince of Wales. Still, the Chinese of Bagan prepared a welcome worthy of the Prince of Wales. Several triumphal arches were erected in his honour; the scouts were asked to provide him with an escort. This was approved. There were big meals, one after the other. The consul was very friendly, looking around and smiling, towards us too, because we, as Chinese priests, also received an invitation to this visit. The Chinese here are of the opinion that their consul has the same rights as a French, British, Japanese, or Dutch consul in China, but that is impossible! In those places our consuls have extraterritorial rights and can even establish their own judicial courts!⁸⁸

During their studies the missionaries did not experience an ideal, romantic, classical Chinese society. Robberies, insecurity, political unrest, calls for modernization and democracy: but most of all a society in turmoil and chaos, was their dominant impression of the vast country. Some lived for a short period in a quiet village, but most of their time was spent in the city of Swatow (Shantou) or Amoy (Xiamen).

While Indonesia still did not have its first indigenous priest, in 1924 Father Aloys Van Heertum lived among 25 Chinese priests in the vicariate of Canton.⁸⁹ In many other respects they learned that the Chinese who migrated to the Southeast Asian archipelago were certainly not the most civilized

⁸⁵ Van Heertum to the Dutch provincial, Swatow, 24-10-1924, OFMCap Arch.

⁸⁶ The island off Amoy (or Xiamen) was called Gulangyu (or Kulangyu). It was a settlement for foreigners in pre-revolutionary China, and is now a scenic spot, with many run-down villas as a reminder of its past (letter from Mary Somers-Heidhues to the author, 5-12-1995).

⁸⁷ Odilo Wap to his Dutch provincial, Amoy, November 1934, OFMCap Arch.

⁸⁸ Odilo Wap, Bagan si Api-api, 31-3-1936, OFMCap Arch.

⁸⁹ Aloysius van Heertum, letter to his Dutch superior in Canton, 10-10-1924, OFMCap Arch.

and well educated of their nation. The missionaries' reports seldom inform us about visits to splendid temples of the Buddhist and Confucian tradition, but the few accounts in the letters show that they were impressed. Most important of course was the encounter with the Chinese literary tradition and the class of literati. In the Capuchin archives at Den Bosch a small treatise of 25 pages with the title *De omgang met de spraakleeraar* (How to deal properly with your Chinese teacher) has been preserved. In this manual of proper behaviour, Father Wilbert de Wit, who studied in Tsiaolang between 1936 and 1938, warns his colleagues to avoid expressions of Western superiority that might arouse negative reactions in their Chinese teachers. The missionary student was told to prepare his lessons well, never sit before his teacher has been seated, and that he should not forget that according to Chinese custom the most honoured person is seated on the left side. It is clear that these young missionaries went to China not only for the study of a language but also had an in-depth encounter with the rich intellectual and literary heritage of China.

In the Dutch East Indies in the 1920s and later, missionaries accepted the cultural orientation of ethnic Chinese towards their homeland and adapted to this cultural ideal. In Padang the Capuchins published the biweekly *Kong Po* beginning in 1934.⁹⁰ If one reads this magazine in the context of other publications in the Indies, an obvious difference with the nationalist press shows up. This is not clear from the language because the magazine was printed partly in Dutch and partly in Malay. It was only in 1941 that a few pages were printed in Chinese. The difference is clear in the contents. There is virtually nothing about the Dutch East Indies itself; all articles refer to Chinese history, and give recent information about politics and Catholic life in China. There is nothing about Soekarno or even the Indonesian Catholic leader Kasimo, but there are detailed reports about the murder of Lo Pa Hong, the leader of the Catholic Action in China, and a mass was said in memory of him in Padang on 3 January 1938.

Every culture is in transition, but perhaps no culture has been in a more drastic and rapid state of change than the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia. Dutch missionaries started late – only in the 1920s – to search for a special cultural approach to ethnic Chinese, but they failed to find a successful strategy for this group with its many internal differences. Finally, after Indonesian independence, Indonesian national politics were directed towards integration into Indonesian society and the negation of Chinese identity. In the period before 1940 a Chinese background was sometimes taken into consideration, but a balanced strategy for an encounter between Dutch East Indies missions and the Chinese diaspora was never found.

⁹⁰ *Twee wekelijksch orgaan van de Chineesche Katholieke Bond & de Maria Vereeniging te Padang;* during its first years it was bilingual, Dutch and Malay. In 1941 most issues also had some pages in Chinese, while the subtitle was changed to *Maandblad voor Katholieke Chinezen in Indië* (monthly for Chinese Catholics in the Dutch Indies).

The 1930s: The struggle of Chinese faithful for a place within the Catholic community

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Catholic mission in China was divided as to the appropriate strategy towards Chinese traditional rituals. Many Jesuit priests, the most prominent among them being Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), considered the rituals in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors in family houses as signs of civil respect rather than as religious ceremonies. Missionaries from other orders, especially Dominican and Franciscan friars, considered these acts as idolatry. The discussion became so vehement that in 1742 Pope Benedict XIV banned all Chinese rituals for Catholics, and demanded that all missionaries to China take an oath of abstention from all Chinese rituals. Any public debate on appropriate ecclesiastical strategy regarding this point was forbidden, and that is why Bishop Luyken of Batavia gave such a strong negative answer to a Chinese convert from Semarang who asked in 1914 whether he could burn joss sticks to show respect for his ancestors (see Document 15). Only in 1936 did the Vatican Congregatio de Propaganda Fide take a more lenient position. Some Japanese civil rituals could be practised under control of the local Catholic authorities, and allowing these once more opened speculation about Chinese rituals.

In December 1939 a more general instruction by Pope Pius XII on Chinese rituals started an open discussion, including within the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia. At the general conference of Catholic leaders of the Dutch Indies in August 1939, Chinese identity was also discussed. On this occasion two Capuchin friars expressed a strange difference of opinion. Bishop L. Brans of Padang spoke in favour of an open and lenient position and wanted to give permission to Chinese Catholics of Sumatra, most of them born in the Indies and without strong ties to their homeland to take part in a number of traditional rituals. Father Caesarius (J.Th. Ram), a missionary in Singkawang and representative of Bishop Van Valenberg, vicar apostolic of Pontianak, defended a severe position. According to him, most Chinese of West Kalimantan still maintained very close relations with China and had a deep feeling of the religious meaning of ceremonies honouring ancestors. To overcome the difference of opinion between the two Capuchin friars, it was decided that all heads of ecclesiastical districts should consult their clergy about permitting traditional rites by Catholics. The ensuing general stance was that purely civil ceremonies would be permitted. Because of local differences, some rituals could be admitted in certain places that would not be allowed in other places. In general, however, changes were introduced only slowly (for this discussion see Muskens 1974:1457-8).

In October 1940 Jesuit L. Zwaans formulated detailed guidelines for Catholics present at Chinese religious ceremonies in Batavia. To bow before an image of Confucius could be considered acceptable as long as it was un-

derstood as respect and praise to a great son of the Chinese nation. In the same vein, bowing in front of a portrait of Sun Yat Sen, founding father of the New China, could be admitted. For photographs of deceased persons, bowing and even simply kneeling could be accepted, but not for a full 'Sien Tjie', or statue of a deceased person or spirit. The burning of sticks for the deceased could be allowed when accompanied by true Catholic prayer (Our Father, Hail Mary) for the dead and when no suggestion was given that spirits were being honoured. It was strictly forbidden for Catholics to offer food, fruits, or drinks on the offering table as part of a ritual, but consumption of this food as part of a meal at funerals were no problem. In the same way Catholics had to abstain from actively offering paper (considered a symbol for money), clothes, and other things at funerals, but if they were in a situation where abstention was difficult, they could participate in the ceremony, while explaining that they participated in popular traditions without attaching religious meaning to them. Visits to graves of ancestors were not only allowed, but could be considered as an old Catholic tradition, and prayer for all the dead could be seen as part of the Catholic faith. But no ceremonies in front of the little house or dwelling of the guardian spirit of the grave were allowed. A family altar in a house was permitted, but never were ashes to be gathered from neighbours. Any ceremony in a Chinese temple or *klenteng* was to be avoided. In case of doubt the local priest could be consulted.⁹¹

A special problem was the celebration of Chinese New Year, which was usually during the Catholic fasting period preceding Easter. In February 1945, during the Japanese occupation, a man named Tan Giok Sie asked permission to join in the Chinese festivities and postpone his Christian fasting. Willekens answered that this could not be decided by one diocese of the global Catholic church, but that the opinion of the Vatican had be sought, something that could not be done at that stage in the war (see Document 36).

Another problem that arose in the late 1930s was the status of Chinese marriages. Until 1919 there was no specific regulation for these, and they were usually considered similar to native marriages, which fell under customary law. Through some decisions in 1919 and 1925, ethnic Chinese were assigned the legal status of Europeans, which meant that Dutch civil law would apply to them. In practice, however, many Chinese did not go to the civil administration for marriage, but celebrated it within the Chinese community with ceremonies in houses and temples. Some Chinese Catholics,

⁹¹ See Document 36. AJAK D 1-14 has also a typewritten copy of a letter from the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 28-2-1941, with warnings that bishops and priests should not give too detailed explanations of the new rules related to Chinese customs, but should appeal to common sense and the personal conscience of the faithful to prevent heated discussions: 'Absolute evitanda est compositio elenchi caeremoniarum permissarum vel prohibitarum ne oriatur periculum reincidendi in discussionibus casuisticas.'

after family celebrations, came to the priest and asked for his blessing. For European citizens in the colony this blessing could only be given after the marriage had been registered with the civil authorities. This matter was discussed at the conference of Catholic leaders in the colony in August 1939. It was decided that the Catholic church would request of the government that, for the celebration of marriage, Chinese would not fall under the laws for Europeans, but those for the native population, and would be allowed to marry before a parish priest without a civil administration of marriage. There is no further information about this new strategy for Chinese marriages (see Muskens 1974:1450-1).

The union for Chinese affairs within the KSB

As a new member of the already very large family of Catholic organizations united under the KSB, the Bondsinstelling voor Chineesche Aangeleegenheden (Union Organization for Chinese Affairs) was established on 28 May 1939. Its Chinese name was La Pa Hong Club, or LPHC. Its goal was to help missionaries in Batavia in their work among ethnic Chinese by giving information and advice, by identifying Chinese Catholics and those seeking contact with Catholicism. LPHC planned to start religious education and social activities.⁹²

As such the LPHC was an exception within the Batavia vicariate. On 26 January 1936 two Chinese women, Sie Ing Hoen and Ong Ki Ong, visited Vicar Apostolic Willekens to ask for formal acknowledgment of their club of Catholic ladies, married and unmarried. They wanted to hold regular meetings in Sie Ing Hoen's house, get together for monthly communion, and try to attract new converts from the Chinese community. They asked that the young Jesuit father C.J.M. van der Linden (born 1896, in the Indies from 1932) be their spiritual advisor. After some internal consultations, Willekens sent them a letter on 4 March 1936:

From all sides of the archipelago messages are being sent to us about conversion of Chinese to our sacred religion: from Padang, Medan, Pontianak, Yogyakarta, Muntilan, Semarang, and today I heard that in Pasuruan in the Dutch-Chinese sisters' school 50 girls were baptized! Batavia has also made some progress, as you know from personal observation. But how should this take place? It is certainly

⁹² 'De Bondsinstelling heeft tot doel specifiek Chineesch-Katholieke belangen te behartigen in 't algemeen. In het bijzonder zullen de leden de missionaris(sen) te Batavia werkzaam onder de Chinezen behulpzaam zijn bij zijn (hun) arbeid door het verschaffen van inlichtingen en adviezen, het opsporen van Kath. Chinezen en van niet-Katholieken, die contact zoeken met den Katholieken godsdienst. Verder zal door een apologetisch-sociale studiekring en door het in het leven roepen van comités en commissies, getracht worden de belangen der Katholieke Chinezen, sociaal en geestelijk, zoo goed mogelijk te behartigen.' Draft of statutes, in C 6-4-1-4.

part of the character of the Catholic Church that different ethnic groups be brought together in the same church building and made members of the same religious associations, if possible.⁹³

With this letter the request was politely rejected. In 1938 the clergy finally permitted a special Chinese subcommittee within the KSB. In Kalimantan and Sumatra ethnic Chinese received much more attention. In Java they had to be satisfied with a low profile in between the two main groups of European and indigenous Catholics.

⁹³ AJAK M 3-7-1.

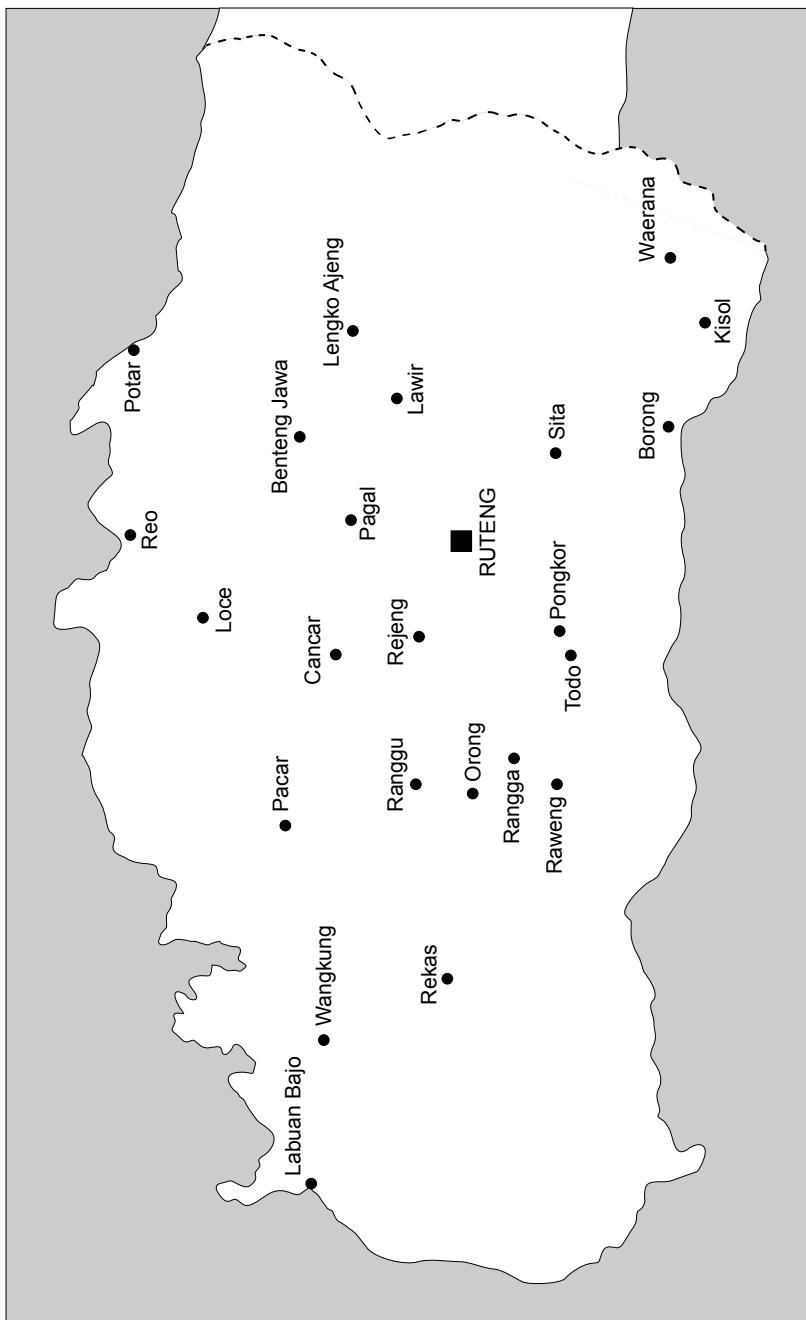
CHAPTER III

Flores: Efforts to create a modern and Christian society

The first decade of the twentieth century brought drastic changes to the whole of southeastern Indonesia, known under colonial rule as the residency of Kupang, or the Lesser Sunda Islands. Until 1900 the official government policy was that the area could never be expected to produce a financial benefit for the colonial treasury and should therefore be ruled at minimal cost. Non-intervention was the ruling ideology, and symbolic representation of the colonial power was deemed sufficient. In this symbolic representation, the activities of the Catholic church were welcomed and even encouraged, as we have seen in Volume I of *Catholics in Indonesia* which describes how the Catholic clergy entered Flores through the town of Larantuka after the 1859 treaty with Portugal. Only in 1892 did government steamers use the good harbour of Ende as a regular station, and as a result an office for the KPM, Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatschappij, was established. In 1896, the Muslim raja of Ende and his main assistant, Raja Bicara, were granted formal colonial recognition. Resident F. Heckler (April 1902–March 1905) was the first to implement the new, more active policy. He ordered the first vigorous intervention in the native rule of the raja of Larantuka, and to this end deposed Don Lorenzo II in July 1904, whereupon he was exiled to Yogyakarta. Military intervention was first carried out in a small-scale civil war in the Sikka area in mid-1904.

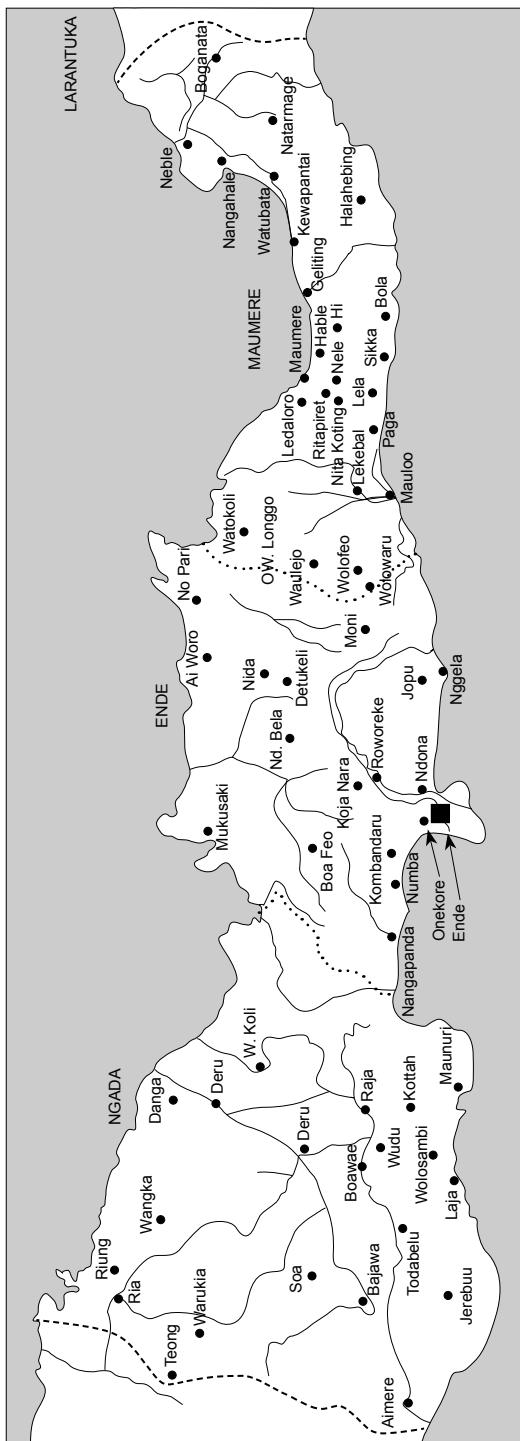
In March 1905, the next *resident*, J.F.A. de Rooy, was given clear instructions on this much more active policy. His main task was ‘to establish a powerful authority in the whole residency, including a new strategy for the self-ruling districts, which are the majority of the whole area. The former policy of non-intervention, suggesting that the supreme authority was with the native rulers and not with the colonial authority, should be abandoned.’¹ The first *controleur*, A. Couvreur, was charged in 1906 with exploring the unknown territories of Flores and drawing maps of the area. Between July 1907 and February 1908, Captain H. Christoffel carried out a form of blitzkrieg through-

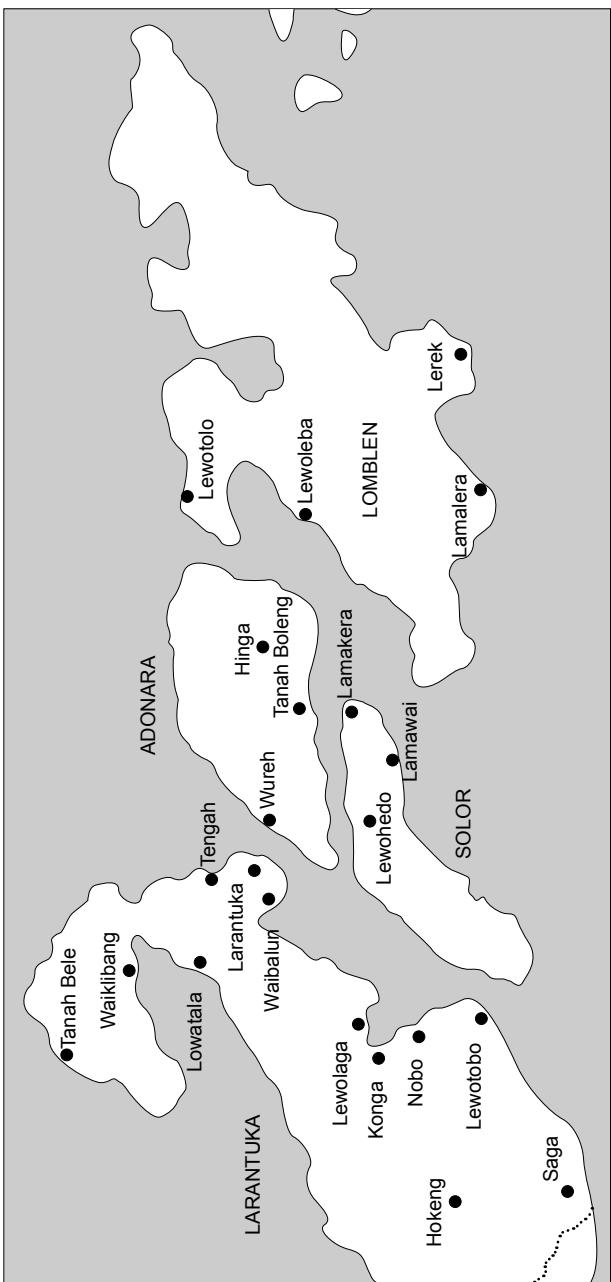
¹ J. de Rooy, *Memorie van Overgave van Resident de Rooy, over tijdvak Juni 1905 tot Juni 1908 over het Gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 339, Nationaal Archief (henceforth NA), The Hague.



Manggarai, or West Flores

Central Flores





East Flores-Larantuka

out the entire western and central parts of Flores, establishing at least a strong impression of the power of the colonial army. This action was symbolic of a new era in which, for the first time in history, taxes were imposed that were payable to the colonial government in the form of money rather than in the form of coffee, rice, grain, or elephant tusks (as were the taxes or fines of the native raja). This new policy involved the planting of new crops such as coconut palms, especially for export. It brought roads for the army (built with the use of forced labour) and traders (mostly Chinese), in addition to schools. After 1908, local resistance, mostly against the new taxes and forced labour, increased, and did not fully subside until after 1915.²

The rapid expansion of the colonial presence is also evident in the increase in colonial personnel in the residency of Kupang (Lesser Sunda Islands) between 1905 and 1935. In 1905 there were 19 officials in the residency; by 1915 there were 43. This number remained relatively stable thereafter. However, the number of European Catholic missionary personnel continued to grow, from 52 in 1911 to 222 in 1939.³

Not only was there an increase in personnel, but greater emphasis was also put on the quality of these resources. In 1908, Resident De Rooy still complained that the lowest echelon, the *posthouders*, were 'people without education, partly without any feeling of responsibility for their duty, and without any zeal'.⁴ Until 1904 the *posthouder* had no other formal duty than to raise the flag and to prevent trouble, and did not have the aid of soldiers or formal authority. After 1904 vast improvements were made in transport and communications between the islands through the use of motorboats and telephone connections between the main towns of the residency (this happened in 1909). This enabled government officials such as the *posthouder* or his military equivalent, the *civiele gezaghebber*, to send reports quickly to the *resident* in Kupang, who was eager for a show of power.

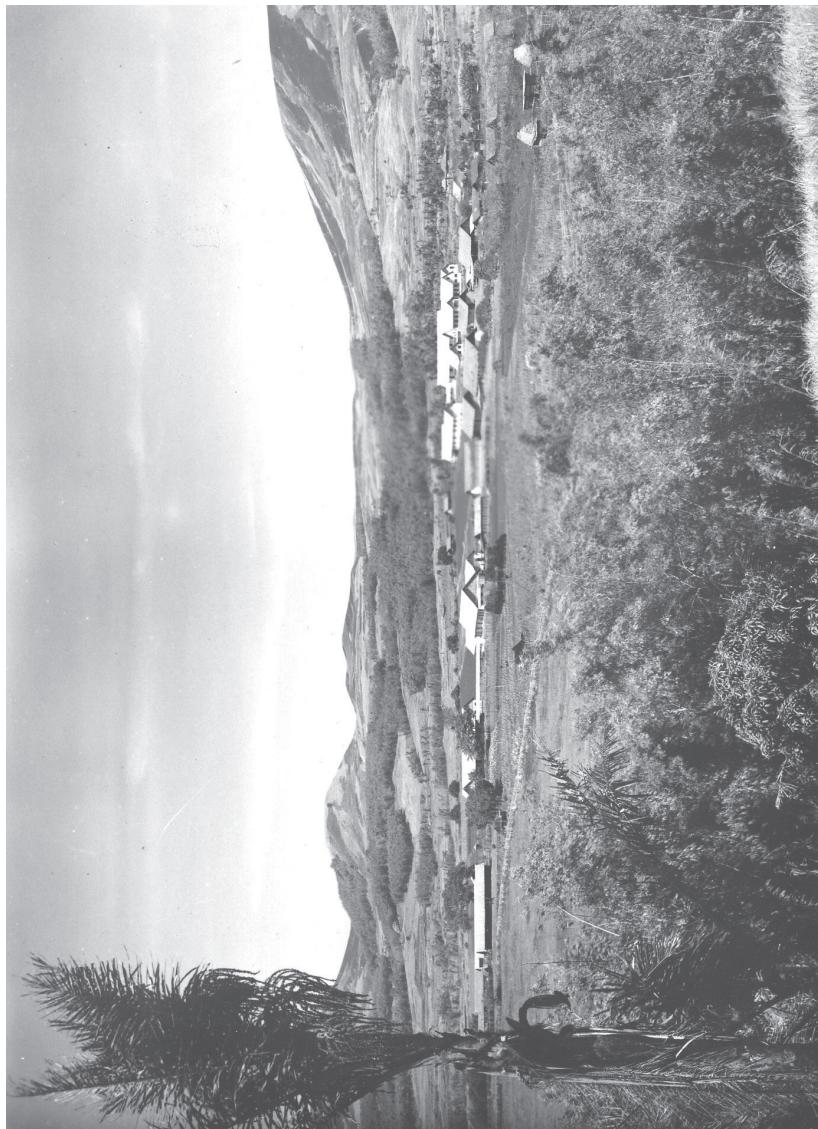
In this rapidly changing environment, the Catholic mission made rapid progress. In stark contrast with earlier periods, when missionaries complained that the *residents* were either dogmatic Protestants or anti-religious Freemasons, they increasingly found devoted Catholics among the colonial administration. The first *controleur* of Flores, A. Couvreur (appointed in 1906 for Ende), was a nominal Catholic who nevertheless gave a degree of open support to the mission. His successor, Anton Hens (1910-1913, and *assistant-resident* 1913-1916), was a devout Catholic in his private life, and was even more outspoken in his support of the Catholic mission.⁵

² For a series of rebellions on Flores up to 1920, see Dietrich 1989:96.

³ See Dietrich 1989:254 for a compilation of more complete lists.

⁴ J. de Rooy, *Memorie van Overgave 1905 tot 1908*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 339.

⁵ A brother of A. Hens was a Capuchin friar in the Netherlands. On the occasion of Hens's furlough in the Netherlands, 3-7-1916, Prefect Apostolic Noyen urged the leaders of the SVD order



'[...] a very fertile area, an excellent health station or *Lufukurort* [...].'
See p. 83: the plain of Todabelu (KDC, Nijmegen).

On 1 October 1907, in the heyday of the conquest of West Flores, *Controleur Couvreur* wrote to the head of the mission station in Larantuka:⁶

Dear Pastor,

Between Nanga Pandan and Aimere we found a magnificent, fertile and densely populated highland, at an average height of 750 to 1200 metres. The area is about 70 by 30 sq. km and is inhabited by at least 250,000 people. We should definitely not use the word 'uncivilized' for them, but we can keep the qualification 'rapacious'. I made a personal inspection in the southwestern part of this area commonly called the Tokka area, but better called the district of the *Ngada*, inhabited by the *Komitero* tribe (named after their red moustaches). They have a higher level of civilization than the population of East Flores. As proof, I mention that their chiefs asked Captain Christoffel to start a school in this region.

You will not need further proof that this is an extremely good region for the Catholic mission, as well as from the viewpoint of economic development (a very fertile area, an excellent health station or *Luftkurort*). We will very soon start with the construction of a road inland from the Bay of Aimere. We will give priority to the road.

I can assure you that it will be the main concern for the mission, but also for the government and the people, to send a priest as soon as possible, together with a teacher and carpenter from the religious order, to settle there. For reasons which are known to you, I must urge you to consider this letter as strictly confidential, Yours.

Government officials at that time had to remain strictly neutral in religious affairs, for which reason Couvreur could not write an official letter. Because of the strong presence of Muslims in the harbour and costal towns of central and west Flores, such as Ende, Nanga Pandan, Labuan Bajo, Reo and Borong, the Catholic mission had largely neglected the western half of Flores, which they regarded as predominantly Muslim. This was also the result of the formal authority of the sultanate of Bima over Manggarai, or West Flores. However, Christoffel's military action and Couvreur's inquiries proved this assumption wrong at least for the time being. The Muslim influence was restricted to the coast, while inhabitants of inland areas still adhered to traditional religions. But Couvreur feared that Muslim influence would very soon increase and thus he considered it in the interests of the colony to promote the Catholic mission.

Couvreur wrote a more strongly worded letter (dated 12 February 1908) to Bishop Luypen in Batavia about the necessity of winning the race against Islam. He viewed central and west Flores as very promising, particularly when compared to the low expectations held for the first mission area of East Flores:

in Steijl to consult him and, if possible, to confer on him the ecclesiastical award *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* (Laan 'Larantuka':1720). Hens received the award while on leave in the Netherlands in 1917 (Laan 'Ende':173).

⁶ AJAK H 4-1-3; see Document 5.



Larantuka 1909, pupils of the mission school playing their flutes during a visit by Bishop Luypen (KDC, Nijmegen).



Visit by Bishop Luypen to Flores, Maumere, 1909. Front row from left to right, J. Sevink, A. IJsseldijk, E. Luypen, H. Looijmans, J. Engbers. Standing in the second row, the Jesuit brothers Jozef Schrijen and B. Schweitz (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen).

[...] If we do not act fast, Islam will occupy the interior and we will have lost this area forever. This is the more regrettable because until now the mission settled in the economically and also spiritually most backward part of Flores. That is a region with some promise, but will never be able to keep pace with Manggarai and the region north of Ende. What is more, the density of the population in these regions is much higher than in Maumere and Larantuka. If we act fast, Flores, with the exception of a few coastal places, can be secured for the Catholic Church, including the fertile Manggarai, until now under the influence of the Muslim Bima, including the whole interior of Ende.⁷

The correspondence even contained an element of blackmail. Couvreur wrote on behalf of the great military man Captain Christoffel in a letter dated 1 October 1907, that he would feel obliged to offer West Flores to the Protestant church of Batavia if the Catholics could not take the initiative of beginning a settlement in this region.⁸ The same argument was still heard more than ten years later, when Prefect Noyen complained that many villages in the region of Ende and Ndona had accepted Islam and that even some district chiefs embraced this religion, while he could do nothing, owing to the lack of new priests from Europe:

Even the Dutch government is criticizing me because it is in their interest that the inhabitants are converted to Christianity because the attitude of Muslims towards the government is often suspicious. They suggested more than once that it would be better to ask Protestants to come to this place because we are short of personnel. [...] A government official asked me, what would be my preference: that they become Muslim or Protestant? You can imagine how difficult it is for me to say that they should become Protestants.⁹

Colonialism and the race between Islam and Christianity

Around 1900 there were several different Muslim groups on Flores and surrounding islands. The nearly extinct sultanate of Sumbawa traced its origins to Banjarmasin. The sultanate of Bima cherished a remembrance of its origins from the Javanese rulers of Hindu-Majapahit but kept more solid relations with the Muslim cultures of Buginese and Makassarese from South Sulawesi after their conversion in the 1630s (Noorduyn 1987). The sultan of Bima claimed sovereignty over the western part of Flores, with Labuan Bajo, Reo and Riung as its most important coastal places. On the south coast of Flores, the island of Ende and nearby coastal places had been dominated by Muslims of Makassarese origin since their victory over the Portuguese

⁷ AJAK H 4-1-3; see Document 5.

⁸ Laan 'Ende':11.

⁹ Noyen to his superior general, Nikolaus Blum, 25-1-1918, in Laan 'Ende':210-3.

traders and priests between 1620 and 1630. This bloody conflict had ended with the destruction on the island of the Portuguese fortification, built by the Dominican friars about 1570.¹⁰

Another Muslim stronghold was on the island of Solor, where people kept the memory of their origins from Seram or Ternate and a victory in the fight against the Portuguese, who had left their fortification Henricus in 1636.¹¹ Other Muslim strongholds in the Solor archipelago were Adonara and Trong, small places on the southern coast of the island of Adonara. A more recent settlement of Makassarese and Buginese Muslims was found in the coastal region east of Maumere, where the head of the settlement Geliting even received some recognition as an independent raja of KangaE in 1902 and 1904 (Steenbrink 2003a:127-62). This largely independent realm would have meant a fourth Islamic centre after the Bimanese vassal Manggarai in the west, Ende in the south, and Adonara in the east of Flores. The ruler of KangaE was not a fervent and intolerant Muslim. In the early 1920s, he donated 900 guilders to the church in his realm and ordered his subjects to participate in the construction work.¹² KangaE was again integrated in the territory of Sikka in 1929 as consequence of the centralization of power. This was a success for Don Thomas of Sikka, ruling from Maumere.

A small number of Arab traders settled in Ende, Sumba and Timor, probably during the nineteenth century. Although a small community (in 1905 there were 303 people of Arab descent in the Kupang residency; they grew to 2,688 in 1930), they held a prominent social position. In 1927 under colonial rule a *hoofd der Arabieren* or representative of the Arabs was appointed in Ende (Said Abdoelqadir bin Djadid al-Habsji) and in Sumba (Said Oemar bin Abdoelqadir al-Djoefri).¹³ Around 1900 there was a saying on Sumba that 'the Endenese have more authority than the Dutch'.¹⁴

Several times in colonial government reports the question was posed why the rather strict and dedicated Muslims of the main coastal places had not spread their religion to the tribes of the mountainous interior. One observer pointed to a lack of missionary zeal in the centuries preceding the active colonization of the area.¹⁵ Others remarked that the main obstacle might have been the inland-

¹⁰ For the early history of these Catholics in their fight against Muslims, see Heuken 2002:127-74.

¹¹ On these sometimes rather legendary origins see A. Couvreur, *Memorie van Overgave, 1924 als Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden*, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1236, p. 74.

¹² From notes by Buis 1924-5:165 on Islam in Flores.

¹³ *Regeeringsalmanak* 1935:362.

¹⁴ Couvreur, *Verslag van eene dienstreis 1907*, Coll. Le Roux no. 7, NA, 'dat de Endenees meer macht had dan de compenie'. For the position of Endenese Arabs of Memboru, Sumba, in the trade of slaves and horses, see also Needham 1983:22-30, who states that that 'the Company was strong at sea, where it was master, but not on land'. Memboru was the centre for Endenese traders on Sumba. See also Clarence-Smith 2002:143-63.

¹⁵ Couvreur, *Memorie van Overgave als Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden*, 1924, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1236, p. 74.

ers' tradition of eating pork.¹⁶ As for the possible means for the spread of Islam, the economic superiority of the Muslims has been mentioned. Their trade and money-lending practices, and their habit of buying brides established links between them and the hinterland. Insecurity and poverty in the interior may have been the main reasons why Islam did not spread into these areas from the main coastal towns. This situation changed drastically after the military actions of Captain Christoffel in 1907-1908, which were referred to as *perang pasifikasi*, or 'wars of pacification', a label that they retain until today.¹⁷ After these military actions, work was started on the Flores road from Reo to Larantuka (completed in 1927), and on a web of local roads, and was combined with the policy that people should build their villages along one of these roads.

In 1914, the prefect of the Flores mission, Piet Noyen, wrote bluntly to retired missionary Mary Joseph Claessens in the Netherlands: 'The construction of the roads has been finished now, and the conditions in the interior are quite safe. The *hajis* (pilgrims who had returned from Mecca) will spare no cost or energy to plant the poison of their doctrine on the mountains. Therefore Ende has to become the main station of the mission.'¹⁸ In other correspondence, military terminology was used and it was stated that Ende would be 'occupied' in 1915.¹⁹

By 1910, a sharp increase of *hajis* was already evident. From the 1890s through the early 1900s, there were only some 200 pilgrims per year from the Lesser Sunda Islands.²⁰ This rose sharply to 383 (1910), 494 (1911), 715 (1912), and 870 (1913), but appears to have stopped completely during the war of 1914-1918, to resume only after 1920, reaching the highest pre-independence figure of 879 in 1930. The increase may be attributed to the rise of a money economy, and perhaps also partly to improved collection of statistics and government control.²¹

Some colonial officials observed strict religious neutrality, and some even showed reserve regarding the privileged position of Christianity. The most outspoken of these was B.C.C.M.M van Suchtelen, who was once the *gezag-*

¹⁶ E.H. de Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident van Timor en onderhoorigheden 16 Juni 1934*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 244, p. 23. It is quite striking that government officials and missionaries complain about the heavy drinking of Florenese, but do not relate this to a motive not to accept Islam.

¹⁷ The term *perang pasifikasi* is repeatedly used in Uran n.d.:95, 118, 124, 129.

¹⁸ 'Daar de wegen nu goed aangelegd en de rust op Flores onder het bergvolk verzekerd is, zullen de hadj'i's geen moeite sparen om het gif hunner leer in de bergen te verplanten. Dus Ende wordt hoofdstadie van de Missie.' Quoted in Laan 'Ende':44.

¹⁹ Laan 'Ende':46.

²⁰ For one case see Laan 'Sikka':251 and 269 about Daeng Pawinro, head of the Buginese of Waepare, who wanted to perform the *haji* in 1905, and who asked permission from Posthouder Kailola in Maumere and made his adopted son Haji Tani his representative. In 1906 there was a report about his death during the pilgrimage.

²¹ Figures from J. Vredenbregt 1962:140-4.

hebber in Ende. A school was opened in Labuan Bajo in 1911 with Manuel Fernandez as the teacher. One of the main activities of the school was the singing of church hymns in Malay, *menjanji Melajoe seperti di geredja* (Malay singing like in the church ...), but Van Suchtelen later forbade this because the list of schoolchildren only showed Muslim names.²² At the same time two sons of the village head of Wakuleo in Mboli asked Van Suchtelen if they were allowed to convert to Islam. The colonial official answered that it was very good to do so. Consequently, he forbade the teacher from introducing the Catholic catechism in the school.²³

Van Suchtelen's attitude provoked a strong reaction from the side of the missionaries. They stated that it was government policy to entrust all education to the clergy and therefore Catholic instruction was part of the deal. Moreover, nobody would be hurt in religious sentiments 'because they are still all pagan'.²⁴ Father Engbers bluntly expressed to Van Suchtelen that it was government policy to promote Christianity. 'If not for that reason, why should the government provide a salary for the clergy?'²⁵ The missionaries resented the fact that Van Suchtelen's attitude had given the Muslims of Ende more self-confidence. 'They now move around as if to say: we are an important party here! That is all because of Van Suchtelen, who visits all areas every month.'²⁶

In a few cases, Van Suchtelen and others probably witnessed the use of coercion by missionaries in the bid to win converts. There were some cases of boys being manipulated into being sent to the school at Lela against their will. In 1914, the first eight pupils arrived from Reo and Ruteng, but soon afterwards three wanted to return. Missionary P.J.W. Muller reported, 'Nearly every day they asked me for permission to leave. They wanted to become Muslim and refused pork. On the day of arrival of the steamer in Maumere [30 kilometres walking] they were in the harbour. I let them off.'²⁷ This was, however, an exception.

One reason for the non-sectarian position of colonial officials may have been their sincere conviction that religious neutrality was the policy for the whole colony. Some may have been anti-clerical for one reason or another. Missionaries often expressed disapproval of Freemasons, although there were no formal branches of this spiritual and social organization in these

²² Laan 'Larantuka':1445.

²³ Laan 'Larantuka':1447. Van Suchtelen defended his action with the argument that 'up to now there is not yet an official agreement with the mission: the school is owned by the government and should therefore remain neutral'. On the same episode from Engbers's diary, see Laan 'Sikka':334-9.

²⁴ Laan 'Larantuka':1447.

²⁵ Engbers to Luyken, June 1911, quoted in Laan 'Sikka':335.

²⁶ 'De Slammen van Ende lopen nu overal rond en zijn niet meer schuchter zoals vroeger. Zij bewegen zich alsof zij willen zeggen: wij zijn er ook! En dat is vooral te wijten aan van Suchtelen die elken maand komt.' Laan 'Ende':26.

²⁷ Report by Father P.J.W. Muller of Lela, January 1915, in Laan 'Ende':50.

Outer Islands, and neither are there any documented accusations. In early 1912 a vague conflict between the missionaries of Larantuka and Posthouder R.F. Schmiedeman resulted in a complaint by Father Hoeberechts that 'the Crescent is protected and Christianity obstructed here'.²⁸ Some government officials also perceived the great influence of the rapidly increasing number of foreign missionaries as a threat to their own position. They may have created a counter-balance by defending Islam.

The general policy of the colonial government, probably much more explicit here than in any other area of the colony during the early twentieth century, was in favour of conversions to Christianity by restricting Islamic influence. This is most evident in the way native rulers were selected and promoted on the island of Flores. Of the former large number of political realms, only nine survived to the end of the colonial period. Through this quick process of reorganization of native rule, the influence of Islam was seriously curtailed.

The most significant and drastic example of the containment of Islam was the separation of West Flores, or Manggarai, from the sultanate of Bima in 1929.²⁹ The most important representatives of the sultan of Bima on Flores were the *sangaji* of Labuan Bajo and the *raja bicara* of Reo. Both were deposed as *zelfbestuurder* in 1929 in favour of the newly created raja of Manggarai, Alexander Baroek, a young Catholic who was educated at the mission school. Baroek was the son of one of the 38 *dalu* of Manggarai. In order to give him more authority, an older *dalu*, Raja Bagoeng, a pagan, was appointed as his *raja bicara*, in the position of advisor or spokesman. E.H. De Nijs Bik, who as *resident* of Kupang supervised the process of separation from Bima, had high hopes for Alexander Baroek, although he noted that because of his youthfulness 'he could not yet show strong authority in front of other local rulers and even less against the Catholic clergy, who took charge of him during his education'.³⁰ Baroek received backing from the priest W. van Bekkum (later the bishop of Ruteng 1951-1972), who wrote a series of articles on the history of Manggarai, concentrating not on the foreign influences of Bima and Goa, but on inland policies. Although acknowledging the permanent relations with other areas of Indonesia, Van Bekkum in his historical studies emphasized the district of Todo (where Alexander Baroek originated) as the main area of the 38 districts of Manggarai (Van Bekkum 1944/46:144-52; 1946a:65-75, 122-30; see also Erb 1987).

On the north coast only Riung remained a self-governing territory under a Muslim ruler. However, Riung was very small, covering the area of three

²⁸ Laan 'Larantuka':1488 (Letter of 7-1-1912).

²⁹ Governor-general's decision (hereafter Bt GG), 21-4-1929, no. 12. According to Bt GG, 3-2-1931, no. 56, Alexander Baroek was recognized as a native ruler (*zelfbestuurder*).

³⁰ The formal decision about the separation of Manggarai from Bima in Bt GG, 21-4-1929, no. 12 and of the appointment of Raja Alexander Baroek according to Bt GG, 3-2-1931, no. 56, De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 189.

dalu only. The same process was mirrored in the development of Ende on the south coast. It was under a Muslim ruler until the 1930s, but its territory shrank in 1915, and even more so in 1924 to the advantage of the newly created native territory of Lio, ruled by the Catholic Raja Pius, 'a strong personality who, notwithstanding the fact that his position is entirely a Dutch creation, can exercise authority in his region'.³¹

In his chronological overview of the region Lio-plus-Ende, which until 1924 was simply called Ende, Van Suchtelen mentioned in his last year (1918) that Mbaki Mbani, raja of Ndona, had embraced Islam. This was a serious setback for the Catholic mission because its headquarters for the whole island of Flores was built just outside the town of Ende in Ndona. Van Suchtelen also noted that Ngadji (alias Petrus), educated at the mission school in Lela, would be the best choice as successor to Mbaki Mbani. On Mbaki Mbani's conversion to Islam, Prefect Noyen commented that 'this would never have happened under Controleur Hens', as he blamed it on the perceived pro-Islamic attitude of Van Suchtelen.³² In 1924, under the devout Catholic, Raja Pius, this territory of Ndona was incorporated into Lio, a measure taken by other devout pro-Christian officials. Another official charged with being 'pro-Muslim' was P. Lagerwey, who previously had been commander of the police in Lomblem, serving under *gezaghebber* De Groot of Alor 'from where he got such positive impressions of Muslims'.³³ In 1916 *gezaghebber* Lagerwey reprimanded the chief of Moni for his frequent drunkenness and complete lack of initiatives for further development. But Prefect Noyen expressed his support of this man 'because he is sympathetic towards the mission and will not allow any Muslims to enter his territory'.³⁴ Whatever may have been the individual views of certain officials, with only a few exceptions colonial policy in the region in the period 1904-1942 was directed at containment of Islam.

Is it a coincidence that after the full deployment of Catholic schools in the 1920s, more and more Muslim rulers had problems with the colonial authorities? In the early 1930s the son of the raja of Riung, Abdullah, who was quite energetic in collecting taxes, was accused of abusing his power and was sent into exile to Kupang for three years. At the same time, the son of the ruler of Ende, who attended high school in Surabaya, was sent back to Ende because he was deemed too close to 'extremist' (meaning nationalist) circles.³⁵ The most severe measures were taken against the Muslim raja of Adonara.

³¹ De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 98.

³² Van Suchtelen 1921:14, 85. On Ngadji and Noyen's comment, see Laan 'Larantuka':1752 and 1804-9. Laan 'Larantuka':1912 mentions that Ngadji, also written Ngatji, was circumcized in 1919. We may suppose that this was a step towards Islam, but Van Suchtelen 1921:85 gives him the name Petrus.

³³ Laan 'Sikka':414.

³⁴ Laan 'Sikka':415: 'daar hij ons goed gezind is en geen Slam in zijn gebied zal laten komen'.

³⁵ De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, pp. 192, 196.

Several of his traditional territories were transferred to Larantuka, and there was much suspicion and close supervision by colonial administrators. A. Couvreur wrote of the island of Adonara (divided between the authority of the raja of Larantuka and the raja of Adonara): 'the people of Adonara are really criminals. Human life has no specific value and murder and massacre are very common. Although they are punished in a harsh way, they continue their lifestyle and very often there is fighting between whole villages'.³⁶ In 1934, opinions about the Muslim rulers of Adonara were again very negative. De Nijs Bik considered Raja Arkian Amba, who ruled until 1930, to be 'a person of no insight at all, a real impediment to development' and his successor Bapa Ana 'a weak personality without any development'.³⁷

The negative views of the few remaining Muslim rulers were in complete contrast to the generally positive views of the Catholic rulers in Flores. Of these, the most applauded was the raja of Sikka, Don Thomas da Silva, into whose territory the small Muslim coastal region of KangaE had been incorporated in 1929. Da Silva was considered 'without doubt the most energetic native ruler in the Flores region'.³⁸ In 1932, a combination of admiration for this ruler and economic policies of the Dutch led to the *ontvoogding*, or emancipation, of this native ruler from European supervision in his own area.

In his final report on the area he administered as *resident* between 1923 and 1927, G. Schultz divided the southeastern islands into four categories: (a) Bima and (the rest of) Sumbawa as Muslim; (b) Flores, the eastern districts of Dutch Timor, and the western districts of Sumba as Catholic; (c) the rest of Timor as being under the influence of the old Dutch Reformed Church (Indische Kerk); and most of Sumba as the territory for the Reformed mission (Gereformeerd as distinct from the Indische Kerk). This division was henceforth maintained.³⁹

For the Catholic mission this division was not just a matter of fact, it remained a policy awaiting implementation in close cooperation with the government. The somewhat subversive support for the mission, as expressed in *controleur* Couvreur's private letter of 1907, soon became official policy. Colonel (later General) C.H. van Rietschoten, who was *resident* of Kupang between 1911 and 1913, wrote in his last report:

We cannot yet show a considerable increase of Christianity. The main reason is that the various missions are short of personnel. Therefore they are not in a position to found new mission posts and must give their attention to the consolidation of existing congregations. Expansion, including the necessary preparation, is too heavy a burden for them. For Flores, where Islam is expanding, this is especially lamentable.

³⁶ Couvreur, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1924, NA 2.10.39 KIT 236, p. 134.

³⁷ De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 203.

³⁸ De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 199.

³⁹ G. Schultz, *Memorie van Overgave Resident van Timor e.d.* (13 Juni 1927), NA 2.10.39 MMK 342, appendix.



C. Schultz, resident of Kupang, June 1924-June 1927 on a farewell visit with
W.K.M. Stibbe and A. Couvreur at the mission compound in Ndona.
Turning around is SVD priest A. Verstraelen (KITLV, no. 11195).

table because, besides other reasons for favouring the expansion of Christianity, a Christian population will offer a more solid base for our power than a Muslim majority.⁴⁰

Eight years later, a similar but more optimistic evaluation was given by departing Resident Maier, who concluded that an increase in the number of Christians was noteworthy, noting that 'Christians feel like loyal subjects of the Netherlands Indies government. Christianity is a barrier against Islam.' More specifically, regarding subsidies for schools for the 'Protestant regions' or West Timor, Maier declared that the purpose of the subsidies for education was mainly 'to provide the Protestant Church of Kupang the means to make easy contacts with the pagan population, in order to effectuate a quick and total Christianization of this region'.⁴¹

Not much mention is made of Muslim protests against the favoured position of Christianity in the region. This may have been because no major Islamic centres were to be found east of Bima. Besides basic courses for Koran reading, there was only one primary school in Kupang that used Arabic as the main language, and it also used Dutch.⁴² There were either no Muslim brotherhoods (*tarekat*, or religious orders), or those that may have existed were not officially reported in the colonial records. Muslim children in the Catholic schools (the only schools available in most of Flores) followed catechism lessons. The small number of Muslim boys in Larantuka also attended school during the month of Ramadan without any problem ('as meek lambs') asking only for leave on Idul Fitri, the holiday at the end of the fasting month.⁴³ In places with a Muslim majority such as Ende, special teachers known for their good communication with Muslims were employed. Before the start of Ramadan, they sought contact with various *hajis* and 'they found it satisfactory if the children were to have leave from school during a few days at the beginning and at the end of the fasting'.⁴⁴ In practice, however, schools in strong Islamic areas were quite cautious with respect to religion and some refrained from giving religious classes.⁴⁵ There were local rumours of the dangers of conversion to Christianity. Father Jan Engbers noted in 1911: 'Muslims warn people in the interior that their children will die within three months if they offer them for baptism. Hail to the Colonial Government, under whose sweet authority people are brave enough to take the risk.'⁴⁶

⁴⁰ C.H. van Rietschoten, *Memorie van Overgave, Over Juli 1911 tot begin Augustus 1913*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 340, pp. 35-6.

⁴¹ Maier *Memorie van Overgave, 1919*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 341, pp. 11, 15.

⁴² De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident, 1934*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 33.

⁴³ Laan 'Larantuka':1708: 'de slammetjes komen ook tijdens de poeasa naar school, als trouwe lammetjes; slechts één dag, ik geloof de sluitingsdag, vragen en krijgen zij vrij'.

⁴⁴ Laan 'Larantuka':1726, about 1916.

⁴⁵ In a debate with Van Suchtelen, Prefect Noyen stressed that in fact in several schools non-sectarian education was given: 'Dat op meerdere scholen op Flores door ons, tengevolge van overleg met het bestuur, neutraal onderwijs wordt gegeven [...]'. Letter of 8-2-1916 in Laan 'Ende':121.

⁴⁶ Laan 'Ende':28 in a summary of the first trip over land from Ende to Lela, 1911.

The first decades after the pacification wars of 1907 under Captain Christoffel brought many rebellions. Very few of these were situated in Muslim-majority regions. Most were in inland areas where a money economy was previously unknown and people had great difficulties with forced labour and the new taxes. The only suggestion of an Islamic insurgence is in Ende, where in 1917 *gezaghebber* Van Suchtelen suspected a number of Muslims of planning a rebellion.⁴⁷ The house where they gathered was burnt down and not much was heard of any similar plans after that.⁴⁸

Education as the cornerstone for the containment of Islam and the expansion of Christianity

The development of the Catholic mission in East Flores from 1860 onward led to the establishment of two large mission compounds, one in Larantuka and the other in Lela (Sikka), both with boarding schools for boys and girls. In both places Franciscan nuns from Heythuizen educated some 200 girls from the time they arrived at the school (between 8 and 14 years old) until they married. Much time was devoted to learning handicrafts, weaving and embroidery, cooking and house-cleaning. Much time was also devoted to religious education, including the recounting of Bible stories, learning the catechism, and singing hymns. The Jesuits had fewer boys under their supervision in both compounds. In Larantuka, there was a special section of the dormitory and school for boys (or young men) who assisted the Jesuit brothers in the building activities of the mission. The carpenter's yard of Brother Henricus Adan also made special woodcarvings for statues of saints and altars in various parts of Indonesia.⁴⁹

Besides the two large settlements of Larantuka and Lela, there were smaller schools in Maumere and Koting. In a few places, catechists were appointed and paid by the mission, and in some cases were also paid by the raja. In Waibalon and Lewoleri, the catechists received 6 guilders per month from the mission and one guilder from Raja Louis. They taught the children catechism in the Malay language. For most children, this was the first time they were taught proper Malay. They became acquainted with the basic stories of the Bible,

⁴⁷ For a map of rebellions between 1910 and 1920, see Dietrich 1989:96.

⁴⁸ Laan 'Larantuka':1785.

⁴⁹ Laan 'Larantuka':1213 on a communion table for the church of Makassar with polychromy; Laan 'Larantuka':1328 on six old wooden statues, already out of use for years and now restored in their original splendour. There is an *In Memoriam* for Henricus Adan in *Claverbond* 1913:77-84. Besides working as the head of carpentry, Brother Adan was also a gifted musician who led the brass band at the boys' school in Larantuka.

with the common prayers, especially the rosary, and most of all with the joyful and cheerful singing that was and still is the heart of the Catholic Church of Flores and nearby islands. There are not many reports of language problems for the teachers, who initially came mostly from East Flores and could speak no LIONese, Ngada, or Manggarai. There are even reports that the teachers who arrived from Sikka soon adapted to the Lio area and learned the language.⁵⁰

There are few data about these catechists. Only a few names are known. Doeran, who went to school in Larantuka and became catechist in Lewolaga around 1905, is described in more detail. Together with the Raja, he supervised the building of a proper church in the village. He instructed children and adults not only in preparation for baptism, but also for the sacramental celebration of marriage.⁵¹

On 23 August 1906, Hendrik Colijn, as special advisor for the Outer Islands, arrived in Larantuka as part of his extended trip through eastern Indonesia. Much to the surprise of the missionaries, he communicated the plans of the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs, A.W.F. Idenburg, for the development of education in the Indies: a broad network of three-year village schools, supported and largely financed by local social networks. In eastern Indonesia, this system was to be run by Catholic and Protestant missions. Colijn was enthusiastic about the school and more specifically about the vocational training in Larantuka, and he praised its carpenters. Father Hoeberechts defended the first goal of the mission schools, a religious education. On this point Colijn was positive, saying, 'Of course, that is your honest aspiration, to make them confident and obedient Christians. You may continue to build Catholic schools, but they should not be ecclesiastical schools.'⁵²

In the end Hoeberechts considered this a golden opportunity for the mission, notwithstanding the many problems between government and missionaries of Larantuka in relation to the exile of Raja Lorenzo.⁵³ Colijn also visited Maumere and Lela, where Father Henricus Looijmans showed much less enthusiasm for

⁵⁰ 'De mensen kunnen de taal gauw leren', in a letter from Frans de Lange SVD, asking his colleagues in Lela for a catechist in Lio. Laan 'Ende':199; letter of November 1917.

⁵¹ Laan 'Larantuka':1461-3. For an image of catechist Bala in Leloba, see Laan 'Larantuka':1334. There were three catechists on the island of Adonara in 1909: Joan in Tanah Merah, Manoel in Dadu, and Jac. Santiago in Wureh, Laan 'Larantuka':1376.

⁵² 'Natuurlijk, zei mr. Colijn, dat is het doel waarna U streeft: eerst er flinke christenen van maken. Pastoor, het mag gerust een R.K. school zijn, maar geen kerkelijke school.' Laan 'Larantuka':1300-1, from a letter by Hoeberechts, AJAK H 6.5.3.

⁵³ In his letter Hoeberechts gives a detailed account of the discussions with Colijn, where education policy was only a detail. Missionary support for Raja Lorenzo, who was dismissed and sent into exile by Resident Heckler in 1904, was the main topic. One rather curious reproach to the mission was that it provided too much strong drink (*arak*) to the common people, especially in the mountains. According to Hoeberechts this had never occurred during his period in Larantuka. Only the young men who worked for the mission incidentally received some alcoholic drinks. Also in Laan 'Larantuka':1302.

the ambitious plans. He left it up to the bishop to decide, but personally he thought the undertaking was too ambitious. He argued that it would probably cost too much money and the result would probably be less than expected. 'Still, it would be quite good for central Flores [Sikka] because we would have many more opportunities to work directly among the people.'⁵⁴

Colijn remained in East Flores only from 23 to 26 August 1906. He visited all eastern possessions of the colony, departing from Surabaya in early May 1906.⁵⁵ In his later report, published in 1907, which summarized the findings of his trip to the Outer Islands of the archipelago, he emphasized that general education was much needed, but only possible if a sharp distinction was drawn between education provided by the central government and local initiatives. He argued that the central government should restrict itself to the education of the sons of native chiefs and rulers. For general education, local initiatives should be fostered (Colijn 1907:118). He noted that in the history of Europe, education also began in the Carolingian period through parish schools (Colijn 1907:76). A long chain of deliberations, reports, and further deliberations followed. In May 1909, Colijn wrote again, advising on the so-called *uitbestedingsstelsel*, or 'outsourcing' system. Governor-General Idenburg defended this system in a letter to the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs (J.H. de Waal Malefijt) on 5 April 1910. The minister agreed to the general structure of this plan (Van de Wal 1963:161-75).

Because of a gap in the missionary archives on Flores, not much is known about the developments of school planning between 1908 and 1910.⁵⁶ In 1910, the more advanced school at Woloan in the Minahasa on Sulawesi was included in the planning. On 11 January 1910 seven boys (three from Larantuka, four from Lela) left for Woloan in order to receive a more complete training: after the basic course of three years in Flores they were to follow the full four years of the teacher training program in Woloan to become teachers at a more advanced school. Guru Ollah Franciscus Dias (a teacher since 1891), the most experienced native teacher of Larantuka, joined this group for several weeks. In Woloan he collected much teaching material, and it was his first experience outside Flores.⁵⁷ At the time it was thought that Father Van Velsen of Woloan would become the supervisor for the new education project in Flores. It was hoped that ten students per year from Flores would start their training in Woloan. Several experienced teachers would also be sent from Woloan to Flores. Initially the plan met with some difficulties.

⁵⁴ Looijmans to Bishop Luyken in Laan 'Larantuka':1304.

⁵⁵ For an outline of this trip, see Langeveld 1998:120-4.

⁵⁶ For this gap see Laan 'Larantuka':1341.

⁵⁷ Laan 'Larantuka':1392-4. More on Guru Ollah in Laan 'Larantuka':142 on the occasion of his 25th anniversary as a teacher in 1916.

Several students died or had to return because they lacked ability, or took to womanizing, or other vices. During the 1910s a larger group of students finished their studies in Woloan. In addition, several Minahasan teachers arrived in Flores and worked there with success. Very few students departed for Muntilan, which was considered as yet one grade higher than Woloan on the scale of educational quality.⁵⁸

In April 1910 the *gezaghebber* of Central Timor, Captain Franssen Herderschee, visited Alfons Mathijsen in Lahurus (Central Timor), at that time the only station in Timor with a priest, to discuss similar plans for the Catholic regions of Central Timor. In a very short period at least ten village schools were to be started. Developments on Timor started somewhat later but followed a similar pattern as on Flores.⁵⁹

Further discussions with the central government on education were, for practical reasons, not conducted by priests from Flores but more frequently by leading figures of the more advanced Catholic schools in Woloan (North Sulawesi) and Muntilan (Central Java). Probably to support their proposal, the priests of East Flores wrote the 'Draft for a Request about Schools in Flores'.⁶⁰ The preparations went a step further during a high-level meeting in Lela on 22 February 1911, at which the Advisor for the Outer Islands C. Lulofs, Resident C.H. van Rietschoten, Controleur A. Hens, and priests of the Flores mission led by Arnold van der Velden were present. The group worked on an outline for an agreement that was signed by Lulofs and Van der Velden on 7 March 1911. The document started by 'recognizing that with the exception of the territory of the raja of Adonara, the whole region could be considered mission territory. [...] Moreover, the claim of being Muslim by people of Ende and other inhabitants of the coast, as far as native people are concerned, is no more than mere window dressing.' The document expressed regret that until recently it was impossible for missionaries to settle among the 'wild population of the interior', but it also acknowledged with joy that Muslim migrants were eager to gain financial advantage and therefore abstained from missionary activities away from the coast.

The successful military campaigns of the preceding years had drastically changed the situation inland. With a safe interior, opportunities for contacts with the native population had increased and were useful for Muslims. The best way to counter Islamic expansion was considered to be through firm action by Christian missions, education being one of the best means for carrying it out. It was therefore unanimously decided that the strategy already developed for the Protestant mission in Sumba should also be applied to Flores. The five

⁵⁸ Fortner 1994 gives elucidating proof of the continuation of differences in prestige of the three ethnic groups in Indonesia.

⁵⁹ Laan 'Timor':600.

⁶⁰ For short summaries of this document see Laan 'Larantuka':1424.

leading schools – in Larantuka, Lela, Ende, Aimere (for Ngada) and Reo (for Manggarai) – were to produce teachers for village schools. In colonial terminology these leading schools were called *standaardschool* or *vervolgschool*, adding two years of education to the three years of the *desaschool* or village school.⁶¹

The agreement of 7 March 1911 was one step in a long process. On 1 May 1911 the R.C. Schoolvereeniging Flores, the Catholic school organization of Flores, applied to the government in Batavia for recognition as a public foundation.⁶² In mid-1911 *gezaghebber* Van Suchtelen in Ende proposed a list of eleven villages in the Ende region selected to have schools.⁶³ While local practice had already adjusted to a general subsidy for education by the mission, the debate in Batavia and between Batavia and the Netherlands regarding the final regulation lasted until 1915. In 1909, the Batavia director of education and religion, M.S. Koster, still rejected the idea. He advocated maintaining strict impartiality on the part of the government and pointed out that the 'Church and Mission do not consider education, as is the case with the State, to be first and foremost a facility for general development, but a way to conversion to Christianity'.⁶⁴ But the times were changing, and in Dutch politics religious parties became more and more powerful. The Minister of Colonies, De Waal Malefijt, approved the strategy of Governor-General Idenburg in 1910 to hand over the implementation of general education (in areas where a mission was active) to the various missionary corporations.⁶⁵ This policy was finally adopted as the Decision of 1913 (commonly referred to as the Sumba-Flores Regulation), which was somewhat modified in 1915 after being criticized by parliament.⁶⁶

It was not only to support missionary work that the regulation gave priority to mission schools. Another goal was an economic one, in that the government wanted schools to be financed as much as possible by people themselves through collective labour and free building materials, and through special local taxes for schools or by using district public funds. Defending this strategy in 1911, Lulofs mentioned that the priests of Larantuka, who in 1904 had been seen as an obstacle to the power of the *resident* of Kupang, had now sent a message to government officials asking them to come quickly to collect taxes because people had cash money ready and would use it for other purposes if

⁶¹ For the discussion leading to subsidies for education on Sumba see Van den End 1987:153-6; the regulation of 1913 on pp. 160-5. Colijn had a meeting with the Protestant missionaries of Sumba on 25-8-1909. The document of 7-3-1911 in Laan 'Larantuka':1425-7, is a copy from the Archives of the Ende Diocese.

⁶² Laan 'Larantuka':1425.

⁶³ Laan 'Larantuka':1441.

⁶⁴ Director of Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid to the minister of colonies, 3-8-1909, in Van der Wal 1963-5:167n.

⁶⁵ De Waal Malefijt, 17-10-1910, in Van der Wal 1963-5:175-9.

⁶⁶ For the debate and the adjustments between 1913 and 1915 see Ezerman 1916:174-80. For details see notes to Document 9.

officials postponed collecting.⁶⁷ Despite the ready money, the school tax was not a great success, as it created a negative feeling towards the school, and after many protests it was abolished in 1917.⁶⁸

From Islamic threat to Catholic domination in Ende-Lio

The first major problem for the Catholic mission occurred in Ende around 1910. After the initiation of the aggressive colonial policy in 1906, the town of Ende was chosen as the base for the permanent colonial presence in central and west Flores. Because of a lack of missionary personnel, priests rarely visited central or west Flores before 1910. There was a vague hope of some Christian continuity in the southern coastal villages. The most concrete aspirations were in Numba, 19 kilometres west of Ende on the south coast. Controleur Samuel Roos discovered a few remnants of previous Christianity in 1872. In Ende, people told him that there had been two Christian churches in Numba. ‘But now they had put their *Tuhan Déo* in a chest and therefore they no longer had a *Tuhan Allah*’ (Roos 1877:481-582). One old man in Numba named Domingus had wooden statues of Mary and Christ, and four small ivory images. Once a year at ‘Pasko’ he burnt a candle. He was the only one in the village to eat pork and to keep alive the Christian tradition. The village head told Roos that he was the last in his family to be a Christian. As a boy he bore the name Nyo Jozé, but at the suggestion of the Arab Shaykh Bara, he became a Muslim at the age of 14.

Ten years later, in 1882, the missionary Father Le Cocq paid a short visit to Numba. He met several Muslims who confessed that they had been baptized in their early youth but later accepted Islam. In a village nearby he found ‘many who call themselves Christian, although they are not baptized. They wanted me to give them instruction, but the village head did not agree.’⁶⁹ Not until thirty years later did another priest visit this area. This was Father H. Looijmans, who received an invitation from Controleur Hens (including the use of the government steamer) in March 1910. He met only 14 Catholics in Ende during his short visit.

In 1910 the first teacher, Ignatius Dias (alias Oessim) from Larantuka, started a modest school in Ende. A second teacher, Albert Nangon, a Catholic from Menado, soon became available to Ende. In that same year, Leo Lana, a graduate from Lela, became the first teacher for the school at Waku Leo, the

⁶⁷ ‘En deden o.a. de missionnaire pastoors te Larantoeka het Bestuur weten den aanslag spoedig te komen innen, omdat de menschen er allen hunne belastingpenningen gereed hadden en die wellicht voor andere doeleinden zouden gaan gebruiken, wanneer met de inning te lang werd gewacht’ (Lulofs 1911:292). The priests themselves provided cash to their flock while buying grain for the boarding schools, Laan ‘Larantuka’:1682-6.

⁶⁸ Laan ‘Larantuka’:1789.

⁶⁹ Laan ‘Ende’:7.

first school in the interior of Lio territory. He was transferred to Jopu after 1914.⁷⁰ A second school was opened in Lio territory at Mboli.⁷¹ From 1909 onwards, Father Jan Engbers made several short trips from Lela to Mboli, the closest area to Lio, but the school resulted in many more baptisms than these short visits did.⁷² During a trip to that region in 1911 Father Looijmans baptized some 200 children, but most of these were under the age of six. These baptisms indicated their parents' wish to become part of the modern world of schools and mission. It was foremost seen by missionaries as a barrier to the progress of Islam, less as the salvation of individual souls. The quick baptism of uninstructed young people contradicted the common argument of missionaries that Islam was easy to convert to (both in terms of preparation for membership and in moral obligations) while Christianity was difficult.⁷³ Personal style in this matter, however, seems to have differed considerably between priests. Father Jan Engbers made several trips similar to those Looijmans made both before and after, but performed considerably fewer baptisms.⁷⁴

At the February-March 1911 meeting in Lela, Looijmans acknowledged that Ende was one of the five places designated to have a *vervolgschool*, but stated that

My objection is that Ende is only inhabited by Muslims, Arabs and Chinese, and is not fitted to educate sons of pagan chiefs, who could eventually become Catholic teachers. But the government really has decided that a school must be built in Ende. This can only be realized by placing a priest in Ende who builds his house and a dormitory for sons of chiefs somewhat outside Ende, or at least separated from the school.⁷⁵

Because of a lack of clergy, pastoral service in Ende remained limited to one visit by Father Looijmans from Lela in 1911. Migration had increased quickly, thanks to the new road connecting Maumere and Ende and the safer conditions.⁷⁶ At Easter in 1911, Looijmans had 35 men and 17 women at the altar in Ende for communion, most of them from the Maumere-Lela area. The number of schools grew rapidly, and in 1911 Albert Nangon, a teacher from Ende, moved to Labuan Bajo to take over a school that had been started there by a

⁷⁰ Laan 'Ende':32.

⁷¹ Laan 'Ende':18, 26.

⁷² Laan 'Ende':23-4.

⁷³ Bishop Verstraelen in his New Year's message, January 1924, *De Katholieke Missiën* 1923-4:34, 'Wie zal echter de overwinning behalen, wij Katholieken, die den heidenen een strengere zedenwet leeren, of de Mahomedanen met hun gemakkelijke zedenleer? Nu zijn wij nog vóór, maar ook de Mahomedanen maken ijverig propaganda en zij eischen zoo weinig.'

⁷⁴ Laan 'Ende':28-31.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Laan 'Ende':13.

⁷⁶ Laan 'Ende':27-8 has the story of the first road trip on horseback from Ende to Lela by Father J. Engbers and company. Until that year all these travels had to be done with small rowboats, *perahu*.

man by the name of Manuel from Larantuka.⁷⁷ In that same year, a school was opened in Reo, on the northwest coast, with Naidju Kainde, a Menadonese, as its first teacher.⁷⁸ More schools were opened in 1912 in Ruteng, Bajawa and Boawae, in the middle of what had only recently been Ngada-controlled territory.⁷⁹ The first expansion was not the result of the work of priests, but of teachers provided from Lela and Larantuka, together with some Catholic Menadonese who had been trained at the school at Woloan.

In 1912 and 1913, a priest from Lela or Larantuka paid only a short pastoral visit to Ende,⁸⁰ but the schools developed quickly. On 15 January 1912, Van Suchtelen asked Father Hoeberechts in Larantuka to send four teachers (for Nanga Pandan, Ngaru Pero, Wayu Nesu and Nggele). Martinus (alias Gustinjo Fernandez) led the school in Nanga Pandan, a Muslim stronghold. Whenever possible, teachers were sent with their wives. If suitable teachers were not yet married at the time of the request for new teachers, marriages were sometimes quickly arranged by the clergy, who selected a girl from the schools of the sisters. Fernandez was married to Agneta de Rozari on 20 February 1912 on the same day as one of his colleagues who was to be sent to another school.⁸¹

In 1909 the fathers of the Divine Word (usually called SVD)⁸² made an offer to Bishop Luyken in Batavia to take over part of the mission territory which until then had been served by the Jesuits. Initially only the island of Timor was handed over to them, but from the beginning, it was understood that they would take over all the Lesser Sunda Islands. The first SVD priest (Piet Noyen) arrived in Kupang in 1913. He visited Ende the next year, as it had become the central office for the government on Flores. By 1914 the Jesuits had permanent mission posts in Larantuka, Maumere, Koting, Lela and Sikka, and Lahurus (Timor), with a total staff of 12 priests, 9 brothers, and 31 sisters of other orders who had joined the work.

The SVD, a primarily German order, could not contribute to the mission as planned because of World War I (1914-1918). In December 1917 the SVD had already lost 134 of their young priests as victims of the war.⁸³ In 1914 they had 14 members in the region, but by 1919 only six priests and eight sisters and lay brothers worked on Flores, and only two priests on Timor. The Jesuits, who had hoped that SVD support in Flores would make it possible for them

⁷⁷ Laan 'Ende':14.

⁷⁸ Laan 'Ende':103.

⁷⁹ Laan 'Ende':98-101.

⁸⁰ De Nateris gives a detailed description of the pioneering situation in Ende, where both government schools and Catholic schools developed faster than pastoral care in *Claverbond* 1914:24-34.

⁸¹ Laan 'Ende':29-30; and on p. 149 there is another report about Nanga Pandan from 1916: 'A difficult school, with few pupils in a strongly Muslim environment and an interior with strong resistance against the Company'.

⁸² See Appendix 1, 1.4 for a description of this order.

⁸³ Laan 'Ende':209.

to send more priests to the flourishing mission on Java, were very cooperative and left some of their priests in Larantuka until December 1918, when the last priest, Arnold van der Velden, died of the Spanish fever. They remained in the Sikka region until early 1920, when J. Sevink left Maumere on 6 January and A. IJsseldijk left Koting on 8 February. The Jesuits were also very lenient with finances, and transferred ownership of all their buildings, including furniture and altar vessels, to the SVD without compensation.

After World War I the Germans lost their colonies in Africa. For this reason, several experienced missionaries from Togo moved to the Dutch Indies. In the 1920s SVD numbers grew rapidly, from 29 priests and 11 lay brothers in 1921 to 57 and 26, respectively, in 1929. In 1939, European staff for the SVD mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands numbered 116 priests, 34 brothers, and 72 sisters.⁸⁴ This is a very large number when compared to other Catholic missions. It is also large when compared to the approximately 75 foreign personnel of the Protestant Rheinische mission in the Batak lands (1914 figures), which remained more or less stable and even shrank lightly to 67 in 1934 and 70 in 1938 (Aritonang 1994:227, 302). However, during the 1910s the SVD could not yet fulfil their high ambitions. After 1920 there were further problems, including the unstable economic situation in Germany and the general collapse of the world economy after the Depression of 1929. Nevertheless, in 1938 retiring resident, J. Bosch, referred to the 'continuing increase in personnel which the mission is able to send from Europe, because her resources seem to be nearly unlimited'.⁸⁵

A time of copious resources was still far off when Prefect Apostolic Noyen visited Ende for the first time in 1914. While it was only possible for him to gain a first impression, he decided soon afterwards that the centre of the mission should not be located in Ende proper, but in nearby Ndona, separated from Ende by some eight kilometres in distance and 100 metres in elevation, and definitely part of the interior. In 1914, Mbaki Mbani, the village head of Ndona, was still a pagan. *Gezaghebber* Van Suchtelen sent Mbaki Mbani's son, later known as Petrus Ngadji (also Ngatji), to the secular government school at Kupang. Later, Controleur Hens sent him to the Catholic school at Lela, where he was baptized on 27 August 1914. Mbaki Mbani, wavering between Christian and Muslim influences, did not agree to send him to Woloan for further education because he did not like to push him closer to Catholicism. Petrus Ngadji thereupon returned to Ndona before completing his course in

⁸⁴ Full statistics compiled by Dietrich 1989:254.

⁸⁵ 'En voortdurend laat de Missie nog versterkingen uit Europa komen, waartoe zij in staat is wijl zij over schier onuitputtelijke middelen beschikt', J.J. Bosch, *Memorie van Overgave van den afredenden Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden, Kupang*, NA 2.10.39 MMK 345, 29-3-1938. In our sources we have only incidental information about mission finances. There is a continuing complaint of a lack of funds, but sometimes a mission superior reveals large assets (60,000 guilders in 1916, Laan 'Ende':136) in Europe.

Lela, in 1915.⁸⁶ In December 1916, his fiancé Tipoe was sent to the sisters in Larantuka (where she met only one girl who could speak Lionesse, Malay and Lamaholot being the common languages in Larantuka). The sisters praised her for her piety, but there was never to be a Catholic marriage contracted between the two.⁸⁷ Van Suchtelen took Petrus Ngadji with him on a trip to Java in 1916.⁸⁸ In January 1918 Mbaki Mbani, after toying for some time with the idea of becoming a Protestant (because the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina was a Protestant),⁸⁹ opted for Islam, and in 1919 his son was circumcized, although there is no clear evidence that Petrus Ngadji fully converted to Islam.

Petrus Ngadji did not succeed Mbaki Bani as village head of Ndona, but a more devout Catholic did. However, the political role of Ndona had already been restricted by that time through the creation of the self-ruling area of Lio under Raja Pius. Ndona simply became part of greater Lio. Prefect Noyen reacted to the conversion to Islam of Mbaki Mbani by receiving as many pupils as possible in his school, especially sons of chiefs and village heads. Before asking permission from the government, he enrolled two groups in the lowest grade in order to educate as many future leaders in the Catholic tradition as possible.⁹⁰

Noyen was able to start work in Ndona only after the formal transfer of the mission from the Jesuits to the SVD Fathers in the second half of 1914.⁹¹ In May 1915, Noyen, together with the brothers who worked on the building of the mission compound, moved from Timor to Ende. The village of Ndona was selected not only for its location close to Ende, but also because of a good river which provided it with water all year round. Although there was no solid Muslim presence in Ndona, land and wood could only be bought after long negotiations and with the help of Controleur Hens. Noyen suspected that Muslims from Ende had persuaded the people of Ndona not to cooperate with the mission. He mentioned in his diary that 'many native people started cursing when they passed by the mission compound. If I met Muslims on the road, they hissed: dog, swine! And it was no exception for them to scream loudly during the church service.'

Noyen suspected that the Muslims of Ende might have been able to gain influence in the interior by lending people there money and thus making them dependent.⁹² Noyen himself had tried to pay a visit to the Muslim raja of Ende but was sent away with the message that the raja did not like to

⁸⁶ Laan 'Larantuka':1752, 1804-9. More details in Laan 'Ende':87-9.

⁸⁷ Laan 'Ende':164-5.

⁸⁸ Van Suchtelen 1921:85.

⁸⁹ Piet Noyen, letter to Luyken, 22-7-1915, in Laan 'Verzamelde Brieven' I:14. Noyen characterizes Mbaki Bani here as 'shrewd, clever but stubborn'.

⁹⁰ Laan 'Ende':214.

⁹¹ The decree of the Vatican was signed 20-7-1914; Bishop Luyken announced the transfer to the Catholics of Flores in a letter dated 9-9-1914.

⁹² Vroklage 1946:156. Vroklage was able to make use of Noyen's diaries.

socialize with white people.⁹³ With the exception of Noyen and two Dutch lay brothers, most workers at the building in Ndona were schoolboys from the institutions in Larantuka and Lela. The first classroom was finished after a few months, and the school opened with a dormitory for 60 pupils. These buildings initiated the establishment of what was to become a grand compound of the Catholic mission of Flores.

The first head of the school in Ndona was Gregorius Pareira from Konga. The second teacher to arrive, Franciscus Fernandez alias Didoe, also originated from East Flores and therefore could not speak Endenese or Lionese.⁹⁴ During the previous few years, a number of Lionese boys (especially from the areas of Lise, Ndori and Mbuli) had already been sent to Lela. No less than 70 were baptized in Lela between 1908 and 1915. The majority of these boys were not selected by the mission but sent to Lela by government officials, with Controleur Hens as the principal advocate of the Catholic school as the best place for the education of future chiefs and village heads. One of these students who later became an important leader in Lio was Pius Rassi Wange, born in 1892 and baptized in Lela in 1909. He was the son of the chief of Wololele and later an important raja of greater Lio.⁹⁵ He stayed in Lela for six years, where in 1914 he married Johanna Boko. He was installed as raja of the self-governing territory Tanah Kunu V in that same year.⁹⁶

In December 1915, ten boys were sent from Lela to Ndona, as the core group for the higher levels of the new school. Another small number came from Nanga Pandan for a special reason. One of the chiefs of Rea, Nipa Do, the *Tuan Tanah* or traditional chief of Tanah Rea, was a not-too-active Muslim. When he died in 1915 his oldest son was 13 years old, not yet circumcized, a pupil at the school of the Catholic teacher in Nanga Pandan, and willing to become a Catholic. Following a suggestion by Assistent-Resident Hens, he was invited to stay in the dormitory of Ndona together with ten boys from his neighbourhood.

The succession of Kakadoepa as chief in the nearby Nanga Pandan is another interesting example of the 'race between Islam and Christianity'. Initially, Idjoe Oewa was selected as chief, but due to his lack of ability, a prominent Muslim was elected as raja. It was decided that Oete, Kakadoepa's brother, who was still a pagan but committed to becoming a Christian, would be the next raja. After some time at school in Ndona, Van Suchtelen sent Oete to the Muntilan school. He stayed there from 1918 to 1920 and learned Dutch, returning as a

⁹³ Laan 'Ende':59; Vroklage 1946:148. The Haji had no problems in his contacts with Catholic teachers of Flores. Laan 'Ende':127 reports that Guru Oessin asked 'the Hadji of Ende' about the Ramadan fast and was told that a few days off in the beginning and at the end was sufficient.

⁹⁴ Laan 'Ende':109.

⁹⁵ On the first baptisms, see Laan 'Ende':21-2. See also the praise by Prefect Noyen for Controleur Hens and his involvement in the Catholic education of these boys in a letter to his European superiors, Ndona, 20-12-1915, in Laan 'Ende':141.

⁹⁶ Laan 'Ende':35-6; Van Suchtelen 1921:14.

brilliant and promising young man. However, he experienced great problems because of certain financial and love affairs. After his return in 1920, Oete married Catherina, the daughter of the raja of Boawae, but left her after a few months and was therefore considered lost to the Catholic cause. Both Nanga Pandan and Boawae were critical places in the race between Christianity and Islam. A missionary wrote in 1926 that this affair caused great damage to the Catholic cause in the two small kingdoms.⁹⁷

In January 1916, some 50 sons of village heads in Lio were invited to the school, which started with three classes. On 2 February 1916, the Ndona compound was opened with a great celebration with a mass with joyful singing; a buffalo was slaughtered and many games were played.⁹⁸ On 15 April 1917, the first 21 boys from the Ndona school were baptized. Twelve of the boys were from the Lise region, where Pius Rassi Wangge was raja. Only four were from the Ndona district. Petrus Ngadjji, son of Radja Mbaki Mbani of Ndona, who probably became a Muslim a year later, was godfather of all the boys from Ndona.⁹⁹ In early 1918 the baptismal book of Ndona listed 1,000 names.¹⁰⁰

After the mission started building its own educational compound in Ndona, the status of the village school at Ende was a subject of controversy. Resident E. Maier of Kupang urged that the village school be upgraded to at least the level of the new school at Ndona. If the mission was not prepared to bear the expenses of an expanded school, the government intended to open a secular school in the capital of Flores. There were also suggestions of a Protestant teacher being hired from Kupang. This threat was considered to be a ploy by Resident Maier to open a secular school in Ende under direct responsibility of the government. Although some missionaries considered it a 'waste that good teachers had to serve Muslims', in mid-1916 the mission decided to place some of its best teachers in the Ende school. This school became the equivalent of a *standaardschool* with five grades (as an extension of the three-year village school).¹⁰¹ But the higher costs for this facility, which was only used by Muslim pupils, was not even partially funded by mission money, and the local authorities had to pay for it entirely.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ G. Schoorlemmer 1927:9; Laan 'Ende':14, 84. A long story on the basis of information acquired in 1969 from a retired teacher in Laan, 'Ende':167.

⁹⁸ The celebration is described in Laan, 'Ende':120. The role of Hens in this case Laan 'Ende':142.

⁹⁹ Laan 'Ende':178.

¹⁰⁰ Laan 'Ende':217.

¹⁰¹ About a candidate for Ende, Bernardo says, 'dien zou ik U.H. Eerw. graag gunnen, al betekent het een groot verlies voor hier en hij dáár toch maar voor Slammen staat', Father Baack to Noyen, early 1916, in Laan 'Ende':128, 148.

¹⁰² Laan 'Ende':62-6; 72, 130. Laan 'Ende':130. See also Laan 'Ende':96-7 about the Protestant preacher R. Meno Radja, who was sent to Ende by Resident E.G.Th. Maier from Kupang to serve the small native Protestant congregation of Ende. We must remember that, unlike Protestant missionary areas like Sumba, the Protestant Church of Timor (as in other places, the Indische Kerk) was administered by the government until 1935.

Spectacular changes took place between 1911 and 1916. Father Arnold van der Velden of Larantuka, secretary of the school society (*schoolvereeniging*), wrote in 1916: 'We now have 40 schools with 95 teachers and next year we will certainly open about six new schools'.¹⁰³ This was a significant increase from the four schools in 1910. The schools served 2,228 Catholics, 5 Protestants, 714 Pagans, 3 Chinese, and 590 Muslims. But not everything was so splendid. Many of the new schools were still small, and several teachers were dismissed from their position owing to issues of usury, gambling, womanizing, conflicts with local chiefs, and being unfamiliar with local customs and conditions. Outlined below are some examples of the less successful aspects of this spectacular process.

For the time being, Ndona was developed as a 'bastion to contain Ende'.¹⁰⁴ Gezaghebber Van Suchtelen, initially not supportive of the Catholic enterprise, finally saw good results. In his report on central Flores, published by the government press in 1921, he wrote:

It is very pleasant to see the interest of young and old for the performance by the priest and his young helpers in the villages in the evening, showing biblical pictures with the help of a hurricane lamp. The hope for some tobacco, cigarettes and sweeties certainly is helpful for their attention, but several questions provide evidence of the interest they have for the subject.¹⁰⁵

Outside Ende-Ndona, the most successful expansion of education-cum-Christian-mission took place in the southeastern area of Lio, close to the new Flores road, in the regions of Mboli and Lise. One of the main instigators in the valley of Mboli was Stephanus Soi, who was the son of a rich and influential family. He arrived in Lela around 1910, where he was educated and baptized. In about 1914, he started work as a beginning teacher in Geliting, working with an experienced teacher. The two teachers served 92 pupils in 1915. In May 1916 Soi returned to his native region to work as a teacher.¹⁰⁶ During the holiday of mid-1917, Prefect Noyen took him to Bali, Lombok and

¹⁰³ Claverbond 1917:63.

¹⁰⁴ 'Ik heb extra veel jongens van Ndona-Ende in de school opgenomen om zodoende de actie van de Mohammedanen te stuiten ... om zo een wal rondom Ende te leggen', Noyen in October 1917, quoted in Laan 'Ende':197. The containment of Muslim Ende had started in 1904, when, after a revolt, the sphere of duty of the raja of Ende was restricted to the island, and the coastal region until Numba. Dietrich 1989:157. In 1923 Paea Meno, the raja of Ende, died. His son Hasan was then only ten years old and was sent to Kupang and later Surabaya for his education. A nephew, Boesman Abdoel Rahman, became acting raja in 1925. But Boesman had little authority 'because the Endene are known as troublemakers and also because people know that he is only temporarily in his position'. De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 196.

¹⁰⁵ Van Suchtelen 1921:172. See also Document 19 for an early Lioneese translation of the Our Father, transmitted by Van Suchtelen.

¹⁰⁶ Laan 'Ende':109, 133.

Batavia as a *djongos*, or government-paid travelling companion. He started a new school in Wonda (Nduri) after this trip.¹⁰⁷

Even more successful was the work by Pius Rassi Wangge from Wololele, the main village in Lise. He was mentioned several times already as a pupil in Lela and *raja muda* (young king) of Tanah Kunu V as of 1914. He served as guide for the missionary at Sikka, who made his first visit to the region in 1909. By chance, the arrival of the missionary was on the same day as the first rain after the dry season. This was considered a good augury.¹⁰⁸

Tanah Kunu V was a loose federation of five extended areas (rather than villages, because people lived in scattered houses, not yet in villages) in the Mboli valley. Until 1914 Raja Reu from Waku Leu was the main local ruler. Pius Rassi Wangge could not easily take over the leadership of the region even though he had the support of the Dutch government. Initially he was the ruler of Lise only, but then gained control over the four other areas (Nggela, Wolojita, Mboli and Nduri), which together constituted the new *landschap* or native territory of Tanah Kunu V. In 1915 Van Suchtelen acknowledged that he: 'should not be silent about the fact that neither this unification into one district nor the choice of the ruler was applauded by a majority of the population, on the contrary'.¹⁰⁹ At the election of Pius Rassi Wangge, the more experienced and respected chief of Mboli, Lenggo Gedo, was not nominated for the position because he was a Muslim whose son had already performed the *hajj*. The chiefs of the old districts only accepted Pius under the condition that they should be allowed to continue their traditional rights. They received the new title of *kapitan*.

Raja Pius on several occasions proved to be a staunch defender of Catholic interests. In March 1922 in Nggela there was a rapid movement towards Islam. In a single week, 24 girls of the Nggela school converted to Islam, and at the same time did not go to school. Raja Pius visited the area to inquire, and found that a man named Wawi, a committed Muslim, had suggested to these girls that they would be freed from the obligation to go to school if they embraced Islam. The 24 girls followed Wawi's advice and even went to Ende, where they remained for some time at the home of a man named Haji Ali. Raja Pius returned the girls to their parents and to the Catholic school.¹¹⁰

The unification of the five regions of southeastern Lio was only the beginning of the policy of centralizing the native government. After the retirement of Muslim Raja Mbaki Mbani of Ndona in 1920, this large region was united with Tanah Kunu V, still under Pius Rassi Wangge, and was renamed Lio. In

¹⁰⁷ Laan 'Ende':189.

¹⁰⁸ A. Suntrup Schüller, 'Chronik van Djopoe':3 (like the title, the text is a mixture of German and Dutch, as is often the case with German priests working in the Dutch colony), taken from a typewritten copy by Petrus Laan in the SVD Archives of Teteringen.

¹⁰⁹ Van Suchtelen to the *resident* of Kupang, Maier, 8-1-1915, see Dietrich 1989:158.

¹¹⁰ *De Katholieke Missieën* 1925-6:22, from Simon Buis's notes about Islam on Flores.

1925, under the official regulations of this unification, certain areas of Ende (Boafeo, Mau Tenda) were placed under the sovereignty of Lio. The region of Nanga Pandan, whose raja (the Muslim Kakadoepa) died in 1917, was also included in the northern part of the present Lio region under the name of *Tanah Rea*. After many difficulties, this region was temporarily ruled by Haji Abdul Majid until 1924. However, in 1924, another move of the religiously inspired unification policy divided Tanah Rea between Ngada/Nage and Ende/Lio.¹¹¹

The enlargement of his territory increased Pius Rassi Wangge's problems. Many of his local chiefs, or *kapitan*, were unwilling to follow his orders and to hand over taxes to him. In 1934, the retiring *resident* of Kupang emphasized that Pius Rassi was not a true traditional ruler but rather a colonial creation, while the 23 *kapitan* generally retained their traditional power. Nevertheless, De Nijs found him 'a strong personality who did not have serious difficulties executing his job'.¹¹² In the 1930s, however, quite a few troubles started around Pius Rassi. Father A. Suntrup Schülle of the central mission post at Jopu complained several times about his unruly behaviour. On 10 March 1929 Suntrup wrote a letter about a conflict between Kapitan Sea and Raja Pius that ended with the payment by the *kapitan* of an amount of gold (the equivalent value of a horse and a buffalo) as a sign of reconciliation. Suntrup remarked that 'from the example of the raja we can see how big people become rich'.

Raja Pius made no efforts to improve the schools or to encourage children to go to school. On 6 February 1932 Suntrup wrote in his diary: 'The raja is in any case an unreliable chief. He always seeks personal profit. Now he has given Father Tol a horse, which may be a compensation for the 18 bags of cement he has taken from us'.¹¹³ Raja Pius remained a spectacular supporter of the Catholic mission on important occasions. At the glorious ordaining of Heinrich Leven as the new bishop of Flores on 20 April 1934, Raja Pius was the organizer of the festival for the people, a festival including large processions, decorations, meals and dances.¹¹⁴ However, it was Assistent-Resident U.J. Weg who was seated beside the bishop in the car that brought the bishop from the harbour to the large cathedral of Ende. In that same year Raja Pius and 51 chiefs and craftsmen from his region went to the seminary at Todabelu for a retreat.¹¹⁵ But this outward show of adherence to the Catholic religion could not prevent growing criticism from the mission as well as from government officials regarding his dictatorial style of rule.

More serious complaints against Raja Pius, including accusations of his in-

¹¹¹ On this process see Dietrich 1989:157-61.

¹¹² De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 198.

¹¹³ Suntrup 'Chronik':24, 33.

¹¹⁴ Photographs of Bishop Leven together with Raja Pius and his chiefs or his family on this occasion in *De Katholieke Missiën* 1933-4: 'De blijde inkomst van den Bisschop in de Floresmissie.'

¹¹⁵ *De Katholieke Missiën* 1933-4:113.

volvement in several murders, started in the late 1930s. In 1940 he was called to Kupang, where he was put on trial. He was deposed as the raja of Lio in early 1941 and condemned to exile in Kupang for a period of ten years. A large number of *kapitan* from the Lio region were punished in a similar way. At the start of the Japanese occupation Raja Pius managed to come back to Flores, and gained a position close to the Japanese administration. This made it possible for him (in the words of the European priest) 'to resume his old methods to extort the population'. On 14 April 1947 he was condemned to death and executed in Kupang.¹¹⁶

As was the case with many rulers, since Don Lorenzo of Larantuka in the 1880s, the mission had great hope for the young sons of the ruling elite during their education at the mission school and shortly after. While there was no Christian kingdom or true Catholic ruler in Flores, there was clear tension between a strong and rather dominating clergy and the native rulers who had to move within the narrow boundaries allowed by the colonial administration.

As a ruler of Lio, Raja Pius took no firm measures to promote Christianity in the face of the slow progress of Islam. Under his rule there were a number of cases of Muslim *kapitan* taking Catholic girls as second or third wives. As raja he could possibly have prevented these marriages, as well as the conversion to Islam of some wavering rulers, especially of Nggela and Mboli, but he is not known to have taken any firm action in these matters.¹¹⁷

The *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* records the population of Ende-Lio in 1935 as 116,015, with 23,841 Christians, 19,618 Muslims, and 72,004 pagans. It mentioned as a general trend a strong decline in the number of pagans and an increase of Christians, with the number of Muslims remaining more or less stable.

The expansion of Christianity into Ngada and Manggarai to contain Islam

Although Flores is only 375 km long, its main east-west road winds and twists, ascending and descending, for nearly 700 km. This is an indication of the fragmented geography of the area. Like the region of Ende and Lio, the Ngada region (as well as Manggarai) consists of small mountain chains, with

¹¹⁶ Suntrup 'Chronik':54, 58; Cornelissen 1947:19.

¹¹⁷ Examples of Catholic girls marrying Muslim *kapitan* in Suntrup 'Chronik':13, 34, 36, 42. In this chronicle the word 'red' is used for Muslims, quite differently from later use, when mostly green and white came to be used as colours for Muslims, while red was associated with Christians or nationalists. A dramatic story of a Catholic girl who was obliged to marry a rich Muslim (who had lent money to her father) was registered on film by Father Simon Buis in the late 1920s (permission for showing in the Netherlands in December 1930). Later, P.M. Heerkens wrote the novel *Ria Rago* (1938), based on the story of the movie, which was enormously successful in the Netherlands, to attract interest and money for the Flores mission.

incidental volcanoes. This condition has given birth to fragmented social and political structures. We have already seen that the ‘unification’ of Ende under the ruler of Lio was a colonial construction, like the division of Flores into five main regions: Larantuka and Sikka as the eastern and older ones, Lio, Ngada and Manggarai as the western and more recent ones. The condition of the region of Ngada was even more fragmented, as it was roughly divided into four cultural sectors – Riung, Ngada, Nage and Keo – but even this division does not do justice to the great variation in the people and their customs.¹¹⁸

The first missionary presence did not arrive in Ngada and Manggarai through expatriate priests but through schoolteachers who came from Lela and Larantuka in East Flores. Probably due to the strong encouragement of colonial officials, schools were established very quickly at Bajawa and Boawae, in 1911 and 1912, respectively, followed by Kotta in 1914, Sawu and Mbai in 1916, and Raja in 1917 (Uran n.d.:126). The number grew to 13 in 1920 and about 50 in 1942 (Laan in Muskens 1974:1173, 1180).

One of the early success stories in Ngada was the school at Boawae. It was opened in late 1912, with Petrus Claver (Pedro) Dias as teacher. After his education in East Flores, this young man from Larantuka had worked in the pearl-diving business in Lembata and Labuan Bajo. He was the only teacher in Boawae until July 1915, when Laurens da Costa arrived, also from Larantuka. Pedro’s first wife, Katharina da Silva, died in Boawae. He asked his first convert, a young woman, Labu, to become his fiancée. He sent her to the sisters at Larantuka to receive an education and to be baptized as Maria Labu. In 1915 he married her in Larantuka and returned to Boawae to continue his job as a schoolmaster. He was then in his thirties. Boawae was one of the first schools in Flores where two girls joined the boys at the village school.¹¹⁹

The school in Kotta was founded in 1914 by Frans Dias alias Tjikoe, one of the first graduates of the teacher training school (*normaalschool*) opened in 1914 in Larantuka.¹²⁰ There were no resident priests in Ngada during this period, and the *gezaghebber* of Bajawa, Lieutenant J.A. van Staveren, was his main supervisor and supporter. From the beginning, the school had a dormitory for most of its pupils. In 1915 a second teacher came to Kotta: Eduardus, probably of Ambonese descent. In March 1916 Father Arnold van der Velden of Larantuka mentioned some complaints about the teachers to Van Staveren, and suggested that a school with so few pupils and so many absentees had better be closed. He received an encouraging letter from *gezaghebber* Van Staveren:

¹¹⁸ The SVD priest Paul Arndt wrote extensively on Ngada between 1930 and 1963; modern studies are Forth 1998 and Molnar 2000.

¹¹⁹ Laan ‘Ende’:101, 153.

¹²⁰ We are not certain whether he is the same as Frans Dias, first schoolteacher in Raja, Ngada. This Frans Dias wrote a contribution in the Malay journal of Tomohon *Geredja Katholik* about a pagan festival in Ngada, reprinted in Dutch translation in *De Katholieke Missieën* 1923-4:75-6.

It would be a pity if the school were to be closed. But even a school that does not run in a smooth and proper way still has a great profit. It allows the people to become familiar with this institution. The children who are willing to attend the school receive some education and they can later support and promote the school, while the teachers are still learning the local language and the customs. In a few years, after a mission has been established in this area and is able to organize the school in a better way, the foundations will have already been laid. There are no financial reasons to object to the school, because the region pays for its own school. We can, however, learn some lessons from the primary school in Kotta. One of the reasons for absenteeism is that children are sought from very distant villages, two or three hours walking. They live with the teacher, but go home on Sundays, and during the rainy season they often do not return. Besides, the teacher often sends his pupils on a three-hour walking journey to the coast on weekdays to do some shopping for him.¹²¹

One of the objections against teacher Towari was his frequent use of beating.¹²² After his first year of teaching he was moved to Boawae. One of his colleagues, Paulus Ornay in Reo, on the north coast, had incurred too many debts and therefore was moved to Kotta, where he caused no more problems (after his marriage to a 'Javanese' girl, probably sent by the sisters from the orphanage in Semarang). During Father W. Baack's visit in August 1916, ten pupils were baptized, among them two girls, a daughter of the raja of Kotta and the daughter of the district head.¹²³

There were still more difficulties with the schools. Besides the special taxes (which were not always collected and in many places were soon abolished after their introduction in the early 1910s), the schools had some income from the small plot of cultivated land attached to the schools. These plots were introduced partly as a means to provide agricultural training. In fact it resembled forced labour. After complaints, Arnold van der Velden wrote in 1917 to *gezaghebber* H. Hamilton that he would order the 'school garden' in Boawae to be closed.¹²⁴

After an inspection of the schools in Ngada in 1920, Father Joseph Ettel wrote that their quality was still very poor. 'Many of the teachers only went to the school in Larantuka, then worked in pearl fishing, or as a houseboy or cook, and when the new schools were mushrooming they were appointed as teachers in the Ngada area.'¹²⁵ Besides conflicts with the local social system and village rulers, and some cases of womanizing, there were also incidental cases

¹²¹ Laan 'Ende':151.

¹²² Another case of problems due to frequent beating was Joseph Djoka in Wololele, about whom *gezaghebber* P. Lagerweij noted on 22 October 1917 that children were afraid to come to school: 'Barangkali takoet kena poekoe'. Djoka was moved to another place, and after similar complaints there he was dismissed from his post and was no longer used as a teacher, Laan 'Ende':190.

¹²³ Laan 'Ende':152-3.

¹²⁴ Laan 'Ende':185.

¹²⁵ Laan 'Ende':194.

of homosexual relations between a teacher and a pupil. In this last case (Didoe Fernandez, one of the best teachers in Ndona), the teacher himself wanted to leave his position, fearing that that he would later return to this practice. The priest gave what for that period was the usual advice: 'After he is married, things will go better.' Didoe married Maria Krowe a few weeks later in Larantuka and moved to a new school, in Sukaria. This school building collapsed during heavy rains only three weeks after its opening on January 1918.¹²⁶

Because of the shortage of priests in the 1910s, several local officials became involved with school policies. In cases of shortcomings of teachers, they took measures like a reduction in the monthly salary (paid by the local cashier). This set off a discussion between the priests who administered the school and colonial officials. Most cases could be settled in a peaceful and friendly way.¹²⁷ By 1920, after the number of priests grew, the whole financial administration, including the payment of teachers, was organized directly by the mission to show its own authority.

In 1917, army officer Lieutenant Henri Hamilton, of Scottish origin, became the *gezaghebber* of Bajawa. He was married to a Dutch-born lady, Petronella Hoebens from the southern province of Brabant. Hamilton was (re)baptized a Catholic in that same year. Prefect Noyen was born in the same region as the new Mrs. Hamilton, and thereafter relations between the Catholic leader and the *gezaghebber* of Bajawa were warm.¹²⁸ Only in the 1920s did it become the practice to appoint Protestant officials in Catholic regions and vice versa, probably in order to prevent too close co-operation between Catholic officials (in particular Couvreur, Hens, Le Roux, Hamilton, Dannenberg¹²⁹) and the clergy.¹³⁰

Quite a different relationship between a colonial official and a missionary was found in the long conflict between Father Niek Kuijper and the Ngada *gezaghebber* in the late 1930s. Kuijper arrived in 1934 and was sent to the Riung region, where he initially stayed in Riung proper, the Muslim-dominated coastal settlement. Only in 1939 did the village of Wangka, in the interior, become the centre for the mission in Riung. This region was linguistically closer to Manggarai than to the rest of Ngada. The *gezaghebber* of Bajawa never came to this region more than twice a year. Around 1937 *gezaghebber* P. Koster ordered that a house for the agricultural advisor be built in ten villages of Riung, although this official seldom made trips to this remote area. In one of these selected villages a small chapel was demolished and was to be transported to another location ten kilometres away. By chance the *gezaghebber* saw people

¹²⁶ Laan 'Ende':203.

¹²⁷ Several small quarrels between priest and government officials in Laan 'Ende':173-5.

¹²⁸ Laan 'Ende':177.

¹²⁹ On F.L. Dannenberg, *gezaghebber* in Reo, who left his position in early 1918, Laan 'Ende':212.

¹³⁰ Personal communication from Henk Schulte Nordholt, Leiden, February 2001. His father, H. Schulte Nordholt, a devout Protestant, was appointed *controleur* of Larantuka in 1936. See Hangelbroek 1977:152. See also Schulte Nordholt-Zielhuis 1999.

busy with the transport of wood for the chapel while they had not yet done anything for the house of the agricultural advisor. He considered this a case of insubordination, and the catechist who had the supervision for the chapel was put in prison and the building material for the chapel confiscated, even though in the other villages nothing was done about building a house for the advisor. The priest considered this to be a sign of the *gezaghebber's* envy, because he had less frequent and less cordial relations with the villages in the interior than the priest, who could supervise a whole network of schools and chapels served by teachers and catechists. The case was brought to the Mission Office in Batavia through mediation by Bishop Leven, and finally quietly settled. A new *gezaghebber*, H.H.P. Leenart, arrived, the houses for the advisor were never built, and the wood was used for the chapel. The catechist was released from prison and Kuijper was ordered by his bishop not to ask for compensation.¹³¹

As in other parts of central and west Flores, resident priests arrived in Ngada later than teachers. The arrival of more priests in 1920 was used to start permanent parishes in Bajawa and Todabelu, where in 1929 the minor seminary was opened. The parish of Raja was started in 1926. Besides these three places along the main Flores road, a fourth station was opened around 1930 in Riung, but removed to Wangka in the interior in 1939. In 1929 a parish was opened in Boawae, also along the main road, but it was abandoned in the 1930s. In this difficult region the usual policy was to have more than one priest at a station. One priest could remain at the post, while the other made tours to schools and chapels in isolated places. In 1940 there were 15 priests serving some 60,000 Catholics. By the early 1970s, after twenty years of extensive work, they had reached about 80 per cent of the population.

The first five Steijl sisters arrived in 1930 and opened a girls school in Todabelu; later one of the sisters opened a health centre there. They also served the large household of priests, lay brothers, and seminarians in this new Catholic stronghold. Three SVD lay brothers were responsible for the farm, which was of great importance to the seminary's financial situation. In contrast to the other three regions of Flores, in Ngada and also in Manggerai the *vervolgschool* with its dormitory was not in the capital Bajawa, the centre for the civil government and the seat of the *gezaghebber*. Instead, the most important secular school was in the mission compound of Todabelu, where the minor seminary was the only institute of secondary education for the island. Upon the division of the mission into six *dekenaten* or deaneries, this was the only region to be divided into two authorities: Ngada-Riung and Nage-Keo. In practice, however, the two were mostly combined.¹³²

¹³¹ The following has been taken from an interview given by Niekerk Kuijper in the late 1970s in the Netherlands and kept in the KMM collection (no. 314 of the KDC). Kuijper gives no dates and no names of the *gezaghebber*. Additional facts about Gezaghebber Koster in Laan can be found in Muskens 1974:1179.

¹³² See Laan in Muskens 1974:1169-86 and Jaarboek 1940:177-8.

Ngada remained the most traditional and diverse region of Flores. In 1930 Jan Smit, teacher at the minor seminary of Todabelu, observed that there were four truly Catholic rajas on the island (for Larantuka, Sikka, Lio, and the candidate for Manggarai, Alexander Baroek), but the raja of Bajawa, the main ruler in Ngada, 'was still a full-blood pagan, with a cortège of women, but very sympathetic towards the mission and its activities' (Smit 1930:210). The mission had no hopes of a formal conversion of this polygamous ruler and was very happy with his positive attitude and put their hopes on the next generation. His presence at Catholic ceremonies was highly appreciated. The mission journal even published a photograph, taken after the baptism of two of his daughters by Bishop Verstraelen, with the (pagan) Raja Pea Molle, two priests, and four unidentified women sitting side by side with the bishop and the baptized (Smit 1930:208). In the capital of Ngada, Bajawa, a big church was inaugurated on 7 May 1930, but the main focus of the mission was concentrated not on the capital, but on the seminary of Todabelu.

The expansion of the Catholic mission in Flores that had started in the easternmost town of Larantuka and had moved westward to Ende and Ngada, finally reached the western part of the island, Manggarai. In 1900 the island of Flores was not a socio-political unity. There was no road connecting the various regions, and no common language. Of the various regions, the westernmost part, Manggarai, was the least accessible. Here, the difference between the coastal settlements of Bimanese, Buginese and Makassarese settlers and the interior was the greatest. There are no big plains, but only chains of mountains in this region. Slave traders dominated the coastal areas of Manggarai for several centuries. In 1700, Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies, already had a district called Manggarai named after the many slaves who had arrived from West Flores and were set free after several years. People of the interior had a great fear of outsiders, because there had been frequent raids for slaves by Bimanese merchants and their troops until 1900.

Notwithstanding the strong influence of Islam on the coast, several Catholic schools were opened in the early 1910s. The mission opened schools in 1911 in coastal Labuan Bajo and Reo, and in 1912 in inland Ruteng and Pota. The number of schools rapidly increased, reaching 25 in 1925 and 52 in 1942, with a total of 7,638 pupils (5,447 boys and 2,191 girls). The first baptisms, starting in 1912, were also thanks to these schools.¹³³ Mission stations and churches were established a decade later.

In 1920 Bernhard Glanemann became the first resident priest in Ruteng. He was followed by Willem Jansen, sometimes labelled 'the great missionary of East Manggarai'.¹³⁴ The parish compound was executed in a grandiose and

¹³³ About the 26 baptisms at the school in Ruteng see Noyen to Luijpen, 9-12-1915, in Laan 'Verzamelde Brieven':15.

¹³⁴ J. Betray in Muskens 1974:1255.

well-planned way. The carpenter Alfonsus Rodriguez from Sumba, Dutch lay brother Francis Bakker, and six workers from Larantuka constructed a parish house, a school with a dormitory, and a temporary church. In July 1922 the compound of Ruteng was finished. In 1924 the *standaardschool*, which would train teachers for the village schools of Manggarai, was opened. Between 1922 and 1926 two more stations were built, in Lengko Ajang and Rekas. The three stations, all in the interior, became the centre for the mission. By 1940 seven minor stations had followed: Nunang (1926), Ranggu (1936), Pagal (1939), Todo, Benteng Jawa, Denge and Ka Redong (all opened in 1940). These ten parishes were served by resident priests. In 1927 the interior was made more accessible through construction of a road between Aimere and Reo, the last stage for the Flores Road. In one generation, or at the celebration of its 25th year of existence in 1939, the Manggarai mission was able to claim a sensational success: it counted 65,592 baptized Catholics (out of a population of some 190,000), served by 14 priests, seven of Dutch and seven of German origin. They were assisted by three lay brothers. In that same year another 7,388 people were baptized, half of them small children below the age of six. In 1930 a very large church (at that time the largest in the archipelago, even bigger than the cathedral of Jakarta) had been inaugurated.

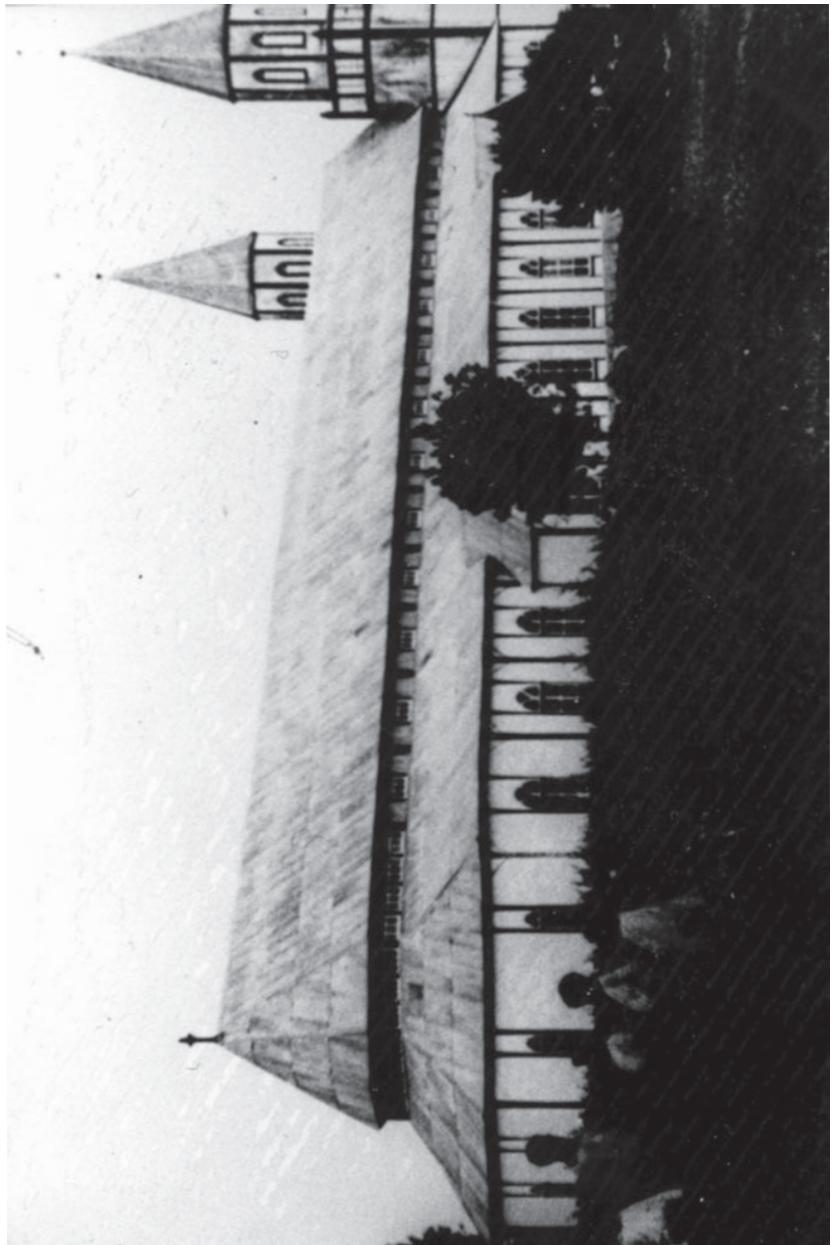
As in many other regions of Indonesia in this period and especially in Flores, quantitative expansion was the clergy's first goal. In the region where they started last, they achieved remarkable results in this short period: about one-third of the population as committed Catholics. The statistics for 1935-36 show that up to 97.5% of the baptized observed the rule of confessing and receiving communion during the Easter period. An average priest had to hear confession up to 12,802 times per year in 1940, which would mean an average confession of three or four times per year per baptized person.¹³⁵

Father Adolf Burger composed a grammar of Manggarai¹³⁶ but the development was more towards Malay and Dutch than towards a standard form of Manggarai, a language which is close to Bimanese-Sumbanese, but is spoken in many local dialects. The village school was the main place for the spread of Malay, and in 1924 the *standaardschool* at Ruteng started courses in Dutch. Church hymns, however, were partly in Manggarai. The teacher in Ruteng, Hendrik Tjéngga, translated German hymns with Malay as intermediary language for practical use in Manggarai. In addition a selection of texts from the New Testament, a catechism, and basic prayers were translated from Malay into Manggarai in the 1920s by two teachers at the Ruteng school. They were distributed as handwritten copies and later in mimeograph.

The spread of Christianity was not the only work undertaken in East

¹³⁵ The number of 200,000 is an extrapolation of the number for Manggarai in the 1930 census. Betray's church statistics are from Muskens 1974:1265.

¹³⁶ 'Voorlopige Manggaraische Spraakkunst', by Adolf Burger, published in 1946.



Cathedral of Ruteng, the largest of the archipelago, inaugurated in 1930 (KITLV, no. 51230)

Flores by some Menadonese and more Larantuka-Florenese teachers and foreign missionaries. There was also a strong movement towards developing a much-needed new worldview because of the drastic changes in the way agriculture and health care were organized. We have quite exceptional records on Manggarai by Willem Coolhaas, who was the *controleur* in Ruteng between June 1926 and May 1927. He relates how the government doctor for Manggarai, Max Avé Lallement, researched the very poor physical condition of Manggarai people. He attributed this to *ankylostomiasis*, or hookworm disease, the result of worms that flourished in the faeces that accumulated in great heaps under the vast family houses where hundreds of people lived together. The medical doctor urgently requested that lifestyle habits be changed. He suggested that the Manggarai people should leave their large communal houses and build small houses for single families where the faeces under their houses could be reached by the sun. This would be enough to kill the worms. In the early 1920s, the order was given to start building these smaller houses despite the protests of the people, who not only wanted to continue their communal way of living, but also stressed that the success of their crops depended on the ritual playing of the drum which was kept in a special place in the largest house of the main family of the village. Leaving the large houses would mean that there would be no proper place to keep the drum. In that case the drum would become powerless, and they could no longer invoke the spirits. Despite these arguments, people were ordered to start the construction of small houses. Under strict military supervision they also had to plant their fields. Although no offerings were made to the spirits, the harvest was better than usual. Coolhaas concludes:

This was, according to Manggarai people, something extraordinary. Apparently the spirits had no power. At least they had to bow to the authority of the Europeans. This was the right moment for the missionaries to continue their work with more success than before. They were able to fill in the empty place caused by the proof of the spirits' weakness. This happened just one year before my arrival. Since then the victory of Christianity has become absolute. [...] Avé Lallement left in March or April 1927. His successor, Smalt, a man with much more interest in popular culture, held the opinion that he had taken too drastic measures. He demanded the cessation of the building of these small houses. In October 1929 a very serious epidemic of dysentery took many deaths. In the district of Congkar 17% died. Smalt then recognized that Avé Lallement was right.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Coolhaas 1985:98-9. See also Molnar 2000:20-3 on the meaning of the house in the traditional structure of the clan. She even questions 'whether there is something common to all Austronesian societies which manifests itself in some societies as "structures" which we label as "descent", but in other societies manifests itself in structures that appear quite different. [...] My material certainly supports a view of the house as the basic unit of Sara Sedu organization' (p. 21). For Ngade this structure could be the house, while for other areas of Flores, like Tanah Ai, this could be the 'source' (with a reference to Lewis 1988).



Small church, built in Manggarai style in Nggorang, 1930s (KITLV Archives, no. 51234)

Perhaps Coolhaas's description was intended as a justification of the position of civil servants versus the great influence of missionaries and their team, but it can also be understood as a correction of the emphasis on education and direct preaching for the success of this mission.

A very important move was the government policy that gradually diminished the influence of Muslim Bima on Manggarai, resulting in the formal separation of the two realms. Mission-educated Raja Alexander Baroek, who was appointed to the newly created position of raja of Manggarai by the colonial government in 1931, remained the highest native authority until his death in 1949. The mission built a grandiose and large church, which was inaugurated on 7 May 1930, only ten years after the work first started there, in the small town of Ruteng as a visible sign of Catholic expansion in this most fertile area. But real authority rested with the *controleur* of Ruteng. While there were some minor conflicts between secular and religious authority, on the whole there was warm cooperation between the two. There were some complaints by government officials regarding the use of quick and easy baptisms as a means of reducing the burden of forced labour. For every twenty baptized Christians, one person could be freed from corvée 'because he had the responsibility to assist with ecclesiastical work'. Some missionaries were in the habit of quickly baptizing children in order to create a baptism-cum-freedom from corvée for stubborn old people (Coolhaas 1985:30). Controleur H.M.M. Mennes ruled in 1929 that the church as such was not entitled to possess land for the maintenance of teachers and catechists. This led to the institution of local church councils in the early 1940s, which became formal owners of ecclesiastical property.

Out of the three 'new regions', Manggarai soon proved to be the most populous and also the region with the quickest increase of Christians. In mid-1935, Manggarai had 46,290 baptized Christians (34,016 for Ngada and 32,275 for Ende-Lio) while the 'old regions', including the islands of Adonara, Lembata and Solor, maintained their leading position with 63,047 for Maumere and 52,741 for Larantuka.¹³⁸

Growth of Christianity in the 'old areas' of Flores: Sikka and Larantuka

While schools increased and Catholicism in central and west Flores expanded spectacularly, in the eastern regions, where the spread of Catholicism had restarted in 1860, Catholicism also grew rapidly in the 1910s and following decades. In May-June 1904 there was a major attack on the authority of the raja of Sikka by Moang Teka of Hubing. The colonial army sent nearly 100 soldiers from Kupang to settle the insurgency, which had the effect that the whole region became aware that the period of non-intervention was over and had changed into a more active colonial policy. The civil war in Sikka in-

¹³⁸ Figures for mid-1935 are from *De Katholieke Missiën* 1935-6:7.

volved the nearly total destruction of inland villages through fire. The fines imposed by the *resident* of Kupang were returned to the common citizens for reconstruction of their houses. However, many of the new houses were to be built close to the new Flores Road. Also, the priest (as someone who was connected with this new power) was urgently requested to give his blessing before new houses were to be built. From a report by the Koting priest, IJsseldijk, about nearby Wolohuler:

The village chief did not want to start the reconstruction of the village before the priest had given his blessing with holy water. The chief himself brought the stones from a pagan altar to build the pedestal for a cross. Thereupon he said to the priest: 'Please, *Tuan*, the house for the catechism classes has to be built in the future.' It is a pity that this man has one wife too many. Otherwise he could perhaps become a good Christian.¹³⁹

The civil war in Sikka and the deposition of the raja of Larantuka in mid-1904 (discussed at length in Steenbrink 2003:95-9) represented for the eastern part of Flores what the later military campaign of Lieutenant Christoffel was for central and west Flores: the start of a much more intense colonial administration, with as a side effect a sharp increase in the Catholic presence outside the old coastal centres of Larantuka, Sikka and Maumere. Anton IJsseldijk of the inland village of Koting even wrote in a jubilant style: 'Since the people here consider themselves to be ruled by the Compenie, they are also more and more prepared to embrace the religion of the Compenie. Therefore they more easily offer their children for baptism and grown-ups and adults too want to attend the instruction of the *guru*'.¹⁴⁰

The power of the *resident* of Kupang became more clearly manifest when Raja Jozef Non Meak of Sikka was deposited in May 1907 and taken to Kupang as a prisoner because of the death penalty of two murderers, imposed and executed under traditional law by the raja and his chiefs, but without permission from the *resident* of Kupang. For some time there was the possibility of another conflict between clergy and *resident*, similar to that related in the deposition of Raja Lorenzo II of Larantuka. Father Engbers of Sikka defended Raja Non Meak by confirming the criminal character of the two murderers. According to the *resident*, however, the raja no longer had the authority to execute people, but should extradite them to the court in Kupang. The parish priest was expected not to remain silent and consent in these executions, but should report them to government officials. Controleur Couvreur probably settled this dispute. The complaint against the priest was withdrawn and the raja was set free after four months.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Laan 'Sikka':243.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Laan 'Sikka':292. *Compenie* stands for the United Dutch East Indies Company, which was dissolved in 1799, but its name continued to be used to mean the Dutch colonial power.

¹⁴¹ For this case Laan 'Sikka':279-87.

With the exception of Koting, the inland village halfway between Sikka and Maumere where a parish house, a church, and a school were built in 1889, until 1905 only coastal areas were in direct contact with Catholicism. The large schools with dormitories for some 150 boys and 200 girls were in the inland village of Lela (only around 5 km north of Sikka) but served mostly children of village heads, who were attracted by the new facilities and free education. Maumere was the centre of the colonial administration and was the third town to have a village school and a finer church. The populous centre of the native ruler, Sikka, was served by a priest and had had a magnificent church since 1901, but as yet no school. Raja Jozef Non Meak da Silva, who succeeded Moang Bakko in 1902,¹⁴² was also a promoter of the Catholic religion. He appointed Father Engbers's houseboy as *ministri* or singer in the church, as one of the *kepala* or chiefs in his realm, including the right to receive a fixed percentage of taxes and fines. Altar-boys had to serve a full month, after which they received fifty cents and were replaced by other former pupils of the school in Lela.¹⁴³ But in education Sikka remained behind. The first village school in Sikka started in early 1911, together with the school in Nele, east of Maumere and close to Tanah Ai, a large new village built by the inhabitants of seven dispersed villages on the side of the new Flores road following a government order. As such, the village of Nele was the result of the pacification campaigns.¹⁴⁴ In 1912 some 1,500 inhabitants of Nele accepted baptism following the example of their village head, Kapitan Nurak (Van Aernsbergen 1934:251). It became a parish with a resident priest in 1921.

Another new permanent mission station inland was opened in Nita, where a church was built in 1910 and a resident priest arrived in 1912.¹⁴⁵ With Maumere and Paga, Nita also cherished the memory of a dynasty of rulers related to the Malay-Portuguese rulers of Larantuka and Timor. Since 1860 the Jesuit priests had followed a severe strategy of banning the influence of paganism, especially belief in witches (*swangi*) and taboos (*pemali*), at the same time reinforcing the proud memory of a Catholic and Portuguese past, particularly in connection with the rulers. In fact, however, in Nita the reminiscence of this Catholic tradition was very vague and was gradually replaced by the new Dutch style of Catholicism.

The remnants of Portuguese-style Catholicism (the brotherhood of the Rosary, processions on Christmas and Good Friday) were also very weak in Maumere and formally abolished by Father Korndörffer in consultation with the Commandanti Moang Woa in 1903.¹⁴⁶ In Sikka there was a stronger

¹⁴² On this succession Laan 'Sikka':210.

¹⁴³ Laan 'Sikka':267.

¹⁴⁴ Laan 'Sikka':328, 332-4.

¹⁴⁵ Laan 'Sikka':327-8.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from Korndörffer to Bishop Luijpen, quoted in Laan 'Sikka':215.

memory of the past. Several ecclesiastical functions survived, like the *maestri* and *ministri*. At Christmas the party of music and dancing, the *feta dansa*, was continued.¹⁴⁷

Although people were proud of their Catholic past, the presence of the priests was sometimes a burden for the local establishment. In late 1926 Controleur Coolhaas of Ruteng made a trip to East Flores and met Don Thomas da Silva in Maumere, who asked him whether it would be possible for a Protestant minister to occasionally visit Maumere. In that event he would become a Protestant to escape the frequent interference by Catholic missionaries with his business. Don Thomas also criticized the pressing moral ruling of the priests, asking the official to suggest to young girls who covered their breast to do away with this unnecessary cloth (Coolhaas 1985:130).

East Flores was not a critical region in the race between Islam and Christianity. Some missionary initiatives, however, were related to the competition between the two religions. In 1909 Father Engbers of Sikka undertook a missionary campaign, together with Raja Non Meak, to the village of Nggela on the southern coast which was seen as having started to become sympathetic towards Islam. Engbers counted 112 houses and baptized only nine children on the first day. After discussions with local chiefs, the next morning 31 more children could be baptized before the party returned to Sikka.¹⁴⁸

The relation with Raja Non Meak of Sikka was not always so warm. In July 1912 there were reports that the raja had said that the priests only wasted government money and were sent to the Indies because of compromising affairs with women in their home country. He even bluntly stated that being a Protestant was just as good as embracing Catholicism. Civil Gezaghebber F.L. Dannenberger of Maumere was blamed by the clergy as the source of these statements. For some time Raja Non Meak stayed away from the clergy in Sikka.¹⁴⁹ There was, however, no permanent conflict or tension between the clergy and the raja of Sikka. Later Non Meak agreed to send his son Dindus to the Catholic college of Muntilan, to be joined in 1916 by his younger brother Carolus. With this couple the native realm of Sikka received more solid Catholics in its elite.¹⁵⁰ Later, however, relations between clergy and raja became cooler. The colonial administration was very happy with Don Thomas da Silva, who had been the ruler since 1921, and after June 1932 could even rule without a white official supervising him. Maumere became the centre of government in the Sikka region, while the old village of Sikka, nearby Lela, and later also Ledalero became the most important centres for the mission.

¹⁴⁷ Description of the Christmas celebrations of 1906 in Kortenhout 1906:49-58; also Laan 'Sikka':292.

¹⁴⁸ Laan 'Sikka':315.

¹⁴⁹ Laan 'Sikka':344. On other occasions, however, and in his new post at Reo, Dannenberger was praised as a loyal and faithful Catholic; see above and Laan 'Ende':212.

¹⁵⁰ Laan 'Sikka':391.

A centre of Islamic propaganda was Geliting, east of Maumere on the north coast. In 1913 the village school was opened here, but for some time Muslim and pagan children sat in separate rows. An end was put to this segregation, not without some problems because some Muslims did not like to sit too close to non-Muslims.¹⁵¹ The raja of KangaE, on the north coast, east of Geliting (where many Muslim Buginese and Makassarese lived), embraced Islam in 1914. The first action of the mission following this conversion was to invite many children of relatives of the childless raja to the school in Lela. In 1916 a village school was opened in KangaE.¹⁵² Because of a lack of co-operation from local rulers, the school had few pupils. The raja of KangaE sent no students to the more prestigious boarding school at Lela either, although he was urgently requested to send candidates.¹⁵³

Amid these religious tensions the mission in the Sikka region grew steadily. Tanah Ai came within reach of Maumere through a better road, and by 1917 there were weekly visits to schools and chapels in Nele, Geliting, Wetak Ara and Ili.¹⁵⁴ The first real station in Tanah Ai was opened in Nangahale in 1925, and it was established in a very ambitious and grandiose way. The mission started a large plantation with 6,000 coconut palms and cattle-breeding. The same happened at a plantation in Hokeng.

Larantuka and other places in East Flores

In the early twentieth century the Confreria in Larantuka was increasingly reduced to a ceremonial embellishment of Catholic life. For visits of the bishop and at burials they impressed the flock with their white robes. On most occasions they were no more than an attractive part of the procession, which the Catholics of Larantuka (and other parts of Flores) loved so much.¹⁵⁵ The spectacular processions continued to be held and were even expanded. They received much attention from missionaries and outsiders. If we compare the twentieth-century descriptions with the reports after 1861, we find some significant similarities and differences. Most impressive remained the enormous number of candles, made locally from wax found in the forest.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Laan 'Sikka':363.

¹⁵² Laan 'Sikka':376, quoting a letter from Father Muller, 24-9-1914.

¹⁵³ Laan 'Sikka':411.

¹⁵⁴ Laan 'Sikka':418.

¹⁵⁵ The *Kroniek Zusters van Heythuizen 1878-1924*, 25-11-1923 (visit by Bishop Verstraelen to administer confirmation) and 8-12-1923 (burial of Sister Emerentia Brons). Copy in the SVD Archives of Teteringen; Petrus Laan also made use of excerpts from this 'Kroniek' in his 'Larantuka'.

¹⁵⁶ Here I follow the description by Van Velsen 1923:133-4. There is a long oral report, concentrating on the candles, by Sister M. Smiggels in KDC Nijmegen, KMM 496, related to the period 1925-28; another description of the four major processions in Van Cleef 1924.

Unlike the nineteenth-century practice, when candles were concentrated near the eight or ten *armida* or temporary chapels, now candles were attached to all the houses along the procession. The first large house was that of Catherine, sister of Raja Servus and well-versed in Dutch, because of her education in Yogyakarta during the exile of Don Lorenzo II (1904-1910). At Corpus Christi 1923, the convent of the sisters alone is reported to have been illuminated by 3,000 candles. Although the most important festival and procession was still on Good Friday, a second and new event was the Corpus Christi procession.

Like the Good Friday procession of Larantuka, it also started in the late afternoon, after the adoration of the host in the church and a gun-shot, the signal that the procession was leaving the church. After the ceremonial cross, carried by Confreria functionaries, a row of schoolboys followed with a portable altar to be put at each of the eight *armida*, in order to guarantee the safety of the host, carried in the procession. The boys also carried the embellishment for the altar: flowers and candlesticks. They were followed by the sisters with some 300 girls of the boarding school. The boys of the village school and the 150 boys of the boarding school were behind the girls, all in sarong and white shirt, in rows of two. After these followed the choir and the brass band. The large group of Confreria members wore their white cloaks and carried fresh flowers on big silver plates and bottles of scented water. From time to time they honoured the host by scattering flowers and drops of scented water, sometimes kneeling down and bowing deeply 'as is the common habit in eastern countries', starting as soon as the priest came out of the church with the host in a monstrance. Altar-boys carried incense and continued to ring their bells. The priest, clearly the central person in the procession, carried the host walking under a baldachin held by four of the most notable citizens of the town. The common believers, some carrying banners or statues, followed in the final section of the procession.

Besides the two large processions on Good Friday and Corpus Christi, minor processions in Larantuka continued to be held on the first Sunday of Lent (with the cross going around the church), and on Easter Sunday (the Alleluia procession) with a statue of the risen Christ. In the mid-1920s there were still processions on Good Friday in Wureh, Konga and Lewolaga, places without a resident priest.

The family of the raja, so central in the period 1860-1904, from the restart of the Catholic mission until the exile of Don Lorenzo II, was no longer important in ecclesiastical affairs. In December 1905 Lorenzo II was succeeded by Don Louis Balantran de Rozari, who died on 1 May 1906. This Raja Louis received praise from the Jesuit priests, because he was brave enough to show that he was a Catholic.¹⁵⁷ This in itself was a comfort after the loss of Lorenzo II. But

¹⁵⁷ J. Hoeberechts to Vicar General, Larantuka, 20-4-1906, Laan 'Larantuka':1290.

the opinion of senior Catholic teacher Olla Franciscus Dias was less positive. Raja Louis had killed his first wife after a domestic quarrel and was exiled to Kupang in 1885. Later he returned from Atapupu and earned his living as a goldsmith and tailor. In connection with several marital affairs he was removed from Larantuka to Tanah Merah (in Adonara) by Raja Lorenzo II. Thanks to his good relations with Gezaghebber Misero of Larantuka, he was appointed raja in December 1905, a function he held for only six months.¹⁵⁸

The son of Raja Louis, Johan Balantran de Rozari, was caretaker in Larantuka until 17 January 1912, when Servus, son of Raja Lorenzo II, was elected as successor.¹⁵⁹ This son Servus caused many problems to the mission. In 1907, when he returned alone from Yogyakarta for holidays, he presented himself to the parish house. The priests were embarrassed because they were not willing to show too much sympathy for a member of a family of which the head had been sent into exile. Besides, during his months of holiday he held daily gatherings with much drinking and dancing.¹⁶⁰ After he became raja, Don Johannes Servus Dias Viera Godinho showed more interest in the women of Larantuka than in the restricted administrative and political function he was able to exercise under stricter Dutch direct rule. He was deposed in 1919 and Antonius Balantran de Rozari, from the second family or *raja kedoea*, was elected as caretaker and formally inaugurated in his function in 1931.¹⁶¹

The SVD fathers had based the development of Catholicism much more on education, and they had less close relations with the raja of Larantuka than the Jesuits of the late nineteenth century. There was a relation of pastoral concern with Raja Servus for his romantic escapades, and later a more business-like relation with his successor. On 12 July 1938, after the death of Raja Antonius, the son of Raja Servus, Don Lorenzo (III) Dias Viera Godinho, married the daughter of Raja Thomas da Silva of Sikka in the church of Maumere. It was a golden opportunity for the Catholic church to show its social importance. On the eve of the ceremony the couple were brought in procession to the church, where they venerated the host and went to confession. Because of the great crowd, temporary facilities were built to hold the ceremony the next morning in front of the church. The brass band of the vocational school at Ende was brought to Maumere for this occasion. After the celebration of marriage during a holy mass, there was coffee in the parish house, followed by a procession to Raja Thomas's palace in Maumere. The priests of the island had held their yearly retreat in the major seminary of Ledalero preceding this event, and therefore 'three *controleurs*, three rajas, 35 priests, a score of mis-

¹⁵⁸ Laan 'Larantuka':1291-1291 on the basis of an interview by the medical doctor M. Westenbroek with Guru Olla, Larantuka , 1953.

¹⁵⁹ Laan 'Larantuka':1488-90 with the full protocol of his election.

¹⁶⁰ Laan 'Larantuka':1316.

¹⁶¹ De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van den aftredenden Resident*, 1934, NA 2.10.39 MMK 344, p. 201-2.

sion brothers, as well as many officials were seated together with the young couple at the solemn breakfast'.¹⁶²

Adonara, Lomblem/Lembata, Solor and other islands east of Larantuka

These islands and their parishes always belonged to the deanery, district, and later diocese of Larantuka. Because of their special history, they require special attention. Lembata as well as Adonara had a complicated political structure: the territory of both islands was partly ruled by the raja of Adonara (residing in Waewerang on the south coast of Adonara) and partly by the raja of Larantuka. The rivalry between the two realms also involved a preference for Islam (Adonara) or Christianity (Larantuka). The founding of schools in Lembata was considered an act of Christianization and was therefore initially forbidden by the raja of Adonara.

In the period 1887-1890 Father C.H.A. ten Brink visited Lembata with Lamalera as centre, but not until 1920 was a permanent settlement set up by Bernard Bode, again in Lamalera, the village of whalers. From Lamalera the common strategy was followed of founding schools that prepared children for baptism. The first resident priest arrived in Lamalera in 1920, Father Bernard Bode.¹⁶³ In line with the usual way of starting a new station, a permanent parish house and a church were built in the same year by Brother Franciscus Bakker. In 1921 a second resident priest arrived, Johann Preisler. In 1930 there were already four priests on the island of Lembata, with Lamalera as their first basis and Lewoleba since 1926 as the second permanent post. During a pastoral visit in 1924 Bishop Verstraelen could confer the sacrament of confirmation to 1,200 people. In 1935 five priests worked on the mountainous island with its difficult connections and very few roads: they served 20,000 Catholics out of a population of 50,000 (Van der Windt 1935-6:75-8).

In the island of Adonara, Waiwerang on the south coast became the most important station after it was established in 1929. This was a setback for Wureh, where an old community of barely 200 people still continued Catholicism from a Portuguese past. The clergy had decided that the small and proud group of Catholics of Wureh, who did not easily obey Dutch rules, had to be neglected in favour of the more populous centre on the south coast. Besides, the Catholics of Wureh could be served from Larantuka, at a distance of only one hour by boat in good weather conditions (Kluiters 1938-9:232-6).

The island of Solor had been an object of missionary work in the 1890s, but missionary Father Leemker had to flee after some months because the delay

¹⁶² There is a description of this 'finest hour' for the Catholic mission 'Sikka', with many photographs in *De Katholieke Missiën* 1937-8:229-33.

¹⁶³ Laan 'Sikka':448.

in the coming of the rainy season was considered his fault. Not until 1921 were a school and church, as well as a parish house for a resident priest (W. Strieter), built in Levolein (Strieter 1925).

The transfer of the mission to the SVD and the tragedy of December 1918

In the 1910s the Flores mission was transferred from the Jesuits to the SVD. From 1913-1920 far fewer new workers arrived than expected, owing to a shortage of Dutch personnel and the impossibility of travel for Germans during World War I. One aspect of the transfer of the mission from the Jesuits to the SVD was the change of sisters. An initial group of nuns in Lela (commonly called 'from Tilburg' after the location of their main convent in the Netherlands) left the mission compound and the 230 girls on 22 January 1917, only ten days after the arrival of the first 'Steijl sisters' or 'Blue sisters', officially called the Servants of the Holy Spirit sisters, founded by Arnoldus Janssen, the initiator of the SVD. A second group of Tilburg sisters left Lela/Maumere on 1 July 1917. Sister Isidore, the departing superior and oldest sister, had arrived in Maumere in 1890. Her colleague, Sister Alfred, was fluent in Sikkinese or Lamaholot and had translated the catechism and also written schoolbooks in Sikkinese for the lowest grade of the village schools in East Flores. They left the station to make place for an inexperienced new community, only six sisters taking over the task of the previous twelve. After the arrival of these Steijl sisters, the main tasks in the school and the dormitory were taken over by the older and experienced Sikkinese girls. They were probably the first young women to work in this area as teachers. For Malay they hired two young women from the school at Larantuka.¹⁶⁴

For the Jesuit lay brothers in Larantuka the transfer took place on 1 April 1917 when the first two SVD brothers, Vincentius Meekes and Lambertus Schoren, arrived, and the Jesuit brothers left.¹⁶⁵ The Jesuit priests Hoeberechts and Van de Loo left Larantuka in 1917 as well.

After the end of World War I, the 25th anniversary of Piet Noyen's ordination to the priesthood was scheduled to be held on 7 December 1918 as a grandiose manifestation of Catholics in Flores with a big meeting in Ndona. The government steamer would transport Larantuka's brass band and school choir, as well as chiefs from Larantuka, Sikka and Mbuli, to Ndona for this festival. But things did not turn out as planned. Instead, the whole area was struck by the Spanish influenza, which cost the lives of four missionaries, three teachers, twenty pupils of the Larantuka boarding school, and many common people. Among the priests was the last Jesuit priest of Larantuka, Arnold van

¹⁶⁴ Laan 'Ende':171, 184; more details in Laan 'Sikka':404-6.

¹⁶⁵ Laan 'Ende':179; Van Aernsbergen 1934:277-83.

der Velden, who died on 18 December 1918, soon followed by SVD brother Vincentius Meekes and two SVD priests, Simon Karsten and Wilhelm Baack.

The last region of Flores to be served by the Jesuits was Maumere-Sikka. In 1919 five SVD priests and one lay brother arrived in Maumere, followed by three lay brothers on 24 December, whereupon the last four Jesuit priests (J. Engbers, A. IJsseldijk, P. Muller, and J. Sevink) and lay brothers G. de Groot and J. Verster left for Java between 19 December 1919 and early February 1920.¹⁶⁶

Three SVD leaders of the mission in Flores

Piet Noyen was born in 1870 to a middle-class family in Helmond, the Netherlands. In 1883 he started his studies at the SVD minor seminary in Steijl. Although this was located in the Netherlands, it was an entirely German institution at the time. Even in the Dutch Indies, Noyen wrote most of his correspondence in German. After his novitiate and study of theology, he was ordained to the priesthood on 7 December 1893 and left for China the following year. He worked in the Shantung mission until 1909, when he returned to the Netherlands to become the first director of the SVD minor seminary in Uden. In May 1912 he was appointed prefect of the new mission territory of the Lesser Sunda Islands. He arrived in Batavia in January 1913 and sailed to Timor in that same month. For some time there was uncertainty about the extension of his region, because of the exclusion of Flores. In mid-1914 a Vatican decree determined that Flores was to be included in the SVD mission. Noyen moved in May 1915 from Lahurus to Ende. After his arrival in the region he had quickly decided that Ende should become the main centre for the mission because of the strategic need to curb a possible expansion of Islam. Noyen was very ambitious and dynamic. He wrote hundreds of letters to Europe, asking for more personnel and money. He died on 24 February 1921 in Steijl, while on sick leave, and just before his ordination to bishop.

Piet Noyen may be seen as the architect who designed the mission's strategy. He made Ende-Ndona the new centre of the mission. He broke away from the long-standing affection for the Portuguese tradition and traditional leaders as the basis of the Catholic community. Noyen wanted a mission concentrating on youth, educated in mission schools. He set out a plan for a major expansion, to be carried out by his successors.

Arnold Verstraelen was born in 1882 in Sevenum, the southern province of Limburg, the Netherlands, as the son of the head of a primary school. He went to the SVD minor seminary in Steijl and studied philosophy and theology in

¹⁶⁶ Article about the farewell party in IJsseldijk 1920:107-11.

Vienna. After ordination to the priesthood in 1907 he was sent to the German SVD mission in Togo, West Africa. In 1912, while on leave from his work in Togo, he was asked to join Noyen for the new mission in the Dutch East Indies. From 1913 to 1922 he was the leader (and for several years the only priest) of the Timor mission. He was appointed as Noyen's successor, in a higher ecclesiastical grade, as vicar apostolic. This meant that he was appointed bishop *in partibus infidelium*.¹⁶⁷ As a bishop, Verstraelen was the equal of the vicar apostolic of Batavia, although important deliberations with the central government remained entrusted to his colleague in Batavia. During the rapid expansion of mission work in the 1920s Verstraelen provided firm leadership. He continued Noyen's centralized planning and financing. He not only received more personnel and money from abroad, he also started the minor seminary at Todabelu and initiated the plantations at Nangahale and Riangwulu, as an effort to move towards financial independence for the mission. Missionaries of German descent considered him too close to Dutch colonial politics. In debates with the religious superior, the German B. Glanemann, the latter had to acknowledge the authority of the vicar apostolic.¹⁶⁸ Verstraelen died on 16 March 1932 in a car accident. A horse, not yet accustomed to the sound of a car on the quiet Flores Road, panicked and fell into the steep valley beside the road, together with its rider. Father Jan Bouma, who was Bishop Verstraelen's driver, could not control the car, which collided with a big stone. The bishop was thrown out of the car and died immediately. Bishop Verstraelen was remembered as a very enthusiastic and warm personality, full of initiative and charisma.

Arnold Verstraelen followed the general mission strategy as designed by Piet Noyen. Ende-Ndona remained the central post for the mission. The rapid expansion of schools (from 137 to 287) and mission stations resulted in a spectacular growth of baptized Catholics: from about 60,000 in 1921 (for the whole area of the Lesser Sunda Islands) to more than 200,000 in early 1932. The number of churches and chapels increased in that period from 96 to 333. He could show that the bright promises painted by his predecessor could really be executed in a process of steady growth. Immediately after his appointment in 1922, Verstraelen visited the Netherlands to be ordained as bishop, but also to collect funds. He wrote regularly in the SVD monthly *De Katholieke Missiën*, where he abundantly thanked the generous believers in the Netherlands and America, showed photographs of the churches they had financed, and also unashamedly asked for more money. From July 1930 until August 1931 he returned to Europe and visited America to guarantee the financial basis for the

¹⁶⁷ In theory responsible for an abandoned diocese, once Christian but now populated by Muslims in Turkey, in this case Myriofide or Myriophytum, abandoned in 1063; see *Catholic Encyclopedia* under that heading.

¹⁶⁸ For this dual leadership of the mission and the tension between Verstraelen and Glanemann see also Uran n.d.:177.



Three leaders of the Catholic Church in Flores. From left: Piet Noyen,
Hendrik Leven, and Arnold Verstraelen. (KDC, Nijmegen)

missionary enterprise. He sent two of his priests, Simon Buis and P. Beltjens, to a film academy in New York and for training to Hollywood to be qualified to make the films *Ria Rago* and *Amorira*, the main tools in the fund-raising in Europe for the Flores mission.

Henricus Leven was born on 13 June 1883 in Lank (Germany, near Aachen). He also attended the minor seminary in Steijl. After his theological studies in Sankt Gabriel, Vienna, he went as a missionary to Togo in 1911, where he became a capable director of a secondary school until he was interned by British troops on the Isle of Man during World War I. After a short period of ministry in Germany, he left for Indonesia, where he arrived in Ndona on 23 October 1920. After Malay-language training for six weeks, he became the parish priest and director of education in Atapupu and Halilulik (Timor). He was also appointed school inspector for the Catholic schools of Timor. In 1927 he moved to Ndona to become *provicaris*, or first assistant, to Bishop Verstraelen. After the latter died, the Vatican wanted to appoint Leven to become his successor, but the governor general of the colony, B.C. de Jonge, objected because he was a German citizen. Only after Leven had applied for Dutch citizenship and was accepted, was he formally appointed and ordained bishop at a ceremony at the minor seminary of the Dutch SVD in Uden, the Netherlands, on 12 November 1933.

Henricus Leven continued the work of the mission following the strategy designed by Piet Noyen. Leven was more of a general manager and a more reserved prelate than the warm-hearted Verstraelen. Quite a few Dutch missionaries in the mixed mission considered him too German or even 'Prussian', which was a term implying impersonal dedication and strict discipline. In the difficult years of the economic decline of the 1930s he guided the mission through stable, though more modest, progress than in the 1920s. As to marriage, where Flores customs were so different from the basic Catholic rules, while many newly baptized were not prepared to follow the formal rules of their new religion, he formulated a strategy at the 1935 Ndona Synod of recognizing customary marriages as legal. This gave room for the church to grow without the danger of frequent excommunications and estrangement. During the Japanese occupation he was able to continue working. He kept several sisters and priests out of the detention camps and maintained the continuity of his church. Notwithstanding the shortage of personnel, he facilitated social and linguistic research by priests like Arndt and Verheijen.

The minor seminary at Todabelu and the major seminary at Ledalero

Soon after his ordination as bishop in 1922, Bishop Verstraelen hoped to open a seminary for indigenous priests. Beginning in 1923, individual courses in Latin and Dutch were given to several candidates, all of them teachers. For

the full course of study, the mission waited until the arrival of an experienced priest with the special education needed for the first secondary school in Flores. In February 1926 Frans Cornelissen, recently arrived from the Netherlands as a priest and a qualified teacher, started the first education for priests at a small minor seminary in the parish house of Sikka, where the first seven students had their dormitory. They were between 17 and 23 years old, older than usual for secondary education. Most of them had already worked as teacher or had finished a modest teacher training college. The oldest was from Timor and had completed teacher training in Tomohon. Another Timorese had Menodanese and Protestant parents, but had received a Catholic education in Timor.¹⁶⁹ One was born in Rote. There were two half-brothers of Raja Pius of Lio, then still one of the mission's great hopes. Both were already working as teachers. There were only two candidates from the Sikka region, one from Nita and one from Koting. The seminary was never dominated by any one region of Flores. The oldest Catholic region, Larantuka, had no representative in the first class (Cornelissen 1926-27:130).

From the beginning the seminary followed the curriculum of a Dutch grammar school, including Latin, English and German, but no Greek or French because Dutch was taught as another important European language. During the colonial period, in the highest three of the seven grades, Dutch was used as the language of instruction. Year after year the seminary grew, and therefore in 1929 a new building was opened in the cooler region of Todabelu in Ngada. Another reason for choosing Todabelu was because the mission could buy a large piece of fertile land, which could be used to contribute to the maintenance of the seminary and boarding schools for other boys and girls. Besides, the first location was in the crowded centre of Sikka, where the water supply was always a problem. The cool (for some Florenese even much too cold) high plain of Todabelu offered better possibilities.

By 1926 the mission had already opened 200 village schools (with three grades only). There were seven *vervolgscholen* or extended primary schools, offering the full five years of a Malay-speaking primary school, and only one *schakelschool* or connecting school, where during the course of five years (after three years of village school) Dutch was taught, as a prerequisite in the colony for secondary education. There were no proper secondary schools in Flores. In fact, until the early 1950s, the minor seminary was the only secondary education in Flores. Children from a *vervolgschool* or *schakelschool* could opt for the seminary education or else go to other islands for secondary school.

In 1933 the first graduates of the minor seminary entered their novitiate as members of the SVD order (there was no talk of diocesan priests before 1945),

¹⁶⁹ In *De Katholieke Missiën* there is an autobiography of this seminary student, M. Seran (1928). It gives a striking story of a young boy in Kupang who was attracted to Catholicism by the Catholic teachers of his school, notwithstanding the opposition of his uncle, in whose house he lived.

and in 1934 they started the study of philosophy and theology at the major seminary. For the novitiate and the major seminary, new buildings were constructed in Ledalero, south of Maumere, in 1937. On 28 January 1941 the first two priests were ordained (Gabriel Manek, originally from Timor, and Karel Kale), followed by two more (Jan Bala and Rufinus Pedrico) on 15 August 1942. During the Japanese occupation the Ledalero buildings were confiscated by the Japanese army, but education continued in Todabelu, where on 16 September 1945 seven priests were ordained. Most of them had not yet finished their studies, but the clergy considered it necessary to use them in this period of turmoil and shortage of priests.

Out of the 176 students at the minor seminary who started their studies between 1926 and 1936, only 29 (16%) were ordained to priesthood. The seven candidates of the first year, 1926, all stopped their education. Out of the ten in the 1927 class only one was ordained to priesthood. In later years the figures were similar. There is an odd remark in a report by Resident J.J. Bosch of Kupang: 'In the selection of candidates for the priesthood the mission is very careful, something which deserves praise.'¹⁷⁰ About one-quarter of the ex-seminarians opted for a position as schoolteacher; about the same number found a position in the civil administration, either in Flores or elsewhere in the archipelago. About one-eighth continued their education at an academic level elsewhere in Indonesia or in the Netherlands. In this way the seminary contributed to the establishment not only of a Flores clergy, but also of a well-educated local Catholic leadership. When in 1946 the parliament of eastern Indonesia was convened in Makassar, one of the three deputies from Flores was a Catholic priest educated at the Todabelu-Ledalero seminaries. One of the deputies in Timor had the same background. In 1950 three Flores students were enrolled in academic studies, all of them graduates of the minor seminary. They were the first Florenese to complete academic studies, a mere ten years after the first priests finished their study of theology.¹⁷¹

Religious sisters

From the very beginning it was taken for granted that the Flores priests would be equal in education and status to foreign missionaries. During the decades after the start of the minor seminary, the candidates all entered the SVD order. This was quite different with the Flores nuns. The Dutch and German SVD nuns and the male missionaries were not inclined to accept Flores women into

¹⁷⁰ 'De Missie gaat hierbij uiterst voorzichtig te werk, hetgeen te loven is', Bosch *Memorie van overgave van den afdredenden Resident*, 1938, Koepang, 29-3-1938, NA 2.10.39 MMK 345.

¹⁷¹ There are very detailed histories of the seminaries in Cornelissen 1978 and also 1951:203-12.

the SVD order.¹⁷² In fact they had no clear strategy on how to educate girls as nuns. The initiative started off with one priest only, J. Köberl. Education for indigenous sisters began at almost the same time as the preparations for priests, but in a more informal way. In 1923 a small group of girls applied for membership of the order of sisters in Lela, but they were rejected because the time was not yet considered ripe. J. Köberl, parish priest of Nele (close to Koting, southeast of Maumere), started a special weekly devotion with these girls and managed to post six of them in Lela a few years later, when he was sent to another region. The six girls were further trained in the sisters' compound of Lela, together with the other girls. They only received some extra religious education on Sundays.

It was not until 1930 that a special programme for those girls who wanted to embrace the religious status of nuns was opened. The first group of 14 candidates started training in Todabelu. Eleven were from the Maumere region (probably with a good number from Nele), one from Larantuka, and two from Timor. One of the Steijl sisters, Sister Helena, supervised them, while Father Köberl was again involved in the spiritual training. After the unexpected death of Bishop Verstraelen, his successor Henricus Leven decided to discontinue the programme and to send the girls back home in December 1932. This, however, only made the candidates more determined to go on pursuing their ideal to become nuns. On 26 May 1933, only seven of the first group were allowed to restart their training in Jopu (East Lio, where A. Suntrup was the parish priest), together with three girls from Larantuka, one from Maumere and two from Timor.¹⁷³ All these candidates were from East Flores and Timor. They could not speak Lionese, had no proper work in the region, nor was there a curriculum for them. Day-to-day responsibility for the poorly organized course was in the hands of Sister Odelberta, who could not teach them much. Although they had not yet started their formal initiation into a religious order, they already wore the habits of nuns.¹⁷⁴ Finally, on 31 March 1935, the first nine candidates entered the formal novitiate, to be followed one year later by four others.

¹⁷² After 1945 the Steijl sisters also founded Indonesian branches of their own order. The first Indonesian sister of the *Abdi Roh Kudus*, as they were called, took her vows in 1956. In 1972 they already had 124 members and in 1989 about 360. This Indonesian branch remained formally part of the Steijl order. The institution of a separate congregation of Flores nuns, as was the practice between 1920 and 1950, was also in accordance with the quite hesitant proposal in Pope Pius XI's Encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* of 1926, no. 27, where the pope deliberated whether 'it would not be more advantageous all around to establish entirely new Congregations, which would correspond better with the genius and character of the natives and which would be more in keeping with the needs and the spirit of the different countries'. On this matter see also Janssen 1940:193-9 and 1941:46-53.

¹⁷³ See A. Suntrup 'Chronik':36: 'Since Ascension Day, 13 candidates have arrived here who want to engage in a native congregation of nuns. I give them weekly catechism and every month a meditation.'

¹⁷⁴ Photograph from 1933 in Muskens 1974:1241. On these sisters, Muskens 1974:1234-43 and Heuken 1989:465-7.

Although guided by Steijl sisters and priests, they did not enter that European order; instead, a new congregation was founded, the Sisters of the Imitation of Jesus (*Congregatio Imitationis Jesu*, or Suster-suster Pengikut Yesus).

At the 1935 Ndona Synod the two main promoters of the nuns, Köberl and Suntrup, regretted the difficult start of the initiatives and the many frustrations endured by the candidates. They asked for more systematic investment in the education of nuns. Even after that event, Bishop Leven once again suggested that the initiative be halted, because of the many problems, and the lack of qualified leaders. But he carried out the decision of the Ndona Synod to further develop the congregation. A proper house was built in Jopu. In 1937 the first five sisters were able to take their vows, while three candidates entered the novitiate. By 1940 the young congregation had 16 members, most of them still candidates and in training. They remained in Jopu, their main station, where they served a boarding school for girls and a retreat house. During the Japanese occupation several sisters worked as teachers, and they also received permission to distribute hosts consecrated by priests. After Indonesian independence the CIJ sisters, as they are known, developed quickly and started communities in Java and many provinces of eastern Indonesia.¹⁷⁵

One may wonder why the clergy did not give priority to the education and coaching of nuns. The main reason was probably that colonial society, government officials, and mission personnel all shared a patriarchal culture in which the position of women was clearly felt to be inferior to that of men. Although the sisters had nearly as many pupils in their schools as the Jesuit priests and brothers had in the boys' schools, discussions about the government subsidies that formed the financial basis for the schools were held only between high-level colonial officials and priests. Sisters could only follow developments from a distance. Another reason may have been the great importance given to the sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist, both the duty of ordained priests. There may have been financial reasons as well. The Vatican had a special fund (the Saint Peter's Fund) for the training of boys for the priesthood. The construction of the minor seminary in Todabelu and later of the major seminary in Ledalero was financed by this fund. There were also special allowances for male seminarians. There was no similar international fund for the financing of new settlements for nuns. For catechists Bishop Verstraelen founded a fund on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his priesthood, 2 February 1932, which was later known as the St. Arnoldus Catechistenfonds, but no similar funding institution was available for nuns.¹⁷⁶ Another financial consideration affected parents' willingness to have girls join a religious order. A daughter of a raja who had finished the highest level of school (three or four years of *standaardschool* after the three-year village school) was a good investment for her par-

¹⁷⁵ Like the other congregations of Indonesian nuns, they were not included in *Jaarboek 1940*.

¹⁷⁶ About the St. Arnoldus Catechistenfonds, see *Katholieke Missiën* 1931-2:52, 98.

ents. They could expect up to 1,000 guilders at marriage, a price usually paid in buffaloes or tusks (a big tusk was worth about 350 guilders). Many parents protested against the wish of their daughters to enter a religious order; some girls were even kept at home, others ran away.¹⁷⁷ One of the main reasons, however, to place a girl of good and noble birth (like the daughter of a village head or raja) with the sisters in their boarding school was to keep her safe until the day of marriage. The *Kroniek Zusters van Heythuizen te Larantuka, 1878-1924* (Chronicle of the Sisters of Heythuizen at Larantuka) gives many examples of girls who married straight from boarding school.¹⁷⁸

For the period under consideration, the Steijl sisters worked in six large convents on Flores. Unlike the priests, who usually worked two to a station, one remaining there while the other went to visit the outer posts, the sisters were much more residential, serving people (mostly girls) who came to their boarding schools. The five Steijl sisters of 1917 grew to 36 in 1925 (from 27 in the year 1924, when the last 17 Heijthuizen sisters left East Flores), 49 in 1931, and 63 in 1940.¹⁷⁹

Two large boarding schools, founded by the Heijthuizen and the Tilburg sisters, were established in Larantuka and Lela. Larantuka maintained its renown for its weaving on native and European looms. There was a small hospital in Larantuka. In Lela there was, until 1930, a small clinic for the sick, which later developed into a proper mission hospital with a medical doctor, the German, Dr Tietze. Here too, the main task of the sisters was the boarding school. The same type of boarding school in addition to a few sisters working for the sick could be seen in Jopu, Ende, Ndona and Todabelu. In Todabelu the sisters also ran the household of the minor seminary making use of their pupils. In Ende the sisters were asked in 1930 to take over the running of the hospital, which until then had been owned and financed by the government.

During this period more and more sisters became better educated and better qualified for their job. Sister M. Smiggels, who arrived in 1925 as one of the first Steijl sisters in Larantuka, was even considered to be overqualified. She had graduated as a senior teacher for primary schools, eligible to become director of a Dutch-speaking school. The priests as school inspectors gave certificates to anyone who proved to be able to manage a class in Malay,

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Sister Maria Smiggels, 23-5-1977, in KMM 496.

¹⁷⁸ *Kroniek Zusters van Heythuizen te Larantuka, 1878-1924*. To give just one example, from 29-9-1914: 'Trad een van onze groote meisjes Anne Pantai Besar in het huwelijk met de kapala van Noerebele. Twee dagen voor het huwelijk ontving de man het H. Doopsel en naderde voor de eerste maal tot de H. Tafel. Jammer, dat niet een zijner heidensche familieleden deze plechtigheid mocht bijwonen wegens eene besmettelijke ziekte in hun Kampong' (One of our older girls, Anne Pantai Besar, married the chief of the village of Noerebele. Two days previous her husband was baptized and received Holy Communion for the first time. It is a pity that not one of his pagan relatives could attend the ceremony because of a contagious disease in their village.).

¹⁷⁹ *De Katholieke Missiën* 1931-2:128 and *Jaarboek* 1940:173.

and considered knowledge of European language unnecessary. Smiggels was transferred to Java (Malang) in 1928.¹⁸⁰ There were not only qualified nurses among the sisters, there was even a dentist in Ende, the German Sister Eustochia, who after the arrival of the Japanese was asked to fill the teeth of Japanese soldiers. She went on her own initiative to the Japanese commander in Ende to get Father J. Koemeester, rector of the noviciate and major seminary in Ledalero, out of prison. She was able to build good relations with the commander and her request was admitted (Cornelissen 1947:33).

The Steijl sisters initially only gave support to the start of a diocesan and Indonesian congregation of sisters, but soon afterwards also started to accept Flores girls into their own congregation. In 1938 they accepted the first two candidates from Ruteng who were sent to Surabaya for further training.¹⁸¹

Pastoral strategies 1: Singing parishes

The first volume of this work discussed how a pattern of Catholic spirituality, inherited from seventeenth-century Portuguese missionaries, changed into a late nineteenth-century Dutch pattern of devotion. This process continued in the twentieth century. We saw how the last remnants of Portuguese spirituality were eliminated (most strongly in Maumere and in many respects also in Sikka) or incorporated into mainstream Catholic spirituality (Larantuka). New forms introduced were frequent communion, celebration of the first Friday of every month (for the first time in Sikka on 1 October 1909)¹⁸² and Sodality of Mary groups. In addition to retreats (spiritual training in a special centre lasting three to seven days), Sodality of Mary groups were introduced as a method to improve the quality of the Christians who had made such great quantitative progress in the early twentieth century. The retreats were mostly for teachers and village chiefs. Sodality of Mary groups were open to everyone and were more popular among teenagers. Preparation for marriage was an important topic in the Solidarity of Mary groups.¹⁸³ Starting in 1928 there were several publications for the further religious education of the new Catholics. A monthly, *Bintang Timoer*, was published as a means of instruction and communication in Malay. Especially for the Sikka region *Christoes Ratoe Itang* was published in Sikkanese. In 1929 the printing establishment of Ende also published a Saint Michael's Almanac.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Sister Maria Smiggels, Nijmegen KDC, KMM 496.

¹⁸¹ *De Katholieke Missiën* 1937-8:233.

¹⁸² Laan 'Sikka':316.

¹⁸³ In his yearly report, mid-1935, Bishop Henricus Leven viewed these two activities as separate strategies for the maturation of spiritual life of the Catholics of Flores, *De Katholieke Missiën* 1935-6:14.

¹⁸⁴ I was not able to consult these publications, because there were no copies available in European libraries.

A big step towards a more devout Christian society would have been the observance of Sunday as a day of rest. This was not often supported by the government and in this period remained mostly unknown to society. Attendance at Sunday mass in places where a resident priest could lead the liturgy on Sundays was successfully promoted, but abstinence from physical work on Sundays remained difficult to observe. Probably it was felt as something of a new taboo for the Christians, but it could not easily be introduced. It was not a top priority for priests. In 1907 in Lahurus on Timor some Christians who obeyed Father Mathijsen in observing Sunday as a day of rest were nicknamed *emma santo* or 'Holy Persons' by fellow Christians.¹⁸⁵ In Chapter IV I will discuss the raja of Lahurus's drastic measure in 1908 to enhance attendance at Sunday service: he ordered two buffaloes to be slaughtered and urged all Christians to contribute money for this occasion. The next Sunday the flock in the church had doubled (Mathijsen 1909:93). In Flores the positioning of Sundays was similar. In 1927 the *assistant-resident* of Ende, H.R. Rookmaker, took a big step forward when he decided that Catholics could not be ordered to perform forced labour on Sundays, except in cases of emergency (Betray 1974:1281).

The religious obligation most emphasized was not the observance of Sunday as a day of rest, or church attendance on ordinary Sundays, but confession and communion once a year at Easter. The *paschantes*, or those who received communion during the extended period of Easter, were considered for purposes of statistics as truly committed Catholics. The clergy of course tried to promote weekly church attendance and in some places expressed pride in the great number of people who came to church and communion daily, but during the pre-independence period the shortage of priests and the low level of education of Catholics made the Easter obligation the basic requirement.¹⁸⁶

Special events brought many more people to church than usual. In May 1926 the first major action of the KKS^B, the Katholieke Kleine-Soenda Bond (Catholic Union of the Lesser Sunda Islands), a union of Catholic teachers, was the collection of money for a statue of Christ in Maumere, the new capital of Sikka. The new union collected enough money to order a statue of Jesus as king from the Netherlands, and it was inaugurated during a meeting held on 12-13 December 1926 in Maumere. Out of the 102 members of the Sodality of Mary in the village of Sikka, 98 made the 25-kilometre walk to the north, and

¹⁸⁵ Laan 'Timor':593.

¹⁸⁶ In her well-researched article, based on fieldwork in Ngada close to Todabelu in the early 1990s, Molnar 1997:393-408, quote from p. 398, describes a very different situation: 'Attending church on Sundays is very important since for many this is the fundamental expression of being a practising Catholic. When I asked many people in Sara Sedu about the meaning of being a good Catholic, all invariably responded: the one who goes to church every Sunday.' Apparently things have changed since the 1920s and 1930s.

all the boys of the *standaardschool* (the boarding school at Lela) walked their 25 km to join the crowd of some 5,000 people for the afternoon ceremony. They joined the evening procession, illuminated by thousands of candles, and sang a solemn Latin mass with music by the German composer Haller.¹⁸⁷

A successful innovation was a passion play, performed for the first time in Jopu in 1936, two weeks before Easter. It had to be repeated several times because of the large crowd; even pagans and Muslims wanted to attend the performance in a church, where the number of people had to be restricted to 2,800. Because people were prepared to pay admission, there was a small profit from the passion play. In 1937 the performance was held in several places in Lise and Mboli, one week before Pentecost, preceding the main procession. It was decided no longer to hold performances in a church building, and thus the next play was postponed until January 1940, when a play featuring the Three Kings and the Flight to Egypt was performed in the new retreat house in Jopu. For major religious events people in Flores were willing to make long trips, and for this occasion a group of teachers of religion from Ende and Ndona travelled to Jopu.¹⁸⁸

The Good Friday procession was also adopted in many places outside East Flores, where it was first held. In Jopu a Lionese version of the most important and magical song, the complaint *O Vos Omnes* ('All you who pass by, look around and see: is there any suffering like my suffering', after *Lamentations* 1:12), was sung at one station during the procession with great success. As in East Flores, in other places the procession of Corpus Christi was given a great deal of attention.¹⁸⁹ Reports of great enthusiasm at these special events appear side by side with missionaries' complaints about the lack of regular attendance at Sunday mass. Sodality of Mary gatherings, an extra religious meeting at church on Sundays, were not received anywhere with lasting enthusiasm. A few years after baptism, when the new experience had become routine, many people neglected regular weekly attendance at mass and seldom received communion.¹⁹⁰

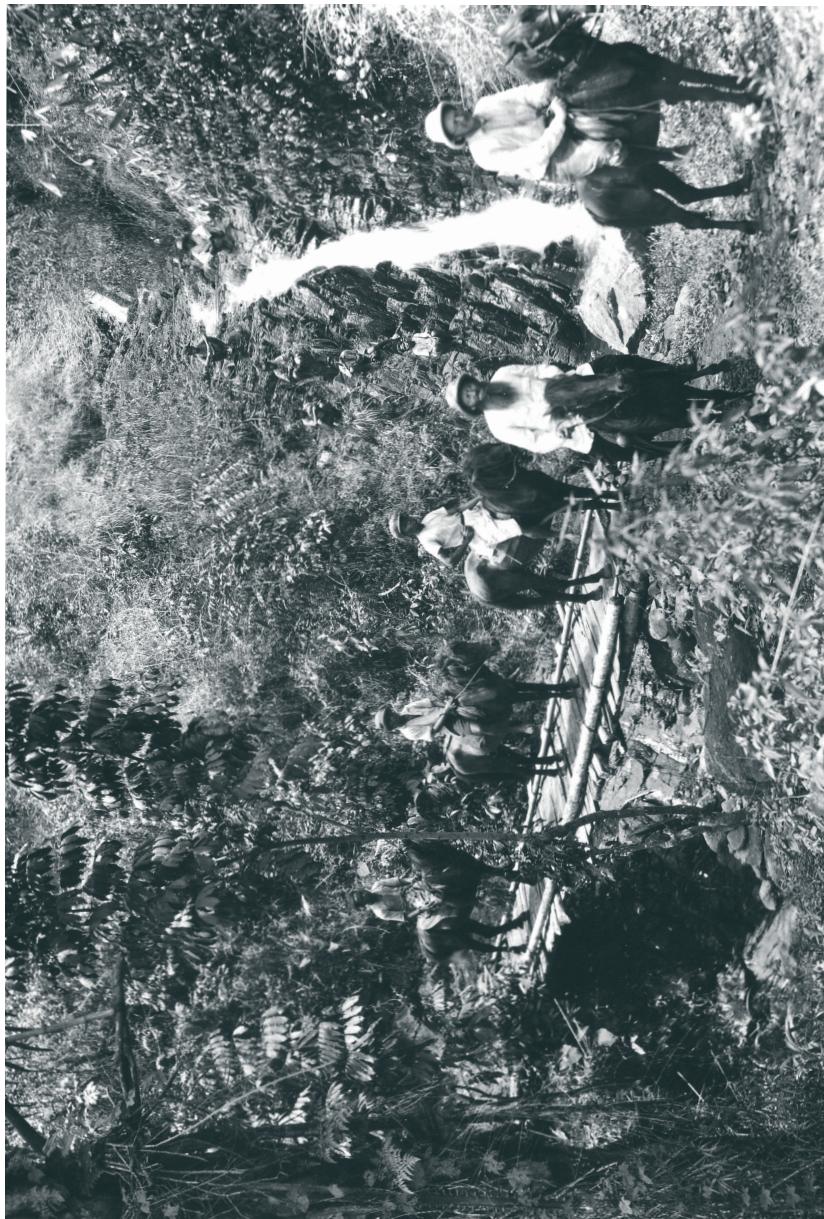
Making music, especially singing, was one of the Catholic religion's greatest attractions. Much catechetical instruction consisted of practice in singing hymns. When possible, singing was done in a simple harmony of two or three voices. Priests who visited pearl-fishers had to grant their former schoolboys a sung mass, even when they themselves were in a hurry. During the weaving

¹⁸⁷ Smit 1926:152-3. Michael Haller (1850-1915) was a German composer of church music.

¹⁸⁸ Short description in A. Suntrup 'Chronik': 43, 45 and 50.

¹⁸⁹ Suntrup 'Chronik':34 and 36.

¹⁹⁰ Suntrup 'Chronik': 42 mentions a new start of the Sodality of Mary in October 1935, but in April 1936 he again reports a decline in attendance. On the poor attendance at Sunday mass, Suntrup 'Chronik':51 and 52: 'Van de getrouwde vrouwen van de kampong, die niet vlakbij zijn, komt nauwelijks een. De christenen zijn verbazend slap. Zijn de vrouwen getrouwde, dan is het gewoon met de *agama* [religion] uit.' Note dated 25-6-1941.



Missionaries on horseback in the mountains of Flores (KDC, Nijmegen)

classes at the girls' school at Larantuka, joyful singing made work pleasant.¹⁹¹ When government officials visited, the schoolboys of Larantuka were present to sing the Dutch anthem *Wien Néérlands bloed*, while for clerical visitors the more pious *Groote God wij loven U* was sung.¹⁹² On secular occasions dancing could continue for many hours, but dancing was not part of Catholic religious ceremonies.

The church of Larantuka had a grand organ. In other large churches the most important instrument was the harmonium. There was a brass band in Larantuka which was present at all major celebrations, visits by government officials, festivals, arrivals and farewell parties. The brass band of the Ndona boarding school was first used during the Corpus Christi procession of 1924.¹⁹³ Shortly after its founding in 1929, the Todabelu boarding school also received a substantial gift from a European supporter of the mission for instruments for a brass band, to be conducted by Father Köberl.¹⁹⁴ The boarding school at Lela was known for its orchestra of bamboo flutes.¹⁹⁵

There are many complaints in internal reports by missionaries that missionary initiatives were engineered from the top down: churches, schools, and parish houses were built with money from outside, making little use of local people. In publications for the general public and for sponsors of the mission in the Netherlands, the support of local residents was applauded, sometimes confirmed by photographs of a large crowd working on constructing a church.¹⁹⁶ This apparent contradiction in our sources may be because local resources like sand, stones and wood were supplied by local people – not, however, as a voluntary donation, but after payment by the clergy. Iron, cement and other building materials had to be bought outside Flores, and they were financed by benefactors from Europe and America.¹⁹⁷ Rich individuals were not the only ones to contribute to specific churches or embellishments, like the organ of Larantuka. Young women working at the Aida textile factory in Eindhoven, the Netherlands, put money aside for several years for a small church in Belang on Lembata, which was inaugurated on 23 April 1929 (but destroyed by fire on 31 December 1929).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ Interview with Sister M. Smiggels, KMM 496.

¹⁹² For the latter see *Kroniek Zusters van Heythuizen te Larantuka* (hereafter Kroniek Heythuizen), 27-3-1923. A visit by the superior-general to the school had to be delayed for one week because in the week before Easter no joyful music could be sung and there could be no visit to the school without music, *Kroniek Heythuizen* 2-4-1923.

¹⁹³ Van Cleef, *De Katholieke Missiën* 1924-5:101.

¹⁹⁴ Verstraelen, *De Katholieke Missiën* 1927-8:54.

¹⁹⁵ Picture in *De Katholieke Missiën* 1926-7:131.

¹⁹⁶ Pompous photos of people standing in front of the church under construction in Mangulewa (Ngada), Smit 1931:34.

¹⁹⁷ Nearly every issue of *De Katholieke Missiën* refers to the generosity of sponsors.

¹⁹⁸ *De Katholieke Missiën* 1929-30:118.

Indigenous generosity for major religious events stands in striking contrast to the external funding of building materials for churches and schools. At anniversaries and farewell parties for well-known and much-loved departing missionaries, local people could be very generous. The *Kroniek Zusters van Heythuizen te Larantuka* gives a long description of the 50th anniversary of the vows taken by Sister Marcelline Boerboom on 14 November 1920. Former pupils and parents offered her many personal gifts of cloth and handicrafts and an additional 114 guilders, 'because they considered the other gifts insufficient'.¹⁹⁹ In the parts of East Flores where the Portuguese tradition of processions on Good Friday and the Feast of the Holy Rosary were continued, people contributed readily to this kind of popular Catholicism. In new areas, local rulers gladly gave pigs and even buffaloes for feasts to celebrate confirmation when the bishop visited their area.

Traditionally there were graveyards beside church buildings in the Portuguese-style Catholicism of East Flores. But these were not exclusively Catholic cemeteries, as required by canon law. Catholics and non-Catholics were buried in the same cemetery and some were buried close to houses of villagers. It took the clergy a long time to organize graveyards in a truly Catholic way. As in many other places in the archipelago, there was a special organization for laypeople, a society for burials that provided mutual help and financial insurance. In Ende (with the Latin name of *Memento Mori*) and Ndona (known by the Lionese expression of *Ndooe Dato*) the organization was founded in 1934 on the initiative of laypeople themselves (in Ndona the *kapitan*, or village head, and a teacher). The statutes were formulated in a manner that resembled some duties of the Confreria of Larantuka: the society had to provide candles and a cross on the first four evenings after death; they had to be present at a mass for one of their members and receive holy communion during that ceremony. They all had to attend the burial at the graveyard in formal or full dress. They were also obliged to go to the special mass for deceased members on 2 November, and join the procession on the evening preceding All Souls Day. Members of the burial society were seen as the better instructed and more active members of the parish and had to volunteer to give catechism lessons to candidates for baptism. In 1935 the society had 100 members in Ndona alone, while Ende and other places in central and west Flores were planning to start such a society. While Sodality of Mary groups were targeted at young people (especially women), the burial society attracted more married people (especially men) (Van Stokkum 1935-6:18).

Less successful in Flores were the purely secular social and political Catholic organizations. In 1926 there was already a KKS. According to the sparse information I could find about this organization, most members were teachers. There are no further reports available about this initiative, which was

¹⁹⁹ *Kroniek Heythuizen* on 14-11-1920.

very successful among teachers in Java.²⁰⁰ The same happened to the political organization promulgated by the general conference of Catholic leaders of the Dutch East Indies in 1929 as a nationwide extension of the PPKD, Pakempalan Politiek Katholieke Djawi, turned into PPKI with the I standing for Indonesia: nothing further was heard of this political organization.

Pastoral strategies 2: Anthropologists and concepts of God

There is a great difference between nineteenth-century Jesuit missionaries and the SVD fathers who served the mission after 1913. The SVD fathers considered traditional Flores religion a deficient religion, but not as a completely negative factor. They often showed understanding and sympathy for traditional Flores religion, in contrast to the nineteenth-century Jesuits, who condemned local traditions as paganism. In this respect the SVD followed the tradition of anthropology of religion as founded within the SVD order by Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954). This school did not consider monotheism as a later stage in the evolution of mankind (after animism and polytheism), but as the original belief of all hunter-gatherer peoples. Because of the many similarities worldwide between these peoples, the belief in a supreme being had to be traceable to a divine primitive revelation. Although weakened and altered, traces of it could still be found, and the first task of the missionary was not to destroy tribal religion but to purify it. This specific SVD tradition in the anthropology of religion can be seen in the many descriptions of Flores religion given by SVD priests. Even when writing for Catholics in Europe, who supported the mission by prayer and money, missionaries did not hesitate to praise the religiousness of the people of Flores. They wrote sometimes hesitantly, but clearly. There is a striking example of writing about Ngada pagan religion by Father Jan Bouma, based on data collected by SVD researcher Paul Arndt:

The many sanctuaries on the spacious village square, reserved for them in the heart of the village with all houses turned towards this centre, give the impression that the Ngada are not irreligious. Indeed, the Ngada are very religious. Certainly pagan-religious, but they sense that human beings are dependent on a supreme power and that they have obligations to her and they try to fulfil these obligations [...] They have the concept of a Supreme Being. There are many *dewa*, but one is superior to all of these. Every Ngadha knows him, but 90% know nothing more about him.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Photograph with text in *De Katholieke Missiën* 1926-7:152.

²⁰¹ Bouma 1928/9:129-33. The shift between her (power) and him (being) is from the original Dutch. It is an odd formulation in that context also. In Flores cultures the Supreme Being is often indicated as male-female, Heaven-Earth. Adolf Burger in *De Katholieke Missiën* 1938/9:49-52 rejects Stapel's assessment (1914:163) that they have 'a very simple religion and are not really active in it [...] in daily life one does not notice anything of their religion'.

The Jesuit priests never demonstrated such reverence and understanding for local Flores religion. When working on Java they showed great interest in and sympathy for Javanese culture, but their curiosity was restricted to refined etiquette, arts, dance, and language. They realized that Java was a region with a high culture, but this respect and even admiration was never extended to Javanese religion, not to mention Islam, which they continued to view as the great opponent and enemy of Christianity. Because of the basically correct belief of Flores, in the eyes of the SVD, missionary work gradually became more a matter of education, purification, and further instruction. The basic similarity between Flores religion and Catholicism was belief in a supreme being. The researcher-missionaries concentrated their work on this theme.

The first full-time scholar-priest was Paul Arndt, born in Switzerland in 1886. After his education as an SVD priest, he worked as a missionary in Togo, from 1913 to 1917. Arndt arrived in Flores in 1922 and developed a fine ability for collecting material about various cultures and their languages. From 1929 on, he published a great variety of articles and books, mostly in German and Dutch. He compiled dictionaries of Sikka, Lio (both published in 1933) and Ngadha (1961). He wrote grammars of Sikka and Solor (1931 and 1937). Most of his works are descriptions of social structure, myths, and religion in the area between Ngadha and Solor. The missionaries were amazed at his knowledge, but complained that he did not communicate his experiences with his colleagues and refrained from drawing practical conclusions based on his findings. With their lack of personnel, they looked enviously at this man who had plenty of time to record his observations and write his articles. Some missionaries like Bouma and Heerkens wrote popular articles based on the more academic articles and books of this learned man. Arndt died in 1962.²⁰²

A second prominent SVD scholar in linguistics and anthropology was Jilis Verheijen, born on 26 March 1908 as the son of a headmaster in a small village, De Liemers, in the easternmost border area of the Netherlands. As someone who grew up in the countryside, he had a great deal of interest in plants and animals and the lives of farmers, and this facilitated his conversation with the common people of Manggarai. As a young boy he had experienced the change from his local dialect to standard Dutch. This awareness of local dialects and differences in culture remained a permanent concern during his later life as a researcher. As a seminarian Jilis Verheijen followed some courses in anthropology with Bernard Vroklage. After his theological studies and ordination to the priesthood in 1934, he arrived as a young missionary in Ende on 1 November 1935. He became the parish priest of Cibal, a district in north-cen-

²⁰² Bader 1964:639-42. Rahmann (1956:417; 1957:263-76) has written short notes on 'Vier Pioniere der Völkerkunde' (four pioneers of anthropology), with Father Arndt counted among the four most outstanding students of Father Wilhelm Schmidt. The Candraditya Research Centre in Maumere has started the Indonesian translation of Paul Arndt's major works.

tral Manggarai. He travelled often to the many small villages in this region, and wrote down as much as he could. He did his research together with Adolf Burger, who composed a grammar of Manggarai (Burger 1946:15-266, published posthumously). As a complementary study, Verheijen prepared a dictionary of Manggarai for which he did not start systematic work until his time in a Japanese detention camp from 1942-1945. Verheijen also collected mythological and ritual texts, which provided material for his dictionary. These texts were the first to be treated in a typical SVD study on 'the concept of the Supreme Being' among the Manggarai (Verheijen 1951). During his detention camp years, Verheijen not only met Louis Onvlee, linguistic scholar for the Protestant mission in Sumba, but also government official and anthropologist Jan van Baal. Van Baal kept him from making too bold theoretical statements about the origin of the idea of the supreme being along the lines of the anti-evolutionist theories of Father Wilhelm Schmidt. Instead, Jilis Verheijen emphasized that he only wanted to present facts, without theories or prejudices. One purpose of this book was to sharpen missionaries' attention to existing local religious consciousness and practice. The results of his research were referred to as early as 1937 at monthly meetings of Manggarai missionaries, and at meetings of missionaries in all of Flores every three months in Ende. Verheijen not only collected material from oral interviews, but also asked people to write down texts. These people were of course ones educated at mission schools and recent converts to Christianity, who did not feel restricted in writing about their former religion. Verheijen did not feel that their conversion to Christianity had made them unacceptable or unreliable sources.

The older people have been educated in pure paganism, and the adult generation, even after conversion to Christianity, have experienced paganism from their own observation and they still live amidst its culture. All those who wrote notes for me were born of pagan parents and educated in this circle. They remained in full and friendly contact with their families, and even if they perhaps (!) assimilated Western and Christian concepts, they can still understand their pagan companions. My most important writers, M. Danhku and J. Ngantas, spent six and nine years in school, but after that stayed in their village many years before writing their stories for me. (Verheijen 1951:3.)

Verheijen also used a number of texts written by schoolboys aged 13 to 18 and collected by Father Adolf Burger in the 1930s. Verheijen realized that he was among the last generation to be able to make an inventory of traditional Manggarai beliefs. Notwithstanding his belonging to a Catholic missionary order, he zealously performed this work. According to his biographer Verheijen was a true collector.²⁰³

²⁰³ There is a biographical sketch in Willemsen 1998:1-19.

A third important SVD scholar was Bernard Vroklage, who had no career as a missionary, but was a seminary and university professor in the Netherlands. He wrote widely on theoretical anthropology, but also carried out fieldwork in Flores and Timor between 1936 and 1938. Most of his publications, however concern Timorese society.

There were two factors that fanned the eagerness to make quick conversions. First was the threat of Islam and the assumption that once people had expressed a sympathy for Catholicism, this would constitute a firm and permanent antidote against Islam. A second factor was that the new generation of SVD priests embraced the conviction that 'the Flores people basically had a Christian soul and a moral consciousness according to the divine law'.²⁰⁴ They no longer felt the need of earlier generations to save souls that would otherwise be eternally damned. This new generation of priests did not see themselves as having been sent to save individual souls still captivated by the plotting of the devil. The new generation of SVD priests came to establish a new branch of the Catholic Church. They were convinced that somehow individual souls were not guilty of personal sins, or at least were already close to the Catholic truth, and should be brought into this all-encompassing universal system of truth and grace. In this sense the new western districts of the Catholic community in Flores were educated in a tradition quite different from the eastern districts of Sikka and Larantuka. The old traditions and beliefs were not demonized. There were no high ideals to be accepted immediately. The planting of God's church could be a process of generations, and the current age group would not be considered a lost generation if they failed to respond immediately to the high ideals of pure Catholicism. From the raja down to the common members, all needed to be educated, but one could take all the time necessary for the whole process. According to the conviction of this new generation of priests, heathen traditions would disappear automatically as soon as Catholics became the dominant majority and after the old traditional leaders, who had not been educated in the modern way, had died. These traditional pagan leaders were not fought or condemned directly; instead, the younger generation were merely instructed that it was old-fashioned and irrational to adhere to pagan practices.²⁰⁵

Pastoral strategies 3: Between ecclesiastical law and local customs: Marriage problems

The large gap between the formal rules of Catholic life (as often strictly observed in villages of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, where most of the missionaries originated) and the rather lax ways of first-generation converts

²⁰⁴ Quoted without further reference in Uran n.d.:171 as having been said by Bishop Verstraelen.

²⁰⁵ For this lenient and modernist interpretation see also Uran n.d.:203.

in Flores sometimes brought missionaries into personal problems. Controleur Coolhaas relates a striking event from the mid-1920s. In Rekas, Manggarai, one of the two priests had a very confidential talk with the *controleur* about the missionary practice of hasty conversions. It went against his conscience to see people receive baptism who were not yet properly instructed in their new religion. Although Coolhaas does not elaborate on the details of this personal problem, we may assume that this priest was very well aware of the fact that a baptized Catholic who did not live according to the Catholic doctrine of marriage would be committing a grave sin every time he had sexual intercourse with his partner. This would not have been the case if this man or woman had not yet been baptized. The *controleur* relates having brought this case to Bishop Verstraelen, who transferred the priest to the more solid and traditional Catholic region of East Flores. The government official remarks: 'In this way I, an unbeliever, became a mediator between two priests.'²⁰⁶

This anecdote may be a good introduction to the most pressing and even now still unresolved problem related to conversion: the practice of marriage. Not the belief in the One and Almighty God, understood as the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, not the new rituals of rosary, processions and mass, with many hymns, or religious instruction using a Malay catechism or one translated in a local language, but marriage customs proved to be the most serious stumbling block in the transition to the new religion.

Polygamy was never widespread in Flores, but it was a sign of prosperity among the rich and influential and therefore difficult to put an end to. In 1904 Father Korndörffer of Maumere complained that all the rich men of his parish, including the *commandanti*, had a second wife. A few months later, he reported that 'all illegal liaisons have stopped now', thanks to an order by the raja of Sikka.²⁰⁷ We may question whether the matter was really solved so easily! In practice, however, the new generation of twentieth-century SVD missionaries put more emphasis on the spread of the Catholic faith as an organization than on the salvation of individual souls. They first concentrated on small children and youth. The older generation was not their first goal, as long as they did not embrace Islam or obstruct missionary work. Many individual cases illustrate this pattern.

In 1911 Kapitan Nurak of Nele, south of Maumere, was the main stimulus for the school and later also for conversions. After a trip to Java with some

²⁰⁶ Coolhaas 1985:134. The confession took place in Rekas; the unidentified scrupulous priest must have been L. van Well, while his colleague was the German Father F. Eikmann. See also the yearly report, dated 15-8-1926, by Arnold Verstraelen, *De Katholieke Missiën* 1926-7:41. Here the bishop remarked about Manggarai, where Coolhaas was the only Dutch government official, 'Even government officials are surprised at the great progress and prosperity of Christianity in this region which only so recently has become an object of mission.'

²⁰⁷ Laan 'Sikka':220.

other chiefs from the Sikka area, he came back with a Javanese wife, and lived with her in Maumere, leaving his first wife in Nele. The clergy was embarrassed, not wanting to oppose the *kapitan* openly, and Nurak remained loyal in his support of the mission enterprise in Nele.²⁰⁸ A similar picture is painted by G. Schoorlemmer, a missionary in Bajawa since 1920. He mentions that the raja of Peo, an 'established pagan' (*een doorgroeide heiden*), was very sympathetic to the new religion. His children went to school and were baptized, and in mid-1923 he even invited the priest to come to his village and baptize all the young children. Schoorlemmer baptized 96 children and 40 adults who had followed catechism classes with the *guru agama*. 'But he will not yet take the great step of embracing Catholicism himself. He is too much attached to his five darlings.' (This is the euphemistic language used by mission magazines to refer to polygamy [Schoorlemmer 1927:24].)

In the race between Christianity and Islam, the issue of polygamy was not only important because of Muslim permissiveness. In mixed areas many rulers, for strategic and political reasons, married both Christian and Muslim wives. In this way the rivalry (but also the tolerance and even indifference shown by many persons) between the two religions entered the households of the elite. My impression is that the phenomenon of a man marrying wives of both religions was a symptom of a period of transition, but because we lack statistical data I can only speculate. An interesting story about the island of Adonara is told by the sisters of Larantuka in their chronicle. This whole story is given here in translation, because it is one of the few recorded examples of a story of polygamy told by a woman:

Liboe is the ruler of an entirely pagan state in Adonara. He was educated at the mission school and baptized, and he married a girl from our school. It was not a happy marriage. He had a lot of trouble with his wife, Maria Prada, because she did not give him a son as successor to his father's rights. It went so far that he took a second wife, a Muslim. For nine years he could not perform his religious duties.²⁰⁹ It was a sad situation in that new mission. Four years ago his legal wife died from influenza, together with a daughter. We then hoped that things would be brought in order quickly, but alas, so much work had to be left undone for a lack of missionaries meant that this case was also delayed. Apparently, his conscience finally started to awaken. He sent his wife to Larantuka and put her in the house of the raja. From there she came to the sisters daily to attend catechism classes. This she did with commendable zeal for several months. She is a good woman, who, now being a Christian, will certainly perform her religious duties. Today Liboe was one of the repentant sinners about whom there is more rejoicing in heaven

²⁰⁸ Laan 'Sikka':363.

²⁰⁹ This does not mean that Liboe had renounced Catholicism, but only that he could not receive communion at Easter; because of his marriage with a Muslim and living with a second wife, he could not marry according to Catholic rule.

than about ninety-nine righteous persons who do not need to repent. We hope that he will persevere. That such a man has much influence was again shown today, when he presented himself with a following of more than hundred men.²¹⁰

Besides polygamy, the claim of the clergy that they were the only ones who could conduct valid marriage rituals remained a difficult issue. In Volume I we saw that Jesuit clergy tried to evade the involvement of church officials in marriage by two methods. First, they said that at the time of the promulgation of the new marriage rules of the council of Trent (1545-1563) the island of Flores and surrounding areas were not under control of a Catholic nation and therefore the new rules (with the requirement that a priest be present as witness for the marriage to be valid) did not apply to this region. The Portuguese priests of Dili criticized this argument, and after the new Code of Canon Law of 1918, it was nullified. A second argument used in favour of the so-called *kawin kampung*, or 'marriage in the village' without assistance of a priest, was that there were not enough priests available to perform the marriages. Many priests thus supported the view that marriage according to local customs should be recognized without further clergy involvement.

In the twentieth century the discussion about Catholic requirements for marriage on Flores continued. There were four main obstacles to an unproblematical adherence to Catholic rules. First there was the preference of many communities in Flores for marriages between cousins, and under Catholicism this is only allowed after special permission or exemption by the local bishop. Second was the practice of bridewealth, often given in several stages, entailing permission for the young couple to live together after part of the obligation was fulfilled. Third was the involvement of parents in the choice of a marriage partner for their child. Finally there were traditional rituals, some having a pagan religious character, to be performed at various stages in the marriage negotiations, preparations, and celebrations. There was a continuing debate among the clergy about the position they should take in these four questions. Some advocated the strict application of Catholic rulings, while others argued for a more open practice, acknowledging the value of traditional custom. The issue was a main point of debate during the Ndona Synod (16-22 August 1935). In the official report of the synod, the *Manuale pastorale* of 1939, the main conclusions were: (1) Purely pagan marriages must be recognized as valid matrimonial relationships. In principle there should be no new marriage ceremony after the baptism of one or both partners; (2) Customary marriage rites and customs (including bridewealth and obligations of parents) are considered as positive for the stability of the marriage of Christians and should therefore be tolerated. The debate about marriage customs continues up to the present

²¹⁰ Kroniek Heythuizen, August 1922, with a reference to Luke 15:7.

day. SVD priest and anthropologist John Mansford Prior concluded that there is still a difference in perception between the clergy (who consider the ecclesiastical marriage as the central ritual, the local customs as adornment only) and the common people of Flores, who take the customary preparations and celebrations of marriage as the essential process of marriage as a bond not only between two private persons, but also between two families. The church blessing for most Flores Catholics is a blessing after marriage, as the reinforcement of a marriage already concluded. This order of importance shows that the church was never able to fully impose the Catholic conception and rules of marriage on the new Catholics of Flores, although the number of blessings increased towards the end of the 1930s, reaching nearly 100 per cent of baptized Catholics. This church blessing, however, often took place long after the couple started living together. Most Flores people considered living together permitted as soon as the customary process was far enough underway. This point rarely coincided with the church blessing.²¹¹

Pastoral strategies 4: Special pastoral communities, the pearl fishers and the army

The Lesser Sunda Islands were a poor area. Neither in agriculture nor in mining could great fortunes be made, although from time to time there were high expectations. The few plantations never made much profit, and besides the export of horses and sandalwood, the soil could not provide the inhabitants with much more than food. The quest for minerals and metals did not result in profitable enterprises. One notable exception in the management of nature was the moderate profit derived from pearl fishing, in various fishing grounds around the island of Lomblem and off the coast of Labuan Bajo, with the small island of Tabita as the main harbour. In the early 1910s there were some 20 schooners, owned by the Moreaux Company of Makassar, involved in the search for pearls. A very international crew, assisted by hundreds of Florenese, earned a good living from this business. As early as 1902 the priests of Sikka complained that scores of their youngsters went to Labuan Bajo for this business.²¹² Traditionally the sultanate of Bima had the rights to the profits from pearl fishing, but the cashier of the residency also received a considerable amount of money from this enterprise.²¹³

²¹¹ For a discussion of the Ende Synod and its results, published in 1939, see Prior 1988:26-37. For the growing popularity of church blessing and its decline after 1950, Prior 1988:50-1.

²¹² Laan 'Sikka':192 reports a complaint by Raja Moang Bakko of Sikka that so many left without notice or permission. The *posthouder* answered that there was not much he could do because of the absence of colonial representation in Labuan Bajo at that time. Father Korndörffer, however, blamed hard repression by the raja and his family for the departure of 14 in early 1902 'and at Easter some 30 more will depart'.

²¹³ Van Rietschoten, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1913, NA 2.10.39 MMK 340, pp. 98-100.

Many of the Flores divers were boys trained at the school at Larantuka. In Labuan Bajo there were 99 Catholics in 1904, 70 of them former pupils from Larantuka, who earned a living in pearl fishing.²¹⁴ In 1910 this number reached 150. Quite a few of the Catholics in pearl fishing were from the Philippines. Reports about the religious situation varied widely. In 1902 Father Looijmans reported about Labuan Bajo to his bishop in Batavia that there was probably not one house in the 100 per cent Muslim village where the priest could meet privately with his Catholic flock.²¹⁵ Somewhat later, reports by visiting missionaries Looijmans and Engbers (in 1910 and 1911) praise the Danish captain Kock, a Lutheran, who gave permission to build an altar on company premises and to hold a service, during which former pupils showed that they had not forgotten how they enjoyed singing church hymns.²¹⁶ In 1914 Catholics were more active in the Lomblem region, from the village of Lewoleba, where pearl fishers were at the heart of a vibrant, singing Catholic community. The first motorboat for the mission, bought by Noyen, was purchased from one of the captains involved in pearl fishing.²¹⁷ The pearl fishers moved around continuously and therefore it is difficult to ascertain the character and importance of their contribution to Catholicism. It is clear that this mobile community was more differentiated than Catholics in the villages of the interior. To give just one example: during a pastoral visit to Labuan Bajo in 1916, Father Baack blessed three marriages. One was a Japanese man (a former 'Buddhist' now baptized a Catholic) who married a woman from Menado, Agnes Kapela. The second was a man from the Philippines who married a woman from Larantuka, and the third was another Filipino who married Magdalena Madania, born in Manggarai and apparently a Catholic convert because of this marriage.²¹⁸

Members of the army formed another highly mobile pastoral community. Soon after the military campaigns of 1907-1908 there was active recruitment for the colonial army and police among the native population of Flores. Those with some ability to read and write were mostly Catholics, and several of them welcomed this job opportunity. The two Filipinos of Labuan Bajo mentioned above were both police officers, probably after a period of working in pearl fishing. The military had a bad reputation among the clergy, because of the ban on marriage for lower-ranking soldiers. This ban was not so strictly applied in the early twentieth century, and was formally abolished in 1928. The pious Catholic *controleur*, later *assistent-resident* of Flores, A. Hens, even

²¹⁴ Laan 'Sikka':236 in a report of a pastoral visit in 1904. Laan 'Sikka':320 on the visit of June 1909.

²¹⁵ Laan 'Sikka':193.

²¹⁶ Laan 'Sikka':330.

²¹⁷ Laan 'Larantuka':1527-8, 1625-8.

²¹⁸ Laan 'Ende':192.

declared the ban invalid for Flores in the 1910s. Notwithstanding this positive change in the official ruling, there remained much opposition against military recruitment. The strongest objection came from Father IJsseldijk of Koting. In 1914 he wrote a letter in Sikkanese, which was also read during Sunday service, containing the following passage:

Perhaps they will never return, because several will die in that foreign country. Others will sign on again, until they may enjoy their pension after 20 years of service. And those who endured for 20 years, will they return home? I am afraid that very few will come back. They will forget their village, and more than that, their parents may have died already. Further, Christians should not forget that in many countries there are no priests available. Who will care for their spiritual welfare? Who will administer their marriage? And whom will they marry? Attending Holy Mass – impossible! The prayers have been forgotten. Therefore, you Christians, and especially former pupils of the school, when you are asked to sign to become a soldier, even if your father and mother consent, first pay a visit to the priest and ask whether it is right to sign up, so that you may not get in trouble later because of one single signature.²¹⁹

The recruitment officer was not pleased with this letter, and he wrote a report about the priests' interference. The military commander of Ende complained to the mission, whereupon Father Muller answered that it had all been taken 'out of context and wrongly represented'. As far as we know, the whole affair was covered up very quickly.²²⁰ During a later recruitment campaign for the army, the clergy of Sikka expressed much less opposition, although they kept their opinions to themselves.²²¹

²¹⁹ Letter from Father IJsseldijk in Sikkanese, with Dutch translation by Father N. Beijer in Laan 'Sikka':370-2. See also Document 14.

²²⁰ Laan 'Sikka':372 mentions that 'there was a nasty comment in the press by the Minister of Colonial Affairs, Th.B. Pleijte', but I could not find anything about a public debate on this affair.

²²¹ In 1916 Father P. Muller of Lela wrote that 21 candidates for the army applied for a letter of baptism. 'Because people here consider this letter of baptism as an approval, I decided only to provide them with that document after they had signed the contract for the army' (Laan 'Sikka':390).

CHAPTER IV

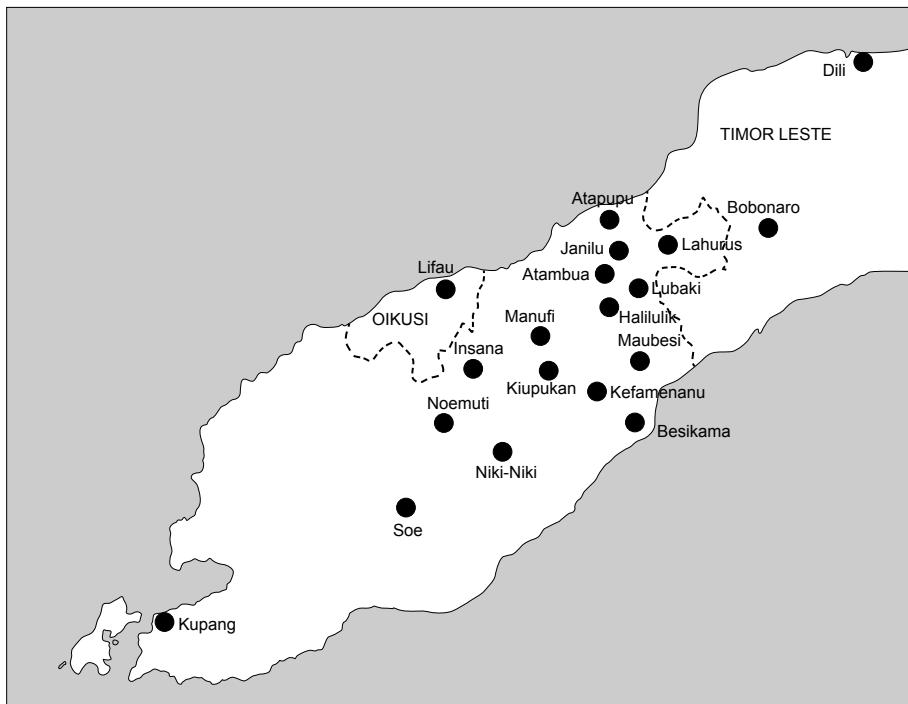
Catholic communities living next to Protestants in Timor and Sumba

On the islands of Timor and Sumba, the Catholic mission was not the sole player in the propagation of a new world religion. The rivalry of Islam, so decisive for the Catholic strategy on Flores in the early twentieth century, was not present here, but in some places the Protestant 'threat' led to similar decisions, such as quick baptisms, and rapid construction of churches and schools. The Catholic mission in the eastern districts of the Dutch part of Timor had an old but not really solid basis. It built on the small remnants of the spread of Christianity under Portuguese influence that began in the mid-sixteenth century. These remnants had been the starting point for a new missionary initiative that began in the 1870s from the central mission station at Larantuka. During the late nineteenth century the Catholic mission could consolidate its presence in the small coastal settlement of Atapupu and even start a mission (church, school, modest lodging for schoolboys) in Lahurus in the remote inland region of Fialaran, close to the Portuguese border. The area of Kupang, however, and most of the western part of the Dutch possessions, remained under the patronage of the Protestant church, closely connected with the colonial government.

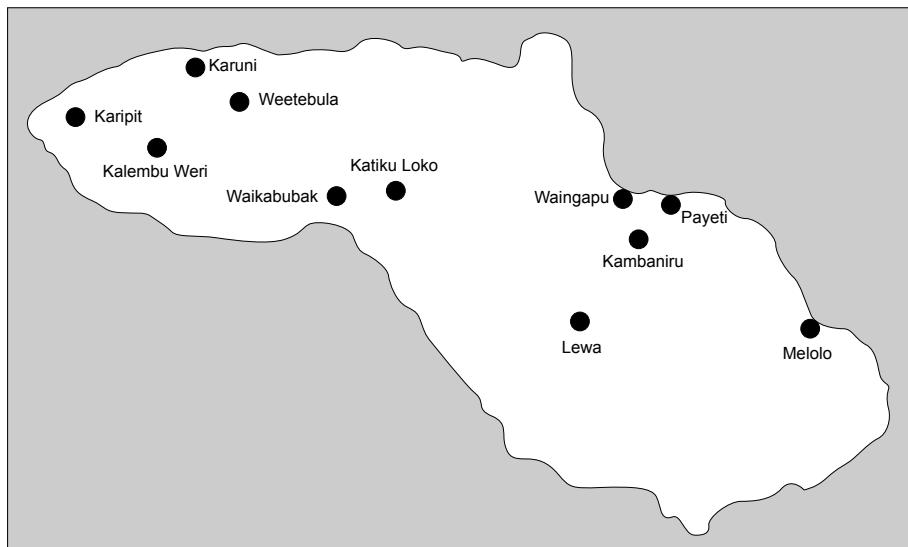
In Sumba the Catholic position was even weaker. The mission had opened in Laura in 1889, on the northwestern coast, but the endeavour had to stop in 1898 (Steenbrink 2003:151-62). After that time the island was regarded as the territory of the mission of the Reformed churches of the Netherlands. This chapter tells the two stories of Catholic missions in competition with nearby Protestant missions.

The colonial state and the Protestant church in Timor and adjacent islands

In 1800 the colonial state had taken over the responsibilities of the VOC, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or United East Indies Company, including the supervision of the Protestant church in Indonesia. This was not a productive arrangement for Protestant Christianity in West Timor. During the nineteenth century the activities of the Protestant church remained confined to



Timor



Sumba

the capital Kupang and some small villages on the west coast of Timor. Because of a lack of government-appointed ministers, there was no resident clergyman in Kupang until 1820. In 1820 missionary R. Le Bruyn was sent by the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG, Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap) to serve the regular congregation of Kupang. After Le Bruyn died in 1829, none of the missionaries sent by the NZG could lead the Kupang Protestants for any lengthy period. Only in 1874 was a native *hulprediker* or assistant minister appointed in Kupang as a successor to Le Bruyn (Van den End 1980:183-7, 1989:96-110).

As in the Catholic church, there was no formal separation in the Protestant church of the Dutch East Indies between European and Indonesian Christians. But during the nineteenth century there was a growing tendency in many regions to differentiate between the established Protestant church of Europeans and the native congregations. Timor and surrounding islands are a good example of the slow process by which the region remained under the formal authority of the Indische Kerk (the Protestant church of the East Indies) while in several respects it was partially, and for a time totally, entrusted to independent missionary agencies. On the island of Rote, Protestantism had been established more successfully than on 'mainland' Timor. In 1858, 2,000 people had been baptized in Timor-Kupang, while Protestants on Rote already counted some 8,000 native adherents. In the early 1860s Isaac Esser, resident of Kupang, sent some Ambonese teachers to the island of Sawu. They were followed by an NZG missionary in 1873, but in 1901 the island was returned to the responsibility of the Indische Kerk, the state church of the East Indies. The small islands of Rote and Sawu were the main centres of native Protestants in the region. Migrants from these islands were also the first Christians in Sumba, while several teachers working in Sumba and Timor were Rotenese or Savunese.

After the 'pacification' of 1905-1910, the Protestant church of Kupang was newly revitalized. In 1910 the first ordained minister since Le Bruyn was appointed in Kupang. In 1913 an agreement assigning church authority and responsibility in educational matters was signed by the government, covering the region of West Timor with the exception of the 'Catholic territory' of Belu and the still undecided region of central Timor. This was an even closer relationship with the government than the earlier one that regulated government appointments of ministers and of teachers of religion (such as the *hulprediker*, who was sent by the Protestant church council of Kupang to serve the Protestants of Ende on Flores). Under that agreement, inland towns like SoE developed into Protestant centres. From the mid-1910s on, the rapid increase in schools was followed by more baptisms and further ecclesiastical development, leading to social welfare work like setting up clinics. Between 1923 and 1926, 10,000 were baptized, in another race between Islam and Christianity (Müller-Krüger 1968:117). Thereafter the number continued to rise. Dutch and Malay were the usual languages for Protestant work in this region. In 1922, as-

sistant minister Piet Middelkoop was the only one to start work in a Timorese language, Atoni (Swellengrebel 1978:215-28).

The last decade of the Jesuit mission in Timor

Between 1860 and 1900 the Jesuits had started a mission on the north coast of central Timor, the region between the Portuguese colony of East Timor and the small Portuguese enclave of Oikusi. The mission began with a post in the coastal residence of the Christian raja of Janilu, close to the harbour and government town of Atapupu. Soon they started exploration and work among inland Timorese, resulting in some contacts and the start of a mission post in inland Lahurus, with a modest school. A large church building, 30 metres long and 10 metres wide, was finished in 1902.¹ The church was designed by Jesuit brother Cees Groot. Brother J.B. Wassmer, the second Jesuit brother, led the school, although he was not a trained teacher. In 1900 a new dormitory received 30 new pupils, whom the *fetor*, the ruler of Fialaran, had ordered to go to school.² In 1904 there were some 65 boys in the school. At the same time, however, a rather disillusioned Mathijsen complained that the school had given courses of three years or longer to more than 150 boys since 1890, yet all these boys had returned to their villages. At least one third lived close enough to come to church 'but, alas, there are fewer than twenty who come from time to time'.³

Father Alfons Mathijsen initiated and headed the mission of inland Timor from 1890 to 1913. He did pioneering work in the study of Tetun, the language of central and eastern Timor.⁴ In 1906 the Batavia Society for Arts and Science published his Tetun-Dutch dictionary, to which a concise grammar was added. In compiling this work Mathijsen corresponded with government linguist J.C.G. Jonker in Kupang.⁵ In 1915 the same institute published a selection of folk stories in Tetun, with Dutch translation. A selection of Old Testament stories was published in Bandung by A.C. Nix in 1910. His translation of the New Testament was reprinted until the 1960s.⁶

¹ Photographs of the church in Hellings 1905:33, taken by the visiting Jesuit priest from Portuguese Timor, Father Sebastiao da Silva from Soibaba. A report on a visit by mission superior Hellings to Dili in 1905 is in Laan 'Timor':571. Another report on a visit to Dili in 1910 is in Laan 'Timor':608-14.

² The title *fetor* (also written *fettor*) originates from the Portuguese word for factory, *fattoria*, and the title was used for a more or less supra-local authority in central Timor. Laan 'Timor':523. and Mathijsen 1911:35-56.

³ Laan 'Timor':520, from a letter by A. Mathijsen to Bishop Luypen, 15-4-1904.

⁴ In 1898 his book of prayers and a catechism was printed in Semarang; Laan 'Timor':528; Mathijsen 1898.

⁵ Laan 'Timor':488; Mathijsen 1906.

⁶ Mathijsen 1915; see also Laan 'Timor':528-9.

Until 1913 Mathijsen was the only priest to stay in Timor for a longer period, thanks to the somewhat cooler climate of Lahurus. In the coastal places of Atapupu and Janilu the clergy had many problems caused by the ruling family of Janilu, while among the people not much religious zeal was apparent. These places were infested with malaria and turned out to be real killers for young missionaries. In 1903 J. Kremer had to leave, three years after his arrival. His successor, the young Henri van Thiel, had to leave after less than one year in Atapupu. Father Jan F. Erftemeijer arrived on 4 January 1905 in Atapupu, but had to leave Timor again at the end of 1907 after long periods of sickness, mostly malaria. All three had to leave before they had acquired proper knowledge of Tetun. In 1907 the coastal parish was even given up as a permanent post, because memory of the Catholic past proved to be too weak and the religious situation did not improve. There was the privilege of the monthly stop in Atapupu of the steamer between Kupang and Dili, but the inland mission was much more promising at the time. The young V. van der Putten therefore did not stay in Atapupu, but only worked in Lahurus, from 1908 to 1911, returning to Java several times during this period because of health problems.

Mathijsen was a realistic pioneer who did not have too high expectations for his flock. In accordance with the common Jesuit strategy, he paid a great deal of attention to the local elite. Unfortunately, one of the main differences between Catholic and traditional Timorese rules concerned marriage. The rather strict rules for Catholic marriage, advocated by the Jesuits, did not make Catholicism easy for the ruling elite to adopt, as they followed customary rules for marriage. While monogamy was common, the only class to practise a polygamous lifestyle was that of the nobility. The young raja of East Fialaran or Lasiolat, Don Cajetanus, was estranged from the church in 1904-1905 while still a schoolboy in Lahurus, because he did not want to wait for the baptism of his pagan fiancée after *adat* already permitted him to live with her. Therefore he did not visit the church of Lahurus at Christmas in 1904 or Easter 1905. This development destroyed the great hope of the Jesuits for a well-educated and religiously instructed raja.⁷ Only six months later Mathijsen saw the formal marriage of this Raja Cajetanus together with the church-sanctioned marriage of the new *fetor* Bernardus Sirih, whose wife was baptized after some instruction and given the name Wilhelmina (after the Dutch queen).⁸ This revived the hope in Lahurus for elite influence in the direction of Christianity. These few cases illustrate the high priority given by the Jesuit Mathijsen to the strict observance of the universal ecclesiastical rules for marriage. Mathijsen was not alone, and not even the strictest one in this matter. His colleague Erftemeijer wrote a long letter to Bishop Luypen on 12 June 1906 about couples who lived together in the villages without the ecclesiastical celebration of the marriage.

⁷ Laan 'Timor':519, 567.

⁸ Laan 'Timor':531

In this letter he mentioned that Mathijsen considered marriages in a remote village legal according to canon law even without the blessing of a priest. Erftemeijer had a different opinion: such instances would undermine church rules and be scandalous for other Christians. Bishop Luypen wrote a note in the margin of this letter: *strengh zijn* (be strict).⁹

Besides marriage, the observance of Sunday as a day of rest was a difficult problem in a society where even the rhythm of seven-day week was unknown. Mathijsen was unwilling to compromise in this. In Lahurus he once complained that people had started to become careless about attending church service on Sundays. The raja thereupon ordered two buffaloes of Christian owners to be slaughtered as a compensation. All Christians had to give some money to the two owners as their part in restoring attendance at Sunday services. After this ceremony, church attendance in Lahurus rose spectacularly (Mathijsen 1909:97). In Janilu, Father Erftemeijer made a tour of the surrounding area on Sunday, 25 August 1907, reproaching people who were doing their daily work, like women working in salt production, men harvesting the strong leaves of the lontar palm suitable for building fences around farm land and for selling to Chinese traders. He reported to the raja that working on Sunday could no longer be tolerated.¹⁰ But the results were not really long-lasting. There were also several conflicts with the *controleur* of Atapupu on the matter of Sunday as a day of rest. C.A. van Affelen van Saemsfoort, who arrived in Atapupu on 7 January 1906, ordered forced labour on roads on Sundays several times, and one of his colleagues even ordered the start of an inland expedition on 25 December, Christmas Day. In the first decade of the twentieth century, many colonial officials were not really cooperating to establish a true Catholic society.¹¹

With the predecessor of Van Affelen, the Controleur R. Bouman, the mission had had even greater troubles. In 1905 there was a young raja in Janilu who was attending the village school in Atapupu. In March 1905 this young raja was taken to Larantuka for further education by visiting mission superior Eduard Engbers. This was certainly not a kidnapping, but it happened without consultation with the local colonial official. The priest did not even write a note to the *controleur*, who at that time was not in Atapupu. This caused a long conflict between mission and colonial officials and ended in a written disapproval by Governor-General Van Heutsz, on 1 December 1905.¹² There is no information about the outcome of this incident in Larantuka. The

⁹ Erftemeijer to Bishop Luypen, Lahurus, 12-6-1906, copy in Laan 'Timor':585.

¹⁰ Laan 'Timor':593.

¹¹ Laan 'Timor':573-9.

¹² Copy in Laan 'Timor':530. 'Tot mijn leedwezen heb ik thans wederom moeten vernemen, dat de Pastoor Engbers op weinig tactvolle wijze te werk is gegaan door, in Maart j.l. te Atapoepoe zijnde, vandaar op zijne terugreis naar Larantuka den jeugdigen Vorst van het landschap Djenoeloe met zich meede te nemen, zonder den Controleur ter plaatse daarvan te verwittigen.'

sources are even uncertain about the name of the young raja: Louis perhaps, or was he the Don Joseph who caused some rumours related to his marriage in 1913? The happening certainly did not improve the mission's relations with the colonial authority or native rulers.

In 1903 Mathijsen joined a military expedition with some 30 soldiers to obtain more information about south-central Timor, the Alas region. The trip was a show of power and even sometimes a punitive expedition.¹³ In October 1905 Erftemeijer went to the same region, but was accompanied only by schoolboys and the second teacher of the school, 16-year-old Johannes Likki, commonly called Master Saan.¹⁴ The reason for this visit was the good relations between the boarding school of Lahurus and the ruler of Alas, Mank Benani, who sold much grain to the mission and visited the place several times, lastly in April 1905. Mank Benani even took some steps towards learning the Catholic catechism. In October 1906, there was a message that the ruler of Alas was very sick. Erftemeijer paid a visit to his village Weanlain and baptized the ruler, after many problems and hesitations from his side.¹⁵ However, for most of the period until 1913, inland missionary work was restricted to the immediate environment of Lahurus, with many visits to the coastal settlement of Atapupu. The boarding school remained stable at a level of 65 boys.

After three years (and later after five or six years), boys were considered well educated, but they had to bring replacements from their villages before they were allowed to leave the school. In 1910, with a Catholic *controleur* in Atapupu, P.E.E.J. Le Cocq d'Armandville, a nephew of the former missionary of Flores, Seram and Papua, boys who left school without permission could be brought back by the police. In previous years, a priest or Jesuit brother had to go to the villages to urge the family or the village chief to send the boy back to school again. In the last years of the work of Mathijsen in Lahurus, there were rumours (originating from one of the former schoolboys) that pagan men who had married Christian women had to come to catechism lessons, prepare for baptism, and marry according to Catholic rules, otherwise 'the priest would inform the police officers'. This was not true, but the priest wrote it down, clearly satisfied.¹⁶

Notwithstanding his long and systematic work in central Timor, Mathijsen had no illusions about the results. He realized that the sparsely populated region, without populous villages or even proper villages at all, with poor and poorly educated people, could not produce a spectacular Catholic community. Right up to his last letters, he included down-to-earth stories, showing that he

¹³ Report in Mathijsen 1904 29-41; also Laan 'Timor':504-13.

¹⁴ Later to become father to Gabriel Manek, one of the first priests to be ordained in Flores in 1941. In 1951 Manek became vicar apostolic of Larantuka and in 1960 archbishop of Ende.

¹⁵ Report in Erftemeijer 1907:59-71 and 91-112.

¹⁶ Letter from A. Mathijsen, Lahurus, 14-7-1910; see Mathijsen 1910:269-75.

realized that conversion to Catholicism was not always a quick and smooth process. He openly admitted that many people came to confession and communion for the tobacco they would receive. In a letter published in the Jesuit mission magazine he even included the story of a man who came to confession and was not patient enough to wait for the tobacco passed out after confession and prayers, 'but this man already asked for tobacco while still kneeling in the confessional stall. But this was a special case. Later he was arrested for stealing and died in the prison at Kupang.'¹⁷ Much of the content of the catechism, like the doctrine of the Trinity, was too complicated for many of the ordinary people who came to catechism lessons. After teaching about the Trinity and the equality of the three divine persons, Mathijsen (1910:269-75) told the story of the life of Jesus and 'when I asked who of the three was the greatest – Jesus, Mary or Joseph – I often received the answer: all three are equal!'

The statistics for central Timor showed slow progress at first: in 1901 there were 1,936 Catholics and in 1912 there were 2,554. Of these, 1,628 Catholics were in Lahurus. In the next 25 years this modest number would multiply to some 40,000 in 1940.

The arrival of the first SVD priests and brothers in 1913 and their initiatives

As a result of limiting the Jesuit mission to the island of Java, the transfer of the work in southeastern Indonesia started around 1900. The Kai Islands were handed over in 1903 to the MSC order. The Lesser Sunda Islands region was entrusted to the SVD priests. After lengthy debate, the future prefect apostolic, Piet Noyen, arrived in Batavia on 4 January 1913, and in Kupang on 18 January, where one Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, came forward as a zealous Catholic.¹⁸ A second prominent Catholic of Kupang was the Eurasian Kailola, a former *posthouder* in Maumere and Atapupu, and at that time working in the *resident's* office in Kupang. These two loyal Catholics introduced the new mission leader to the local bureaucracy. On 20 January 1913 Noyen arrived in Atapupu and one week later went to Lahurus, where he started learning Tetun and familiarizing himself with the region under the tuition of Father Mathijsen. After the mission station in Atapupu was closed, Jesuit brother H. Moehle, who had been the head of the school, left the school in charge of the two assistant teachers, Joseph Sirih and Leo Daun, probably originating from Larantuka. Moehle left on 22 February, followed by Mathijsen on 24 May 1913.

In order to guarantee the continuation of mission work (not to mention expansion) Noyen corresponded with the teacher training college of Wololoan,

¹⁷ Laan 'Timor':604.

¹⁸ 'Echt katholieke die overal kleur bekent', from Piet Noyen's diary, quoted in Laan 'Timor':640.

from where a Menadonese teacher was sent, Arnold Wauget, who arrived on 20 June 1913. Noyen had missionary experience in China and had been the director of the very disciplined SVD minor seminary in the Netherlands, from 1909-1912, before entering the mission in Timor. He was disappointed by the quality of education and discipline at the Lahurus school. His first reports suggest a nostalgia for the strong discipline of the Dutch college that trained candidates for the priesthood. The first generation of boys who went to school in central Timor was quite different!¹⁹

During his first months in Timor, Noyen experienced problems related to the marital life of two rajas. The first case was the marriage of Raja Don Joseph of Janilu with Magdalena, daughter of Lorenzo II, who had accompanied her father to Yogyakarta in 1904-1910. Magdalena had learned some Dutch and had received some further schooling in Java. She had not the highly regarded piety of her sister Catharina, but was still considered very close to the nuns who had arranged for her education in Larantuka and Yogyakarta. In the period preceding the marriage, Raja Servus of Larantuka, her brother, had to join the colonial army in an expedition to Adonara and thus the marriage had to be postponed. Thereupon the young couple, Raja Don Joseph with his fiancée Magdalena, went in a very small boat from Larantuka to Adonara. The clergy considered this very indecent behaviour for people not yet married, and the parish priest of Larantuka therefore renounced his willingness to hold a grand ceremony a few weeks later in the church. A minimal marriage ceremony was administered in the church and the young couple were not even welcome for congratulations in the parish house of Larantuka. This event resulted in a tense relationship between Don Joseph of Janilu and the clergy of Timor, represented by Prefect Apostolic Noyen. However, the latter was quite impressed by the pious devotion of Magdalena, who came to mass in Janilu daily and received communion, as long as Noyen was in Janilu to welcome the young couple, during the first week of August 1913.²⁰

Another marital problem occurred in Lahurus, where the wife of the still rather young Raja Cajetanus, baptized Wilhelmina, had died without children. After she died, Cajetanus had started a liaison with a woman of Chinese origin. Cajetanus was prepared to marry her, but Controleur P. Le Cocq d'Armandville warned him that such a marriage would not be valid under Timor customary law, and children from this marriage would not inherit the father's political position. The Jesuit priest Mathijsen shared the concern of the Catholic *controleur* and did not urge marriage, although the raja already had two children with the Chinese woman, who was willing to become a Catholic. SVD priest Noyen, not yet long in the Indies, had less reverence for customary law, and required that church law prevail in this case. After a third

¹⁹ Diary of Piet Noyen, quoted in Laan 'Timor':665-6.

²⁰ Diary of Piet Noyen, quoted in Laan 'Timor':669.

child was born to this couple (on 28 July 1913) they married on 27 December 1913. In his diary Noyen made the following remark about his predecessor and the mixed Timorese-Chinese marriage: 'No native law prohibits the raja to marry a Chinese woman and therefore I should marry them in order to finish this sinful situation. Of course, he has to make a vow that his children will not become rulers. But if the people of the colonial state later want to recognize one of them as a raja, it still might change.'²¹

Another more dramatic event among the family of the ruling elite of the region occurred in early 1914. A brother of Don Joseph of Janilu had been 'sold' as a child to the petty kingdom of Naitimu, in the southern Alas region, because this ruler had no male offspring. This had happened in 1891, when young Don Basinthi was still a school boy in Atapupu. After his education at the mission school of Atapupu, Basinthi went to Naitimu, and this village became one of the few strongholds of Christianity in this region. Naitimu was visited several times by travelling priests, who were glad of Basinthi's loyalty. Noyen, during his first trip in November 1913, baptized Basinthi's children despite his polygamous lifestyle. On 5 February 1914 Don Basinthi visited Noyen in Atapupu. At that time there were rumours that Don Basinthi had killed one of his chiefs. This would have been a reason for the colonial government to depose the ruler. Don Basinthi was frightened, said that he wanted to convert to true Catholicism, that he had already sent away three wives, and that he would enter into a formal marriage with one. The next day he asked for instruction and said his confession. On 7 February he went to Sunday mass and received communion, but then ran away, closed the door of his room in the house of Don Joseph, and was surrounded by the military, who were afraid that he would behave irresponsibly. While trying to escape with a knife in his hands, he was killed. This tragedy of a nearly ritual suicide, with confession and communion as prelude, was a puzzling event for the missionaries, who had not yet spent a full year in the region.²²

Was the difficult relationship with the various rajahs, and the deception about their moral life or at least sexual habits, a reason to break drastically with traditional rulers, or should we suppose that the Jesuits were generally more in favour of close relations with traditional rulers than were the SVD priests? On his first visit to Atambua, 18 August 1913, Noyen dreamt of founding a mission station in that broad valley, with good water and not yet any people. This isolationist strategy, starting from zero, would be a break with the policy of the Jesuits, who always had opened mission stations close to the dwellings of important rulers. At that time Atambua was still empty,

²¹ Diary of Piet Noyen, 28-7-1913, quoted in Laan 'Timor':686-7.

²² For the early history of Don Basintho, Laan 'Timor':264; for his tragic death, Laan 'Timor':771-4 with long quotations from the diary of Prefect Noyen and Father W. Baack, who was then in Lahurus.

but there were plans to build a new centre for government offices and Chinese shops, to which buildings for churches and schools could be added by the mission. Because of the proximity of Portuguese territory, Atambua would certainly also have a military garrison. Government offices finally opened in September 1915 in Atambua, when the *controleur* (J.R. Agerbeek, 1914-1917) moved from the coastal settlement of Atapupu to the cooler upland Atambua.²³ It would take two more decades of debate on the best position for the central mission station, before the real centre of the mission moved to Atambua in the mid-1930s. It marked a turn from local traditional rulers to the new power of modern colonialism.

Besides Prefect Noyen, four more SVD priests arrived in Timor in 1913. The first to arrive after Noyen was Arnold Verstraelen, who had previously worked in Togo. In September three more priests arrived. Frans de Lange, born in the Netherlands in 1871, had been active for a decade at the SVD seminary in Techny in the United States. Willem Baack, born in Germany in 1886, had been working as a teacher for only a few years at the minor seminary in Uden, the Netherlands. Finally, there was the young German priest Johan Kreiten, an idealistic and romantic but impractical man, who remained in Timor for not much longer than one year, wrote a novel about Timor, and wanted to enter a European monastery rather than to continue his life as an active missionary. In 1913 three SVD brothers came to Lahurus. But after this promising start there was a serious setback. Because of World War I, very few personnel arrived until 1919, while the SVD planned to take over some of the work in Flores in 1914. In March 1915 Father Constant van den Hemel, a former missionary to East (Papua) New Guinea, arrived together with two brothers. Van den Hemel left after a short period. Until 1919 the shortage of mission personnel prevented a quick expansion. In 1917 and 1918 Arnold Verstraelen was the only priest on Timor.

Prefect Noyen was not familiar with the official regulations for missionaries, and arrived in the Indies without the so-called *radicaal*, which he was supposed to have obtained in The Hague before leaving for the Indies. Not until his first visit in Batavia did Bishop Luypen tell him about this regulation. In the 1910s, under the devoutly Protestant Governor-General Idenburg, things could be arranged much more easily than in 1845-1847, when this special permit had caused nearly all Catholic clergy to be expelled from the colony. Noyen could start his work, while the special permit was arranged in silence. The two German SVD priests J. Kreiten and W. Baack had applied for the *radicaal* before going to the mission and received it without any problem. They continued to be German citizens. When the German priest Heinrich Leven was to become head of the mission of the Lesser Sunda islands in 1932, he had to apply for

²³ Laan 'Timor':916.

Dutch citizenship. These were the days of close cooperation between mission and colonial government, and administrative problems were easily resolved.

Between 1906 and 1915 Timor experienced a swift change in colonial policy from abstention to direct and firm control of inland territories. For most of the period, the clergy was not directly involved in the many, mostly small, military expeditions to the many petty rulers of inland Timor. The mission concentrated on educational and pastoral work at the station of Lahurus. Several pupils came from the southern Alas region, but there were only incidental trips, mostly in connection with military and official visits. From 10 November until 3 December 1913 Prefect Noyen and Father A. Verstraelen made a trip from Lahurus to Atapupu, Atambua, and then southwest to Maubesi, Kefamenanu, Oilolok, Insana, and back through the south coast (Besikama and Tubaki). They were not accompanied by soldiers. Their principal guide and interpreter for the various indigenous languages was Markus, former pupil of the Lahurus school and a trained carpenter, whom they met in Atapupu. In contrast with the lack of stories in the mission archives about the Dutch colonial army, this particular trip produced many details about harsh Portuguese rule on the other side of the border, which caused many people to flee to the Dutch territory. Several villages in this region consisted of refugees from Portuguese territory. They may have been from earlier migrations, but were probably the result of the bloody developments during and after the Great Rebellion of 1912, when Don Boaventura, according to the missionaries the son of the leader of a 1895 revolt who had the same name, revolted against the Portuguese from his native village of Manufahi on the south coast, close to Dutch territory. In February 1912 these rebels looted the government house in Dili, but they were defeated in August 1912. The result was a severe regime of detention, and those who were free were sentenced to forced labour on roads and plantations. According to mission reports, a way out for many was migration to Dutch territory. Some of the refugees had already received some Catholic education, but Noyen was not absolutely sure that this would be an advantage for further missionary work.²⁴

During this trip the priests also visited the cave of Bitaoni, near Maubesi, with two altars, a crucifix, a statue of Mary, and some candlesticks. People said they celebrated Easter in March or April, after the harvest at the end of the rainy season. Sometimes people had come to Atapupu to ask the precise date of Easter. On Wednesday before Easter the cave was decorated with banana leaves. On White Thursday the raja with his chiefs would come to pray in the cave. On Good Friday and Saturday people were not allowed to wear headscarves, a sign of grief in memory of the 'death of God [...] At Easter,

²⁴ Laan 'Timor':720 on the village of Sadi between Lahurus and Atapupu, entirely inhabited by refugees from Portuguese territory. On the 1912 revolt in Portuguese Timor, see Jolliffe 1978:34-9; Jannisa 1997:137-43; Lennox 2000:9-12.

however, there is a merry celebration with buffaloes and pigs being slaughtered, partially offered to the crucifix, but mostly eaten with dancing and the drinking of gin.' Noyen noted that the raja asked to send a priest to better instruct people about religion.²⁵ The raja of Insana, the district where the cave of Bitaoni was located, said he had been baptized at the age of 12 by an old woman (Vroklage 1938:109-14).

Prefect Apostolic Noyen immediately decided that the next new mission post should be opened near this sacred cave. However, the village of Tubaki, near Besikama on the south coast, would become the first new settlement for a priest, following the 'reoccupation' of Atapupu by a permanent priest, in December 1913. Maubesi and its cave of Bitaoni developed poorly and late until the 1940s.

'Not another Lahurus!' Tubaki as the first new mission station in Timor, 1914-1920

During their expedition of November-December 1913, Noyen and Verstraelen were really impressed by the achievement of *civiel gezaghebber* G.P. Cheriex, who had established colonial authority in Besikama. Well-kept straight roads divided the new settlements into sections for 'Chinese traders, for government offices and houses, a school, a prison, a garrison, and a hostel for European travellers'.²⁶ Cheriex praised the healthy area for being a very populous region. He had already selected a suitable place for the mission station, Tubaki, close to a good spring, with much fertile soil and enough flat land for school and church. Andreas, a former pupil of the Lahurus mission school, was the first teacher at the local school, which would develop into a larger school for the whole region. During a three-hour horseback ride the priests saw ten villages with some 100 houses each, which they termed large villages.²⁷ In February 1914 Frans de Lange was sent to Tubaki. Noyen joined him during the first three weeks. Together with De Lange, two catechists and several young men came to Tubaki from Lahurus. Because of the shortage of priests until 1920, the teachers had to continue the work in the school and the religious classes.²⁸ Noyen's idea was to build some kind of Christian village, centred around the school and the church of Tubaki, financed by a plantation where people would work under supervision of SVD brothers. A request for an initial 500 acres had already been

²⁵ Laan 'Timor':740. More on Bitaoni in Schulte Nordholt 2006.

²⁶ From Noyen's diary, in Laan 'Timor':743.

²⁷ Noyen in a letter to the Ursuline Sisters of Surabaya, 29-12-1913, in Laan 'Timor':779.

²⁸ The standard biography of Piet Noyen by Vroklage 1946 relates that the trip southward from Lahurus to Besikama/Tubaki took nine days. It also states that Brother Sales (Van der Lith) joined the two priests Noyen and De Lange. Laan 'Timor':789 has a few corrections on Vroklage's book: the trip took only three days. Brother Sales only arrived five months later in Tubaki.

sent to Resident E.G.Th. Maier in Kupang in March 1914.²⁹ The SVD Superior in Steijl warned Noyen that this was not the main task of the mission and could lead to disastrous consequences.³⁰ Noyen went forward with the plans. Some requests were not answered, others rejected: the mission in Timor never had a large plantation. In May 1915 Noyen wrote a third request for a plantation, reducing the size from the 500 and then 220 to a meagre 36 acres. The plan had become more modest: the plantation would provide food for the mission post and it would be used for educational purposes.³¹ After permission for the small plantation was granted, Brother Callixtus Osterholt turned out to be a poor farmer, and he cleared the ground without buying good young seedlings to plant. By mid-1919 not much had been raised on the land.³²

About one month after the arrival of Frans de Lange, the first school girl was baptized, and by May 1914, 28 children had been baptized: the result of the work of the Catholic teacher at the government school of Besikama, under a *gezaghebber* who was favourably disposed to the mission. But this official, G.P. Cheriex, was soon replaced by J.A. Kievits, who even refused to give permission to the priest to stay for some time in the *pasangrahan*, the government hostel for travelling officials. Many missionaries (but not Frans de Lange) received a government salary, but rules of behaviour and socializing between missionaries and officials differed from person to person.³³

The island of Timor has few good harbours: the south coast was difficult for transport and there were no regular boats calling in this region. Cement, iron, and wood for the mission post of Tubaki could be brought to the south coast only with great difficulty, and further transport from the coast to Tubaki was even more difficult. For this transport a suggestion or even command from the side of the government officials was needed. Here another conflict arose between the head of the mission station, Frans de Lange, and the *civiel gezaghebber*. After the arrival of the building materials, the actual construction was quite difficult because of lack of personnel. The first classroom and dormitory was finished in December 1915, after which the school could be started with some 40 pupils.³⁴

²⁹ Copy of the request of 19-3-1914, written by Noyen in Atapupu, in Laan 'Timor':795.

³⁰ 'Das gehört ja nicht zur eigentlichen Mission und kann zu ganz bösen Dingen führen, wie es augenblicklich in Neu-Guinea geschehen ist.' Laan 'Timor':839. See also Steffen 1995:241-45, which mentions that until 1914 mission plantations only asked for much capital and attention. In the 1920s, when the German economy was still weak after World War I, the enterprise contributed greatly to the balanced economic situation of the mission in that neighbouring country.

³¹ Noyen to the *resident* of Kupang, 11-5-1915, in Laan 'Timor':920.

³² Laan 'Timor':1128.

³³ Because of the larger numbers of missionaries and the limited number of government salaries, Frans de Lange was not appointed to such a salaried position. Laan 'Timor':872.

³⁴ Laan 'Timor':934.

While the teacher in Tubaki provided the continuing and regular education programme for pupils, including religious education, the priest and religious brother not only supervised the ongoing building of the mission compound, but also made pastoral visits to the surrounding area. The mission focused initially on making visits to people elsewhere, rather than on getting people to come to the mission. Occasionally people from rather distant villages came to the church in Tubaki. In mid-1916 De Lange mentioned that on Sundays his church was already too small, with many people standing outside. In a village (not mentioned by name) from where adults used to come to the Tubaki church, he baptized 127 children, and people said that he had to come back, because many were absent because they were working on their fields outside the village.³⁵ Thus, in a few years Tubaki with its school and church became the well-known centre of the Catholic mission, notwithstanding the fact that Frans de Lange had to go to Lahirus several times, for health reasons.

For the various existing schools in the southern Belu region before the 1916 regulation, the agreement between state and mission, whereby the colonial administration agreed to finance the schools and give the mission supervision over these schools, the situation was quite different. The agreement resulted in what was called the Kakaun affair. In the small village of Kakaun, as in the village of Besikama, where the *gezaghebber* had his office, there were Protestant teachers. Father De Lange regularly went to the schools to give catechism classes. He had also asked the teacher to help the children memorize the catechism. However, another *gezaghebber*, J.R. Agerbeek (1916-1917), stated that the Protestant teacher in Kakaun had complained about this practice. This teacher wanted to give the religious classes himself, without doubt in a Protestant way. He said that he had been treated arrogantly (*sombong*) by the priest. Until this teacher was replaced by a Catholic colleague, Frans de Lange had to stop his classes.

Another minor affair occurred in Niki-Niki. People from this region regularly came to the parish house in Tubaki to have wounds treated or get medicine. At Easter 1916 some 200 or 300 attended the church service. Their village chief claimed that the priest had promised them freedom from forced labour. Several times thereupon in September 1916 the *gezaghebber* sent soldiers to the church in Tubaki before Sunday service. This caused many churchgoers to return home before mass.³⁶

Father Constant van den Hemel, who had replaced Frans de Lange in 1917 during his illness, made a pastoral visit to Insana in February, without prior permission from officials. A request made to Gezaghebber Agerbeek of Atambua was not answered. Van den Hemel hoped to meet Assistent-Resident E.A. Steinmetz in Oilolok, but he could not come because he was

³⁵ Laan 'Timor':996.

³⁶ Laan 'Timor':994-6.

sick. The raja of Insana invited the priest to come again at Easter. In a letter Van den Hemel promised to come in April. This letter was shown to Assistant-Resident Steinmetz, who was embarrassed and reprimanded the priest for arranging things too much on his own initiative.

A first-generation Christian teacher in Tubaki, a priest who did not yet know much about the language and customs and was often sick, an envious *gezaghebber*, and other government officials who saw in the mission a rival for their own authority – clearly, there was no systematic, well-planned development in Tubaki in this early period. Father Arnold Verstraelen, caretaker of the station, wrote in May 1917 that his impression was that the mistake of superficial preaching – the reason for failure in Lahurus – was about to be repeated in Tubaki.

It has always been my opinion that the Tubaki station grew too fast. The foundations cannot be sufficient yet, especially because of the frequent sickness of Father De Lange. We are already seeing mixed marriages there. Father De Lange took a great deal of trouble, but could not bring them to order. Neither was Van de Hemel successful. Brother Lucianus told me that some 30 people had not yet completed their Easter confession and communion. I told Father Van de Hemel that I recommend that he and Father De Lange stay together in Tubaki, because I fear that Tubaki may become a second Lahurus, a thing which should be prevented.³⁷

But things went even worse than expected and for some time Tubaki became even worse than ‘a second Lahurus’. In mid-1918 Constant van de Hemel left the mission and the SVD order because of personal choice. Frans de Lange had to go to Flores in mid-1917 because of a shortage of priests in Ende-Ndonia. Until the end of 1919, Arnold Verstraelen was the only priest in Timor, overseeing the transfer of education to the mission while based at the Lahurus station. In this period several brothers continued building there in the hope of better times. The large compound for the sisters in Lahurus was finished in 1917, but they did not arrive until 1921. Mission statistics for 1918 report 3,300 Catholics for Tubaki, nearly all of them recent converts since 1914.³⁸ In five years this mission post alone had gathered more Catholics than Lahurus had during 25 years of the Jesuit mission. But it was a post without close supervision, served by a few teachers with little training. It was only in January 1920 that another priest, Father Camillus Kerkhof, came to Tubaki.³⁹

³⁷ Laan ‘Timor’:1055.

³⁸ Numbers from Laan ‘Timor’:1093.

³⁹ Laan ‘Timor’:1158.

Catholics and Protestants and the contest for souls and schools in central Timor: The revival of Noemuti

In 1916 the schools in Belu and north-central Timor were formally entrusted to the Catholic mission, with full subsidies starting in January of that year.⁴⁰ The regulation was nearly simultaneous with the last treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands concerning the territory of the colonies on Timor. Through this last correction of the boundaries, the area of Noemuti became part of Dutch territory while Maukatar was included in Portuguese Timor.⁴¹ In the competition between Protestant and Catholic missions for central Timor, this Portuguese past played a major role. Many members of the raja families and of the elite from this former Portuguese territory had some affinity to Catholicism, and some had even embraced the Catholic faith. Therefore central Timor became divided between Catholics and Protestants: the northern section, closest to the Portuguese enclave of Oikusi, was assigned to the Catholics, the southern section to the Protestants.

In the debate on granting permission to work in north-central Timor, Prefect Apostolic Noyen used all the instruments he could find, continuing the tradition of the mission since the 1859 treaty with the Portuguese on East Flores (Larantuka). In his decision of 3 February 1916 no. 27, the governor-general had consented to an extension of the Catholic mission area in north-central Timor, explicitly excluding south-central Timor.⁴² Apparently this formal decision was insufficiently clear, because some local officials created obstacles for Catholic work in this region. Therefore, Prefect Noyen used a common tactic and wrote again to the governor-general through the intermediary of the lower (but still high) official, the *resident* of Kupang. In his request to the *resident* of Kupang, Noyen stressed that the raja of Noemuti and his family had already become Catholic under Portuguese rule.

During a pastoral trip in north-central Timor, the most reverend Father Verstraelen received an unofficial message that notwithstanding this Catholic past, Noemuti

⁴⁰ Decision of Governor-General J. van Limburg Stirum, 18-5-1916. *Staatsblad* no. 382, also in *Javasche Courant*, 6-6-1916.

⁴¹ There was a minor correction of the boundary in 1908. The exchange of Noemuti and Maukatar was included in a treaty that became valid on 1 November 1916; De Malines van Ginkel 1924:138-9. For the Timor story, see Ezerman 1917:865-96, 1047-78, 1209-32.

⁴² Laan 'Timor':692-3: 'Bij missive van 31 Januari 1915 no 12 werd door U Hoogeerwaarde het verzoek gedaan het werkingsgebied van de Rooms Katholieke Missie in de Onderafdeling Beloe der afdeeling Noord- en Midden-Timor te mogen uitbreiden tot de onderafdelingen Noord- en Zuid- Midden-Timor van die afdeeling. Naar aanleiding daarvan deel ik U gaarne mede, dat bij de Regering geen bezwaar bestaat tegen de uitbreiding van het missiewerk van de Congregatie van de Paters van het Goddelijk Woord te Steijl tot de onderafdeling Noord-Midden-Timor, maar dat die uitbreiding niet mede kan worden toegestaan voor de onderafdeling Zuid-Midden-Timor van genoemde afdeeling.'

will not be included in our working field. It is difficult for me to accept this viewpoint, because Article 123 of the Colonial Constitution was formulated to prevent potential difficulties in case of simultaneous work by different missionary corporations. So far, no Protestant minister has ever visited Noemuti, and as far as I know there are no Protestants among the people. In earlier times the Catholic clergy went to that region and there are already a considerable number of Catholics. I must remind Your Honour that we must go to Noemuti to serve the Catholic faithful, whatever may be the final decision. This regular religious service is always permitted and does not depend upon Article 123 of the Colonial Constitution. Such a situation would be undesirable for us and for any future Protestant mission working in this region. I wish to declare that parents will make use of their right to withdraw their children from religious education if schools are to be founded by the Protestant mission.

It is known that the people of Noemuti, although not really active in the regular practice of several aspects of Catholicism because of certain circumstances, are really attached to their faith. In my opinion, opposition, even indirect, will not contribute to a positive attitude towards Dutch rule. Here I must bring to mind the transfer of power in Larantuka, in 1859, when the Dutch government asked the priest at Dili to calm down people's emotions and to assure the people of Larantuka that the change of flag would not involve a change of religion. At that time the Dutch government officially guaranteed the presence of a priest in that region. These are all reasons why the undersigned, with all reverence for Your Honour, requests that you use your influence to allocate Noemuti to our working field for the well-being of the people and the government.⁴³

The Catholic presence in Noemuti was not as prominent as in Larantuka, which between 1560 and 1660 already had a permanent station for a priest, and starting in 1860 was the centre of the new missionary initiative in Flores until the foundation of Ndona as the new centre after 1915.

In 1642, after the Eurasian Tupas (also called Black Portuguese because of their mixed descent, their alliance with the Portuguese in the struggle against the Dutch, and their attachment to Catholicism) were defeated in West Timor, they fled to the inland mountainous region of Oikusi, where they founded Noemuti as their centre. Lifau, on the coast of Oikusi, remained their harbour. The Dominican friars built a church in Noemuti as well as in other towns and villages of the Tupas region. After 1720, however, the Dominican presence became weaker and weaker. Around 1800, there were probably no more resident priests in Noemuti and they were visited only incidentally by priests from Dili. However, in their myths of origin and the symbolic world of their cultural system, Christianity remained the central system. The *gre* (after the Portuguese *igreja* for church, Indonesian *gereja*) remained the ritual centre of the territory. The four principal 'land lords' (*tuan tanah*) brought the tax after harvest every year to this ritual and sacred centre. All chiefs contributed wax

⁴³ Laan 'Timor':1038-9. For the Dutch text see Document 18.

for the church candles. They kept up this habit until the Dutch took over the rule of Noemuti in the early twentieth century. There were only 110 adults and 57 children baptized as Catholics. Their Catholicism was mixed with Timorese rituals and concepts, but everyone, baptized as well as non-baptized, saw the *gre* as their ritual centre. The new Dutch Catholic mission found a community that was prepared to listen to what the missionaries had to say (Schulte Nordholt 1966:217–20).

The elite of Noemuti had continued their orientation towards the Portuguese regions. In the 1910s, the raja's children had received their education in Dili from the clergy, and one daughter had even gone to Macao with the Catholic nuns who were chased from Portuguese Timor after the 1910 revolution in Portugal, where an anti-religious government had come into power.⁴⁴ The Noemuti school was at some distance from the mansion of the raja and went its own way. Because of its location on the Trans-Timor Highway, Noemuti was turned into a permanent mission post with a residential priest in 1925, before Hiupukan (1929), Kefamenanu (1937), and Maubesi (1937). During this period it remained the most important mission post in north-central Timor. We have found no official document admitting the Catholic mission in north-central Timor, but we may assume that the decision of May 1916 to entrust the schools to the Catholic mission was the decisive measure.

Until 1916 teachers had been appointed by government officials, except for the two older places for the mission, Atapupu and Lahurus, the recent mission post of Tubaki, and the school of We Medan.⁴⁵ Some of these teachers had received their education at Lahurus, but others were Protestants from Sawu or elsewhere. Mentioned above was a dispute about the Protestant teacher in Kakaun, near Tubaki in South Belu. In addition, there were fights about undesirable influence on schools. A serious setback was Andreas of Besikama, a teacher near Tubaki, who openly embraced Protestantism on Christmas 1915.⁴⁶ The progress of the Catholic (and Protestant) mission depended mostly on the success of the work of teachers. As long as the Catholics lacked sufficient qualified teachers, they were willing to temporarily admit Protestant staff at schools, but all teachers had to be Catholic as soon as possible. There is no general account of this transition, but it took place soon after. On 13 September 1916 Prefect Piet Noyen noted in his diary that in Noiltoko, close to Noemuti, the Protestant teacher had already been replaced by a Catholic colleague and that all children went to Catholic catechism classes

⁴⁴ Laan 'Timor':1063 from report by priest and school inspector Arnold Verstraelen, September 1916.

⁴⁵ On these four schools see Laan 'Timor':928. We Medan is also spelled Wemedea. A list dated 5 July 1916 reports six schools under mission control: Atapupu, Lahurus, Tubaki, Beredau (the boundary with Portuguese Timor, with large military barracks), Besikama and Noiltoko, but We Medan is not included on that list.

⁴⁶ Laan 'Timor':948.

(‘allen leerden nu *agama Katholieke*’). A few days later he visited the school at Kefamenanu and noted that ‘the Protestant teacher will soon be replaced. I thanked the teacher for his help with our undertaking for a year.’⁴⁷

In September a peculiar case occurred in Atambua, the slowly growing administrative centre of Belu. A Protestant religious teacher (not a fully ordained minister but a lower-grade official) came to hold a service and wanted to use the school building, which was under the supervision of a Catholic teacher. The latter protested and went to the *controleur*, J.R. Agerbeek. Thereupon the Protestant teacher held his service in the military barracks for Protestant soldiers, probably the only Protestants in the region. A decade later, in 1928, Bishop Verstraelen made no objection to the construction of a Protestant church in Atambua, even before the building of a proper Catholic church in the growing government centre of Belu. But this lenient position had its reason. Verstraelen hoped to show that there would no longer be rigid divisions between Catholic and Protestant territories and that the restart of the Catholic mission in Sumba, in ‘Protestant territories’, would meet with no further objections.⁴⁸

The start of the mission in Halilulik, 1917: The mission as a provider of education

Lahurus, the first inland station, was not built in a central location. Its being placed in a corner of Dutch colonial territory, close to the Portuguese border, was initially dictated by the presence of a minor ruler, the *fetor* Serang, who had been baptized by Portuguese clergy in the mid-nineteenth century. The shift towards the new colonial society in Dutch territory made a new and more centrally located station necessary. For some time Lahurus could survive. In 1916 a school had to be selected to serve as a *standaardschool*, where an extended education was given (five or six years, instead of the three years for ordinary village schools). Notwithstanding objections from government officials, on 18 July 1917 Lahurus was selected to be the mother school (that is, the school where teachers were trained) for Belu and north-central Timor, as it had been for about 25 years, although at the same time it was decided that the school should eventually be transferred to Atambua.⁴⁹ In order to enhance the level of Catholic education in Timor, more and more boys were sent to Larantuka on Flores, to follow teacher training. In 1919 alone, nine pupils started their course of study there.⁵⁰

Because of ongoing discussion among officials about changing the location of Atambua as the centre of government in Belu (the water supply in particular

⁴⁷ Laan ‘Timor’:1063-4.

⁴⁸ Laan ‘Sumba’:183; Haripranata 1984:240.

⁴⁹ Laan ‘Timor’:1058.

⁵⁰ Laan ‘Timor’:1127.

was considered problematic), the mission started building a large compound in Halilulik, much more centrally located than Lahurus. For a time there were even prospects that government offices would be transferred from Atambua to Halilulik.⁵¹ The building of the new compound was fully subsidized by the local government, a great relief for mission leaders during this time of World War I in Europe, when there was no possibility of receiving money from the SVD centre in Germany, and money from the Netherlands did not arrive easily.⁵²

On 3 May 1920 the actual removal of the *standaardschool* from Lahurus to Halilulik took place, leaving Lahurus as just a simple mission station. While the boys' school was relocated in Halilulik, the building of a compound for sisters had started in Lahurus in 1917. In 1921, one year after the departure of the boys from the *standaardschool*, four sisters arrived to open a boarding school for girls in Lahurus. This school would remain a modest one: after completion of the three years of village school, the only advanced training offered to pupils was in housekeeping. A real *standaardschool* (later renamed *vervolgschool*, a school offering three additional years) was located only in Halilulik (for boys) and Atambua (after 1936 for girls). After finishing these schools, teachers were further trained in Flores and Menado to serve the network of Catholic village schools, run by the mission with a full subsidy from the colonial government.

The two schools of Atapupu and Lahurus in 1913 turned into 29 schools by 1928 (17 in Belu and 12 in north-central Timor), and a total of 34 in 1939. A comparison of the number of pupils shows that the most rapid expansion took place from 1920-1928, after which the expansion slowed down (due to the economic recession of the early 1930s) to a more stable pattern for boys, although the number of girls attending school did increase sharply in this decade:⁵³

Education by the Catholic mission in Timor	1928	1939
Village schools	29	34
Boys	2,287	2,512
Girls	289	817
Total	2,576	3,329
 Vervolgschool	 2 ?	 2
Boys	?	97
Girls	?	100
Total	?	197

⁵¹ Laan 'Timor':1149.

⁵² Laan 'Timor':1112 and 1119 for the amount of 23,370 guilders for Larantuka and 48,239 for Halilulik. An experienced native teacher at that time had a salary of 20 to 30 guilders per month. School inspector Arnold Verstraelen received 150 guilders per month. This makes clear that the sums of money for the buildings were really considerable.

⁵³ *De Katholieke Missiën* 1928:54. The precise number of schools is not given, only the number of pupils, which gives an average of 82 pupils per village school. For 1939 see *Jaarboek 1940*:215.

The mission was supervised by larger mission stations, which served a number of minor stations, mostly with a small chapel, a catechist who gave religious classes, and sometimes also a primary school. In 1939 there were eleven larger stations. Six in north-central Timor and five in Belu. The stations in Belu were the old stations of Atapupu and Lahurus continued to serve the people in their vicinity, like the more recent stations of Tubaki and Besikama on the south coast. Until 1936 Lahurus was the only place where sisters worked. In 1930 the first two girls from Lahurus went to Todabelu in Flores, to start preparations for entering a religious order. They persisted in their wish, and were among the first group to receive their training in Jopu. In the male sector of vocations as well, the Timorese were among the first group. On 29 January 1941 the first two priests were ordained in Flores, one of them was Gabriel Manek from Lahurus. All in all, the progress in these regions was not as quick as in Central Java, but the old station of Lahurus finally presented its fruits. The more centrally located small town of Halilulik was in fact the largest mission station between 1920 and 1936, with the *vervolgschool* for boys and the vocational school, where carpenters and bricklayers were trained. Both schools had a dormitory for their boys. The church in Halilulik was financed by an anonymous sponsor from North America, where Father Frans de Lange remained active as a fundraiser after he left the Timor mission. Atambua became the main post only in 1936, when it became the residence of the new vicar apostolic, J. Pessers. The first bishop of the independent ecclesiastical territory of Timor, Jacob Pessers, was a member of a rich family from Tilburg, the Netherlands. His family donated the cathedral of Atambua. Atambua was the second station, after Lahurus, to have religious sisters. Their *vervolgschool* for girls was located in the centre of Atambua, alongside another vocational school for boys with a dormitory. The SVD brothers were busy building schools and chapels in the minor stations with the help of boys who were trained for these building activities as carpenters, bricklayers, and blacksmiths.

In north-central Timor the main station was Noemuti, until 1917 still Portuguese territory and with a strong positive memory of its Catholic past. After the transfer of power to the Dutch, the raja had built a church 'of local materials'.⁵⁴ In 1925 a permanent station was set up here. The new church for Noemuti was built at the initiative of a Dutch Protestant official, who found the former building too simple. He sent a letter to the Dutch Catholic weekly, *Katholieke Illustratie*, that communicated the situation to its readers. This generated enough money for the building of a 'proper' modern church in Noemuti.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ 'van inlandsch materiaal' in order to clearly distinguish this church from the more solid churches built by the SVD brothers, who used concrete and iron in their new churches. Verstraelen in *De Katholieke Missiën* 64:12-3 (with a photograph of the pre-modern church).

⁵⁵ Smit 1938:12-3; *De Katholieke Missiën* 64:12-3.

The Oilolok station was opened in the late 1920s. Six kilometres away, the cave of Bitaoni was thereafter promoted as a place of pilgrimage for St Mary, with 15 August being the most important day. Easter celebrations were transferred to the proper church at Oilolok.

The capital of Timor, the city of Kupang, continued to be dominated by the Protestant mission. In mid-1939 the Catholic mission counted 32,925 Catholics in Belu, 14,966 in north-central Timor, but only 152 in Kupang, 33 of whom were of European or Indo-European descent. There were only 37 European Catholics in the rest of Timor. The Dutch policy of promoting Christianity, besides preventing a 'double mission' in the same territory was very successful. It led to areas where one religion had a clear majority. For the diocese of Atambua this was the start of a development that would lead to a 93% majority of Catholics in the 1990s, probably the largest majority in any region of Indonesia (Pain Ratu 2001:110-32).

Bernard Vroklage SVD and the apology of traditional religion in Timor

The previous chapter on Flores mentioned a striking difference between SVD priests and the earlier Jesuit mission in Flores and Timor. The Jesuits condemned traditional religion as devilish idolatry, and they insisted that converts leave their pagan practices and beliefs before they could be accepted for baptism. The SVD mission had a much more positive attitude towards pagan religion, recognizing many good elements in traditional customs and religious beliefs. Under the influence of Father Wilhelm Schmidt, the SVD mission saw these as remnants of a primordial revelation, mixed with later deviations, but not yet vanished. For Flores the main pioneers of this doctrine and researchers of traditional religion were Paul Arndt and Jilis Verheijen. For traditional religion in Timor the main scholar was Bernard Vroklage, born in 1897 in Oldemarkt (eastern Netherlands) and an SVD priest from 1924. The gifted young priest studied systematic theology in Rome, where he wrote a doctoral dissertation in 1930 on the idea of liberation in Buddhism and Christianity. The original plan that he would work in China was not carried out. In 1933 Vroklage wrote a second dissertation on social relations in Borneo, at the University of Vienna.⁵⁶ Between 1936 and 1938 he carried out anthropological fieldwork in Flores and Timor, before becoming a professor at the Dutch SVD seminary in Teteringen. In 1948 he became a professor at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. He died on 7 October 1951 in a tragic and perhaps typically Dutch traffic incident: he was hit by a car while riding his bicycle. During his period of fieldwork in Flores and Timor, Vroklage made use of a seminarian who had given up his

⁵⁶ Vroklage's 1930 dissertation was not published. For the Vienna dissertation see Vroklage 1936.



Photo 12. Bishop Jacques Pessers of Atambua in 1937 (KDC, Nijmegen)

studies and of four schoolteachers. They communicated with him in Malay, and carried out interviews in local languages.⁵⁷

Vroklage published many popular articles, but also some important academic works. The most interesting comprehensive work by him is without doubt an introduction to the anthropology of religion, published in 1949 as the first volume of a major series on the religions of mankind (Vroklage 1949). Besides some lengthy translations of prayers of people from Belu, the book has 22 extended descriptions of religious beliefs and practices of the Timorese. All the main sections of the book include examples from Timor. They are often put in a context of sympathetic description, sometimes even nearly polemic defence of Timorese traditional religion as sincere, reasonable and consistent. Here are a few examples: pp. 134-6 has a translation from a lengthy Belunese prayer for obtaining rain at the end of the dry season. Vroklage concludes, 'This very old prayer, which was nearly unintelligible to most of them, clearly expresses how God was the giver of life and continues to be so. This prayer shows that the primitive soul may come to a stage of sublime submission and supreme reverence to God.' Commenting on a passage of this prayer where the human being is referred to as 'dust', he writes, 'I was really surprised to hear this expression and initially thought it might be due to Christian influence, although nothing known about this region would suggest that. Later, after becoming more familiar with these primitive people, it seemed less strange to me that they, when in a religious mood, could find such images in their environment and compose such a prayer' (Vroklage 1949:136). Vroklage also found a demonstration of the existence of God in his interviews and wrote admiringly:

An old Belunese in central Timor drew my attention to a special characteristic of the sun, which made it for him a living and higher being. He had noticed that the sun rises every morning on time, without remaining too long at the lower side of the earth. For him this was evidence that she was alive. How could she be so punctual every day? He had also noticed that she moves between the tropics [that is, does not rise in exactly the same place every day]. He expressed this as follows: 'Every morning the sun appears on the horizon a little bit further away, nearly until the summit of that hill.' Between these two points the sun went to and fro. Therefore she was a living being. (Vroklage 1949:170)

Vroklage's study contains much more about God as the supreme being than about spirits, much more about doctrine and myth than about ritual and magic. Even in shorter passages, he comes across as the apologetic of the sincerity and sensibility of the 'primitives'. Pagans never wanted to sell him statues representing their ancestors, even though, as he noted, they did not

⁵⁷ For his biography see Alphons Mulders 1951:234-8. On his research method see an anonymous interview with B. Vroklage in *Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift* 1938:340-4; Bornemann 1953:292-5.

really view these statues as identical to their ancestors. They were only in some way attached to the statues. The ancestors were seen to be located 'on the surface' of the statues, under or within them, and many people still gave thought to the relationship between ancestors and statues. They could not really identify this relation. In their understanding, there was no more than a rather vague or imprecise idea about the correspondence between ancestors and statues (Vroklage 1949:269). Religious practices are often described as magic, but here also Vroklage suggests many interpretations. As to the concept of sin, Vroklage shares the common opinion that the feeling of guilt was more often a common and impersonal guilt and not a personal and strictly individual sin and guilt found in Catholic manuals of dogma and ethics. But even here, he saw similarities in the basic idea (Vroklage 1948:184).

A small book written by Vroklage about 'The moral sense of guilt among the Belunese' was sent to missionaries with questions to arrive at a more insightful view of the matter. In his writing Vroklage defended the thesis that the feeling of guilt was merely an extraneous matter (outward sanctions by society or by a divine power) and not an internal moral sense. He was criticized by a Timorese missionary who defended the thesis that *adat* not only had an effect on the outward social order, but also on the internal moral judgements of tribal people, at least among the Belu of central Timor. In this missionary's response we find something close to admiration for the innocent primitive: 'Missionaries who work in regions where bad habits from outside have not yet been introduced are amazed at the pure and good moral judgements derived by the Belu people from their traditional paganism. This high moral quality cannot be maintained simply by fear of earthly punishment in case of some wrongdoing' (Wortelboer 1952:189-93).

Vroklage's positive interpretation of Timor's traditional religious beliefs did not have direct consequences for the methods of the Catholic mission. However, it decreased the pressure for quick conversions, and made the necessity of entirely abolishing traditional ideas and practices less urgent because it was thought that these would disappear anyway, once the basic elements of Christianity were accepted.

The Protestant lead in Sumba

In the period 1889-1898 the Jesuits had started a mission in Laura, West Sumba. For unclear reasons (probably a shortage of priests, difficult transport, and expensive communication to West Sumba, as well as brighter prospects elsewhere) the mission was halted suddenly by order of the bishop in Batavia and to the great disappointment of the Jesuits in Laura. At that time the Protestant mission had already made a start in East Sumba, concentrating among the

Sawunese migrants in Payeti, Melolo and Waingapu. Military expeditions between 1906 and 1911, led by Lieutenant C.A. Rijnders, *civiel gezaghebber*, ended the independence of local rulers and brought inland Sumba under colonial administration. In May 1912 authority was returned to the hands of a civil administrator, Controleur A. Couvreur. As in Flores, the first task after 'pacification' was the construction of roads. These were built using forced labour, requiring people to leave their fortified traditional villages on hilltops and to build new houses along main roads. In these new centres the schools were built, and entrusted to the Protestant mission under the educational treaty of 1913. The 'pacification' of the area was defended by the most important Protestant missionary, Douwe Klaas Wielenga, who argued that the common people had to be defended against arbitrary exploitation by Sumbanese petty rulers and oppression by Endenese and Arab traders and Sawunese migrants.⁵⁸

Payeti in East Sumba and Karuni in the western district became the two main centres for the Protestant mission, where in 1914 and 1920, respectively, a *standaardschool* was established. Graduates of these two schools were to provide future three-year primary school teachers as well as catechists. Dormitories for students were attached to these two schools for this purpose.

After 1902, the major missionary work in Sumba was carried out by the mission of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, GKN), an orthodox group that had split off from the mainstream Dutch Reformed Church. The GKN considered the local congregation the basic form of a Christian church. This local church, and not an independent missionary organization, had to send missionaries overseas. Therefore, the GKN mission was organized formally through local churches in the three northern provinces of the Netherlands. In reality, however, missionaries in Sumba dealt with the deputies for the mission at the offices of the national GKN synod. In the Netherlands the GKN had a complicated relationships with the government, because the GKN wanted churches to be free from state influence. In reality, however, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, the unofficial political wing of the GKN, played an important role in Dutch politics. Governor-General Idenburg (1911-1916) and the advisor for the outer provinces, Hendrik Colijn, the architect of the close ties between the mission and education, were prominent members of this political party.

The GKN mission wanted to concentrate on pure, in-depth preaching of the Christian religion. It wanted to stay far from the colonial system, in political, economic, and also educational and medical activities. In theory, it rejected the propagation of western civilization and cooperation with the colonial government as mission goals. An ironic twist of history, however, gave rise to a close connection between mission aims and the colonial agenda. GKN missionaries

⁵⁸ Letter from Douwe Klaas Wielenga, 6-10-1908, in Van den End 1985:144. For this section I also follow Reenders 1995:1-34.

were not paid by the colonial government (as many Catholic priests and the ministers and assistants of the Indische Kerk were), but government subsidies for schools (and later, for clinics and hospitals) became important tools for mission work. Although GKN missionaries considered the Indische Kerk a liberal and therefore unorthodox variant of Christianity, the mission had to accept as its first teachers those who had been educated under the auspices of the Indische Kerk on Rote, Sawu and Amboin. GKN missionaries worked with great fervour to develop theological training. In 1922 a theological course was offered to graduates of teacher training: a programme of two-and-a-half years for young men who had completed seven years of primary school. By 1942 some sixty evangelists had graduated from this course. Because of the variety of languages on the mountainous island, Malay (also used by migrants from Sawu) remained the most important language for the whole period. Wielenga, who worked in the mission between 1904 and 1920, produced a grammar and selected translations from the Bible in the language of Kambera (the district with Kambaniru as capital, in East Sumba). The trained linguist Louis Onvlee, who arrived in Sumba in 1926, encouraged the use of Sumbanese languages. Full translations of the Bible in Kambera and Wayewa (the main language of West Sumba) were not published until the 1960s (Van den End 1987:25-6).

A dramatic event was the schism within the small Protestant community of Sumba in 1934, when the rather severe Steven Goossens (1902-1983), joining the mission in 1931, was reprimanded by an inspector from the Netherlands for the frequent excommunications he pronounced. Sumbanese Christians who did not abandon 'pagan' practices, such as living together before formal marriage, eating at sacrificial meals (together with pagan Sumbanese at burials, marriages), or paying a dowry, were excluded from the sacraments. The conflict hardened and resulted in a schism and the founding of a separate church in East Sumba.

GKN missionaries were much more reserved in the administration of baptism than their Catholic colleagues in the area. By 1938 only 4% of the population of Sumba, about 5,200 people, had been baptized as Protestants. At that time there were 4,500 boys and 1,500 girls in the Protestant mission schools. There were 105 school teachers and 50 evangelists, exclusively for religious instruction outside the school. The mission had one full hospital in Waikabukak and three clinics, with one medical doctor, and three European and 54 Indonesian nurses. During the whole period until 1942, there were never more than four Dutch missionaries (ministers with theological education and ordination) in Sumba. And there was only one European medical doctor and three expatriate nurses among the personnel.

Anthropologist Janet Hoskins makes some interesting observations on the early decades of the Protestant mission. First, she noticed that the difference between culture in general and a specific religion was not at all understand-

able to Sumbanese people. Initially the new religion was foremostly understood as the practice of going to school, learning Malay, reading books. Older people who did not feel able to learn these new practices therefore did not bother about the new habits. Until independence, membership of the church was associated with those who completed the full primary school. Christianity was also considered a ritual practice, including its specific taboos, in addition to Sumba culture and religion. The Protestant emphasis on observing Sunday as a day of rest and prayer generated the name 'bitter house' for churches. In Sumba the word for *bitter* is related to taboo or sacredness, such as a 'bitter mouth' as an indication of ritual silence during planting. After a period of distrust and then growing tolerance towards the missionary Wielenga, the Sumbanese redefined Christianity in terms of how it contrasted with traditional ritual practice, concentrating on another language (Malay), a book, and Sunday services in the 'bitter house' (Hoskins 1987:136-60).

The difficult restart of the Catholic mission in Sumba

When the Jesuits left Sumba on 29 November 1898, the baptismal book listed 1,054 baptisms. There were four teachers (originating from and educated in Larantuka) teaching 64 children in Laura. There were still 50 candidates in the catechism course. It was the hope of the Dutch Jesuits that they would be absent only for a short period and that they could soon resume their work in Sumba. However, after the Protestant mission was taken over by the GKN and showed continuity, the colonial government wanted, in Sumba, to apply the usual policy limiting missionary activity in a given area to only one denomination. During the early twentieth century no Catholic missionaries were allowed to settle in Sumba.

Until 1921 there were not even visits by Catholic priests to the island of Sumba, although a number of baptized persons in Laura remained committed to the Catholic faith. Very few Catholics embraced the Protestant faith, but many more returned to traditional religion, or rather, continued practices they had never fully given up. Quite a few continued to cherish a warm and vivid memory of the 'Catholic decade' at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1913 the departing *resident* of Kupang, C. van Rietschoten, mentioned the fond memory of the short period of Catholic missionaries, 'In West Sumba there is a small number of Roman Catholics who still cherish the memory of the former mission post, which has been empty for many years.'⁵⁹ A few

⁵⁹ Van Rietschoten, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1913, NA 2.10.30 MMK 340, p. 35: 'In westelijk Soemba worden onder de inheemsche bevolking nog een gering aantal R.K. aangetroffen die de herinnering aan den vroeger aldaar gevestigd geweest zijnde, doch sedert jaren niet meer bezetten R.K. missiepost, levendig houden.'

years later, in March 1919, one of his successors, Resident E. Maier, wrote in the same vein, 'The work of the Catholic mission in West Sumba, interrupted 18 years ago due to lack of personnel, has been esteemed even up to today. But I deem it undesirable that the Catholics settle again beside the Protestant mission. Peaceful development of education, recently entrusted to Protestant ministers, would be endangered by such permission.'⁶⁰ Nearly every year in the 1910s there was a request for pastoral visits by Catholic priests to Sumba submitted by the bishop of Batavia, later also in consensus with Prefect Noyen of Ende. The 1918 request was accompanied by a letter signed by thirty prominent citizens of Laura. There is no clear information on how relations were maintained during this period of a priestless Catholic community. Were they continued through Florenese officials like the retired police officer? Or through Sumbanese who visited Flores and Timor? We have no information about schoolboys sent to Larantuka or about teachers sent by the Catholic mission to Sumba, and can assume that there was no continuation of any Catholic education on Sumba.

In 1913 there was some hope that one Felix Lero, commonly called Nanny, would become a teacher in Sumba, at the rather high salary of 50 guilders per month. This man, born in 1886 in Kondora, Laura, was baptized in 1896. When the Jesuits left Sumba, he went to the Atapupu school, where he worked as a teacher for several years. He then became a soldier, and after serving in the army in Java and Makassar, he owned a small shop in Makassar in the early 1910s. He was a faithful Catholic and an in-law of the raja of Katewel in Laura. He assured the mission that this raja would be willing to become a Catholic, and to live with only one wife if a missionary arrived. Nanny wrote with a very tidy hand, demonstrating his level of education. The negotiations between Nanny and Prefect Noyen of Ende had no results. Nanny died in Makassar in 1918.⁶¹ This is the only concrete proposal for restarting mission work before the better results in the 1920s. Finally, through decision Bt no. 21, issued on 21 February 1921, the governor-general gave permission for two visits of one month by a priest, each year, to the Catholics of Laura.

The request of 1918 (like nearly all Catholic initiatives in this story of harsh competition between the two Christian denominations) received a bitter comment from a Protestant. In 1930 the missionary of Karuni (district of Laura), Wiebe van Dijk, concerning the request of 1918, claimed that it had been written by a retired police officer from outside Sumba (probably East Flores),

⁶⁰ E. Maier, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1919, NA 2.10.39 MMK 341, pp. 1-2: 'Hoezeer het werk der Roomsch Katholieke Missie in West-Soemba, 18 jaren geleden wegens gebrek aan personeel gestaakt, zelfs nu nog een goeden klank aldaar heeft achtergelaten acht ik het ongewenscht dat de missie zich op Soemba naast de protestantsche zending vestigt. Eene rustige ontwikkeling der eerst zoo kort geleden op Soemba ingevoerde onderwijsregeling, waarvan het toezicht aan de missionaire predikanten is opgedragen, zou daarvoor ongetwijfeld zeer benadeeld worden.'

⁶¹ Laan 'Sumba':133-4.

who had only stayed temporarily on Sumba. It was also signed by the raja of Laura, still a pagan, and received positive recommendation from the Resident A. Couvreur, himself a Catholic, and other officials, without consulting the staff of the Protestant mission.⁶²

One of the most prominent of the 'old Catholics' was David Boelen, alias Ra Bokolo, the first boy from the Kodi district to be baptized by Father Schweitz, in 1889.⁶³ He originated not from Laura, but from the adjacent, more southern district of Kodi. After the Jesuits left the Sumba station in 1898, David Boelen had followed the missionaries to Larantuka, where he worked as a carpenter and married a woman from the circle of the ruling elite, Nelly Lobato. He is reported to have been one of the craftsmen who built the seminary of Todabelu in 1928-1929. In the early 1920s he travelled to Sumba several times, perhaps as assistant to visiting priests. After the death of his wife he remarried in Wai Dimu (Kodi) in 1925, his new wife being Tora Kalenda, a daughter of Rato Caro, a member of an elite family of Kodi. The marriage book notes that the marriage took place *in domo regis* (in the house of the king or raja).⁶⁴ David was born to an elite family and, though not a son of a raja, his education and experience made him eligible to become raja of Kodi-Benggedo. This probably happened in the late 1920s. Some Protestant missionaries were enraged that David/Ra Bokolo was appointed raja in Kodi. They considered his appointment an effort to jeopardize the assignment of Kodi (or even Sumba as a whole) as a Protestant territory. Apparently, David was not a great success as a raja. In 1931, during one of the merging operations that reduced the number of native rulers in Sumba, his territory was combined with that of Kodi-Bokol, and David lost his position.⁶⁵

The first pastoral visits by priests from Flores were made twice or three times a year beginning in 1921. There is a curious description of these visits (in 1923 and 1924) written by the Protestant missionary in Karuni:

In August last year the Catholic missionary also paid a visit to our house and more or less excused himself: it was not really worth the visit for him to come to Sumba and to enter our territory, because there were only very few Catholics

⁶² Wiebe van Dijk to the deputies for the Sumba mission in the Netherlands, Karuni, 10-2-1930, copy in Van den End 1987:317-20. On Couvreur (*resident* of Kupang 1921-1924) see also Van den End 1987:171-5 (Couvreur in conflict with L. Krijger of Karuni) and 187-8 (agreement with missionaries).

⁶³ From 1885 until his death in 1889 Father Cornelis Boelen worked in the parish of Larantuka. Father Schweitz probably wanted to honour his deceased colleague with the baptism of the first convert from Kodi.Laan 'Sumba':202.

⁶⁴ Laan 'Sumba':179.

⁶⁵ There is a well-documented story about David Boelen in Laan 'Sumba':201-2, which also quotes a lecture in Java by one of the Protestant ministers from a copy in the Weetebula archives, besides the baptismal books. Like many other passages, this section proves the high quality of Petrus Laan's work.

here, but he was sent by the bishop, etc. Later I heard that he also administered baptism, but I have no proof that he baptized other children besides the offspring of former Catholics. He was here again recently for a visit of several weeks. And now I receive information that he is going around to evangelize and administer baptism. His method is as follows: he carries a big bag of the *sirih-pinang* drug, enters a village, and collects people who of course are curious to meet such a foreigner. He presents the *sirih-pinang*, looks friendly, and talks with people with the help of an interpreter. At the end of such a party he suggests that he baptize them and their children. Of course they enjoy this very much. He administers baptism and writes down the names. I heard that there were a hundred baptisms in Tana Riwu, children and adults, of course still absolutely pagan, but already received in the bosom of that 'holy' church. I think that this number is exaggerated, but in this way it would be quite easy to make the whole of Sumba Catholic in a few years, making three visits per year. [...] But who will prevent them from entering Sumba for permanent stations, when so many have already been baptized by them?⁶⁶

Quite understandably, Catholic reports of the visits are very different, although they are also dominated by the friction between Catholic and Protestant missions. The Sumbanese series of conflicts between Catholic and Protestant missions was probably the longest after the even more difficult and continuing conflicts about Minahasa. Basically there were five points of disagreement between Catholics and Protestants. (1) The date of original permission: The Protestants claimed that the Jesuits entered in 1889, when Protestant missionary Johan Jacob van Alphen had left the mission (where he had started in 1881) only temporarily due to personal problems. The Jesuits claimed that they had received government permission to visit Sumba and start work there on 20 January 1878. (2) Who arrived first? The Protestant Van Alphen arrived first on (East) Sumba in 1881, but the Jesuits arrived first in West Sumba in 1889. (3) The division of territory: The Jesuits understood that they would work on West Sumba, but this restriction was never formally given to either party, it was only a gentlemen's agreement dictated by the Resident of Kupang. (4) Practice of baptism: The Protestants blamed the Catholics for conferring baptism on those who had not yet received sufficient instruction. The Catholics answered that they did give good instruction and that they considered baptism necessary for salvation, a good reason not to wait too long with this sacrament. (5) Different interpretations of the interruption of the Catholic mission in 1898: The Catholics considered this a temporary stop only, while the Protestants interpreted the departure of the Jesuits as a final decision. Only new permission from the governor-general could change things again.⁶⁷ The usual expression for Protestants was *Sorani Muda*, or New

⁶⁶ Wiebe van Dijk to the deputies for the Sumba Mission in the Netherlands, Karuni, 20-8-1924, copy in Van den End 1989:233-4.

⁶⁷ A summary of these viewpoints is in Muskens 1974:1358-60. Also Van den End 1987:43-4 with references.

Christians, while in local Malay the Catholics were called *Sorani Tua*, Old or Traditional Christians. This terminology implied that Catholics were the original and genuine believers. There were some complaints by Protestants about the use of this terminology.⁶⁸

The first impression of visiting SVD father Jan van Cleef in June-July 1921 was that the 408 adult Catholics of Laura whom he met had often returned to pagan practices, but that they had not forgotten that they had been baptized. Many of them still observed Sunday as a day of rest and prayer. They came together to say prayers in the local language, as composed and taught by the Jesuit Arnold van der Velden. Some also baptized their children, and before dying, people instructed their children not to leave the Catholic faith. There were no churches or chapels. Some people presented their children for baptism (Van Cleef baptized 59 children in 1921 and 47 in 1922). After a second visit in October 1921, Van Cleef brought two boys from Laura to the *standaardschool* in Ndona. From 1923 on, three visits yearly were permitted. The full three visits were not paid every year. In 1926 not more than one visit was paid, and it lasted only about two weeks.⁶⁹ The visits were part of the extended pastoral trips to the 'diaspora' of the Flores mission, which besides Sumba also included the islands of Lombok and Bali. The visits strengthened the memory and consciousness of a Catholic identity among the small flock that had remained from the earliest missionary period on Sumba, but besides pastoral visits there were not many more ways to build a Catholic community.

A permanent mission post in Weetebula

The next step in the development of the Catholic mission in Sumba was another complicated discussion with Protestants. In 1928 there was a consultation between representatives of the Indische Kerk, the Protestant church in Timor, which was still very much controlled by the colonial government, Bishop Verstraelen, and Resident P. Karthaus of Kupang about the possibility of building a Protestant church in Atambua, the new centre of the eastern districts of West Timor. Atambua had become the heart of the Catholic mission in Timor, but Verstraelen consented to the building of a Protestant church. In return for this lenient position, Karthaus encouraged Sumbanese Catholics to repeat their request for a permanent priest, took this letter with him on a visit to the governor-general, and through decision Bt 21 June 1929 no. 3 the Catholic mission received permission to open a permanent station in Laura on the condition that it would restrict its pastoral service to those who were already Catholic.

⁶⁸ Wiebe van Dijk, in a letter to the deputies for the mission in the Netherlands, Karuni, 10-2-1930, published in Van den End 1985:320.

⁶⁹ Laan 'Sumba':179

The first SVD priest to settle in Laura was the German Heinrich Limbrock, born in 1875. He had worked as a missionary in Togo between 1906 and 1911, then until 1917 in Mozambique. Limbrock arrived in Flores in 1923. He had no fixed pastoral duties, but paid pastoral visits to Bali, Sumbawa, and from 1927 also to Sumba. He was greatly interested in geology and travelled widely on Flores, where he assisted geologist G. Kemmerling in his research at the three lakes of Mount Kelimutu. According to his fellow priests, Limbrock had broad knowledge of geology, partly learned in Africa, but he seldom published in this field. In Sumba, Limbrock paid a great deal of attention to the proper location for the mission. Weetebula (also known as Wai Tabula) was chosen because of its (comfortably great) distance from the Protestant mission post in Karuni, the abundant water supply, and the presence of limestone. The location itself was in a neutral area between three districts. Therefore, in the period before Dutch rule and the 'pacification' of 1907, it was considered a battlefield, or at least dangerous territory. For this reason it was virtually unpopulated, with only a few huts. While Jesuit priests had always sought close relations with local rulers, and had built their mission posts close to existing large settlements, the SVD preferred starting in nearly empty territory to build up their own network and organization. In fact, the mission station itself became the centre of an entirely new settlement. At the first big celebration of the new missionary initiative, the feast of Saint Joseph, 19 March 1930, the pagan Raja T.T. Nggeli of Laura also attended mass in the new provisional church building.⁷⁰ His successor Rua Kaka was appointed in 1935, still a pagan, but in January 1938 he married a Catholic woman in a formal celebration of a mixed marriage, a concession not often permitted by the clergy, who always preferred a full Catholic marriage. Not until the early 1960s was Raja Rua Kaka of Laura baptized a Catholic. By then his formal power as raja had diminished greatly compared to the colonial period.⁷¹

After a few months of orientation, in October 1929 Limbrock moved from the modest government inn, the *pasanggrahan* of Karuni, to a wooden house in Weetebula. Initially the school and a small dormitory for students were built of wood and thatch, and in December 1929 a village school was started in Weetebula. Limbrock had ambitious plans for the development of the station. He opened a rock quarry so that the large buildings for the new mission post, the parish house, houses for the teachers, and school-cum-dormitory could be built with the solid limestone of Sumba. Until 1942 there was no proper church; the foundation for a cathedral-sized church was laid, and part of the school building was used as a provisional church. For the building of the large mission compound Limbrock ordered marble saws from the mission blacksmith in Ende and instructed the young men from Larantuka, who

⁷⁰ Haripranata 1984:257 (from Laan's 'Sumba').

⁷¹ Haripranata 1984:287, 313.

came to build the station, in the proper method to make blocks of limestone suited for the construction of buildings. Until the arrival of the missionaries, Sumbanese used the limestone only for large monuments on graves.⁷² The Lesser Sunda Islands had no proper timber that could be used for permanent buildings. The *jati* wood for large churches was imported from Java. Until concrete came to be more frequently used in the 1920s and 1930s, most parish houses, schools, and churches were semi-permanent buildings made of local wood or bamboo that seldom lasted longer than one or two decades before they were eaten by worms. The building methods introduced by missionary Limbroek were therefore quite revolutionary. In 1935, at the request of the colonial government, two limestone bridges were also built.

The agreement of 1913 between the government and the Catholic and Protestant missions had given exclusive rights for Sumba school subsidies to the Protestant mission. Thus, the Catholic mission had to finance its own schools. This did not prevent the mission from starting up several schools on Sumba. Towards the end of 1930 the Catholic mission had already opened three schools, while the Protestants had only two schools in Laura. Several of the Catholic schools were strategically located near the boundaries of the district of Laura to attract pupils from outside this area as well. In the first year some 50 pupils left the Protestant schools for the new Catholic ones. At least, this was the reproach of the rival Protestant mission.⁷³ In the early 1930s more schools were opened, coming to a total of six Catholic schools in Laura. Between 1937 and 1940 Father Piet de Zwart, the missionary who worked mostly in Kodi, the district south of Laura, opened three schools in this region.

The establishment of Catholic schools was often criticized by the Protestant mission. They blamed the Catholics for always trying to extend their work beyond the circles of their own flock. The Protestants were rather restrained in baptism because they wanted to be sure that candidates were well instructed in Christian doctrine. When the Catholics opened a *vervolgschool* in Weetebula, nearly all the pupils came from Protestant village schools. These pupils had followed Protestant religious classes at those schools, but were not yet baptized. After some time at the Catholic school-cum-dormitory in Weetebula, nearly all pupils were baptized as Catholics. Catholics defended their policy of early baptism with the religious argument that they considered baptism necessary for the salvation of souls and would not like to postpone it too long. The *vervolgschool* provided them with boys who often came from regions outside Laura. After finishing school these boys remained adherents of the Catholic faith. The priests kept in contact with them through regular visits

⁷² See the contribution by Heinrich Limbroek 1935:87-94, with photographs of the large buildings that were finished in the first period, including houses for four teachers, built of limestone, but with thatched roofs.

⁷³ W. van Dijk, as quoted in Laan 'Sumba':197-8.

to their villages of origin. Those remaining from the 1890s together with the new converts brought the number of Catholics in Sumba to about half the number of Protestants. In 1942 there were about 3,000 Catholics and some 6,000 Protestants on the island. At that time this was not yet 10% of the population of 120,000. Compared with Timor, or even more Flores, this was only a few Christians. This would remain so later as well. In 2000 the division was 20% Catholics, 40% Protestants, and 35% Merapu (the traditional religion of Sumba) (Muskens 1974:1370, Kherubim Pareira 2001:133-62, Van den End 1989:695-7). Formal adherence to a world religion was not as popular as in other regions, and the traditional religion survived even the orders of the post-colonial government to choose one of five world religions.

The race between Catholicism and Protestantism on Sumba had many unpleasant aspects. The Catholics often complained that they could not buy land for their schools because of the Protestants. In 1938 Father Piet de Zwart started work in Kodi and therefore had to master the language, which was quite different from the Sumbanese spoken in Laura. Moreover, De Zwart was not gifted in languages and even had problems using Malay. He once suggested to his superiors that they should send him the material published by the Protestant mission on the languages of East Sumba, such as works by D.K. Wielenga, J.C.G. Jonker and L. Onvlee. In 1962, looking back at his first years in Sumba, De Zwart wrote:

When I suggested that I could learn from their studies, I was told that the difference was so great that it was useless to order the books. Still, I only started to understand the Kodi language after I received the mimeographed course on the East Sumba language written by Dr. Onvlee, who also helped me with this study during the internment by the Japanese.⁷⁴

Quite understandably, some Protestants complained that they had to do the hard work of preparing the territory to accept the changes of modernity, and that the Catholics could easily reap the harvest. In 1930 Reverend Wiebe van Dijk even expressed it this way:

Rome thinks that the ground has been prepared by the Mission of the Reformed Churches so that they can plant their seeds in it and even harvest from the seeds that we have spread. They made a grand plan of action. Immediately after their arrival they opened three schools at once in Laura. Here we should remember that we were invited by the government to set up education for the native children and with much trouble could barely receive sufficient funds for two schools.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Quoted from Father Piet de Zwart's memoirs, written in 1962, in Laan 'Sumba':241.

⁷⁵ Wiebe van Dijk in a pamphlet *De Roomsche Actie in Laora*, October 1930, quoted in Haripranata 1984:259.

The method of soliciting letters from individual local Catholics to invite priests and teachers to work in their region, also outside Laura, was criticized several times as a dirty tactic to cover up an aggressive expansionist strategy. Several times there were proposals for agreements between Protestants and Catholics to prevent 'double mission' in certain territories. In the early 1930s Lodewijk Krijger sent proposals to Bishop Verstraelen, but received as an answer, 'There is no need for consultation because we will keep our position. We have been invited by the people, who want us to come. And the government no longer has objections. Therefore we have no other choice than to remain on Sumba.'⁷⁶ Likewise, a direct proposal to the first parish priest of Weetebula, Heinrich Limbrock, not to accept children from Protestant schools because the Protestants would not accept former pupils of Catholic schools, was not accepted (Haripranata 1984:261). In turn Protestants complained that the competition between schools in Laura was unfavourable for the prestige of teachers and for discipline at school. The GKN mission was not only more strict in their criteria for baptism, they also applied more severe discipline in their schools, punishing those who were absent one or more days. The same was the case with some teachers. There were several Protestant teachers who for various reasons embraced the Catholic faith, and were hired by the Catholic mission. Protestant missionary Douwe Wielenga (1949:247) wrote of them, 'They ran away to the Catholics when they were not satisfied with their position or with the way they were treated'. The few documented cases show that complicated life-stories were often involved in transfers from Protestantism to the Catholic mission. Petrus Djapaoleh was a Protestant teacher in Kodi who claimed he was dismissed by the missionary because this Protestant minister wanted to appoint a member of the local elite as schoolteacher. One of his aunts was married to the Catholic Renier Theedens. This man suggested that he become a Catholic, and arranged to find a Catholic woman for him. Petrus Djapaoleh was then hired as the first teacher for the Catholic school in Mata, close to Weetebula. Notwithstanding offers from the Protestant mission to become school inspector, he remained faithful to the Catholic enterprise.⁷⁷

Another case was Thomas Manna from Belengger (Kodi-Benggedo), who worked as a Protestant teacher in Kodi, but, according to a later Catholic source, was fined to several years of prison in Flores for a falsified signature. While in prison, he met a Catholic Lionese girl, Pauline Kegho, who for some time had lived in the sisters' dormitory. With this girl he came back to Sumba. Manna married her and was appointed as a teacher at the Catholic school of Weepangali. However, some time later he was found gambling, and the Dutch *controleur* then requested his dismissal. After this second failure,

⁷⁶ In a letter from Father Piet de Zwart from the late 1930s, quoted in Haripranata 1984:261.

⁷⁷ Laan 'Sumba':220.

Thomas Manna returned to his native village of Loka Rota in Kodi, where he built a house and a school, which in 1939 opened as the third Catholic school in Kodi. He could afford to build this school because he was a member of the local elite of Loka Rota.⁷⁸

The leading teacher for the *vervolgschool* in Weetebula was Andreas Fernandez from Flores. His fate is representative of that of many of the best pupils of the mission school who did not remain in their region of origin. Arnold Streng, the gifted SVD brother who built so many schools and chapels, once remarked sadly on the system of education that former pupils were not willing to return to their villages to work at the shifting agriculture of Sumba with its poor and uncertain harvests. They preferred to work for cash, as daily workers, or when possible to find a job in the civil service, the army, or the police (Haripranata 1984:283). The most successful Catholic of the pre-independence period in Sumba was Josef Nudu, who completed teacher training in Ndona, Flores, and returned to Sumba in 1935 as the first graduate and qualified Sumbanese Catholic teacher. In the 1950s he became a member of the Council for Nusa Tenggara Timur, NTT, the province of Southeast Indonesia.

The Catholic mission of Sumba received no government income for its schools. Especially the dormitory in Weetebula, where some 100 pupils received full lodging, was a heavy financial burden. In the period 1936-1940 under the popular Father J. Wolters, the number of pupils in Weetebula rose to 200. Besides, the mission felt obliged to look for jobs and income for its graduates. The archives are therefore full of requests for more money. The three priests who served the mission until 1940 (Limbrock, Wolters and De Zwart) were not the best money-makers. The central office of the SVD mission in Ende-Ndona complained that the small diaspora of Sumba already received much more support than other regions, when compared to the number of pupils and baptized. In order to get some additional financing, the SVD brother Arnold Streng, son of a farmer, started breeding cattle with much success, yielding 300 animals in the early 1940s. In addition, the mission bought equipment for husking rice, initially only for its own use. But soon Chinese traders, who bought rice several places on the island, came to settle in Weetebula because they could make use of the mission's husking facilities. Rich farmers from West Sumba then also started to bring their rice to Weetebula.⁷⁹ To give more job opportunities to graduates of the school (and perhaps also because of dreams about a 'reduction' or a mission-led purely Catholic village), in 1934 a large piece of land was rented from the government. It started with 26 boys, who were to work on three hectares of land each. Two thirds of their land was to be used for the cultivation of kapok trees, which appeared promising, while the remaining was to be used for vegetables, grain and rice. The boys received

⁷⁸ Laan 'Sumba':209, 259.

⁷⁹ Laan 'Sumba':201

some 25 guilders each in advance, to be paid back after their first harvest. The project was a great success in the beginning. The trees grew very well, and the grounds were neatly kept during the first two seasons. However, during the first two seasons there was un untimely rainfall and no kapok harvest. After that, the young men were unwilling to continue clearing the land and a profusion of weeds started to destroy the trees, so that after two years the financial subsidies were halted. This ended the project, although this place, Wailonda, remained a Catholic village.⁸⁰

In the early 1930s there were great hopes for a formidable restart of the mission in Sumba, with a rapidly growing number of schools in Laura and the splendid architecture of the solid limestone buildings in Weetebula. The zenith of this short period of great hope was Bishop Arnold Verstraelen's visit to Sumba in November-December 1931. He was received with dance, music, gunfire, and fireworks. There were trumpets and a clarinet in addition to the harmonium during the solemn mass of the bishop in Weetebula's school, which also served as the church. There was a big reception, traditional Sumbanese music, and a festive dinner for which three buffaloes and three pigs were slaughtered. The raja of Laura and his staff, as well as the Dutch *gezaghebber* of Waikabukak, were present at the mass and reception.⁸¹ Quite different was the visit by Verstraelen's successor, Bishop Leven, in 1937. Bishop Leven first came to administer the sacrament of confirmation in Sumba. He stayed for one week in Weetebula, but remained in the mission compound. There were no invitations to non-Catholic people and no celebrations outside the church. The whole visit was limited to liturgical acts. Leven himself explained that the reason was that he did not like to confront the Protestants with outward symbols of a triumphant Catholicism. There may also have been a sharp difference in personal character between the charismatic and daring Verstraelen and the cool administrator Leven (Haripranata 1984:314). In the late 1930s the great hope for Sumba had been lowered to more modest expectations. There was great progress in Flores and Timor at that time, and mission leaders complained repeatedly that the small diaspora in Sumba received a disproportionate share of money and personnel, at the expense of more activities in Flores.⁸²

In 1929 Father Heinrich Limbrock arrived in Sumba, followed in 1930 by SVD brother Arnold Streng. They were joined by Jan Wolters in 1934 and Piet de Zwart in early 1938. On 15 April 1940 Jan Wolters died at the age of 32 years. In May 1940 Limbrock, a German, was put in prison by the Dutch colonial government because of the war in Europe. The new priests sent to replace these experienced workers could not stay on Sumba long enough to learn the languages before the Japanese army arrived in early 1942. During

⁸⁰ Laan 'Sumba':215.

⁸¹ Laan 'Sumba':202; Haripranata 1984:266.

⁸² Regional assistant of the SVD to Father Piet de Zwart, quoted in Laan 'Sumba':244.

the period of Japanese occupation the Catholics had to maintain their community without priests. Before the priests were interned, a church council was called, with Arnold Fernandez (head of the Weetebula school) and the teacher Joseph Nudu as prominent members, in addition to the male nurse A. Lewa and the catechist J. Ngongo Routa. They initially tried to continue the work of the mission compound in Weetebula as usual:

The house-boys, the cook, the male nurse, the boys looking after cows, pigs and horses, the teachers, the pupils of the boarding school, all continued their work. Nurse A. Lewa gave medicine to the sick, he looked after the employees of the Mission, and checked the cows, pigs and horses. The cook A. Mbabo looked after the kitchen personnel, while the house-boys cleaned the priests' mattresses. The teacher P. Ngongo looked after the pupils of the boarding school, while the sexton's duties were fulfilled by P. Ngongo, a son of Gabriel Malo. They all worked in the hope that the priests would soon come back from Waingapu.⁸³

Soon after, however, there was a command from the Japanese authorities that private schools had to be closed. Not only the nine village schools of the mission, but also the boarding school in Weetebula had to send their pupils home. Soon, the mission buildings were robbed. Initially, trusted people took the most valuable things to their own houses to bring them back when times were once again 'normal'. But even government officials started using the furniture and even the houses of the mission compound. After consultations with the new authority, Arnold Fernandez received permission to re-open only the Catholic school in the administrative centre Waikabukak, which had started in the late 1930s. In October 1942 a committee of three people went to Flores to see Bishop Leven and to ask his advice about the continuation of religious life in Sumba. Leven could not send a priest with them, but gave them instructions for mission work, as well as some money to pay the teachers and catechists. In November 1942 the Japanese army took possession of the mission compound. On the foundations of the church, which was not yet constructed, they built a brothel, which initially was to be populated with girls from Laura. Because they forcibly resisted the plan, finally girls from Sawu and Java were transported to the mission compound to entertain Japanese soldiers. There was also some overt anti-Christian propaganda by the Japanese authorities declaring that 'Christ had died and now Christianity should also pass away. Christianity should be seen as a religion of the past, because it was the religion of the Dutch and the Americans'.⁸⁴

⁸³ From the work by Arnold Fernandez, *Hal Misi Soemba di Masa Perang*, finished on 26-1-1946 and extensively quoted in Haripranata 1984:349.

⁸⁴ 'Christo soedah mati, agamanja djoega haroes dimatikan perlahan. Agama Kristo agama Belanda, Amerika. Djadi orang jang ikoet Kristo, ia hati sama-sama Belanda, Amerika! Lontjeng Geredja dilarang paloe!', Haripranata 1984:351.

Sunday services could continue, notwithstanding some Japanese actions against the spread of Christianity. Most schools reopened in 1943, but they were no longer mission schools. Protestants and Catholics were reallocated and mixed to prevent purely Catholic schools. In June 1943 the recently ordained Florinese priest Karel Kale visited Weetebula to give more instructions. In February 1945 the administrator apostolic of Hiroshima, Aloysius Ogihara SJ, temporarily working on Flores, visited Sumba. These contacts with prominent church members outside Sumba could only briefly revive the discipline and spirit that had characterized the previous period.

CHAPTER V

Kai and Tanimbar as a second eastern centre for the Catholic mission

In the mid-nineteenth century the Catholic mission considered Sungailiat in Bangka the western centre for work among native Indonesians and Larantuka the eastern centre. The dream of western expansion starting from the Chinese mission in Bangka was never realized. In eastern Indonesia, however, Larantuka, and later Ende, became the centre of a modest expansion of Catholicism, most of all in Flores, Timor, and Sumba. Since 1889 the small Kai islands also saw the beginning of a fruitful mission. Although a number of villages in these islands had accepted the religion of Islam since the 1850s, there were still many pagan villages. The most promising of these was the village of Langgur.

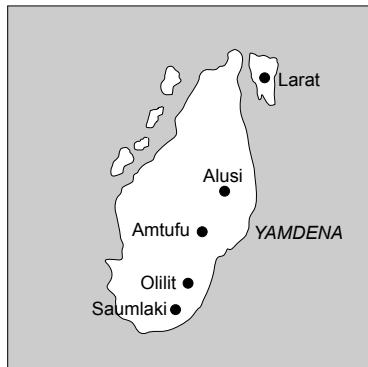
After two Jesuits had arrived in Kai in 1888, the first baptisms took place in the village of Langgur in August 1889. These were not just individual decisions: the village council of Langgur had approved and even encouraged this conversion. In 1890 the village councils of Faan and Duroa followed. Later, many others repeated this procedure: in 1892 Iso and Rewav, in 1894 Kolseer, Rumadian, Namar, and Ngilngof. After difficulties with some Muslim villages, the colonial government declared the Catholic chiefs of Rumadian and Faan to be independent of the Muslim raja of Tual, until then considered the main settlement in the Kai islands. This caused the Kai islands, like the situation in the northern and central Moluccas, to turn into a jigsaw puzzle of Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant villages. The process of conversion in the Kai islands was communal, a collective decision by each settlement, with the possible choices being Islam and two varieties of Christianity. But baptism was conferred only after individual preparation. By 1900, 743 baptisms had already been conferred, mostly of children at the two mission schools in Langgur and Kolseer (Steenbrink 2003:183-8).

The number of Catholics rose quickly. When the MSC missionaries took over the mission in 1902, 1,170 people had been baptized and 17 villages declared 'Catholic'.¹ At that time the population of the Kai archipelago was estimated at 30,000. About one third were Muslim. As in the northern Moluccas,

¹ On this mechanism for conversions, see Grent and Sol 1974:502-7.



Kai



Tanimbar

most Muslim villages in the Kai archipelago were on the northern coasts. Tual on the island of Dullah was the most important harbour and also the bulwark of Islam for the whole region. It was separated by a narrow strait only a few kilometres across from Langgur on Kai Kecil, which was to become the main centre of Catholicism. In the first decade of the twentieth century Elat, on Kai Besar, was the main centre of Protestantism, but around 1915 the leader of the Protestant mission moved to Tual, the centre of government administration. In the mid-1920s Kai Kecil's population of 37,611 consisted of 13,360 Muslims (34%), 10,749 Catholics (28%), and 5,734 Protestants (18%), in addition to 7,768 'pagans' (Lasomer 1985:86; Mooij 1925:135).² There were more Catholics on the more densely populated Kai Kecil, but more Protestants on Kai Besar. In the Tanimbar Islands the number of Muslims remained very low, while the proportion of Protestants to Catholics was two to one.

The new Catholic mission in Langgur developed into a major centre for eastern Indonesia by 1940. In Kai Kecil there were four stations, where a resident priest lived (Langgur, Tual, Namar, Rumaat), four permanent stations in Kai Besar (Waur, Uwat, Hollat and Elat), and five stations in the Tanimbar archipelago (Saumlaki, Olilit, Amtufu, Alussi and Larat). The Catholic mission in southern New Guinea was also planned and organized from Langgur.

At the heart of this endeavour were the basic but adequate schools in Langgur and Tual. In this region with its difficult communications, the mission had established boarding schools in Langgur to educate boys and girls beyond the level of the three-year village school. The *standaardschool* for boys provided an additional three years of Dutch-language education, which could be followed by a two-year teacher training programme. This school produced hundreds of teachers for the New Guinea mission and other parts of eastern Indonesia. In addition, there was vocational training for boys who had finished *standaardschool*, where they could learn the trades of carpenter, tailor, or blacksmith. These older boys were involved in the ongoing building activities of the mission by constructing houses for teachers, schools, chapels, and churches with solid materials for long-lasting use in regions where formerly only rapidly deteriorating materials were used. Similar schools were established for girls in Langgur by religious nuns, who by the late 1930s already had a good number of Indonesian members. The small mission in Kai Kecil transformed into the dynamic centre for the mission in the regions to the north and the east.

² After the 1920s there were no major changes in this proportion. In 1985, 41% were Muslim, 33% Catholic, and 25% Protestant. Laksono 1996:156-76, esp. 158.

The transfer of the region from the Jesuits to the MSC

In the late 1890s the Dutch Jesuits felt that the number of their priests was insufficient to provide enough missionaries for the rapidly growing mission in Indonesia. The withdrawal of missionaries from Sumba in 1898 was a result of this shortage of mission personnel. By then the Jesuits had already started discussing the transfer of part of their mission to the MSC, the Sacred Heart missionaries.

The MSC society was founded in 1854 by the young French priest Jules Chevalier (1824-1907). The society established training for the priesthood, first focusing on the re-evangelization of France, but soon also on serving in foreign missions. From the beginning the society also attracted members from the Netherlands. In 1881 the Vatican entrusted them with their first large mission territory: the vicariate apostolic of Melanesia and Micronesia. This included the whole of New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, and many surrounding islands. In the initial enthusiasm even the island of Ambon was considered part of this Catholic mission territory, being an island in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. In November 1881 five French missionaries left Barcelona for Manila, where they ran into trouble because they were travelling on false Spanish passports. The missionaries had joined an adventurous undertaking of the French Marquis de Rays, who planned to found a new colony in the Pacific. Because of opposition from the French government, the party had left secretly and soon had problems. From Singapore the five MSC missionaries sought help and information from the vicar apostolic of Batavia, Bishop A. Claessens, who urged them not to undertake any missionary endeavours in the Dutch colony, including Ambon. Via Surabaya they travelled to Batavia, where they stayed for five months. Two members of the mission returned to France, three others travelled via Singapore and Sydney to Thursday Island, between Queensland and New Guinea, where they arrived in October 1884 and started their mission from the tiny Thursday Island, off the northern coast of Australia.

Due to the anti-religious policy of the French government, in the 1880s the MSC moved their schools to places outside France. For their boarding school and theological seminary they found refuge in the Netherlands. After some time they settled in the southern town of Tilburg, where they could make use of some old industrial buildings. In 1891 they opened a newly built mission house in Tilburg for the training of priests who were to be sent to foreign missions. Soon after the opening of this training centre the French-educated Dutch priest Simon Peeters sent a letter from Tilburg to his superior in Rome, requesting that the Dutch branch of the society had a mission territory of its own. The Dutch sector of New Guinea was then suggested as a good possibility. It took a decade before this affair was settled.

I will not attempt to reconstruct the complicated process of negotiations that finally led to formal permission for the MSC missionaries to settle on the Kai islands, with the promise that they could start work in southern New Guinea later. Many parties were involved. In Indonesia, on the national level, these were the governor-general and the vicar apostolic of Batavia with their respective regional networks. In the Netherlands it was mostly the papal nuncio in contact with the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague. There were also the Vatican debates, with the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide and the general superiors of the MSC and the Jesuit order. One of the main obstacles was the fact that the MSC society was considered a French institution and therefore not to be accepted in the Dutch colony. The active role of the French branch of the MSC in the eastern region of New Guinea was not really helpful in this respect. The Dutch branch hesitated to start a mission directly in the Dutch (western) part of New Guinea. The MSC leaders in Rome thought first about a connection with the mission of the French province of the MSC, but both the Dutch MSC and the Dutch colonial government were not in favour of a missionary initiative from Thursday Island. The MSC disliked the idea of working under the supervision of the Jesuits, who were responsible for the whole Dutch colony. Finally, the close relations between colonial government and clergy in the Dutch Indies conflicted with the wish of the Vatican that missionary work be totally independent of politics. For all these problems solutions had to be found. Langgur, the promising station on the small Kai Islands, would be the start of an MSC mission independent of the Jesuits, but in cooperation with a consenting and controlling colonial government.³

On 15 December 1902 the new prefecture apostolic of Dutch New Guinea was established by the Vatican. The first prefect, Dr Mathieu Neyens,⁴ left on 17 October 1903 from Marseille, together with the young priest Hein Geurtjens, who would become a gifted linguist and keen observer of social relations in the region. They arrived in Ambon on 19 November 1903 and one week later in Langgur. They received a warm welcome from the last Jesuits, Father Mertens and Brother Van de Leeuwenberg, who gave them all the possessions of the mission, including the buildings and the furniture. As a sign of gratitude, the new missionaries later presented a golden chalice and a monstrance to the Jesuit community of Batavia (Schreurs 1992:117). In the good tradition of Kai, five other boats welcomed the guests in the harbour. There was gun-firing, songs by schoolboys, and speeches by teachers.⁵

³ A summary of the main issues of the debate is in Schreurs 1992:115-6, from documents in the MSC archives.

⁴ Mathieu Neyens was born in 1868 in Heel in the southern province of Limburg, the Netherlands. In 1897 he defended his doctoral dissertation in systematic theology in Rome, apparently for the purpose of becoming professor of theology at the MSC's major seminary in the Netherlands (Van der Meer, Baur and Engelbregt 1949-55:666).

⁵ J. Mertens to Bishop Luypen in Batavia, Langgur, 3-12-1903, AJAK G 10-4-2.



Illustration 2. The prefect apostolic of Langgur, Dr Matthieu Neyens; drawing by Father Vertenten in 1912 (from Schreurs 1992:145)

The small village of Langgur in the Kai Islands may seem a strange starting point for a mission on New Guinea. But we should keep in mind that the French MSC society (with the help of several Dutch members) had run their mission in the eastern region of New Guinea from the tiny Thursday Island. The first objective, however, was to continue the Jesuit mission in the Kai islands. Thanks to the quick increase of missionary personnel, they were able to start a mission on the southern coast of New Guinea, now the Indonesian province of Papua, in 1905.

The MSC could effectuate a much quicker expansion of their activities than the SVD priests in Flores and Timor in the 1910s because of the number of new arrivals in the 1910s. In September 1904 two priests (H. Nollen and Viegen) arrived from the French mission of New Guinea (Schreurs 1992:124). In January 1905 two more priests and four brothers arrived from the Netherlands. By early 1906 the number of priests had risen to seven, while there were six brothers. Four more priests and two brothers arrived in 1907 (Schreurs 1992:126).

The rapid expansion of the mission also caused several problems. An outside observer in Rome even criticized the system as a waste of qualified personnel. The Dutch provincial superior, on a visit to Rome, wrote that it would have been much more efficient to increase the number of local religious teachers than to send so many qualified missionaries from abroad. He judged that the priests were overqualified and had a level of education much too high to be properly understood by illiterate villagers for whom these were their first contacts with western domination and its consequences. 'There were only two Jesuits on Kai, a priest and a brother. Now there are already ten priests on Kai Kecil alone, with as many brothers and sisters, and I do not know whether this situation is really a step forward' (Schreurs 1992:152).

The rapid expansion proved to be very expensive because the priests in the new station required parish houses, chapels, and schools, all of which had to be built. The prefect apostolic, Neyens, was a very dynamic man, who believed that too many souls could be lost to Muslims and Protestants if the mission did not immediately 'occupy' as many territories as possible. He entered into a long and heated debate with the Dutch branch and the international leadership of his order about facilities, especially finance. In fact there was some ambiguity about who was responsible for the mission. As members of a religious order the MSC priests and brothers had to obey their religious superior with regard to their personal spiritual life. In the case of Mathieu Neyens, who was named prefect apostolic by the Vatican, this obedience was limited to private affairs. In matters of governance of the mission territory and of missionary strategy he was only to execute instructions from the Vatican. These were interpreted more or less as marching orders to expand Catholicism as quickly and thoroughly as possible. Neyens complained that the MSC in the Netherlands collected a great

deal of money 'for the mission', but spent most of it on building the mission house and educating future missionaries in the Netherlands. In relation to his modest financial means, Neyens hired too many teachers and built too many chapels and schools. He soon got into serious trouble, and several times was unable to pay schoolteachers their salaries. In 1908 the Dutch province of the MSC allotted an extra gift of 25,613 guilders because for the period 1903-1907 Neyens had spent about 50% more than he had received. A similar situation occurred in 1914 when a deficit of 18,147 guilders had to be resolved in the same way (out of a total budget of 141,161 guilders) (Schreurs 1992:148).

These financial troubles resulted in the very unusual dismissal of Prefect Neyens, after he had formally asked the Vatican for this measure in June 1914. The dismissal was granted in December 1914, while in February 1915 his successor as a prefect apostolic was named, Henricus Nollen. The painful decision was made after many heated debates. The conflict between the Dutch MSC and Neyens rose so high that in the period 1911-1914 no new personnel were sent to Indonesia. This was a relief in terms of finances, but it was also a setback in the race with Islam and Protestantism.

The new prefect, Nollen, praised his predecessor as a good manager who had founded new schools and issued requests for government subsidies for the many schools. This would result in the receipt of a lot of money in the coming years. Neyens was also praised as the initiator of the mission in Merauke and Yamdena (Tanimbar). But most of all Neyens was praised for giving the mission the image of being 'well-informed, and a group that cannot be attacked without consequences. His well-funded and well-written treatises and letters of defence have made our Protestant adversaries much more cautious' (Schreurs 1992:139). Neyens accepted the decision and continued his work with the Moluccan mission. After 1915 he was mostly active as an advisor in relations with the government, especially the *resident* of Ambon. He visited the small Catholic communities of Banda and Ambon frequently before a permanent station could be opened in Ambon. He collected much material for a history of the region he loved and served in spite of his failure as a superior of the mission. His material was lost when the mission station was set on fire during the Japanese attack in July 1942. Neyens did not experience this attack on the mission. He died on 29 September 1941 in Haar on Kai Besar (Schreurs 1992:151-2, 234-5).

Neyens's successor, Henricus Nollen, had been a missionary from 1897 in the northeastern part of New Guinea, at that time the German colony of Neu Pommern. In 1904 he had started work in the Kai mission as the parish priest of Langgur. Between 1905 and 1909 he worked as a pioneer in Merauke and then returned to Langgur as *superior missionis* (that is, director of the MSC priests and brothers in their religious life). This humble man had no easy job, because the mission personnel were divided into friends and enemies of

Neyens. The former even suspected Nollen of a conspiracy against the first MSC prefect in Kai. The insecure situation during World War I also made the financial situation more difficult.

In 1920 the MSC mission was upgraded from a prefecture apostolic to a vicariate apostolic. The most important change was that a vicar apostolic is an ordained bishop who would be at the same institutional level as the bishop of Batavia. For this position it was not the acting prefect apostolic who was chosen, but an MSC missionary from the Philippines, Joannes Aerts. Until his cruel death at the hands of the Japanese invading army on 30 July 1942, Aerts was the leader of the mission, not only for the Moluccas, but also for New Guinea.

Sisters

Besides priests and brothers, the foreign personnel were soon augmented by religious nuns. The MSC had a female branch, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, but a request to France for their assistance was denied. Therefore Neyens addressed the Franciscan sisters, who were already working in Semarang and Flores. It was quite helpful that a niece of Neyens was a member of this congregation. On 17 February 1905 the first Franciscan sisters (commonly called 'van Heythuizen' after their main convent in the Netherlands) had arrived from Semarang. The sisters did European-style cooking for the male missionaries, and washed and repaired their clothes, but their main job was the education of girls. As in Semarang and Flores, the sisters concentrated on the school with dormitory in Langgur, because this enabled them to stay together with some 10 to 15 sisters in one house. They also rejected the suggestion that they should make missionary contacts with the population through medical work or as midwives. They found support from their Dutch superiors and even from the Dutch cardinal Van Rossum, prefect of the Propaganda Fide in the Vatican. In 1916, the Dutch superior of the MSC, A. Brocken, complained to the Heythuizen superior:

The Franciscan Sisters are not missionaries. They have a school with some 40 girls in the dormitory and some 20 external pupils and besides this they do not make contact with the natives. They leave their convent only to go to church. [...] Care for the sick is also a very useful work for the sisters. The Franciscan Sisters, however, are not active in this field. (quoted in Eijt and Hautvast 2002:197)

In 1921 the Franciscan sisters left the Kai mission and were replaced by the female branch of the MSC, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart.

In the 1920s it was decided not to accept Indonesian members as sisters or brothers in the MSC, but to establish new religious congregations for local sisters and brothers. In 1926 three young men, who had probably been work-

ing for some time with a team of MSC brothers, applied for membership of the religious order. There were Cantius and Donatus Tuju, two brothers of Minahasa descent, and the third was Ambrosius Lefan from Kai. They were the start of a native congregation of brothers. The brothers of the Holy Heart of Jesus never became a flourishing community. In 1963 this independent Indonesian society with only 14 members was united with the MSC order (Grent and Sol 1974:527; Schreurs 1992:211-3).

The women were more successful in founding a religious order. In 1924 the first four girls entered the noviciate as preparation to become religious nuns. They were educated by the MSC sisters, but also formed the start of an independent Indonesian order, the sisters of Mary Mediator, Tarekat Maria Mediatrix or Suster-suster Maria Pengantara (Heuken 1994:352). Although they became an independent order, they had to follow the usual rules for religious orders at that time and basically their lifestyle and formal expressions of Catholic piety did not differ much from the Dutch sisters. From the beginning, however, they were less bound to the convent and had more intense contact with the local population. There is an incidental report about Saumlaki, where Indonesian sisters gave lessons in religion and singing in the houses of ethnic Chinese inhabitants (who sent their children to the sisters' school). Within a few months the sisters had prepared 31 ethnic Chinese children for baptism, while until that time no Chinese had applied for baptism (Schreurs 1992:211). In 1940 there were 29 priests in the Moluccas, 25 brothers (four of them native Indonesians) and 48 sisters, 17 of them native Indonesians.

The southeastern Moluccas and the race between Islam and Christianity: Protestants and Catholics

The region known nowadays as the southeast Moluccas was for a long time not even considered part of the Moluccas. The Muslim traders who began arriving in the eastern Indonesian archipelago in the second half of the fifteenth century first started their business with the people of Ternate, Tidore, and went as far southeast as Amboin and Banda. They called the region Jaziratul Muluk, or the islands of the many kings. The many islands in the southeastern archipelago were not yet known under this name, but they also fit this definition. There are seven distinct groups of islands in this region. From east to west these are the Aru, Kai, Tanimbar, Babar, Damar, Leti, and Kisar-Wetar archipelagos. Many of the smaller islands here are not permanently populated, and the region's population density is still one of the lowest in Indonesia. In 1990 there were only 12 inhabitants per square kilometre (the land area of the Timor Sea region is 25,000 km²).

Muslims arrived in small numbers after the advent of Islam in the northern Moluccas around 1470. The Portuguese Catholics did not have a lasting impact on the islands. Protestant missionaries were not really active before 1900. They had some missionaries and teachers in the western groups (most of them in Kisar, Damar, and Babar), but had little or no effect on the Kai, Tanimbar, and Aru archipelagos.

After trade intensified in the 1850s, owing to steam vessels often owned by Arab traders, more Muslims settled in the islands and they also started to make converts among the local population. There were more Arabs in Tual than Chinese, indicating their importance. In 1932 there were 382 Arabs and 220 Chinese. Among the Arabs there were 93 adult men, 86 women, and 203 children, figures that show their well-established position. Of the six people of Tual who held larger plots of land in lease from the government in Dulah and Kai Kecil, three Chinese and three Arabs had the largest plots. They had an average of 170 acres of land for coconut plantations. The Arabs were also active in retail trade, mostly textiles. The Chinese, mostly working as traders too, were on the whole somewhat richer than the Arabs. In 1931 the Arabs paid taxes of 1,259 guilders compared to 2,713 by the Chinese. A disturbing factor in these statistics is that the Chinese were very obedient taxpayers, while the Arabs were notorious for complaining about taxes and for their efforts to postpone payments.

Islam was spread through informal courses of Koran reading (*mengaji*) in Muslim villages, while only in Tual and Elat were full religious courses given (to an unspecified number of children). Like the Chinese, the Arabs had their own chief, or *Kapten Arab*, in Tual. Other non-Kai natives were placed under the *Kapten Bugis*. This suggests that most non-Kai natives originated from South Sulawesi and should be counted among the Muslim Buginese and Makassarese. This, however, is not absolutely true. Many were Protestant Ambonese. There was also a significant Muslim group in the western Kai Islands which originated from the island of Banda as a result of the ethnic-religious cleansing by Jan Pieterszoon Coen in the 1620s.⁶

The colonial government had very strict rules on the prevention of 'double mission' by different Christian denominations. In one region only one Catholic or Protestant missionary society was admitted. The Moluccas, however, seems to have been an exception to this rule. Notwithstanding the fact that in the 1880s the Catholics were invited to start a mission in Langgur, the Indische Kerk, supported and administered by officials of the colonial state, sent teachers from Amboina from the late 1890s onward. The first was one Ch. Peletimu, who came in the early 1890s as *guru jemaat*. He used the village of Taar on Kai Kecil as his base. In various villages he started Protestant schools.

⁶ W. Scheffer, *Memorie van Overgave van de Onderafdeling Kei-eilanden 1927-1933*, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1238, pp. 6, 10, 17, 22, 55.

In 1911 the first assistant minister (J.A. Meijer) opened a station in Elat on Kai Besar. Later the station for the assistant minister was transferred to Tual. In the early 1930s there were, besides this minister as the head of the mission, 18 native teachers and 20 *guru jemaat*, 14 of them from Ambon while six were Kai natives.⁷ In 1933 Controleur W. Scheffer estimated that out of 50,000 inhabitants of the Kai Islands, 20,000 were Muslim, 11,000 Protestant, and 13,000 Catholic, while the remaining 6,000 were labelled animists.⁸ The spread of the three religious denominations led to a complicated mosaic of Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant villages, with more Muslim villages in the northern part of the islands and more Christian villages in the south.

In Tanimbar we note a similar development between Catholics and Protestants, only in a different chronology. There were older relations between Ambon and the Indische Kerk and Tanimbar.⁹ Around 1892 the Ambonese teacher, Nicolaas Saliha, from Ema came as the first Protestant teacher to settle on Tanimbar (Larat) and to open a school. He was followed in 1894 by Izaak Patty, who worked on Selaru. The first teacher in Yamdena arrived in 1909 in Loro Ulung.¹⁰ E.G.E.P. von Heijden, the *civiel gezaghebber* of the Tanimbar islands, had an informal meeting in 1910 with the leader of the Kai mission, Neyens, and invited him to start work on Yamdena. After that time, the double mission on the Tanimbar Islands was a fact, grudgingly accepted by both parties. In the statistics for Tanimbar, Muslims are a very small number (there were 28 Arabs in 1921). Roughly two-thirds of the population embraced Protestantism, the rest being Catholic. By the early 1920s it was reported that nearly the whole of the population was baptized.¹¹

The people of Kai and Tanimbar, although traditionally fierce headhunting societies, were considered by later administrators to be very quiet and peaceful. There were few homicides and thefts, and individual persons were seen as gentle and calm. However, it looked as if communal fighting was a favourite hobby, at least when there was a quarrel between Protestants and Catholics or between villages. Disputes about fishing grounds and dowries for brides most often were not between individuals but between villages. In

⁷ Coolsma 1901:708; Scheffer, *Memorie van Overgave* 1933, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1238, pp. 2-3. An assistant minister was not ordained and could not administer the eucharist. The much debated Reverend H.G. Plattel, who worked in the southeastern islands between 1913 and 1923, had little education and had worked for the Salvation Army before serving the Indische Kerk in the early 1910s. There were very few ordained Protestant ministers with full training in the Moluccas – only two or three in this period – in contrast to scores of Catholic priests. See also Enklaar 1947:62-75.

⁸ Scheffer, *Memorie van Overgave* 1933, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1238, pp. 23.

⁹ Joseph Kam visited Tanimbar on his pastoral tour of 1825. See the publication of his report in De Jong and Van Selm 1999:47-78.

¹⁰ E.E.M.J. Kromme, *Beschrijving der Tanimbar en Babar-eilanden*, NA 2.10.36 KIT 1236.

¹¹ W. Belger *Memorie van Overgave Tanimbar* 1921, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1239, p. 12.

these communal matters people could easily get excited.¹² With some satisfaction, colonial officials reported to their superiors that there were many quarrels between villages, natives among themselves, but not against the colonial government (Kromme 1921:12).

Langgur and other Catholic villages on Kai Kecil

In traditional Kai society many settlements were very small and consisted of no more than a longhouse, housing members of one extended family. In the early 1900s the colonial administration imposed drastic changes on this society. Major changes were the ban on longhouses, the obligation to build a separate house for each married couple and to construct roads between villages, and the slow but certain transition from arranged marriages to individual choices. In a traditional subsistence economy, where only very little cash money was used, the new administration promoted more use of money, at least for taxes and fines. These changes all involved a weakening of the position of extended families and more emphasis on personal differences. Those who resisted these changes could meet harsh reproaches from missionaries and fines from the administration. There are several cases of fines up to 50 guilders and even imprisonment for citizens of Kai Kecil who did not build small houses for nuclear families (example in Lasomer 1985:92). Giving up the longhouse also involved the abolition of many traditional beliefs, rituals, and cosmological perceptions where the ancestors played an important role.

The missionary enterprise supported this process towards greater responsibility for individual decisions. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the decision to accept Islam or Christianity was mostly taken collectively. We have seen the example of Langgur, where the elders of that village decided to opt for Catholicism after the priest was able to heal a sick child (Steenbrink 2003a:186-8). Later cases show the pattern of a *radsuv*, a collective deliberation about the consequences of changes taking place. This was a debate between the elders of a village or family in which they discussed changes in lifestyle, marriage, agriculture, and trade in the surrounding villages, and made decisions about the policy they would follow. In several cases they sent for a priest to come to their village, because they had decided on a Catholic future (Grent and Sol 1974:502).

¹² 'De Keiees vindt in ruzies een zeker vermaak, vooral als het tusschen groepen van personen gaat, bijvoorbeeld Protestanten tegen Katholieken en omgekeerd of kampong tegen kampung (bijzonderlijk als het grenskwesties geldt). Hij raakt daarbij spoedig opgewonden.' In Scheffer, *Memorie van Overgave* 1933, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1238, pp. 32, 59.

In the follow-up of these first contacts, the Catholic clergy adhered to the strategy used in other regions, by establishing large mission stations with outer posts that were visited once a week or once a month by the parish priest. In the smaller stations the schoolteacher was the most important transmitter. Therefore, an important addition to village formation was the founding of schools, chapels, and parish houses.

Langgur became the most developed station of the whole mission, not only in Kai Kecil, but also in the whole region, including southwest New Guinea. Around 1900 Langgur was reported to be a village of some 400 inhabitants. At that time the raja of Tual was considered the most prominent chief of the Kai islands, and Dutch rulers even considered the other chiefs as subordinate to the raja of Tual. After conversion of the Tual raja to Islam, the chief of Langgur and eight other 'Catholic' villages, Faan, Koldir, Gelanit, Rumadian, Ohoiluk, Ngilngof, Namarr and Ohoider, all wanted to become independent of the raja of Tual. In Tual it was claimed that these ten villages were a confederation (in Ohoiwut 'ten villages') under the leadership of Tual. This, however, was contested by other parties in the debate, especially Langgur, which wanted to have its own independent raja. Three reasons may have played a role in this request: (1) Langgur was Catholic while Tual was a Muslim area; (2) the division between the clan connected to the *Ur Siwa* (the group of nine, related to Tidore) as distinct from the *Ur Lima* (the group of five, related to Ternate) – a common division found throughout the Moluccas;¹³ (3) the difference between the higher class, *mel-mel*, and the class of commoners, *mel-jama*. A *mel-mel* family ruled Tual, while there was no *mel-mel* available in Langgur, where the chief was *jama*.¹⁴

In 1903 the village council of Faan proposed Januarius Mamteen Esbadoeboen as the new raja of Faan after Ludovicus Kasoewar Renwarin had died, on 10 December 1902. Januarius was the first member of the elite of Langgur to be baptized, in 1893. He was also strong defender of the independence of Langgur-Faan against the supremacy of the raja of Tual. The affair sparked a complicated and widespread debate. Not only the officials in Tual and Ambon, even the vicar apostolic of Batavia and the governor-general were involved. Bishop Luypen of Batavia considered the independence of the Catholic villages from a Muslim chief a matter of principle, involving a final victory or defeat of Islam on Kai. Controleur M. Schadee defended the supremacy of Tual as a historical right. Langgur missionary J. Mertens turned the question into a personal conflict with the *controleur* of Tual. He claimed

¹³ In the case of Tual and Langgur this difference is not important, because the ten villages of Ohoiwut were all part of the *Ur Lima* division; Laksono 1996:156-76; Lasomer 1985:60.

¹⁴ Report by the *controleur* of Tual, M. Schadee, 20-5-1903: copy in AJAK G 10-4-2+3. For a discussion of the various interpretations of the social division between *mel-mel* and *ren-ren*, see Laksono 1996:156-76, esp. 160-1.

that the *controleur* was afraid that those who turned Catholic would be less obedient and less compliant to colonial rule, because they would consider themselves on the same level as Europeans. A long string of deliberations followed, with many local chiefs on Kai joining in the debate. It was increasingly emphasized that the rajas of Faan and Rumadian had already established their authority in 1898 by being directly appointed by the colonial government. In August 1906, after consultation with the governor-general, both rajas were declared independent as native ruler (*regent*) by the *resident* of Ambon.¹⁵ This was an important decision for the continuation of mission work in the Catholic villages, which now obtained the same status as Tual. In the long run, however, Tual would become more and more important as the centre of the colonial government and later the Indonesian government. The most prestigious school, the Dutch-language Hollandsch-Inlandsche School (HIS), was therefore started in Tual in the 1920s. Like the *standaardschool* of Langgur, the HIS had a dormitory for its pupils. The pupils of the HIS were educated to become village chiefs, or officials in the government administration (and therefore had to be fluent in Dutch), while the pupils of the *standaardschool* were trained to become schoolteachers or catechists and would therefore work for the Catholic mission. The Catholic HIS in Tual was established to compete with the Protestant mission and to have a strong presence at the true centre of the colonial administration in this region. Langgur remained the strongest Catholic centre.

The large mission compound of Langgur stretched about one kilometre along the eastern coast of Kai Kecil, with a view of nearby Tual. On this plot of land the large church¹⁶ and its parish house were built. Next to these central buildings were the *standaardschool* for boys and the *huishoudschool*, the school where the sisters taught basic, largely western, housekeeping skills to daughters of the Catholic elite. Both schools had dormitories for children who came from others parts of Kai. In the compound was a workshop for the brothers and their pupils. A very important machine was the big sawing machine, where the strong ironwood of the island was turned into lumber for churches, houses, and other mission buildings. The sawing machine was quite expensive, and had partly caused Prefect Apostolic Neyens's financial problems. Part of the workshop was a small shipyard where traditional wooden boats were made, and where the mission's motorboat was taken for repairs. In 1940 there were 9 priests, 16 brothers (4 of them natives), and 23 sisters (11 of them natives) in Langgur. This was one-quarter of the priests and about half of the other religious for Kai, Tanimbar, and the mission in New Guinea, all located in one small village. The sisters had a special convent

¹⁵ Decision of 22-8-1906. On this debate see Lasomer 1985:61-5.

¹⁶ Photographs of the new church, consecrated on 29-9-1936, are in *Annalen van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart* 1937, vol. 25, pp. 15-7.

for Dutch members of the congregation attached to the MSC, and one for the new Indonesian religious order started in Langgur, where the novitiate for training new nuns was also established. In the dormitories more than 150 children were looked after. A total of more than 200 persons thus lived in the mission compound.¹⁷

The lifestyle of the boys and girls at the large mission schools of Tual and Langgur changed quite a lot in the 1920s and even more in the 1930s. Pupils who stayed in dormitories were kept to a very strict daily regime, which resembled seminary education for candidates to the priesthood, with daily mass and communion, prayers at meals and in the evening. Even their leisure time was regulated according to the strict discipline of the religious brothers and sisters of the teaching staff, similar to the modern boy scout movement. This was one of the few secular movements taken from central Java. Introduced and developed by the clergy, especially Father J. Bus, the scouts in Kai had a much more religious character than the more secular scouting movement internationally and in Java. The formal flag greetings were transformed into salutations of the cross. The gymnastic exercises were turned into demonstrations for Christian ceremonies at processions and outdoor religious meetings. The host, statues of the saints, and the crucifix became the centre of a new form of veneration through dance very similar to the traditional Kai dances of salutation and celebration (Berns 1938:102-8).

Namar on the western coast was the second permanent station on Kai Kecil, followed by Rumaat in the southeast. Tual, although located on the smaller neighbouring island of Dullah, was also considered part of the mission of Kai Kecil.

Hollat and other Catholic villages in Kai Besar

Hollat, on the northeastern coast of Kai Besar, was another opening for the Catholic mission. As was often the case, the mission started by fortuitous contacts. In January 1904 a man named Wahadat from Hollat, on a visit to Langgur, saw the work of the Catholic mission and suggested that a teacher be assigned to Hollat. A few months later a person from nearby Mun visited the Catholic village Gelanit on Kai Kecil and also asked for a teacher for his village. In May 1904 the experienced teacher Damianus Laad Maturbongs from Kolseer was sent to Hollat.¹⁸ In 1905 a new start of the Protestant mis-

¹⁷ *Jaarboek 1940:149*. In the prefecture apostolic of Purwokerto, Central Java, the MSC had no large central residence. They had 22 priests in this Javanese mission region in 1940, while only three were placed at the centrally located station of Purwokerto. Only five of the 32 brothers and 12 of the 96 sisters here had Purwokerto as their home. *Jaarboek 1940:118*.

¹⁸ Maturbongs started his work as a teacher in 1901, Lasomer 1985:75.

sion brought Protestant teachers to some villages on Kai Besar, like Ler-Ohoilim and Yamtil. In Hollat the *orangkaya*, living in the lower section of the village close to the coast, forbade his people to become Catholic. During a visit to Ambon in 1906 this *orangkaya* was baptized to Protestantism. This part of the village soon followed its chief. The Catholic school was located in the uphill part of the village that was in permanent tension and conflict with the lower part. The difference between 'commoners' and 'nobility', *melman* versus *ren-ren*, played a major role in this conflict. The uphill part of the village postponed their final decision to embrace Catholicism until Watlaar, with whom the people of uphill Hollat had an exchange of marriage partners, also embraced the Catholic faith.¹⁹

After the start of a school in 1904, a priest settled permanently in Hollat (east coast) and in April 1907 a school was opened in Ohoiwait (west coast). In 1908 a second permanent station, in Haar, north of Hollat, was established. Haar would become a battlefield between Muslim and Christian influence. For this region Haar was a large and populous place. In 1890 it was reported to have 800 people and to be the centre of the realm of the raja or *orangkaya* of Watlaar. The *orangkaya*, who received a confirmation of his position from the resident of Ambon in 1895, was reportedly a Muslim, Yusuf Narsafuk. But missionary R. Kraanen stated in 1907 that the *orangkaya* was pagan, although he had Muslims in his family. The *tuan tan*, according to traditional law authorized to decide on the ownership and use of land, allotted a plot to the mission and offered one of his sons to go to school and become Catholic, although he himself remained pagan. Orangkaya Yusuf Narsafuk and his son Waitup, who tried by various means to obstruct the Catholic initiative, did not approve of this move.

Things became serious because of another remote conflict. On 4 September 1912 a man named Wangko in Watraan (on Kai Dullah, not far from Tual) uttered serious insults against Islam. In answer to these insults Muslims started a fight with the Catholics, whereupon Controleur G. van Drunen of Tual had a number of Catholics and Muslims put in jail. At the request of Father Van der Raad, the Catholics of Watraan were allowed to return to their village to attend Sunday service on 12 September 1912. This caused a new fight between Muslims of Tual and Catholics of Watraan, in which Father Van der Raad and three native Kai companions were seriously wounded.

After news of the fight on the island of Dullah had reached Haar, Orangkaya Yusuf Narsafuk invented the rumour that Dutch colonial rule would be destroyed and that all those who refused to become Muslim would be killed.

¹⁹ From the *Diarium Hollat*, the chronicle of the parish, in the MSC archives in Tilburg, summary in Lasomer 1985:75-9, with examples of many minor conflicts between the Protestant and Catholic sections of Hollat, continuing older animosities.

The reaction of the government was very strong. A steamer with some 20 soldiers came from Ambon to Tual to arrest the people responsible for the riots in Watraan. The next stop for the expedition was Haar, where the compound of the *orangkaya* was burnt down. The *orangkaya* was deposed and the pro-Catholic *kapitan* named as his successor. Yusuf Narsafuk's son Waitup was punished by flagellation for his independent policy of the preceding years. When Waitup tried to start a new village not far from Haar, the six houses that were already built were also burnt down; the formal reason given was that no villages smaller than ten houses were allowed. This chain of violence and political manipulations led to the decline of Islam in this region and an increase in the number of Catholics.

The detailed attention given here to this case is to illustrate the complicated but rapid process of conversion to a world religion in these islands between 1890 and 1920.²⁰

It was not only the struggle between Muslims and Catholics that made the Kai and Tanimbar Islands a religious battlefield. Competition between Catholics and Protestants was certainly just as intense, and as many dirty means were used. Protestants often insulted Catholics for administering early baptism. Catholics criticized the mission tour of Protestant minister G.C.A. van den Wijngaard in 1918, where 12,500 were baptized, most of them on Tanimbar.²¹ Veteran Catholic missionary Hein Geurtjens openly acknowledged that using the claim of local people requesting specifically Catholic or Protestant missionaries was not valid. Secular factors were in fact usually what decided religious choice. The religious group making the best offer could win the competition, whether what they offered was health care, good schools, political power, or prospects for short-term or long-term financial gain.²² But in the heat of the debate both Christian groups used the argument that the 'local population wanted their specific religion and a teacher of their denomination'. A good illustration of the influence of fortuitous events is the case of the village of Ohoirat, north of Haar, where people opted for a Protestant teacher (and therefore finally Protestantism) after a relative from another village was put in prison because of a fight with Catholics from Haar.²³

The competition between Catholics and Protestants did not stop after the two parts of the village of Haar had made their choice. A long chain of con-

²⁰ Lasomer 1985:66-71. For similar problems and violence in more recent times, see Steenbrink 2001a:64-91.

²¹ On this tour see also Enklaar 1947:71-4. Enklaar defended the administration of baptism to people without prior instruction with the argument that the threat of progress of Islam and Catholicism necessitated this measure 'in order to secure these people' (om zich van de mensen te verzekeren).

²² Geurtjes in the Catholic daily *Javapost*, 28-7-1916, quoted in Lasomer 1985:73.

²³ From a manuscript by Neyens, *Moeilijkheden te Soinrat* in 1912, in the MSC archives in Tilburg. Summary in Lasomer 1985:74.

flicts followed. In October 1911 a trivial debate started after the Protestant *orangkaya* had ordered some Catholic men to work in the construction of a Protestant church and a house for the Protestant teacher. Catholic missionary E. Masure considered it a matter of freedom of conscience for Catholic men not to cooperate in the construction of Protestant buildings. He once passed by the Protestant church, saw the *orangkaya* sitting on a seat at the back of the church, and invited him to discuss this matter. He was then accused by the *posthouder* of Elat, C.W.A.E. Bernard, of disturbing a Protestant service. During Christmas 1912 the Protestants held a nightly procession with torches burning. Catholics watching this event shouted nasty remarks and both parties started throwing stones at each other until the Protestants ran away. The following day Protestants from nearby Ohoifan joined their co-religionists, and using traditional war dances and accompaniment of drum beating, the two parties threatened each other. Civil Gezaghebber J. de Vrij was able to settle the case and to persuade Protestants in the coastal settlements to move their houses further away from the Catholic section (Lasomer 1985:77-9).

Another location of Catholic-Protestant conflict was Soinrat, just north of Elat on the western coast of Kai Besar. In 1909, many families from Soinrat and neighbouring Bombay and Ohoiwatsin decided to become Catholic. Soon afterwards, however, a heated conflict about an arranged marriage divided Soinrat into two parties, and one party invited a Protestant teacher to come to the village, which already had a Catholic school. A teacher arrived in 1912. In this mountainous region, with only a narrow strip of land along the coast fit for buildings, choosing a place for a church and a school was difficult. The Catholic church and school were initially built between the lower and higher sections of the village. This plot of land was often inundated during the rainy season. The Catholics wanted to move their buildings to the higher part of the village which also had a Catholic majority, but had to build outside the village because of the scattering of Protestant families who claimed that they owned the land of the proposed building site (Lasomer 1985:79-81).

In 1916 a similar conflict arose when Father Geurtjens bought a plot of land in upper Soinrat to be used as a parish house for the priest on his pastoral trips. This plot was located next to the Protestant church, and the local Protestants involved *hulprediker* H.G. Plattel in the case. Plattel complained to the *resident* of Ambon, W.D. van Drunen Little (1915-1918), who forbade the building of a house for a priest so close to a Protestant church. There was another case where assistant minister Plattel gained a victory over the Catholics. In an effort to unite small villages into larger entities, Controleur P.M. Hooykaas ordered the population of Ngaad to move to Catholic Ohoiwatsin. This plan was supported by Catholic priest Geurtjens, who probably hoped that the people of Ngaad would in the long run become Catholic. Or perhaps Geurtjens simply did not want to criticize government policy.

Things developed the other way round. In their protest against this forced removal, the people of Ngaad sought support from the Protestants. Plattel promised to support the independence of the old village if the people would become Protestant. People were thereupon baptized as Protestants, but then cruel pressure by Hooykaas followed. He ordered the old chief of Ngaad to join him on an exhausting tour of the island, which brought about this man's death. Finally, the *resident* of Ambon again took the side of the Protestant minister and declared the forced removal of the village illegal. Catholic Prefect Nollen declared that this victory suggested that people could oppose the colonial government by becoming Protestant.²⁴

Similar conflicts like those in Soinrat also took place in Haar, like Hollat an early Catholic settlement on Kai Besar. In June 1917 some people of nearby Ohoimur wanted to accept a Protestant teacher, and assistant minister Plattel then gave orders to build a school and a church. For the church Plattel chose an empty plot of land that had already been assigned to the Catholic priest J. Yernaux for his church by the *orangkaya* of Haar, though construction of the church had been postponed. Plattel thought that the whole project had been cancelled. When some Protestants started building their church in Ohoimur, the priest Yernaux came along and pulled the piles out of the ground and threw them away, screaming (according to the local Protestant leader), 'Who gave you orders to put piles in my ground?'²⁵ In this case the *controleur* decided in favour of the Catholics, and the Protestants had to build their church at a different location.

The tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Haar-Ohoimur culminated in 1919 during the Catholic procession on Easter Sunday. On this day, 20 April 1919, the new church building in Haar was inaugurated and a large number of people were baptized. To enhance the festivities a big procession was held, with people singing and dancing in traditional Kai style, with drums. People from all the villages of the northeastern coast of Kai Besar were present. The Catholic procession passed a Protestant church where at that moment a service was being held. The Catholic teacher of Haar had warned his flock not to disturb the Protestant service. According to the Protestant teacher Tomasoa, the Catholics indeed stopped singing, but started throwing stones. The Catholic version of the story by missionary Matthieu Neyens was that the fighting was initiated by two Protestants who had come out of their church and had called the Catholics 'children of pigs'. Acting *controleur* A. van Maarseveen fined five Catholic teachers and the *orangkaya* of Haar (who had to turn in his silver staff, symbol of his indepen-

²⁴ Lasomer 1985:81-2 on the basis of the collection of 'Plattel complaints', in the KITLV manuscripts collection in Leiden, H. 651. See Document 20.

²⁵ For the Malay report by the leader of the Protestant congregation see Document 20.

dent authority). Prefect Nollens thereupon protested to the *resident* and the fines were partly revoked.²⁶

Conflicts between Catholics and Protestants were more often documented than those between Christian parties and Muslims. This is because there is a general lack of information about Muslims in our archives. But even between Catholics and Protestants it is very difficult to reconstruct the long and complicated series of conflicts in this religious competition. The missionaries' general impression was that Kai Besar experienced many more conflicts and serious rivalry between Christian denominations than did Kai Kecil or Tanimbar.

The main centres for the Catholic mission on Kai Besar were in Hollat (including Haar), Uwat (including Soinrat and Mun), Waur, and the main harbour of the island, Elat. Not too far from Elat a small asylum for victims of leprosy was opened, serving some 44 patients in 1940. The four stations of the mission on Kai Besar were expressed physically in stations with a larger school, a large church building, and a parish house for a resident priest. From Waur a missionary visited four minor stations with chapels and school twice a month. But the real missionary personnel were the catechists, who gave religious classes in the Kai language to adults, and the schoolteachers, who represented the modern world. The teachers taught their classes in standard modern Malay. The station at Waur had six teachers and catechists in 1940. The same pattern could be seen in the station at Uwat, with five villages where chapels and schools represented the new religion. With ten minor stations and two resident priests the mission centre of Hollat remained the most important on Kai Besar. The mission centre of Elat was located near the largest town of Kai Besar, but it concentrated on leprosy and served only two minor stations with four chapels and two primary schools.²⁷

Tanimbar

The Protestant Church (Indische Kerk), with its centre in Ambon, was quite active in the western part of the southeastern islands, especially in Babar and Damar. In Tanimbar they were also more active than in Kai. During his 1825 trip, Reverend Joseph Kam did not stop in Kai, but stayed for three weeks on the islands of Larat and 'Tanimbar' (in fact only the main island of Yamdena).

²⁶ Lasomer 1985:82-5. The Dutch and Malay archives on this case are at KITLV, Leiden, H. 516. See also Document 21, B-C. In the conflicts in the Moluccas starting January 1999 there were also several very serious incidents which began on religious holidays, such as 19-1-1999, the beginning of this new 'Moluccan War', on the Muslim holiday of Idul Fitri, and the heavy fighting of Christmas 1999.

²⁷ Jaarboek 1940:153-4.

He met only one person who had received some education in Banda and who could show him a copy of a small book containing a selection from the Bible, which he was unable to read (De Jong and Van Selm 1999:73-5).

There were a few more visits by Protestant ministers during the nineteenth century, but only in the last decade of that century were some teachers sent from Ambon. They started the first schools and at the same time initiated the Christianization of some regions of that extended and sparsely populated archipelago, as described above. Like the Kai islands, the region was not transferred to a missionary society. This meant that the native Ambonese teachers could start their work without the formal permission required for European missionaries.

In June 1910 Prefect Apostolic Neyens made a preliminary inspection tour of several places on the southwestern coast of New Guinea, on board a government vessel and in the company of the *assistant-resident* of Fak Fak, F.H. Dumas. No populous villages were encountered where a mission station could be started. By chance Neyens met the *gezaghebber* of Babar and Tanimbar, E.G.E.P. von Heijden, who proposed that the Catholics start a mission on the eastern coast of Yamdena, where some Protestant teachers had started work, but had left because of 'wildness of the population'. After a brief inspection Neyens became enthusiastic about the location, and by September 1910 he sent the priests J. Klerks and E. Cappers to Yamdena. These pioneers arrived with two catechists and two houseboys from Kai at Lakateri Bay (at Saumlaki) on the southern coast. They came on two boats with rowers from Kai. They brought all essential goods with them: 'provisions, cooking utensils, clothes, two lounge chairs, pillows and sleeping mats, petrol, gunpowder and plumb, and everything needed by people who want to settle in a totally uncivilized region'.²⁸ With the help of two young boys who could speak some Malay, they looked around the southeastern region, starting with Sifnana, and soon Cappers settled in Lauran and Klerks in Olilit. At both places a school was opened. Within one year they could even establish a third station in Sangliat. Starting from the south they hoped in short time to open stations and schools on Yamdena's most densely populated eastern coast. From the three stations two more schools were soon opened.

The courageous pioneers were in a hurry. There was not yet a formal government post on the island of Yamdena, but on Larat and Selaru (in Adaut) the lowest grade of officials were posted, *posthouders*, who in this region were always Protestant Ambonese. They were all active propagators of the Protestant faith. In 1911, the Ambonese Tamaela Wattimena settled as *posthouder* in Olilit, accompanied by a score of soldiers. Also in 1911, a *hulp-*

²⁸ '[...] alles wat noodig is voor menschen, die zich in een geheel onbeschaafde streek moeten vestigen'. From the description by Cappers 1917:216-25, especially 217. See also Van der Kolk 1928:49-61 in particular.

prediker was sent to Tanimbar and a Protestant guru reopened a school in Olilit. At the end of 1911, some people from Olilit attacked the government post and injured some soldiers and the Protestant teacher. This led to an expedition of punishment, led by Lieutenant Van den Bossche. He exiled 70 local leaders to Ambo. All inter-village fighting (including headhunting) was forbidden, as well as the production of strong drink, the fancy hairdress of the young men, and the dancing festivals that could last for several days and nights. Instead, people had to start working on inter-village roads and building classrooms for the children.

In the aftermath of the attack on Olilit one of the many unpleasant episodes of the competition between Protestants and Catholics occurred. Father J. Klerks was accused of inciting the Catholics of Olilit to attack the police post and kill the (Protestant Ambonese) soldiers. Klerks was even summoned to the court of the *resident* of Ambo, where he was cleared of the accusation. A large part of Larat and northern Tanimbar opted for Protestantism during this period.

After this turbulent start the missionaries tried to spread Catholicism as quickly as possible. On 24 July 1913 the first 70 baptisms were administered in Olilit, soon followed by Sifnana and Aluran. By October 1914, besides these three basic stations, there were 12 minor posts with village schools. The missionaries had by that time already baptized 528 Catholics, by 1915 more than 1,000, by 1916, 2,453, and in 1917 the statistics showed 3,421. The young mission was served by 27 catechists from Kai, who also worked as village school-teachers. Alusi had become the fourth major station by that time (Cappers 1917:216-25). Protestant minister G.C.A.A. van den Wijngaard made a baptism tour of the islands in 1918, where he gave special attention to Tanimbar and baptized many Protestants.

In 1921 Gezaghebber E. Kromme (1921:233) could state that all villages had a school, and that 'no village was left unoccupied' ('geen kampong meer onbezett'). Unfortunately the progress of the Protestant mission is less well documented than that of the Catholics. Kromme concluded that by 1921 the Protestants had opened 78 schools and the Catholics 23 (for the whole region of Tanimbar and the Babar islands), with a few exceptions all of them financed by the colonial government. The number of girls in the schools was much lower than that of boys, but initially it was very difficult to get the girls to school at all. Kromme, who was at the post in Tanimbar between 1912 and 1921, went to much trouble to get girls to go to school.

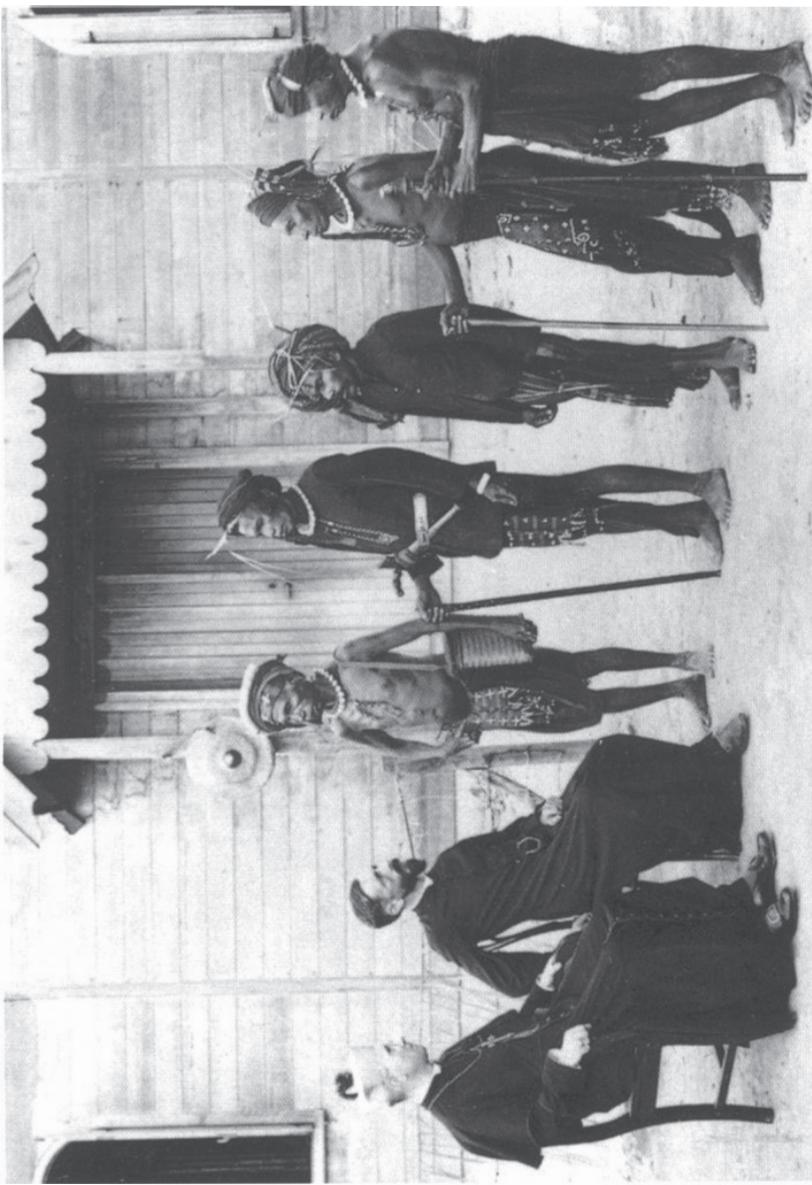


Photo 13. Bishop Johannes Aerts and Petrus Drabble in conversation with chiefs of the village of Sofiani on Fordate

Comparing the Protestant and Catholic activities yields the following school statistics for 1921 (Kromme 1921:233):

1921 Statistics	Protestants	Catholics
Saumlaki	boys 801, girls 636	boys 540, girls 386
Larat	boys 826, girls 650	boys 244, girls 377
Babar	boys 746, girls 570	-
Total	4,229	1,547

As to teaching personnel, the Protestants had 119 teachers, or one for every 35 pupils. For Catholic schools there were two well-trained, officially qualified teachers from Menado, who were appointed to the new extended primary school (*vervolgschool*) in Olilit (which in 1921 had 50 pupils, not included in the statistics above); there were 20 teachers from the Kai islands, and finally 15 assistant teachers (*hulp guru*), probably the first harvest from the village schools in Tanimbar. In total there were 37 Catholic teachers, or one for every 36 pupils. Even if we exclude the activities on the Babar Islands, where no Catholics were active, there is a clear quantitative predominance of Protestant initiatives (Kromme 1921:233).

According to Kromme the Protestant schools were also superior in quality. The teacher training college in Ambon had a long tradition, starting with the legendary B.N. Roskott in 1835-1864. Under his successors teachers had received professional training. There was not yet such professional training at the school in Langgur. Kromme saw another basic difference between the two systems: Protestant schools devoted only a few minutes a day to religious instruction, while Catholic schools allotted at least ten times as much. 'There is no doubt for anyone staying even a short period in Tanimbar that the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith is priority number one, two and three, and that only thereafter is some attention given to proper education.'²⁹ Kromme even heard a complaint by a chief in Olilit about priests' strict control of the frequent prayers they had to say. This chief used it as an excuse not to give much attention to agriculture, 'because we are always having to pray, in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, on Sundays and religious holidays. If we do not turn up at prayer we have to pay fines to the priest'.³⁰ This protest was communicated to a government official known to

²⁹ 'Want het is voor ieder die ook maar kerten tijd op de Tanimbar-eilanden verblijft en die zien en hooren wil, duidelijk, dat het brengen van de R.K. Godsdienst nummer een, twee en drie is en dat daarna het onderwijs ook nog meedetelt.', E.E.M.J. Kromme, 1921, *Beschrijving der Tanimbar en Babar-eilanden*, NA 2.10.36 KIT 1236, p. 235.

³⁰ 'Mijnheer, wij hebben geen tijd, soms zelfs voor den tuinbouw niet, wij moeten altijd maar sembahangen, 's morgens, 's middags, 's avonds en des Zondags en op zoovele andere kerkelijke feestdagen meer, en als we niet meedoen, worden wij door den pastoor beboet, neen, wij hebben geen tijd' Kromme 1921:235-6.

have a critical attitude towards the Catholic mission. That is why the native of Olilit had the courage to utter this remark to him. We may suppose there was some ground to his complaint.

From the above statistics it is clear that Catholics were better represented on Yamdena than on the smaller but politically more important island of Larat, where the main harbour was located. As early as 1915, however, there was a resident missionary in Larat because the missionaries liked to have a station close to the centre of the government. The Catholics also started a mission in 1917 on the island of Fordate, where, amid Protestant villages, two villages, Awear and Soyanin, opted for Catholicism.

In the late 1910s the highest colonial official, a *gezaghebber*, moved to Saumlaki, a good harbour to the southeast of Yamdena. A few Chinese traders thereupon moved to this place, where a large Catholic mission compound was built, along with a government office. The mission compound was inaugurated in 1924 (Grent and Sol:529). Here the Catholics had the best school of Tanimbar, the *standaardschool*, with a dormitory. Saumlaki could easily be reached by boats, but was an hour's walk from Olilit, the nearest village where Tanimbar people lived. There was also a mission hospital and a vocational school in Saumlaki. Near Olilit was another station with a resident priest. It served five minor stations with as many village schools and chapels. Alusi and Amtufu (uphill from coastal Lorulun) were the other permanent stations on Yamdena.

According to Gezaghebber W. Belger (1929-1932), relations between Catholics and Protestants were not so problematic as on Kai or as they had been in earlier periods: after 1920 a consolidation of the boundaries between Catholics and Protestants was agreed upon. According to this official, church leaders followed a policy of posting more tolerant teachers to places where frequent conflicts had previously occurred. As a relative outsider, Gezaghebber Belger formulated a theological basis for a practical tolerance, which is too remarkable to be omitted here. In his 1932 report he notes that wives of Catholic and Protestant teachers were especially skilled at building good relations. He also mentions several cases of cooperation in outfitting orchestras with locally produced flutes. He praises the policy that had sent to this island

[t]eachers who understand the essence of the command 'You must serve each other in true love', the love of Christ, who, and we are sure about that, push both Protestants and Catholics to the fulfilment of that other command, 'Go, and preach the Gospel to all creatures'. May the leaders of the Protestant and Catholic missions understand and continue to understand that they drink from the same Source, although they stand on opposite sides of the same Source in such a way that they sometimes consider the other as an opponent, overlooking the Source and forgetting the goal of their mission: to draw living Water and to reach out to those who

do not yet know the way to the Source. Maybe a statement by Bishop Aerts will turn out to be true, 'The double mission is a blessing for the population.'³¹

The higher official who read this sermon in a formal government report made a remark in the margin: *merkwaardig* (curious). It shows the difficult position of government officials who had to refrain from involvement in the practicalities of missionary work, but had their own opinions about the rivalry between the Christian denominations.

*Hopes for a 'return to Catholicism' and frustration: Ambo*n

The island of Ambo and especially the town of Ambo remained the centre of this region during the whole period. It was the centre of government. For education beyond primary school, people had to go to Ambo (or much further away, to Java). This was the hub of all transport in the region. The Catholic mission wanted to be located in the place where the major decisions were made for this region and where the better educated sought their fortune. It was mostly reasons of prestige, then, that prompted the Catholic mission to seek access to the island of Ambo. There was, however, a second reason for the continuing concern about a Catholic presence on Ambo. The Catholic mission fostered great dreams of restarting the successful work of Francis Xavier. In the sixteenth century, under Portuguese rule, the Catholic mission had made a good start in the region. In the stricter Islamic sultanates of Ternate, Tidore and Bacan these initial results could not be consolidated. Ambo, however, was founded as a Catholic town in the 1570s. In 1605 its Portuguese rulers had to submit to the Dutch Calvinists, and until 1800 Catholic priests were banned from this place as well as from the whole colony. The founding of a true mission station was a great dream for Catholic leaders. The work on Ambo, however, had to remain limited to a few members of the ethnic Chinese minority, and to Catholic Europeans and Eurasians. No ethnic Ambonese could be convinced to 'return' to the Catholic faith.

³¹ [...] goeroes die iets begrepen hebben van het gebod "dient elkander door de liefde" de liefde van Christus, die, wij mogen daaraan niet twijfelen, én Protestantisme én Rooms Katholieken dringt tot het volbrengen van een ander gebod "verkondig het Evangelie aan alle creaturen". Mogen de voorgangers van Zending en Missie het begrijpen of blijven begrijpen dat zij beiden putten uit dezelfde Bron, zij dat het één aan deze, de andere aan gene zijde staat waardoor zij soms meenen tegenover elkaar te staan, als zij bijwijlen over de Bron heen zien en het doel vergeten waarvoor zij gekomen zijn n.l. om het levende Water te putten en te reiken aan hen die de weg die tot de Bron leidt nog niet weten te gaan, wellicht dat dan toch de uitspraak van Mgr. Aerts, ons door Dr. Fischer in zijn bekend werkje gesteld, bewaarheid zou kunnen worden "de dubbele zending is een zegen voor de bevolking". In Belger, *Memorie van Overtake*, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1239, p. 20.



Petrus Drabbe, missionary linguist and anthropologist
in Tanimbar in the late 1930s (Drabbe 1995)

In 1909, after the MSC had experienced a quick increase in missionaries, Prefect Neyens for the first time asked permission from Governor-General Idenburg to open a permanent mission station in Ambon. This was rejected, without any reason being given. In 1910 Neyens asked permission for pastoral trips to Ambon and Ternate, twice per year, to give Catholics of this region the opportunity to fulfil their religious obligations. On 12 January 1912 permission for this was granted, but Neyens also received communication of a formal prohibition on exercising missionary activities north of the 4°30' south latitude. This prohibition was related primarily to a division of missionary activities in New Guinea. The region of Fak Fak and northern New Guinea was delegated to the Protestant Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging, but Ambon was also involved because of its location between 3°30' and 4°00' south latitude.

Neyens's successor started a new procedure on 4 July 1916 with a request for a resident priest in Ambon. Because no answer was given, this request was repeated on 10 March 1917. Later that year Prefect Nollen made a trip to Batavia and had direct deliberations with Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum, who stressed that he had not seen the written requests and promised to ask his bureaucrats to handle the case. On 5 March 1918, Prefect Nollen wrote a letter to the government secretary and again on 1 July 1918 directly to the governor-general. A Catholic member of the Volksraad held its first session from 21 May to 3 July 1918, inquired as to the reasons for the delay. On 10 February 1919 the governor-general gave permission for more pastoral trips. In his acknowledgement of this favour, Prefect Nollen again underlined the importance of Ambon for the Catholic mission. Not only was pastoral care for the Catholic citizens of this region important, but also,

the educational institutions in the town of Ambon, which are very important for the prosperity and progress of the region. Catholic youngsters will continue to be excluded from these institutions as long as they cannot perform their religious obligations in Ambon. For the welfare of the mission it is very important that in Ambon, close to the central administration of the local government, someone can protect the interests of the mission.³²

The main reason given was thus not pastoral care for the small flock in Ambon, but a firm position in the political and cultural centre of the Moluccas. This was realized only partially during the 1920s. In 1918 Prefect Nollen complained that the Protestant church received much more support than the Catholics, 'I do not begrudge our brothers who have gone astray the privileges of the government. But still it hurts me that they receive so much help and increase of subsidies, while we, Catholics, are chased away. And what is the level of education of their assistant ministers? And what is the contribution of those

³² From a summary of Prefect H. Nollen's interventions in the Ambon mission, see Langgur, 28-8-1919, published in Dutch in Schreurs 1992:168-9.



Photo 15. Old and new: father and son (Drabbe 1995:51)

gentlemen to civilization?’³³ It was thus to obtain a larger share of subsidies that he considered a permanent Catholic settlement necessary.

Both Protestant clergy and government officials tried to prevent a Catholic station on Ambon. In 1921 the chairman of the commission of assistant ministers in Ambon, collector of a file of anti-Catholic documents, wrote, ‘No single native of Ambon is Roman Catholic. We hope that Ambon may be saved from the painful events that have occurred so often on the Kai islands. Must the Ambonese population suffer such clashes only for the sake of so-called neutrality?’³⁴ On the other hand, Prefect Nollen in 1921 heard of a confidential communication from a *resident* of Ambon claiming that ‘as long as he rules as *resident*, there will be no Catholic priest living here’. Nollen remarked that nationalists and anti-colonial activists could campaign but Catholics could not.³⁵ Still, in 1919 and 1922 some pieces of land could be bought to be used for constructing a house for a visiting priest. Pastoral visits were increased in 1921 to six times per year. Each time the visit could last two months. From 1919 on, travel costs and a daily allowance were reimbursed by the government, and some priests even suggested that this financial advantage should not be lost by establishing a permanent settlement.³⁶

Things changed with the arrival of L.H.W. van Sandick, who replaced Van Drunen Little as the *resident* of Ambon in 1921 (in 1926 he became governor). In 1925 the priest Ed Cappers moved to Ambon as the first resident priest. By that time a small wooden church had already been built. Notwithstanding the ongoing difficult situation, the Catholic mission continued to buy plots of land in the centre of Ambon on the centrally located Grote Olifantstraat (now Jalan Pattimura). A few years later, still in a private house, Ms Gerarda Soemartini, a Javanese Catholic teacher, opened a Dutch-language primary school (HIS). The school started in 1931 with the arrival of sisters. In 1920

³³ Prefect Nollen to Bishop Luyken in Batavia, Langgur, 10-1-1918, AJAK E 6-3-2. ‘Ik misgun onze afgedwaalde broertjes de voorliefde der Regeering niet: maar het wringt me toch dat zij steeds hulp en verhoging van onderstand krijgen en dat wij, Roomschen, maar met een kluitje in het riet gestuurd worden. En wat kennen die hulppredikers? En wat doen zoovelen dier heeren voor de BESCHAVING?’

³⁴ ‘Er is geen enkele Ambonees, die Roomsche-Katholiek is [...]. Moge Ambon daarvoor bewaard worden en evenzeer voor de onverkwikkelijke tafereelen die zich zo vaak op de Kei-eilanden hebben afgespeeld. Moet het Ambonsche volk daar ook maar aan worden gewaagd en dat alles ter wille van de z.g.n. “neutraliteit”?’ KITLV H 516.

³⁵ Prefect Nollen to Bishop Luyken in Batavia, Langgur 10-1-1922: ‘Een tijdje geleden zei de Resident aan iemand aldaar (doch dat is geheel persoonlijk en de betrokken persoon had graag dat men zich niet van bediene): “Zoolang als ik hier ben, komt hier geen Kath. Priester”. Ja ja, de S.I. en Insulinde-leden mogen hier gerust ageeren en oproer verwrekken, zooals op Saparoea, die laat men vrij.’ In AJAK, E 6-3-2.

³⁶ Schreurs 1992:160. See also the nasty remarks of an Ambon minister, 25-6-1918, in KITLV H 516, about Dr Neyens, who made the pastoral trips from faraway Merauke and stayed in Saparua to work for one Catholic family, returning only after another boat came. ‘In this way he may receive travel allowances for many months.’ (*Declareert natuurlijk. Maanden aan een stuk*).

the Ambon mission had some 80 Catholics, growing to 352 in 1938 (Schreurs 1992:214). This was still few, compared to the much larger communities on Kai and Tanimbar. But Ambon became important for its schools, established for the elite of the southeastern islands and for the children of soldiers from Ambon itself. A similar development occurred on Ternate, where a Franciscan priest opened a parish in 1937. In 1940 there were eight sisters in Ambon and six in Ternate. In that year, Ambon had two Catholic primary schools and two kindergartens, all Dutch language only, besides courses for the middle-class like French, book-keeping, piano lessons, and embroidery and sewing classes.³⁷ This was perhaps not the best implementation of the dream to return in the footsteps of Saint Francis Xavier, but political and missionary reality of this period led to this strategy. Only after the Japanese occupation, on 12 May 1949, the seat of the bishop was moved from Langgur to the town of Ambon (also called Amboina).

Concept of God, marriage, birth and death rituals

Why were MSC priests active on the Moluccas? Why was Catholic Christianity so easily accepted by broad segments of society, besides Islam and Protestantism? How were they different from the Jesuits? The MSC priest J. van den Bergh, who arrived in Kai in 1908, wrote a remarkable interpretation in 1924 about the conversion of the people of the southeastern island:

The religion of the Lord Jesus was conceived by them as the fulfilment of the Lerwoel-Ngabal³⁸ service; it reflected their concept of God, it confirmed through the ten commandments most of their severe traditional laws, and the frequent prayers and sacrifice of Holy Mass were appropriate to their very religious character [...] Besides the grace of God, it was this positive attitude of the people that caused the rather rapid expansion of our religion and the fairly strict observance of its commands. (Quoted in Schreurs 1992:180.)

The MSC description of traditional religion in Kai and Tanimbar is more positive in its assessment than the SVD assessment of Flores, and certainly much more sympathetic than those by former Jesuits. These twentieth-century Catholic missionaries differed greatly from nineteenth-century missionaries in the archipelago, and they were much more lenient towards traditional religions and customs than were their Protestant colleagues. Especially when it came to morals, the missionaries were very positive. Sometimes local customs were defended against foreign observers. Father Drabbe stated that polygamy

³⁷ Jaarboek 1940:157-8.

³⁸ *Lerwoel* stands for 'sun and moon', the common name in eastern Indonesia for the Supreme Being, used especially in Kai by the Ur Siwa clans, while Ngabal is used by the Ur Lima clans. See Drabbe 1940:426; Geurtjens 1921:80-5.

existed on Tanimbar but was not the original custom, notwithstanding comments by outsiders. And free sexual intercourse for young people was no more than a romantic dream of some European visitors (Drabbe 1940:199). To Geurtjens's mind, all major rules of 'common natural ethics' were observed by the people of Kai and Tanimbar (Geurtjens 1921:97).

Of course, there were weak points and Christianity had to add certain elements to traditional beliefs. The Supreme Being was basically only known as a Revenger, as the Keeper of Order on Earth, but not as the Dispenser of good in the hereafter. Geurtjens (1921:98) acknowledged that there was some local idea about a life after death, but this was seen as being without real life and joy. Christianity was needed to bring to people this hope for a life of glory in heaven.

As to traditional customs of marriage, the clergy were not absolutely sure what to think. On one hand we often read praise of arranged marriages, seen as resulting in stability, few cases of pregnancy before marriage, and few cases of divorce. Besides, the greatly developed sense of community was highly praised by priests, who regarded the family as the basis of the ideal larger community, the Catholic church. However, Catholic leaders did not approve of the high price paid for a bride. After long deliberation, Bishop Aerts sent a letter to all chiefs of Catholic villages in December 1927, not forbidding the bride-price outright, but forbidding an exorbitantly high price:

We share the opinion that high prices for brides hold back progress in the villages because they cause much worry and annoyance. The young generation will finally oppose the village chiefs and they will lose their authority. There are already many problems due to the high prices for brides and they have sometimes caused enmity between families.³⁹

Between 1905 and 1925 the colonial administration introduced drastic changes in the region's social and cultural life. People were required to move from large longhouses, where they lived as an extended family, to a separate house for each nuclear family. Longhouses, often in fortified villages closed to the outside world, had to be given up for larger, open villages, where a school could be opened and where government control in general would be easier. In this new society the school became the most important instrument for missionary work. In Kai and Tanimbar, marriage proved to be the most difficult social institution to be made conform with the new official religion. Colonial officials issued regulations on bride-prices several times. In 1922 Protestant youth asked for a government regulation and the resident of Ambon (L.H.W. van Sandick) then fixed the bride-price at a maximum of 30 guilders, the equivalent of the monthly salary of a senior local teacher. (Prices between 500 and 800 guilders were not uncommon.) In 1933

³⁹ A copy of the letter is in the MSC archives in Tilburg. Quoted by Schreurs 1992:186-7.

Controleur W. Scheffer wrote in his report on transfer of the administration that he had *never* noticed that this measure had any effect, although everybody knew about it.⁴⁰

In 1927, Bishop Aerts also insisted that the exclusive marriage relations between often small villages (in fact extended families) should be abolished in favour of a broader choice of marriage partners. The bishop did not, however, want to issue a formal prohibition of this local custom (Schreurs 1992:187-8). Ecclesiastical law was based formally on free choice by partners, but in fact was adapted to the severe rules of local custom. The main reason here was undoubtedly to retain the stability of traditional marriage.

The Catholic church of the early twentieth century gave great weight to marriage law, but in Kai it never fully succeeded in formulating a coherent and convincing policy on marriage. An interesting contribution to the debate is a lengthy 1939 study by priest Jos Klerks. Klerks (1939:285-323, especially 285) stressed that his anthropological research focussed not on a dead and unchangeable institution, but on customs that continued to change with the conditions of the time. Klerks noticed a decline in mutual aid within extended families and in villages. He predicted a trend of individualization, but not in the short term. He mentioned that the custom of an extremely high price (up to 800 guilders) for a marriage between a member of the nobility (*mel-mel*) and the lower class was increasingly seen as outdated. Generally, however, though a high price was often agreed upon, payment was postponed and in many cases never made. Klerks praised the institution of paying high prices for brides because it served to prevent divorce and adultery and also made people industrious: families had to work hard and be frugal to collect enough goods to buy a bride.

The disastrous Japanese interlude

In Flores, the Japanese occupation was a difficult time for the mission because of the exile and internment of most foreign missionaries, but thanks to the Japanese bishop and priests, the Catholic church could continue in a modest way (see Chapter III). The situation in Kai and Tanimbar was quite different. As in other parts of Indonesia where a mixed population of Muslims and Christians lived, the Japanese, in their search for a reliable ally, chose the Muslims. This region saw more overt anti-Dutch and anti-Christian actions than did other regions of Indonesia.

The Japanese arrived rather late in this region, in the early morning of 30 July 1942, some six months after they had arrived in Ambon. It was a sur-

⁴⁰ Scheffer, *Memorie van Overgave 1927-1933*, NA 2.10.39 KIT 1238, p. 17: 'hoewel de regeling vnd [voornoemd] algemeen bekend is, wordt er in de kampong *nimmer* de hand aan gehouden'.

prise action that occurred at the same time in Dobo (Aru), Tual, Larat, and Saumlaki. According to a Dutch source, Assistent-Resident J. Veeken, they came to Tual at the invitation of Muslims from the village of Langgiar Fer (Kai Besar). After the Japanese attack on Indonesia, the Dutch had killed their *wakil raja* (assistant chief) Haji Abdul Manaf, and a certain Abubakar, who had refused to pay tax to the Dutch. Villagers of Langgiar Fer were angry at the harsh Dutch measure and went by boat to Ambon to pay their tax to the Japanese and request them to come to their islands. The Japanese could use Muslim spies and this made it easy for them to occupy the territory quickly. At that time they were in a hurry to go further, planning to attack Australia. On the same day of the invasion, Bishop Joseph Aerts and 12 other MSC priests and brothers were executed. Other foreign clergy were immediately put in prison. The mission accounts blame an Arab from Tual, one Al-Katiri, as the main informant for the Japanese and also a possible instigator of the cruel executions. Dutch colonial power certainly gave more facilities to Christian missions than to the spread of Islam. Therefore the close cooperation between the Muslim population and the Japanese can also be explained as revenge for the neglect or even oppression of Islam during the colonial period.

Most mission personnel were put into a camp in Tantui, close to Ambon. Allied forces attacked this camp on 15 February 1943, killing two priests and five sisters. In Kai, the whole village of Langgur was burnt down, but in the countryside many teachers continued their work. Religion classes were not allowed during the Japanese period, but on Sundays Catholics came together in fields or in the forest for what was named Misa Kerinduan (memorial mass), where the usual order of the mass was followed, with lectures, prayers, and sermons, and even the procession to receive communion, although communion was not given. Money was collected as usual, and even money for mass-stipends was given by people who wanted priests to say special prayers for them. Catholicism was continued during this priestless period with the teacher Selassa as the new leader. After his death in June 1943 Filippus Renyaan came forward as the new Catholic coordinator. It was a time of hardship, demonstrating that the new religion was much more than a superficial adaptation to the spiritual side of colonialism. The period 1890-1940 had been decisive for the religious future of the Kai and Tanimbar islands, at least for a long time to come.

CHAPTER VI

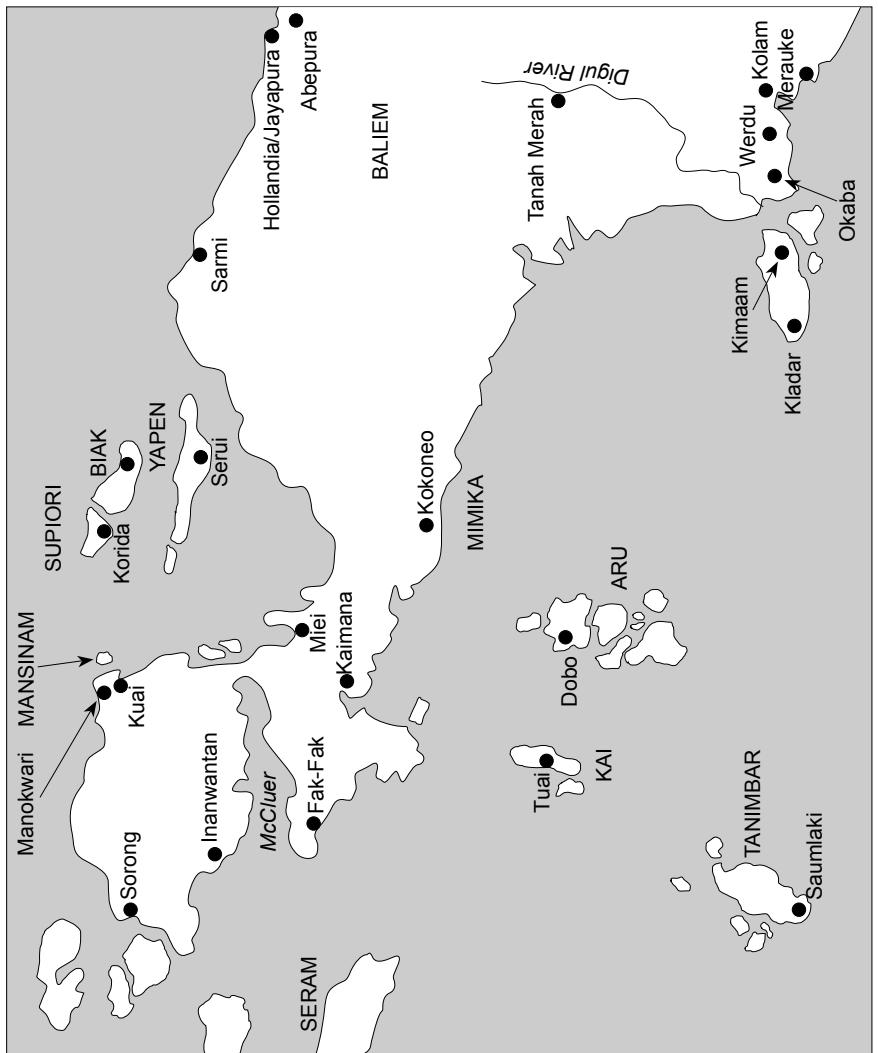
Catholic participation in the making of modern Papua

The geography of eastern Indonesia makes regional and international contacts difficult. In the southeast region (with Flores, Sumba and Timor being the most important islands) and the Moluccas with its hundreds of rugged islands scattered over a vast territory, communications were and are difficult and expensive. The geography of the Dutch colonial (and later Indonesian) territory of West Papua is even more challenging. A mountain chain over 5,000 metres high divides the malaria-infected swamps in the south from the equally wild northern plains. For a long period the colonial boundaries were not certain. Only in 1893 was the boundary between the Dutch and the British and partly German colony fixed at 141° longitude. The region itself was not inviting to intensive contact with the outside world. In the southern section of West Papua, the part that will concern us most in this chapter, a mere 150,000 people inhabited an area of 120,000 square kilometres. The largest tribe, the Marind, was estimated to have, in early 1900, 8,500 members on the coast and 6,000 in the inland settlement. Those living in the highlands had little or no contact with the outside world.¹

The Jesuit priest Father C. van der Heijden joined two exploring expeditions leaving from Langgur in October and November 1892, headed by the *resident* of Ternate. Efforts to start a government post, including a Catholic mission post in Selerika, close to the southern border with the British section of New Guinea, were frustrated by an overwhelming crowd of Papua who stole all materials intended for the first buildings (Kurris 2001:180-2).

The next initiative for a Catholic presence in West Papua was undertaken by the impetuous and legendary Father Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville. After his successful career in Flores (Sikka), Le Cocq had started a mission in Bomfia in 1891, in the foothills of East Seram, moving away from the Muslim population of the coast. In 1893 he started a new mission in Watubela, Kesui islands, travelling back and forth between Bomfia and this new mission. For some time a second priest, Father W. Hellings, joined Le Cocq in Kesui, to-

¹ For general information about the first decades of actual colonial rule see Van Baal 1939:309-414. On the numbers for the Marind see Van Baal 1939:310.



Papua

gether with the carpenter brother J. Zinken. In Watubela and Kesui, as in many of the eastern regions, the rivalry between Catholic missionaries and the growing Muslim population caused a lot of tension. Hellings soon returned to Java when it became clear that Kesui was not fit to become a new large station for expansion to New Guinea. Le Cocq set his hopes on a post somewhere on the coast of New Guinea, 'in order to escape the continuing rivalry with Islam in these small islands' (Kurris 2001:185). In May 1894 he made an exploratory mission to the western coast of Papua, the Bird's Head (Doberai) Peninsula, and the region south of it (with Fak Fak as the most prominent village). Between 22 May and 1 June he baptized 73 children in the village of Sekeru (also spelled Sekru), close to Fak Fak. After preparations in Kai, Le Cocq arrived with two Jesuit brothers (Zinken and Te Boekhorst) in April 1895 on the coast of the Bird's Head, on the Kapaur coast, probably on the small island of Bone (Kurris 2001:191-2). They found that Muslim traders had already arrived in Sekeru and had started business, and therefore they could not avoid yet another episode in the long race between Islam and Christianity (Kurris 2001:197). They built a house and started to make contacts. In this first year Le Cocq was able to compile a list of 1,200 words of the coastal region between Fak Fak and Kokas.² An important assistant to Le Cocq was the Amboinese Protestant teacher Christianus Peletimu, who ran the school, while brother Zinken looked after the 'proper Catholic character' of 16 schoolboys in the small dormitory.

In the last week of July 1895 Le Cocq travelled on the government steamer *Kamphuis* to the island of Geser to look after the small Catholic communities of Kesui and Bomfia in Seram. He came back to Kapaur on 1 November and found only one boy left at the school. Thanks to his gifts in healing, Le Cocq persuaded people once more to entrust ten boys to the school.³ Through the arrival of Muslim traders from other parts of the archipelago, Le Cocq was frustrated in his hopes of finding an 'unspoiled' people that could be converted in its totality and be made the centre of Catholicism in the region. He therefore hired a schooner to explore the region further eastward for an ideal place somewhere between 138° and 139°. He had noticed that Papua in the Kapaur region were headhunters, but believed that this was a reaction to evil people coming from the outside. If he arrived in a region not yet visited by outsiders, he thought, things would be different. An Arab businessman, Abdullah Baadillah, who had come into contact with Le Cocq while the latter was recovering from a disease with a Protestant family in Banda, December 1893-January 1894, owned the schooner he had hired. Another Arab trader, Ahmad

² Le Cocq d'Armandville 1903. For a report on his stay in Seram and Kesui, see Le Cocq d'Armandville 1901.

³ The steamer *Kamphuis* made a trip every two months between Makassar and the border of the Dutch section of New Guinea at 141°.

Missie van Nederl. Nieuw=Guinea.

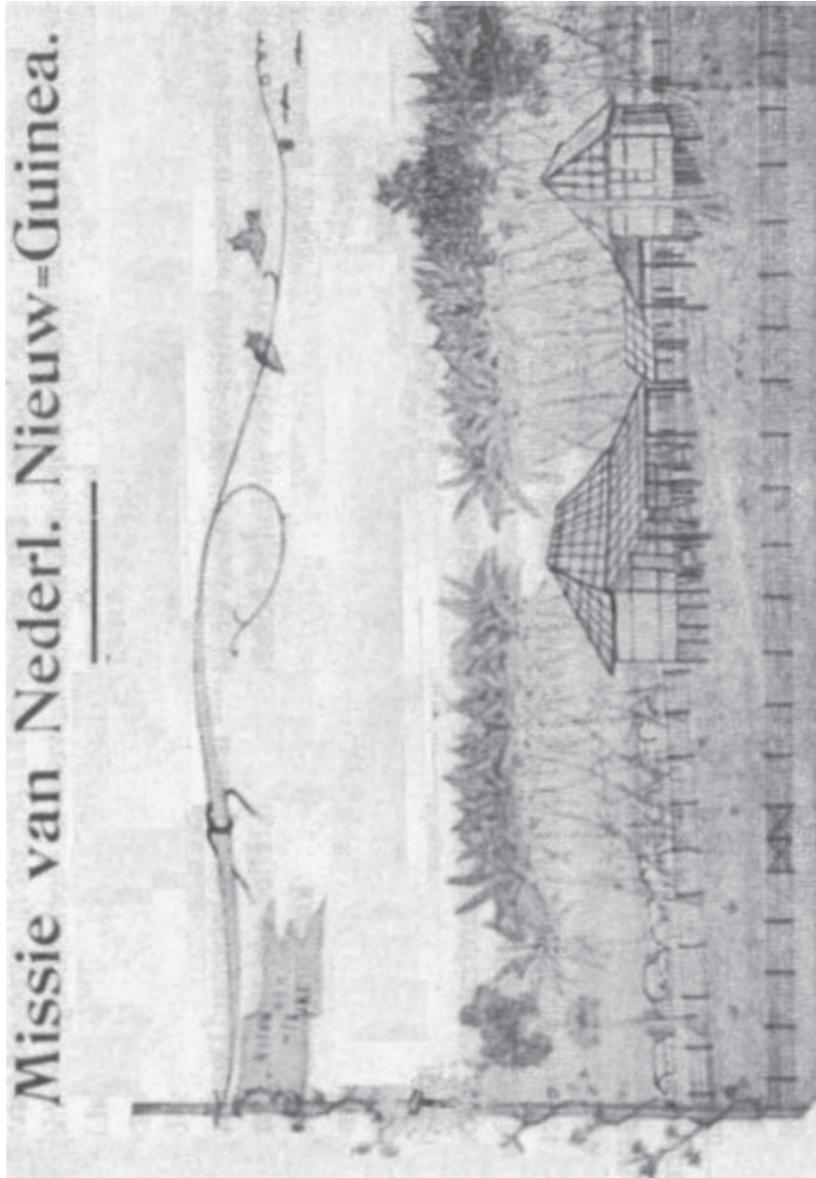


Illustration 3. Merauke, drawing by H. Nollen

bin Abdullah Attamimi from Geser, would also participate in the expedition with the schooner *Al Bahanasa*, which had a Dutch captain, Pieter Salomon.⁴ The expedition started on 5 March 1896. In mid-May they reached Mimika, the southern coast of New Guinea. Le Cocq stayed on land some ten days and had his first contact with Papua people. He selected two boys for the school in Kapaur. Notwithstanding bad weather, Le Cocq wanted to go on board again on 27 May in order to start his return to Kapaur. However, the small *perahu* that was bringing him back to the schooner capsized in heavy waves and the brave and restless missionary drowned in front of the coast of Mimika.⁵

With the tragic death of the legendary Le Cocq, the first efforts to start a mission in the Dutch part of New Guinea came to a halt. The captain of the schooner was back in Kapaur on 18 June 1896 and had to report the death of the priest to the two Jesuit brothers. The brothers then left the station of Kapaur.

The first efforts of the Catholic mission were in fact not far from the first stations of the Protestant mission, although the Protestants had started much earlier. On 5 February 1855, the first two Protestant labourer-missionaries, called Goessner workers, had arrived in Mansinam, close to the harbour of Manokwari in the northeastern Bird's Eye peninsula. Between 1862 and 1900 no fewer than 18 missionaries came to this region, all sent by the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging, UZV. This mission had a very slow start because several missionaries died soon after their arrival. In 1879 J.J.P. Tomahue, the first teacher, arrived from Ambon and was followed in 1881 by a teacher from Sangir, Andreas Palewey. They followed the method of founding schools where pupils would be educated in the Christian tradition. The results in the first four decades were meagre. Until 1905, when the UZV formally decided to close the Manokwari mission, only 150 had been baptized. However, the 1905 decision to end the undertaking was not carried out. In 1907 the first Papua who had been trained at the Protestant theological school of Depok returned to Manokwari, and he was the first of a long series of Papua evangelists who shared the work on the northern coast of West Papua. A request from the British Anglicans to start a joint mission in Merauke was rejected by the Dutch colonial government, out of fear that this could be used to expand British influence on the southern coast. This development contributed to the later division of the vast island: the northern regions for the Protestants and the southern regions for the Catholics. Like the Protestant mission, it was the northwest coast of the island where government officials first arrived. In 1898 the Dutch administration posted government officials at Fak Fak and Manokwari.

⁴ On this period see Kurris 2001:153-8, 206-7.

⁵ For images and description of the monument erected for him at that place for the centenary commemoration in 1997, see Kurris 2001:212. Soon after the death of Le Cocq there were rumours that he was drowned or abandoned at sea by the crew of the schooner. Other rumours said that he was killed by some Papua. There is no firm evidence. For a discussion see Kurris 2001:222-3.

In December 1892 the first *posthouder*, with ten native soldiers, was to be settled in Sarire, near Merauke. He left the place again in January 1893 because of great problems with the local population. In February 1902 another colonial official was sent to Merauke, in answer to complaints by Sir William McGregor, British governor of southeastern Papua, about headhunting from the Dutch side. This first official, Assistant-Resident J. Kroesen, was accompanied by 160 soldiers, with police personnel and prisoners assigned to forced labour in the territory. After some bloody conflicts between Papua of the Marind tribe and the new occupying power, costing the lives of some 45 soldiers within a few months, the original inhabitants recognized the superior weapons of the colonial army and accepted the new settlement on the coast. Merauke would become the main centre for government and mission on the southern coast. In 1902 one of the most prominent (later) Catholics also settled on this southern coast, the Chinese trader Baba Geo (Vlamynck 1949:93).⁶ The prohibition on Catholic missionary activities north of the 4°30' south latitude, officially promulgated in 1912, created a 'Protestant north and Catholic south' for West Papua, at least until the 1930s. The first Catholic station was opened in the new town of Merauke along the Maro River.⁷

Even before the MSC missionaries arrived in Kai in November 1903, the first colonial official of Merauke, Kroesen, had been in direct contact with the MSC in the Netherlands. During one of his first trips to the British section of New Guinea, Kroesen met the Dutch MSC brother Alexis Henkelman, who worked on Thursday Island as the captain of the Catholic mission's boat. Through him he came into contact with the MSC order in Tilburg and started correspondence. Kroesen was glad to hear that the MSC planned to start work in Kai and West Papua. In a very positive mood he wrote that the situation called for their presence, that conditions were safe and favourable, and that they were very welcome. He also warned against press reports about difficulties and problems that no longer reflected the reality in this promising region.⁸

The vicar apostolic of Langgur, Matthias Neyens, visited Merauke in 1904 and 1905. He did not want to go to Papua villages with a military escort and therefore restricted his field trip to a few short visits to villages near

⁶ His name is also spelled Baba Géong; see Boelaars 1992:221.

⁷ According to Vertenten 1935:7, the name Merauke originated from the first meeting of local people with the Dutch. They said 'Maro ka' or 'that is the (river) Maro'. They were initially called Kaja-Kaja, because at the first encounter they loudly cried, 'Kaja-Kaja', meaning 'Friends!', indicating that they wanted to be friends with the new arrivals.

⁸ J. Kroesen, Merauke, 22-6-1903, in answer to a letter from Joseph Wemmers, MSC Superior in Tilburg, 10-4-1903: 'De inheemsche bevolking in dit gewest is zeer arbeid- en leerzaam, en voorbeschikt om spoedig tot beschaving te komen, mits zij worde gesteld onder goede en vooral praktische leiding. Sedert een jaar is de toestand van de veiligheid van personen en goederen bepaald goed te noemen [...] Ik ben overtuigd, dat Uwe Congregatie stellig op weinige plaatsen in deze verre gewesten met zulk eene groter kans van welslagen zal kunnen arbeiden als juist onder de bevolking van Zuid Nieuw Guinea.' Copy in Boelaars 1992:16-7.

Merauke. He became known for his deliberately unusual clothes and for his beard. Besides the name *misnorei* (after 'missionary') he received the name *hosse-anim* or 'man with the beard', and he was remembered for bringing some medicine and serving the sick in several villages (Boelaars 1992:14-20).

The first MSC missionaries to work in West Papua did not arrive directly from the Netherlands; rather, two priests (Philip Braun, Henricus Nollen) and two brothers (Dionysius van Roessel, Melchior Oomen) moved to Papua from the mission on Thursday Island. They had previously worked in the German territory of Neu Pommern, and because there was no direct connection they had to travel through Sydney and Batavia, from April until August 1905. During the first months in Merauke they stayed in a house provided by Assistent-Resident J. Kroesen. During this period the mission compound was built with the forced labour of the prisoners who had come to Merauke for this purpose with the officials and the army. Philip Braun and Brother Dionysius van Roessel were transferred to Kai in 1906, and Nollen in 1910 (as superior of the whole MSC mission). Brother Oomen died in 1906. The first decades saw rapid changes in staff, with four to six mission personnel working in Papua at any given time. The most prominent pioneer was the Belgian priest, Peter Vertenten, who worked in Merauke and Okaba between 1909 and 1925 (when he was called to serve the MSC mission in the Belgian colony of Congo).

The southeastern coast of the Dutch section of New Guinea was dominated by the Marind tribe. People were also called Marind-anim (*anim* means 'men'). There were no large villages, let alone towns. People lived rather dispersed in the very sparsely populated region (about one inhabitant per square kilometre). The new town of Merauke was not a traditional Papua village. It was a government creation, where some five European colonial officials, a few European traders, and many Chinese and native Indonesian traders lived, along with a battalion of about one hundred native soldiers and the same number of prisoners, all from outside the region. Among this settlement of foreigners, mission personnel wanted to be seen as messengers of a new faith. The first activity that distinguished mission personnel from other new arrivals was hygiene and health care. After a few months in Merauke, Brother Dionysius wrote that native Papua regularly came to drink fresh clean water and to have their wounds healed. The mission station also started work for its own maintenance, including planting a vegetable garden and raising pigs, goats, chickens, and even some cows (Boelaars 1992:31).

In the early decades, the missionaries concentrated on the coastal region. Besides Merauke, a station was built in Okaba that was staffed between July 1910 and September 1915, and later reopened in 1922. Okaba had been the second government post to have a permanent police station since June 1907: within a few years the missionaries followed the expansion of the colonial government on the coast (Van Baal 1939:335). From Merauke and Okaba the



Father P. Vertenten in Merauke ca. 1920

missionaries went exploring in the region, making initial contacts, learning the languages, and trying to understand the riddles of local culture and religion. They knew about the headhunting practices, forbidden by the colonial government, which still continued in villages that were not under direct government control. Slowly they also discovered the rich mythology and local ritual practice.

The first missionaries had little help from previous linguistic research. Sometime in the 1890s a British 'adventurer-missionary' Montague had stayed on the Dutch south coast, coming from British territory. He had made the first list of words. This Montague list was enlarged by marine officer H. Bauer in 1897. Further steps were taken by Captain Bik in May 1901 and by Seyne Kok, *controleur* of Merauke, who wrote another version of the growing list of Marind words. The first missionaries were able to use this material. The priests H. Nollen and E. Cappers, and later J. van der Kooij and J. Viegen, added material that was prepared for an official government publication by J. van der Kolk and Peter Vertenten in 1918.⁹ In 1926 Father H. Geurtjens published a grammar of the Marind language and in 1933 an extensive Marind-Dutch dictionary, compiled with the help of J. van der Kolk and J. van der Kooij. The greatest linguistic scholar in the service of the mission was Father Peter Drabbe, who arrived in 1935 and published numerous studies on languages and dialects. His younger colleague Jan Boelaars wrote a doctoral dissertation in 1950 that compared the languages of the region (J. Boelaars 1950). Some initial translation work was done by Chinese traders who married Marind women and therefore came in closer contact with Papua society. In 1916 Baba Géong is mentioned as translator of a Malay catechism, together with Father Vertenten.¹⁰

West Papuan culture and religion was much more difficult to understand than non-Christian practices in other parts of Indonesia. In other regions we often hear a tone of respect and sympathy in the description of the traditional culture. In the veneration of ancestors and spirits, twentieth-century Catholic missionaries usually had no problem finding some concept of a Higher God. Above we have seen examples of this in Flores, especially Manggarai, but also in Sumba and in Kai. The encounter with Papua culture was very different. There were no concepts in Papua culture that could easily be related to the Christian belief in the one God who created the world. There are many reports of magical practices, some even about a trusting belief, but even in

⁹ This dictionary contains about 5,000 words, Dutch-Marind (see Van Kolk and Vertenten 1922).

¹⁰ From the 'Diary of Okaba' by Vertenten, quoted in J. Boelaars 1992:221; in January 1917, however, there were serious complaints (mostly about their frequent drunkenness) about Baba Géong and his wife, and he was expelled from the mission station in Okaba; J. Boelaars 1992:224. Another Chinese interpreter is described in Van Baal 1966:497. In 1923 we meet Baba Géong again in Wambi, where he is praised as a skilled carpenter who helped to build the new mission station. A Papua man, trained by the mission as a teacher in Langgur, married his daughter in that year (Boelaars 1995:15).

these descriptions we do not find the laudatory descriptions of pagan belief as in the case of Manggarai. One of the most striking descriptions is by Peter Vertenten, who arrived in 1910 and wrote in 1912:

Only the modern atheist does not pray. Marind people pray too. Prayer in its most simple [lowest] form is the invocation of higher beings to obtain something or to escape evil. Until now I never came across the two higher forms of prayer, adoration and thanksgiving, which are less self-centred than a request for defence. However, it is possible that they also know this higher form of prayer. Marind people pray mostly when they want to eliminate an evil. Therefore their prayer resembles a curse or spell. [...] They also pray to get rid of rain and thunder, to dispel diseases and spirits. In all this they express their feeling of dependence on higher beings, whom they call *dema* and who are believed to have power over earthly beings. We call this superstition. For them this is the real faith. This faith seems to me no hindrance, but rather a powerful means to find the way to true belief.¹¹

Two aspects of the cultural world of the Papua were repugnant to missionaries (as well as to government officials): headhunting, and sexual promiscuity at initiation and marriage rituals. Father Jos van de Kolk, who worked in Merauke and Okaba between 1910 and 1915, called the worldview of the Papua a riddle, a mystery that he could not understand. He called this 'the greatest cross they had to carry. The strong wish to continue headhunting was ongoing proof that the Marind had not the slightest idea about the deeper purpose of the mission of the missionaries.'¹²

Until 1913 headhunting was not actively prohibited by the small colonial community in Merauke, who were happy that they seemed to be tolerated by the local population, could survive, and did not experience too much violence from the side of the Papua. In 1913 Assistant-Resident L.M.F. Plate started the first firm action against headhunting. One reason the missionaries heard for headhunting was the Marind desire to have names for their children. These names were communicated by the dying victims of headhunting. Another reason was a great demand for children. Children were taken away from terrorized villages in the interior; these children were adopted by coastal families, cherished and really loved as if they were their own children. The missionaries soon understood that the Marind of the coast did not consider the inland tribes as real humans like themselves. This could be taken as an excuse for killing other human beings.

One of the missionaries who was most interested in the myths and rituals related to headhunting was the priest Jos Viegen, who worked in Merauke between 1909 and 1915. He collected a lot of material, some of it by joining groups going on headhunting raids. He was the first to write down the Sosom

¹¹ Peter Vertenten, *De Volksmissionaris*, June 1912, also quoted in Boelaars 1992:272

¹² From a speech by F. van de Kolk in 1926, quoted in Boelaars 1992:124.

myth and a description of the Mayo and Imo cult. He talked openly about the sexual elements and meaning of many myths and rituals. When he returned to the Netherlands in 1920 (after a period of five years in Kai), the Dutch MSC fathers were warned by Nollen, mission superior in Langgur, that

this man wants to publish more of his notes on the Papua. [...] He should be prevented from doing so, because his ideas cannot stand criticism and we cannot understand how he invented them [...] He must have followed a preconceived idea as the matrix for his explanation and classification. We would be made ridiculous and many people would think: what a dirty mind these priests have to imagine such filthy things. So, prevent him from publishing anything.¹³

Priest and anthropologist Jan Boelaars wrote in the 1990s on this problem of understanding, 'It is not surprising that given the Victorian lifestyle of those days the beautiful and problematic sides of sexual life among the Marind, and among the missionaries themselves, could not be formulated clearly enough in Viegen's notes.'¹⁴ Up until 1920, the missionaries were still uncertain about the best approach to use, and had to spend a lot of time studying the language and culture. From the early 1920s on, their interest gradually turned from a study of original Marind-anim culture to missionary progress, the result of a complete change in Marind society in compliance with government policy to concentrate people in new villages with individual family houses. This was not so much the result of the campaign against headhunting, but against the other cultural riddle that confronted the missionaries, the sexual promiscuity at Marind-anim rituals.

The difficulties of understanding and dealing with Marind culture and religion were not the only problems for the young mission. After a quick start in 1903-1905 in Kai, Tanimbar, and finally West Papua, the MSC mission was hampered by a long conflict between Prefect Apostolic Neyens and the Dutch leaders of the MSC. As noted in the previous chapter, this led finally to the dismissal of Neyens as prefect of the mission in 1915. Again and again there was hope that the mission could generate financial means itself, through cattle breeding and the cultivation of coconuts in particular. All these efforts (several times involving the sending of trusted workers from Kai to the southern coast of New Guinea) failed, and increased the financial problems that they were supposed to alleviate. In 1907-1908 there was even a case in the court of Ambon where Neyens and the whole mission were in danger of bankruptcy at the request of a Chinese trader, who had delivered many

¹³ Letter from Nollen to his Dutch provincial superior, Langgur, 7-2-1920, in the Tilburg MSC Archives and quoted in Boelaars 1992:124-5. List of publications by Viegen in Cornelissen 1988: 46-7.

¹⁴ Boelaars 1992:125. For another opinion of Viegen see Van Baal 1966:6: 'More than any of his colleagues he tried to let the Marind speak for themselves. Owing to his defective knowledge of the language the results of his endeavours were far from satisfactory.'

goods to the mission. In the debate about mission finances 'withheld in the Netherlands', the missionaries insulted their Dutch colleagues by saying that 'for them the MSC order was the first goal and the mission only of secondary importance'.¹⁵

A side-effect of this conflict was the policy of the Dutch MSC after 1908 to send no more missionaries to the region. This delayed the growth of mission work. By the time the financial problems were solved in 1915, World War I barred the sending of new missionaries until 1919. Therefore the period 1905-1920 can rightly be seen as a period of orientation by poorly equipped but mostly very dedicated and hard-working pioneers. One side-effect of the bad economic situation of this pioneering period was the missionaries' tremendous literary production. By writing articles for journals and magazines in the East Indies they could slightly ameliorate their poor financial condition. In this way Peter Vertenten had become a familiar name in the East Indies press. In early 1919 he started a series of articles directing public attention to the problems of the south coast of West Papua, hoping to get support for his plans to save the people. His slogan was, *Zuid-Nieuw Guinea sterft uit* (Southwest Papua is dying out). In late 1920 he was invited to accompany the *assistent-resident* of Merauke (H.M. Lublink Weddik) to Batavia for a meeting of all *residents* of the colony. Although living in a very remote area of the vast archipelago, Vertenten was already known in Batavia and Bogor, received a warm welcome, had a large attendance at his speeches in early 1921, and brought back a good deal of money: not less than 3,000 guilders.¹⁶

January 1921: Father Vertenten as the 'saviour of the Marind-anim'

One of the major religious systems of the Marind was the Mayo cult, banned by the colonial administration in 1911 and thereafter performed only in secret and in an abridged form.¹⁷ The Mayo cult had a long and complicated initiation, a series of intensive training exercises and rituals over a period of some six months, usually taking place in the dry season between May and December. At several of the exercises and rituals human sperm was to be used.

¹⁵ Eh bien, périsse la Mission, pourvu que fleurisse la Congrégation, quoted in Boelaars 1992:154. Boelaars (1992:150-60) devotes a remarkably sharp and candid section of his book to this question.

¹⁶ From a letter by Vertenten, 27-3-1921, quoted in Boelaars 1992:246; Vertenten was also a gifted artist who generously gave drawings and paintings to his benefactors. Various examples are in Boelaars 1992. For a list of 201 of his publications see Cornelissen 1988:242-5. Other prolific writers from this early period (1905-21) were E. Cappers (53 articles, mostly between 1906 and 1909); J. van de Kolk (125 items, mostly between 1908 and 1915); J. van der Kooij, H. Nollen and J. Viegen. Lists in Cornelissen 1988:217-50. The press in the Dutch Indies was partly but not exhaustively consulted in compiling these lists.

¹⁷ For a discussion of sources and summary of the rituals see Van Baal 1966:494-562.

This was obtained by *otiv-bombari*, intercourse of one or more women with all the men participating in the celebration. Some observers used the word orgy for this, but they were criticized by more objective anthropologists, who noted that 'orgies are primarily pleasure-rites. The role the women played in *otiv-bombari* was just a bit too exacting to give them a sense of satisfaction.'¹⁸ There were other traditions of the Marind religious culture, called 'weird and savage' by Van Baal (1971:272), that entailed ritual promiscuity. This caused the quick spread of venereal diseases after 1905. The most serious of these was venereal granuloma. It arrived probably in 1915 through Filipino fishermen who carried it to the Merauke region from Queensland in Australia. Together with the Spanish flu of 1918, this disease killed about one third of the coastal Marind population between 1915 and 1919. The number of births declined to nearly zero. Missionaries and colonial officials feared that the Marind (at that time estimated at about 8,000) would disappear altogether.

At the suggestion of the new resident for South New Guinea, C. Lulofs, Father Peter Vertenten was sent to Batavia in December 1920 to discuss drastic measures to be taken for the transformation and salvation of the local population. Not long before this, the medical doctor Cnopius had established the precise identity of the disease and the effective medication. Vertenten was sent to Batavia to discuss the approval of a drastic plan to reorganize Marind society and to prevent new outbreaks of the diseases. Vertenten gave many public lectures in Batavia and Buitenzorg/Bogor. On 29 January 1921 he had a meeting with Governor-General J.P. graaf van Limburg Stirum, a meeting also attended by Resident Lulofs. The heart of the proposal was to build houses for small families in villages, under control of the mission and the civil administration. Church and school would become the centre of these new villages. Further details were:

- Four larger centrally located villages would serve as the centre of the new Marind society: in addition to the two older stations of Merauke and Okaba, Kumbe and Wambi would be started as centres for missionary work.
- All children had to attend school in the morning and return to their (nuclear) families in the afternoon.
- The *gotade*, the longhouses where the young men lived, had to be abolished. Furthermore the separate longhouses for men and for women are to be destroyed and the practice of the sexes living apart be abolished.
- All youngsters had to live with their nuclear family until marriage. In the new villages they had to help in the construction of schools and houses, and work in the vegetable gardens. They had to return to their parents' houses each night.

¹⁸ Van Baal 1966:548-9. See also Van Baal 1939 where he uses words like *onmatigheidscultuur* (a culture of overindulgence, lack of moderation, p. 309) and *een cultuur van hartstocht en geweld* (a culture of passion and violence, p. 312).

- People who had accepted the wearing of clothes, and newly married couples, had to form the core of the new villages, but those found to be infected with a venereal disease had to leave these new villages immediately.
- Severe punishment was proposed for all those who opposed the new measure, especially those threatening to use witchcraft.
- For those children who were able to follow better education than the ordinary three-year village school, dormitories in the central villages would be built.
- In order to finance this programme, brothers and priests would receive 100 guilders per month each; for all children in the dormitories 8 guilders per month would be given in subsidies, while the teachers would receive 35 guilders per month from the central administration. For the building of schools special regulations would be made.

The joint plan of mission and government was approved by a decision of the governor-general on 27 April 1921.¹⁹ The importance of this plan for the Papua mission was certainly as great as the Flores-Timor plan for the expansion of Catholicism in those islands was. It gave the mission a feeling of great optimism and hope.

Vertenten's biographer calls his hero 'the saviour of the Marind-anim' (Vlamynck 1949). This may have been somewhat exaggerated. The plan that was defended by Vertenten in Batavia was the result of discussion between missionary personnel, colonial administrators, and the medical service. In later reports it was the medical doctor M. Thierfelder (serving in the region between 1922 and 1926) together with Cnopius who were seen as the central figures in the exact identification of the venereal disease and the appropriate medication. The Catholic mission plan, formulated and defended by Vertenten, was considered a major initiative within a broad framework to bring about a radical change in Marind society.²⁰ It was a more intensive variant of similar programmes for Flores, Timor, and the Kai islands, although the latter never had such an official and formal agreement. In 1939 Jan van Baal, *controleur* of Merauke between 1936 and 1938, wrote,

Where are the Marind going? [...] For the Marind as a people there is only one way out, that of the complete reception of Christianity, namely Roman Catholicism. The road to paganism is closed because of the depravity and nature of their culture which is incapable of improvement and, secondly, because of what happened to them after 1910. (Van Baal 1939:407)

¹⁹ The text of this decision and the detailed plans by Vertenten are in Boelaars 1992:244-7.

²⁰ See also the remark in the *Adatrechtbundel 45* (published in 1955), preface by the commission, p. vi: 'Er is wellicht geen kolonie ter wereld te vinden, waar de gehele levenswijze van de bevolking zo bepaald wordt door westers ingrijpen' (There is perhaps no other colonial society in the whole world where the entire lifestyle of the people was changed so drastically through Western intervention).

This was not written by a zealous and biased Catholic missionary, but by a devoutly Protestant government official, a trained anthropologist, defending government policy. In fact there has probably been no region of Indonesia in the twentieth century where government support of conversion to Christianity was as strong as in southwestern Papua.²¹ There was no real exclusivity in the 1921 contract, as was the case with the 1913 contract concerning Flores and Timor, but the absence of a mention of other parties at least suggested that there would be exclusive facilities in the Marind region for the Catholic mission.

Another side-effect of the new policy was the exclusion of the many traders from other parts of Indonesia, from Timor, the Moluccas, and South Sulawesi (Buginese). In Dutch they were usually called *ruilers*, people who work through barter agreements. They traded iron tools like axes for copra (dried coconut). Around 1920 Vertenten counted 30 traders in a village of less than 300 Marind people. The traders themselves were mostly in poor circumstances, but they caused dependence and increased poverty among the local population. After the 1921 agreement they were no longer allowed to live in the new Papua villages, and were concentrated in larger villages, in designated areas, from where they were allowed to harvest copra along the coast (Vertenten in Boelaars 1992:251). In our sources we could not find any sign of the spread of Islam, or even the presence of Muslims in this Merauke region before 1945. As noted above, in the 1890s Le Cocq d'Armandville had experienced some religious rivalry by Muslims in Kapaur and he had visited the south coast (but only as far as Mimika) in a schooner owned by an Arab. Must we accept that in the race between Islam and Christianity, the region of Asmat and Marind was among the very few to be reached first by Christians, before the arrival of Muslims? After firm action against headhunting had started in 1913 and the region had become safer, a number of traders came for the beautiful skins and feathers of birds of paradise. Between 1914 and 1926 scores of these adventurers made inland expeditions, often accompanied by local helpers. Because of the many problems involved with this hunt, it was forbidden in 1922: several hunters had been killed, while others behaved as if they were free rulers over territories and killed many native people. The few remaining birds were to be spared. The direct reason for the ban was the further spread, through the hunters, of venereal granuloma (Schoorl 1993:149).

Vertenten was still around to experience the first results of his pioneering work. In 1921 the construction of three schools was begun, and two years later five schools were opened, with three more under construction. In 1924 twelve schools were functioning, all with teachers from Kai. In 1933 the number of ordinary village schools in villages where only nuclear families were living

²¹ Van Baal 1939:412: 'Het ingrijpen in de adat in Zuid Nieuw Guinea is eenig in de geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië'.

(in separate small houses) had risen to 40. In 1925 Vertenten was summoned by the Belgian MSC order to leave this mission field to become the first head of the new MSC mission in the Belgian colony of Congo.²²

From 1921 on, Catholicism in the Marind region spread rapidly. In November 1921 the first two teachers from Kai arrived: Kassimirus Maturbongs (for Merauke) and Adrianus Dumatubun (for Okaba). On 17 April 1922 the first adult Papua were baptized in Merauke. In 1923 Father Johannes van der Kooij started his second period of work in West Papua (after a period in Kai from 1915 to 1923 owing to the shortage of personnel during World War I and the lack of opportunities in Papua). He opened Wendu as the third permanent station and in 1924 celebrated the first series of baptisms, fruits of the school: 16 boys and 18 girls. Wambi was the fourth station, permanently staffed by a priest, to be opened, in 1923. These were signs of real progress. Notwithstanding some obstruction by colonial officials in Merauke, the financial agreement that facilitated the spectacular expansion was extended after 1925. Widespread support among Europeans in the colony for the work in West Papua was expressed by a lottery in the Indies in 1928 that raised 28,000 guilders for this mission.²³

In 1928 the first three sisters arrived to open a dormitory and school in Merauke. The first three girls to stay in the newly built compound were girls from Digul who had been seized during headhunting raids by Marind tribesmen and handed over to the mission by the colonial administration, which had prohibited headhunting. For some time they had been educated in Langgur. Within six months the sisters had 17 girls in the dormitory. The number of sisters remained at three until the Japanese attacks.

Rivalry with the Protestant mission in the Marind region in the 1930s

On 15 May 1930 the Catholic mission of Merauke celebrated its 25th anniversary in a jubilant way: the previous five years had offered bright perspectives and produced an initial harvest after the difficult early decades. However, that very month of May 1930 also saw an upheaval caused by the arrival of assistant minister A. Hessing and eight Protestant teachers from Ambon. This arrival was the result of a conference in Ambon, in 1929, about the ban on 'double mission' (that is, both Catholics and Protestants in one region). The Catholics had been the most vociferous opponents of the policy prohibiting double mission. They were quite happy when they could start their mission in Fak Fak in the 1930s, and later also in more northern territories of West

²² For these results see Boelaars 1992:257-63.

²³ See Boelaars 1992:261-2 on the problem of continuation in 1925 and the intervention by Volksraad member Schmutzter. See Boelaars 1995:23 on the 1928 lottery.

New Guinea. But the Catholics were not the only party to profit from the abolition of the ban on double mission. In 1930 Reverend Hessing was sent by the Moluccan Protestant church and took Merauke as his permanent post, serving the small Protestant congregation of the capital until he was dismissed in 1937 due to financial fraud (Van Baal 1986:196, 274-5). The Protestants only managed to 'occupy' a couple of inland villages, most of them upstream on the Bulaka and Bian rivers.²⁴ Colonial official Van Baal, himself at that time still an orthodox and determined Protestant, found in retrospect that it was not so bad for the Marind that various religious systems competed to offer them an alternative to their own religious worldview. First, they already had a mixed and complex religious system themselves, with a wide variety of myths and rituals. Second, many of them adapted only outwardly to the new religion or religions, continuing their old rituals secretly in an abridged form (Van Baal 1986:275). For the Catholic mission, however, 'sheep-stealing' caused much trouble. Matters became more complicated because in some places there was an Ambonese Protestant *bestuurs-assistent*, the lowest official in the colonial bureaucracy. Several small incidents, between missionaries and Bestuurs-Assistent Lebelauw (an Ambonese Protestant) in Okaba in particular, caused troubles in the early 1930s.²⁵ It was not only sheep-stealing, it was also 'sheep-buying' when Kai guru Filippus Ulukyanan managed to get children into his school by arranging copious meals for the village of Sangasé and providing better clothes for them (Boelaars 1995:56).

The Protestant mission could profit from the close ties between government and the Catholic mission because of popular resentment against some of the measures ordered by these ruling parties. In some regions Protestant teachers allowed people to leave the new villages and go back to their old semi-nomadic settlements and longhouses. For strategic reasons, Protestant teachers were also more lenient than Catholics in baptizing people and providing them with an official written document, a *surat*, of their new religious membership. Protestants claimed that they were closer to the official religion of the colonial state because the Dutch queen was also Protestant. In turn, the Catholic mission accused the Protestants of allowing polygamous relations.

In some cases the race between Catholics and Protestants led to a heated rivalry. In the early 1930s the Catholic teacher Eduardus Ulukyanan was sent to the village of Kwel, quite far inland from Merauke along the Maro river. On the very day of his departure, Ulukyanan noticed that a Protestant teacher for the same village was embarking on the same boat. The boat halted for two days at the halfway point, in the village of Po. Ulukyanan used this opportunity to walk as fast as he could to Kwel, where he arrived long enough before his Protestant colleague to open the letters of the Protestant mission, copy the

²⁴ There is a map in Boelaars 1995:58.

²⁵ For a list of minor conflicts see Boelaars 1995:24.

names of the inhabitants, gather the people together, give away nice presents, and encourage people to build a school and a house for the Catholic teacher. The nearest government official, the Protestant *bestuursambtenaar* of Muting, tried to prevent his actions and even condemned him to six years in prison. Eduardus appealed against this decision to the *assistent-resident* in Merauke and won his case. Within two years the whole village of Kwel had accepted Catholicism.²⁶

The teachers and their schools

The arrival of colonialism had brought many changes to Papua society. First came traders from more distant regions, Chinese and Indonesians from Timor and even further away. After them came the colonial administrators with their company of soldiers and prisoners to build the first colonial settlements. They banned the large ceremonial feasts, forbade headhunting, closed the separate longhouses for men and for women, as well as the *gotade*, the special longhouses for bachelors. Nuclear families were urged to live in small houses, built after the style of the Moluccas. They were instructed to live together in villages around a school, often far away from their sago trees. Natives and prisoners from outside the region were ordered to work on roads and bridges as forced labour. The experienced anthropologist and government official of Merauke, Jan van Baal, observed a collective depression among the people in the late 1930s, and he surmised that this was because they had lost their sense of a meaning in life. One of the most striking elements introduced in this drastic process of transformation was the school. Here children were formatted for the new society to come.

Lessons were given entirely in Malay,²⁷ and therefore the first two years were dedicated to teaching pupils the new language, which was later to become the national language of Indonesia. School was also associated with the wearing of clothing, the main symbol of the new society.

The schoolchildren collect coconuts which are processed into copra to be sold. From the profits of this business the schoolchildren receive their clothes. It is a common rule that the teacher keeps the tidyest clothes for Sunday. This makes the school a decisive factor in children's lives. In general the children attend the school in good discipline. In the more self-aware coastal areas absenteeism is somewhat higher than in inland villages. Although the school is still an institution outside traditional

²⁶ Boelaars 1995:93, after the biography of Edmundus Ulukyanan, written by his daughter, Maria Ulukyanan, at the request of Jan Boelaars.

²⁷ In the early 1920s Father Vertenten compiled a book with stories in Marind, but a reorganization of the school in 1931 dispensed with even this small adaptation to the Marind language and culture (Boelaars 1995:314).

culture, the children are really attached to it or their teacher. Certainly, the school programme is too intellectual and not suited for this society. The curriculum includes arithmetic, reading, writing, singing, playing the flute, and religion. It is a pity that the lessons are totally in Malay, which means a loss of the first two years. Every grade has to be repeated and takes at least two years, and only a small and select group goes on to the higher grades. Arithmetic is the greatest problem. The lessons in singing and flute playing are a great success. (Van Baal 1939:73)

The teachers, most of them from Kai with some from Tanimbar, were not only instructors for the first primary school in their region. They had basic medicines for the whole population and sometimes served as health workers. They introduced new methods of agriculture, opened land together with their pupils for growing vegetables, fruits, and sometimes even rice. They held a position very similar to that of head of the new village, as long as there were no formal village chiefs. They had to prevent quarrels and fighting without any weapons. They had to rely entirely on their eloquence, warning people that at some time (at least several weeks or months later) the police would come to restore order.²⁸ Often teachers also had to serve as an intermediary between colonial officials and the people of the villages for improvement of the common welfare. Teachers also served as leaders of the growing religious community and functioned on weekends (and sometimes on weekdays, leading morning and evening services) as liturgical leaders of their flock. The teacher's house automatically became a centre for the new-style village. In these pioneering years the pupils often lived not with their parents, but with the teacher. Keep in mind that in these early years, the ages of school pupils varied widely: from six to fifteen years old. It was the missionaries' firm conviction that teachers were the real driving force behind the spread of Catholicism. In the new villages the teachers, even though they were outsiders, were often more respected and had more influence than the village head, an absolutely new creation.²⁹ The *nora*, or teacher's wife, sometimes had great influence on the women of the village. The teachers lived in fairly isolated areas, many of them in inland stations where colonial officials and the priest could visit them only every two or three months. Colonial officials used them as mediators in many affairs of law and order, health care, hygiene, and food and agricultural

²⁸ To give just one example from the diary of S. Effroean, in Yatan, Tanah Merah region, found in his diary for 11-2-1942: two men were quarrelling about a palm tree close to the house of someone named Wagat. His neighbour Kabo shot him with an arrow, whereupon Wagat wanted to start fighting, but 'the teacher settled the quarrel by suggesting that they should forget the fight' (*Tetapi sebab goeroe bilang, djangan marah lagi. Djadi: kedoeanja berhenti*). See Document 37.

²⁹ Boelaars 1995 has many biographies or portraits of individual teachers. There is a general description in Boelaars 1995:119. Boelaars 1995:288 has a somewhat cynical note about Father J. Laaper, who in 1940 had recently arrived from his theological studies and apparently could not find the right way to deal with his parish, but was corrected by his teachers, 'who knew more and different texts from Scripture'. See also Van Baal 1939:382-90 on the role of the teachers.

promotion. The priest was nominated as the school inspector and gave special attention to the religious lessons, examined how well pupils knew prayers and catechism, looked after the progress made in singing church hymns and playing the flute, and he sometimes administered baptism. In cases of disease, children were baptized by the teacher. Unlike priests, who spent much of their time travelling around to inspect the ten or more outer posts assigned to their station and to further explore the area, teachers sometimes stayed in one place for many years. They became the stable power behind the spread of Christianity. Due to teachers' intermediary position, colonial officials sometimes saw them as quarrelsome people who liked to enjoy their superiority. In this respect, however, they were defended by the priests against the officials. Priests liked to blame traders for the introduction of diseases and vices, and considered teachers the real agents of change for the better.³⁰

Most of the teachers came from Kai. They were considered very reliable and serious-minded, even somewhat melancholic. People from Tanimbar had a reputation for being more light-hearted and joyful. Not all teachers were from Kai and Tanimbar. Augustinus Tuyu came from Minahasa. He was born a Protestant but converted to Catholicism, apparently at a young age. His first post was in Kaibursé on the coast, north of Wendu. Later he served at posts inland, along the Maro River. In 1933 he led the school in Erambu, along the Maro, and defended Catholic interests against efforts by the Protestant teacher to attract children to his school. He was apparently a member of a pious Menadonese family, because two other members of the Tuyu family worked in the Merauke region as MSC brothers (Boelaars 1995:30, 61-2, 99-100, 121, 339).

Owing to rivalry with the Protestant mission, the number of schools founded by Catholics rose very quickly in the 1930s. When government subsidies came up for renewal in 1931, only the existing subsidies were continued and no increase was allowed. This brought the number of Catholic schools for the whole region to a total of 175 in 1936, but only 35 of them received subsidies. Moreover, the number of permanent stations increased soon after the Protestant initiative. In 1930 Muting was established as a formal mission post and in 1932 Wamal; in 1933 Bupul was the station chosen to be served by Father Verschueren, while in 1936 Kimaam on Kolopom received a permanent staff. After the problems with Hessing in 1937, Protestant activities calmed down. The formal activities of the Moluccan Church were halted totally, but then a missionary organization in Ambon, independent of the formal Protestant Church, started to send some teachers (Boelaars 1995:63).³¹

The school was not the only institution in the villages. The Catholic mission tried to create new festivities and to establish a clear policy for those

³⁰ Verschueren 1941:18-9 in debate with the colonial official Van Baal, who had blamed the teachers of conspiracy and intrigue.

³¹ See also the view of an outsider in Van Baal 1939:348-9.

elements of traditional ceremonies that could still be maintained. For customs relating to burials, pregnancy, birth, and marriage, a consistent and uniform policy was formulated in the early 1930s that differentiated between detestable practices and allowable traditions. At village festivities the common meal would start with the blessing of a giant *sep*, a large loaf of bread baked with sago. New boats could also receive a blessing. Similarly, pigs were allowed to be slaughtered for festivities to celebrate the completion of new schools, chapels, and churches. Baptism, Christmas, Easter, the visit of the vicar apostolic from Langgur, the procession with the Holy Sacrament: these were occasions when the 'great depression', caused by the drastic changes in the society, could be smoothed and where a new positive impulse to daily life could be given. For these occasions, missionaries and teachers also encouraged the use of traditional wood-carving and other decorations.³²

Tanah Merah: Detention camp and mission area

In early 1927, after a series of revolts that were partially inspired as communist rebellions and certainly labelled as such by the colonial government, a detention camp was opened in Tanah Merah, some 450 km upstream on the Digul River. Its inhabitants were mostly prisoners from Java and Sumatra. In the 1930s their number grew to about 2,000. The detainees were among the best educated citizens of the Dutch colony, and there was a vibrant intellectual life in the detention camp. Muhammad Hatta, who from 1945 to 1956 was to be vice-president of the Indonesian Republic, gave lessons in economics and wrote not only nationalistic pamphlets and an introduction to economics, but also a short history of Greek philosophy (Hatta 1945). Among the few Christians in the camp was the Javanese Soekardjo Prawirojoedo, one of the officers involved in the revolt on the marine ship *De Zeven Provinciën*. The Sumatran nationalist leader Chalid Salim, a member of a very prominent Muslim family, received from this Javanese Catholic the Christian scripture. His first reading of the Old Testament was disappointing:

But my friend Soekardjo did not give in. And therefore he pushed me also to read the New Testament. While reading this important document, I was deeply touched by the doctrine of Christ, a doctrine that concentrates on the service of the God of Love and the practice of love for one's neighbour. This was a doctrine that really gave me satisfaction after a long spiritual quest. Many years before, I had had great admiration for the great sacrifice made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries in their difficult work in the forests of New Guinea. Through their faith they knew no fear amid the many dangers of daily life. In the most difficult circumstances they helped the poor Papua people again and again. This service to poor and underde-

³² Verschueren in debate with Van Baal, ca. 1939, quoted in Boelaars 1995:322.

veloped fellow human beings, with total absence of personal interest, was a sharp contrast to the *haji* who lived in our camp. During my long stay of fifteen years in the camp, I seldom or never saw one of them serving other people. I must stress that this was my personal experience. (Salim 1973.)

After some time, Salim came into contact with Father C. Meuwese, 'an extremely gifted, friendly and sensitive man'. Meuwese devoted much time to conversations with Salim, who really needed comfort in his desperate situation at the detention camp without any expectation of being released. The priest was able to give him some relief. After a few visits Salim started to attend mass, and was struck by the mystical atmosphere of the liturgy and by the Papuas whose singing of the Latin music was so fluent and melodious. The priest was the only Dutchman in the camp to address Salim (who was fluent in Dutch because of his education) politely and not use the overly familiar speech that other Dutch people so often used with Indonesians. Meuwese never pressed him to convert. After Salim's first request to receive catechism lessons the priest was even reluctant, warning him of possible consequences, especially problems with his family. Chalid Salim was finally baptized on 26 December 1942. In his autobiography he noted that his family did not criticize his conversion too strongly. Later in life, in Australia and in Europe, Salim experienced some problems in contacts with white Christians who did not always accept him as their equal. He also learned the 'painful difference between theory and practice of Catholic doctrine', and said of his religious journey: 'Assessing the results of my religious thinking, I must state that I finally have remained a human being, believing in God in a common religious way' (Salim 1973:252).

Mimika

The first colonial official settled in the Mimika region in 1926, in Koakonao. After two preliminary visits in 1927, the German MSC priest Francis Xavier Kowatzki opened a permanent station there the following year. He brought six teachers with him from Merauke, and later in 1928 he went to Langgur to hire another five (Boelaars 1995:260). Here too, schools were the real basis for expanding mission work. Until the large military expedition of 1931, there was constant fear of headhunters from the eastern Mimika region. In 1929 two teachers had lost all their belongings and barely survived attacks. In December 1929 Father H. Tillemans joined his colleague and opened a station somewhat more to the west in Uta. Notwithstanding the economic decline of the early 1930s, subsidies for this region were not reduced, and the Mimika mission even increased the number of schools during the 1930s from 20 to more than 30.

Further to the west, the Catholic mission came into conflict with the expansion of the Protestant mission. The *bestuursambtenaar* of Kaimana heard in 1931

that the Catholic mission wanted to post a teacher in Urama, close to Kaimana. He sent his cook there, to reserve (*vast te houden*) the village for the Protestant church and called upon Ambon to send a teacher as quickly as possible.³³ In this way the 1930s saw the creation of still more religious boundaries, often through small incidents. However, after 1937, Protestant initiatives slowed down in education and straight proselytism, not only in the Merauke-Okaba region, but also in Mimika. Low-ranking government officials (*bestuursassistent*) of the Protestant faith from Ambon continued to foster the Protestant mission.

In October 1933, the first large baptism ceremony of 40 adults was celebrated before a crowd of some 5,000, from all over the whole region. The new religion brought not only a completely new set of rituals, adorned with pieces of traditional culture like the wood-carving motifs used on the giant cross and erected in front of the two large guesthouses and built for the occasion in Kokonao, it also introduced new music and dance. Much of the music and dancing was adapted from Kai culture because the main designers of the rituals were schoolteachers, who were keen on introducing Kai music and dancing in their new territory. This baptism ceremony in 1933 showed the rapid changes in the region: in Merauke there was no real success in the period 1905-1920, but after that period, the smooth acceptance (at least outwardly) of Catholicism occurred not only in the main colonial centre but also in other places.

From the coastal settlements of Mimika (Kokonao and Uta) further explorations were made. In 1931 Father Tillemans first travelled to the high mountains north of Koakonao. In 1935 he was asked to join the exploring expedition of Dr H. Bijlmer. It soon turned out that people of the interior were more amenable to participation in schools. They remained longer in one place and were more easily persuaded to live in villages, thus making it possible to send their children to school. In 1937 a new and even more modest type of village school was introduced, the *beschavingsschool* (civilization school), with lower requirements as to number of pupils and level of instruction. This type of school also paid more attention to physical work in agriculture and less to the skills of reading, writing, and mathematics. The new *beschavingsschool* resulted in an increase in the overall budget for education (Boelaars 1995:280).

In 1939, the first three teachers were posted in the mountainous region of Lake Paniai (also called Wissel Lakes after the Dutch engineer F. Wissel, who 'discovered' the lakes in 1937). In 1940 ten teachers were working in this very promising region of large lakes, but because of the start of World War II they had to be called back to the coast (Boelaars 1995:280). In October 1941, the situation seemed to be more stable again and permission was given for them to return to the mountains off the coast of Mimika. But at this juncture the Protestant church acted more promptly than the Catholics, and their teachers

³³ See Boelaars 1995:264 for a detailed story of the race between the Protestant *bestuursassistent* of Kaimana and Father Tillemans of Uta.

arrived earlier. Another area of rivalry between Catholics and Protestants had started.³⁴

The struggle for mission permits and the arrival of the Franciscan mission in Fak Fak, 1925-1942

The northwestern sections of West Papua, where Le Cocq d'Armandville had started his first mission in 1894-1895, were closed to Catholic initiatives until the 1930s. This region, where the race between Christianity and Islam was quite clear because of its longstanding relations with the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, would become a majority Protestant region.

The Bird's Head Peninsula (Kepala Burung, Doberai) had been the starting point for the Protestant mission, with Manokwari as the centre. In 1905 there were already 23 missionaries under the responsibility of the staunchly orthodox Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging, which did not like quick baptism or easy accommodation to local culture. Statistically their results were therefore not so impressive, but they had started a solid mission in the region. After the 1912 ruling on the division of the Moluccas and Papua between a northern Protestant section and room for the Catholic mission south of the 4°30' latitude, the Catholics concentrated on the south coast. In this they were supported by the government administration.³⁵

During an initial visit in 1904, Prefect Neyens met some thirty people in Fak Fak who claimed that they were Catholics and had been baptized by Le Cocq d'Armandville.³⁶ In mid-1910 new efforts were made to open a Catholic station in Fak Fak. In this case it was not so much rivalry with the Protestant mission (concentrated in Manokwari) that stimulated the Catholics, but the growing activities of Muslims in the region. Neyens sent a formal request to open a mission station in Fak Fak. His letter received a reply nearly two years later. On 12 January 1912 Governor-General Idenburg replied that he would stick to the division that had been followed since 1902, notwithstanding the fact that the Protestant mission did not yet feel able to open a station at Fak Fak. One of his considerations was the lack of law and order and even basic safety in the region. In 1919, another request to enter the Fak Fak region was again rejected by the central government in Batavia (Van de Berg 1974:671).

As was the case with the Protestant 'invasion' in the Merauke region in the 1930s, there was also a careless approach to the religious dividing line from the Catholic side. Several Catholics settled in the Fak Fak region, most often

³⁴ On this mission by the CAMA, see Giay 1995.

³⁵ This agreement was announced as a decision of the governor-general dated 12-1-1912, no. 4. Details in Weitjens 1969:25, 28.

³⁶ For this and the following, see Van de Berg 1974:663-712.

as lower-ranking government officials, police officials, and soldiers. They were very few, but they were the basis for the permission (and generous financial remuneration) for pastoral visits to this region, mostly undertaken by Mathieu Neyens after he stepped down as the prefect apostolic in 1915.

During the early twentieth century several boys from Fak Fak went to Langgur on their own initiative, to attend the Catholic school. In December 1924 a man by the name of Suni, from the village of Sakertemin, came to Langgur to assure the missionaries that his village wanted to become Catholic. He therefore requested the presence of a missionary. MSC priest Father Cappers, who visited Fak Fak on a routine pastoral visit in early 1925, was approached by the chief of Sakertemin and three other villages, who asked that a school be opened in their villages. The governor of Ambo in this case decided that no Catholic schools should be opened in a region that was already known as a Protestant region. In some villages local residents had already started building a school. The building in Sakertamin was later demolished by order of a colonial official. Using the technology of the time, Father Cappers sent a telegraphic message to the governor of Ambo, whereupon he received an answer within three hours: 'Permission to build Catholic schools has been rejected because the western part of Dutch New Guinea has been assigned to the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging' (Van de Berg 1974:673). Mid-1925 Cappers sent a request to the governor-general, but again he received the reply that for the time being the dividing line of 1912 would be maintained.³⁷

After long discussions, including debate in the Dutch parliament, the governor-general stated formally, in a letter dated 28 November 1927, that article 177 (before 1925 it was known as article 123) of the Constitution of the Indies should not be used for the prevention of double mission. This resulted in a meeting in Ambo on 12 July 1928 between representatives of the Protestant mission and the Catholic mission, with the governor of Ambo, L.H.W. van Sandick. The meeting was in fact the end of the dividing line between the two missions, although in later years many quarrels about the granting of permission would follow. In late 1928 Father Cappers received permission to start the Catholic mission in the whole western region of Dutch New Guinea, with the exception of Bird's Island. In August 1929 the first four teachers from Kai arrived in the four villages of the Fak Fak region to start Catholic schools in a region that already had seven Protestant schools. The small size of the villages (many had less than 100 inhabitants) made it expensive to continue this race.

A striking example of the painful competition between Catholics and Protestants was the village of Manebui, exactly on the dividing line between Fak Fak and Bird's Island Peninsula. A delegation from that village had re-

³⁷ Text in Weitjens 1969:26; also in Cappers 1925:284-9.

peatedly requested a Catholic school. But the teacher that arrived in May 1931 was arrested in October 1931 by the police at the request of the GPM, Geredja Protestan Maluku, the Moluccan Protestant Church, which had taken over responsibility for this region from the Utrechtse Zendingsvereeniging in 1927.

In 1935 it had become widely accepted that the much debated article 177 had been formulated only to prevent unrest caused by religious propaganda and not to prevent 'double mission'. The new *resident* of Ambon, Dr Bauke Haga, used this understanding for a new procedure, a 'gentlemen's agreement'. He reached an agreement with Bishop Aerts of Langgur that no new missionaries would be sent without oral agreement between the bishop and the *resident* about new plans for the mission. One of the first concrete steps taken using this procedure was a Catholic school for the village of Manebui, opened in February 1937.

To intensify Catholic activities in this promising region, where many villages still were not served by the established Protestant mission, a new religious order was invited, the Franciscans. The Franciscan friars had started their work in Indonesia in 1929 by opening a parish in Jakarta (Kramat Raya, also taking over the running of the Vincentius orphanage) and extended this work in West Java, concentrating on the later diocese of Bogor. They started work in West Papua in the beginning of 1937, arriving with five priests and one brother. At that time, the mission of Papua was still part of the vicariate apostolic of the Moluccas (with the vicar apostolic residing in Langgur, Kai Islands). In contrast to earlier procedures, the Franciscans had to work here under MSC leadership, Bishop Aerts of Langgur. In the first few months they started up four new permanent stations, in Fak Fak, Babo, Ternate, and Manokwari.

Statistics for 1941³⁸

Stations	Catholics	Baptisms	Schools
<i>Southeast districts:</i> Merauke, Wendu, Okaba, Wamal, Muting	6,324	793	66
Tanah Merah	1,375	506	23
Mimika	4,994	348	31
Fak Fak	1,341	182	11
Total	14,034	1,829	131

³⁸ Jaarboek 1942:51.

- In 1941 the total population of southern New Guinea (the Merauke districts) was about 15,000. Of this total, 6,324 had accepted Catholicism, either through baptism or by receiving catechism lessons and can be interpreted as about 40% converted to Catholicism and was seen as 'the better half, because it includes the younger people'.³⁹ In the 1950s some very optimistic statistics claimed 95% of the population to be Catholics.⁴⁰ In the late 1960s Muskens reported somewhat over 50% Catholics in the archdiocese of Merauke (75,742 out of a total of some 150,000).⁴¹ The sharp increase in the number of Muslims (about one-third in 2000) happened mostly after 1963.
- There were very few schools with more than one teacher. For the 131 primary schools of 1939 the total number of teachers was 140. In the statistics (as in the actual missionary situation) no distinction was made between schoolteachers and catechists. For the Merauke parish, besides the full-fledged primary schools (*volksscholen*), there are 27 subsidized, many by the government, and 38 unsubsidized schools on the list of 1940 categorized as 'civilization schools' (*beschavingsscholen*). These numbers may apply to the whole district of Merauke. This would raise the number of primary schools from 131 to 196. In Merauke there was also one vocational school for carpenters and tailors under the supervision of one of the MSC brothers.

³⁹ Boelaars 1995:319 'en wel de beste helft, omdat het vooral de jongere generaties bevat', quoting Verschueren.

⁴⁰ Hasto Rosariyanto 2001:37: 'dari daerah Katolik dengan 95% penduduk Katolik, Merauke menjadi multiras dan multiagama'. From the claimed 95% Roman Catholics before incorporation into Indonesia, the figures for 1999 show that the Merauke archdiocese counted 53% or 132,929 Catholics out of a total population of 246,317, with a further 32.2% Muslims and 13% Protestants.

⁴¹ Muskens 1969:351-3.

CHAPTER VII

Marginal Minahasa and Toraja Catholics among majority Protestantism in Sulawesi

Besides Ambon Island and the Moluccas, Minahasa was also part of the glorious Catholic memory of missionary endeavours during the sixteenth century.¹ In 1934 national celebrations were held commemorating the arrival of the first missionaries in 1534. In Minahasa this celebration received much attention, partly because the ‘return’ of Catholicism to Minahasa was somewhat more successful than to Ambon, where the small Catholic community consisted mostly of members of Chinese origin or from other parts of Indonesia. In the twentieth century virtually no native Ambonese claimed to be members of the Catholic faith, once preached by Saint Francis Xavier and his companions to their ancestors. In Minahasa, Catholics were a minority in a Protestant society, but they managed to establish excellent educational and health-care institutions and thus made a name for themselves in this region.

Traditional religions and customs had come under severe criticism since the arrival of a modern Protestant mission in the 1830s, and were no longer major social forces when the Catholic mission restarted its efforts in the 1880s. Although recent studies have shown that traditional religion in Minahasa is far from extinguished and has experienced a revival, albeit somewhat hidden as popular religion, this has been more of a concern for majority Protestantism than for the Catholic Church (Parengkuan 1994). The existence of popular religion alongside formal and official Christianity has always been less problematic for Catholic clergy than for Protestant ministers. However, Catholics in Minahasa have not taken much notice of traditional religion, in contrast to the attention given to traditional religion in Batak, Java, Dayak, and even Toraja regions.

Volume One of this book outlines the modest progress of the Catholic community as a side-effect of the principal conversion to Protestant Christianity in Minahasa in the nineteenth century. Besides individual Catholics in various places, mostly soldiers or former soldiers,² there were small pockets of

¹ Van Aernsbergen 1925:8-61 is mostly devoted to the early history of Catholicism in Minahasa.

² Colonial soldiers received a higher salary if they were baptized. Thus many young soldiers



North Sulawesi and Minahasa



South Sulawesi

Catholics, often the result of conflicts with Protestant ministers or dissension among the Protestant communities themselves. On the whole, however, the number of Minahasa Catholics in the nineteenth century was quite significant: of the 27,601 native Catholics in the whole archipelago in 1903, no fewer than 6,810 or about 25% were Minahasan. At that time they were the second-largest native community of Catholics after Flores, larger even than Timor and the southeast Moluccas (Kai and Tanimbar). This position was not maintained in the twentieth century. If we look only to the native Catholics of Flores (leaving the Europeans aside), the number of Catholics showed an increase between 1903 and 1940 from 18,140 to 278,775, more than fifteen times as many. The native Catholics in the vicariate of Manado only grew from 6,810 in 1902 to 25,304 in 1940, which was only slightly more than the natural increase of the population during that period. Between 1910 and 1919 there was even a definite stagnation in the numbers, from 10,000 to 11,000. The standstill was partly the result of many young men going as soldiers to other parts of the archipelago.³ In 1940 the Catholics of Minahasa were only 5.5% of the total number of native Catholics. At that time they were already outnumbered by new Catholic communities in the southeast Moluccas (including West Papua, both regions still under the vicariate of Dutch New Guinea at that time) and Central Java, while the Catholics in Sumatra, especially in the Batak lands, were also growing. On the whole we perceive a shift from a Catholic presence in the eastern Outer Islands towards a more significant and stronger minority position in the central island of Java and in Sumatra (particularly in the Batak lands).⁴ For the region under discussion in this chapter, Sulawesi, then still called Celebes, we observe a stagnation in Minahasa and some initial modest progress in Toraja (1,770 native Catholics in 1940). In both regions the Catholics arrived after the Protestant mission had taken the lead and become the majority religion of the region. Catholics were never more than 5% of Minahasa. In the majority Muslim regions of south and southeast Sulawesi Catholics never reached more than 1.6%.⁵ Even in Toraja the Catholics held a marginal position in relation to the dominant Protestant influence.

A long series of residents of Manado had caused many problems for the growth of the Catholic community in Minahasa. During the late nineteenth century no permission was given for visits of the bishop of Batavia. It took a

applied for baptism. Enklaar 1947:80 reports that in some cases candidates were baptized by Protestant ministers notwithstanding their poor knowledge of Christianity, for fear that they would otherwise request baptism by a Catholic priest.

³ Vriens 'Honderd jaar':785.

⁴ This tendency continued until the 1990s. See the statistics in Boelaars 1991:160 and *Jaarboek 1940*:205-7.

⁵ For Minahasa see *Claverbond* 1907:212-6. For the present diocese of Makassar see John Liku-Ada', in Hasto Rosariyanto 2001:370.

long time before a residential priest was permitted to settle at a permanent post in Manado (1886). Before and after that time the local teacher, also functioning as a catechist, was the central figure in the Catholic communities. Statistics for 1906 show some 25 schools with 45 teachers, teaching 615 boys and 444 girls, a total of 1,059 pupils. This means that more than one-seventh of Minahasa Catholics were schoolchildren, but also that they were spread over some 25 locations. A school functioned at the same time as a chapel for a mission station. Outside the large parishes of Manado and Tomohon, most stations had at most only a few hundred faithful. Not all pupils of Catholic schools were Catholics. The Protestant minister Schoch mentions the district of Sonder, where 29 of the 57 pupils of the Catholic school were Protestant. They did not attend the government school run by the Protestant mission because the location of the Catholic school was more favourable for them and because they enjoyed more freedom (a lack of discipline?) in that school.⁶

In the early twentieth century the Catholic mission felt stronger and stronger through additional personnel and funds and tried to increase its prestige and influence in two ways: first, by providing Dutch-language education for children of the elite to be given by religious sisters; second, through improving ordinary (Malay-language) three-year village schools through offering more solid preparation for teachers at the teacher training college in Woloan. The school for training teachers gave birth to the Catholic seminary at Pineleng, near Tomohon, in the late 1930s. These two institutions were the most important achievements of the Catholic mission in Minahasa.

The period 1900-1940 saw a very rapid increase in foreign personnel, much greater than the increase in the number of faithful. In 1902 the nearly 7,000 Catholics were served by three Jesuit priests. In 1940, for 25,304 Catholics, there were 25 priests, 26 brothers, and 80 sisters. By that time there were already 25 native Indonesians working as sisters in Minahasa, but all the priests, religious brothers, and 55 of the sisters were European (mostly Dutch, with some German priests).⁷ This is quite different from the relatively small number of expatriate Protestant mission personnel in the region, which never exceeded ten people. The Protestant mission leader baron van Boetzelaer, after expressing regret that the Catholics had started their mission in Minahasa, rightly stated that 'the results of this activity were not compatible with the effort exerted by the mission'.⁸

⁶ In Schoch 1908:240, also quoted in Vriens 'Honderd jaar':766.

⁷ Jaarboek 1940:205-7.

⁸ C.W.Th. baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam 1947:354: 'het toelaten van de Roomsche Missie, die veel verwarring heeft gesticht, al waren de bereikte resultaten niet in overeenstemming met de krachtsinspanning, die door haar aangewend werd'.

Schools of the JMJ sisters and the 'Minahasa drama'

As described in Volume One, the sisters of the Dutch Congregation of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, commonly called the JMJ sisters, arrived in Tomohon in 1898. Because of the staunch anti-Catholic stance of a long series of *residents* (who were influenced by Freemasonry or by Protestant bias and emphasized the 'Protestant character of Minahasa'), it was not until 14 October 1907 that the sisters could open their first school exclusively for Catholic girls. This was to be a school at the same level as the ordinary three-year village schools in the region, having Malay as the language of instruction. The sisters accepted the conditions and took 108 girls from the mixed Catholic school in Tomohon to start a school for girls only. The school opened in Manado in 1910 was also an ordinary village school, for Catholic girls only. The JMJ sisters had sent qualified teachers to open a prestigious Dutch-language school to attract the Protestant elite of Minahasa, but this was not yet allowed by the first official permissions of 1907 and 1910. These were still the days of anti-Catholic *residents*. Only in 1912 could the sisters start Dutch-language lessons for girls from the elite of Tomohon and later also Manado.

In 1924 a committee of ethnic Chinese from Manado asked the Catholic mission to start a special hospital for lepers in Malalayang. The JMJ sisters promised qualified Dutch personnel. They thought that it would be only a matter of a few formalities to receive permission to open this institution. However, at the suggestion of the Protestant minister of Manado, permission was not given for this special hospital. The procedures were delayed for nearly two decades and the institution never came into being. The history of the Catholic mission is full of such conflicts between Catholics and Protestants (Stigter in Muskens 1974:479).

Notwithstanding obstacles put up by leaders of the Protestant church, and effectuated by a series of *residents*, the sisters carried out an ambitious programme of high-quality prestigious education. Besides taking over some 'Malay schools', they gave lessons in Dutch. In 1919 they opened a Dutch-language primary school (HIS) in Manado. In 1922 this was followed by a Dutch-language high school (MULO) in the capital and another HIS in Woloan. To set up schools for boys, the Fraters van Tilburg, religious brothers, arrived in 1924. By 1939 these efforts had resulted in three kindergartens, three HIS, and two HCS (Dutch-language school for ethnic Chinese), two high schools (MULO), one teacher training college, two Dutch-language vocational schools, and a minor seminary. There were at that time 85 'Malay schools', where only three years of schooling were given, in Indonesian, with the exception of nine of these schools that offered a five-year course (*vervolgscholen*). The Dutch religious teachers concentrated on Dutch-language schools. Only six of the 71

European sisters and brothers worked at Indonesian schools.⁹ On the whole the study and practice of the Dutch language was very popular in Minahasa, sometimes nicknamed ‘the twelfth province of the Netherlands’. This was in spite of the strategy of the Protestant mission, which used Malay as its common language. It could partly be attributed to the special privilege of children of Minahasa soldiers; these children were allowed to enrol at the most prestigious category of school, the Dutch-language Europeesche Lagere School, or ELS. The lower-level HIS was also very popular in the region.¹⁰

In Tomohon a Catholic hospital was founded by the JMJ sisters in 1916. It received government subsidies in 1917.¹¹ This support was given under Governor-General Idenburg, a staunch defender of equal subsidies for all Christian denominations. The Mariënheuvel hospital remained the only major medical institution run by Catholics in Minahasa. Its influence on the spread of Catholicism was much less than that of the schools. In 1923 a cooperative union was established, the Perserikatan Orang Berkeboen or POB, an association of people working on plantations, mostly in coffee. The German MSC priest A.M. Domsdorff was the advisor of this union (Stigter in Muskens 1974:476).

Teacher training at Woloan and Antonius van Velsen

In 1897 the Jesuit priest Antonius van Velsen (born in 1870) arrived in Minahasa. This gifted missionary would become vicar apostolic and bishop of Batavia from 1924 to 1933. He started his Indonesian career in Minahasa, where he stayed until 1921. He understood the importance of a good education for teachers, but found no good institution available for this purpose. After some initial problems, it was the teacher training school of Woloan that became the main instrument for the spread of Catholicism in Minahasa, with a strong effect on other regions as well.

The training of teachers had started with instruction given to the houseboys of the parish priest Bernardus Mutsaers, the first resident priest in Manado,

⁹ Jaarboek 1940:207.

¹⁰ Groeneboer 1993:307, 366, 369, 387. Groeneboer mentions that the city of Manado had a 9.3% Dutch-speaking population, second only to Amboin, where 13.1% could speak and read Dutch.

¹¹ Building the hospital had cost the mission a fortune, but finally the cost was covered mostly by the positive balance of the government salaries received by the sisters who taught at Dutch-language schools in Minahasa. About one third of the total cost of 250,000 guilders was received from government subsidies. ‘Dit ziekenhuis heeft 250,000 gulden gekost, waarvan 87.000 subsidie van het land. Zoiets kan je doen als je Hollandsche gesubsidieerde scholen hebt. Laten we zeggen, dat de zusters haal geld goed besteden, al denk ik wel eens: het kon wel een beetje minder en ik zou wel gaarne wat steun hebben voor missiekerkjes op zoovele plaatsen waar nog niets staat dan een hutje.’ Prefect Apostolic Walter Panis to his Dutch provincial superior. Manado, 22-2-1930, MSC Archives, Tilburg, Inv. 174.

starting in 1886. These boys were selected for training because through their frequent contact with the priest they had become acquainted with many aspects of the Catholic faith. Out of the first generation of four 'students', three had worked in Java between 1896 and 1899 for the newly opened mission in Semarang. There they had acquired the lowest certificate for teachers, that of *kweekeling-examen*. In 1901 a more formal course started in Woloan with some 20 students, who were already working as teacher-catechists in small villages. They came to Van Velsen in Woloan weekly when he resided there. The three most gifted of these students received special training and also joined Van Velsen in his pastoral trips to surrounding villages where he taught them, besides doing his priestly work.¹² The school at Woloan remained rather small: in 1939 it had 30 students (three of them girls).¹³ Not all the 'graduates' of this school worked as teachers. Some entered the army, where they had brighter prospects of a social career.

This novel approach to training teachers produced its first results in 1904: 25 of Van Velsen's pupils successfully passed the *subsidie-examen*, qualifying them to receive government subsidies to teach at three-year village schools. Even in this *subsidie-examen* there was rivalry with the Protestant mission. In 1900 Resident E.J. Jellesma stipulated that candidates for this examination should produce a declaration of good behaviour signed by a Protestant missionary or the local Protestant assistant minister. This prevented the participation of Catholic candidates until minister van koloniën T.A.J. van Asch van Wijck intervened. 'Graduates' from Van Velsen's school did not only work in Minahasa. Many of them went to Flores, South Sumatra, Kalimantan, and the Kai and Tanimbar archipelago, where they set up the first schools in illiterate areas. The ambitious plan for starting schools in Flores in the 1910s (see Chapter III) would never have been possible without Van Velsen's groundbreaking initiative.

By 1906 Van Velsen already had 25 boy pupils at his institute, by that time permanently established in the small town of Woloan. His educational effort, like its counterpart in Muntilan, was initiated as a course of study not only for teachers but also for native government officials. This latter goal was never achieved, just like in Muntilan. Graduates from the two schools ended up in different careers. Graduates of the Woloan teacher training programme were all to be sent to teach at Catholic schools, whereas the much larger number of graduates of Muntilan ended up working mostly in religiously unaffiliated government schools. Unlike Muntilan, the Woloan school never grew into a

¹² For this summary and the comparison between Woloan and Muntilan, see Vriens 'Honderd Jaar':782. With some exaggeration this initiative was called a 'reizende kweekschool' or a travelling teacher training. Some students joined Van Velsen on horseback to the outlying stations he had to visit regularly. They were instructed in the afternoon, stayed for a few nights at one station until they moved on with their priest to another station. There is a lively report by Antonius van Velsen in Van Velsen 1906:41-9.

¹³ *Jaarboek 1940:207.*

school of Dutch-language instruction, although Dutch courses were part of the curriculum. The curriculum reflected the intention of the Woloan school to educate teachers who at the same time would serve as catechists.

Minahasa was the first region to have catechists subsidized by the government. This favourable condition was again, like so many Minahasa affairs, the result of rivalry and jealousy between Catholics and Protestants. In the Protestant church there were fully ordained ministers alongside *hulppredikers*, literally ‘assistant preachers’, often also labelled *inlandsche leeraar* or *hulpleeraar* (native teacher or assistant teacher, the latter term most often being used by Catholics). There were very few fully ordained ministers in Minahasa, most often just one or two. After the Minahasa mission was taken over by the Protestant Church in the Dutch Indies, commonly called Indische Kerk, many of the ministers’ duties were taken over by native assistant preachers.¹⁴ They received 25 guilders per month in 1882, when the Batavia government also opened the possibility for Catholics to appoint *hulpleeraar*. Not until 1902 did Bishop Luypen apply for seven *hulpleeraar* or catechists in Minahasa, and not until three years later was permission granted to appoint these persons. Their number grew to eleven in the 1910s. Most of them continued to work in Minahasa. There were also some Chinese catechists in Batavia, Bangka, and Kotaraja (Aceh).¹⁵ The Catholic teacher-catechists (in the Malay of Minahasa they were called *penolong agama rooms*) from 1887 on were exempted from poll-tax and forced labour. After being appointed as salaried teachers of religion, they also needed special permission to teach religion under Regeeringsreglement art. 123. Notwithstanding their official status, they were considered catechists to be subject to the orders of the Catholic clergy. In other regions missionaries had objected to the ambivalent position of these teachers of religion, falling partly under civil authority and partly under church authority. Father Leemker had refused this situation for Flores in 1896. In Minahasa teachers of religion were turned into subsidized catechists, working alongside a larger number of subsidized schoolteachers. In the mission reports there is not much information about them. The whole mission enterprise in the early twentieth century became an increasingly clerical enterprise, with so many expatriate missionaries arriving from Europe. Lay workers in the mission were seldom mentioned in missionary documents. In European fund-raising activities they were mentioned primarily because

¹⁴ For the institution and regulation of the duty of *hulpprediker*, see Van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam 1947:347-52. See also the critical remarks by Enklaar 1947:75-81.

¹⁵ A copy of the Bt GG, 14-7-1902, no. 25 in AJAK G 8-1-1. The first seven teacher-catechists were P. Komantas, H. Mengko, J. Macawalang, A. Mandagi, H. Pankarego and H. Tinangon. The file AJAK G 8-1 contains a large number of documents about the *hulpleeraar* in Minahasa. The Mandagi clan is quite famous in the history of Catholicism in Minahasa. The first returning soldier to apply to a priest for pastoral assistance in Minahasa in 1868 was a person named Daniel Mandagi (Eijkman 1934:68). In 1994 Petrus Canisius Mandagi MSC was appointed bishop of Amboin.



Governor-General A.C.D. de Graeff being welcomed by Bishop Panis in his church during a visit to Tomohon
(KITLV, no. 11280)

propaganda for their work generated more money than accounts of Dutch-language schools or hospitals.¹⁶

In June 1909 Antonius van Velsen started up the monthly *Geredja Katholik*, a popular magazine for Malay-speaking Catholics in the archipelago. About half of its content was translated or summarized from Dutch or other European sources. But its style was adapted to the Indonesian situation. Most of the articles were doctrinal and devotional, with relatively little reporting on the present state of Catholics in Indonesia. In the words of Gerard Vriens, 'It presented the doctrines of the Catholic Church in a clear and understandable way without animosity and sharp polemics.'¹⁷ The minority situation of Catholics in an overwhelmingly Protestant environment of Minahasa is clearly represented in the magazine. It aimed to provide further reading material to indigenous teachers, catechists, and other leading Catholics of the archipelago. Besides religious issues, the magazine also offered short articles on history and geography, and some entertainment such as riddles for children and crossword puzzles for adults. The question-and-answer columns in the first decade were more often filled with general issues than with matters of Catholic faith. Within a few years the magazine had 2,000 subscribers.¹⁸ Started by the Jesuit Van Velsen, the magazine was continued in the 1920s by the MSC priests and survived until the economic and political crisis of 1958.

The distribution of *Geredja Katholik* was not without problems. Especially during the recession of the 1930s it was difficult to maintain the number of subscribers. At that time a large group of prospective readers in Flores were inclined to read the Flores magazine *Bintang Timoer*. Thanks to the broad experience of SVD priests, they could print this magazine for a lower price and still include drawings and photographs. On the island of Java the flourishing mission had the Javanese magazine *Swara Tama*. Even some parish priests no longer had a subscription to *Geredja Katholik*. In 1931 Walter Panis, prefect apostolic of Manado, complained that the large parish house of Semarang even stopped their subscription to *Geredja Katholik* 'for reasons of necessary economizing', but during a visit Panis had seen 'four major dailies of the Dutch Indies on their reading table and this strengthened my doubt whether it was due to economic reasons that they had discontinued their subscription'.¹⁹

Diatribes against Protestantism were seldom included in the pages of *Geredja Katholik*. The dominant Reformed Church of the Dutch Indies of

¹⁶ Vriens 'Honderd jaar':783. See also the instructions given by Walter Panis to Father Hermann Bröcker, who went on furlough to the Netherlands and collected money for the mission, Tomohon, 1-3-1939, MSC Archives, Inv. 174.

¹⁷ Vriens 'Honderd jaar':784.

¹⁸ The MSC priest Father Arie Vriens, a missionary in West Papua between 1950 and 1980, communicated to me that in the early 1950s all Papua teachers received the magazine free.

¹⁹ AP Panis to AV of Batavia, Manado, 19-91931, AJAK E 6-6-1.

Minahasa was even seldom mentioned.²⁰ There was occasionally an article on the American origin of Pentecostalism.²¹ As usual in these magazines, Islam and Hinduism were not mentioned at all.²² There were, however, some contributions about Chinese religion and mythology.²³ There were short articles in defence of the celibacy of priests,²⁴ and against divorce,²⁵ and many stories of saints and short messages about the pope. But these articles were not directed against Protestant issues. There is no anti-communist writing, as was often the case in the Javanese counterpart, *Swara Tama*. Instead, a number of articles protested against evolutionism and the possible origin of human beings from monkeys. In an article commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the magazine, it was mentioned in passing that Catholics were not supposed to read secular or Protestant newspapers and magazines. This may have been the reason why in the 1920s and 1930s a number of more general political issues were also printed in the monthly, especially related to the election of the regional Minahasa council.²⁶

In the early 1910s Van Velsen started the publication of a series of booklets under the title *Iman dan Ilmoe*. The first volume was a short biography of Saint Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary who was one of the first to work in the Moluccas. Another volume was a translation of a book by Cardinal James Gibbons, *The faith of our fathers* (first published in Baltimore, 1876), and the Dutch Catechism. In 1933 the series was revived by the MSC as *Ibadat, Iman dan Ilmoe*. The magazine *Geredja Katholik* and the series of booklets became the basic religious library for many catechists and teachers.

Modest strategies of the MSC priests after 1920

In 1916 a discussion began about transferring the mission area from the Jesuits to the MSC priests. Negotiations were concluded on 19 November 1919, when the prefecture apostolic of Celebes was created by the Vatican and entrusted to the MSC priests already present in the southern Moluccas and West Papua.

²⁰ *Geredja Katholik* 26 (January 1934) 12 has religious statistics about the Netherlands between 1909 and 1930, showing that the Reformed Church had the most members in 1909, but had to cede first place to the Catholics in 1930.

²¹ *Geredja Katholik* 21 (January 1929):2-3.

²² One of the very few instances where Islam was mentioned is the question put forward in *Geredja Katholik* 26 (February 1934) about the Islamic denial of original sin as inherited from Adam.

²³ *Geredja Katholik* 3 (August 1911) 41 gives a simple Chinese proverb as an example of common Chinese wisdom.

²⁴ *Geredja Katholik* 20 (November 1928) 114-5.

²⁵ *Geredja Katholik*, 20 (July 1928), 73. *Pertjeraian kawin* was the term used for divorce, probably after the Dutch term *echtscheiding*.

²⁶ *Geredja Katholik* September 1928 mentions someone who reads a non-Catholic newspaper because there is not a Catholic one. This person is reading forbidden literature (*Mau ia membatja sadja dalam soerat chabar lain jang terlarang oleh Geredja*).

The new prefect apostolic, G. Vesters, arrived in Manado on 7 August 1920 with two other priests. Antonius van Velsen, the great organizer of the mission in the first two decades of the twentieth century, left on 21 June 1921.

The new MSC prefect Vesters stayed in Manado until mid-1923, when he was appointed head of the mission in Rabaul, part of the former German mission of Neu Pommeren, located in east New Guinea, which was entrusted to Australia. Because of the dismissal of the German MSC missionaries from this territory, the experienced Vesters was sent to be the new head of that mission. This quick removal of Vesters, who had been in office in Manado only three years, may also be taken as an indication of the relative importance attached to this region by MSC missionaries. Vesters was succeeded by Walter Panis, a Dutch MSC priest, born in 1882. Between 1909 and 1922 Panis had worked in Surigao, in the southern Philippines. He had the rank of prefect apostolic until 1 February 1934, when he was appointed vicar apostolic of Manado under the name of titular bishop of Trisipa.²⁷

Because of the high esteem accorded to Dutch-language education in Minahasa, a great deal of energy was expended on this expensive school system. As we have seen, the vast majority of missionary personnel worked in schools providing Dutch-language education to Minahasans. Not only sisters and religious brothers worked in these institutions. Quite a few priests also had full-time jobs as schoolteachers and directors of schools. In Manado and Tomohon, A.M. Domsdorff was the central figure, comparable to J. Grent in Langgur. Both had acquired the formal Dutch diploma to be the director of a teacher training college. Their high colonial salary not only provided some relief for the financial problems of the mission, their status was the basis for the government subsidies for these schools. Prefect Panis repeatedly asked the Dutch provincial of the MSC to give future candidates for the priesthood, in addition to theological training, the opportunity to obtain diplomas qualifying them for regular secular education.²⁸

Government subsidies were a considerable source of income for the mission. Salaries for teachers in the Dutch language (many of them Dutch brothers and sisters, who earned much more than needed for their living costs) were much higher than salaries for Malay schools, though these were also

²⁷ Shortly after his ordination to bishop in Manado, on 24-6-1934, Walter Panis, now vicar apostolic and bishop, went to the Netherlands and Rome. Upon his return to Manado, the Catholics held a public procession, with permission from the local administration. Protestant Minister L. Nieuwpoort wrote some nasty comments on this event in a local newspaper. As usual in the frequent small conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, the clergy did not react in public: 'Hier in Manado antwoorden wij daar niets op.' Letter from Panis to the Dutch Provincial, 2-11-1935, MSC Archives, Inv. 174.

²⁸ Letters from Walter Panis to the Dutch Provincial, Manado, 25-11-1925 and 23-5-1926. MSC Archives, Tilburg, Inv. 174, pp. 110 and 116, asking for more priests who were qualified teachers for primary and secondary schools.



Seminarians of Woloan thanking their benefactors in the Netherlands who had provided their clothes
(sewing-circle Ravenstein), 10 August 1934 (KDC, Nijmegen)

substantial. In the 1930s subsidies for all schools were severely reduced. Panis complained that whereas in 1929 he still received 2,900 guilders per month for some 70 schools (or 40 guilders per school), this amount had been reduced in 1933 to 1,600 guilders per month. In that same year, salaries of priests in the Indies were reduced by 17%.²⁹

Notwithstanding the considerable economic and personal efforts devoted to the growth of a Catholic presence in Minahasa, the community remained modest in size and social prestige. Its social position can be nicely illustrated by Walter Panis's listing of the people who attended the official opening of the minor seminary in Pineleng/Kakaskasen on 4 November 1936:

Besides many of my priests, religious brothers and sisters, the ceremony was attended by the *resident* of Manado and his wife, the secretary of the Regency, the military commander with his wife, the *assistant-resident* [M. van Rhijn], a Catholic who fulfils his religious duties, accompanied by his wife, the head of the land registry office, also a faithful Catholic, some members of the European trading companies, the native head of the district, and one of the sub-district, our Minahasa teachers, etc., etc.³⁰

The Catholic leaders were happy to have some of their flock among the local elite, although they were not in the highest positions. The Catholic leadership itself was mostly clergy and teachers. Until the late 1930s more than half the 1,750 children attending the Dutch-language schools of Manado and Tomohon were Protestant. This was not the case with the 4,000 children attending the Malay-language Catholic schools: they were nearly all of Catholic parents. Bishop Panis noted that Protestant children at the Dutch-language schools were 'mostly children who would like to embrace Catholicism, if they could receive permission from their parents'. But conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism, quite rare since the start of the Catholic mission in the 1880s, had come nearly to a standstill in the 1930s. The division was firmly established. The 1937 statistics mention 72 former Catholics turned Protestant who returned to Catholicism, but 97 Catholics who became Protestant. This was nearly always caused by marriages crossing the firmly established borders between the two denominations. Native Minahasa Catholics who wanted to enter upon a mixed marriage very seldom received permission, but for European Catholics this exemption was usually given 'because they have not

²⁹ Walter Panis to the Dutch MSC provincial, Manado, 3-2-1933, in MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 257.

³⁰ 'Behalve vele mijner Paters, Broeders, Fraters en Zusters, waren er bij tegenwoordig de Resident van Manado met zijn vrouw, de gewest. Secretaris, de militaire commandant met zijn vrouw, A.R. Simons, een katholiek die zijn plichten doet als zoodanig met zijn vrouw, het hoofd van het Kadasterkantoor, ook een heel goed katholiek, een paar lui van de inheemschen handel, het inheemsch districtshoofd en onderdistrictshoofd, onze goeroes uit de Minahasa.' Letter from Panis to the MSC Dutch provincial superior, Manado, 12-11-1936, MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 299.

enough choice among their co-religionists to marry'. This was referred to as *angustia loci*, or narrowness of place, in the moral discourse of the clergy.³¹

In the 1930s several candidates for the teacher training college did not opt for a career as teacher and were instead accepted for the minor seminary in Woloan, later in Pineleng, that started using its new buildings in August 1936. There was a curious debate among the clergy about whether the students should be accepted for education to become diocesan priests or rather MSC members. Among MSC leadership there was some hesitation to accept all of them in their order: 'What to do with native MSC members who later want to leave their order? This is very likely to happen in the future, if we take into account the mild pressure that has been put on these young boys.'³² In 1938 the first candidates for priesthood who had already followed a three-year preparatory course in philosophy were sent to the major seminary at Mertoyudan, near Muntilan, in Central Java. But until the end of the Japanese occupation there were no native priests available and during the period 1942-1945 it was the senior teacher H. Tinangon who in fact became the leader of the Catholic community (Stigter in Muskens 1974:482-3).

The JMJ sisters had opened their ranks to Indonesian candidates at an earlier stage. As early as 1924 they had opened a training course for Minahasa girls who wanted to enter their order. In 1939 the JMJ sisters already had 25 Minahasa members, in addition to 55 sisters of Dutch nationality.³³ The Tilburg friars had no Indonesian members.

In the margins of the Protestant Minahasa: The Banggai islands

This period also saw efforts to expand to regions that had not yet accepted Islam or Christianity. One of these was the Banggai Archipelago, a group of tiny islands to the northeast of Sulawesi with the island of Peleng as its main island.³⁴ The most important settlement was the village of Sambiut, the main village on the island of Peleng in the Banggai Archipelago, where a few hundred people had been baptized as Catholics starting in the early 1900s (the

³¹ 'Voor Europeanen kunnen we die dispensatie moeilijk weigeren, omdat voor hen zeker geldt de *angustia loci*, zij hebben te weinig keuze meestal om met een geloofsgenoot(e) te kunnen huwen.' Walter Panis to his Dutch Provincial Superior, Manado, 27-9-1938, MSC Archives, Inv. 174, no. 333.

³² Dutch Provincial Superior of the MSC, N. Verhoeven to Prefect Panis, Tilburg, 3-9-1936. MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 294.

³³ Jaarboek 1940:402-5.

³⁴ The small island Banggai that gave its name to the archipelago had some 2,000 inhabitants in the 1910s. They were nearly all Muslim. The larger island of Peleng had 3,000 inhabitants in 16 villages. They were still pagan, as were the inhabitants of the two other small, lonely islands of Bangkuluk and Labobo (each having no more than 100 inhabitants). See Paulus 1917, article Banggai.

parish was founded in 1912, not as a permanent post but with baptismal books of its own). The Catholic presence had started with some 60 divers from the Philippines who had been hired to search for pearls.³⁵ In 1925 there was a complicated conflict, one of many in the protracted rivalry between Protestants and Catholics. The prefect supposed that there was a gentlemen's agreement between Catholics and Protestants that East Peleng would be a Catholic domain (*werksfeer*) while West Peleng would be the working territory for Protestants. In 1925 a Protestant teacher on a small island not far from Sambiut had accepted Catholicism, we may suppose after some internal Protestant conflicts. Thereupon a few hundred people from that island also applied for Catholic baptism and were ready to come to a ceremony in Sambiut. But the ceremony was cancelled after their village head intervened, suggesting that they should not follow this teacher, but rather ask for baptism from the Protestant minister of Luwuk. The *gezaghebber*, Th. Becking, confirmed to the Catholic priest that this territory should be under Catholic influence. He supposed that it would be impossible for so many people to come by boat to Sambiut because of the small number of *perahu*, and promised that he would take measures to continue the Catholic domination of this small region, but apparently he failed, or else had divided loyalties. As in so many cases, there is little information available about the matter. The major agents involved (the local teacher, the village head, the *gezaghebber*) all had their personal reasons for choosing between dominant Protestantism and minority Catholicism, which was sometimes seen as being more modern. Prefect Panis travelled to Sambiut in August-October 1925 (because of the bad connections the trip took three months). After he returned he was rebuked by Resident J. Tideman, who bluntly told him:

You were in Banggai only one day before I was there! In fact you are not allowed to go to that archipelago, except to the village of Sambiut, according to a decision of 1917. I answered, *Resident*, I know only that our predecessors, the Jesuit priests, were regularly in that place; that the *gezaghebber* of Banggai told me in person that East Peleng was a Catholic field of work but the West Peleng territory is reserved for Protestants; that his predecessor had told him at the transfer of authority that we already had 600 Catholics in Peleng, not only in Sambiut but also in other villages of that region; and that I would never give up Peleng (Banggai) because of my obligation to help the Catholics and convert the pagans, and if necessary I would continue my struggle to the highest level of government, even in the Netherlands.³⁶

³⁵ Prefect Walter Panis visited the island in 1931 and mentioned 60 pearl divers from the Philippines as the start of the mission, 'and that was everything' (letter of 3-9-1931 in MSC Archives Tilburg, Inv. 174, p. 233).

³⁶ "Hij zeide: U is in Banggai geweest, Prefect, juist daags voor ik zelf daar kwam (Banggai behoort tegenwoordig onder de residentie Manado). U mag daar eigenlijk niet komen, tenzij alleen in Sambioet, volgens een besluit van 1917!" Ik antwoordde: Resident, ik weet alleen dat zelfs onze voorgangers, de paters Jezuïeten, daar geregeld gekomen zijn, dat de *gezaghebber*

This quotation shows the fighting spirit of Walter Panis and the intense rivalry with the Protestant mission, which again in this case was supported by the highest official of the region. It was all part of the ongoing debate on article 123 in this region. In the history of the Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies, Minahasa was the region where the ban on double mission, carried out through the requirement of 'special permission' to preach Christianity, in article 123 of the Constitution of the Indies (Regeeringsreglement of 1853, later included in the Indische Staatsregeling of 1926 as article 177 IS), long played an important role. In 1868, during a first pastoral visit to soldiers, who had embraced Catholicism outside Minahasa and had since returned, the Jesuit priest De Vries had baptized a few hundred Manadonese. This had elicited much protest from Minahasa Protestants. After that, the work of Catholics was restricted again and again. Several examples were given above of this policy of Manado *residents*. In the 1920s Prefect Panis tried several times to obtain the 'special permission' of article 123 for the whole of Minahasa. He was not successful in this until 10 December 1927, when two missionaries received permission to work in all the islands of the Banggai archipelago, but not on the mainland of Sulawesi. The Luwuk region was still excluded from this permission. Only on 12 August 1932 was more generous permission for all priests of the prefecture to work in the whole region of the Manado Residency granted.³⁷

The statistics for 1939 show three resident priests in Sambiut with 20 European and 837 non-European Catholics.³⁸

van Banggai mij persoonlijk zeide, dat de Oost-Peling katholieke werksfeer is en West Peling protestantsche sfeer; dat zijn voorganger hem dat bij de overdracht van het bestuur ook gezegd had, dat wij op Peling al over de 600 katholieken hebben en dat niet enkel te Sambioet, doch ook in andere dorpen daar in den omtrek, dat ik in geen geval van Peling (Banggai) zou afzien, daar ik nu in geweten verplicht ben die katholieken daar te blijven helpen en de heidenen te bekeren, dat ik als het moest zou gaan tot de hoogste Regeering ook in Holland!" From a letter from Panis to Van Velsen, vicar apostolic in Batavia, 12-11-1925, AJAK, E 6-6-1.

³⁷ Bt GG, 10-12-1927 no. 35 and Bt GG, 12-8-1932 in a copy with comment by Prefect Panis, in Archives MSC, Tilburg, Inv. 174, p. 251. In that same comment Panis stated that about half of the Catholics of Manado were converted Protestants (*bekeerlingen uit andere gezindten*). The exact number is not given in the statistics because the clergy wanted to keep it secret for fear that it would arouse protests from the Protestant side. At that time about half of the 20,600 Catholics of the Manado residency were probably converts from Protestantism. In his letter of 30 May 1933 Governor Caron of Celebes mentioned that the granting of permission for missionary work was opposed by the *assistent-resident* of Luwuk. Caron, however, dismissed his objections and supported granting permission to all priests in the whole region. In MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 264 ('Door het afdeelingshoofd van Loewoe voorgebrachte bezwaren worden niet door mij gedeeld. Er is geen grond voor twijfel, dat het bestuur een door genoemd afdeelingshoofd mogelijk veronderstelde stooring van den openbare rust en orde in eenige streken van zijn resort, niet zoude kunnen beheerschen en de toestand volkomen in de hand houden. Mitsdien deel ik Uwer Excellentie eerbiedig mede, dat mijnerzijds tegen de verzochte toelating geen bezwaren bestaan').

³⁸ Jaarboek 1940:205-6.

Catholic presence in Makassar and rivalry with Protestants in Toraja

The town of Makassar (known under the name of Ujung Pandang between 1971 and 13 October 1999) was not only the capital of Southwest Sulawesi, it was also the main harbour of eastern Indonesia. It was therefore one of the first cities outside Java that Catholic priests visited regularly. Between 1891 and 1900 the town was the base for a priest who lived there permanently, partly for the sake of communications with the missions of Flores and Kai. A large church building, the Sacred Heart church, was finished in 1900. However, the building was not consecrated and used as a church until 1914, owing to the frequent absence of the priests appointed to this post. As in the period before 1900, during the early twentieth century it was usually older and sick priests who were appointed to this parish, which was considered more of a service institute for the clergy than a centre of missionary and pastoral work. The pastoral and missionary work of Makassar was mostly restricted to Europeans (many of them soldiers), Eurasians, and Chinese. In mid-1932 there were 1,200 Catholics in the town of Makassar, 582 Europeans and 618 non-Europeans, probably most of them ethnic Chinese. For these European and Chinese Catholics there was a whole range of Dutch-language primary schools, served by 19 JMJ sisters, from kindergarten through HIS, ELS. The only secondary education at that time was a vocational school for girls. To fulfil the demands of the elite, the sisters gave individual lessons in music (piano lessons), typewriting, stenography, German, and French. For 1939 these figures were already much higher: 1,805 Catholics in Makassar of whom 749 were Europeans and 1,056 non-Europeans. By that time the Tilburg fraters had also founded a community of 12 religious brothers who had started a ELS, a Dutch-language school. In December 1939 the JMJ sisters opened a Catholic hospital, Stella Maris, in Makassar, following the usual sequence of public service facilities offered by the mission to the growing Catholic presence in the larger towns.

An unusual missionary spirit was seen among some Catholics in Makassar. In the 1930s they founded the Celebes Missie Steunfonds, which not only provided the financial basis for the Catholic parish of Makassar but also gave some help for missionary activities in Toraja and Muna.³⁹

During the first decade of the twentieth century South Sulawesi was brought under full colonial rule. A short war in 1905-1906, the Bone War, destroyed the feudal structure of the Muslim Makassarese and Buginese. It

³⁹ On this fund see the letter from Walter Panis, 25-12-1936, MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 303. In 1936 the fund already had 6,000 guilders in reserve and provided some 125 guilders per month to the parish priests. It is possible that some influence remained of the missionary spirit of the strict Reformed mission of Surabaya, who had also started missionary activities and sent a missionary to Makassar. See De Jong 1995:11-23.

also created an opening to the pagan mountain tribes of the Toraja, known as headhunters and independent. Immediately after the victories in lowland Gowa and Bone, a military expedition lasting only a few months was sent to inland Toraja, an area that was then declared 'pacified'. Veteran missionary of Flores, H. Leemker, served the Makassar parish from 1903 to 1911. At the age of 58 he visited the region of Rantepao, between 23 September and 2 October 1910. In July 1911 Leemker moved to Yogyakarta, more or less considered a place for aging and ill priests to retire.⁴⁰ Leemker was succeeded by J. Onel, who worked in the parish until July 1913. His successor was the Jesuit A. Wintjes, who died in Makassar on 11 October 1915. Only on 16 January 1917 did his successor arrive: Father J. Kremer, who was in the parish until 15 January 1922. Beginning at that time the parish was part of MSC territory. One priest was sent to serve the Makassar parish and to do some missionary work in the vast region. In 1937 the southern region of the vast island of Sulawesi was entrusted to the CICM order. They started the first permanent missionary posts in Toraja in the late 1930s. Given the advanced age of the parish priests and the modest number of personnel who were prepared to start work in the interior, it is clear that there were no great hopes for results in the Toraja mission proper.

In fact, soon after Father Leemker's short visit, the Protestant mission took the initiative of opening a mission among the Sa'dan Toraja. The first ideas came from the Nederlandse Zendelingsgenootschap (NZG, Dutch Missionary Society), which had been working in the Poso region since 1892 and since 1905 among the Toraja of central Sulawesi. Because of lack of personnel and funds, they suggested that the Gereformeerde Zendingsbond (GZB, Reformed Mission Society) start a mission among the Sa'dan Toraja of southern Sulawesi. The Army of Salvation and the Reformed Church of the Dutch East Indies showed some interest, but only the GZB actually embarked on this endeavour in 1913.⁴¹

Between 1913 and 1942 the GZB sent eleven of its workers to Toraja. They had broad support in their home country. The Protestant mission journal *Alle den Volcke* had some 20,000 subscribers, and for this mission an average of 90,000 guilders per year was donated. Only a small part of this money was spent on salaries of missionaries (who received about 300 guilders per month). Much more was spent on the more numerous native teachers, who earned some 25 guilders per month.⁴² It was not exceptional for one mission post to supervise some 40 schools. In this period there were never more than five foreign missionaries active in this region, supervising some 250 local cate-

⁴⁰ On this visit, see Van Schie 1998:20-1. On the various priests working in the Makassar parish, see Van Aernsbergen 1934:416.

⁴¹ For this early history, see Van den End 1985:87-90; Plaisier 1993:37-9.

⁴² Figures based on Van den End 1985:321-2.

chists and teachers. In the beginning most of them arrived from Minahasa and from Ambon. In the late 1930s about half of the teachers were already local Toraja staff. By 1938 the GZB had baptized somewhat more than 13,000 Toraja Christians.

For the success of this Protestant mission, the Catholic presence in Makassar and its possible spread to Toraja was considered a threat. In reporting on an inspection visit to the mission, missionary leader Hendrik Kraemer wrote in 1939, 'Although the concrete results of the settlement and malicious interference of the Roman Catholics are still minor, we should not harbour the idea that things will stay this way. The [Catholic] mission always relies on four basic elements: time, perseverance, money and personnel.'⁴³

At the time Kraemer wrote his report, the GZB had more than 13,000 baptized Protestants in Toraja, while the Catholic mission as of mid-1939 had only 1,629 Catholics in the statistics for Toraja.⁴⁴ The rivalry between Catholics and Protestants here was very strong. A later Protestant observer, former missionary Bas Plaisier, wrote in his dissertation of the period 1913-1942:

Until the 1930s the arrival of the Catholic mission was a subject of permanent concern for the Protestant mission. Until that time article 177 of the Constitution of the Indies excluded the so-called 'double mission'. When the government abolished this policy, the Catholics had the opportunity to start their mission from Makassar, where they had a flourishing parish. The Protestants tried to prevent the arrival of the missionaries by urging the necessity of requiring special permission [from the government] for missionary work. Again and again the reports of the Protestant mission discuss the possible arrival of the Catholics and this was an important stimulus for them to start new missionary posts. Although the Catholics had not yet received permission from the government, by 1932 a Catholic teacher had opened a school in Simbuang, while the priests visited their flock (mostly native government officials) in the Toraja area several times per year. And they used this opportunity to work outside their own congregation. In 1932 the 'special permission' for missionary work was still rejected, but in 1938 the central government of the Dutch Indies left the decision to the churches and this made it possible for the Catholic mission to settle in Toraja in 1938. The mission then opened three schools. It was clear at that time that the Catholics had greater financial means than the Protestants, among other things because they were not bound to the restrictive government rules for subsidies. They collected school fees from parents. This was the reason for several families to join the Catholic church. The Protestants of course took their counter-measures. In 1938 they opened schools that were not subsidized by the government in three locations that were threatened by the Catholics' plans. In 1939 three more were added to this scheme. After 1938 various measures could be taken that before that period could only be carried out after long deliberations.

⁴³ Notices of 25-5-1939, quoted in Van den End 1985:431: 'Ofschoon thans de uitwerking van de vestiging en het gewroet der R. Katholieken nog gering is, men kan zich moeilijk vleien met de hoop dat dit zoo zal blijven. De Missie heeft steeds vier dingen: tijd, volharding, geld en mensen.'

⁴⁴ Jaarboek 1940:243.

In order to prevent rivalry and conflicts in village communities the government ordered that no schools (nor private schools without government subsidies) could be built at a distance of less than five kilometres of an existing school. It was also decreed that children were not allowed to change schools. The late 1930s was a period of feverish activity for the Protestant mission: when a Catholic priest appeared, the Protestants felt incited to take counter-action. This was not entirely a positive thing for the Toraja people: a second church also caused uncertainty and lack of understanding. (Plaisier 1993:253-4.)

What was the reality of the Catholics' march forward in Toraja? First we must take into consideration the activities in the city of Makassar. The vast majority of Buginese and Makassarese remain outside this discussion because they were Muslim and therefore not considered potential subjects for conversion.

In 1929 a Protestant missionary reported about Toraja youngsters who worked in the city of Makassar as housemaids, houseboys, or in other positions. Some five or seven had already become Catholic, and thus the Protestant mission decided to send an Ambonese teacher to Makassar to look after the Protestant and other Toraja in Makassar to prevent the further expansion of the Catholics among the Toraja in that town.⁴⁵ In 1932 there was a report about a Eurasian medical doctor who married a Protestant Eurasian (who became a Catholic at the time of the marriage). This doctor was appointed to work in the Toraja area, and it was feared that he would attract more people to Catholicism. This might have the result that 'those Toraja who no longer find satisfaction in animism and whose confidence in Christianity has been shaken because of the attacks on the credibility of the first preaching of Christ by other Christians, will turn to Islam'.⁴⁶ There was even one Protestant missionary who refused to recognize baptism by a Catholic priest. He argued that, as in Dutch history, a fierce position against the Catholics would in the end prove to be the right decision. 'Our ancestors fought 80 years against Rome. This proves the value of that struggle.'⁴⁷

It is not surprising that the Catholics relate a rather different sequence of events in their story of the first permanent Catholic parish in Makale. The former (post-1945) missionary Gijs van Schie begins his story of this period with the proud title: 'The Catholic community of Toraja started by a lay missionary in 1938' (*Jemaat Katolik di Tana Toraja Bermula dari Misionaris Awam [1938]*, Van Schie 1998:35-9). It is the story of a person named Pemba, who grew up in Makale and attended the primary school run by the Protestant mission. He had had a difficult youth, was often beaten by his parents, and

⁴⁵ J. Belksma, in his report on Rantepao, 1929, quoted in Van den End 1985:289.

⁴⁶ Report on the Conference of Protestant Missionaries, 15-8-1932, quoted in Van den End 1985:317.

⁴⁷ Report on the 1938 Conference of Protestant Missionaries, quoted in Van den End 1985:413-4: 'Onze vaderen vochten 80 jaar tegen Rome. Dus blijkt de waarde van die strijd.'

was taken into the family of the schoolteacher from Minahasa. After he finished his schooling, the teacher hired him as houseboy. He moved first to Palopo and then to Minahasa, where he enrolled at the teacher training college. Notwithstanding his Protestant environment, this lonely person (living away from his family and now outside his country of origin) converted to Catholicism in Minahasa and was baptized as Petrus Pemba. After obtaining his teaching qualification, he came to Makassar and was asked in 1937 by G. Martens, the first CICM prefect of Makassar, to serve the Catholic school that had been built by the Catholics in Sepang, a village on the west coast of South Celebes and considered to be one of the entry points to Toraja proper. Only a few months later he was asked to become a teacher and catechist in Tampo, a hamlet on the edge of the town of Makale. He gathered a number of children to teach them religion in the porch of his house. He sang and played with them a great deal. He was called several times to the government office in Makale, where he was rebuked for starting a school without proper permission. Pemba defended himself by saying that he had not opened a formal primary school, but only religious classes. According to his version of the events, a Dutch Protestant missionary told him that he should not start a Catholic curriculum in Makale 'because this is Protestant territory'. His answer was that he was a Toraja himself: 'What are you doing here? This is Toraja territory!' When the parish priest of Makassar made a visit to Makale in mid-1938 he was greeted by 48 of Pemba's pupils, who sang their hymns in the way Toraja people had learned singing from Dutch Protestant missionaries and their Minahasa and Ambonese teachers. Soon afterwards, however, Petrus Pemba's religious classes were turned into a proper village school.

In late 1938 the Makassar parish priest, Chr. Eykemans, paid another visit to Toraja in the company of M. Peddemors, *assistant-resident* in Makassar. Peddemors had worked for some time on the island of Flores and had become a Catholic. He suggested the priest adopt a more aggressive strategy, comparing the Toraja region with a pancake: 'You should not be satisfied with just a few places on the edge of the Toraja region, like the village of Sepang, or other parts of West Toraja. You must enter the heart of their territory in Makale and Rante Pao' (Van Schie 1998:39-40). In 1939 the central government of the colony granted permission for Catholics to establish a permanent parish in Makale. Although it was based on a mistake of a lower official, the decree was not withdrawn and Chr. Eykemans arrived on 4 June 1939 as the first Catholic priest to stay in Toraja territory. In December 1939 A. Vervoort became resident parish priest in Sepang on the western edge of Toraja territory.

In the early 1940s the number of Toraja Catholics did not exceed a few hundred. In the long run this tiny minority increased considerably. In the early 1990s about half of the 155,000 Catholics of the diocese of Makassar (then still Ujungpandang) lived in Toraja territory and the majority of Catholics

in the capital of Makassar were also of Toraja descent. This seems a rather impressive result compared to the modest 215 for the whole Toraja region in the statistics of mid-1939. But for southwest and southeast Sulawesi it still constituted only a meagre 1.6% of the 10,500,000 total inhabitants.⁴⁸

In his book on the Protestant mission in Toraja between 1913 and 1942, Plaisier asks why the conservative Protestant missionary organization GZB produced a Toraja church that is so different from the original missionary organization and its denomination in the Netherlands. Toraja Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, still practise the traditional burial rituals, with traditional priests reading the old myths in the sacred language, including prayers and charms. The doctrine of election, so central in the Dutch Protestant denomination, is virtually unknown among Toraja Protestants. Perhaps another difference is still more important: the conservative Dutch Protestants were deeply involved in the doctrine that they were elected to be God's people in their country. Although it was never a reality, they considered their blend of Reformed Protestantism to be the dominant and decisive religion of their country. They hoped the same for Toraja. It was their new Protestant territory overseas. The small Catholic gains in this region were very significant in the sense that they did not aim to destroy or replace the traditional religion, but showed clearly that religious pluralism was the new reality. There was not one Christian, but there were at least two Christian denominations. Besides, quite a few Toraja embraced Islam. Modern Toraja society is a religiously mixed and diverse society.

Filipino pearl fishers, Florenese woodcutters, and Butonese 'abangan' on the island of Muna

The island of Buton, off the southwest coast of Sulawesi, had been a Muslim sultanate since 1540 and remained independent until 1906, when it had to formally accept Dutch colonial sovereignty. The island of Muna was partly populated by Butonese people and was considered to be united politically and culturally with the larger island of Buton. Although Butonese ruling families had accepted Islam in 1540, the process of Islamization went slowly. It was mostly mystical Islam, not formal and legal Islam, that dominated Butonese culture. Until the 1960s there were few mosques on the islands. The feudal system made the elite more committed to Islam than the lower classes.⁴⁹ Under this system there were many pre-Islamic or non-Islamic religious elements among the inhabitants of Buton and Muna, most clearly their belief in reincarnation. Notwithstanding their alleged 'low-standard' Islam, in 1925 the nominally Catholic governor of Makassar, A.J.L. Couvreur, rejected a re-

⁴⁸ Bishop John Liku-Ada' in Hasto Rosariyanto 2001:370.

⁴⁹ On the sultanate of Buton see various writings by Schoorl 1985:103-34; Yunus 1995.

quest to admit Catholic missionaries to stay on the island and start a mission. Couvreur openly declared his sympathy for efforts to 'spread Christianity in a careful way, one of the most powerful means to liberate such regions from their isolation, while Islam with its rigid conservatism is a stumbling block for the progressive development of the population'. However, the social structure of society in Buton and Muna was an obstacle to the work of missionaries. The highest class of Laode, most of them Buginese migrants, ruled over a partly pagan people, Papara, who until the early twentieth century had the status of slaves. Under influence of the Laode more and more Papara had accepted Islam. Any effort to convert the remaining pagan Papara to Christianity would certainly cause serious trouble, and therefore Couvreur advised the governor-general not to allow a permanent mission station.⁵⁰

Prefect Walter Panis of Manado wrote a strong comment on this affair: Father Kapell had discussed this matter with the Sultan of Buton, who had consented to the arrival of missionaries saying that 'religion is like any business that can be brought freely to the market'. Panis blamed the *assistent-resident* of Buton for inciting local chiefs to protest against the arrival of missionaries.⁵¹ Panis had the impression that Couvreur personally had more sympathy for Islam than for the Catholic mission.⁵²

What prompted the Catholic request was the existence of a small but active group of migrant Catholics in Raha, the main town of Muna. These migrants consisted of some 20 to 40 pearl divers from the Philippines, and a similar number of woodcutters who originally came from Flores and wished to preserve their Catholic identity.

Among the 'Florenese woodcutters' the most important person was named David Salmon Pella, who died in Raha in 1960 as an old man. According to some sources, he originally came from the island of Rote, according to others from Flores. Those who claim he was from Rote suggest that he belonged to an elite family, but for some reason was expelled from that majority Protestant island, and had received some education in Flores. In Raha he was a *mandur*, a supervisor of indigenous workers at a woodcutting firm, Vejahoma (after Vereenigde Javaansche Hout Maatschappij or United Javanese Logging Company). In his house in Raha he held regular gatherings of the small Catholic flock of Raha. In 1912 a visiting priest baptized his son, Salomon Pella. This was the first name in the baptismal books of Raha. David Pella prepared some other children and adults for baptism, to be conferred

⁵⁰ Letter from Couvreur to governor-general, Makassar, 5-1-1925, in copy in Archives of MSC in Tilburg, Inv. 174, p. 144.

⁵¹ 'De godsdiest is als een waar die men op de markt brengt.' Quoted in a copy of another letter by Couvreur on this matter, Makassar, 19-5-1925, in the MSC Archives, Inv. 174, p. 145.

⁵² 'Ik voeg hier aan toe dat ik den indruk niet van mij kan afzetten, dat Couvreur eerder den Islam genegen is, dan de R.K. Missie', addition to a letter to the governor-general, Manado, 31-10-1925, in MSC Archives in Tilburg, Inv. 174, p. 146.

when a priest happened to visit the place. In the late 1920s Vejahoma was taken over by the government forestry service, and David Pella at that time received large pieces of land in the Raha region. He managed to arrange for the former buildings of that company to be sold to the Catholic church and turned into a parish house and church before the arrival of the first resident missionary in April 1930.⁵³

After the arrival of the first resident priest, the usual developments took place: schools were opened in Raha and four other villages of Muna. In 1931 four JMJ sisters took over the running of the small government hospital in Raha. However, the Muslim character of the island of Muna proved to be much stronger than expected. In January 1932 Chief Rumbia of the Moronene clan accepted baptism and with him some twenty families. After this event he was called to Wolio to discuss this matter with the Sultan of Buton, who accused them of apostasy. The matter was settled with Rumbia's solemn pledge that this change in religious affiliation would have no effect on his faithful obedience to the traditional ruler. Because of their adherence to non-Islamic practices, this Moronene clan possibly can be compared to the Javanese group of *abangan*, nominal Muslims who do not adhere to many of the legal and formal regulations of Shari'a Islam. In this period the Moronene lived in Lamanu, kilometres away from the new mission post of Lasihau in central Muna.⁵⁴

Propagation of the Catholic faith went very slowly. Besides the Mororene clan, the migrants from the Philippines and Flores, and some ethnic Chinese in the town of Raha, few inhabitants of Muna accepted Catholicism. One prominent new member was Gerardus La Mboki (born 1922), from the southern village of Lolibu. He went to the new school in Wale-Ale. Although he came from an orthodox Muslim family, he was attracted to the Catholic faith. After primary school he became the houseboy of the parish priest of Raha. At the time of the Japanese occupation in 1942 he, along with David Pella, mentioned above, was one of the main leaders of the small Catholic community on Muna. The statistics for mid-1939 mention 413 Catholics on Muna, 32 of them Europeans (this category officially included ethnic Chinese as well). This was an even larger group than the Toraja Catholics, only 215 at that time. But while the Toraja Catholics grew much larger later, the number of Catholics of Muna in the mid-1990s did not exceed 8,000.

⁵³ On David Pella, see C.A.M. de Jong 2002:85-91.

⁵⁴ On the Moronene, see C.A.M. de Jong 2002:107-114.

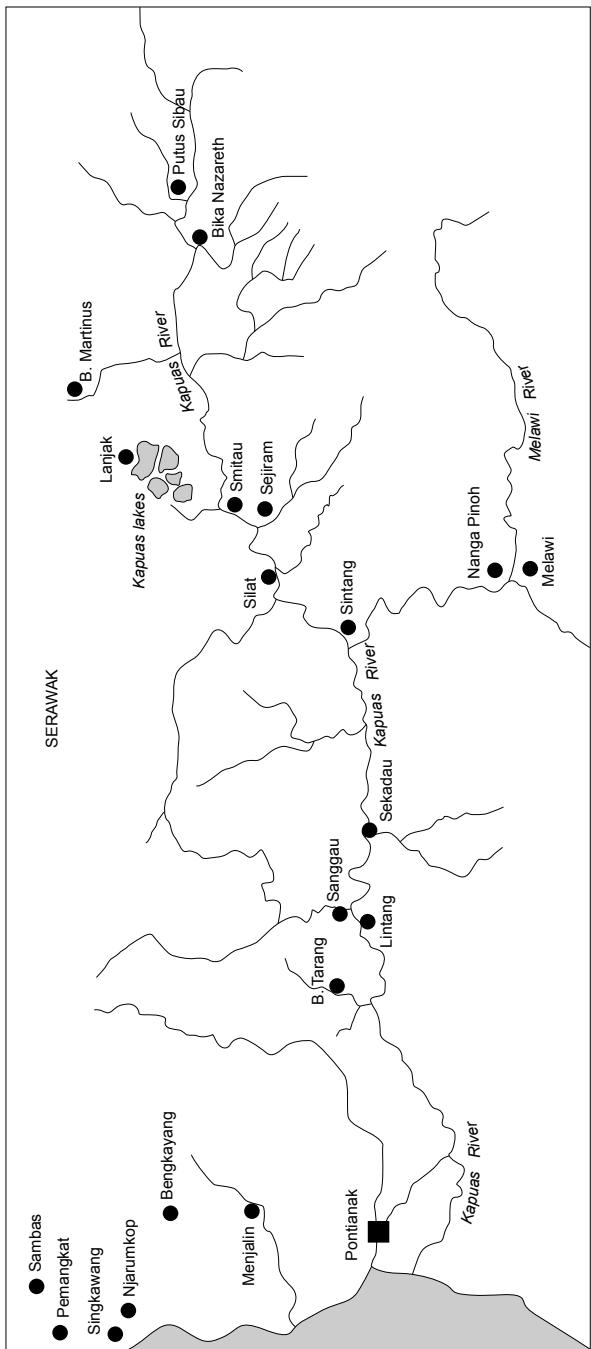
CHAPTER VIII

Amongst Chinese, Malays and Dayaks in Kalimantan

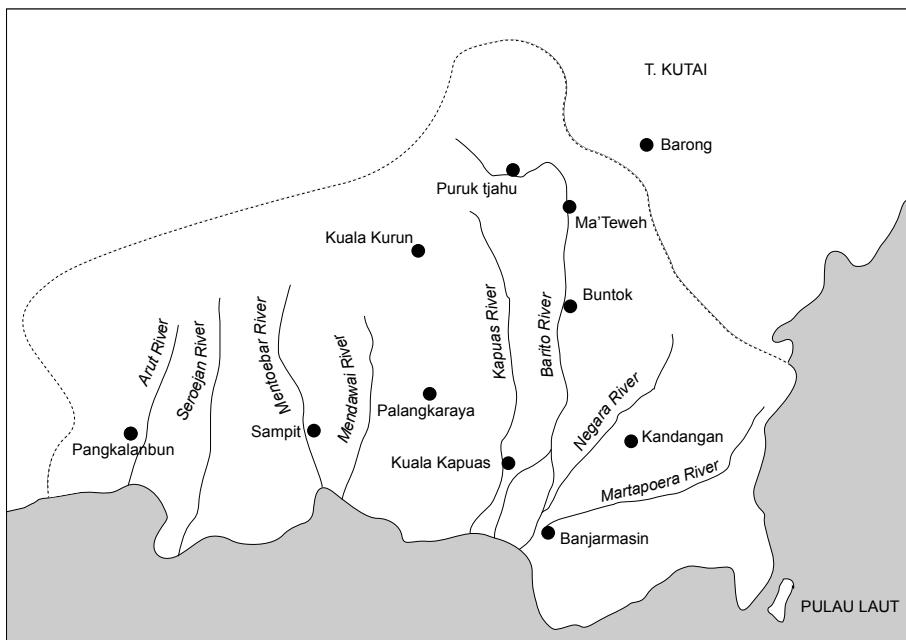
Kalimantan (until 1945 more commonly known as Dutch Borneo) is the second-largest island in the world. Only Greenland is bigger. The Dutch part of the island alone is four times the size of Java and Madura. In 1930 this Dutch colonial territory had only 2,168,661 inhabitants, compared to 41,718,364 on Java and Madura (or 4 per square kilometre against 316 for Java and Madura).¹ The central part of Kalimantan consists of mountain chains as in Java, but the soil is much less productive. Large rivers flow to the west, south and east and until recently they formed the principal ways of transport into the interior. In all large coastal settlements and in trading posts along the big rivers, native political power was controlled by Malay sultans and their bureaucracies, while there were also many Chinese traders in the settlements. There was quite a large ethnic Chinese population in West Kalimantan, mostly in the Singkawang and Pontianak regencies, where they constituted 101,547 out of a population of 560,038, or 18.1%, at the 1930 census. In the nineteenth century the Chinese worked mostly in gold mines² and in the early twentieth century more often on rubber plantations. In the coastal regions, with the exception of the Chinese, the population was Muslim and were called Malays. The term Malay was used for migrants who for centuries had been coming from various other islands of the archipelago: Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, and most of all many Buginese from Sulawesi. The vast majority of these people were Muslim. Malay, therefore, was used not so much as a racial term but primarily indicated that one was Muslim. When members of the inland tribes, collectively called Dayaks, embraced Islam, they were said to have become Malays, as in the common expression *masuk Melayu*. This process of ongoing Islamization since the fifteenth century had resulted in Muslim communities' dominating the harbours, the coastal regions, and the large settlements along

¹ Indisch Verslag 1937, Statistisch jaaroverzicht 1938:1-14.

² There is not much in the mission histories about these gold mines, which were in decline by the late nineteenth century. Only in Bengkayang is there a short report about a gold mine that donated 30 guilders monthly to the mission, 'Kronieken van de Parochie Bengkajang', 1-8-1941, Archives OFMCap, p. 17.



West Kalimantan

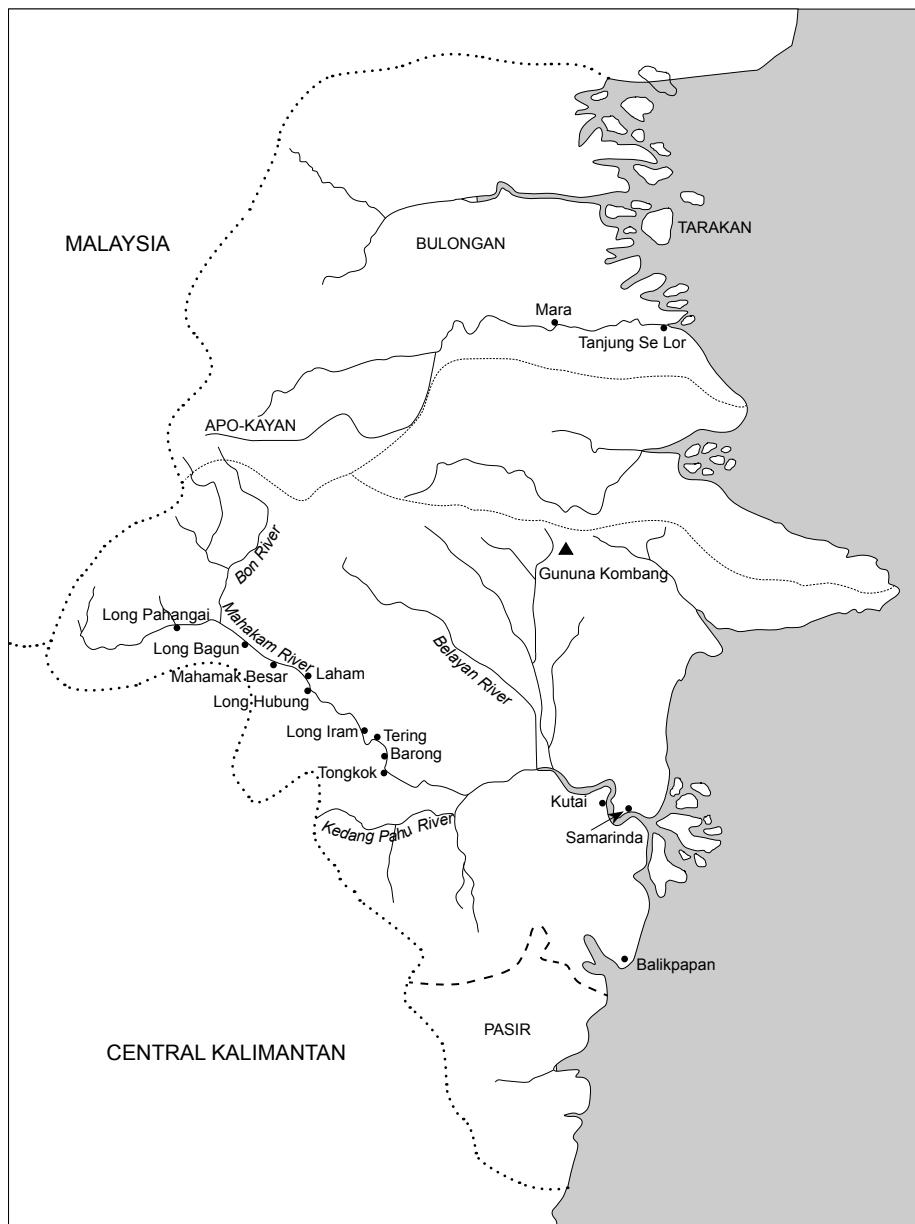


South and Central Kalimantan

the big rivers, with the degree of Islamization decreasing as the distance to the coast increased. All the coastal sultanates were ruled by Malay or mixed Arab-Malay (Pontianak) rulers who traditionally formed coalitions with inland Dayak chiefs. Along the main rivers the sultans had their appointed representatives in the larger settlements. In the early twentieth century colonial administration varied from place to place as to recognition of the authority of native rulers. As a consequence of the Banjar War (1857-1860), this most important sultanate of Kalimantan was abolished. In the early twentieth century several more sultanates were abolished, until in fact only the rulers of Kutai and Pontianak continued to exercise economic and political influence.³

Protestant mission (American Methodists) had started in 1839 from the west coast, Pontianak, but had left this region in 1850 because of a lack of success. In 1836 the German-Swiss mission of the Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft (RMG) started in the south, from Banjarmasin. By 1900 this mis-

³ For this process see Black 1985:281-91; there is a list of the sultanates in Mallinckrodt 1928:190-2. Of the list of 33 sultanates of 1860, 14 had been abolished by 1928 and the power of most others was severely reduced by the application of the Korte Verklaring (the Korte Verklaring was a short contract between local rulers and the central colonial government of the Indies, which often replaced the longer contract, giving more power to the government. The Korte Verklaring was in fact often a complete surrender to the Dutch colonial administration). Only Kutai and Pontianak still had a special contract.



East Kalimantan

sion had won some 2,000 converts, living dispersed in a number of villages along the Kapuas and Barito some 300 kilometres inland. The number of Protestant converts grew steadily to some 10,000 by 1935 for the region of South Kalimantan. Many of them lived from 700 to 1,300 kilometres from the principal city of Banjarmasin, which was wholly dominated by a fierce Muslim community, with only a Chinese minority living alongside them.⁴

Another Protestant initiative started in 1929 in East Kalimantan, in the area of the Kutai, Kayan and Sesayap rivers, with the city of Kutai as its main centre. This mission was started by CAMA, Christian and Missionary Alliance, a missionary organization founded by an American Presbyterian. The Indonesian branch of CAMA was founded by R.A. Jaffray, who had worked in China between 1897 and 1927 and started his work in Indonesia in 1928 with Makassar as his base. By 1940 this mission already claimed some 5,000 baptized in East Kalimantan. This was partly the result of the CAMA strategy to baptize people shortly after a positive response to the proclamation of Christianity, sometimes even after a few days. For CAMA missionary George Fisk in East Kalimantan, a confession that Jesus was accepted as redeemer could be enough, while the Catholic mission required a minimum of two years of instruction in catechism classes. The CAMA missionary and his assistants (Chinese, Ambonese, Menadonese, Toraja, and Dayak teachers) concentrated on the region north of Samarinda and the Kenya district, where they had virtually no direct contact with the Catholic mission until the early 1950s.

The situation for West Kalimantan was quite different. CAMA missionary A. Mouw arrived in April 1933 in Pontianak. From here he made a trip on the Kapuas as far as Sintang. The first convert was a Chinese, Lim Hong Lip, from Nanga Sejirak on the river Belitang. Before his conversion to CAMA Protestant Christianity, this man had been asked by the medical staff of the hospital of Sintang to accept the Catholic faith, but he had rejected this suggestion (Lewis 1995:196). Although Reverend Mouw settled close to the Serawak border of Iban territory, in Balai Sepuak, he had more contact with the Catholics than with his colleague in eastern Kalimantan. But his contacts were, as far as I can judge, not with the Catholic missionaries themselves, but with some of their converts. A key figure here was an Embaloh Dayak, named Marthen Lombok, born in 1915. He was already a faithful Catholic who had attended mass as an altar boy and knew the required Latin phrases by heart, but nevertheless became attracted to the CAMA message and studied at the CAMA Bible school in Makassar from 1936 to 1938 before entering the region as a CAMA missionary (Lewis 1995:203-5).

⁴ Van den End 1989:266. A short general history of Protestant developments on Kalimantan is in Müller-Krüger 1968:175-87. Due to the problems in Germany during and after World War I, the responsibility for the mission in South Kalimantan was taken over after 1921 by the Swiss Basler Mission Gesellschaft (BMG). For the CAMA see Lewis 1995:77-190.

The modest success of the Protestant missions did not result in the conversion of large villages anywhere, let alone whole regions, as was the case in various parts of eastern Indonesia. As in Catholic mission activities, the school was the most important means to reach people for the Protestants. In 1931 the largest Protestant mission (the Basler mission) had nearly 100 mission schools with some 4,500 pupils. Comparison with other statistics shows that about 17% of these pupils were Christian, 74% still adherents of the traditional Dayak belief, and less than 10% Muslim. Catholic statistics for that same year list 39 schools.⁵ On the whole, Catholics and Protestants would win similar numbers of adherents in Kalimantan: more Protestants in South Kalimantan, more Catholics in West Kalimantan. This latter region, however, would finally yield the largest number for both denominations.⁶

The sparsely populated inland regions of Kalimantan did not become partially 'Christian land'. There were two reasons for this: first, there was the ongoing progress of Islam, and second, there was the survival of traditional religion and old customs. In the second half of the twentieth century this resulted in the occasionally spectacular revival of traditional religions.⁷ It even led the Kaharingan, fierce defenders of traditional religion, to formally accept 'Hinduism'. Not only Christianity and Islam were mediators for the acceptance of modernity. Traditional religion on Kalimantan also proved to be creative and adaptable to change. Because of this, the modern Christians of Kalimantan were more individualistic. There were seldom conversions of whole villages, let alone whole districts who collectively embraced Christianity as their new religion.

The Catholic presence among ethnic Chinese in Kalimantan

West Kalimantan had quite a large Chinese population. In the 1850s missionary activities among the Chinese of Indonesia had started on the island

⁵ Garang 1974:134; *Jaarboek* 1932:188.

⁶ For 1981 the following numbers are given in *Statistik Keagamaan 1981* (see Bank Data Agama 1983), a publication of the Department of Religion of Indonesia: West Kalimantan: Protestants 220,868, Catholics 514,174 (10.6% and 24.4%, respectively, out of a total population of 2,099,931); Central Kalimantan: Protestants 136,017, Catholics 18,474 (14.2% and 1.9%, respectively, out of a total population of 952,612); South Kalimantan: Protestants 18,425, Catholics 6,943 (0.9% and 0.3%, respectively, out of a total population of 2,040,612); East Kalimantan: Protestants 120,917, Catholics 42,122 (10.3% and 3.4%, respectively, out of a total population of 1,171,660). For the whole of Kalimantan in the early 1980s: 9.5% Protestants and 11.1% Catholics; there is a remarkable percentage of 'Hindus', nearly all Kaharingan, the traditional Dayak religion: 168,739 or 17.7% in Central Kalimantan.

⁷ For some examples see Rousseau 1998; on Kaharingan see Joseph Weinstock 1987; on the rivalry and common progress of Islam and Christianity see the discussion in Miles 1976:88-102.

of Bangka, especially the mining town of Sungailiat. After a period of irregular pastoral visits by priests from Bangka, Singkawang was founded as a permanent station of its own in 1885, although it was more a starting point for pastoral visits to places as far away as Medan on Sumatra. Between 1890 and 1898 some efforts were made to start a permanent post at Sejiram in the Middle Kapuas basin (see Steenbrink 2003:59-62). In 1898 no new residential priest was assigned to the station, and it was only visited a few times per year from Batavia. In fact, before and after the period of a residential priest, most of the work for the revitalization of Catholics (some of them converts from the British territories of Malaysia and Penang or even from mainland China) was done by some catechists. The *singseng*, also written as *sensang*, or catechist for Singkawang, was the often praised A. Kang.

In 1905 the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan order took over the Dutch Borneo mission from the Jesuits as part of the grand plan to assign various regions to other religious orders. After the first Capuchin priests arrived in 1905, the following year they were joined by nuns who were members of the Franciscan order of a branch that had its centre in the town of Veghel, the Netherlands. In Singkawang they started schools with dormitories, and this would soon set the pattern for the first decade or more of the Catholic Borneo mission: large mission compounds, where young people were educated and trained in relative isolation from their families and home environments. In addition to schools, everything from a kindergarten to a vocational school for housewives (opened in 1924), a hospital (in Singkawang in 1912, in Pontianak in 1929) and a special facility for lepers was built. With the help of the *controleur*, a small village for twenty lepers was built outside the town of Singkawang in 1908, complete with a chapel and dispensary. Attached to the main compound of the mission and its Catholic schools was a farm for cows and vegetables, which made the 'ecclesiastical village' more or less self-supporting. The schools had Malay as the basic language, but soon (1912 in Singkawang) also Dutch as their main language, and after that they followed the model of the Hollandsch-Chineesche School or HCS. The 'Chinese character' of these schools was most often limited to the race of the pupils and to some Chinese lessons given in the afternoon after the proper school programme had been completed. For a very long time the town of Singkawang remained the place with the most Catholics. In 1932 there were 1,170 Catholics (only 90 of them Europeans) in Singkawang, out of 6,296 for the whole of Kalimantan (with the booming oil town of Balikpapan in second place, with 1,076 Catholics, 754 of them Europeans, and in third place Pontianak, with 1,038 Catholics, 193 of them Europeans).⁸ There were many Chinese along the large rivers. When they converted to Catholicism they did not appear in the statistics as a separate group. We only meet them occasionally in mission reports. In 1938 the

⁸ Jaarboek 1932:113.

gifted missionary Salvator van der Weerden, resident priest in coastal Sambas, led a retreat for mission personnel at the station of Bika or Nazareth on the Upper Kapuas. He also said mass in the administrative and commercial town of Putus Sibau, where he did the readings and the sermon in Chinese. 'Utmost contentment with the Chinese', was recorded in the mission chronicle.⁹

The priority given to education for ethnic Chinese, as well as the relationship with the colonial government, is illustrated in a quotation from a letter by Father Beatus to his Dutch provincial in 1925:

The *assistant-resident* here has discussed his idea that the mission not only should administer the Dutch-Chinese schools, as we do already, but also the common Chinese primary schools, where Chinese is the only language of instruction. He said, 'This is our only way to improve the attitude of the Chinese towards the government.' We have taken these words very seriously and started the draft of a preliminary agreement with the government. Brother Superior and I showed this agreement to the *assistant-resident*, who fully consented, and together we went to Pontianak to discuss this matter with the Prefect Apostolic [Pacificus Bos] and to hear his opinion. These trips can be made at the government's expense, although they cost some 100 guilders. Prefect Bos also agreed, and after our return I formally sent this proposal of agreement to the *assistant-resident*, who promised that he would take care of further procedures in Batavia. All local government officials are pleased with the idea. It is of course still possible that nothing will be realized of this plan, especially because of the current policy of reducing government spending. But we already have the consent of the Borneo officials.¹⁰

If we take the Chinese in West Kalimantan to constitute about 7% of the total Chinese population of the Dutch Indies (on the basis of the 1930 census), the number of schools might have been 7% of 442 or some 30, with about 1,400 pupils and 60 teachers.¹¹ This seems not too big a challenge for the Catholic mission. In other regions, like Flores and Papua, the whole responsibility for native education was entrusted to the mission. Therefore, it seemed possible that this could happen for the Chinese of West Kalimantan. However, the educational effort of the Catholics among the Chinese remained more modest: in 1939 there were the following Catholic schools for Chinese in this region:

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Dutch-Chinese schools	7	791	621	1,412
English-Chinese schools	1	200	76	276
Chinese-language primary schools	9	526	247	773

⁹ 'Uiterste tevredenheid bij de Chinezen', 19-24 October 1938 (Kleykers 1995b:79).

¹⁰ Father Beatus (Joseph Bajens) to his Dutch Provincial Superior, Singkawang, 24-3-1925, OFMCap Archives, 's-Hertogenbosch, ACHMiss, 10, p. 161.

¹¹ For these numbers see the section on Chinese education in Chapter II.

These are not spectacular figures after the great expectations announced in the 1925 programme. But they show that the mission in West Kalimantan offered some very specific types of education: the mixed English-Chinese and the fully Chinese primary school. The mission had not become a deadly rival for the more numerous private Chinese THHK schools, but created a good number of additional educational institutions. In the 1920s government officials were quite anxious to see the foreign Chinese influence diminish, partly for fear of communism as well, but it was not possible to reach the high standards of that master plan and fully take over private Chinese education. Notwithstanding these limitations, during the colonial period the educational efforts for the whole of West Kalimantan reached more Chinese pupils than Dayak pupils. In 1939 there were a total of 2,461 Chinese pupils and only 1,472 Dayak pupils at the mission schools of West Kalimantan.¹² In this 1906-1942 period we even observe a growing Chinese character in the education in mission schools. They started with the common colonial type of Malay or Dutch-language schools, and in the 1920s and 1930s it was the Chinese-language schools that received more and more attention.¹³

Although Singkawang would remain a major mission post until the late 1930s, it became apparent after some years that this small and nearly totally Chinese town was not the best position to start a mission among Chinese and Dayaks in Kalimantan. Consequently, the first prefect apostolic, Pacificus Bos, moved his base to the city of Pontianak in 1909, followed by the Veghel Franciscan sisters in 1910, who opened a primary school for Chinese children here (with Malay as the language of instruction, but catechism was given in Chinese by a *singseng*) and a dispensary that in 1921 was expanded into a proper hospital. In 1913 a Dutch-Chinese school was opened. Pontianak soon became somewhat more prominent than the oldest Chinese post of Singkawang, but mostly because of the residence of the prefect apostolic (in 1938 he was a full bishop in his position as vicar apostolic).

Other mission posts for Chinese on the west coast were Pamangkat (opened in 1907) and Sambas (1908). The decision in favour of a permanent post in Sambas was partly prompted by fear of the arrival of Methodist missionaries. A large post was Nyarumkop, a small Chinese settlement amid Dayaks. Founded in 1916, it was to become the main educational centre for the Kalimantan mission, especially for the Dayak population. The most important institution in Nyarumkop was the *standaardschool*, a two-year Malay-language extension following the three-year village school (*volksschool*). Pupils who had completed *standaardschool* were eligible to become teachers at a *volksschool*. In this way the school of Nyarumkop became the source of teachers and catechists for small Dayak villages, although some teachers at Chinese primary schools had

¹² Based on *Jaarboek* 1940:162.

¹³ For this tendency see Aster 1957:47.



In 1908 a third group of Capuchin Friars left for the mission in Kalimantan.

Front row from left: Ignatius van der Putten; Mattheus de Wolf; Justinianus Goossens.

Centre: Amandus van Strijp; Remigius van Hoof; Salvator van der Weerden.

Back row: Faustus Verheijen; Donulus van der Kerkhof; Alexius van Schijndel,
Timotheus Evers. The back line are brothers, the six others priests. (Boelaars 2005)

also followed the course of study in Nyarumkop. The two-year curriculum of the *standaardschool* was upgraded several times. In 1930 a four-year course of study became the general practice, followed in 1931 by a vocational school, especially for agriculture. The station was endowed with a large farm, where students could help to earn their living and practise some of what they learned at school. The missionaries themselves used the word *schoolstad* or 'educational town' for the prestigious mission compound in Nyarumkop. It did not concentrate on Dutch-language education (which was provided for Chinese in the other towns described above) but on training teachers for Malay schools. In 1939 there was a school for training *volksonderwijzers*, meaning teachers for the three-year village school, in addition to a more basic training course for assistant teachers (*hulponderwijzers*). Both courses had only 11 students. The great majority of pupils in Nyarumkop were children from the inland Dayak region who were sent to primary school (most of them to the three-year village school, some going on to do the additional two years of *standaardschool*). There were also vocational training courses, for some 13 boys in agriculture and 42 in carpentry and car and machine repair, and for 78 girls in home economics. Only the latter type of education concentrated on local Chinese girls. At the other schools most of the pupils were Dayak children who were sent by inland mission stations. Besides the Flores mission, this Kalimantan mission was the only one to have a large boarding school for native children. In the late 1930s there were a total of some 300 pupils at the boarding schools.

An exceptional convert from among the Chinese was Bong Chung Kin (also written Wong) from Montrado, 30 kilometres from Singkawang. Bong (born around 1910) went to the Chinese primary school of the mission and probably also received some secondary education there. The town of Montrado was regularly visited by priests from Singkawang. In 1926, at the end of his primary schooling, Wong expressed his wish to become a priest. He was sent to the Netherlands for secondary education and to study theology, and returned to Kalimantan in 1934 as Capuchin father Pacificus Bong. In the mission among the ethnic Chinese he was a welcome assistant, but was not the leader of this mission work. Among the self-confident Dutch Capuchin friars with their relatively informal and joyful lifestyle, he remained a modest co-worker. According to his fellow priests, he was a small, quiet man 'with a soft voice and gentle manners. In company his presence is barely noticed, because he does not say much and only gives his opinion when asked for it. But then he would give it in short, but precise wordings, identifying the matter in a touching way. Someone who knows how to listen, surprising everybody by his balanced wisdom, free from emotions.'¹⁴ Together with a Javanese priest, A. Adikadjana, lecturer at the minor seminary of Pontianak, Father Bong was the only priest in West Kalimantan during the Japanese occupation of 1942-1945.

¹⁴ This assessment is by the Capuchin friar Aster 1957:162.



Capuchin priests Beatus Baijens and Egbertus Novel in the mid 1910s during a pastoral trip in West Kalimantan. (From Boelaars 2005)

A last permanent station in partly 'Chinese territory' was Bengkayang, 72 kilometres inland from Singkawang, on the upper Sambas River. It was founded in 1934. In 1936 a private Chinese school (founded in 1931) was taken over by the mission. The board of the school was not changed; the missionary, Father Cassianus Reynen, simply became president of the existing board. One of the two teachers was a Catholic Chinese woman, Mrs Woe, who supported the activities of Catholics. She was praised for her religious tracts. Further, a school for Dayak children was taken over from the local native government (*landschap*), thanks to the financial means of the mission, which had an individual donor from the Netherlands.¹⁵ In 1941 the Bengkayang mission had the supervision over eight Malay schools (four of these having government subsidies) and two Chinese schools that received no subsidies; these two were financed by school fees.

From Bengkayang priests travelled to the Dayaks of the Landak district to visit. In 1939 there were three Malay schools in Dayak villages, in addition to the Chinese school of Bengkayang. As elsewhere, there was no breakthrough for Catholicism. The hope that a large transmigration of some 40,000 Javanese to this border region (for reasons of security in case of international conflicts or war) would increase the Catholic community had not yet been realized.

A striking example of the peculiar position of the first Catholics among the Muslim-Malay and Chinese population of the region was the conflict about payments for ceremonies to honour the spirits of the ancestors in the Dayak village of Setenah. In a letter to the Muslim *panembahan* of Landak, Father Reynen wrote that Catholics were not allowed to make payments for rituals of traditional religion. He had protested earlier against these payments, requested by the village head (*temanggung*) of Setenah. In March 1941 some Chinese had killed a Dayak. Thus an offering to the local spirits needed be made by killing a dog and a chicken at the place of the murder. All the inhabitants of the village had to contribute to this offering. 'This is pure superstition. If the heathen (animistic) Dayaks are convinced that they have to perform these rituals, they should be free to do so, but they should not urge Catholics to join them.'¹⁶

Until the 1930s, the smaller Chinese and European or Eurasian communities in South and East Kalimantan were visited only a few times a year during pastoral visits by travelling priests. Not until the 1930s were permanent stations started at Banjarmasin, Balikpapan, Tarakan, and Samarinda, at that time served by the MSF fathers. They worked among the European government officials and employees of the oil companies (Balikpapan and Tarakan), as well

¹⁵ For Bengkayang see the 'Kronieken van de Parochie St. Pius X te Bengkajang' in the OFMCap Archives. Initially the church was named after Saint Joseph according to the wish of the benefactor (*overeenkomstig de voorkeur van de sponsor*; p. 1, 19-3-1935). For the tracts see p. 5.

¹⁶ 'Kronieken van de Parochie Bengkajang' 19-3-1941, OFMCap Archives.

as being active among the Chinese. This conversion work was done with the school almost exclusively as its instrument. In 1938 Father P. Schoone reported of the largest town of Kalimantan, Banjarmasin, that the primary school for boys had 165 pupils, only two of them Catholic, and that among the 200 pupils of the girls' school only two were Catholics. The school had no financial problems, because the Chinese were willing to pay adequate school fees for Dutch-language education. There were enough brothers (from Huybergen) for this task, but not until 1937 were there religious sisters to lead the school. The Catholic parish could hire qualified teachers, but only one out of six teachers was Catholic. So, in 1936, there was still the odd situation of a Catholic primary school for girls (with the parish priest as the director) of whose six lay teachers only one was Catholic, and whose pupils were non-Catholic Chinese who all received catechism classes and were instructed in the Catholic doctrine. The arrival of three sisters of the Dongen Congregation, in 1937, gave a more convincingly Catholic face to the school.¹⁷ There were no expatriate missionary personnel for the schools in Samarinda, Tarakan, and Balikpapan.

In the history of the Catholic mission in Indonesia, Sungailiat on Bangka, with its Chinese medical doctor as the centre of a vital community between 1845 and 1870, was an exception.¹⁸ But in Kalimantan he had some colleagues. In the inland region of Sanggau, the chronicle mentions one Boen A Long in Beduai who called Dayaks and Chinese to his house to learn the most important prayers. The man himself was not a baptized Catholic, but could read and write. The priest left him some more prayer books. One year later, the group of Chinese and Dayaks knew the Malay prayers and still came together regularly on Sundays. At a visit in 1933 after Sunday mass, a few chickens were slaughtered and the community had a meal together. The priest noted in his diary, 'It was like a love feast as in the early centuries of Christianity.'¹⁹

Dayaks of the upper Kapuas and the upper Mahakam: The stations of Sejiram, Martinus and Bika/Putus Sibau

It was the greatest desire of the Capuchin fathers to reopen the inland mission station that had been the start of the first Jesuit inland mission in Kalimantan between 1893 and 1898. In 1906 two priests, Eugenius van Disseldorp and Camillus Buil, settled in Sejiram, together with Capuchin brother Theodoricus

¹⁷ Schoone 1936:278-80. The full official name of the Van Dongen sisters was Congregatie der Religieuzen Penitenten-Recollectinnen van de Reguliere Derde Orde van de H. Franciscus van Assie. In 1939 they had a total of 26 sisters in Medan and five in Banjarmasin, *Jaarboek* 1940:420-1.

¹⁸ See Volume I, Chapter III of *Catholics in Indonesia*.

¹⁹ 'Archief van de R.K. Missiestatie te Sanggau', OFMCap Archives, entries for 23-5-1932 and 30-3-1933: 'het leek een liefdesmaal uit de eerste christentijden'.

van Lanen. In 1908 three Franciscan sisters (Veghel branch) joined them, and went to work in the Malay-language primary school. Missionary journals use the military term *bezetten*, 'to occupy'. Occupation was indeed the goal of this quick move to inland territory. It had to prevent the Protestant mission at Banjarmasin from moving further to the north and establishing mission stations in the Kapuas basin.

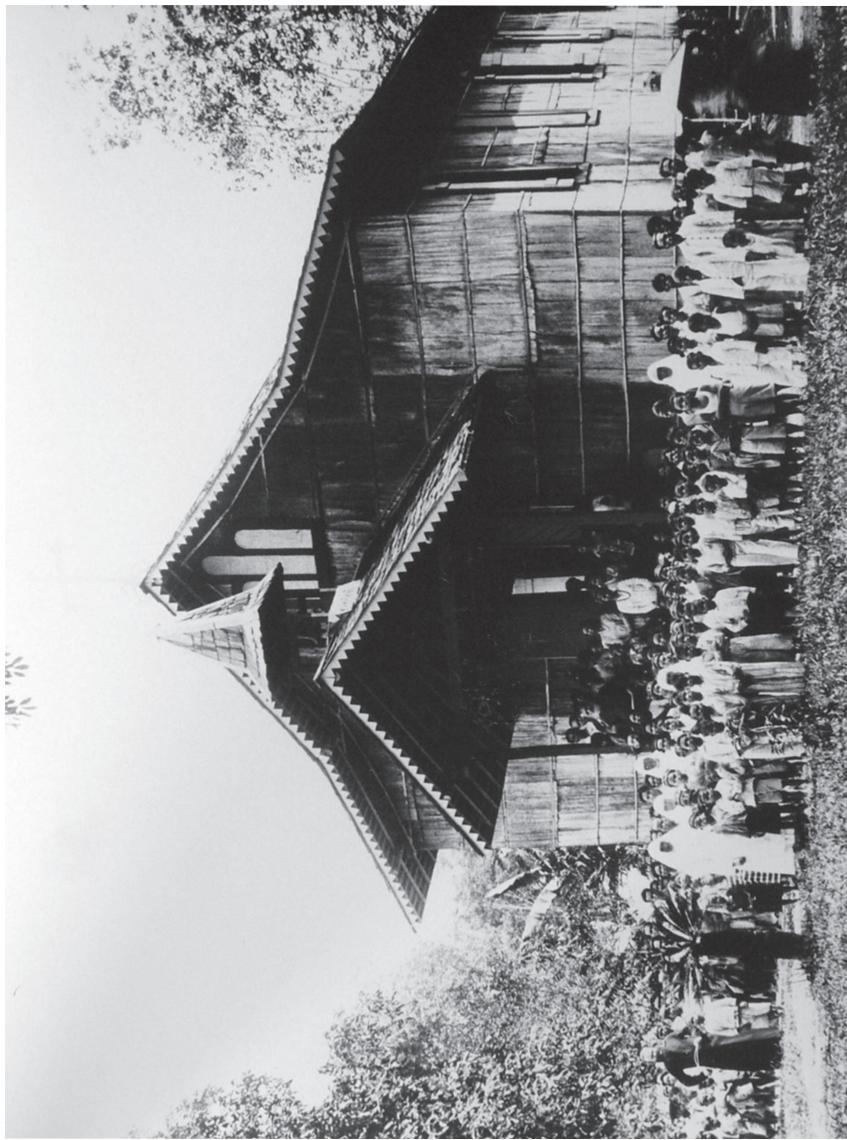
Sejiram was in fact a mixed Malay-Chinese administrative and trading post in the middle of Dayak territory. But the small Dayak villages, scattered over a large area, were too far away for children to come to the day school at Sejiram. As a result, a dormitory was opened.

To meet some of the costs of this expensive mission post, a rubber plantation was opened that in its best period, the 1920s, had some 80,000 trees. It was led in a professional way by a Capuchin lay brother, Leopold Schellekens. The plantation gave employment to many Dayak workers and also provided some agricultural practice for the boys living in the dormitories. In 1927 a modest hospital was opened in Sejiram.

While Sejiram (some 580 kilometres upstream from Pontianak) remained the central mission post in the region, a second station was opened in 1909 in the Northern Lake District in Lanjak, among the Maloh (about 900 kilometres from Pontianak along the Kapuas and then another 100 kilometres to the north). This settlement was opened upon the request of the colonial administration, which was fighting against the headhunting Iban of the border region of Serawak. Through this move, the still weak Dutch colonial presence could show a different face from the military campaigns of the early 1890s. It was emphasized that the mission in Lanjak was opened 'after the military post had been closed' (after King 1985:67). Some Maloh chiefs were happy to accept the school and faith of the missionaries, first of all to secure political and military protection against the Iban. In 1913 the main mission settlement among the Maloh would move somewhat to the east of Lanjak, to Benua Ujung (meaning 'the most remote place', later renamed Martinus), located among the relatively populous region of the Embaloh river. An important reason to start in Martinus was the presence in that place of a small group of some 16 people who were fugitives from Serawak because of a murder one of them had committed. They had visited the Lanjak station in 1909 to see whether the priests were the same Christians they had known in Serawak. The name Martinus was taken from a rich Dutch sponsor of the mission, Martin van Thiel, a member of the same family that later donated generously to the station of Sanggau.²⁰

In 1916 a school with a dormitory was built in Benua Martinus to replace the languishing school of Lanjak. In 1917 a church was built. In 1921 the

²⁰ From the memoirs of Father Leo, or A.P. de Jong, in Kleykers 1997:487. The Van Thiels were a rich industrial family in Helmond, the Netherlands.



The church of Benua Martinus in 1938 (Boelaars 2005)

Franciscan sisters of Veghel arrived to open a school and later (1924) a hospital. However, it proved to be impossible to keep girls at the school and therefore the sisters left in 1928 and the girls' school temporarily stopped lessons. In 1931 four Asten sisters who concentrated on work at the hospital, arrived. The failure of the girls' school in the 1920s and the new emphasis on health care – by sisters who did not stay at the small hospital but also went out to villages to visit the sick – may be seen as an important change in strategy. Slowly the mission recognized that Kalimantan was not a region suited to establishing majority Christianity. No *Volkskirche*, a combination of nationality and religion, but a diaspora Christianity was the mission's future in most of the regions where it worked in Kalimantan. This was not a Christianity based on villages, where a church, the parish house, and a Catholic school formed the new religious centre, but a Christianity that was the personal choice of individuals living in a predominantly pagan (or neo-pagan) and Muslim environment. There were several reasons for the diaspora character of Kalimantan Christianity. The first was the tenacity and the innovative spirit of traditional religion, which continued to be practised by many people. Second, the scatteredness of the population, living in small settlements (villages of 400 people were considered large). Third, there was the racial mixture: not only were there Malays and Chinese living along the larger rivers, in the remote region of Benua Martinus there was a mixture of various Dayak tribes, who even spoke very different languages. For various reasons the colonial government had carried out several migration programmes. Iban who lived close to the border with Serawak were urged to move to the Maloh area (to be used as a defence against the warrior Iban from Serawak and also because the Iban could be better controlled on Dutch territory). After disasters from drought or floods, people were urged to migrate to better areas. The movement of peoples made the region ill suited to a homogeneous social and religious life. Consequently mission personnel went out to individual people rather than addressing them collectively through the school or the church. The sisters did this in Martinus as well. Mission superior Tarcisius Valenberg reported after an inspection of Martinus in 1934:

The good results of the sisters' visits to small villages were clearly noticeable. As far as I can judge, these visits to villages are much more fruitful than is the girls' school with dormitory. Some of the advantages are the direct and greater influence on villagers. Now not only the pupils who stay in the dormitory, but also their mothers and other women are in contact with the mission. This is much cheaper and more appropriate to existing social conditions. I received a similar impression in Sanggau, where a catechist has already been working for a full year. Every month he pays visits to six villages among the Pandu-Dayaks, where in total 70 men and 28 women follow religious instruction. Besides, he regularly goes to three Rubun-Dayak villages, where 22 men and 14 women come to his lessons. This list of 1933 for Sanggau also mentions eight villages in the Upper Sekayam, where 110 persons

follow religious classes. The latter villages, however, are not visited regularly and thus a second catechist is needed for this region.²¹

In 1938 the Martinus station – with outposts extending to the area west of Lanjak – had 520 Catholics, a small minority among the remote population of the northern tributaries of the Kapuas river. This would grow to 5,612 in 1996.²² In the whole diocese of Sintang the statistics for 1999 show more than 50% Muslims and about 20% Catholics (125,096) among a total population of 610,106. At that time an additional 111,500 were noted as 'sympathizers' of Catholicism. Should we take these as people who were not prepared to leave the traditional religion or even, like the Kaharingan, had decided to continue the local religious and cultural tradition (Agus 2001:275)? When reading the history of Catholic progress in the remote areas of the Upper Kapuas, we should keep in mind the peculiar result of the race between Islam and Christianity: more than in other parts of Indonesia, the local religious tradition here proved to be tenacious and full of new vitality.

Mission in the Upper Kapuas slowed down the progress of Islam. For Dayaks, the Dutch proved to be more powerful than the Malay rulers of the coastal region, who already had some settlements along the big rivers. In the 1930s Father Flavianus Huybers, the most experienced missionary in Benua Martinus who worked there from 1912 until 1947, acted in favour of the Maloh in a dispute against Malay traders (originating from Minangkabau in Sumatra) and succeeded in having the Malays removed from the area. The Malays had managed to get vast pieces of land from the Maloh with minimal compensation, but this transaction was declared invalid. In this action Father Flavianus saw himself probably more 'as a protector of the oppressed natives rather than as a Christian crusader' (King 1985:68). In the conflicts between the Maloh and the Iban, Father Flavianus turned out to be an experienced mediator. Because of the central location of the mission post of Benua Martinus, he had good insight into tribal antagonism and several times he instigated government-sponsored agreements between the Iban and the Maloh, always defending the latter against Iban expansion (examples in King 1985:69).

Dutch policy in this region aimed to abolish not only headhunting but also slavery (formally forbidden in 1896). A missionary who lived for a long period in this region heard of several ongoing cases of slavery, and he took action against traditional chiefs who still kept some slaves. In other respects as well, the mission challenged political and religious authority and some prac-

²¹ Tarcisius Valenberg to the Dutch provincial superior of the Capuchins, 27-11-1934, Arch Miss, OFMCap, 10, 63.

²² Jaarboek 1940:161; Buku Petunjuk 1997:287-9, in which the parishes that had started from Martinus were also taken into consideration.

tices of the traditional aristocracy. On the whole, unlike the Jesuits on Flores, Java, and elsewhere who sought their first following among the nobility, the Capuchin priests did not make much effort to approach the traditional elite. They fought against the practice of arranged marriage among Catholics and against charging adat fines according to rank (King 1985:72). Going against the privileges of traditional chiefs, the priests promoted Christian burials and weddings that were much simpler than traditional ones, and did not give prominent roles or gifts to traditional leaders. In this respect the arrival of the mission detracted from the position of traditional chiefs. On the whole, even in the more 'fruitful' mission in some regions of the Upper Kapuas, there were seldom collective conversions. Acceptance of Catholicism was an individual choice. In this respect the Kalimantan mission resembled the Minahasa and Toraja mission and differed from that of Flores, Timor and Papua.

The mission station at Benua Martinus was built on land bought from Maloh. Part of this land was burial land (*kulambu*). In May 1918 the missionaries removed the bones and remnants of the coffins and re-buried them on the other side of the river, outside their own compound and also further away from the new modern road that went along the burial place. They did it with utmost care and consideration. Some rotten pieces of coffins were burnt. This elicited protests from some of the former schoolboys (who had already embraced Christianity) and cooled relations with the local population, but a month later, on 28 May 1918, the prefect came to administer confirmation to six Maloh and there was abundant food and drink, followed by dancing. In this case there was a proper balance between the harsh and pleasant initiatives of the mission (Kleykers 1997:22; see also King 1985).

A consequence of the indifference or even hostility of Dutch missionaries towards the traditional rights of the local chiefs was that some of their duties were taken over by missionaries. Common people (*mindere Dajaks*) complained to Father Flavianus about rights to use open forest for agriculture. Missionaries, like Multatuli, often took the side of the common people against the chiefs.²³ Notwithstanding this political role, missionaries and their flocks remained minority figures in Maloh society. The dream of the inspecting mission supervisor in 1930, that Sunday mass would lead to a prominent place for Catholicism in the region, remained far from realized. He hoped that on Saturdays the beginning of Sunday would be announced from house to house by a bell. 'This would also give a more explicit Christian character

²³ 'De grote hoofden hebben er nogal slag van om zich zooveel mogelijk grond toe te eischen' (The big chiefs usually try to claim as much land as possible), 8-6-1919 in Kleykers 1997:29. The quarrel was settled by the priest, see diary entry for 2-7-1919. According to the same diary, on 8-12-1919 another case was settled by the Controleur in the presence of the missionary. It seemed to be a reasonable solution, 'but the Dayaks were disappointed that the Chief and his assistant (*opas*) did not have to pay a fine for their misbehaviour.'

to the region.²⁴ In his overview of the work in that year, Father Flavianus stressed the fact that 'the Christians work in their fields together with pagans, live with them, and reside with pagan parents and relatives'.²⁵ As a result of the Pax Neerlandica, inter-village wars had diminished and it was therefore no longer necessary to live in longhouses. The new Christians, especially the commoners, were among the first to leave the longhouses and live in small houses (for the nuclear family), thus evading the strict control of customary obligations. In some cases the conflicts between pagans and Christians could lead to a village schism, but even if that was not the case, village social cohesion still declined as a consequence of the arrival of colonialism. One of the effects of colonialism was the obligation for individuals to pay taxes in cash money. In 1915 the mission started a small plantation to grow rubber and coffee, and they hired labourers who were paid in cash (King 1985:74).

In addition to being the guardians of traditional customs, the aristocratic chiefs, another group viewed by the mission as obstacles to the process of conversion, were traditional healers (*balian*). They were seen as cultivators of the belief in spirits and ancestors, and as such as opponents of the values and doctrines of the mission. Nevertheless, healers continued to be consulted by the Maloh Dayaks, as well as by the new Catholic converts.

The third permanent station after Sejiram and Martinus was close to the administrative centre Putus Sibau in the village of Bika, also called Rumah Nazareth or House of Narazeth by the Capuchin friars. Putus Sibau, located on a major branch of the Upper Kapuas river about 900 kilometres from Pontianak, had attracted many Chinese and Malays, but there were very few Dayaks in the town. Several times colonial officials urged mission personnel to start a mission here. This was done in terms close to the ones we saw in Chapter III. On 6 December 1913 the *assistent-resident* of Sintang, F.M. Dekker, wrote to the representatives of the Catholic mission:

It is clear that the missionary work in the district of Sintang is a positive factor for the Dutch authorities. Besides, we must remember that the Capuchin order, by its practice of delay and adjournment in founding village schools in remote regions that until now are still closed to Muslim influence, takes the risk that the best opportunity may slip away without being used. Nowadays we see several people among the Kayan in the Mendalam region and Taman Dayaks already accepting the Muslim faith, as a consequence of their wish to receive more education. In pagan districts where some Muslims have already taken residence, the Capuchin order will see no fruit from their missionary work. In the present state of affairs, I think the Catholic mission underestimates the inner power of Islam. The Catholics seem to me too optimistic. A lack of money may be a further impediment to the mission's activities. This affair seems to me important enough to bring to the attention

²⁴ 'Dit zou ook een meer christelijk aanzien aan de streek geven', 12-11-1930 in Kleykers 1997.

²⁵ Kleykers 1997:158-9, also quoted in King 1985:72.

of the prefect apostolic, Father Bos, who should take action with the government in order to receive subsidies as proposed in the letter from the advisor of the Outer Islands dated 10 Sept. 1912, no. 260. The Catholic mission should therefore no longer wait to found village schools in regions that are still open for missionary work. I consider it against the interest of this district to open 'neutral' [non-sectarian] schools outside the centres of Islam. This is as misguided and irresponsible as locating mission schools in places where conflicts with Malay groups could occur.²⁶

These positive suggestions not only included some cautions (as to the Malays), they were issued in combination with more subtle messages. In these remote areas many government officials were without wives. Such officials often found a sexual partner among the local inhabitants, and the clergy considered this immoral behaviour. Several times this matter caused problems between officials and clergy. Moreover, there were officials like the *assistent-resident* of Sintang, G. de Haan, who openly proclaimed that he knew nothing about missionaries and had had his first experience of them in this place. Nevertheless, he suggested that 'it would be the best thing to first bring civilization to the Dayaks, and religion later on. According to him, Christianity by definition causes antagonism in the villages.'²⁷

Notwithstanding repeated suggestions by the *assistent-resident* of Sintang and the *controleur* of Putus Sibau, it was not until December 1923 that a mission post could be opened in Bika, some 12 kilometres away from Putus Sibau, where some Taman Dayaks had already embraced Islam.²⁸ In spite of official support, there were administrative problems to opening a school. To the *assistent-resident* of Sintang, the chiefs of the Kantuk Dayaks had expressed their fear 'that the mission would order people to work for many affairs within and outside the mission compound and that this would damage the authority of the chiefs and the traditional customs. They feared the obligation of following school for five or six years because besides ordinary teaching there would be lessons in religion (*sembahjangan*). In this case they would prefer to send their children to Putus Sibau, where school lasted only three to four years and that was enough to make them clever.'²⁹

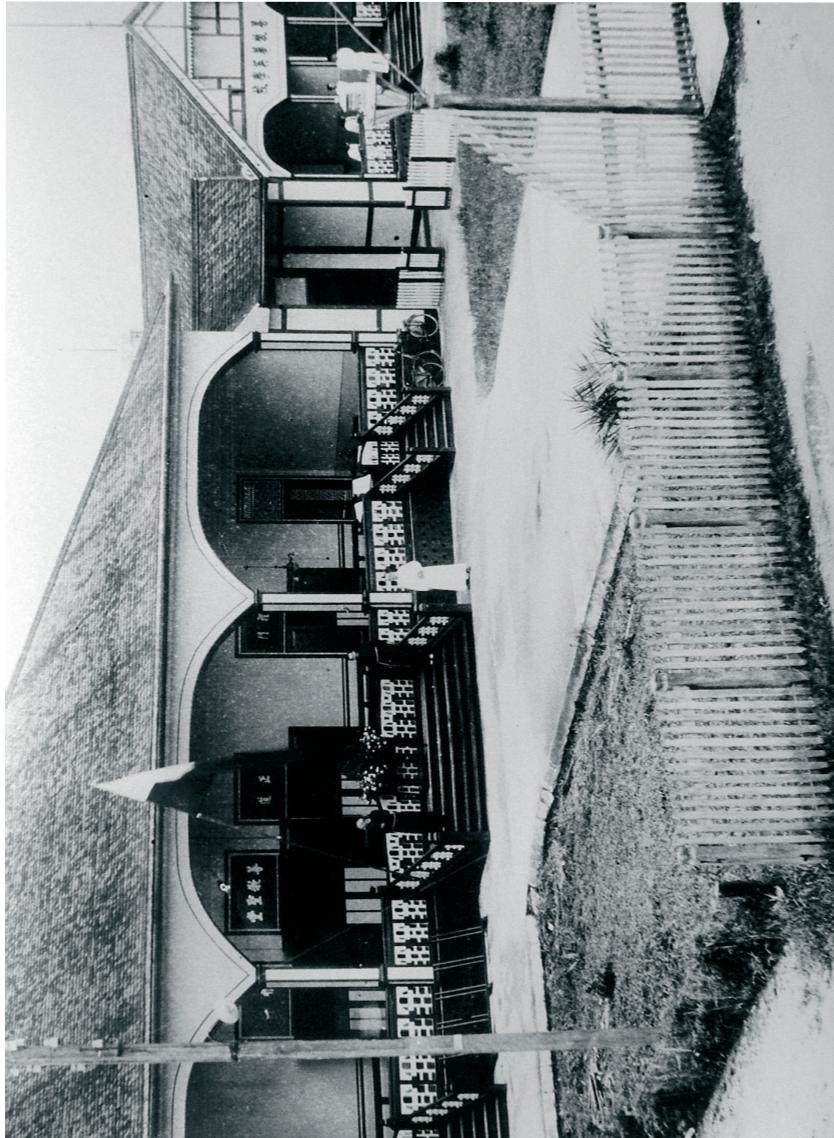
The Bika mission station was built as a large post: besides a parish house, a church, a school, and dormitory, a house for the teacher (Cornelius Hendak) were constructed. A rubber plantation of 1,000 trees (with a house for Chinese

²⁶ Letter from *assistent-resident* of Sintang, F.M. Dekker, Sintang, 6-12-1913, quoted in Kleykers 1997:5-6.

²⁷ 'Hij zou het liefst zien dat men de Dajaks eerst beschaving bracht en dan de godsdienst,' Kleykers 1995b:80.

²⁸ 'Het aantal tot de Islam bekeerden is al zeer aanzienlijk, onder meer bestaat de hoofdplaats Poetoes-Sibau grootendeels uit geislamiseerde Tamans.' Controleur Bouman of Putus Sibau, 12-4-1920, in Kleykers 1995b:11. The distance between Putus Sibau and Bika is indicated there as three hours (on foot).

²⁹ Letter of Prefect Pacificus Bos, Pontianak 19-3-1922, in Kleykers 1995b:17.



A Chinese mansion in Pontianak that was bought to serve as church and parish house, around 1930. (Boelaars 2005)

coolies) and a number of kapok trees were planted. It was hoped that the station would earn enough money from the plantation to make it self-sufficient. In 1927 a second school was built in Melapi (Bethania), and later another in Padua on the Mendalam river. The latter school was closed again in 1937. The school at the Bika mission station did not attract many pupils. In 1939 it had only 44 boys, 28 of whom stayed in the dormitory without any payment (Kleykers 1995b:94). The first priest at Bika, Father Ignatius van der Putten, had some knowledge of medicine and started a simple clinic. In 1939 the sisters of Asten arrived to work in health care. At the request of the government, they took over the hospital in Putus Sibau, but also made visits to Dayak villages in the district. The number of Catholics for the central mission post and its outer stations remained small: the 1939 statistics list five Europeans (the mission personnel and the family of the military commander in Putus Sibau, the Schotte family) and 232 native Catholics. In addition, there were 70 catechumenes. This was not an impressive result after 25 years of pioneering work. It did not become much better. In the 1960s there were about 2,000 Catholics in the Bika region, and a former missionary complained that many Kantuk Dayaks had decades of contact with the mission: 'But they prefer to remain with their old religion and tradition. That is easier and keeps them away from control by outsiders' (Kleykers 1995c:52). Among other Dayak tribes, however, results finally were much better, and for the whole Bika-Putus Sibau region the 1997 statistics show some 13,500 Catholics in the region that until the 1930s was served by the Bika station. That was about 20% of the population.

Traditional religion and customs were far from extinct in the 1930s. In the 1930s mention was made several times of headhunting campaigns.³⁰ Dayaks responded to mission requests to send their children to school with the fear 'that the priests were seeking the skulls of small children to appease the spirits of the church'. A contagious disease was also attributed to the arrival of Christianity disturbing Dayak spirits.³¹ Mission personnel realized that Catholic doctrine, with its rather quiet liturgy and emphasis on learning and school could not easily offer an attractive substitute for Dayak religion with its many rituals, ceremonies with good food and heavy drinking. New Catholics repeatedly sought healing from a traditional healer (*dukun*), and in the early 1940s decreased control by the colonial authorities was immediately reflected in the quick return of cock-fighting. Surprisingly, people responded favourably to the request of the parish priest that they financially provide for the mission (because of wartime lack of financial support from the Netherlands) with donations gathered

³⁰ Kleykers 1997:54 (11 July 1932, 12 members of the Kantuk tribe slain), p. 59 (April-May 1934, 48 Kantuk who were preparing for a headhunting campaign were arrested), p. 78 (January 1938, rumours about plans by the Palin tribe).

³¹ Kleykers 1997:64-65 (28 June and 16 August 1935: 'We hebben het op kinderhoofden gemunt, om onze kerkgeesten te bevredigen.')

at cock-fighting festivities!³² The priests tried to make Christian holidays big events with pork and deer meat and good quantities of 'sugar water', and they even complained that several people only attended Christmas or Easter celebrations because of the festival (*ramai*). But they themselves found it difficult to attend the Dayak celebrations, with their loose morals and heavy drinking. When they visited new villages and attended popular celebrations, they had much trouble joining in the festivities because they could not stand so much alcohol.³³ The prohibition of physical work on Sundays was not taken seriously either by pagans or by new Christians, and was often considered simply an unimportant whim.³⁴ The modest Catholic presence in this part of the Upper Kapuas still had problems finding the right way to appeal to younger and older generations of Dayaks. For centuries Dayaks had seen the arrival of outsiders, Malays, Chinese, and finally the Dutch, who demand from them labour, fruits of the land, money, and their presence at work or school. Some missionaries and also the better-educated Dayaks themselves realized that 'in order to educate Dayaks, one should know what happened to this people in the past'.³⁵

A new start from the east side, on the Mahakam River

The fourth inland station in Kalimantan was not founded on the Kapuas River, but approaching from the eastern coast, on the Mahakam River. In 1907 three Capuchin friars, the priests Liberatus Cluts and Camillus Buil, and lay brother Ivo van Schijndel took the boat from Pontianak to Samarinda and went up the Mahakam River as far as Long Iram, the colonial government centre for the Upper Mahakam. After some orientation, they decided to start a mission post under the cataracts of the Mahakam and not in the mountainous higher regions. They were afraid that the Protestant mission would soon 'occupy' the more accessible lower Mahakam region if they started their work in the more remote inland region. During their first orientation they had the impression that few people on the Mahakam River had accepted Islam. Therefore they started their mission in Laham, between Long Iram and the cataracts. The early years were dedicated to pioneering and, most important, the study of language and customs. The priest Justinianus Goosens, who arrived in 1910, was the first to learn the Busang language and to make contact with the local population, few of whom spoke Malay.

³² Kleykers 1997:111, 126, 149 (30-6-1940, 26-12-1940, 19-10-1941, respectively).

³³ Kleykers 1997:109 (13-5-1940): 'Vijfde nacht te Nanga Raun. Men ontmoet veel volk doch walgt van de drankpartijen en zelf heeft men veel moeite om nuchter te blijven bij het voortdurende aandringen.'

³⁴ Kleykers 1997:153 (16-11-1941): 'Het merendeel lijkt de Zondagsplicht als een gril te beschouwen.'

³⁵ Quote from an anonymous Dayak brother-teacher in Van Hulten 1983:125.

In Laham, as in most other places, mission work started with a village school. The idea was discussed with the village chiefs of Laham and neighbouring Long Hubung in June 1909. The wood for the building was delivered by villagers within a few weeks, but it was not until July 1911 that the school and dormitory could be opened; it started with ten boys, and the number quickly rose to 31 by September 1911. Along the river there were already several village schools for Malay and Chinese children, but this was the first school to have Dayak boys.³⁶

In contrast to the government's strategy in many parts of eastern Indonesia, there was no continuing policy viewing education as a fundamental instrument of change and progress. 'All higher and all lower officials each have their own insights into this, and they try to execute their policy in the short period of their service in the territory. To see results quickly is their goal, and what has been built up by one bureaucrat may be toppled by his successor.'³⁷ It was a blessing in disguise for the mission school that several famines occurred in the 1910s shortly after the opening of the school. Parents were happy enough to send their children to school because there they received free meals. As in the Maloh villages, along the Mahakam, custom required the presence of children at ceremonial occasions, and often they were not allowed to leave their village during certain periods. The taboo periods (*pantang*) were among the main obstacles for regular discipline at school. In 1920, Controleur J.J. de Kroes is praised in the mission chronicle as 'the first who showed interest in the schoolboys and every year at the opening of the new cycle at school sent letters to the villages, encouraging parents to send their children to school. This appeal was regarded by the Dayaks as a *perintah* (command).' Through his policy the number of boys increased to 92. His successor, Captain Van Gent, worked even more actively for the school. He travelled to villages together with the missionary to stimulate enrolment at the school. Through his intervention the number of pupils in Laham rose to 138 in 1922, and a girls' school was opened in that same year with 61 pupils. He also arranged for subsidies for pupils, teachers' salaries, and the improvement of the buildings in 1923 (Coomans 1980:93). Van Gent's successor decreased the subsidies and wrote that investment in the school was not justified because there was no commercial crop or other product coming from upper Mahakam (Coomans 1980:95). Former Controleur J. Jongejans, who had been in the region until 1917, even labelled the school negative and counterproductive because 'people who have learnt to read and write some words are finding themselves no longer fit to work in agriculture. They no longer wear the elegant *cawat* (loincloth) but dress in trousers and a jacket, walk as little criminals through the village, and incite their friends to put forward many complaints and write

³⁶ I follow here the summary of the *Kronieken van Laham*, as published in Coomans 1980.

³⁷ Mallinckrodt 1928:185, see also Coomans 1980:93.

requests to the government' (Jongejans 1922:105-6). This caricature probably had some basis in fact. In the Maloh area, especially in Martinus, the clergy complained that many boys left school and went to Serawak to enter the army. Others migrated to larger towns on the coast.

During the first years after the founding of the station at Laham, the priests taught the classes themselves. In 1912 a Menadonese teacher arrived, soon followed by more. In 1920 three Franciscan sisters of the Veghel branch came to set up the girls' school. During this first decade, the average age of the children was still high: some of the boys were about twenty years old and still working at a very basic level of education.

There was no direct evangelization focused on the older generation, the adults, but the first 14 boys were baptized in 1913. The first 24 girls followed much later, in 1925: they were all the result of the school. In 1926, for the first time, six marriages were celebrated in a Catholic ceremony. Catholic marriages could be arranged only after some girls had received baptism! (Coomans 1980:95). In that same year the Capuchin friars left Laham and were succeeded by Missionaries of the Holy Family.

The MSF was a Dutch Catholic order, founded in 1895 in the southern Dutch town of Grave by an expelled French priest, in the same tradition that created the Dutch branches of the Steyl and MSC priests and brothers, also originating from expelled German and French religious orders. The mission in Kalimantan was the first MSF foreign mission. Soon after their arrival on 27 February 1926, some Capuchin missionaries moved to other mission stations, and the last of them had already left by the time a second MSF group arrived in early 1927. The Veghel sisters therefore had to communicate the missionary experiences and teach the Malay and Busang languages. Because of the steady increase in personnel (notwithstanding some tragic deaths: two MSF members in 1928, and two Veghel sisters in the late 1920s) they were able to establish a second permanent post in 1928 in Tering, 15 kilometres east of Long Iram along the Mahakam. In 1936 two other posts along the Mahakam were founded further inland, west of the cataracts: in Batu Urah (later Lirung Lahong and then renamed Long Kerioq) and in Long Pahangai. This was followed in 1937 by a permanent mission station in Mahamak Besar, between Laham and the cataracts. This made a series of five stations along the Mahakam, some 700 kilometres from Samarinda. The statistics for 1932 list eight sisters for Laham and Tering, three priests, and three religious brothers. In addition, there were two priests in Balikpapan and one in Banjarmasin, the coastal settlements, where most Catholics were of Chinese or European descent. These numbers grew by 1939 to nine sisters (four in Tering and five in Banjarmasin), 18 priests (nine of whom were in the Chinese/European towns of Banjarmasin, Balikpapan, Samarinda and Tarakan), and 13 religious brothers (nine of whom were working in the educational institutes for Europeans in Banjarmasin and Balikpapan).

In 1937 a new permanent station was opened in Barong Tongkok among the Tunjung, a tribe living in the hills west of Kutai and not along a river. Kutai was the most vibrant and proud Islamic sultanate on the east coast of Kalimantan. Although the Tunjung were entirely pagan, the Muslim sultan protested against the arrival of the missionaries because he felt it would damage his prestige and authority. Only through the intervention of some Tunjung chiefs who wanted the mission school in their territory was the mission finally permitted to start its work in this region. As on the Mahakam, so also in the Tunjung area were dormitories built along with the schools, because of the very small size of the villages and the long distances between them.

In 1935, the first mission post at Laham had only 95 inhabitants, 45 of them Catholics and nearly all youngsters. Some of the older people were starting to think about accepting the new religion. This was strengthened by the new mission policy after 1935 to go 'pioneering', or travelling around the country. Missionaries started visiting villages in order to make more intensive contacts. In general, however, the mission remained an enterprise that concentrated on schools and some medical care. It was very difficult for mission personnel to maintain contact with new Catholics after they had left school. The men often went to Serawak to work for several years, or lived in remote villages.

During World War II a remarkable development took place in the utmost inland region of Long Cihang, upstream from the cataracts of the Mahakam. A man by the name of Bo' Jurai, a member of the Pnihing Dayak tribe, had visions that the traditional spirits who inhabited the caves overlooking his village had left the region and no longer would have the power to punish people for changing traditions. Therefore he suggested that customs should be changed. Bo' Jurai for some time had stayed in the forest surrounding these caves for meditation. He was nearly blind, and in the beginning nobody heeded his words. Then he promised that he would break the taboo on entering the caves. He did so, and while people fully expected that he would immediately die for breaking one of the strictest traditional taboos, he managed to convince some other people to join him in entering the caves. In the months after the breaking of the taboo Bo' Jurai was invited to many other Pnihing villages to tell his story. His experience was not directly related to conversion to Catholicism. Bo' Jurai himself never converted to the new faith, but his experiences were interpreted in a Catholic way by boys of the Pnihing tribe who had for some years attended school in Laham. They urged the tribe to accept the Catholic faith as the new religion, and they started to teach catechism in nearly all the Pnihing villages. Some schoolteachers translated Malay prayers and hymns into the Pnihing language. A Javanese teacher, Mas Prawira, who had moved to Long Pahangai in 1941, was in fact the leading advisor during this period for one of the few mass conversions in this region.³⁸

³⁸ Coomans 1980:111-2, based on the mission diary of Long Pahangai.

Another prophetic vision took place in the same upper-cataract region of the Mahakam around 1945. Juk Kavung, of the village of Long Isun, part of the territory of the Busang Dayaks, acted as an intermediary of the spirits of the ancestors. He himself had no direct contact with Catholics or Muslims, but he worked through two young Catholics who had attended the Laham school. Juk Kavung announced the return of the ancestors. In preparation for this big event, new rituals and taboos were introduced. As a sign of greeting, people were to put the palms of their hands together in front of their breast and pronounce *assalamu'alaikum* (the Arabic formula of greeting, meaning 'Peace be with you', or perhaps adapted from the Malay translation of the Hail Mary) or *Laus Deo, Dominus Vobiscum, Sursum Corda* (from Latin formulas meaning 'Praise to God, The Lord be with you, High the hearts', all from Catholic liturgy). During certain periods no noise could come from the village, and chicken and dogs that violated this ban had to be killed. At night there was much dancing and praying at the graveyard, where the word 'Alleluia' became one of the most popular expressions. When after some time the ancestors still did not return, the village was painted white to help the ancestors recognize their former place. During this period villagers did not gather food, and finally they ran short of provisions and started selling their valuables, often for very low prices. Many utensils used in customary rituals were destroyed or sold. Finally they arrived at a situation of passive and quiet waiting for their ancestors. Only the return of European missionaries after World War II brought an end to this syncretic religious revival, which in some respects resembled the cargo cults of Papua. It was also the beginning of another phase of collective conversion, which would remain the exception in Kalimantan (Coomans 1980:111).

The two prophetic movements of Long Cihang and Long Isun took place in a remote region. They were not related to each other. Both may have been connected with the period of uncertainty after the collapse of Dutch colonial power and the arrival of the Japanese, which even in these remote regions did not go unnoticed. Because of the bad connections, difficult transportation, and very dispersed population in the region with its very small villages (often consisting solely of the longhouse of one extended family), there was no common structure, and no great revivalist or modernizing local leader. In many different places we see a revival of traditional religion, but this is typically accompanied by a change in culture, showing that the new culture had some impact on the changing society of Kalimantan Dayaks. Nowhere did the Catholic religion dominate in this process of transition, at least not before the 1950s. The Catholic tradition became simply one of various aspects in this process of change.

The middle Kapuas Basin: Sanggau and Sintang

In 1925 the mission post at Sanggau was made a permanent station. Sanggau was halfway between Sejiram and the coast, some 300 kilometres inland from Pontianak. It was the last post where big motorboats could enter inland territory in the dry season, which was one reason for selecting this location. Like other small towns of commerce and administration along the Kapuas river, its population consisted mainly of Malays and Chinese. The area was ruled by an independent *panembahan*, who had signed the so-called *Korte Verklaring* and therefore no longer had much power, but needed to be contacted in many administrative decisions.

The first local contact in Sanggau was made in 1912, when Father Gonsalvez Buil went to Sejiram to open a station there. Because of the dry season he had to wait in Sanggau for one month before he could continue his travels along the Kapuas river. While he was waiting, a young Dayak boy, Tolli, often came to talk to him, and learned some prayers. Tolli came from the village of Lintang, a few hours downstream from Sanggau. Finally Tolli received permission from his parents to join the priest in going to Sejiram, where he went to school and was baptized. Tolli managed to attract some other boys from the Sanggau region to the school in Sejiram. When he wanted to marry, his fiancée went to Sejiram, to 'learn the Christian adat'.³⁹ After his future wife had been at the school of Sejiram for about a year and a half and was baptized and they had married, the couple went back to the village of Lintang and for several years little happened. In 1921 Tolli wrote a letter to the priests of Sejiram, requesting that a priest be sent to Lintang and stating that several boys would be prepared to go to Sejiram for schooling. Father Ignatius van der Putten thereupon came to Lintang and found 16 new boys ready to go to school, together with three former pupils with their prospective wives who went with him to Sejiram in preparation for a Catholic marriage. This was seen as a big success and plans were therefore made to start a school in or near Sanggau.

The *panembahan* of Sanggau represented the Muslim community. In 1922 he had still forbidden the building of a school by the Catholic mission, but it is not clear whether this was a manifestation of rivalry between the two religions. In the mid-1920s, after some deliberations, and some gentle pressure by the *controleur*, the *panembahan* willingly assigned a plot of land to the mission to include a parish house, a church (inaugurated in 1928), a school, a dormitory, and above all a hospital. Besides, the *panembahan* consented to the sale to the mission of 30 acres of land with 12,000 rubber trees for a plantation. The price for this piece of land was 3,444.45 guilders: mission was big business in this period. The *panem-*

³⁹ 'Opdat zijn vrouw ook den Roomschen adat goed zoude kennen', from 'Archief van de R.K. Missiestatie te Sanggau,' a photocopy in the OFMCap Archives, Inv. 14-1, introduction. On the early history of the mission in Sanggau, see also Pater Cassianus (Reijnen 1935:10-6).

bahan also consented to the building of another school in Lintang, where Tolli proved to be an active Catholic, showing the way to all former pupils of the Sejiram school, most of whom had remained faithful Catholics.

Father Cassianus Reynen was the founding priest of the station. A rich Dutch family, headed by Louis van Asten-Van Thiel from Helmond, a town with a booming textile industry, were the sole sponsors for the mission post. Following their wishes, the new church was dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the school to Saint Francis Xavier.⁴⁰ To start his work, Cassianus first stayed at the home of a Catholic Chinese, Mong Sang, one of the richest men in this small town. This man had two wives and was therefore, in the eyes of the priests, suspect as a true Catholic, but he continued to be the main local supporter of the mission.⁴¹ He sold to the mission several of the houses he owned to be used as parish house, church, and school, and in addition he donated money. He remained the most important contact with the Chinese community, until he went bankrupt in January 1935.⁴²

Father Cassianus started visiting to Catholics who had attended the school at Sejiram. He was not always so lucky as he was in Lintang with the pious Tolli. In the village of Embahung, a two-hour walk from Sanggau along a fairly good road:

The only Catholic, M. Atjien, has a traditional healer (dukun) in his house for three days to cure his sick child. Because of taboos (pantang), I was only allowed to enter the house on the following day. But even the next morning he had no time to attend mass.⁴³

In Sanggau there were apparently new Chinese Catholics. In June 1926 Cassianus counted some 20 people at Sunday mass: seven lepers from Sejiram who were being treated at the hospital, seven Catholics from Lintang, and eight Chinese Catholics from Sanggau. On 3 January 1927 he celebrated the first Catholic marriage in Sanggau: a Chinese boy from Sanggau married a Chinese Catholic girl from Pontianak who had attended the sisters' school.

The Lintang school was built with funds provided by the local government and voluntarily by the people, who cut down trees to be used. The mission

⁴⁰ Sanggau folder, Inv. 14, 4.

⁴¹ In the 1930s Cassianus Reynen became the founder of the mission in Bengkayang. In that region he also met several Chinese Catholics with two wives. About one he writes that the man acknowledged that he was not able to get rid of his second wife, 'not even by fighting with her' ('Zijn bijzit kan hij maar niet kwijttraken. Zelfs met vechten niet, zei hij', Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, Inv. 14, no. 4, 7-4-1938, 11-4-1938).

⁴² There are several curious reports about the financial dealings of this Mong Sang and the mission: the missionaries bought several of his houses for 4,000 guilders, but he wanted the amount of 6,000 to be recorded on the official contract; Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, Inv. 14, no. 4, February 1928.

⁴³ Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, 22-10-1926.

paid a Catholic teacher in Lintang, who also worked as a catechist. Soon the number of Catholics in Lintang increased, mostly through baptisms of schoolchildren. At Christmas in 1928, the motorboat of Catholic Chinese trader Mong Sang was hired to bring 75 faithful from Lintang to the Christmas celebration in Sanggau. Mong Sang also provided a good meal with pork, chicken, fish, rice, noodles, and vegetables for 50 cents per person. The guests from Lintang stayed in Sanggau for two nights. The first Dayak marriage in Lintang had been celebrated a few weeks earlier, although not without problems. Catholic rules required that there be three weeks between the first announcement and formal marriage, to have the opportunity for the congregation to mention impediments. During this period 'Catholic adat' did not allow the couple to live in the same house, but according to 'village adat' the bride had to be brought immediately to the house of the man after the official invitation and acceptance. The compromise was that the bride remain with her parents until the formal celebration and that a few cups of rice would be paid to the village community as a fine for breaching customary rules. But the opposite also happened. In November 1932 in Lintang the rule was accepted by the village council that no *dukun* would try to cure a Catholic, whether a child or an adult. Upon the first and second violation of this rule both the *dukun* and the person inviting him or her would have to pay a fine of one guilder, but as of the third infringement the fine would be 2.50 guilders.

Besides Lintang another small village, Lapik, welcomed a school, and quite a few children accepted Catholicism soon afterwards. On 21 October 1930 Father Cassianus was called to give a blessing to the whole village. But this was not the beginning of a collective conversion: very few adults applied for catechism classes, and even among the youth it was a minority who embraced the new faith.⁴⁴ In a third village in the Sanggau region, Nyandang, a school was built and some new faithful were won. In October 1930 a heavy iron anvil fell through the floor of the longhouse. Custom demanded that in such an event the whole village had to be abandoned because the anvil would turn into a bad spirit. However, the teacher was asked to seek the priest's opinion, who suggested that the people should not be afraid. He blessed the whole village and ensured the people that they should not be frightened of spirits, but that they should learn more about the Catholic faith.⁴⁵

There were few open protests against the slow progress of the Catholic faith. The *controleur* used his persuasive power and sometimes the police to get children to come to school more regularly. At the departure of Father Cassianus from Sanggau there was a brass band from the palace of the *panembahan* and a string orchestra of Chinese! There is also a curious document

⁴⁴ Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, 21-10-1930.

⁴⁵ Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, late October 1933, continuation of the diary by Father Christianus Slits, after Cassianus had left the station.

from the office of the Muslim *panembahan* of Sanggau giving permission to a teacher of religion, a Dayak by the name of Lansau, to travel regularly in Dayak villages in the Sanggau area to teach the Catholic faith to Dayaks who wanted it. If Lansau got into trouble, village chiefs were instructed to help him and even order some coolies to serve him if needed.⁴⁶

In the history of the Dayak mission we often encounter people taking the initiative to invite missionaries and their teachers to start activities, like the two examples on the Upper Mahakam river and the case of Tolli close to Sanggau. Another of these was Petrus Buan, born between 1915 and 1920 in Janang Ran, the central village of the Mualang Dayaks. In 1925 he went to the village school, built by the colonial government in this region, north of the Kapuas, some 10 kilometres west of the Belitang river. The school was closed down in 1930 as a consequence of the economic collapse. At that time Buan had only vaguely heard of the Catholic priests in Sanggau and Sintang (where a permanent post was opened in 1932). Sanggau and Sintang were mixed Malay-Chinese towns involved in trade and administration. The Capuchin friars in these places offered traditional Franciscan hospitality. They had a large room for visiting Dayaks who sought a place for the night while travelling for shopping, administrative errands, or a visit to the hospital. This welcome hospitality had on several occasions provided the first contact. Through this rather simple facility, news of the Catholic missionaries was spread among various Dayak villages. According to the autobiography of Petrus Buan, the first contact between people of his village and the mission took place in 1937, when Dayaks from Janang Ran were working in the inspection of rubber plantations and found a refuge at the parish compound of Sanggau. Because they were able to read, they received a Malay catechism from the priests. This booklet was read again and again in the village. Other writings entered the village as well, including a New Testament, a history of the Netherlands, and biographies of Marco Polo and Napoleon. In the village those who had gone to school in the period 1925-1930 liked to practise their ability in reading groups.

In 1935 the Reverend A. Mouw, an American missionary of CAMA settled on the upper Belitang river, in Balai Sepuak, close to the Serawak border.⁴⁷ This was the period when the division of mission territories between Protestants and Catholics was no longer respected by both sides. In the tradition of the

⁴⁶ Sanggau folder, OFMCap Archives, 6-6-1934: Keterangan kepada seorang bangsa Dajak agama R.K. nama Lansau asal dari kampung Segonti dan sekarang tinggal berdiam di roemah Pastoor Sanggaw, maka Lansau tersebut tidak ada halangan boeat dijalan di kampong2 bangsa Dajak dalam keradjaan Sanggaw goena akan mengadjar agama R.K. (agama serani) kepada bangsa2 Dajak jang soeka masoek keagama itoe. Djoega kita beri tahoe kepada kepala2 kampung bangsa Dajak apabila ini Lansau dapat kesoesahan didalam itoe kampung hendaklah dianja dapat pertolongan begitoe djoega apabila dia perloe mau pakai koeli haroeslah kepala kampung ichtiar-kan orang oentoek koelinja itoe. Sanggau, 20-6-1934, Secr. Panembahan van Sanggau.

⁴⁷ On A. Mouw, see also Lewis 1995:200-27.

evangelical missionaries, Mouw was a fervent preacher, famous for his moving prayers. Notwithstanding his strict ban on gambling, cock-fighting, alcohol, smoking, and the use of sirih or betel-nut (all practices that were allowed by Catholics), he became quite popular. In 1937 Mouw paid a visit to the Mualang area and stayed in a village not too far from Janang Ran. He was accompanied by four catechists. Buan was very impressed by their message, the prayers, and the healing sessions of the American missionary and by the images shown by the catechists. A few months later Buan met another of Mouw's assistants, an Embaluh Dayak by the name of Lombok. Upon closer scrutiny it became clear that Buan's uncle Lebong had become a Catholic about one or two decades earlier, when he lived in the lake district close to Benua Martinus. This Uncle Lebong said that the Protestant catechist Lombok was very rude and pressing, and he suggested that his nephew Buan look for Catholics if he wanted a religion. Uncle and nephew Lebong and Buan therefore made a trip to the village of Ampoh, on the east bank of the river Belitang, where some twenty Catholics lived with a catechist, Nyurai. Becoming a Catholic proved to be arduous: two years of disciplined learning and good behaviour were required before baptism could be conferred. After one week in Ampoh, Buan registered as a prospective Catholic but took no further action. In May 1940, CAMA missionary Mouw came to the village of Janang Ran with a local catechist and Buan was ordered by his father, the village chief, to serve the guest according to the local rules of hospitality. The missionaries stayed for several days. After several evenings with much story-telling, praying, and singing, the missionary asked the people of the village: 'Who of you wants to become a Christian?' This was the beginning of a debate on the differences between CAMA and Catholic Christianity. Buan, already well versed in the text of the gospel, asked missionary Mouw about the section in the gospel proscribing smoking. Although no plain answer was given, the missionary said a blessing over Buan and declared that he was already a Christian and did not need two more years of instruction to become a full Christian, because he already believed in Jesus as Lord. Buan experienced this as a powerful and threatening spell. His uncle Lebong, however, suggested that someone who had more authority than Mouw could break this spell. At that time Buan's first child became very sick and could not be cured by the traditional healers. He therefore went to the sisters' hospital in Sintang to seek a cure for his little son. He found lodging at the parish house and told the priest about his problem. The priest ensured him that 'according to traditional custom he was bound to the spell of the CAMA missionary, but not according to the rules of true liberating Christianity'. Thereupon Buan urged the Catholic missionary to visit his village.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Petrus Buan's autobiography is kept in the archives of the Capuchin friars in 's-Hertogenbosch; there is a Dutch retelling in Van Loon 1992:1-33.

Because of the location of Janang Ran, it was a priest from Sanggau, Edmund Gijsbers, who first visited the village after Buan had gone to Sanggau as well. This first visit took place in September 1940, only four months after the tour of rival CAMA missionary Mouw. Because of financial problems during World War II, no schoolteacher or catechist could be assigned to the village, which consisted of one large longhouse. In March 1941, however, Buan again came to Sanggau, urged the priest to visit Janang Ran again, and showed him the large quantity of wood that was waiting to be used to build a church and a house for a catechist. Buan had already started to make an altar from a giant piece of wood. The location for the mission compound was already ready for construction to start. In response to this extraordinary local initiative, the mission decided to send a catechist, Petrus Denggol, a Dayak born in Ketapang, who arrived in Janang Ran together with his wife in August 1941. On 19 February 1942, after the arrival of the Japanese army in the region, Buan and Lebong were baptized under the names of Petrus and Paulus, respectively. Soon after this, the priests were put in internment camps and Petrus Denggol had to build up this young Catholic congregation on his own.⁴⁹

During the Japanese occupation the catechist received no salary, but was paid by the people of Janang Ran. He even extended his activities to another Mualang village, Pakit. They were fined for cutting wood for a building to be used as a school and church in that village because they had not obeyed the new rule that cutting down any tree required a permit. Shortly thereafter, they had to apply for a permit to continue the school (in fact just simple catechism classes) in the village. The catechist Petrus Denggol also wrote applications for this purpose.⁵⁰ The new Catholic Petrus Buan went to the government office in Sekadau on 23 March 1943 on behalf of catechist and teacher Petrus Denggol to ask for a decision on the application for continuing a school. On that day and on his second visit on 23 April, he was questioned harshly by the Malay Muslims of Sekadau, who suggested that Catholicism was just a colonial affair, and that he had incited the people of Janang Ran and Pakit not to pay their taxes in rice to the Sekadau office. He was also accused of teaching without permission. But the *panembahan* of Sekadau openly acknowledged that the government would not interfere in religious matters. These would be their own responsibility.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Petrus Denggol was probably born shortly after 1916, because his name is related to Malay *benggol*, the name of a small coin introduced by the Dutch colonial government for the payment of taxes (that previously had been paid in rice). It was said that he was born in the very year that the colonial army and administration entered his small Dayak village, close to the town of Ketapang. After primary school at the mission, he entered the minor seminary, where he learned Dutch and Latin. A letter to a Dutch pen-friend, written by him (but edited by Donatus Dunselman?) and dated 27-10-1935, was published in *Koloniaal Missie Tijdschrift* (see Dunselman 1936:5-8).

⁵⁰ Text from the OFMCap Archives, see Document 38.

⁵¹ ‘Tentang agama pemerintah tidak sekali milarang, tetapi ingatlah menangoeng djawabna sendiri,’ Diary of Denggol, 23-4-1943, OFMCap, Inv. 14, box 4, dossier Mualang, Wilbert de Wit no. 6.

Apparently the guarantee of religious freedom was not as promised. A low official in the medical service, Akim, removed all the furniture, wine, and many other valuables from the Sanggau parish house. Immediately after Christmas 1943 the church of Janang Ran was closed. Denggol suggested to his Catholic flock that they should perform their prayers only in private. He set a minimum requirement of praying one 'Hail Mary' and one 'Hail Thou, Queen of Peace' per day.⁵² Denggol prayed for adults when they were sick; otherwise they would have called for traditional healers. He visited the Catholics in his neighbourhood, and baptized catechumenes' small children – 'otherwise, they would have been shown to a traditional healer to be given a name'.⁵³

Several times real or self-declared spies came to the village of Janang Ran and announced that all sacred vessels and vestments of the church and all images should be taken to the Japanese administration and that the teacher should go to prison. Only payments to the spies could prevent these measures. The Dayaks knew that these spies were not paid well enough, and sometimes gave them rice and eggs in order to be safe against further corruption and threats. Finally, on 3 November 1944 Denggol had to deliver all books (mostly catechisms, stories from the Old and New Testaments, and hymnals, in total 81 books and booklets), five statues (two each of Mary and Jesus, and one angel), three crosses, and two images from the churches of Janang Ran and Pakit to someone called Mas Samsi of the district office in Seranjin. Denggol received a proper certificate from this man.

The story of the small Catholic community of Janang Ran has been given here in some detail as an example of the rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant missions, of relations with Muslims, of the differences between the Dutch and the Japanese periods, and of the sincere and earnest quest for religion on the part of certain Dayaks who after a short period of learning took initiatives and remained faithful to their new religion.

Social and religious mobility in Kalimantan

In eastern Indonesia, Islam and Christianity competed with each other in conquering territory that until then had been dominated by traditional religions. Was and is Kalimantan different from other parts of eastern Indonesia? Small communities had to choose one of two or even three possible religions (if we

⁵² '1 Assalam alaikum dan S. Maria Radja damai.' I could not identify the last prayer (literally Holy Mary, Queen of Peace). It may be a translation of *Ave Regina Coelorum*, Hail Thou Queen of Heaven. Diary of Denggol, 25-12-1943.

⁵³ 'Tentang sembahjang bagi orang sakit saja lakoekan, karena djika tidak begitoe tentoe mereka terpaksa misti panggil doekoen. Tentang permandikan anak2 dari orang Katechumen saja rasa perloe djoega karena menoeroet adat orang Moealang, bahwa anak2 jang baroe lahir haroes di doekoen (ditampoeng ajoe) serta diberi nama' (Diary of Denggol, 25-12-1943).

consider Catholics and Protestants two different players in the religious market). On islands such as Kai, Tanimbar, Flores, Timor, Solor, and Adonara, generally an entire village decided to embrace either Islam or one of the two main versions of Christianity. Was Kalimantan different because of the centuries-old contact between Muslims and adherents of traditional religion, where some kind of *modus vivendi* long regulated relations between Muslims and Dayaks? In eastern Indonesia there were many old Muslim settlements like Solor, some villages on Adonara, the island of Ende, some places on Sumba, but most of all the lowlands of South Celebes with Buginese and Makassarese communities, which had accepted Islam starting with the first wave of Islamization that ended around 1630. They had lived in a stable situation with their pagan neighbours for several centuries until the revival of conversion to world religions started in the 1870s. In most of these cases Christianity had expanded faster and more broadly than Islam. But in Kalimantan the development seems to have been different: in quite a few places there was even a revival of traditional religion, and where conversions took place it was seldom the conversion of a whole village, but rather the gradual conversion of individuals.

The revival of traditional religion was attested as early as the Banjarese war of 1857-1860. At that time the coalition of Muslim Banjar Malay leaders had collaborated with Dayaks. The practice of *ratib beamal* has been interpreted as either a syncretism of Islamic and traditional beliefs or as neo-paganism, a revival of traditional religion (Veth 1869:197-202; also Steenbrink 1984:50-1). Nativism – revival of traditional religion – was seen in the Nyuli movement (culminating in 1920-1922) (Garang 1974:153-63), the Bungan Reform in Kayan religion starting in 1940 (Rousseau 1998), and Kaharingan used as a formal term for the traditional religion of the Dayaks of South Kalimantan since the mid-1940s (Weinstock 1987:71-97, especially 75-6).

It is evident that in Kalimantan, the social and religious situation was not such that Islam and Christianity could simply expect everyone to become either Muslim or Christian. The traditional religion proved to be quite energetic and capable of transformation from within. It had more vitality and tenacity than elsewhere.

Was it the easier communications on rivers that flowed in a broad stream, in contrast with the difficult communications owing to steep mountains in Sulawesi and other parts of eastern Indonesia? Whatever may have been the reason, it was never a relationship between equal partners. Until the arrival of the Dutch, the Muslims were more powerful, although for trade they had to seek the help of Dayaks. During the relatively short period of effective Dutch colonial rule (between 1900 and 1940), Christianity received some support from the colonial government, but much less than in other parts of eastern Indonesia. The anthropologist Douglas Miles saw the relationship between the three as follows:

[Protestant] missionaries had visited the [Upper Mentaya] region from 1912. Hundreds of Ngaju Dayaks there have become Christians, but few have ceased to participate in Pagan rites. The most plausible explanation is that Christianity places few restrictions on the convert's interaction with Pagans. In Kuala Keris members of the Pagan and Christian groups live in the same neighbourhood, share the same houses, eat the same foods, and regularly visit one another. Conversion results in few changes in a person's social life, and he is constantly under the influence of Pagan traditions. Most of those who call themselves Christians have dual religious adherence. In contrast, Islamic regulations complicate interaction even with Pagan parents. Contact with non-Muslims is restricted to situations where they are prepared to respect the principles of the new faith. In this way Islam effectively counteracts influences that might encourage the regression of converts to their former practices. Islam and Paganism are fundamentally irreconcilable as social ideologies. But this does not mean that adherents live in mutual isolation or are constantly in conflict. For the most part, the fields in which the two faiths operate are segregated in both time and space. (Miles 1976:98-9)

The right model for Kalimantan is not Islam and Christianity as a competing pair attacking traditional religion, whose adherents are urged to opt between two choices. There is and was a coalition between traditional religion and Christianity against Islam and Muslim civilization. Muslims generally did not carry out overtly and well-planned missionary campaigns like Catholics and Protestants, who in the first half of the twentieth century actively sought new members, did. A striking exception was the initiative of Pangeran Panji of Pasir in 1912. After the abolition of the independent sultanate in 1908, this young man sought the help of newly converted Dayaks to become the sultan of a re-established sultanate. In 1912 he converted 3,000 Dayaks to Islam using the threat that the Turkish army would come and kill all non-Muslims. Pangeran Panji was arrested in nearby Banjarmasin, but until 1917 his campaign was continued by some followers and a brother. It was one of the few planned campaigns for the expansion of Islam (Eisenberger 1936:98-9). For the rest of the period, Muslims could easily consider themselves the dominating group, living in a relatively stable relationship with adherents of traditional religion. There are not many signs that Muslims disapproved the spread of Christianity or that they undertook action to curb its spread, at least not in the colonial period. Earlier we saw the initial rejection of a mission school by the *panembahan* of Sanggau. He feared that a mission school and its followers would reduce his authority among the Dayak population, even outside the main area of his administration.

Even without planned campaigning, Islam had made many advances in Kalimantan. Miles guesses for the Upper Mentaya region that 'it arrived there via the trade routes, as it did in most parts of the archipelago, but less than a century ago' (Miles 1976:89). This would have made the arrival of Islam and

Christianity nearly simultaneous. If this was so, then Muslims had made far more efficient progress than the Protestant Christians who arrived from the south and the Catholics who came from the northwestern Kapuas basin.

An interesting comparison between conversion to Islam and Christianity in Kalimantan has been suggested by Johannes Enos Garang. As advantages for a conversion of Dayaks to Islam he puts forward (1) economic aspects (Dayaks became indebted to Muslim traders and could be acquitted at conversion; closer relations after conversion, marriage of Dayak women with Muslim men), (2) religious aspects (freedom from strict traditional customs and taboos, a more democratic concept of society, and the prestige of a sacred scripture, more powerful amulets), (3) political neutrality of the Dutch, who in this region abolished certain aspects of traditional religion like headhunting, while establishing an open society without promoting their own Christian religion. As disadvantages of Islam he mentions the general conservative character of Dayak culture and the low position of women in Muslim society, in comparison to the relatively prominent position of Dayak women as religious leaders and in other spheres.

Benefits of Christianity in Garang's analysis are the economic advantages of conversion to Christianity (slaves were bought and set free; Dayaks were protected against Muslim Malay traders; the schools and plantations of the mission competed with the cultural and economic centres of Malay traders and administrators. Well-educated Dayaks from the lower classes could use Christianity for upward social mobility; some mission stations even became successful new settlements attracting Dayak migration). Furthermore, there was the advantage of health services and medical treatment, which also negatively affected the position of traditional healers and the belief in spirits, taboos, and traditional charms. Many stories of conversion have an element of dreams and special revelations. As disadvantages of Christianity Garang mentions the oppressive colonial system and the identification of tribe and traditional religion, strengthened by traditional religious leaders.⁵⁴

Dayak religious culture: 'Fond of syncretism'?

Johannes Dunselman (born in Medemblik, the Netherlands, 12 June 1901) became a priest in the Capuchin order as Father Donatus in 1930 and arrived in Pontianak on 23 January 1933. He worked at several Dayak stations, mostly in Sanggau, until he had to enter a Japanese camp in mid-1942. During his period of internment (until late August 1945) he reflected deeply on his missionary work among the Dayaks, and in 1949 published his views of the encounter between Dayaks and Western Christianity. His real concern was not only the

⁵⁴ For an extensive account of these comparisons see Garang 1974:111-42.

spread of Christianity, especially his Catholic blend of it, but even more the reaction of Dayaks to the religious and cultural revolution brought about by colonial conquerors, administrators, traders, and instructors. In his description he emphasized the distance between Dayaks and foreign missionaries:

We travelled together with a catechist from their own tribe who preceded or accompanied us. In the evenings we were seated in a circle of young and old people and tried to spread the seed of God's Word. Sometimes whole villages or groups of people had invited us (partly through natural motivation, partly through Divine Grace) to give an explanation of the Christian adat. But we always felt some difficulty how to have contact with people about our main purpose, the propagation of our Holy Faith. (Dunselman 1949:32-42, 84-101, 209-24, quote from 84.)

Father Dunselman declared the Western (in this case Dutch) catechism as absolutely unfit for religious encounters with Dayaks. Although this summary of Christian doctrine was widely used in the Indonesian mission, it received much criticism, most of all because of its heavily rational content. Dayak culture has a clear separation between daily speech and ritual or sacred language. This *bahasa dalam* or 'deep speech' is absolutely different from the philosophical and very prosaic, rather dull style of the Malay catechism. Dayak ritual speech is poetic, full of proverbs, myths, prayers, and songs.⁵⁵ For foreign missionaries it was possible to study local culture and language (although the Capuchin fathers were not so active in this as were the SVD on Flores and Timor, and the MSC in Kai, Tanimbar, and Papua), but they would never be able to create a new Christian Dayak vocabulary. This would have to be done by catechists.

As to the content of the religious concepts, as elsewhere in Indonesia, the idea of the Supreme Being as commonly used among Dayaks was the starting point for missionary preaching. But the Dayak divinity was too far away from concrete daily life and was not a loving and intimate father.⁵⁶ Christianity was foremost presented as liberating converts from the evil spirits and taboos that dominated daily life and caused continual fear among common people. Dayaks tried to survive in the unfriendly world by obeying taboos and appeasing spirits through magical rituals. The more powerful Christian sacraments and quasi-sacramental acts would, it was hoped, convince Dayaks of the redemption to be found in Catholicism:

The Holy [Catholic] Church offers Dayak people its ceremonies, like the ritual of baptism with a language that in fact is more attractive to them than to Western Christians. Exorcism, healing through laying hands on the heads of sick people,

⁵⁵ Donatus Dunselman published *Kana Sera; Zang der zvangerschap* 1955, a myth to be read at marriage ceremonies, with a Dutch translation and many notes. His main assistant for this work was Martinus Sinji, who knew the myth by heart and wrote the first manuscript of the text in 1947.

⁵⁶ Dunselman severely criticized the work of the Protestant missionary scholar Schärer 1946.

blessing with the sign of the cross, touching the eyes, mouth and nose with saliva – these Catholic rituals find their equivalent in the gestures of the pagan priests who try to heal the sick. (Dunselman 1950:41.)

In some sense the Dayak religion could be shown to be comparable to Old Testament tradition. Some catechists made use of a comparison between traditional Dayak beliefs and historic Jewish religion. Especially in the Old Testament description of sacrifice, Dayak catechists saw continuity between the Dayak religion and Christian religions. In this sense they were more positive than the cautious missionary Dunselman.⁵⁷ Dayak religion was not a static and ‘pure’ practice, but, for example, incorporated Chinese practices like the use of joss-sticks:

Some Dayak Christian families still put their daily food on copper plates that previously were used for pagan sacrifices. They use the configuration that was used by pagan priests. We are requested to say a *benedictio mensae*, a table blessing over this food, as a substitute for the pagan prayer. At the beginning of my work in Kalimantan, I often obeyed these requests, especially from people who had just started catechism classes. Sometimes I also took red Chinese joss-sticks from the plates because Dayaks are fond of syncretism.⁵⁸

According to Dunselman’s experience, it was the catechists who in fact carried out the transition (and sometimes also the synchronization) between the traditional Dayak religion and Christianity. Catechists and new Christians initiated the practice of ‘sacred places’ near longhouses and nuclear-family houses: they placed a cross in a special room attached to their house or under a small roof and treated it the same way as a traditional Dayak sacred place. Although the clergy had reservations about the strategy, they also gained more appreciation of Dayak ways of accommodation. Catholic clergy were definitely more inclined to ‘syncretism’ than were Protestant or Muslim leaders.

⁵⁷ ‘Gaarna vergelijken ze deze met het Oude-Verbond en een dichterlijk aangelegd catechist zag gaarne hun hele religieuze apparaat als iets Oud-Testamentisch. Dit is stellig veel te gunstig’, Dunselman 1949:87.

⁵⁸ ‘In het begin heb ik dit dikwijls gedaan, vooral bij jonge catechumenen, al heb ik ook eens de rode, Chinese wierookstokjes eruit getrokken; de Dajak is nl. tot syncretisme geneigd’, Dunselman 1949:101.

CHAPTER IX

The poor legacy of Sumatra

The Capuchin friar Anthonius Brevoort opens his 1993 dissertation on the first decade of the Capuchin mission in Sumatra (1911-1923) with a chapter on the previous Catholic presence in Sumatra. The disputed Christian community of Fansur or Baros is mentioned as recorded by Saleh al-Armini around 1150-1171. Franciscans in Aceh who were the first martyrs around 1642 are mentioned, as well as the mission in Bengkulu in the early 1700s, when some 300 Catholics were counted. But after that time, only decline is recorded for the history of Catholicism in Sumatra. The nineteenth century did not bring much growth either. An earlier colleague of Brevoort, the Capuchin priest Gentilis Astar, thus started his history of the mission with the sad title *De magere boedel*, the poor legacy. ‘Catholics were late, had no proper strategy, and did not concentrate in their work on the vast island of Sumatra’ (Brevoort 1993, Astar 1961).¹

The cultural, economic, and religious pattern of Sumatra around 1900 was much more diverse than that of any of the other large islands, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and perhaps even Papua. The diversity was not only evident among the inland regions, the people living in the mountains of the Bukit Barisan, and the inland tribes of Batak, Gayo, Minangkabau, Jambi, Lampung. There were and still are great differences among the coastal regions as well: the Malay sultanates of the east coast, Java-oriented Palembang, the proud and independent Aceh, just to mention a few of the important cultures. Starting in the 1860s large numbers of migrants arrived from China on the islands of Bangka, Belitung, and the Riau archipelago. These migrant workers dominated tin mining, rubber and pepper plantations, and much of the non-agricultural smallholder economy. The islands of Nias, Mentawai, Siberut, and others also preserved their own cultures. Many of the Sumatran coastal cultures had been Muslim for several centuries. The most fervent of these were the Acehnese, as well as smaller coastal settlements like Bengkulu and those on the east coast like Medan, Langkat, and Siak. There were also strong Muslim traditions in the mountainous inland regions of Minangkabau, Gayo, Palembang, and Lampung.

¹ Astar 1959 concentrates on the Batak mission while the 1961 book discusses other aspects of the Sumatra mission.



Sumatra

Batak identity and the rise of Protestantism in the Batak lands

Around 1900 very few regions were open to Christian mission. The Protestant mission had been very successful among the Bataks. The German mission of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft had to leave South Kalimantan in 1859 for some time due to the large uprising in Banjarmasin and surrounding districts. Their first missionaries arrived in 1861 in Sipirok. In 1864 Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen, 'the apostle of the Batak lands', arrived in the valley of Silindung and started a successful mission from there, which finally created a strong Batak church. The relation between being Batak and being a Protestant Christian was never as strong as in Minahasa, but among the many Indonesian peoples, Bataks are second only to Minahasans in the nurturing of their Protestantism. After the start of mission work among the Toba and Angkola Bataks by German missionaries, Dutch Protestant missionaries started work

in the 1890s among the northern Karo Bataks. They were much less successful than the Germans. American Methodists started work among the ethnic Chinese in Medan (1905) and Palembang (1917). Initially they worked as teachers at schools run by migrant Chinese. They were hired and paid good salaries to teach English, but were also allowed to do some missionary work. This was the beginning of an independent Methodist church in Sumatra that was not restricted to Chinese but also acquired members in the central Toba-Batak region. Protestant mission had started as early as the 1860s on the island of Nias, while the first German missionary arrived in the Mentawai archipelago in 1901. With the majority of the Sumatran regions closed to Catholic missionary activities, and the vibrant Protestant mission active in most of the regions that were not yet Muslim, the Catholics could only find a few places where they could try to start a promising mission. In the main towns their strategy was based on pastoral service to a small flock of European and Eurasian soldiers, planters, traders, and some government officials.

After a firm start in the 1860s and steady growth since then, it took about 50 years before the Protestant Batak church (HKBP, Huria Kristen Batak Protestan) came down from the mountains and entered the lower lands of Pematang Siantar and finally also Medan. In 1912 only a small congregation was started in the capital of the province of East Sumatra (now North Sumatra). This start was quite hesitant: one teacher was made the leader responsible for the Medan congregation and he was supervised by a Protestant minister/missionary in Pematang Siantar, 90 kilometres from Medan, the closest place where a missionary was located. In this early period the HKBP congregation came together in the church building of the Indische Kerk, the 'white people's church'. Help was offered (by inviting Batak Christians to join their services or use their building), especially by the Ambonese and Menadonese Christians in Medan, who did not feel happy in the all-white Dutch-speaking Indische Kerk (where some ministers did not even speak any Malay). There were also some problems, and therefore there were short flirtations with (and even changes in affiliation with) the Catholics, the Methodists, and longer connections with a more orthodox Dutch Reformed denomination, the Gereformeerden, until the Medan Batak community became independent. Between 1912 and 1925 Josia Hutabarat was their great pioneer. He was a man of deep faith and social ability, but held no degree in theology, was not an ordained minister, and was therefore finally withdrawn.

In the early twentieth century the Bataks were still a very tiny minority in the overwhelmingly Chinese and Malay city of Medan. This all has much to do with Batak identity. When was a Batak identity first formulated? In Kalimantan the difference between Malays and Dayaks is certainly a religious one, the Malay being assumed to be Muslim and the Dayak 'not yet Muslim'. In this way Dayak identity traditionally was formulated in a negative way.

Perhaps a similar process occurred in Sumatra. Hasselgren has put forward the hypothesis that Batak identity has strong links with a positive Christian identity. He stresses that Muslims of the same ethnic origin (Mandailing) do not like to be labelled as Bataks. For Toba-Bataks this identity became incorporated in their conversion to Christianity:

Toba ethno-religious identity was rooted in an ethnically homogeneous peasant society, on which colonialism certainly had an important impact, but not as much as in South Tapanuli, let alone on the east coast of Sumatra [...] Christianity had been incorporated and appropriated into the Toba cosmos. [...] At the top end of the structure, the RMG missionaries remained the main authorities, although they were sometimes contested. They regarded North Tapanuli as their Promised Land, to which God had sent them to build the Batak People's Church. (Hasselgren 2000:135.)

In faraway Medan a part of this kingdom could finally be established. The German missionaries initially wanted to prevent their Toba-Batak flock from migrating to Medan. They feared that they would become Muslim. When individuals nevertheless sought work in the city (quite a few in the government administration of opium sales), they were not so well served by the German mission. We will see below how the Catholic presence among Bataks began in this rather neglected Batak diaspora of Medan.

Between Padang and Medan: European and Chinese Catholics in North Sumatra

In 1900 the best-developed and largest Catholic congregation was that of Padang, at that time still the main harbour of the island.² It had some 1,700 Catholics, nearly half of them soldiers. The upcoming plantation centre of Medan at that time only had some 400 Catholics, about 100 of them soldiers, while there were already some 165 Catholic Chinese (and very few in Padang). Only Padang had a broad range of kindergartens and primary schools for European and Eurasian children, run by the Tilburg sisters, divided into first- and second-class schools according to the parents' wealth. In Aceh there were about 100 Catholic civilians, while more than 1,100 of the soldiers were registered as Catholics. This made the total number for North Sumatra about 3,300, nearly 2,000 of them soldiers.³ These numbers steadily increased in the decades between 1900 and 1940. By 1939 the statistics showed a vast majority of non-European Catholics.⁴

In 1930 the Padang regency had 4,028 Europeans, and in line with statistics for the whole of the Dutch East Indies, Catholics formed about one-third to

² On the economic importance of Padang and Medan see Touwen 2001:78-9.

³ Claverbond 1901-3:72.

⁴ Adapted from Jaarboek 1940:186.

Catholics in central North Sumatra, December 1939

	European Catholics	Chinese and Indonesian Catholics	Total
Medan	1,630	1,136	2,766
Bagan si Api-api (incl. Tanjung Balai)	176	515	691
Padang (incl. Bukittinggi, etc.)	2,192	2,523	4,715
Aceh	819	479	1,298
Batak (Sibolga - Padang Sidempuan)	384	8,369	8,753
Total	5,201	13,022	18,223

one-quarter of the European population. In that year there were 10,174 Chinese in the residency. This would suggest that about 10% of the Padang Chinese were Catholic. This seems to be a very high number. In Bagan si Api-api alone the number of Chinese was already 11,998, together with Tanjung Balai this was 15,160, and here the number of Catholic Chinese can be taken as 3.3%.

The military is not included separately in these statistics for 1939, but we may suppose that their numbers were significantly lower than in 1900, when the Aceh War was still going strong. In fact there were not many drastic changes after 1900, except for two groups. First and most important, there was the significant number of Batak Catholics in the Batak lands. Second, the number of Chinese had shown significant growth, with Bagan si Api-api as an important centre for Chinese Catholics. In all these regions, however, Catholics remained far behind Protestants. The Batak Protestant Church that resulted from the German mission and that had its first synod in 1930 had 416,206 members by 1938, much more numerous than the roughly 10,000 Batak Catholics.⁵ This was not only a very small number, compared to the splendid results of the Protestant mission.⁶ The Catholics also had no region of their own where they could flourish as a more significant denomination. They arrived late, and even then their arrival was disputed.

According to the government's strategy of allotting mission territories to certain denominations, the Catholics were not allowed to start a proper mission in North Sumatra. The start of Catholic missionary work in the Batak lands shows some similarities to the developments in Minahasa. As in that region, the first converts were not made in the Batak lands, but somewhere outside, notably in the towns of Medan and Batavia. For a long time the city

⁵ Protestant figures after Aritonang 1994:301.

⁶ This number grew steadily in the twentieth century, although Catholics remained far behind Protestants in North Sumatra. In 1980 there were 2.4 million Protestant and 370,000 Catholics in North Sumatra. This makes about one Catholic to six Protestants, or 15.4% Catholics.

of Medan was neglected by the German mission. Although many Bataks migrated to the largest town of the region, it was not until the late 1920s that a proper Protestant Batak congregation was founded in Medan.

Until the early 1920s the Catholics of Sumatra were about 80% Europeans and Eurasians. Their main centre was Padang. The parish was established in 1838. In 1883 the Tilburg sisters came to Padang to run the schools. They never learned proper Malay and did all their teaching in Dutch. Their schools were divided according to social class. The 'first-class school' was non-sectarian, because it also wanted to receive non-Catholic girls. There was no crucifix in the classrooms, there were no religious classes, and there were not even prayers during regular school hours. Only after school were there additional religious classes for Catholic girls, and any others who wanted to receive this instruction. The sisters needed the relatively high school fees charged by the non-sectarian first-class school to pay for the second-class school called 'the Catholic school' because of its religious character. For the missionary activities, the sisters' schools did not have a great effect. Planters, government officials, and military personnel sent their children to obtain a proper Dutch-language education. In 1903 the sisters also opened an orphanage in the school compound. Many of the children of military men, planters, and officials were not the result of a legal marriage but of the common colonial concubinate with a *nyai*. The sisters strictly observed the rule that only children who were recognized by their fathers were accepted at the school. The school was a preparation for living as a European wife in Indonesian society. There were no lessons in cooking or cleaning because in the colony that work was done by servants. The girls had to learn to speak proper Dutch and do fine needlework. In 1916 the priests opened a school for European (in fact most often Eurasian) boys who were not recognized by their fathers. This school was led by the non-qualified teacher, Sister Alfred. In 1919 a Chinese parent applied for his son to be admitted to this school; after some discussion the head of the Catholic mission, the prefect apostolic, agreed. The admission of this pupil was the beginning of a major change. Within a few years a large number of Chinese parents wanted to send their children to the Catholic school.

The change of orientation from Europeans to Chinese is explained by the special character of Padang Chinese. Many of them had lived in Indonesia for several generations, had married local women, and spoke Malay. With the advance of the colonial period, they now preferred that their children learn Dutch as well. In 1923 the Tilburg friars arrived to serve the school, which was upgraded to a formal Hollandsch-Chineesche School. About the same time, the Tilburg sisters opened their Dutch-language school for Chinese girls (Aster 1961:28-30, 56-60). This new educational policy of the mission in fact caused a turn in attention from the European to the Chinese community of Padang. In the 1920s surrounding towns like Sawah Lunto, Bukittinggi,

and Payakumbuh saw Dutch-language schools opened, which attracted a large number of Chinese in addition to the European pupils. The school in Payakumbuh was nearly exclusively Chinese. More and more sisters from the Netherlands were requested for the schools in this region. In the vicariate apostolic of Padang alone, there were more than 200 sisters and 30 religious brothers active in the late 1930s in Dutch-language primary education. The sisters represented seven religious orders.

For the growth of the Catholic community these educational efforts were not so effective. The Chinese were eager to send their children to the mission school. They had no objection to the religious instruction given at the HCS, but very few of them converted. In fact, the Catholic centre of Padang was not really a dynamic missionary congregation, but rather a closed compound with many schools, chapels, and religious houses, sometimes nicknamed the 'Vatican of the Indies'. In Padang alone there were 40 Dutch sisters, most of them working in the schools, serving some 2,400 pupils (Hoogerhoud 1935:172-4). There was a solid, but slow and certainly not spectacular growth of Catholicism among the Chinese in Sumatra. There was never any report of a Minangkabau native converting to Christianity before World War II. The well-established identification of Islam with Minangkabau ethnic and cultural identity was never really challenged. Catholics remained a marginal minority, both among West Sumatran and Minangkabau society in general and even among the Europeans and Chinese of the region.

The booming and dynamic town of Medan was quite different from the more conservative, settled atmosphere of Padang. This was most evident among the European population. It was the risky plantation industry that dominated Medan, rather than the military and government administrators, state coal enterprise, and educational institutions that dominated Padang. The special atmosphere of Medan is reflected in the strategy of the three first Capuchin parish priests of Medan.

The first Capuchin friar in Medan was Franciscus (Father Camillus) A. Buil, born in 1877 and ordained to the priesthood in 1903.⁷ Before working in Sumatra, he had been active in the Kalimantan mission, at Laham, between 1903 and 1912. After his arrival in Medan in June 1912, he changed his Capuchin habit for the cassock of a diocesan priest, because he thought that more appropriate to the well-to-do lifestyle of his parishioners. His house was also provided with the most important needs of the newly rich: lavish

⁷ Capuchin names are difficult to identify: until 1950 they usually used only the religious name they received upon entering the Capuchin order, often with an indication of their place of birth. After 1950 they increasingly used their secular names. These secular names had a formal Latin form (used at baptism) and a shorter Dutch equivalent. Frans Buil is here called Franciscus. In the Capuchin order and in documents he was known until 1950 as Camillus van Pannerden, after the village where he was born. In the *Historische Ledenlijst Nederlandse Provincie der Minderbroeders Kapucijnen* (Hamers 1982) he is mentioned under C263.

furniture and a good supply of alcoholic beverages. He lived an easy lifestyle and joined in the pleasures of social life customary in colonial society for unmarried men who worked on plantations. Fellow Capuchin friars criticized him severely for his profligate lifestyle, and he left the service of the mission in 1915. Later in the Netherlands also left the order.

His successor in 1915 for the Medan parish was Father Jacobus (Dionysius) Pessers. He chose a completely different way. He lived the socially isolated lifestyle of orthodox Dutch Catholics. In matters of church attendance, marriage, the use of alcohol, and many other issues, he took a strong line. Those who did not fully agree, in theory and practice, with his orthodox doctrines were blamed and labelled as infidels or apostates. He even wrote in a letter to his Dutch superior that Catholic youth should be warned not to go to the east coast of Sumatra because of the danger of losing their faith. This suggestion was communicated by this Dutch superior to all the Dutch bishops (Brevoort 1993:209). His attitude, which was without any compromise or understanding of the special context of East Sumatra, brought him no results, and after a few years he had to ask for transfer to an easier post.

The third parish priest of Medan, Herman (Father Matthaeus) de Wolf, born in 1865, had his first experience in Indonesia in Sejiram (Kalimantan) between 1908 and 1917. After arriving in September 1917, he took yet a different strategy. He was not so much focussed on individual (sexual) morality but argued for social improvement on plantations. He defended the right to marriage for all people, including young Dutch administrators and Indonesian and Chinese coolies. He also promoted the idea of Sunday as a holiday, instead of the common practice on plantations to consider only payday (the first and sixteenth of every month) as free from work.⁸

Until 1918 the Catholics in Medan owned only a church and a parish house. There were no schools, contrary to most places, where schools were the most visible sign of Catholicism. The church was built on a large plot of land, centrally located. In 1918 the municipal authorities wanted to use part of this land for other activities in their strategy to embellish the growing city. This external threat pushed the missionaries to start a prestigious Dutch-language school on this prominent location. The girls' school did not open until 1923 (because the Dutch sisters who ran the school arrived only in that year after many problems) and the dormitory started in 1926. At that time it had to cope with competition from similar schools, one run by the Protestant church and one by the Freemasons, but finally the school had enough European and Eurasian pupils. In 1926 another group of sisters opened a dispensary, where they also provided some room for a dormitory for Batak children. Competing with the municipal hospital, the Catholic in-

⁸ On this contrast see Aster 1961:22 and 76, without the names of the priests, who can be found in Brevoort 1993:206-11.

stitute finally became the most prestigious hospital of Medan. As we will see below, the dormitory became the cradle of the Batak parish of Medan and the start of the Catholics' modest Batak mission.

Like the whole population of Medan, the Catholic community gradually became divided into different congregations. This was no planned strategy of apartheid, but pastoral practice moved step by step in this direction. Besides the 'European' church built on Paleisweg (now the cathedral on Jalan Pemuda), there was a small Tamil church for the hundred-odd Catholics of Tamil origin who had worked as coolies on the plantations of French planters. The most prominent of them was the De Guigné family, who had left East Sumatra in 1898. The French planters had recruited their coolies from the French colony Pondicherry in southeastern India. There was also a special Catholic school for Tamil children, which was closed in March 1924 because of decrease in the Tamil population of East Sumatra. Father Johannes (Ferdinandus) van Loon was sent to Penang in 1913 to learn Tamil. In 1914 he transferred the church from the former plantation of De Guigné (at Sungai Sikambing, far outside the town of Medan) to Kampung Keling. Owing to internal strife within the Capuchin group, Van Loon was sent to Sambong (Bangka) from 1919 to 1922. In 1922 he resumed working for the Tamils, but their number had already decreased by then, and the special school in Medan closed down in 1924 (Aster 1961:30-1; Brevoort 1993:213-8). The church and the school returned to the original plantation region of Petissah and continued as a special activity for Tamil-speaking Catholics until the Japanese period. Thanks to the large number of Dutch sisters, an orphanage with boarding school was opened in Petissah by the Saint Joseph sisters of Amersfoort.⁹

A separate centre of religious and educational activities was directed towards Chinese Catholics. The conclusion of this process was a Catholic church built on Hakkstraat in 1934 (now the Church of Christ the King, Jalan Merapi). It was located close to the Chinese market and was surrounded by a large compound of primary and secondary schools that had been the beginnings of this Chinese parish. In the early 1920s the school used English as the language of instruction, following a curriculum developed in Malaysia. Besides this school, later there were Dutch-language schools run by religious brothers and sisters. Their parish priest was Michiel (Marcellinus) Simons, who had studied Chinese in Amoy and led this parish from 1924 to 1942. When he returned from China and made an inventory of Chinese Catholics in Medan, he found only 30 faithful. After it became known that the Catholics had a priest who could speak Chinese, quite a few more 'remembered that they had been baptized'. In 1936 there were about 300 Chinese Catholics in Medan (Aster 1961:80-4).

Next I will discuss the mission's special attention to Batak Catholics in Medan concentrating on the parish church of Padang Boelanweg. After found-

⁹ Jaarboek 1940:200.



The Tamil community of Medan-Petissah in 1920 with the Capuchin friars (from left) Marcellinus Simons, Bishop liberatus Cluts and Marinus Spanjers. (From Boelaars 2005)

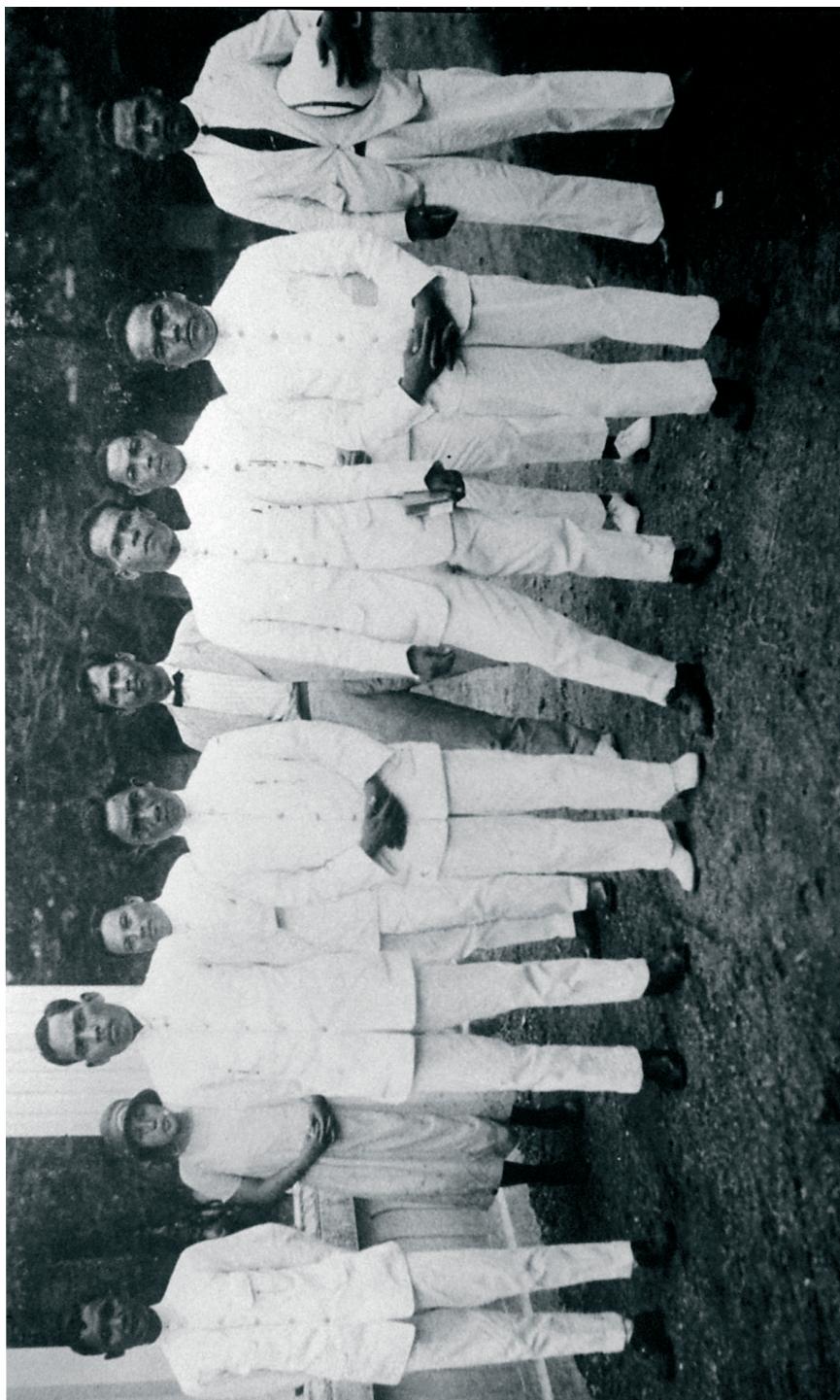
ing this last parish, there were in fact four different Catholic communities in town: white (European), Tamil, Chinese, and Batak. Protestant Christianity had similar divisions, but they were at the same time divisions between denominations: Methodism for the Chinese, Lutheranism of the Rhenish mission for Bataks, and the Reformed Protestant church for the Europeans and Eurasians.

The quest for the biggest prize on Sumatra: The mission to the Bataks

Between 1878 and 1884 the Jesuit C.W.J. Wenneker was the parish priest of Medan. He worked primarily among the European citizens and with some Tamil converts. But he had much interest in Batak culture and language and continued his contacts with Bataks even after his move to Batavia, where he worked from 1894 to 1916. One of his long-standing contacts in Batavia was one Elias Pandiangan, a Protestant Batak from Lumban Soit. This man translated the Catholic catechism into Toba-Batak. His two sons attended the Catholic school in Batavia and had embraced Catholicism. About 1912 Elias Pandiangan returned to the Batak lands, to the town of Tarutung. Wenneker had suggested that he present himself to the Capuchin friars in Padang before continuing his journey to Tarutung. In Padang Elias Pandiangan gave a good speech in favour of the Bataks and their alleged desire to embrace Catholicism. The new prefect apostolic, Capuchin friar Liberatus Cluts, was not impressed. He was only interested in pastoral care for the European population and lacked the ambition and courage to start missionary work in unknown territory. Elias Pandiangan, however, was not defeated. He suggested to other Batak friends that they go to the parish house in Padang to express the Batak desire for Catholicism. Cluts wrote soberly to his Dutch superior, 'Unfortunately we do not understand their language and they do not speak Malay.' Later he added a comment about rumours in Batavia that there was a movement among Bataks towards Catholicism, 'I have not seen much of this longing for spiritual help that people in Batavia are talking about. Sure, they ask for material help from the clergy. This may also be the reason that they seek support in Batavia. But we have no shelter for them, and are not able to give them food, clothes or sufficient pocket money. Is it only this that they are looking for? I have no reason to doubt this' (quoted in Aster 1959:37).

After World War I the German Protestant missionaries were in great difficulty. They were short of money and personnel. Batak people realized that the Germans had lost a war and that their reputation was not as solid as before. At this time several Protestant denominations, including Methodists, Baptists, and Adventists, entered the Batak lands. This resulted in the first schisms within the Batak Christian community. Some people also embraced Catholicism.

Between 1922 and 1924 scores of requests were sent to the new prefect of the Catholic mission in Padang, L.T.M. Brans. Nearly all of these were from



Medan 1926: the first Catholic Bataks after baptism. (Boelaars 2005)

one community (*marga*) and most of them were from Tarutung and Sipirok. Some were signed by 40 to 50 heads of families. In good formal modern Batak style these requests were written on a page of paper with an official tax stamp affixed. Some asked that a Catholic priest be sent as soon as possible to teach Catholicism, 'the mother of all Christian denominations'. Some were signed by Chinese, in combination with Bataks, for example a letter dated 4 May 1923 from Sibolga, that was signed by Amintas Simorangkir and Ghe Ek Hiang, a Batak and a Chinese. Many requests stressed the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Dutch government and the religious pluriformity that had characterized the Batak lands for several years.¹⁰

The first reaction of Prefect Apostolic Brans was an effort to start a Catholic school in Tarutung. He asked the head of the school in Tanjung Sakti, Menadonese Jos Tenangon, to come to the Batak lands, but this man refused. Other candidates also refused, and the idea of the Tarutung school was abandoned for some time (Aster 1959:44). At the same time more efforts were made to abolish article 123 of the colonial constitution, regulating the ban on 'double mission' by assigning a mission territory exclusively to one religious group. However, the Catholics in the Netherlands were not willing to make this a strong point in their cooperation with the Protestants, who defended this policy, both in the colony and in the Netherlands. Another strategy was a request to establish a permanent mission post in Sibolga, the 'watchtower for the Batak lands' and the capital of the residency of Tapanuli. This request was rejected in 1925. Another request, for an increase of pastoral trips to Sibolga from twice per year to every month, was again rejected in 1927. On 15 May 1928 a Catholic member of parliament in the Netherlands criticized the Minister of Colonial Affairs for this policy by asking questions. The negative answer came only on 25 March 1929.¹¹

Only in early 1930 was permission given for a residential priest in the town of Sibolga, and in 1933 this was extended to the whole territory of Tapanuli. In 1939 permission was obtained to start missionary work on the island of Nias. But problems continued. After a first official visit to the village of Lölöwua on Nias, where the priest had distributed leaflets with summaries of Catholic doctrine, the police gathered up all the leaflets and accused the priest of illicit propaganda and abuse of government facilities (Aster 1959:58-60).

Notwithstanding the prominent position of the town of Sibolga in the struggle for formal permission to work in the Batak lands, this town, although effective as an entry to Nias, was not so effective for the expansion

¹⁰ For a summary of these letters see Aster 1959:41-3; texts in Driesen 1928:125-7. See also Weitjens 1969.

¹¹ See also the National Archives, The Hague, NA 2.10.36, Vb 26-2-1929/27 which has a large collection of documents relating to the establishment of a mission post in Sibolga and a Catholic missionary among the Batak.

of Catholicism to the Bataks. This started from the town of Medan with Pematang Siantar as a good mediator.

As previously noted, it was an initiative of an outsider that led to the opening in Medan in 1923 of a Dutch-language school for pupils of European offspring. This happened under the more dynamic leadership of Prefect Apostolic Matthias Brans, who became prefect after the death of the cautious and timid Liberatus Cluts on 23 April 1921. Moreover, in 1923 the SCJ took over Bengkulu and the SSCC took over Bangka and Belitung giving the Capuchin friars more personnel and greater financial scope to take initiatives in North Sumatra.

In 1925 for the first time two adult Batak men petitioned the Catholic parish in Medan to become Catholic. After the usual period of catechism lessons, they were baptized in Medan at Easter in 1926. At that time, the Dutch-language school started a Malay-language school in the afternoons, which was transformed into a high-quality Dutch-language school for natives (HIS) in 1927. The school became very attractive for Bataks and by 1935 had some 400 pupils. The many Protestant schools for Bataks that were subsidized were all Malay speaking. The Catholic school could provide prestigious Dutch-language education without subsidies, and so became the heart of the activities of the Batak parish of Medan, where Father Marinus Spanjers concentrated on work among the Bataks. His church on Padang Boelanweg became the centre for the Batak mission of Medan. The official 'History of Catholicism in Indonesia' proudly noted that 'there was a Catholic parish even before the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan had opened its own congregation'.¹² This is true in the sense that only on 5 August 1928 was a formal congregation with a fully ordained minister of the HKBP established. But in 1912 a Batak congregation guided by a lay preacher and teacher had begun. Besides, the number of Catholic Bataks never could equal that of the Protestants. Nevertheless, Protestant Bataks gradually moved from the central highlands to the coast, while Catholic Bataks moved, with many problems and difficulties, from coastal Medan to Pematang Siantar and from there further inland.

From Medan a Catholic priest regularly visited the European Catholics of Pematang Siantar. In 1929 a permit was granted – without any problems – for a priest to settle permanently in that town. This was quite different from the situation in Sibolga. Apparently, Dutch colonial officials wanted to keep the Batak lands as a Protestant territory, a 'Christian country' in the words of Hendrik Kraemer (1958:50-5).¹³ Pematang Siantar became the main sta-

¹² 'Tidak dapat pula dilewatkan kenyataan, bahwa di Medan sudah ada sebuah paroki Katolik, sebelum gereja *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* didirikan' in: Muskens 1974:23 (in the contribution by L. Fäh).

¹³ This is the translation of a report from 1930. In this report Kraemer (1958:50-5) pays a great deal of attention to relations with Muslims in the southern Batak lands, but he does not mention the Catholics, who were an insignificant minority compared to the 600,000 Batak Protestants of that time.

tion of the Catholic mission. In the 1930s eight more permanent stations were founded, with a large number of outposts, where only a chapel or a small school was built. The highest percentage of Catholics was reached on the island of Samosir: 24% of the population in the 1950s.

Comparative statistics European and Batak Catholics¹⁴

Stations	European Catholics		Batak (incl. Chinese)	
	1932	1939	1932	1939
Balige	—	6	—	—
Lintong ni Huta	—	—	—	1,467
Pematang Siantar	148	241	69	1,649
Sawah Dua (Panei)	—	—	—	850
Saribu Dolok (Karo)	—	—	—	584
Sibuntuon Bagasan	—	2	—	873
Sibolga	162	128	73	588
Sidikalang (Dairi)	—	6	—	140
Simbolon (Samosir)	—	1	—	1,201

One of the few collective conversions in this region, where the Protestant mission had been active since the 1860s, occurred in 1935 in the hamlet of Lumban Pea, only 5 kilometres from Balige. Shortly after Sybrandus van Rossum had settled as the first priest at the permanent station of Balige, he was approached by a very old man, Ompu ni Hobul Tambunan, dressed in traditional Batak clothing. He was the village head of Lumban Pea and had witnessed the visit of the Italian geographer Elia Modigliani and his guide Guru Somalaing in 1891 (Steenbrink 2003:64). Modigliani was considered to be an envoy of Raja Rum, an older brother of the legendary Batak King Si Singamangaraja. According to the later interpretation of Guru Somalaing, who had joined Modigliani on his exploration from the Ahana Falls of Habinsaran to the east coast of Sumatra, the Italian explorer had suggested that Bataks not accept Protestantism, but wait for a messenger from the Raja Rum (meaning the Pope of Rome, not the Sultan of Istanbul who is also called Raja Rum in classical Malay texts). There were a number of villages in this region that concentrated on this message and had formulated a doctrine of salvation that mixed traditional, Muslim, and Catholic elements (veneration of the Virgin Mary) to make a new religious doctrine and practice, labelled Parmalim. In the 1920s they had caused some problem for the colonial power and even organized violent resistance under the name of Parmalim. The Capuchin priest Van Rossum visited the village of Lumban Pea, and all thirty families decided to embrace Catholicism. They

¹⁴ Adapted from *Jaarboek* 1932:135 and *Jaarboek* 1940:187. Only in Sibolga was there a considerable number of Chinese among the Catholics.



1935: The solemn welcome of three Capuchin Friars (from left) Aurelius Kerkers, Sybrandus van Rossum and Diego van den Biggelaar by Ompu ni Hobul and his wife in Lumban Pea. (Boelaars 2005)

followed catechism classes and were baptized. There were many other villages in more remote areas where Parmalim doctrines were still espoused, but there were no collective conversions, only a few individuals who decided to embrace Catholicism. In general, Parmalim can be considered a quite conservative and even escapist traditional ideology for people who did not want to send their children to school, wear modern clothes, or pay taxes. Catholicism here was also a symbol of a new culture and civilization (Aster 1959:103-22).

The spread and consolidation of Catholicism was much less a clerical affair than it was among Europeans and Chinese. In 1939 there were 201 sisters and 32 lay brothers active in the vicariate of Padang. With the exception of one Chinese sister, they were all Dutch. The majority of them worked at Dutch-language schools, and about one third of the sisters in hospitals and dispensaries. Nearly all this work was done for European and Chinese people. The Batak mission was mostly served by lay teachers and catechists. The nine permanent stations had many outer stations, often with a small chapel where a catechist gathered the faithful on Sundays and sometimes also in the evenings. About half of these outer stations had three-year Malay-language primary schools.¹⁵

In the bigger towns, Catholic life was arranged as in the Netherlands, with Sunday mass for ordinary believers and daily mass for the very pious, many organizations, and certainly Catholic education for boys and girls under the direction of sisters and lay brothers. In the Batak lands this was very different. The daily centre of religious life was only the family or the catechist, serving as lay leader of a small local congregation. In many of these outer stations, a priest came only once every four to eight weeks. After arrival he heard confessions, talked with the people, gave instruction, said mass, and left.¹⁶

There were many debates between Catholics and Protestants in this region, where Catholics were considered intruders in Protestant territory, just as they had been in Minahasa. Most Protestant objections were theological, concerning differences in doctrine and in the orthodoxy of practice. From the Catholic side the advantages of their religion over Protestantism were mostly expressed in cultural terms. Catholics liked to show their appreciation of Batak traditional culture. One of the first signs was the furniture in the church of Balige, which included a Batak altar and ceremonial chairs. The traditional large funerals were banned by the Protestant mission as an expression of paganism, and those who continued to attend such ceremonies were excommunicated from the church. In this matter the Catholics were more lenient. Too overtly pagan ceremonies and prayers had to be discarded, but under the label of 'expressions of piety for the ancestors' many traditions could be continued. After World War II there were even plans to hold such a ceremony in commemoration of Father Benjamin Dijkstra, the most popular missionary

¹⁵ *Jaarboek 1940:189-202.*

¹⁶ There is a description of this pastoral practice of short visits in Aster 1959:171-2.

Main or permanent station with resident priest	Number of outer stations	Schools
Balige	27	12 (three with a 5-year course)
Lintong ni Huta	25	10 (two with a 5-year course)
Pematang Siantar	30	12 (two with a 5-year course)
Panei (Sawah Dua)	15	8
Saribu Dolok	15	8
Sibuntuon Bagasan	14	5
Sibolga	10	about 4
Sidikalang	15	5 (one with a 5-year course)
Simbolon	21	19 (two with a 5-year course)

of Samosir, who died in a Japanese internment camp. There was also a plan to build a large monument for him. It was not religious objections but mere practical problems that prevented this ceremony from taking place. Benjamin Dijkstra is remembered as the first priest to join in the dancing around the corpse during a burial ceremony. Dijkstra told his flock that this dance could be understood in the traditional way as a method to appease the spirit of the deceased and to prevent this spirit from harming the living. And according to a Catholic interpretation, the body of the deceased had to be honoured as a temple of the Holy Spirit and the dance could be seen as an expression of gratitude to God for his or her life. Processions were a popular practice in pre-Vatican II Catholicism in the Netherlands. In the Indies they were favoured by the Capuchin friars as public demonstrations of the Catholic faith. A dancer with a sword opened the row of faithful, as in traditional Batak ceremonial processions. The sprinkling of rice as an invocation or prayer was continued. The holy drums could also be used in the new religion, while an *ulos*, traditional cape or pelerine, could be offered to prominent people. The *ulos* was also used by the clergy at ceremonies to underline their prominent position in the congregation. For centuries Capuchin friars have been known for their optimistic lifestyle. Unlike the austere German missionaries, they did not ban alcohol and they loved jokes, even about religion. Culturally, they probably connected more easily with many aspects of Batak society than did German Protestant missionaries. In any case, they established a multi-religious society by offering a choice between traditional religion, Protestantism, and Catholicism, even for inhabitants of the most remote areas. Islam (also making progress in minor towns and small villages), Protestantism, and Catholicism – these were the three main options for modern Batak society. Notwithstanding this positive attitude towards Batak culture, Capuchin friars did not do much in the way of studying it. One exception is that in 1980 the Capuchin bishop of Sibolga wrote his dissertation on the Batak idea of God (Sinaga 1981).

Nias and other western islands

In 2000 the diocese of Sibolga had 182,885 Catholics. Of these, 127,123 or 69.5% lived on the island of Nias. This is about 18% of the total population of 700,000, which further included around 10% Muslims and 65% Protestants. The history of this community goes back to the late 1930s, similar, in a way, to the origin of the Batak mission. It was Nias people living outside the island who took the initiative to promote Catholicism.

The island of Nias has a language and culture that is quite different from any culture on 'mainland' Sumatra. The island had no strong trading community. It was a rather closed society, internally differentiated into social classes. Until the end of the colonial period there was a sharp distinction between the traditional ruling warrior class, the free commoners, and the landless slaves (many of whom continued to be sold to Aceh until the end of the nineteenth century). Until the 1920s the great Indian and Muslim traditions did not really influence this island, which is considered a good example of the 'original' Austronesian culture of the archipelago. The most spectacular remnant of this past is the ritual jumping ceremony over high heaps of stones, part of large megalithic structures built as ritual places. Nias had a rich oral literature that was saved partly through linguistic studies by Protestant and Catholic missionaries.¹⁷

In 1865 the German missionary of the RMG, L.E. Denninger, started work at the main harbour, Gunung Sitoli. Nias proved to be a closed society and mission work started very slowly. By 1890 there had been only some 700 baptized, most of them in Gunung Sitoli and surrounding villages. As in the Batak lands, the mission in Nias started a school system subsidized by the colonial government. It was, however, not the move towards modernity, originating from school and modern society, that led to Christianity. In December 1915 an indigenous movement emphasizing repentance started, and this created a large number of 'reborn' Christians. On the whole, the Protestant church doubled its membership between 1916 and 1921. It grew so fast that, with the exception of the coastal regions, where many migrants settled and some Nias people embraced Islam and where the 10% Muslims live, the rest of Nias was considered a Christian or Protestant territory. In 1936 the first synod of an independent Protestant church of Nias came together. It was able to survive the Japanese occupation.

When Catholicism arrived in the late 1930s, Protestant leaders were quite upset. Protestant (and German) historian Theodor Müller-Krüger (1968:284) wrote angrily:

¹⁷ For the most recent example of a Catholic missionary see the book by Capuchin friar Johannes Maria Hämerle 1999. RMG Missionary Heinrich Sundermann compiled a grammar (1913) and a dictionary of the Nias language (1905).



A Catholic altar in Batak style, woodcarving by an artist from Porsea,
sent to the International Missionary Exhibition in Rome.

Now in the church of Balige. (Boelaars 2005)

Around 1940 the Catholic mission invaded the already Christianized island with a full workforce and turned especially the southern districts of Nias into a theatre for a rival and unfriendly counter-mission. Through this regrettable condition this young church was compelled to ask more and more assistance from the German mission. With ecumenical help the schools were extended and a second modern hospital in the south was founded. In addition the number of European missionaries was doubled in order to compete with the Catholic initiative.¹⁸

The Protestant mission in Nias experienced two native counter-movements which resulted in minor separate churches. These groups of people, who were not satisfied with the relatively authoritarian German missionaries, sent several requests to Catholic missionaries to start a mission. On the basis of these requests and the government's more lenient attitude towards double mission in the late 1930s, in August 1939 a Capuchin friar, Burchardus van der Weijden, was finally allowed to enter the territory as a missionary. He started in the southern district, as far away as possible from the northern capital Gunung Sitoli. According to the Catholics there were still many pagan people in the south, while they regarded the great 'revival' of the period 1916-1921 more as a creative and sound compromise between traditional religion and Christianity. Van der Weijden, together with his colleague Ildefons van Straalen who arrived in early 1940, started a Catholic centre in the largest southern village of Hilisimaetanö (close to Teluk Dalam), where they opened a resident religious training course. Those who had followed this six-month course went back to their villages as propagandists of the Catholic faith. In early 1942, when the missionaries were sent to Japanese internment camps, there were already 300 baptized Catholics and some 1,500 people taking catechism.

The graduates of this first generation of these training courses proved to be steadfast. Without any outside financial support they continued work for the next eight years because expatriate missionaries did not return until 1950. Two teachers from the first generation became the principal leaders, Singamböwö Harefa (from northern Gunung Sitoli) and Sohiro Dachi (from southern Nias). They appointed catechists, baptized new members after proper instruction, and cared for the still very young Catholic community. After the expatriate missionaries returned, Harefa could not adjust to being relegated to a modest role on the back benches and was dismissed by the returning missionaries. The Catholic initiative before the Japanese occupation and independence did not create a dominant Catholic culture, but rather another minority denomination, as is the case with all the other small Catholic flocks scattered over so many areas of Sumatra.

¹⁸ In his description Müller-Krüger, like many Protestants and Catholics, uses quasi-military terminology. On p. 277 he writes of 1915, 'Nachdem die gesamte Insel missionarisch besetzt war [...]'] (After the whole island has been occupied through missionary means [...]).

Sungaiselan and Pangkal Pinang: The volatile migrant communities of Bangka and Belitung

Among the many small initiatives of the Catholic mission in Sumatra, only the Batak mission developed into a fast-growing community in the 1930s, although there are still a number of tiny groups amidst the Protestant majority. There was also some progress among the Javanese settlers in South Sumatra. For other regions many initiatives did not develop further. One example of such a 'poor legacy' was the mission among the Chinese of Bangka. As we have seen in the first volume, this mission had started with the initiative of a Chinese physician, Tsjen On Ngie, born in China and baptized in Penang in 1827, after which he settled in 1830 in Sungaiselan, Bangka. This man had stayed in contact with the Catholic clergy of Singapore and had collected a number of believers around his house, where he had installed a prayer room, looking in many respects like a Catholic chapel, with statues and other paraphernalia. From 1853 to 1858 there was a resident priest at Sungaiselan who also often served a broad range of diaspora Catholics, sometimes as far away as Medan and Pontianak. In 1871 Tsen On Ngie died, and after that for some time a new priest was residential in Sungaiselan, but there was not much growth in the small flock of Catholic Chinese. Many Chinese returned to China after their period of duty in the tin mines, and Catholicism became more and more the religion of poor and old coolies who had no other place to go. In 1899 the station turned once more into a place that was visited only a few times per year. The number of Catholics was never much higher than about 400 (out of some 40,000 Chinese), and later decreased significantly.

In 1912 the Capuchin friar Piet (Remigius) van Hoof became the resident parish priest of Sungaiselan after the Sumatra mission was entrusted to the Capuchins in 1911. Because of the reallocation of tin mining, the centre of the mission moved to Sambong in 1918, some 8 kilometres from Pangkalpinang. In 1919 Van Hoof opened a small boarding school there under his personal supervision, but it was closed again in 1922. In 1924 the next order to take care of this mission arrived, the SSCC priests, formally Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium Jesus et Mariae (Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary). During the debate about the partition of the mission of Sumatra in 1911, it had already been speculated that Bangka and Belitung would become a separate prefecture. By Vatican decree of 1913 the German branch of the SSCC would become responsible for this region. Because of losses of personnel and money during World War I, however, this was transferred to the Dutch branch of the SSCC by a decree in 1923.

Since 1848 the mission in Bangka had concentrated its work on migrant Chinese workers. Only the poorest and weakest of them stayed on in Bangka after the end of their period of duty. Most of them were unmarried and many of them were addicted to opium. This was an unstable congregation without

any promise, as was proved by the stagnation in numbers. The SSCC tried to change this emphasis on coolies to *peranakan*, Chinese who had established families and had decided to stay in Indonesia. Large investments in personnel were an attempt to make this shift in the congregation, but without satisfactory results. In 1939 there were 484 European and 853 Chinese Catholics in the prefecture (among them about 200 ex-miners who stayed in a home for the aged). 21 priests (one priest for 64 faithful), 17 lay brothers, and 23 sisters served these 1,337 Catholics.¹⁹ This made the Bangka mission the region with the proportionately largest group of foreign missionaries serving their flock. The brothers and sisters worked in six kindergartens, six Dutch-language and two English-language primary schools for Chinese (HCS and ECS). In these schools there were only seven lay teachers besides the 29 members of religious orders. As a motto for his coat of arms, the second prefect apostolic Bouma chose 'Unless the Lord builds'. The priests made jokes about his strategy, and deemed that this text was rightly chosen because of the many schools he built.²⁰ The schools were not large and had an average of about seventy pupils and three teachers. As in other Chinese communities of Indonesia such as Pontianak, Padang, and Medan, Chinese parents wanted to send their children to Catholic schools, but were hesitant to embrace Catholicism in a decisive way, and in fact only a small minority of pupils were Catholic. On the whole, however, private Chinese schools remained much more popular than Dutch-language mission or state schools. With the exception of the island of Java, the THHK, an association to promote Confucianist reform of local Chinese culture, was nowhere so popular as in Bangka. THHK was founded in 1901 to reform and modernize the small traditional Chinese schools where some classical texts and traditional rituals were taught. In 1899 Bangka and Belitung counted 63 Chinese schools of the traditional type. From the beginning of the twentieth century, however, modern THHK schools grew rapidly. In 1930 there were no less than forty private Chinese primary schools, more than four times the number of Catholic schools. On the whole, the Catholic presence remained a small minority, even among Chinese. In 1936 the territory of the prefecture of Bangka (also including Belitung and the Riau and Bintang archipelagoes) had 413,668 inhabitants, 158,960 of whom were of Chinese origin. Among this large number the 800 Catholics were still a very tiny minority. Out of the 2,139 Europeans about 20 to 25% were Catholic.²¹ As

¹⁹ Groenen 1936:289-93 has an astonishing comparison of statistics, probably by general editor P.G. Groenen. In Java one priest served an average of 522 faithful; in Flores and Timor it was 3,198, in Dutch New Guinea one priest served 1,021 faithful, in Kalimantan 193, in Sulawesi 950. These large differences have continued up to the present; see Boelaars 1991:195. In Bangka and Belitung for the year 1936 there were 56 Catholics per priest. Without doubt the Bangka mission was the most clerical of the whole archipelago!

²⁰ Latin text: *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit*, Psalm 127:1, in full: 'Unless the Lord builds the house, its builders labour in vain'. See Molenkamp 1994:6 on this critical comment.

²¹ After *Indisch Verslag* 1937:15.

to the Europeans, the clergy's standard complaint was that they were much less active in their religion than the Catholics of the Netherlands.

During the final years of his activities in Bangka, the Capuchin father Van Hoof had opened a rubber plantation. The plot of land was granted by the *resident* as a kind of stimulus or even hidden subsidy for the development of education. The colonial administration had opened an HCS, a Dutch-language school for Chinese, in Pangkalpinang, Sungailiat and Belinyu, and suggested that the Catholic mission should open HCSs in other large settlements (Muskens 1974:230). The plantation was initially unsuccessful, and the SSCC started a pepper plantation on this land for financial support of their mission. The price of pepper fluctuated, but in several years the plantation was quite important for the continuation of their activities.

In 1926 Vitus Bouma – who in 1928 would become the successor to the first prefect, Theodosius Herkenrath, who had returned to his former mission of Hawaii – spent some time in Singapore, learning Chinese, before starting work in Bangka.²² In 1928 the first SSCC priest was sent to Ipoh in Malaysia to study Chinese. He was followed by a dozen colleagues. After 1935 young priests had to spend one or two years in China before they started work in the prefecture. This was a truly Chinese mission and in the 1920s and 1930s the study of Chinese was taken very seriously. Studying Chinese in Malaysia was quite complicated, because there was no proper educational institute, and initially the priests had no idea what dialect was needed for Bangka and surrounding islands. Several missionaries spent a long time studying a useless dialect. Engelmund Tromp, who studied in Ipoh in 1933, wrote about his own experience with his Chinese lay teacher, his Chinese priest-tutor, the sacristan, and several others who, one after the other, completely reworked his first sermon, because it was still not understandable. The last corrector remarked that the priest should not worry about this: 'It is quite common that priests preach in a language that we cannot understand. And, indeed, nobody could correctly understand the content of my sermon' (quoted in Steenbrink 1970:38). Although command of the Chinese language was considered very urgent for pastoral practice, this eagerness to learn did not extend to Chinese culture or religion, or to those aspects of Chinese culture promoted by THHK. Missionaries learning Chinese recorded very little about Confucianism. Neither was there much debate about Buddhism or Taoism in missionary circles. The strategy of the Catholic mission can be described as being directed towards accommodation to the dominant national culture of Indonesia. Chinese was used as a medium of communication for practical purposes, but it was not important as a culture or a religion, at least not for the mission.

²² Like several others, Bouma learned the wrong dialect, not the Hakka that was the most common Chinese dialect in the region.

For practical purposes the mission cultivated Chinese connections. In the early 1930s the SSCC bought a house in Singapore as a centre to manage the import of goods for the mission. This Chinese connection is also visible in the education of the first diocesan priest of Indonesia, Jan Boen Thiam Kiat (born in 1908; renamed Mario John Bunyanto in independent Indonesia), who in the late 1910s and early 1920s attended Van Hoof's primary school. From his early youth he was said to have been a very pious boy. On the occasion of his ordination to the priesthood, it was recorded that as a young boy he lived some 6 kilometres from the mission station of Sambong but came to mass every morning on an empty stomach to receive holy communion. From 1927 to 1929 he received private Latin and other lessons from Prefect Vitus Bouma. In 1929 he started his theological education at the major seminary in Penang, and later he finished his study of theology in Hong Kong. He was ordained as a priest in 1935 in Pangkalpinang. Pastor Boen became a dedicated parish priest, known for his generosity to the poor. He served the community until his death on 31 May 1982.²³

The choice of Jan Boen for diocesan priesthood, rather than becoming a member of the SSCC, was in tune with the official Vatican strategy of the 1930s, which supported the establishment of local churches. Along these same lines, the Dutch sisters of the prefecture, the Zusters der Voorzienigheid (Sisters of Providence, from Amsterdam), who had started arriving in 1925, did not opt for Sino-Indonesian members. At the suggestion of Prefect Vitus Bouma, a new and independent order of Sino-Indonesian sisters, the 'Little Sisters of the Holy Family', was founded in 1937. The example for this initiative may have been the founding, in 1931, of a congregation of Chinese sisters by an SSCC missionary in Hainan, P. Juliette (Molenkamp 1994:21). The initiative started with three girls who had stayed in Belinyu at the sisters' boarding school, then continued to live there as working girls and wanted to go on with their life in the convent. As in similar cases elsewhere, Dutch sisters trained the new order, but their rules were written by male clergy. The candidates were by that time between 16 and 18 years old. One, Boen A Djauw, was a daughter of a catechist and a mother who was a cook for the sisters in Mentok. The second candidate, Agnes Thjin Siam Djioe, was baptized with her family in 1935, the first converts of the Chinese priest Jan Boen. The third candidate was Tjen A Loen, the daughter of respected Catholic parents (Molenkamp 1994:36-7). On 14 March 1938 Prefect Apostolic Bouma sent a formal request to the Vatican to ask for recognition of this new congregation, and this was granted on 26 April 1938. The three young candidate sisters had only primary education. Therefore they received some additional courses in Dutch and other subjects. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia the sisters, together with the catechists and Pastor Boen, took care of the various mission stations. Tjen A Loen did

²³ There is an obituary in C. Rademakers 1999:115. Also in Molenkamp 1994:54-61.

not continue her preparations to become a sister, but the other two persisted and in 1946 were the beginning of a further development of an Indonesian congregation that by 1997 had 28 sisters and 6 candidates under the name of Kongregasi Suster Dina Keluarga Suci dari Pangkalpinang (KKS).

The Bangka mission was a Chinese and European endeavour; there were no initiatives taken to approach the Malay Muslims of the region. It was taken for granted that no converts could be made among them, and the only purpose of the mission was to found a local church based on conversions.

Tanjung Sakti: A small pocket of Catholics in the mountains of Bukit Barisan

In 1900 Tanjung Sakti was the second mission station in western Indonesia to concentrate on non-Europeans. It was even somewhat more successful than Sungaiselan. At that time it had 340 Catholics. This was the result of the final phase of the race between Christianity and Islam in this region. There were only a few small pockets of mountain people who decided to embrace Christianity between 1888 and 1900. In 1912 this number had risen to 718.²⁴ After that, the number of Catholics remained more or less stable or even decreased. The statistics for 1939 show only 315 Catholics for the small mission station of Tanjung Sakti. Even a school and a hospital led by ten Dutch sisters could not produce a higher number of Catholics in this predominantly Muslim region.

Between 1898 and 1912 the Jesuit W. Jennissen served the parish of Tanjung Sakti. For several years, however, he was on duty in Padang owing to a lack of priests there. He also served the Catholic diaspora of Bengkulu and could not give much attention to his parish in the foothills of Bukit Barisan. Physically the Catholic presence looked bad because of earthquakes that had destroyed the tower and ceiling of the church. The first Capuchin priest, Remigius van Hoof, who had taken over the parish from Jennissen on 25 May 1912, had bitter comments on the quality of his parishioners, 'If I can find five true Catholics among them, I would be surprised. They only come to me begging for something. If they do not receive something, they say, "For what should I continue to be a Christian?"' (quoted in Muskens 1974:169).²⁵ In the early years of the Capuchin mission the inexperienced priests had to move often because of the mission's wish to expand quickly. Gerrit (Eleutherius) Holstra, successor to Van Hoof, tried to rebuild the church and to build a house for sisters who would come to improve the school. However, he was soon in conflict with many local people about payments for wood and work. To start work he had made advance payments to some people who later did not fulfil their promises. In lawsuits with

²⁴ From statistics in *Claverbond* 1913:219. In the second half of the twentieth century Tanjung Sakti remained a small Catholic community. In 1997 the parish had only 448 Catholics: *Buku Petunjuk* 1997:214.

²⁵ There are other comments by the same priest in Brevoort 1993:229-30.

the *controleur* he thereupon asked his money back. This caused quite a tense situation between the mission and the local Muslim population.

This was the turbulent period of the rise of Sarekat Islam in 1912-1914. The converts of the Catholic mission were mostly tribal people, semi-nomads who had settled among the Muslim Malays. By converting to Catholicism they considered themselves more or less independent of the Malay village heads.²⁶ The history of the mission shows many conflicts about the implementation of *adat*, which was imposed even on tribal people. The self-confidence of Muslims had increased through the national movements of Sarekat Islam. This caused tensions with the Catholic mission, even in faraway Tanjung Sakti. The most serious series of conflicts started on 26 August 1913 with the theft of a precious ciborium in which consecrated hosts were stored. Two hosts were found on the ground and it was clear that the thieves had trampled on them. Quite suddenly, in July and August of 1914, hundreds of Catholics from Tanjung Sakti came to the parish priest to tell him that they had converted to Islam. Holstra wrote on August 1914 that only some 150 Catholics were left out of more than 600. This dramatic development even attracted some attention in Batavia. A legal expert, J.C. Kielstra, was sent to study the legal position of Christians in the structure of customary law. On 23 February 1915 he discussed the matter with the *controleur* and they decided that Christians would have a separate village head and that they would be given a village of their own. In July that same year the building of this 'Catholic village', later called *Dusun Baru* or New Village, began but it never really was a success because people were unwilling to move to this remote place and preferred to stay in their existing homes (Brevoort 1993:233-4; Muskens 1974:169). Later this failure was called a strategy dictated by panic (Aster 1961:49). With more government help in the years 1915-1916, three schools in neighbouring villages were opened. However, notwithstanding pressure from the side of the *controleur*, very few pupils came to these schools. Several parents even sent their children to the district capital Manna, where they boarded with Muslim relatives or friends and attended a government school. The missionaries supposed that the village chiefs had exerted pressure on villagers not to send their children to a Catholic school, but they never could give firm evidence of this.

In 1917 the first group of seven sisters arrived. Their average age was 54. They heralded a new strategy for the mission of Tanjung Sakti. Starting out as a community of very poor people, some of them still semi-nomads who came to the mission post as beggars, the mission now became a centre of education. In 1919 the first teachers from Menado arrived. After the boarding schools for girls, a dormitory for boys was opened to ensure a large number of pupils for the schools. In the early 1920s the first candidates for teacher training school were sent to Woloan. But even these large investments in money and

²⁶ On this ongoing conflict see also Persoon 1994:181-8.

personnel could not turn this small station into a vibrant centre. In the 1930s the first candidate for the priesthood, Antonius Gentiaras, finished the minor seminary at Woloan (Minahasa), and was sent to the major seminary of the SCJ priests in the Netherlands. However, he suffered from tuberculosis, returned to Indonesia, continued his studies in Muntilan, and died in 1939 before being ordained.²⁷ It seemed as if the story of Tanjung Sakti could not include more positive elements!

In September 1924 the first priests of the SCJ arrived to take over South Sumatra from the Capuchin friars. From the beginning, Tanjung Sakti was their main, and for some time, their only station. Thus the new division of the mission was called the prefecture of Bengkulu (formally founded 27 December 1923). But by 1925 Palembang was founded as a central mission post and soon became the centre for the Catholics of South Sumatra. Starting 13 June 1939 the region was officially called the vicariate apostolic of Palembang.

On the religion of the tribal people of Tanjung Sakti, the Kubu, anthropologists and missionaries held a curious debate. Controleur G.J. van Dongen published several articles in 1906 and 1908 on a small clan of this tribe, the Ridan-Kubu, as an example of a people who had no religion whatsoever. This was against the accepted theory among Catholic missionaries, who followed Wilhelm Schmidt's idea of *Urmonotheismus*, that in all peoples of the world traces of an original monotheism can be found. It turned out that Van Dongen's observations were made during a period that was no longer than five days. The Ridan-Kubu clan had died out in 1908 due to smallpox, but observations among other Kubu clans produced many examples of shamanistic rituals and myths that showed the Kubu were not a case of absolute absence of religion. However, as far as missionary strategy was concerned, this was merely an academic debate because there was not much real interest in Kubu culture and religion, nor were there efforts to attain a deeper understanding during this period with the Capuchin friars or the SCJ priests.²⁸

Lampung and Palembang: New Catholic communities thanks to colonial migration policies

The Catholic mission in the city of Palembang and in the capital of Lampung, Tanjung Karang, followed the general pattern for the larger towns of Sumatra, where Catholics were concentrated among the European and Chinese communities. Besides the conventional presence of a small group of Catholics (in 1939

²⁷ On his tragic fate see also Wouters 1939:170-2. Here it says that this vocation to the priesthood was the only reason to continue the problematic and unsuccessful work of the mission in Tanjung Sakti.

²⁸ Van Dongen 1910:177-333; 1938:16-9; Jak 1937:181-8; Vroklage 1949:64-8.

in the vicariate apostolic of Palembang, including Lampung, Bengkulu, and Jambi, there were 1,851 European and 2,471 non-European Catholics), there were two quite different groups as the result of internal Indonesian migration.

The best-known programme of resettlement was the *transmigratie* of Javanese farmers to the Outer Islands, with Lampung being a principal destination in the 1930s. On a much smaller scale, there was also resettlement of poor Eurasians. One of these was the Catholic initiative for Pulau Laut, off the southern coast of Kalimantan. In Lampung the main organization of the Eurasians, IEV, had started a resettlement programme close to Tanjung Karang, in the village called 'De Giesting' (now Gisting, known for its thousand springs). It was started about 1918. In 1936 the SCJ missionaries opened a post for a permanent priest here, because about half of its population of 300 people (in 1938) were Catholics. Most of these Eurasians came from urban areas and were not very successful at farming. Besides, world market prices for coffee were very low in the 1930s and the Eurasians could not make much more profit than the native farmers, who were used to a much cheaper lifestyle. This all made the colonization of Gisting a failure, and the large number of mission personnel in the 1930s that was partly used for this colonization could not do much to improve their situation. An SCJ brother (Odulphus van Gisbergen) had started a boarding school that concentrated on agricultural skills, but its impact was not great enough to contribute to the development of the settlement. In fact, it was already a shrinking project in the later 1930s, when the mission started initiatives in other places (Hermelink 1939:25-31).²⁹

In 1905 the colonial government had started encouraging the migration of poor farmers from densely populated Java to 'empty' regions. Lampung was one of these 'empty' regions. In the 1930s the SCJ priests started work in Lampung, concentrating on the new towns for these migrants, Pringsewu (1932), Metro (1937), and Karangsari (1939). The main post became Pringsewu, where Franciscan sisters of Denekamp opened a Javanese-Malay boarding school, a Dutch-language HIS school, and a hospital. By 1937 the permanent station of Pringsewu was already serving 20 outer stations with 11 village schools. All these activities were aimed at Javanese migrants. Some of these migrants were poor Catholics who had arrived from Central Java. The parish priest of Pringsewu tried to be present when boats arrived with new settlers. Once he saw a large group of 12 families from one village, with their village head, who came off the boat in procession style with a boy of nine years old, son of the village head, bearing a cross painted in blue, made from simple materials. The priest, visible because of his cassock, guided them to his flock and asked rather optimistically, 'Shall we conquer Sumatra through the Javanese?'³⁰ This hope was never realized, but the migrant Javanese, rather

²⁹ On the Gisting project see also Bosma 1997:397-8.

³⁰ 'Zullen we door den Javaan Sumatra voor Christus veroveren?' Hermelink 1939:25.

than the small colony of Eurasians, were a growing group of Catholics in rural South Sumatra, alongside the Chinese, who usually resided in the larger towns. The 1,500 Lampung Catholics in 1940 grew to 108,213 in 2000, still a small minority (about 1.5%) among the nearly 6.9 million inhabitants.³¹

At the beginning of this chapter we discussed the large ethnic and cultural variety among the Sumatran peoples, especially when compared to the island of Java. Ethnic and cultural differences have contributed to a lack of cohesion among Sumatran Catholics. A small minority among many other ethnic and cultural communities, they were also internally divided. Javanese Catholics in the Lampung region had a closer relationship with the Javanese community of Central Java than the Chinese communities of Metro, Palembang, or other cities. Batak Catholics, in turn, often migrated to Java and formed pockets of Catholic families there, often more related to their own clan than to other Catholics in the cities of the vast archipelago. If ever Indonesian Catholics can be called a diaspora, it can be said about the various communities which together formed the modest Catholic legacy of Sumatra.

³¹ See Hasto Rosariyanto 2001:199-216 (for a historical account of the Tanjungkarang diocese by Bishop A. Henrisesanto).

CHAPTER X

The many varieties of Javanese Catholics

In 1900 the vast majority of Catholics in Java were Europeans or Eurasians. In Batavia, native and Chinese Catholics numbered only 159, while there were 6,895 European Catholics. In 1941 these numbers were 1,859 and 15,803. This means that slightly more than 10% of Batavia Catholics were of Chinese or native Indonesian descent (Musken 1974:741). There were even lower numbers of non-European Catholics in West Java, the prefecture apostolic of Bandung, where in 1927 only 108 native and Chinese Catholics were found, while there were 8,224 European Catholics. In 1942 the number of native and Chinese Catholics had risen sharply to 1,522 (compared to 19,091 Europeans) (Musken 1974:820, 823). There is some uncertainty in the statistics: Chinese were sometimes included under the category Europeans and sometimes under natives. Whatever the exact numbers may have been, with the exception of Central Java, the number of native Catholics remained low. This can be seen more fully in the following statistics from late 1939, where the non-European Catholics of the vicariate of Batavia were nearly all from Central Java:¹

	European Catholics	Non-European Catholics	Priests	Sisters	Lay brothers
Batavia	33,998	26,877	122 (11 non-European)	587 (58 non-European)	182 (24 non-European)
Bandung	16,194	1,723	24 (all European)	146 (16 non-European)	11 (all European)
Purwokerto	2,980	3,587	22 (1 non-European)	96 (2 non-European)	32 (11 non-European)
Surabaya	14,246	4,201	32 (all European)	154 (5 non-European)	34 (all European)
Malang	9,855	4,228	30 (2 non-European)	147 (13 non-European)	39 (3 non-European)
Total	77,273	40,616	230	1,130	298

¹ Based on *Jaarboek 1940*.



Vincentius Orphanage of Bogor around 1910 (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

These statistics also show that there was a very strong presence of clergy and religious orders in this region, on average, one sister for every 100 Catholics, one priest for roughly 550 Catholics. Like colonial society in general, the Catholic community was racially divided. Although there was no strict racial division in parishes, in organizations for the faithful the linguistic separation (Dutch, Malay, Javanese) in fact also involved a division along racial lines.

Parishes and schools for European, Eurasian, and Chinese Catholics in Java

Batavia

In the period being discussed nearly every part of Indonesia remained the exclusive territory of one or another of the many religious orders. Only the city of Batavia – for practical and to some extent ideological reasons – became a mixed territory. In 1939, out of its six parish churches, only two were under the care of Jesuits (the cathedral and the Theresia Church in Menteng). Three churches were entrusted to the Franciscan friars after their first arrival in 1929 (Sacred Heart on Jalan Kramat, Saint Joseph on Jalan Matraman, and Anthony of Padua, Bidara Cina), while one church was under the care of the MSC priests after 1932. In most places, including Batavia, a diocesan clergy was still non-existent, but for the rest this variation in clergy was considered a step forward on the road to a ‘normal situation’ of pastoral care, where a diocese was served by diocesan clergy and various religious orders. The Catholic community of the city of Batavia numbered nearly 17,000 faithful in 1941, served by 30 Dutch priests, 41 brothers, and 210 nuns (three of the latter were indigenous): these are very large numbers, which can only be explained by the large educational institutions of Batavia, run by the Ursuline sisters, the brothers of Dongen, the brothers of Oudenbosch, the Jesuit priests (the Canisius school for the elite), and the Franciscans (who took care of poor people in the orphanage at Kramat). This number (out of Batavia’s total population of about 250,000, some 42,000 were counted as ‘European’) means that somewhat more than one-third of the European and Eurasian population could be seen as Catholic, but on average it was still only 5%.

In line with the pillarization in the Netherlands, where in the first half of the twentieth century many educational, social, and political institutions were reserved for Catholics or Protestants or socialists (with a smaller number of similar institutions for conservative liberals), Batavia became a divided society. Besides non-sectarian governmental institutions, Protestant and Catholic schools and hospitals flourished. In 1918, at the initiative of Bishop Luyken, the first ten Carolus Borromeus sisters from Maastricht arrived to lead the new Catholic Carolus Hospital. For girls there were the large schools run by the Ursuline sisters, for boys the prestigious Canisius College, both offering

the highest level of secondary education, the HBS. All social and political organizations for Catholics, as they developed during the early twentieth century and as described in Chapter II, not only had branches in Batavia, but in most cases their central office as well.

One of the most attractive activities for laypeople in the larger parishes was the choir. The Saint Caecilia choir of Batavia Cathedral had some fame as a musical institute (with good directors), but also as a social venue for its members, with regular picnics and other entertainment. It was restricted to men only. Among the most prominent members in the early 1920s were Ed. van Arcken (a member of a rich family of jewellers who donated generously to Batavia Cathedral), L. Bajetto (a high officer in the colonial army and a good musician), and H. Matthee (prominent leader of the Katholieke Sociale Bond). The choir was founded in 1865 by C.G.F. van Arcken, who was so attached to church music that he named his bungalow in Bogor after it: Caecilia.²

Batavia was the economic and political centre of the country. All major organizations had their head office in this capital. The most important social and political organizations of the European community were discussed in Chapter II, where it is stated that social and political life in the Indies was characterized by heated debates and sharp conflicts. The very dominant position of the clergy in Catholic life mitigated the effect of the many conflicts. Still, there were many internal divisions in the flock of faithful in Batavia. The Chinese and Javanese remained separated from the Europeans, who also experienced divisions between freshly arrived *totok* Europeans and Eurasians. The social differences among the various ethnic groups caused further differentiations between the Catholic institutions. The Jesuits were closer to the elite, the Franciscans to the lower classes of society. Therefore the Cathedral was more an elite church and the church on Kramat, where the Vincentius orphanage was located, was more open to Eurasians. In the early twentieth century the Jesuit Arnoldus Kortenhorst paid special attention to the Chinese population in the 'Chinese quarter'.³ He hired a Chinese, Yong A Man, who had converted to Catholicism in China and had arrived to become a catechist in Batavia. After Kortenhorst died in 1917, for some time no special attention was given to the Chinese in the capital, until E. Cappers MSC arrived from Kai and started Sunday masses for Chinese in the compound of the brothers' HCS on Mangga Besar (Muskens 1974:749-50).

² Gedenkboek R.K. Zangvereeniging Caecilia te Batavia, 1865-1925 in AJAK D 1-5.

³ Arnoldus Kortenhorst, born on 8-8-1848 in Kuinre, arrived in the Indies on 25-2-1877, and worked in Batavia since 1889. He died on 25-10-1917.

Bandung and other cities of West Java

After Batavia, Bandung was the town with the most Catholics (mostly European): in 1939 there were 13,000 European Catholics (including Eurasians) and 1,000 'indigenous' (mostly Chinese) Catholics. As in Batavia, there were six regular parishes with large church buildings by the end of the colonial period, in addition to the large chapels of the Ursuline schools, the Borromeus hospital, and the schools of the Aloysius Brothers (Oudenbosch). In 1939 there were 19 priests, 11 European brothers, 113 European, and 14 non-European sisters serving this community, most of them in schools and hospitals. The number of Catholics was much higher even than in Surabaya (10,700 Europeans, 2,210 Chinese and indigenous) or Semarang (6,700 Europeans and 1,700 Chinese and Javanese Catholics). Bandung, after all, developed as a white government centre and also as a good place for retired people, who loved the cool climate. If one takes the 1,824 European and 587 non-European Catholics of nearby Cimahi (mostly from the military barracks) into consideration, the Catholic population of Bandung nearly equalled that of Batavia.

In 1927 the Order of the Holy Cross took over the eastern half of West Java from the Jesuits. They were responsible for the quick increase in church buildings in Bandung: from one in 1927 to six in 1939. They also invited other religious orders, especially sisters, to enter the new prefecture (after 16 October 1941 it was a vicariate). The sisters of Divine Providence (Goddelijke Voorzienigheid) and the Dominican sisters of Neerbosch came in 1933 and 1934. In 1930 the Aloysius brothers of Oudenbosch had arrived to serve the Dutch-language high school (MULO) of Bandung. In fact these initiatives in Dutch-language education were taken to rival the much larger governmental and Protestant institutions. They increased the segmentation of late colonial society. Until the late 1940s indigenous Catholics were either of Chinese offspring, or they arrived from Central Java. In 1933 several of these Central Javanese Catholics started the Melania clinic in Bandung. A peculiar initiative was the founding of a monastery for Carmelite sisters on the high slopes of Mount Tangkuban Perahu in Lembang, close to Bandung, in 1939. After the Franciscan sisters of Saint Clara, who opened their monastery in Cicurug, West Java, in 1934, it was the second monastery in Java for resident nuns not working in schools or hospitals, but concentrating on manual work and their regular prayers.⁴

Purwokerto and other western parts of Central Java

The MSC priests who worked with good results in the Kai and Tanimbar islands and in the southern regions of Papua, started some activities in 1927 in the western section of Central Java, with Pekalongan, Purwokerto, Purworejo

⁴ In 1936-37 the contemplative Capuchin Saint Clara sisters established a convent in Singkawang.

and Cilacap as the most important towns. The region was named a separate prefecture in 1932 and a vicariate in 1941. The MSC could install resident priests in places that until that time received only incidental visits from travelling priests. They mostly expanded work among the white Catholic population, setting up a number of schools after the arrival of a large number of brothers and sisters between 1927 and 1939. There were 21 Dutch brothers and 94 sisters in 1939, all recent arrivals. They worked at 20 Dutch-language primary schools and 15 kindergartens (also Dutch-language), while the mission had only two Javanese-speaking village schools.

In 1933 a local congregation of brothers, Sihing Widi (Love for God), apparently after the order of the Broeders van Liefde, who were active in Purwokerto perfecture with boarding schools in Purwokerto and Purworejo, was founded. It was the idea of the prefect of Purwokerto, B. Visser, that these brothers would finally develop into an independent Indonesian congregation. In 1935 the first three brothers took their vows. By 1941 there were fifteen Javanese brothers, concentrated in the Kutoarjo region. The Japanese occupation and the struggle for independence meant that no new brothers could be trained, while several died. On 15 August 1953 the eight remaining Sihing Widi brothers were reunited with the Dutch order of the Broeders van Liefde. After that time, Indonesian candidates became members of that international order (Musken 1974:932).⁵

Slowly the MSC started work among the Javanese population. The Reformed mission, which had worked in the region since 1860 and considered this region as their exclusive mission field did not heartily welcome the MSC work. But the resistance to double mission had faded away in the offices of the central government of Buitenzorg, and the dividing lines between pastoral care for European Catholics, work among newly converted Chinese, and missionary work among Javanese were not evident in this period and region. There were some protests in 1929 from the side of the Reformed mission against Catholic plans to open a hospital in Cilacap, but this was reflected only in the national press, not in government policy.⁶ Without much discussion, the Suikerkliek of Purwokerto, a clinic for sugar-plantation workers, was transferred to the Catholic mission because of the economic recession. There was some hope that a larger group of former Sadrach Christians would enter the Catholic Church after the death of their founder in 1924. They lived in Pondok Gede, south of Gombong. But after initial talks in 1928 there was no progress in this matter (Musken 1974:923).⁷

⁵ See also <http://members.lycos.co.uk/fcbruderkaritas>.

⁶ See quotation from *De Locomotief*, 7-11-1929, in AJAK E 5-1-1.

⁷ In 1888 there were some 160 Sadrach Christians in Pondok Gede; see Partonadi 1988:266. Reenders 2001:845 gives the number as 133 for the same period.

Semarang, Magelang, Salatiga

The Catholic community of Semarang was much smaller than that of Batavia or Bandung, let alone Bogor, a group of officials or scribes at government offices. Nor were they like the communities of Surabaya and Malang, traders and planters, people of large enterprises. The Catholic community of Semarang had mostly Eurasians, who had lived in the shadow of the military barracks, and had found a job there because of their privilege of access to higher levels of society through their knowledge of Dutch. This was even stronger in Magelang and Salatiga, where personnel of the military academy and military barracks dominated the Catholic community.

The Javanese mission had started from Semarang about 1895, but never really flourished here. From the very beginning it was a false start, because catechists as well as the first Catholics were taken over, not to say 'stolen', from the Protestants. After the great disappointments of the late 1890s, the dismissal of catechists who had come over from the Protestant mission, and the return of much of their flock to the Protestants, it took a long time before the Javanese element in the Semarang region became significant. Semarang was selected as the seat of the first Javanese to become vicar apostolic and bishop in 1940, Albertus Soegijopranoto. The selection of the place was probably related to the fact that Yogyakarta and Surakarta were considered inappropriate because they were the seat of local Muslim rulers. Semarang was the economic and political centre of Central Java. Most prominent in this region were the Dutch-language schools. Not only in education, also in church services there was a division according to three languages: Dutch for 'proper' Europeans and some well-educated Chinese and Javanese elite, Malay for the lower-class Eurasians, and Javanese for local Catholics.

Surabaya and surroundings

While the European and Eurasian Catholics of Batavia and West Java were often government officials or people related to that world, in East Java they were mostly traders and planters. The Catholic parish of Surabaya in 1921 had only 25 indigenous and 10 Chinese among its 2,608 faithful. Outside Surabaya, in the northern districts of east-central Java and East Java there were only 743 Catholics (Muskens 1974:950). Things did not change much after the Lazarist order in 1922 accepted responsibility for work in the new prefecture. Prefect apostolic Theophilus de Backere was the leader of the mission until he resigned in 1938. He was really a fighter to unite Catholics behind their official leaders. Chapter II discussed the problems he had with other church leaders in 1933, when he wanted to excommunicate all Eurasians who remained members of the Indo-Europeesch Verbond. Instead, he believed, all Catholics should vote for the very European IKP, the Catholic party of the Indies.

Unlike the situation in West Java, De Backere was quite keen on the crea-



Boarding school of the Franciscan Sisters in Mendut (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

tion of three-year Javanese-language village schools. By 1931 he had already opened 59 schools, expecting some 60,000 guilders from the Vatican to run them. Unfortunately, he received only about 12% of this money, 6,536 guilders. Many of these schools were concentrated in the Blitar-Kediri region. Somewhat over-optimistically, this region was called the counterpart of the Muntilan-Mendut region of Central Java. The great hopes were not fulfilled. In 1939 there were only some 1,200 Javanese Catholics in the triangle of Blitar, Kediri and Madiun.⁸

This region remained dominated by Muslims, with marginal numbers of Catholics. One exceptional vocation to the priesthood was a Chinese, Thaddee Yong, born in Nganut, close to Tulungagung, about 1908. He went to study in Belgium in 1918, where he graduated in social sciences and continued his studies for the priesthood. He visited his family in Kediri in 1934, and was hailed as the first priest of the region. But as a disciple of Father Vincent Lebbe, he went to China, where he entered a Benedictine monastery (Musken 1974:972-3).

Malang and other regions of East Java

The situation in the easternmost regions of Java differed little from the Surabaya area. Many Madurese lived in these districts, and they brought about a stronger Islamic feeling among the Javanese. There were very few converts: out of a population of some 7 million there were 5,400 European Catholics in Malang, 1,123 in Jember, and a few thousand in other towns and plantations. There was an exceptional Javanese Catholic community in Balearjosari, a plantation close to the town of Malang. Since 1911 A.W.C. Blijdenstein had been the administrator of the rubber plantation, owned by a Chinese family, the San Lien Kongsi. Blijdenstein was a graduate of a teacher training college in Maastricht, the Netherlands, where some agricultural science was also taught. He had come to the Indies in 1905 for a position as residential instructor for a rich planter in Tanggul, but soon became a teacher in Pasuruan and then in Surabaya at the HCS. He started a Catholic community on the plantation at Balearjosari numbering some 700 Javanese at his departure in early 1933.⁹ There were still 582 Javanese Catholics here in 1939, about a quarter of all Javanese Catholics in the region at that time. After leaving the plantation, Blijdenstein went to the Netherlands, where he studied theology to become a priest. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1938 and became the parish priest at Jember. Blijdenstein's impact on the Balearjosari congregation was not so deep and lasting as that other example

⁸ See Muskens 1974:967 for De Backere's deception. The booklet *Kruis en Kris, Opkomst van de Javanen Missie bij de eerwaarde heeren Lazaristen te Blitar* (published in 1935) is an expression of this over-optimistic hope.

⁹ *De Koerier*, 16/17-2-1933 has a biography and report.

of successful missionary work on plantations, the Schmutzer initiative in Ganjuran, south of Yogyakarta.

Another small Javanese parish was in Sukareno, the result of migration of Catholics from Central Java to the lesser populated regions of East Java where people could earn a living in the booming plantation business. Another congregation of Javanese started in Watesbelung, close to Tumpang, where there were 380 Javanese Catholics in 1939.

In 1923 the first Carmelite priests arrived at this mission in Malang. Within two decades their number increased to 30. Besides, there were 39 brothers (three of them indigenous) and 147 sisters, 13 of them indigenous. This all was the result of that flourishing period preceding World War II. Before 1940 the Carmelites had already educated two priests who had studied in the Netherlands during the 1930s. G.I. Singgih Padmawijoto had been ordained on 11 July 1937 and his colleague G. Gondowerdojo on 10 July 1938. As in many places in Java, the Catholics in the Malang region were a divided and segmented community, practising apartheid without using the word. There were special churches, priests, and services for Javanese, as long as the European Catholics still dominated. With the Japanese occupation this ended, and the very small group of young Indonesian leaders was left to continue and develop this small minority Catholicism.

Indigenous Catholics in West and East Java

The native population of Java were considered Muslims by the colonial government, with some minor exceptions like the Badui tribal people of West Java and the Tenggerese of East Java. This official recognition was also the reason that large regions of Java until the 1930s were forbidden for missionary activities. The most important formal expression of the acknowledgment of Javanese society as a Muslim society was in the Regeeringsreglement, where article 124 stated that 'the priests of the natives are placed under supervision of the rulers'. This was generally understood as the recognition of the local rulers as *hoofd der religie* (or head of religion, see Snouck Hurgronje 1959:742-61). A second important aspect was the application of Islamic law in cases of marriage and inheritance on Java and Madura. A colonial law on the *priesterraden* or Islamic courts of 1882 (renewed in 1937) regulated the decisions of the religious (Islamic) courts and the position of the religious judge, the *penghulu*, as an advisor to all common courts. This predominance of Islam contributed to the slow start and lack of success of Christian missions in West and East Java. But in the southern regions of Central Java both Protestant and Catholic missions made spectacular series of conversions, although they have remained small minorities there as well. What was the difference be-

tween these Central Javanese regions (traditionally called *vorstenlanden* since they were the central territories of the traditional rulers) and other areas of Java? Was conversion to Islam in other areas, especially on the north coast, a personal choice, in contrast to the collective conversion of the *vorstenlanden*? Was Islam bottom-up in those areas, while being regulated top-down, without personal conviction, in the Central Javanese regions? Was there ongoing syncretic mixing of previous traditions with Islam in Central Java? There is a long-standing debate about the true Islamic character of Javanese society and culture. Many authors have described the situation using clothing as a metaphor: under a thin Islamic garb, the real religious convictions of the people were Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism (Roff 1985:7-34). Whatever may have been the reason for the difference between the regions, it was only in very few (mostly marginal) places in West and East Java that Christianity was accepted. Most Protestants and Catholics of these two regions were Javanese who had migrated from Central Java.

Kampung Sawah, West Java

The judge F.L. Anthing (1820-1883), who at the end of his colonial career was the vice-president of the Supreme Court of Batavia, was a fervent Protestant. In 1870 he retired from office and dedicated himself to missionary work. He sought financial and moral support in the Netherlands and found this among the Irvingians, adherents of the Catholic Apostolic Church, founded in Glasgow in 1831 by Edward Irving. The widower Anthing found his second wife among the members of this church. He was sent to Java in 1880 as an 'apostle' and resumed his missionary work. This mission established nine small congregations in villages near Batavia, in fact mostly among native workers on the large estates of very rich Batavians. Most of these small congregations had about 100 members. No fewer than 57 native teachers, and preachers received a modest salary from Anthing. After Anthing's unexpected early death, it was uncertain who would take over this chain of young congregations. After some time, the responsibility was taken over by the (Protestant) Dutch Missionary Society (*Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging*) but the small congregations, often in locations that were difficult to visit, had many problems. Many of the teachers and preachers had to be dismissed, for a variety of reasons. In Cakung one Johannes Vreede had worked as an evangelist.¹⁰ Later he was accepted, but soon dismissed by the Catholic mission in Semarang and Muntilan.¹¹ There was a similar case on the Kampung Sawah estate. In 1896 a teacher named Nathanael was sent away by the Protestant missionary Albers and, according to the main Protestant history of the time,

¹⁰ See the Protestant praise of him in Coolsma 1901:143 (where his name is spelled Vrede). See more about the Irvingians in Indonesia in Waerts 2001:2-39.

¹¹ On Johannes Vreede, see Steenbrink 2003:206-7, 215, 447.

he took refuge, without doubt for rapid cash, in the broad arms of the Roman Catholic priest of Batavia and then started a campaign against his fellow-preacher Laban. His policy was successful: one part of the Christians surrendered to Rome, one part remained faithful to Laban, and one part remained loyal to the Protestant missionary, but turned away from Laban and wanted one Joseh as their leader. For the sake of peace, and under certain conditions, this was approved. Now we had three parties: The party of Rome under Nathanael, the unsatisfied under Joseh, and the loyal and trustworthy under Laban. [...] The priest had a house built for himself in the village, while the Chinese landlord, who earlier did not give permission to missionary Drost to settle here, did not bother about the priest. Out of the 175 Christians, by 1897 already 47 had turned Roman Catholic. The following year there was some progress: one family of five persons came back from the Roman Church and 11 people converted from Islam, a rare event in this region. But another family of six people moved to the Roman Catholics. (Coolsma 1901:144-5)

As we might expect, the Catholic version of the story differed in details. Kampung Sawah was a settlement of people who mostly worked as houseboys or maids in Batavia. One man, probably a Protestant, worked with the Catholic priests. He must have been the first to tell villagers about the Catholics. When there was a conflict in the village, he asked the priest to come, because several families had already expressed their wish to become Catholic. The people of Kampung Sawah did not speak Javanese but Malay.¹²

A variant of this Catholic tradition is found in another Catholic source. It mentions that one of the parish priests of Batavia, B. Schweitz, came to Kampung Sawah for the first time in October 1896 and instituted the said Nathanael as a catechist and schoolteacher with some 13 pupils. But after Nathanael had accepted an offer of a higher salary from the Methodist mission, a man named Markus was appointed as the catechist of Kampung Sawah. He continued to be the leading person in the small Catholic community for the next few decades (Musken 1974:745).¹³

Between 1897 and 1902 priests paid few visits to this place, and between 1902 and 1904 there was a government ban on pastoral visits, supposedly related to the ban on the extension of Catholic education in 'Protestant' Minahasa. Between 1904 and 1917 the Jesuit priest A. Kortenhorst visited the outer station several times per year, but the permanent central figure was the teacher Markus. This situation continued after the death of Kortenhorst, with the priests J. van der Loo and J. van Driel as his successors. The situation remained more or less stable: in 1930 there were 200 Catholics registered. The number remained slightly below that of the Protestant congregation (Van den End 1991:705).

¹² Vriens 'Honderd jaar':697.

¹³ According to Protestant sources, Nathanael's conversion to Methodism took place in 1906; Van den End 1991:252-3. On Markus bin Ibrahim alias Markus Kaiin, see also Van den End 1991:294. Markus's father was an independent religious teacher, *guru ngelmu*, comparable to Sadrach (see below), even after his baptism. See also Daulay 1996:125.

In 1930 the Jesuits were succeeded by the Franciscan friars as the pastors who paid regular visits to this outer station. In 1935 a priest settled permanently after a proper parish house was built. The sisters of the Carolus Borromeus hospital of Batavia started a regular clinic in Kampung Sawah and the school was upgraded to a five-year primary school with some Dutch in the curriculum (*standaardschool*). In 1941 this outer parish of Batavia counted some 400 Catholics: it was the result of steady but certainly not spectacular growth. In this period there were no remarkable conversions to be mentioned, neither in number nor in quality.¹⁴

The *Ommelanden* did not share Javanese or Sundanese culture. They were part of the mixed culture of the capital of the colony, Batavia. Its language is called Betawi and is even considered a Malay dialect of its own (Grijns 1991). The ring of estates south of Batavia had started in the eighteenth century, and shared the mixed character of Batavia's culture. If conversion can be considered as the expression of the wish to belong to a successful and flourishing social group, we should consider the developments in Kampung Sawah as a normal process. Notwithstanding the relatively large number of Catholic converts, the Protestant congregation of Kampung Sawah remained by far the largest of the Anthing communities, with some 750 members in the early 1940s constituting 13% of all Protestants in West Java.¹⁵

Architect Henri Maclaine Pont and Pohsarang, East Java

In East Java most of the small Catholic schools for Javanese children were built in villages close to plantations because this was an area of large rubber, coffee, and tobacco plantations. Few of these schools developed into larger Catholic communities. One of these, the Catholic community of Balearjosari, stimulated by administrator Blijdenstein until 1933, was mentioned above. Another was the village of Pohsarang, 8 kilometres west of Kediri. Until 1936 it was just a small mission station with a school and a house for a teacher, when the missionary Father J. Wolters CM suggested that Henry Maclaine Pont, a renowned architect and recent convert to Catholicism, design a simple church structure for the native Catholics.

Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971) was born in Meester Cornelis (Jatinegara, now a district of Jakarta, at that time a suburb of Batavia) as the son of Pieter Maclaine Pont, a successful lawyer in Batavia, and a Eurasian woman (partly Ambonese, more precisely Buru). Henri received his secondary education in the Netherlands and started studying engineering in Delft. He first wanted to become a mining engineer and at the age of 17 sought experience in Spanish

¹⁴ For this period see Muskens 1974:745-9. A monograph on the parish has been published by Kurris 1996.

¹⁵ For the social history of the *Ommelanden* and especially the Chinese landlords see Lohanda 1996; for conversion theory see Stark 1992. The Protestant figures for the early 1940s are in Van den End 1991:706.

mines. Born into a devout Protestant family, he became familiar with the Catholic liturgy in Spain. In Delft he opted for the study of architecture. After some work in the Netherlands, he returned to the Dutch Indies in 1911, where he began a very successful career as an architect. He became famous as a designer who constructed solid, attractive, and yet relatively inexpensive buildings. In 1918 he was honoured with a commission to design the first buildings for the Institute of Technology of Bandung. In these designs he introduced elements of traditional Indonesian architecture.

His interest in traditional Javanese architecture was the reason that he moved to the archaeological service in 1924 and became the chief technical expert for excavations of the capital of the last Hindu empire of Java, Majapahit (ca. 1200-1500) in Mojokerto-Trawulan, East Java. He was interested not only in Majapahit remains, but in many aspects of Indian society as well as universal spiritual movements. In 1931 Maclaine Pont entered the Catholic church through a conditional rebaptism, a common practice at the time. The ceremony took place at Christmas time 1931, in the church of the Schmutzer family's sugar plantation in Ganjuran, where the Sacred Heart temple, built in the style of a traditional Javanese shrine (*candi*), had been opened the year before.

Owing to the economic recession of the early 1930s, his archaeological job was eliminated in 1932. In late 1932 he accepted an offer to join the editorial board of the Catholic daily *De Koerier* and therefore moved to Bandung. This not only increased his personal income, but also enabled him to continue collaborating with the group of Javanese working in the Trawulan excavations. As seen in Chapter II this was a period of utmost divisiveness among European Catholics in the Indies, the conflict within the Catholic IKP. Maclaine Pont did not like to take a position in the tangled web of conflicts. He was attacked from various sides and wanted to resign, but his proposal was not accepted. Thereupon he wrote a very sharp piece in *De Koerier* in June 1934, which resulted in his being fired.

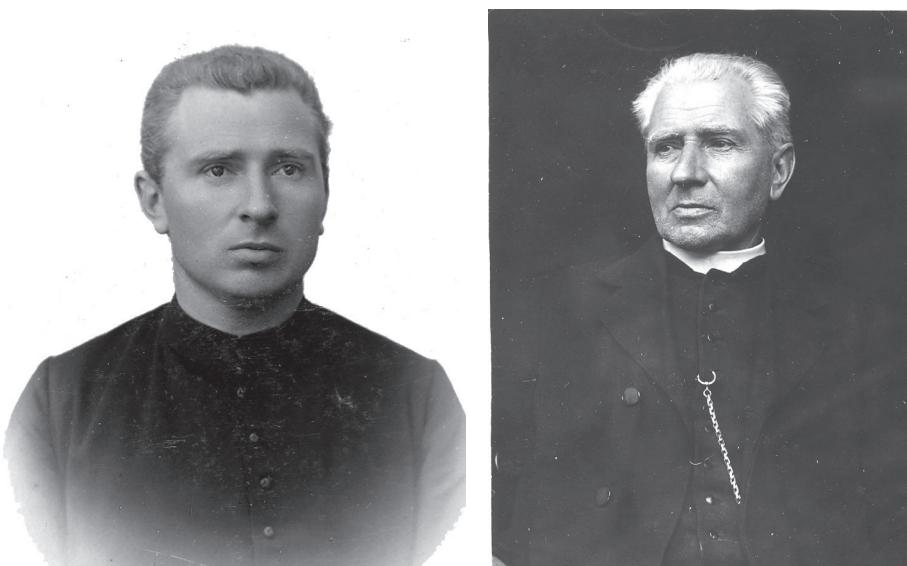
In late 1933 Maclaine Pont, while still engaged at *De Koerier*, continued occasional work at the excavations. For some time this was financed by contributions from IMIW (Indische Maatschappij voor Individuele Werkverschaffing, a government plan for jobless people). The programme ended 1 January 1937, but Maclaine Pont continued working with his personnel with private funds. After a visit by members of the Volksraad in 1940 to the field museum in Trawulan, he received a subsidy of 6,000 guilders for archaeological work and the same for social work. In 1943 he was interned in the Japanese internment camp. After the end of World War II he could no longer find a proper job and had to live in the Netherlands on a modest pension until he died in The Hague in 1971.¹⁶

¹⁶ For details of his life see Van Leerdam 1995.

As early as 1932 Maclaine Pont had discussions with Prefect De Backere of Surabaya about the construction of a church in Wlingi, close to Blitar. In Trawulan, Maclaine Pont had regular contact with the parish priest of Kediri-Blitar, Father J.H. Wolters. In June 1936 Father Wolters came to Trawulan accompanied by four Catholic Javanese from the small parish of Pohsarang, where a school and a house for a teacher had been built. They asked the architect to design for them a simple church building in a typical Javanese style. It was to be for some 150 people, sitting not on chairs or benches but right on the floor, in the traditional *sila* position. There were funds available, donated by a farmer's family from the Netherlands. The benefactor had only stipulated that the church be named after Saint Henry. Maclaine Pont showed his visitors some of the buildings in the compound of the museum of Trawulan, built as reconstructions of the architectural style of the Majapahit period.

The architect paid a visit to the location, and after further deliberations it was decided that a whole compound could be built. At the centre of it would be a courtyard, with the small church as its most important structure. The courtyard was designed like that of Majapahit temples and palaces, surrounded by a square wall with a ceremonial gateway (*gapura*) as an entrance. This gateway was put in an asymmetric place. The church faced south, while the entrance was on the eastern side. A sacred banyan tree was planted north of the church, while further north another *gapura* opened the way to the graveyard with a separate altar. East of the graveyard, where the hilly terrain formed a natural circular area, a good location was found for an amphitheatre with acoustics 'as good as the best of the Greek theatres'. For the inner side of the main court wall, the fourteen stations of the way of the cross were planned, and a Lourdes grotto on its southwestern side. The existing school and teacher's house would become part of the larger compound.

The work started in August 1936. The architect brought his well-trained craftsmen from Trawulan. They stayed in the houses of villagers. Moreover, the colonial officials agreed to make workers available as part of the forced labour levies. Initially the central church building was planned in the style of a *pendopo*, an open-roof structure. This proved to be impractical because of incoming rain. Most of the building materials were taken from the immediate area, like the stones for the walls, which were taken from a nearby river. Bricks were baked from local clay. In the style of the classical Majapahit ornaments, very thin bricks were used, with very little space between them. This technique was used not only for more general ornaments but even for the figures of the stations of the cross and for the pictures of biblical stories, such as the baptism of Christ and the story of Noah's ark, within the church itself. For the altar a giant stone was used that was found in one of the villagers' yards. In mid-1937 most of the work on the church, graveyard, and theatre was finished. The first performance in the theatre, entitled 'The fight between good and evil', was held



Two portraits of Jesuit priest Frans van Lith (1863-1926) (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

in April 1937. Finally, a parish house was built, and from 1 September 1938 on, the great initiator of the project, Father J. Wolters, became the resident priest of Pohsarang. Several of the craftsmen from the village had learned new skills during this project, and they continued their wood and stone carving work. Pohsarang remained the centre of a small Catholic diaspora community, with 40 European and Eurasian and 142 Javanese Catholics in the small village and the surrounding plantations (1939 figures). It also became a place of pilgrimage, first of all for those interested in this exceptional experiment of renewal of Javanese architecture, but soon also for Catholics in general. They came for the theatre, where sometimes biblical plays were performed, occasionally accompanied by gamelan music. They came for the church and its beautiful stations of the cross. Later, more and more people came for the Lourdes grotto beside the church, which became the East Javanese equivalent of the sanctuary at the *sono* tree in Sendang Sono, of Kalibawang in Central Java.¹⁷

The growth of Catholicism in Central Java

The 28,877 non-European Catholics of the vicariate apostolic of Batavia in the 1939 statistics were mostly Javanese in Central Java. A quick look at the statistics above shows that they were the only numerous group of Javanese Catholics on the whole island. They were a promising start. In 1900 the

¹⁷ Most of this section is based on Van Leerdam 1995:143-60. See also *Jaarboek 1940*:109.

number of Catholic Javanese in Central Java was less than 50. In 1990 the archdiocese of Semarang, covering the Indonesian province of Central Java and the Special Region of Yogyakarta, had 420,997 Catholics, nearly 15 times as many as 50 years earlier. Although still a small section of Javanese society, Catholics (to about the same extent as Protestants) were becoming a section of Javanese society to be reckoned with.¹⁸ What were the internal factors within Central Javanese society stimulating a minority to embrace the Catholic (or Protestant) faith, while this did not happen on the same scale in other regions of Java? How did Jesuit missionaries adapt to the conditions of Central Javanese society? This section discusses the peculiar historical development of Central Java, focussing initially on the first decade (1895-1905), when there was hope for the conversion of whole villages, in light of the decline of the Sadrach movement: Catholics taking over or even 'stealing sheep' from the Protestants. In the second period (1905-1930) education becomes the main tool for the formation of a small and scattered Catholic community. For the period 1930-1942 I concentrate on relations between Catholics and Muslims.

Serial conversions? The Protestant Sadrach Christians of Kalibawang and their move towards Catholicism, 1897-1905

In the first decade of the Catholic mission in Central Java we can identify several events of serial conversion.¹⁹ They can be seen in the context of the move between various Christian denominations as noted above in the case of Kampung Sawah, near Batavia. The first of such cases in Central Java was the Protestant missionary M. Teffer (1826-1907), who as a retired and ailing man sought support and consolation and embraced Catholicism in Semarang in 1894. He was joined by a handful of Javanese religious teachers, catechists, some of them dismissed by the Protestant mission. They were heartily welcomed and employed by the Catholic priests of Central Java. In early 1898 the young Jesuit missionary Frans van Lith discovered that most of these catechists were not fit to do their work because of opium smoking, financial manipulation, and polygamy. With the exception of one (Andreas Manasse), they had to be dismissed from their duties.²⁰

¹⁸ It is quite striking, and significant for the anthropological approach of the time, that the classic book by Clifford Geertz, *The religion of Java*, based on research from 1953-1955 and published in 1960, does not at all mention Christians in Java, whereas it mentions some much smaller mystical groups like the Pangestu and the Sapta Dharma movement, as being *aliran kepercayaan*. Did he count Christianity as a non-Javanese religion?

¹⁹ On the idea of serial conversion and its application to southeastern Indonesia, see Spyer 1996:171-99.

²⁰ On this eventful but difficult beginning of the Catholic mission in Central Java see Steenbrink 2003a:205-18. One of the dismissed catechists, Martinus Martodiredjo, continued to complain about his fate and continued to send letters to the vicar apostolic in Batavia. A letter from 1913 has been included as Document 7.

Quite a different incentive for the growth of Catholicism began with the independent Protestant movement of a man usually known as Kiyahi Sadrach Suryapranata. Born in 1835 in north Central Java, Sadrach received some education at an Islamic school (*pesantren*) but found his way to Christianity through contacts with several Dutch, Eurasian, and Javanese Protestant preachers. Among the latter he had frequent contact with Tunggul Wulung in Bondo (north coast of Central Java), who expected the end of the world upon the arrival of a righteous king (Javanese *ratu adil*). For some time Sadrach was hired by the missionary-minded judge of Jakarta, Frederik Anthing, and later by a Eurasian woman, C. Philips-Stevens in Purworejo. In the 1870s Sadrach established a religious centre of his own in Karangjasa, south of Purworejo. His Javanese style of Christianity outwardly imitated aspects of Islam, and in some of its doctrines, concepts, and practices resembled the mixed Muslim-Javanese tradition of mystical ethics that is called *ngelmu* (from Arabic *'ilm* meaning wisdom). The peculiar style of his Christianity, along with his self-confident and independent style, elicited mixed reactions. Some Protestant missionaries were proud of him and held him in high esteem, especially Jacob Wilhelm (born 1854, working in the mission from 1881 until his death in 1891). But in 1891 a general inspector for the Protestant mission, Rev. F. Lion Cachet, caused a drastic and final breach between Sadrach and the mainstream Protestant mission of Central Java. Sadrach, like his first employer Anthing, joined the Apostolic church founded by Edward Irving. After his death in 1924, the majority of his followers (estimated at 5,090 in 1899) rejoined the mainstream Protestant mission and eventually became members of the GKJ, Gereja Kristen Jawa, the major Protestant church of Central Java.²¹ Sadrach Christians were spread over a large region of Central Java and nowhere were there whole villages of them. Only individual families or persons were members.

A minority of former Sadrach followers joined the Catholic missionary initiative of Muntilan in the early twentieth century. Available details about the precise developments are quite difficult to reconcile. I have drawn on the best sources to be found on the matter. The first contacts may have been made in the village of Bintaran, close to Muntilan. Frans van Lith mentioned that, shortly after his arrival in Muntilan (October 1897), he attended the 'meeting in the church' led by Kiyahi Elia Sejawiguna.²² He could easily do this, because they had their service much later than the Catholic mass. After the service he regularly met Kiyahi Elia in the veranda (*pendopo*) of his house.

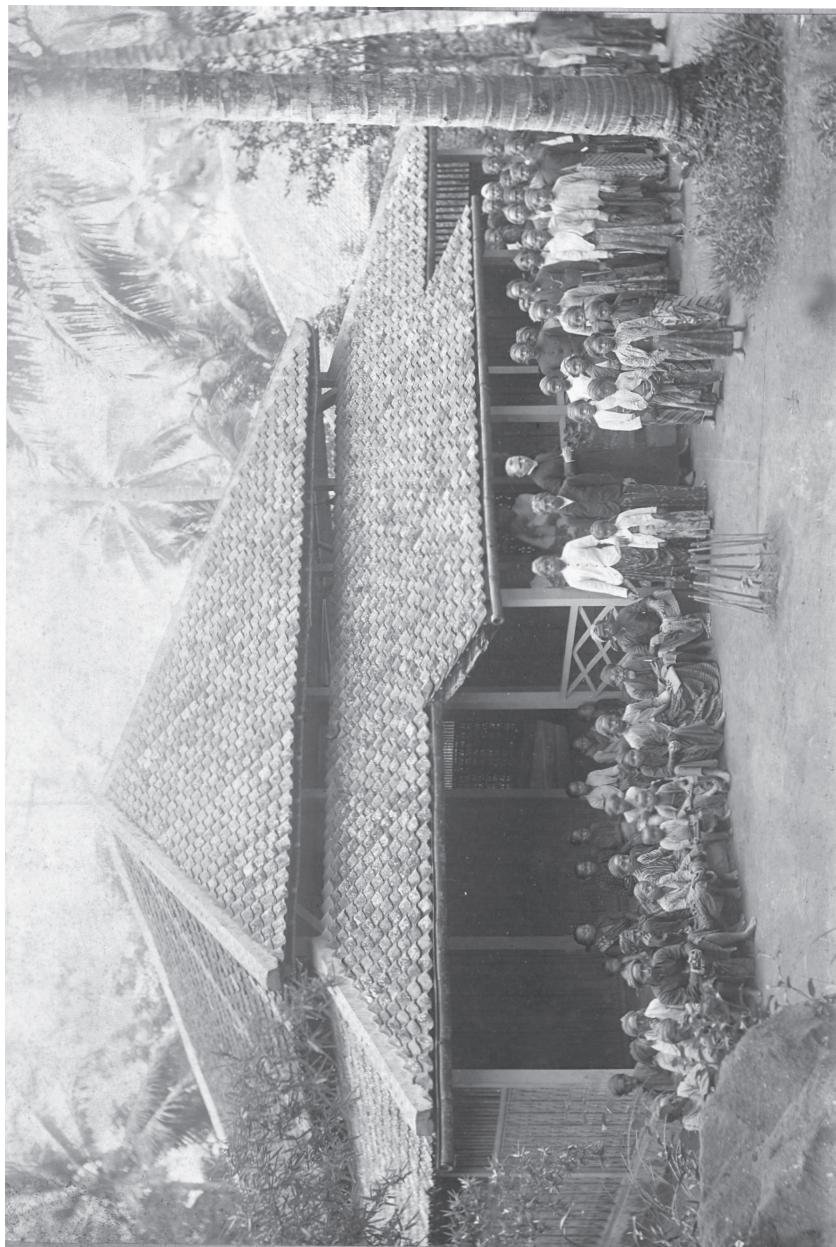
²¹ On the Irvingians in Java, see Waerts 2001. The number of 5,095 members, divided into 60 congregations in the year 1899, is from Waerts 2001:8-10.

²² After the manuscript of 303 pages by Frans van Lith, written in 1921-22 in Katwijk, the Netherlands: *Kjahi Sadrach; Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantsche Zending van Midden-Java*. Quoted from the typewritten copy made in 1973 by Dr Jan Weitjens SJ from the handwritten original in the Jesuit archives of Semarang. The story of the meetings with Elia Sejawiguna is on pp. 297-9.

In line with the teachings of Edward Irving they considered themselves part of the 144,000 elected for the Day of Judgement. At that time apocalyptic themes dominated their teachings. Van Lith wrote of them in a rather belittling tone, 'Not only Javanese Christians have their heads full of nonsense. This odd doctrine, if I am not mistaken something that was concocted in the brain of an English housemaid, perfectly suited the expectation of Christ's coming quickly as Ratu Adil, the Just King of Javanese tradition' (Van Lith 1922:298). Several times Van Lith visited the leader of the movement, Kiyahi Sadrach, first in 1900 and for the last time in 1920.²³ At that time Sadrach was still a robust man. Van Lith finally had little hope that he could do much with the Sadrach Christians: 'They now have so much different traditions of wisdom in their minds, that they no longer can make distinctions. They were always very kind to me and very open, while they were embittered against the Protestant missionaries' (Van Lith 1922:298).

Notwithstanding this negative final judgment, there are strong indications that there were some conversions to Catholicism by Sadrach Christians. We can call them the 'Kalibawang mission'. In 1904 Van Lith's Javanese catechist, Andreas Manasse, came to him with five Javanese men. One of them, one Daud from the village of Cakrèn, had been a follower of Sadrach and the missionary Wilhelm. The heads (*bekel*) of four villages had joined this follower of Sadrach and the Catholic catechist. They are commonly labelled the Christians of Kalibawang, after the district where they lived. This is a region west of the Praga river up to the source of that river. The best known of the four people who converted to Christianity under the guidance of this Daud was Barnabas Sarikrama, of the village of Semagung, where one Abraham was village head. Semagung would later become the centre of the region's Catholics, because of the Lourdes grotto, inaugurated on 8 December 1929, and because of the miraculous natural spring flowing under a huge *sono* tree. Later, this place was called Sendang Sono (literally the pond of the *sono* tree). Another man, the head of the village of Kajuran Wetan, was later baptized as Lukas Suratirta. A third, head of the village of Kajuran Kidul, later

²³ For the visit in 1900 see Vriens 'Honderd jaar':694; for 1920 see Van Lith 1922:298. The 1900 visit is mentioned in Van Lith's letter of 20-3-1900 to Bishop Luypen, 'Ik ben naar Karang Jasa geweest, het middelpunt der Apostolische gemeente, waarover ik UDH heb gesproken. Reden daartoe was, dat de christenen om mij heen zich reeds bij mij wilden aansluiten, maar vroegen, dat ik 't zou voorstellen aan den Kjahi van Karang Jasa, den apostel van Java. Te Karang Jasa aangekomen vond ik den apostel niet te huis [...] Sinds heb ik allen voor mijn idee, om de Christenen van Kedoe met de mijne te vereenigen en daarna in vriendschap te leven met de lui van Karang Jasa gewonnen. U ziet daaruit, dat alles kwestie is van sympathie en niet van overtuiging. Komt nu de apostel terug in Karang Jasa, dan ga ik hem opnieuw een bezoek brengen en zal dan trachten ook hem te winnen voor mijn idee, of anders het hoofd der Moentilansche gemeente te brengen tot een breuk met hem. Het gebouwtje te Karang Jasa zit eenvoudig in elkaar, omdat het zoo echt javaansch is en ik heb dus weer veel geleerd voor de inrichting eener eigen gemeente,' AJAK K 10-4-1.



Frans van Lith in front of his first school and church in Muntilan, ca. 1903 (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

accepted the name of Marcus.²⁴ The fourth village was Teksanga, with one Jokanan as head. On their invitation Frans van Lith visited their villages. They arranged for people to come to Muntilan once every two or three weeks on the Sundays that fell on Pon and Kliwon days, in a combination taking into account both the Javanese week of five days and the Muslim-Christian week of seven days. They would arrive on Saturday evening, receive catechism lessons, and sleep in the parish house. A few months later the first 173 Javanese were baptized at the spring near Semagung. Van Lith knew that there was an old road between Bara-kidul (literally South Bara) and Borobudur, the location of the well-known Buddhist monument. Bara (also written Boro) is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit and also Indonesian word *bihara*, meaning monastery. Van Lith later recorded his feelings in Semagung:

Here I stood as the first Catholic priest at the spring where a few months later I would baptize the first 200 Christians of Kalibawang, the same where in former times the Buddhist monks in the yellow robes had quenched their thirst while travelling from the one Bara to the other monastery (Van Lith 1930:293).

According to the copy of the original baptismal book, which is now kept in the parish of Bara, four people were baptized in 'May 1904' and 170 people on 'December 14, 1904'.²⁵ After the sudden start in 1904-1905, the group of Christians grew slowly over the next 25 years. Priests visited the region no more than a few times per year, while every two or three weeks some 30 to 60 Catholics walked as long as three or four hours to be in Muntilan from Saturday evening until after mass on Sunday morning. At significant Catholic celebrations like Christmas or Easter many more would come. L. Groenewegen, who was in charge of this group in 1916-1917, said that initiatives for conversion frequently came from the group. In early 1917 he recorded a baptism request from someone who had attended the weekend in Muntilan only once. This man had not followed catechism classes at the parish house in Muntilan, but had received a booklet with prayers and catechism. One year later he applied for baptism; when examined, he knew all the prayers and answers of the catechism.²⁶

It is not clear how many of the Catholic sympathizers in the Kalibawang region were related to the Sadrach association. Later reports on the Kalibawang

²⁴ In the typescript account of this first visit, Van Lith has doubts about the proper name of the two villages with the name of Kajuran. This account is in the Nijmegen archives of the Dutch Jesuits. It was probably written in 1922 during Van Lith's stay in the Netherlands. There is a partly abridged, but sometimes also extended version, in Van Lith 1930:255-61, 289-99.

²⁵ I thank Rémy Madinier, EHESS, Paris for sending me photocopies of this baptismal book. In the years after April 1905 groups of 5 to 15 people were baptized regularly every two or three months.

²⁶ *Claverbond* 1919:105. For the pastoral visits in 1915 see Groenewegen 1915. He still wrote about the four villages, all having between 10 and 16 houses: three were totally Catholic, one was half Catholic.

Catholics are silent on this connection. Protestant descriptions about developments in the Sadrach community also fail to mention the transfer to Catholicism of a group, be it a small one, of Sadrach Christians.²⁷

One problem related to the Kalibawang Catholics was that this district was not, like Muntilan, part of the Kedu regency (directly ruled by the Dutch) but rather a part of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, where only Protestant missionaries were admitted. As early as 25 January 1905 Van Lith tried to solve this problem by asking formal permission to work in this region. He had paid a visit to the *assistant-resident* of Kulon Progo in Wates and to the *resident* of Yogyakarta to discuss this matter, and wrote a draft of a letter seeking formal permission to work in this region.²⁸ There are no signs that official permission was given to priests to do more than make pastoral visits to Catholics in their homes. The troubles with Petrus Hoevenaars in Yogyakarta in 1897 and in Mendut, starting in March 1905, may have prevented the quick settlement of a permanent priest in Kalibawang. Statistics for 1918 show 316 Catholics in Kalibawang, for 1920 this rose to 407.²⁹ In 1924 a Catholic village school was started in Plaosan, and in 1928 one in Bara. In 1927 the first open procession of the Host was carried through the central Kalibawang region (starting from the Plaosan school). This was then repeated yearly.³⁰ Catholics in the Netherlands donated money for 18 Angelus bells, which were placed in schools, chapels, and catechists' houses and rung to call the Catholics of this region to their prayers three times a day. Only in 1929 were a church and a parish house built for a permanent priest in the region. In April 1930 two priests, Johannes Prennthalter (born in Innsbruck, Austria, worked in Muntilan from 1921) and the first Javanese priest, Franciscus Xaverius Satiman, moved to the new parish house at Bara. Soon afterwards some Franciscan sisters from Semarang (commonly called the Heythuizen sisters) joined them in Bara. They served four primary schools and a small health clinic. The sisters' settlement at Bara was the first to have a Javanese sister as the superior (Javanese sisters had been accepted in the congregation since 1922). Among the group of seven sis-

²⁷ Partonadi 1988 and De Jong 1997:119-24 do not mention these connections.

²⁸ Van Lith to Bishop Luypen, 23-1-1905: 'dat in het distrikt Kali Bawang van de afdeeling Koelon Progo, residentie Djogjakarta zich een inlandsche christengemeente heeft gevormd, bestaande op 1 Januari 1905 uit 170 leden en ong. 100 catechumenen, welk getal nog voortdurend toeneemt; dat de pastoors der hoofdplaats Djogjakarta de Javaansche taal niet voldoende machtig zijn om zich met het onderricht aan dezen inlandsche christenen te belasten; dat de natuurlijke verbindingswegen van Kali Bawang leiden naar de onderafdeling Moentilan van de residentie Kedoe waar reeds enige pastoors met het bekeeringswerk onder de Javaanen belast zijn, redenen waarom ondergetekende zich wendt tot Uwe Excellentie met het eerbiedige verzoek dat het aan de pastoors-missionarissen van het zendingsressort Kedoe worde toegelaten hun werk uit te breiden tot de afdeeling Koelon Progo van de Residentie Djogjakarta.' I could not find an official request by Luypen to the governor-general nor any reply.

²⁹ AJAK 10-5-2.

³⁰ Claverbond 1929:108 and Vriens 1929.

ters in 1932, four were Dutch and three Javanese. In 1935 the Heythuizen sisters founded a separate Javanese congregation, the Abdi Dalem Sang Kristus (Sisters Servants of Christ). In 1939 some of them had already joined the mixed Dutch-Javanese group of 13 Heythuizen sisters in Bara. For the Heythuizen sisters the schools and clinic in Bara were their first real missionary task among poor Javanese. They hoped to attract more vocations for their congregation through this work, where they could show that indigenous Javanese sisters were suited for more than housekeeping or for work that was done for the European and Eurasian population of the Dutch colony.³¹

Bara became the educational and medical centre of the Catholics of the Kalibawang district. The clinic had no permanent doctor. In the years of financial setback, the 1930s, it was often difficult to have enough medicine to give to poor farmers who were not able to pay high prices for medical care. Education also stayed at a modest level. Among Catholics the region became famous for the place of pilgrimage around the old miraculous spring and the more recent Lourdes grotto.

1905-1930: The educational policy of the Jesuits of Muntilan, especially Frans van Lith and Jacob Mertens

The educational activities of the Jesuits in Central Java had started in Semarang with a modest training programme for candidates to become catechists. This programme for young people who already had some primary education moved to the village of Mendut in 1899 under the leadership of Petrus Hoevenaars, who had seven boys in training in 1901. In 1901 a rudimentary school was founded in Mendut and in 1903 another in nearby Mungkid (neighbours of the famous Buddhist temple of Borobudur). Hoevenaars soon opened a third small school in the village of Tempuran. With some exaggeration he stated in December 1903 that he 'controlled all educational institutions in his region'.³² With his method of founding schools and collecting young pupils, Hoevenaars hoped to gather enough to form a Catholic flock in Mendut. The teachers for the three schools were Catholics, but the pupils all came from Muslim families. Like nearly all other missionaries, Hoevenaars thought that this was just a superficial or nominal adherence to Islam and that this would not prevent the pupils from converting to Catholicism.

³¹ See also the letter of Bishop Luypen to the general superior of the Heythuizen sisters, Batavia, 26-9-1935: 'die Congregaties, die voor hare Inlandsche leden een vollen, eigen werkring weten te vinden temidden van het bekeeringswerk, (zullen) weldra de beste roepingen tot zich trekken. Die Congregaties daarentegen, die hare Inheemsche krachten tewerk stellen – en dan bijna noodzakelijkerwijze als tweederangs, of als hulppersoneel – in de inrichtingen voor Europeanen en dergelijken, hebben gebrek aan roepingen', AJAK 11-3-1.

³² Vriens, 'Honderd jaar':668.

In 1897 Hoevenaars had made a mistake in Yogyakarta while staying as an inexperienced young missionary in the parish house, starting catechism classes for Javanese children, and baptizing thirteen Javanese women. Pastoral work among European and Eurasian Catholics was allowed in Yogyakarta, where the legendary Jesuit Jean Baptist Palinckx had founded the parish church in 1865 and served it until his death in 1900. But no proper missionary work among Javanese was allowed. Therefore Petrus Hoevenaars was politely but seriously and officially reprimanded by the *resident* of Yogyakarta in April 1897. This same missionary made a similar and even more serious mistake in April 1905. During one of his regular visits to Mungkid to inspect the school for Muslim children that was led by a Catholic teacher, he invited all pupils to come to Mendut. It is not absolutely clear from the various reports what happened during the children's visit besides taking pictures of them in front of the old Buddhist shrine of Mendut. The day chosen for this event was Easter Sunday, 23 April 1905. The children were invited to attend the service in the church, next to the Buddhist shrine, and received a festive meal after the mass (one Javanese man even called it a *slametan*, or festive ceremonial meal). During mass there was probably also sprinkling of water by the priest, as is common for all Sunday masses and even more so for the Easter celebration. After the ceremony there were rumours that the children had been baptized and had become Christians by the sprinkling of the water. This sentiment was so strong that it proved to be a disaster for the Mungkid school. Out of the 94 children that were attending the school in March 1905 only 34 continued lessons after the April event. The other children had left the school. The assistant *wedana* of Mungkid complained to Controleur W. Stortenbeker, and somewhat later school inspector L.G. Bertsch noticed the dramatic decrease in pupils. Through the *resident* of Kedu the affair was reported to Governor-General J.B. van Heutsz, who on 5 March 1906 officially reprimanded Petrus Hoevenaars for 'imprudent missionary work' (*onberaden bekeeringswerk*) and commanded the *resident* of Ceribon, where Hoevenaars had worked since 12 June 1905, to keep a close eye on his activities.³³

Later history writing has made a big fuss about the different views of Hoevenaars versus Van Lith. They lived only 8 kilometres apart. Hoevenaars initially seemed to have more success. He claimed to have a flock of some 300 baptized (or at least sympathizers) in 1899-1905, while Van Lith was hesitant

³³ Vriens 'Honderd jaar':695-6 also relates this story, but finds the commotion exaggerated. The decrease of pupils at the Mendut school was mostly related to harvest time and therefore only to that season of the year. Vriens even blames Van Heutsz because the verdict was made without listening to the culprit himself. The ever cautious Van Aernsbergen (1934:227) writes that Hoevenaars had worked in Mendut for six years and was removed in a regular way to Ceribon, being succeeded in Mendut by J. Schräder. He suggests that the removal had more to do with a difference in missionary views between Hoevenaars and Van Lith. For the event itself see Document 5.

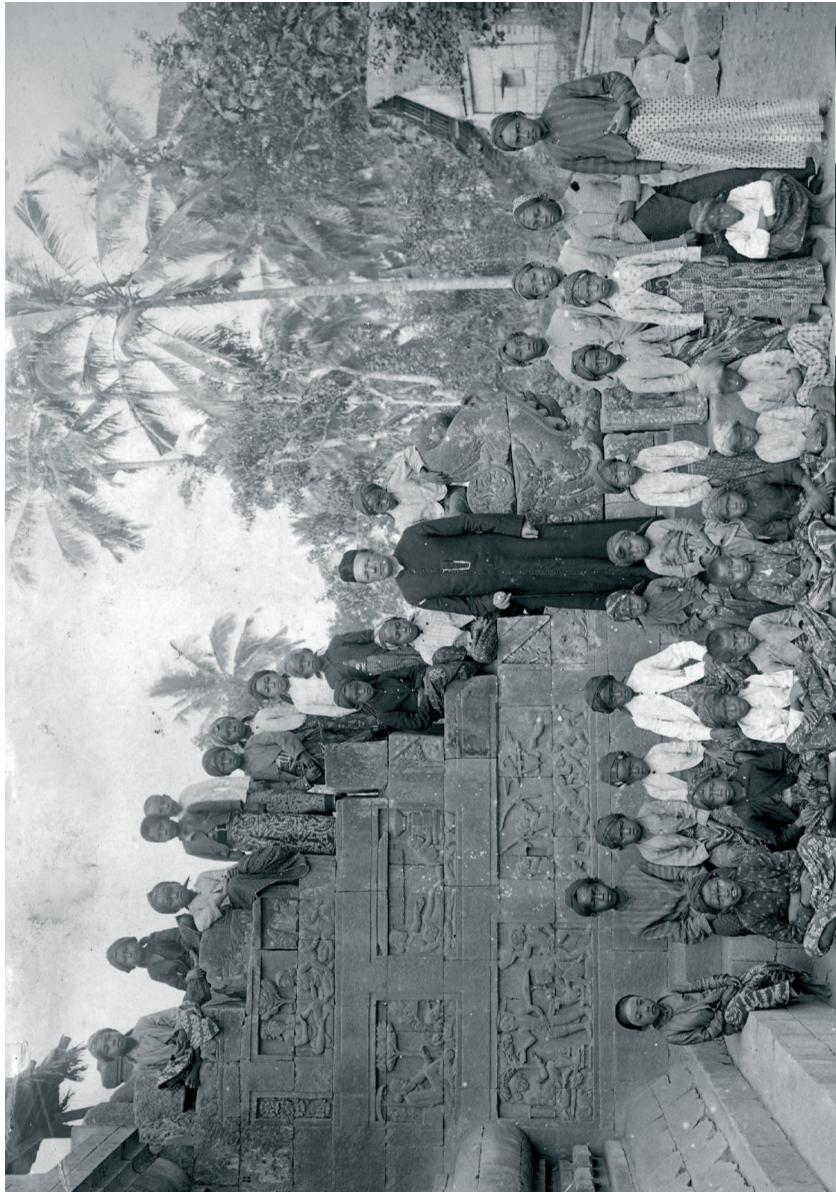
to baptize outside the Kalibawang group. The two priests had quite different opinions about the translation of catechism and prayers, whereby Van Lith wanted to adapt more to literary Javanese, while Hoevenaars found the Low Javanese translations more practical in daily use. Van Lith is described as a person who spent more time in learning about Javanese culture and society, while the more impetuous Hoevenaars wanted quick conversions and good statistics to show the sponsors of the mission abroad.³⁴ Van Lith's great work was the Xavier College of Muntilan.

Frans van Lith, in Muntilan since October 1897, after some six months of preparation studying Javanese in Semarang, did not initially work through schools. He drew up an extensive schedule for visiting villages in a large region around Muntilan and tried to gain a position of importance by offering generous loans, and even by working as a low-paid official for civil celebrations, especially marriage. In line with this general plan, which later would perhaps have been labelled 'development work', he suggested that simple weaving machines, as used in the south of the Netherlands, would be welcome in Central Java and could provide many workers with a good income. The Jesuit lay brother Theo Kersten was trained in the weaving industry in Tilburg before going to the Indies, where he arrived on 22 October 1902. Brother Kersten also brought some weaving machines with him, but it turned out that they were too heavy for the slender Javanese workers, who could not use them. Kersten instead turned into an able provider of medicines for the local people, and above all into an organizer of major construction works for Xavier College, which started in 1904 and went on for the next twenty years.³⁵

When the first two missionaries moved to the Muntilan region (Van Lith in October 1897 and Hoevenaars in mid-1898 to nearby Mendut) they each took with them two or three students from the Semarang school for catechists. Petrus Hoevenaars immediately used these catechists as teachers in new village schools. The three teachers for the schools in Mendut, Mungkid and Tempuran had only received this rather informal education. In Muntilan, Frans van Lith took matters more seriously. He prepared the few students entrusted to him for official government examinations, to obtain a degree of *kweekeling*, or teacher trainee. After some years of practice under supervision of the inspector of education, they could be appointed full teachers at a Javanese village school. This would also include a government salary

³⁴ Conjectures about the difference between the two personalities are in Van Aernsbergen 1934:227-8; Vriens 'Honderd jaar':679-92, 868-70; Van Rijckevorsel 1952:38-44.

³⁵ Theo Kersten survived the founders of Muntilan, Van Lith who died 1926 and Mertens who died on 17 April 1922, for more than two decades. In 1939 he celebrated his fortieth anniversary as a Jesuit brother with great pomp (with himself sitting in his modest place as a lay brother). He received Dutch civil decorations as well as formal recognition from the Vatican. See Vriens 'Honderd jaar':876-8.



The controversial photograph of Petrus Hoevenaars and his children at the Mendut shrine, 23 April 1905.
See p. 378 (draft 268, Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

and a subsidy for the school. There were yearly examinations of this kind in Magelang or Yogyakarta. Van Lith was not happy with this defective style of informal preparation, and among the many other things he was planning and doing, he prepared for a more thorough education of teachers, leaving aside the more specific catechist training.³⁶

On 17 March 1904 Van Lith wrote a letter of application for a new training school for teachers. This application included a request for subsidy of all costs involved. Not a modest man, Van Lith asked for building costs for houses for teachers, a boarding house for students, and proper school buildings, besides subsidies for operating expenses of the school. He made his request at the right time. In April 1905, government funding for the new Opleidingsschool voor Hulponderwijzers (School for the Education of Assistant Teachers) was granted by the education department in Buitenzorg.

Frans van Lith, like other Catholic missionaries, seemed to the Javanese a somewhat mysterious figure. He was not a white planter, not a government official; unlike Javanese religious figures, he was not a traditional healer nor a formal Muslim religious official. He seemed most of all like an independent religious teacher, a *guru ngelmu*, or leader of an Islamic boarding school, a *pesantren*. This latter category were people who did not go out to seek new adherents, but they stayed in their compound, taught their students, and offered consultations to people who came there for advice. In this sense Van Lith's daily routine had changed a great deal since the year 1904. From a very busy outgoing figure who went to Javanese villages, managing new contacts and renewing established relations, from a true nomad who went out on his bicycle, he became a settler, a resident teacher in a grandiose compound, where more and more pupils were trained according to his strict discipline in a modern way. In 1908 Mertens wrote to his Dutch superior, 'Frans van Lith teaches Dutch language and mathematics, all together 30 hours per week; Father van Velsen teaches Dutch, science and chemistry, biology and geography, all together 24 hours, but to this some hours for music and singing should be added. I teach 26 hours of Dutch, education, biology, and history of the Indies. Besides, Van Lith and myself are responsible for 12 hours of catechism classes and preparing Sunday sermons'.³⁷ This heavy schedule made the three priests real resident teachers and educators who did not do much outside their compound, in the same way as a *pesantren* leader would devote nearly all his time to the progress of the education given within his own compound. A big difference between the two was, certainly, that most classes given by the Western-educated priests were not in the field of religion proper, but were rather modern sciences that were needed for a secular and non-sectarian school.

³⁶ Vriens 'Honerd Jaar':692.

³⁷ Vriens 'Honerd Jaar':888.

It soon proved to be impossible to run the growing school of Muntilan with only three missionaries. Thus, students for the priesthood were sent from the Netherlands to help out. The first three arrived in 1909. Having finished their first Jesuit novitiate and two years of philosophy study in the Netherlands, they came to Muntilan to teach at the secondary school, while simultaneously learning Javanese. After two or three years they returned to the Netherlands. In the 1930s such students also followed courses of philosophy and theology in Java. These first Dutch Jesuit students were not qualified for teaching, but later groups followed special courses either in the Indies or in the Netherlands to become officially qualified as secondary school teachers. This was important in order for the school to be recognized by the government and to receive subsidies.

Van Lith wanted to remain close to Javanese culture, but at the same time he had a good feel for the development of modern colonial society, where Dutch language and Western civilization became more and more important in the early twentieth century. Besides the low-level training programme for assistant teachers at Javanese-language village schools, he also started a higher level of teacher training in 1906, where Dutch was initially only one of the subjects, but soon became the medium of instruction. Within a decade the development from a basic training for a Javanese village school to a teacher training programme qualifying teachers to work at schools using Dutch as medium of instruction was completed. In 1913 the lowest level training programme for teachers of Javanese-language village schools was closed, and Dutch had become the first medium of instruction, with Javanese reduced to a minor subject. The large group of young Jesuits who started to work in Xavier College after 1909 made it possible for that Javanese institution to develop into a centre where Dutch was the most common language. In 1922 the Brothers of Maastricht (formally called the Brothers of the Immaculate Conception), who had already opened a Dutch-language primary and secondary school in Yogyakarta, also took over one of the two Dutch-language primary schools of Muntilan. It is quite significant that they moved into two houses that initially had been built for lay teachers: the Muntilan enterprise became a huge clerical enterprise. In 1932 nine Maastricht brothers were teaching in Muntilan, besides seven Jesuit priests and four junior Jesuits. In the large boarding houses there were some 200 young boys who followed HIS as well as some 200 who attended the teacher training programme at Xavier College.

If we compare the large educational compound of Muntilan to similar Catholic centres in eastern Indonesia like Langgur on Kai, Lela and Ndona on Flores, Woloan in the Minahasa, and Nyarumkop in Kalimantan, the special position of Muntilan is clear. Muntilan could start immediately with secondary schools and training for teachers, instead of being limited to three-year village schools. In a very early stage Muntilan switched to Dutch as the main lan-

guage of instruction. Besides, there was much stress on Javanese as a cultural and sometimes also liturgical language. In Muntilan, Malay was neglected as a means of instruction and communication. The Catholic mission considered Malay a Muslim language and preferred Javanese (in addition to Dutch).

Initially, Javanese pupils came to Muntilan for training to become teachers after finishing a Javanese-language village school. Only at a later stage did they also come for the Dutch-language primary schools. During the early decades, they were all from nominal or somewhat devout Muslim families. There was no obligation to study Christianity, and religious classes were purely optional. But the impact of the priests on the first generations of pupils was so strong that all asked for baptism before the end of their studies, and quite a few continued their studies for the priesthood. The first class of 1905 graduated in 1911. It was still small, only four, but two of the graduates immediately applied to be educated for the priesthood. Of these two, Pieter Darmasepoetra did not complete the full track. The first to follow the full education was Francis Xavier Satiman, born in 1891 in Yogyakarta. After additional courses in Latin, he went to the Netherlands in January 1914 for the last two years of grammar school, the Jesuit novitiate, and theological studies. Satiman was ordained a priest in 1926 and worked from June 1929 as a parish priest among the former Sadrach Christians of Kalibawang from the main post of Bara. Other prominent students of the early decades of Muntilan were Albertus Soegijopranoto, who became bishop of Semarang in 1940, and Adrianus Djajasepoetra, who started studies in the Netherlands in 1919 and became archbishop of Jakarta in 1960.³⁸ By 1939 the Jesuits had 36 Javanese members who were either priests or students for the priesthood. In addition, there were 17 lay brothers as members of the order. Fifty years after the start of the Muntilan school, in the mid 1950s, there were already 100 ordained Javanese priests. It was rightly concluded by a senior Jesuit that 'there is probably no other mission territory in the world where the native priesthood developed as quickly and successfully as in Central Java'.³⁹

Among Muntilan students who became famous as Catholic laypeople were the politician Ignatius Kasimo and the linguist W.J.S. Poerwadarminta.

³⁸ There is a list of clergy who were in these first Muntilan generations in Hasto Rosariyanto 1997:69-1. Vriens 'Honderd Jaar':956-77 has more details.

³⁹ Vriens 'Honderd Jaar': 975.

The merry maiden of Mendut (Dara-dara Mendut)

Aan de oever van de Elo
 Staat het klooster van Mendoet
 Daar zijn veel Javaanse meisjes
 Door de Zusters opgevoed (Mangunwijaya 1993:1)

[On the banks of the river Elo
 the convent of Mendut was built
 where many Javanese girls
 by the sisters were drilled]

The Franciscan ‘sisters of Heythuizen’ had served the large orphanage of Semarang for Eurasian children since 1870, and a boarding school for Florenese in Larantuka since 1879. In 1908 they opened a boarding school in Mendut for Javanese girls, followed by a teacher training school in 1916. Education was in Dutch, and the school received government subsidies starting in 1916. A close relationship grew between Mendut and Muntilan. On 26 July 1909 the first visit by 21 girls of Mendut to the school of Muntilan was arranged. Soon this was a monthly day off for the older sections of both schools, apparently with the purpose that Catholic families would grow out of this arrangement for meetings between teenagers. They had started their school as Muslims but all converted to Catholicism, the girls as well as the boys. The conspiracy of priests and sisters worked: quite a few Catholic couples came out of these planned meetings. The Jesuit historian Vriens quotes from the chronicle of Muntilan, 11 December 1910, that in the morning at a solemn celebration the priests had pronounced the ‘oath against modernism’ required by a decree of Pope Pius X on 1 September of that year. On that same day there was another visit by the girls from Mendut, who went with the boys of Muntilan to the local cinema to see a pious movie on the passion plays of Oberammergau.⁴⁰ The two actions had a common purpose, to create a visible and devout Catholic community.

Gradually the educational facilities at Mendut developed into the counterpart of the boys’ schools at Muntilan. From the beginning it was entirely oriented towards Dutch-language education. It started with a kindergarten, followed by a HIS and three sections for secondary education: a teacher training college, a vocational school, and a more general secondary school (MULO). These schools were served by 25 sisters, six of whom (in the 1930s) were Javanese. There were some 600 girls in the dormitories of the large institution. Some critical members of the missionary clergy later remarked that the Javanese Catholic church was like a ‘head too big for its body’: too many clergy and institutions too large compared to its few lay faithful. Whatever the

⁴⁰ Vriens ‘Honderd jaar’:883.

value of this comment may be, it reflects the typical strategy of the Catholic missionaries in Central Java and their success.⁴¹

Saint Mary's Congregation, retreat and a socio-religious weekly: The start of a proper Javanese Catholic community

Most of the former pupils of the schools of Muntilan and Mendut became teachers in the rapidly expanding network of Catholic village schools in Javanese towns and villages. In this position the teachers tried to make conversions and to start new Catholic communities. To enhance contact with these dispersed groups, in the 1910s a tradition started of large meetings of former pupils at Christmas in Muntilan, which therefore came to be called 'the Bethlehem of Java'. In 1920 this tradition was changed to a formal retreat, a week of spiritual seclusion and upgrading, held for the first time in Muntilan in June 1920 with 50 participants, nearly all of them former students of the teacher training college of Muntilan. In the 1930s the special retreat house, Giri Sonta, was used for this event.⁴²

The peculiar international Catholic devotional style of the period was also practised in Java. Jesus was seen as the loved and loving king under a royal title, and by even more people as the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Mary was venerated as the pure virgin. In 1914 a Sodality of Mary was founded in Muntilan, with its main activity being additional prayers and meditation on Sundays for the higher classes of the teacher training college. Its first leader was Albertus Soegijopranoto, then still a student in Muntilan. The students of Muntilan liked these special societies. Within the Saint Mary's Congregation, two more sections were founded in 1920: the Redemptus Bond for self-discipline and sanctification (after Redemptus a Cruce, a Carmelite priest, martyr in Aceh in 1638) and the Xavier Bond for apostolate. The members of the latter went to the surrounding villages to seek people who would like to receive catechism lessons. A third section within this Mary's Congregation was the Angel's Bond, for students who promised to remain in touch with former students who now often lived in a totally non-Catholic environment and therefore needed encouragement to keep their Catholic identity.⁴³ These examples show some other peculiar characteristics of the Catholics of Central Java, especially the Muntilan converts. They practised what the son of another Muntilan convert, the priest Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya, would call 'an overdose of organized

⁴¹ See Mangunwijaya 1998 and also Steenbrink 1998a.

⁴² Javanese *giri* means mountain. It is easily understood as a play on Giri Santo or Mountain of the Saints; *santo* has a place in Pigeaud's 1939 Javanese dictionary as the Catholic Javanese word for saint.

⁴³ Vriens 'Honderd jaar':918.

Catholicism' (Steenbrink 1998a:31). This can be related to the high number of clergy and foreign religious people in Central Java, but perhaps it also has to do with the Javanese character itself, at least during this period. Muslim and nationalist organizations also flourished in numerous committees, new organizations, and groups.

The still undecided Javanese character of the community of the school of Muntilan can be illustrated by a small conflict in 1915 and some later developments. The strict liturgical rules of the first half of the twentieth century did not give much space for Javanese elements. Van Lith and Mertens therefore made use of simultaneous rituals: while the priest performed the Latin readings and prayers in silence or near silence, Javanese students sang the main parts of the liturgy in Javanese. On Good Friday, when the story of Jesus' passion was the most important element of the service, three Javanese boys started singing in Javanese long before the priest, who read the story with a soft voice in Latin, entered. The priest waited until both parties reached the dramatic words of John 19:30 – 'With that he bowed his head and gave up his spirit' – to celebrate a moment of silence. During other parts of the service, the Latin and Javanese texts were also said and sung at the same time. This practice caused protests by some younger Jesuits in Muntilan. In April 1916 K. de Hoog sent a detailed report about the abandonment of the Latin liturgy in favour of Javanese texts and hymns to Vicar Apostolic Luypen in Batavia. Thereupon the bishop ordered that the Vatican rules be obeyed in full, and that no Javanese simultaneous liturgy could be held.⁴⁴ Father van Lith saw his careful compromise between Catholic rules and Javanese language and culture obstructed, protested vehemently, and continued his efforts for Javanese Catholicism until, in the 1920s, the Dutch language started to dominate life in the Muntilan college.⁴⁵

By the 1930s the position of Dutch had become so dominant that A. Spekle (born in 1895 in Velp, the Netherlands, and in the Indies between 1922 and 1925 for training in Javanese and to study philosophy) complained about the ordinary Javanese Catholics who no longer felt at home in the church of the college that also served the ordinary Muntilan parish. After his return to Indonesia in 1930, Spekle had served the parish of Semarang for one year, but then moved to Muntilan in 1931. With some resentment, this priest, who had invested much time and energy in the study of Javanese, found that the church of Xavier College was becoming more and more a place of Dutch-language worship: prayers outside the Latin liturgical texts were increasingly said in Dutch. Students were more used to sitting on chairs and in pews than

⁴⁴ 'Het is bar! R.P. Mertens verzocht alles te doen volgens voorschrift!' Bishop Luypen in a note dated 25-4-1916 replying to an undated letter by K. (Carolus) de Hoog on this subject, in AJAK K 10-5-1. De Hoog, born on 22-7-1877, had arrived in Java in December 1914.

⁴⁵ See Document 17 for the letter by Frans van Lith to Bishop Luypen, 26-4-1916.

on the floor, as they used to do in the early twentieth century. Even the few chairs in the church, placed by and for older Javanese people and hired by them for a small amount per year, were often occupied by younger students. He therefore asked for a parish church to be built, separate from the college, where the Javanese language would dominate. There were, however, other priorities, and the community of Muntilan continued to be dominated by the college and its many pupils.⁴⁶

Besides the more religious organizations and debates, there were also Javanese Catholic social and even political organizations, most of these supported by publications. The first was founded in 1913 and called Katolika Wandawa, the Catholic Family, after the somewhat obsolete Javanese word *wandu-wandawa* meaning a broad group of relatives (Pigeaud 1938:612). The idea originated from the Jesuit priest Jan van Rijckevorsel, who had previously formulated rules for the Katholieke Sociale Bond. The first members were exclusively male teachers. Local branches were founded and also a central committee, the Poesara Katolika Wandawa. In 1923 a women's organization was founded, Wanita Katolik.

One of the most successful activities of the Katolika Wandawa was a magazine. In January 1914 the first issue of *Djawi Seraja* (Cooperating Java) was published. By mid-1914 it already had 500 subscribers, quite a few of them non-Catholics attracted to its moderate nationalism and its discussion of social issues. The magazine was also a means of contact for the alumni of the school of Muntilan. In 1920 this magazine was replaced by the biweekly *Swara Tama* (literally 'The Excellent Message', perhaps in reference to 'Good News' referring to the gospel). It remained the main magazine for Catholic Javanese until the Japanese occupation in 1942. *Swara Tama* contained a good deal of national and international news. It was fiercely anti-socialist (anti-Bolshevik, in the language of the period). The second issue, mid-September 1920, contained a summary of the social conditions of work on the sugar plantations of the Schmutzers in Gondang Lipura, Bantul. This *collectief arbeidscontract* contained regulations for holidays, sick leave, a pension plan, fixed several years earlier.

The IKP, from its very beginnings in 1918 was a political union of the European people in the colony. On 16 June 1923 the two Jesuits Jan and Leo van Rijckevorsel, relatives of each other and with family ties to the wife of Julius Schmutzer, sugar planter in Bantul, called together twelve Javanese Catholics for the founding of the Katholieke Javanen Vereeniging voor Politieke Actie (Catholic Javanese Union for Political Action), soon renamed in Javanese Pakempalan Politik Katolik Djawa or PPKD. The meeting was the result of a correspondence started by four Javanese of Central Java, Raden Mas J. Soejadi, F. Soetrisno, C. Pranoto, and Ignatius Kasimo, with Jan van

⁴⁶ On Spekler see AJAK K 10-5-3 and Document 31.

Rijckevorsel in Weltevreden.⁴⁷ The first propaganda meeting at the brothers' school of Yogyakarta on 5 August 1923 brought together about 50 potential members.

From the beginning the most prominent and active was Ignatius Joseph Kasimo Endrawahjana, born in 1900 and educated in Muntilan, where he was baptized in 1912, and finished his primary education. Kasimo had also studied at the agricultural college in Buitenzorg (Bogor) and worked from 1921 in Central Java, first on a rubber plantation, and later as a teacher and consultant for agricultural subjects. In 1923 Van Rijckevorsel had announced that the IKP 'did not object to' the establishment of a separate indigenous Catholic political party. From 1924 to 1927 Soejadi Djajasepoetra was a member of the Volksraad. From 1931 until the end of the colonial period it was I. Kasimo who was appointed to this seat. The first letter by the Javanese founding four declared

That according to Christian principles on the basis of their nationality, the Javanese people have the right to grow into an independent and sovereign nation; that Catholic Javanese nationalists intend to work together to realize this mighty wish; that the Catholic Javanese shall do nothing by way of organizing a separate political organization, but will be taken up into the party context of the IKP.⁴⁸

The PPKD in fact led a life of its own, quite independent from the IKP. In the Volksraad they joined the 'Catholic faction', as some members did who were appointed for non-religious reasons (like Bruineman and Buffart), but there were sometimes differences of opinion. In the late 1920s the PPKD did not join the more revolutionary parties that opted for an independent Indonesia through the PPPKI (Permoefakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politiek Kebangsaan Indonesia). At that time the religious advisors who had a strong say in the strategy and actual policy of the PPKD estimated that the nationalists were completely under the influence of a 'dimly veiled forefront of Moscow' and had to be regarded as atheists and communists.⁴⁹ But in September 1936 Kasimo voted in the Volksraad in favour of the Soetardjo Petition, which asked for a fully self-deciding Indonesian parliament, quoting Van Lith who in 1924 had said that the distant Netherlands could never satisfy the interests of the Indies.

⁴⁷ Dutch report on this meeting to the acting vicar of Batavia, written by President F. Soetrisno and his secretary Endrawahjana (Kasimo), 14-9-1923, with a draft of the statutes and by-laws of the KJVPA, is in AJAK M 4-1-1. IKP leader Bruineman was also invited for the 16 June meeting in Yogyakarta, but was 'prevented from coming'.

⁴⁸ AJAK M 4-1-1, translation after Van Klinken 2003:56.

⁴⁹ 'Een gecamoefleerde voorpost van Moskou,' Jan van Rijckevorsel to Josef Schmutzer, 4-12-1928, AJAK M 4-1-1.

Individual conversions in the Yogyakarta region: Henri van Driessche and Joseph Sträter, 1915-1942

During the 1910s and 1920s the Jesuits not only founded a large number of Catholic village schools in Central Java, the teachers that were educated at the Muntilan school also started to work in 'religiously neutral' (non-sectarian) government schools.⁵⁰ The adventurous Joseph Sträter (born in Amsterdam in 1882) arrived in the Indies in February 1917. In January 1918 he was posted to Yogyakarta, and he soon proved to be very sociable. His first duty was to make pastoral visits to European planters in Bagelen and Banyumas. But this did not satisfy his missionary spirit. He therefore made great efforts to learn some Javanese as soon as possible. He went by bicycle to visit Catholic teachers in the villages around Yogyakarta and made contact with possible new Catholics. When enough children from a village without a school had shown interest in Catholicism, he would try to open a new school there, with, of course, a Catholic graduate from Muntilan as the teacher.

Henri van Driessche was the resident person in this team of Yogyakarta missionaries to the Javanese. His mobility was limited because he was crippled, and this physical handicap had made it difficult for him to be accepted as a member of the Jesuit order and to be ordained to priesthood. One of the arguments he had used to convince the leaders of his order and the Vatican was that the founder of the Jesuit order himself, Ignatius of Loyola, was also a cripple (because of a wound sustained in a battle while still a soldier) before entering the priesthood and founding his religious order. Van Driessche was born in Surabaya in 1875 and educated in the Indies until the age of 20, when he had to resign from the academy for colonial officials due to another physical handicap: strain in his hand which prevented him from writing by hand and doing administrative work. He went to the Netherlands and entered the Jesuit order. He returned to the Indies in 1912 and started to work in Muntilan. In 1919 he was transferred to Yogyakarta, where he gave courses for new Catholics. Until his death in 1934, he was also in charge of Javanese who wanted to enter the Jesuit order, and he guided their first year of religious training, the novitiate. By 1915 Van Driessche had, with the help of a catechist, started work among Javanese in the Yogyakarta area. Because of problems obtaining government permission for evangelization, Van Driessche was quite cautious. No permission was needed, however, for the work of a catechist, a native Javanese. Only foreign missionaries needed the special permit, which previously had been rejected several times. On 6 September 1915 Van Driessche wrote a formal letter from Muntilan to the Yogyakarta sultan, explaining that several *abdi dalem*, lower functionaries of the sultanate, had followed catechism lessons and wanted to be baptized as

⁵⁰ On this episode see Vriens 'Honderd jaar':896-906 as well as Van Aernsbergen 1934:268, 396-7.

Catholics. The following 12 September Van Driessche received a reply saying that 'there were no objections against the transition to the Roman Catholic religion by the Sultan's servants, if they wanted to do this'.⁵¹ The letter was made public only much later, in 1939, but it immediately solved the problems related to the difficulty of receiving formal permission for evangelization in the Yogyakarta area. Soon after this letter, some Catholic *abdi dalem* were appointed to functions in the sultanate, where they had to swear an oath of allegiance. They were allowed to do this on the Bible rather than on the Koran, as was the common practice. When in 1927 the minor seminary was opened in Yogyakarta, followed by a Catholic secondary school in 1928, the sultan was present to give his blessings for these undertakings.

The catechist contracted by Van Driessche was a member of the lower nobility, Raden Mas Josef Poerwadiwirja, a former Muslim who had a long history of membership of the theosophical society and of the Protestant church, as well as a close relationship with some individual Javanese teachers of wisdom (*guru ngelmu*). This man, commonly called Dèn Mas Joesoep, found in Van Driessche, himself a native speaker of Javanese since his early youth, his true teacher. Dèn Mas Joesoep was sent to Yogyakarta to seek to convert people among the higher class, the nobility, and proved to be very successful in this. By 1917 the first Javanese-language Catholic village school was opened in the Kumendaman district of the sultan's palace. It soon became clear that the great attraction of Catholicism was its high-quality Dutch-language education. By 1 August 1918, two HIS had to be opened in Yogyakarta, under supervision of the Canisius Foundation.

It was a matter of great pride that in 1922 the Catholics could open their first Javanese church building in Yogyakarta, in the Mataram, the former building of the Freemasons, for so long considered adversaries. The building on the Kampementstraat (now Bintaran Kidul) was turned into Saint Joseph's Church. More and more schools were opened, and soon Yogyakarta surpassed Muntilan and became the real heart of the Javanese mission.

In 1932 Yogyakarta had four parish churches, the large chapels of the Jesuit College, and the hospital of the sisters of Carolus Borromeus, who served the Catholic hospital. The brothers of the Immaculate Conception had a large compound with one Javanese-language village school and two Dutch-language primary schools, in addition to a Dutch-language secondary school.

⁵¹ The letter was published in Dutch in the Catholic Weekly *Swara Tama*, 25 years later, 29-3-1939. It was more or less hidden in a Javanese article on the Eucharist Congress that was to be held in Yogyakarta, from 29 to 31-7-1939. See Document 16. In April 1918 Vicar Apostolic Luyken asked Father Mertens in Muntilan whether there would be problems with the government as to missionary work in Yogyakarta. Mertens answered him on 24-4-1918: 'Dat wij van de hand van de Resident van Djocja een schrijven in de brandkast hebben, waar de Sultan getuigt, dat hij er niets tegen heeft, dat zijne onderdanen Christen worden mits zij niet worden gedwongen', AJAK K 10-5-2. I did not find a letter from the resident, only the printed text in *Swara Tama*, much later.

Their large chapel also served in part for the Catholics of the town. The Heythuyzen sisters did not offer secondary education but had two Dutch-language primary schools, in addition to a kindergarten. Similar Dutch-language schools were opened under supervision of the main parish of Yogyakarta. The Canisius Foundation offered four extended (five-year) primary schools (*standaardscholen*) as well as a Malay-language school for Chinese and three low-level village schools for girls. Its most prestigious offering was the teacher training programme at Kumendaman. In 1932 there were no fewer than 32 Jesuit priests working in the town of Yogyakarta, assisted by four Jesuit brothers; in addition there were 14 Dutch teachers, brothers of the Immaculate Conception, 13 sisters of Heythuizen (teachers), and nine sisters of Carolus Borromeus (nurses for the hospital). These figures are only for the Dutch personnel of the Catholic mission.⁵²

The Catholic initiatives were not isolated efforts in a gradually more segmented Yogyakarta. In fact, the Protestant mission had started with similar projects before the Catholics did: they had their own educational and medical institutions, as did the other major player in the region, the Muslim organization Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta as a reformist organization. This Muslim body had the twin goals of restoring (or bringing for the first time) a pure scripturalist Islam to broad segments of the Javanese Muslim population. In addition it had the ideal of modernizing Islam. To do so it imitated the initiatives taken first by the Protestant mission: Dutch-language primary and secondary schools, an orphanage, a hospital with a religious identity, a religious press (weekly magazines, popular books), organizations for teachers, and cultural and political organizations. The Catholics followed close behind in third place. Muslims had by far the largest number of followers; Protestants and Catholics probably surpassed Muslims in quality of education and health care.

It is quite difficult to compare the strength of the growth of Protestants and Catholics in this region. It is certain that in the main cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta the Protestants took the lead because they were able to start their mission among the Javanese earlier. By 1939 the Reformed Mission in Central Java reported a total of 16,562 confessing members. In that year the baptized non-European Catholics of the vicariate apostolic of Batavia numbered 26,877, the vast majority of them coming from Central Java. This suggests somewhat more Catholics than Protestants. However, Catholics seemed to be quicker to baptize children than Protestants, and the small number of Mennonite Protestants in the northern part of Central Java were not taken into account.⁵³ In 1939 the Reformed Protestant Mission was the provider of 274 schools, most of them village schools, some of them going up to a teacher training

⁵² *Jaarboek* 1932:28-35; 228-71.

⁵³ Figures from De Jong 1997:797 and *Jaarboek* 1940:20.



Father Henri van Driessche (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

programme, as well as some vocational schools. These schools served 24,000 pupils all together. The Catholic mission in the whole vicariate of Batavia maintained 540 schools for 34,577 pupils. Out of these there were 265 village schools, virtually all of these in Central Java, with 25,447 pupils.⁵⁴ Here again there seems to be a balance between Catholics and Protestants, with a small superiority on the side of Catholics. Protestants had more schools in the Surakarta area, while Catholics were stronger in Yogyakarta. The largest difference was in the number of expatriate personnel. In 1931 the Protestants had 16 European medical doctors and 27 nurses in their mission field, with six ministers and a few teachers, while the Catholics had many more priests and teachers in their mission field, but were far behind as to medical staff. They had no qualified medical doctors from their own organization, but had to hire them. There were, however, many sisters working as nurses in the 'Onder de Boogen' Hospital of Yogyakarta and a few in Bara.⁵⁵

On the whole, the Christian endeavour, Protestants and Catholics together, was certainly small compared to certain other areas outside Java. For the year 1936 the division between private and government education in Central Java was as shown in the table on page 394.⁵⁶

Not all private schools were sponsored by the Protestant or Christian mission: some were run by the Taman Siswa, but certainly the vast majority were mission schools, either Protestant or Catholic. From these statistics it is clear where the centre of missionary activities was. It was the *vorstenlanden* of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, where the two missions had 35% and 24%, respectively, of Javanese-language village schools. For the strongly Muslim residences of the north coast (Pekalongan, Jepara) the Christian presence was much weaker. Even in Kedu, the residency containing Muntilan and Magelang, Christian schools constituted no more than 7.5%. For the whole of Central Java the 'mission portion' of primary schools was 8.9%. In West Java (including Batavia) this figure was only 1.7% (52 out of 3,108 primary schools) and in East Java 2.8% (123 out of 4,386 primary schools). Notwithstanding heavy investments in personnel and money by both missions (besides generous subsidies from the government), nowhere in Java did the educational endeavours of Catholic and Protestant missions develop into the dominating social power they were in certain regions of eastern Indonesia and in the Batak region. Only in the principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta did missionary endeavours reach more than 20%. These statistics do not take into account the continuing efforts of Islamic education. The two systems of basic Koran classes and the more developed *pesantren* schools continued, along with the new secular schools established by the colonial government, supported and sometimes

⁵⁴ Figures from De Jong 1997:20-21 and *Jaarboek* 1940:22-3.

⁵⁵ Reenders 2001:886 and *Jaarboek* 1940:19.

⁵⁶ *Indisch Verslag* 1938:88 (vol II: Statistisch Jaaroverzicht).

Residency	Public schools (vernacular Javanese)	Private schools (vernacular Javanese)	Total	Number of pupils
Pekalongan	841	3	844	77,063
Semarang	700	58	758	78,613
Jepara/Rembang	648	30	678	64,431
Banyumas	926	10	936	79,581
Kedu	1,093	89	1,182	114,311
Yogyakarta	343	177	520	49,527
Surakarta	352	114	466	51,474
Total	4,903	481	5,384	515,000

partly run by Catholic or Protestant missions. From the statistics alone, especially for Central Java, it is very clear that the vast majority of schoolchildren were not Catholic but Muslim (whether nominal or practising).

One social initiative in the Yogyakarta region was the tobacco industry Negresco, opened in 1919 in Yogyakarta. It was founded by the Dutch cigar factory of Mignot and Block (with headquarters in Eindhoven, the Netherlands), who sought cheap personnel in Java to make cigars close to the tobacco plantations. Some personnel came from the Netherlands to instruct selected Catholic Javanese to make cigars, starting in July 1919. The factory was a big success: by 1923 it employed 400 workers. They were only accepted on recommendation of the priests of Yogyakarta. In the 1920s cigarettes were made in the factory too, and there was a notable increase in personnel until the 1930s, when the factory was affected by the global economic crisis and had to downsize. Such were the kinds of activities planned by Father van Lith between 1897 and 1904 to make Catholicism attractive to non-Catholic Javanese. In fact it worked the other way round, and the initiative was taken after a substantial number of people in the Yogyakarta region had converted.⁵⁷

Another socio-economic project was the establishment of a printing factory, which developed into the well-established Kanisius publishing and printing firm of Yogyakarta. There was the threefold hope that it would make school and prayer books cheaper, would provide good working conditions for Catholics, and would also earn some profit to be used for the mission schools.⁵⁸

There were no clear Catholic pockets in the Yogyakarta region (as there were in most places of Central Java). Conversions were, apart from the Kalibawang

⁵⁷ Sträter 1924:7-14 and Vriens 'Honderd jaar':907-8.

⁵⁸ In 1992 and 1997 various books were published to commemorate the seventieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries of the firm. See also Priyanahadi 2003.

region, not collective but individual. Catholics remained a very small and dispersed minority, living among ordinary Javanese in many districts of the towns of Muntilan, Yogyakarta, and surrounding villages. There were probably never Catholics living in the *kauman* area of Yogyakarta, known as a centre for pious Muslims (although there was a teacher working at a Catholic school living there), but there were no specific Catholic or Protestant areas in this region. Religion here was an individual affair, much more so than elsewhere in the archipelago, especially the villages in the Outer Islands.

The only successful combination of evangelization and plantation: The Schmutzer estate in Ganjuran

We already met Joseph Schmutzer in Chapter II as a prominent member of the IKP and as a member of the Volksraad. This is the place to discuss the contribution of the Schmutzer family as a whole to the expansion of Catholicism in Yogyakarta and especially at Ganjuran, their sugar plantation, 20 kilometres south of Yogyakarta.

The first member of the family to come to the Indies was Gottfried Joseph Julius Schmutzer, born in 1847 in Prague (at that time part of Austria). He came to Surabaya as a trader, and in 1880 married the young widow Elisa Karthaus (born in Surabaya in 1852). From her first husband, former army officer Stefanus Berends (who died in 1878) she had inherited, together with her son Ferdinand, the sugar estate in Bantul, founded in 1862. The Schmutzer-Karthaus couple was blessed with four children. One son died in 1905.⁵⁹ Two other sons, Joseph and Julius, went to the Netherlands for technical studies in Delft. After graduation in Delft, the oldest, Joseph (born in 1882), continued his education for one year in Paris at a mining school, the École des Mines, taught from 1905 to 1910 at Utrecht University, and obtained a PhD in Delft. Julius continued his studies for some time in Amsterdam at the Suikerschool, an institute for sugar cultivation. In 1910-1912 the two young men returned to the Indies and settled at Ganjuran, on the estate of Gondang Lipuro, their sugar factory. In 1912, after their mother had died, the two young men bought out their stepbrother and could quickly enlarge the estate from 300 to 600 hectares, while modernizing the factory with the newest machinery. In the early 1920s major irrigation works were carried out to make the plantation even more profitable.

The two Schmutzer brothers had been active in the Catholic student association Sanctus Vergilius in Delft, in an atmosphere of appreciation of Catholic social doctrine as expressed in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (Pope Leo XIII, 1891). They formulated the rights of labourers on their plantation in a treaty

⁵⁹ The eldest child was a daughter Elise, born in 1881; she went to the Netherlands after her father Gottfried died in 1902; she married in the Netherlands and did not return to the Indies.

with the labour union Tjipto Oetomo. The contract included detailed provisions for the maximum number of working hours, a career plan (5% increase in salary per year), a pension plan, health insurance and sick leave, life insurance, housing facilities, and holidays. In 1918 all personnel were still Muslim and the holidays were fixed at three days for the festival at the end of the fast of Ramadan (Grebeg Puasa), two for Grebeg Besar (Idul Adha), and two for the commemoration of Muhammad's birth (Grebeg Maulud). The board of directors of Tjipto Oetomo had the right to see the balance and other financial details of the sugar estate.⁶⁰ In 1920 Joseph moved to Buitenzorg (Bogor), because of his position as a delegate and later vice-chairman of the Volksraad, but he stayed in contact with the sugar plantation and his family there.

In 1920 Julius Schmutzler married Caroline van Rijckevorsel, a younger sister of the Jesuit priest Leopold van Rijckevorsel, who since 1909 had worked in the Javanese mission. Caroline van Rijckevorsel had worked as a nurse before she married Julius Schmutzler. She opened a small clinic in the buildings of the estate in 1921. In 1922 a separate building was constructed for this clinic, which was also visited by a medical doctor from Yogyakarta. In 1930 the clinic was transformed into a proper hospital, entrusted to the Carolus Borromeus sisters. These same sisters worked in the Catholic hospital 'Onder de Boogen' (now Panti Rapi) of Yogyakarta, which was opened in 1929 at the initiative of Julius Schmutzler and other prominent Catholics of Yogyakarta.

In 1919 an extended primary school was opened in Ganjuran, followed by three village schools in 1923. In 1930 the estate had responsibility for twelve primary schools, commonly called the twelve apostles. All the teachers were graduates of Muntilan. They made quite a few converts in the region, where in 1920 only a few European Catholics had been present. When the Schmutzler family left the estate in 1934 there were already 1,350 Catholics, still only a small minority in this region.

In 1924 a church was built in Ganjuran in the traditional Javanese or Joglo style. For the decoration of that new church, designs were made for statues of angels, Jesus, Mary, and the Trinity by Joseph Schmutzler in Bogor. These were executed by a Muslim artist, known only as Iko from West Java, together with his son-in-law Adi and an ethnic Chinese artist. The design of the altar decoration and the statues was adapted as much as possible to the Hindu-Javanese tradition. An even more creative work was the Holy Heart chapel, built in the tradition of Javanese *candi* as found in the eighth- to ninth-century Hindu Prambanan temple compound. The first stone was laid on 26 December 1927 by Bishop A. van Velsen of Batavia on the 65th anniversary of the sugar factory as an expression of gratitude. On that occasion, in the basement of the chapel, a small statue of Jesus, 57 centimetres high, showing his

⁶⁰ For a Javanese version of these provisions see Document 21. For more details see the summary by Jan Weitjens SJ of Elihami's MA thesis (1995), KDC, Nijmegen, Inv. 126-54.

Sacred Heart, was buried with a charter enscribed on a copper plate: 'Even if this *candi* is ever destroyed, Christ King will forever remain in Ganjuran'. This is probably a reference to the local tradition of Ganjuran as a place where the mystical founder of the Javanese dynasty of Mataram in the sixteenth century, Senopati, went for meditation before he started his rebellion against the ruler of Pajang. In Lipuro, the village close to the Gondang river, Senopati saw a star and heard a divine voice telling him that he would rule over Java. The name of the sugar plantation was changed from Ganjuran to Gondang Lipuro, to show that not Senopati but Christ was the ruler over the whole of Java, as was also written on the copper plate. According to some Javanese theories, the village of Lipuro was the very heart and the sacral centre of the realm of Mataram (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:313). The erection of a *candi* dedicated to Christ the King was certainly meant to emphasize the arrival of Christianity here as the successor to the Javanese Hindu tradition. In this ideology there was and is no place for the 'Islamic intermezzo' in this area, a change of religion that was thought by the Jesuit priests and some of their new Catholics to be superficial and insignificant.

It took three years to build the *candi*. On 11 February 1930 Bishop van Velsen inaugurated the *candi*. On the same occasion the whole island of Java was commissioned to the blessings of Christ the King. On the wall of the chapel there is the Javanese text *Sampejan Dalem Maha Praboe Jesus Kristoës Pangéraning Para Bangsa* (You, highest king, Jesus Christ, Lord of all nations).

During the revolutionary period of the late 1940s the sugar estate was set on fire by a Dutch bombardment in 1948. The church remained intact and the *candi* grew in prestige and veneration. At the large annual procession in the month of June (on the occasion of the Catholic celebration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) the memory is still cherished of the Schmutzer family who brought the Catholic faith to this region and encouraged adaption of Catholic rituals to Javanese tradition.⁶¹

Surakarta and Klaten

Many pupils of Muntilan came from the Surakarta region, but developments here were very slow. In 1924 Petrus Hoevenaars (twice expelled from the mission among the Javanese, on government order, in 1897 and 1905) returned to Central Java as parish priest of Surakarta. As recently as 1917 he had severely criticized the Jesuit strategy in this region:

⁶¹ 'Melestarikan tradisi warisan leluhur penyebar iman di Ganjuran yakni keluarga Schmutzer yang telah melaksanakan usaha inkulturasikan dalam rangka pembinaan iman sesuai budaya Jawa yang agung hingga memperoleh bentuk seperti sekarang ini', from the textbook for the annual celebration at the Ganjuran Candi on 29-6-1997, where more than ten thousand faithful attended the ceremony.

After 20 years of work, we have to concede that there is no longer a mission among the Javanese, besides the little work done by Father van Driessche in Yogyakarta and not in Muntilan. This is no exaggeration, it is the truth. I do not belittle the great service of the schools of Muntilan. We must thank God that they are established and that their quality is so high. But founding schools is different from working in a mission.⁶²

Between 1924 and 1928 Petrus Hoevenaars opened no fewer than ten *standaard-schools* in Surakarta and prepared the opening of Dutch-language schools by the Maastricht brothers and the Heythuizen Franciscan sisters. The mission in Surakarta, as well, concentrated on educational activities. The 1939 statistics for Surakarta show 2,279 Javanese and 2,070 European and Eurasian Catholics.

Nearby Klaten had fewer schools but a more gifted parish priest, the easily socializing Father J.G. Berndsen, and therefore had some 3,015 Javanese Catholics by 1939 (as well as 523 Europeans). In the Klaten region (and nearby Wedi) there were two extraordinary converts. The first was Petrus Wignamarwata, teacher at the five-year primary school of Wedi. He probably accepted Catholicism after his pupils had gone to Muntilan for teacher training. He became a very active propagator of Catholicism in his region, and due to his status and age was quite successful among older people. The second unusual convert in Wedi was Haji Ngesoman, who had not only performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, but even stayed in the holy city for four years to study Islamic doctrine. By accident he received a translation of the New Testament that was distributed in that region by the Protestant evangelists. Attracted by the content of the gospel and probably unaware of the difference between Catholics and Protestants, he went to Muntilan, where he met Father Van Driessche as a partner in his religious quest. It took several years after his first visit to Muntilan before he decided to become a Catholic. He was baptized in June 1922 at the age of 64 in the newly established Catholic school of the village. Several members of his family followed him.⁶³

Catholics and the confrontation with Islam in Central Java

In several chapters of this book I have discussed the encounter (or should I say, the confrontation?) between Christianity and Islam. On the island of Flores, the Kai islands, and also in parts of Kalimantan, there was certainly a race for souls between the two world religions. For Central Java the case is much more complicated. Although Christians have remained a small minority, it is quite exceptional that larger numbers of Javanese Muslims there converted to Christianity. Can this be explained by the special position of Islam in Central Java?

⁶² Letter to his Dutch provincial superior, quoted in Vriens 'Honderd jaar':910.

⁶³ Vriens, 'Honderd jaar':902.

In the debate about Islam in Indonesia, especially for Javanese Islam, its orthodox character has been disputed. Clifford Geertz wrote in his classic *Religion of Java* about three simultaneous worldviews, which could be seen as three independent variants that can be described individually, but often are found within one and the same person: (1) the civil religion of the *priyayi*, the hereditary aristocracy which incorporated much traditional Javanese lore and considers court ritual and the shadow play of *wayang* as the most important rituals; (2) the *santri* or Muslim clergy and their followers, respecting scripturalist Islam, taking seriously the obligations of ritual prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage as the core of their religion; and (3) the *abangan*, followers of Javanese folk religion with ancestor cult and agricultural rhythm, observing the ceremonial meal or *slametan* as their main ritual. After his first major work on Javanese religion (Geertz 1960), another work appeared on the comparison between Moroccan and Javanese Islam with the challenging title *Islam Observed* (Geertz 1968). This book claimed to be a close registration of 'real and local Islam' as observed by the anthropologist in contrast to the classical tradition of orientalism, which reconstructed an ideal but unrealistic Islam from literary sources alone. Against this 'manifesto' by Geertz, the Scottish-American historian William Roff, in an article with the title 'Islam Obscured?', attacks the 'extraordinary desire on the part of Western social science observers to diminish, conceptually, the place and the role of the religion and culture of Islam, now and in the past, in Southeast Asian societies' (Roff 1985:7). Roff discusses many studies published over a long period and on regions as diverse as Aceh, Minangkabau, and Java. For all regions Roff concludes that the ideal global scheme of Islam is somehow in contrast to the local variant tradition, *adat*. Moreover, in the course of history, until the most recent times, Islam has appeared under a bewildering multitude of changing manifestations. He therefore ends with a consciousness of the obligation not to avoid 'the burden of complexity' (Roff 1985:26). This is certainly not the end of the debate about whether 'Islam is one or many' and whether it stands for a whole civilization or is restricted to certain aspects of society and even then incompletely. In answering this matter, scholars, politicians, and artists each had their own motivations for a particular interpretation. Here we will follow the approach of the protagonists of Catholicism towards Islam in Java, especially Central Java, as well as the reaction of Muslims to the arrival of Christianity, especially Catholicism.

The first major understanding of Javanese religion was formulated by the pioneering priest in Java, Frans van Lith. When comparing his vision and strategy to Geertz's three Javanese worldviews, it is striking that Van Lith saw possibilities in all three layers of Javanese religion by denying its strictly religious character and reducing it to nearly secularized dimensions. From the *priyayi* culture there are the examples of *gamelan* music and elements from

wayang performances being accepted by Van Lith as part of Catholic liturgy, or at least as elements that could be accommodated to Catholic spirituality. From the *santri* stream there is the extraordinary proposal by Van Lith that the *kaum*, the village official appointed to perform Muslim rituals including the marriage ceremony, should continue this public duty for Catholics as well, merely leaving out the strictly Islamic formulas. As to the *abangan* ceremony of the *slametan*, Van Lith considered this 'sacred meal' a social rather than a religious event, and therefore allowed his new Catholic converts to accept invitations from Muslim neighbours for such a meal for the sake of social cohesion.⁶⁴ These views can be considered the main strategy followed by Van Lith and most Jesuits of the early twentieth century: a firm denial of the prominence of Islam in society even in the personal lives of ordinary Javanese, and the belief in there being a strict division between Muslim religion and Javanese culture. This would set the tone for future generations of Catholic leaders in Java: 'obscuring' or at least neglecting and overlooking Islam as the main religious tradition of the Javanese population.⁶⁵

Father Frans van Lith and his crusade against the identification of Javanese culture with Islam

In the early missionary strategy of the Jesuit priest Frans van Lith, two periods can be distinguished. From his arrival in Semarang (March 1897) until about 1904, Van Lith tried to start a process of conversions using several methods, like taking over the debts of peasants to rich Chinese, the establishment of a weaving factory, and the free administration of marriage. Especially the last proposal occasioned some surprise, because in Java the celebration and administration of marriage was generally considered to be the exclusive privilege of the *kaum*, who worked at the village level, or the *penghulu*, who was the religious official in a larger town. In February and March 1902 Van Lith debated his proposal for marriage administration with the lowest colonial official. Controleur Stortenbeker of Muntilan who apparently agreed with his ideas, consented to his offer, although it was never formally executed. However, the rather unrealistic proposal says a lot about Van Lith's attitude (and that of a number of Dutch officials) towards the reality of Islam in Javanese society. In a letter of February 1902 Van Lith proposed to his bishop in Batavia:

⁶⁴ For more details on the early practice and some odd ideas between 1897 and 1902 see Steenbrink 2003:213-8.

⁶⁵ See also Steenbrink 1993:146-8 for Protestant and Catholic examples in the later tradition, between 1960 and 2000.

(1) We [the Catholic priests] will act as civil officials for marriage and divorce. If we do this, we will remove the whole population who are only Muslim in name from the Muslim Church and make them followers of the priests. This is, considering the Javanese character, the shortest way to make the whole people Christian because they usually behave like a flock of ducks following their leader. (2) In order to effectuate this plan we need a certain amount of money, at least to provide cheap loans to the *bekels*, [the village chiefs ...] A *bekel* in a village of some 1,000 people needs some 200 guilders in order not to be taken advantage of by the Chinese. [...] Problems with the government should be handled by myself, because Your Eminence knows that it is my real concern not to damage the public finances.⁶⁶

Needless to say, this ambitious but rather unlikely plan was the subject of internal debate among Jesuit missionaries between February and April 1902, though it was never put into practice. Van Lith clung to the basic idea behind this dream until the end of his life. In 1922, when Van Lith was in the Netherlands on sick leave, he wrote a lengthy commentary on the strategy of the Protestant missions towards Muslims and the independent Javanese teacher Sadrach. He returned to his position of 1902, defending that idea that Catholics should not isolate themselves in separate villages, as the reformed Protestants in East Java and the Mennonites on the northern coast of Central Java did:

We Catholics have thought it best to adopt a different position. We have taken great pains to ensure that the marriage register is filled out in precisely the same way for Catholic Javanese and brought to us by *kaum*, so that the benefits for the village would remain intact for all of them. The Koran does not require that marriages be solemnized in the mosque or by the *penghulu*. It is required by the Dutch government so as to have a civil register and to supervise marriages in view of the civil consequences, primarily involving questions of inheritance. Besides, the officials in the village do not have a very large income for the most part, but they are needed

⁶⁶ '(1) Wij treden op als ambtenaar van den burgerlijken stand bij het sluiten en scheiden van huwelijken. Hiervoor trekken wij de gehele bevolking die slechts in naam Islam is uit het Slamsche Kerkverband en maken hen tot volgelingen van ons pastoors en dit is gegeven het Javaansche karakter de kortste weg om de bevolking, die op eene kudde eenden gelijkt, Christen te maken. (2) Om dit punt te verwezenlijken is eene zekere som gelds noodig, ten minste om goedkoop crediet te geven aan de bekels, zoals ik dat reeds heb uitgelegd. De bekel van eene dessa van ong. 1000 zielen heeft noodig ong. f 200,- om niet geruineerd te worden door de Chineezzen. Moeilijkheden met het goevernement laat dat maar aan mijn oordeel over, omdat UDH weet dat het juist mijn groote puntje is de goovernementskas niet te stooten.' Van Lith to Bishop Luyken in an undated letter, probably Muntlan, February 1902. A letter following on this matter was dated 5-3-1902. In that letter Van Lith defended his stance that he could administer divorce 'as a public official', although as a Catholic priest he could never consent to divorce. Mission Superior E. Engbers has a strong letter on this matter written in Surabaya, 30-3-1902, in which he only agrees with the plan if the candidates for marriage would declare that they want to initiate an indissoluble marriage bond. All letters are in AJAK K 10-4-3. Van Aernsbergen 1934:215 mentions that Van Lith 'for some time acted as an official for the civil administration' but he does not give precise data, and I am not convinced that it ever really happened. This was just one of the young missionary Van Lith's many interesting but often unrealistic ideas.

and do have to make a living. Therefore we have followed a different strategy and have left those revenues undisturbed. Both the Protestants and the Sadrachians consider it their Christian duty to remove these village ties because they are simultaneously religious ties. Is it not, however, the best policy to break such religious ties by employing the entire village staff in exactly the same way in the service of the church and the mosque alike? (Van Lith 1922:78-9).⁶⁷

Using a similar argument, Van Lith did not consider it absolutely objectionable that Catholics were passively present during the *slametan*, even when the Javanese prayers for the ancestors of the spirits of a village were said or even when Islamic prayer was said in Arabic. He had a similar attitude to the circumcision of children (Van Lith 1922:152-3, 159). In the latter case he did require that the strictly Muslim prayers be omitted, so that circumcision could be seen as purely Javanese, rather than an Islamic affair. In his view Javanism was purely cultural, not religious, and a Catholic could therefore observe its rules. Many local rituals with an Islamic flavour could easily be seen as Javanese only and therefore as innocent. Islam, on the other hand, was regarded as a religion that should be avoided.

We can pose the question in the inverse way: How did the Javanese common people in rural villages, as well as members of the lower nobility in the courts, regard the Jesuits? They certainly differed from two other categories of Dutch people. They were not government officials, nor were they planters. Above we mentioned the small flock of Javanese followers of an independent teacher, Kiyahi Sadrach, who had a loose connection with some Dutch Christians, in his early stage with the judge Anthing, and later rather difficult relationships with the Dutch leaders of the Irvingian Apostolic Church. Could the Jesuits evoke sentiments comparable to those aroused by an independent Javanese religious teacher or his Dutch supervisor or coach? At some stage Van Lith wanted to work in the function of the formal Javanese Muslim official, the *kaum*, who also administered and blessed marriages. In later statements he took a different position and saw the administration of this official as a purely secular one, both at marriage and at *slametan*. This is reminiscent of an earlier Catholic mission in China, where Jesuits from 1580 to 1600 initially wore the robes of Buddhist monks and saw these as their closest colleagues or rivals. Later the Jesuits changed their strategy and wore the outfit of the Confucian man of letters, the Mandarin. It is tempting to see in the person of Frans van Lith a combination of an independent religious leader and a colonial official, dedicated to education.

While comparing Van Lith with members of the Jesuit mission in China, let us return to the threefold variants or worldviews of Javanese religion as proposed by Clifford Geertz, as discussed above. Traditional Chinese culture in fact fostered three religious systems at the same time, in the same market,

⁶⁷ On this and the following see also Steenbrink 1993:116-8.

as it were. First, there was the state ideology, Confucianism, which provided standards of conduct for social and political life. Second, for questions concerning the hereafter or problems of serious sickness and death the Chinese sought counsel from the Buddha, just as in Indonesia the doctrines of Islam and other world religions provide solutions for these problems for most people. The third current within traditional China, Taoism, is comparable to what takes place in Java outside the reach of bureaucrats and formal religious leaders, school curriculum, and religious writings. This is what the various regional and local cultures honour through the old practices of the *dukun*, as remnants of animism, and a variety of magical practices and beliefs. Can we compare Confucianism with the *priyayi* version of Javanese religion? Does Islam have the same role as Buddhism in China, while Taoism should be compared to the *abangan* version of Javanese religion? According to this model, the new Javanese Jesuit mission wanted to include all three dimensions, but sometimes shifted from one to another. In the Kalibawang case Van Lith functioned as an independent religious official, comparable to the *santri* tradition of the more strict but also independent religious teachers, combining this with the charisma of the *dukun*. In the Muntilan system of education, Van Lith resembled the modern equivalent of the *priyayi*, where the school gave access to the modernizing society and its language, Dutch.

As a comparison with the modern *priyayi* situation, it may be interesting to quote a curious discussion between Frans van Lith and Edmundus Luypen, the vicar apostolic of Batavia. Van Lith had a natural aversion to horses. He abhorred the idea of sitting on horseback or even in a chariot. He liked the bicycle, and on the vast plains of Central Java this was a practical and relatively cheap means of transport. His bishop, however, viewed the use of a bicycle as being beneath a Catholic priest and forbade Van Lith to make use of it because it would lower his status. Van Lith went to great trouble to convince his religious superior that he was different from a government official and could make use of this means of transport without any loss of dignity.⁶⁸ Of course, at that time no Muslim religious official would have chosen the bicycle as a means of transport: Van Lith was new and different. He combined several characteristics of the religious and the civil administration, from *dukun*, to Muslim *kiyahi*, to modern schoolteacher, but in fact he was a new phenomenon. In later discussions he never went into detail about the Muslim faith. He taught much of *priyayi* culture to his students, thought they should learn some *gamelan* music, many stories of *wayang* theatre, be able to speak, write, and read proper high Javanese. He also considered knowledge of modern society important: Dutch soon became the language of instruction in Muntilan, and school standards for secular education were high, but Islamic doctrines were neglected. Among the three world-views of Islam in Java, finally, Van

⁶⁸ AJAK K 10-5-1.

Lith and the Jesuits of Central Java became closest to the *priyayi* in a modernized version; they incorporated some of the *abangan* outlook, but became more and more estranged from the Islamic or *santri* outlook. Probably they could not guess that Islam would develop in a similar direction as Catholic Christianity to become a formalized religion.

On 25 January 1912 Frans van Lith and his closest colleague Jacob Mertens were invited to meet with Governor-General Idenburg in Buitenzorg. As points of discussion they noted down: (1) abolition of the Muslim religious courts; (2) introduction of civil administration, (3) the *regent* (the highest native official) should no longer be considered the head of religion; (4) the government should no longer give privileges (such as exemption from forced labour) to *haji* or to students studying to become *haji*; (5) civil institutions like law courts should continue working during the month of Ramadan.⁶⁹ These were all practical issues to effectuate a separation between the colonial state and the administration of Islam. Unfortunately for the Jesuits, although official ideology supported this separation of state and religion, actual practice in the Dutch colony was the other way round, and increased the close bond between the government and the various international religions, with Islam and Christianity in first place (Steenbrink 1998).

Islam as perceived by the Jesuits Jan ten Berge and Piet Zoetmulder, 1930-1942

Although Europeans, most of them Portuguese and Dutch, had been in the archipelago since the early sixteenth century, their effect on Javanese society had been quite small until the early nineteenth century. A major encyclopaedic work in Javanese like the *Serat Centini*, written about 1815-1823 and sometimes labelled 'the Bible of Javanism', made (in some versions) a few references to Portuguese, but it never included any reference to Dutch people. On the northern coast of Java there was some direct European influence from the second half of the eighteenth century, but only after 1830, after the Java war, did direct Dutch influence start in the rural regions of Central Java. This increased after the 1860s with the abolition of the system of forced cultivation of specific crops and the introduction of plantations under direct daily administration of European business people. An even more direct influence started in the early twentieth century with the introduction of village schools as an important institution for all people in urban areas as well as in the countryside. Native reaction often took the form of an Islamic-inspired protest.

In 1912 Sarekat Islam was founded as an economic union of native Indonesians against Chinese traders. It was based in the cities of Surabaya and Surakarta, in East and Central Java. In the same year Muhammadiyah was

⁶⁹ J. Mertens to Vicar Apostolic Luypen, Muntilan, 17-1-1912, AJAK K 10-5-1.

established in Yogyakarta as a modernist and reformist Muslim movement, propagating a pure and modern Islam, using the same methods as Christian missions: denominational schools, hospitals and clinics, better religious teaching to the laity. Under its founder and first leader, Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), a minor official of the Yogyakarta sultanate and a textile trader, Muhammadiyah maintained good relations with some Christians. Incidentally, a few Protestant ministers were invited to hold talks at Muhammadiyah meetings. Under its second leader, Kiyahi Haji Ibrahim (1923-1932), the external policy of Muhammadiyah was gradually more influenced by its young secretary, Haji Fachruddin, who was at the same time a member of the executive committee of the more politically active Sarekat Islam. Like most early Muhammadiyah leaders, Haji Fachruddin originated from the Kauman area of Yogyakarta, where the religious officials of the sultanate lived in a district of pious persons, near the large mosque of the sultanate. In 1925 Fachruddin protested in the name of Muhammadiyah against preferential treatment of the Protestant mission by the sultan of Yogyakarta and by Dutch Resident L.F. Dingemans. The latter had managed to persuade the sultan to cut back the subsidy for the Muhammadiyah orphanage in favour of a new subsidy for the sultanate's orphanages, whose management was entrusted to the Protestant Petronella Foundation. When Muhammadiyah lodged a complaint with the sultan, the *resident* charged Muhammadiyah with treason. In a subsequent action that favoured Christianity, the *resident* backed down: Dingemans tried to postpone the celebration of Muhammad's birth, the most popular holiday in Yogyakarta, because in 1925 it coincided with a Christian holiday. The sultan did not agree and even complained directly to Governor-General Fock, who then ended Dingemans's career for being an intolerant and intransigent promoter of Christianity. Fock withdrew his promise to nominate Dingemans as one of five members of the Council of the Indies, and a few months later Dingemans had to go back to the Netherlands as a jobless citizen (Alfian 1969:340-1).⁷⁰

After this first success, other Muslim organizations began efforts to counteract the growing Christian influence in Central Java. Nearly all examples from the 1920s are related to the Protestants, who up to then were more prominent and more active. The first well-known clash with Catholicism is the so-called Ten Berge affair, which lasted from 1931 to 1941. In Chapter II, I discussed this affair in relation to national politics and the split it caused in the IKP. Here I will look at the impact of the affair on the relationship between Catholics and Muslims in Central Java.

In April-May 1931 the Jesuit priest J.J. ten Berge published two articles on the Koran and on the prophet Muhammad in the Dutch Jesuit monthly *Studiën*. At that time Ten Berge was working at the missionary post in Muntilan, founded by Van Lith. Although political authorities in Batavia recognized that some

⁷⁰ See more on this case in Steenbrink 1993:136-9.

phrases in the articles were blasphemous, it turned out that it was impossible to bring Ten Berge to court in the Indies for an article published in the Netherlands. This did not satisfy Muslim politicians, and all over the country protest meetings were planned for 11 October 1931. These meetings were held in a number of larger towns and attended especially by educated Muslims who were often members or sympathizers of organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam, or Sarekat Islam. These demonstrations were held under strict police surveillance and restrictions: the Italian invasion of Tripoli in particular was not to be mentioned. The protest meetings proceeded in good order, and a few weeks later the matter disappeared from the Indonesian press for the time being. At these meetings the contents of Ten Berge's articles were mentioned only indirectly. In most cases a general appeal was made to the government to exercise neutrality in a fair way and to prohibit such statements.⁷¹

The mission archives contain an unsigned report of an action by two Arabs from Yogyakarta and Surakarta related to this case on 23 August 1931. They went to Bedja Hardjawardaja, teacher at a Catholic school, but living in Kauman, the strictly Islamic district of Yogyakarta. They asked him to show them the parish house and the Catholic school. Later they discussed Ten Berge's articles and asked for his address. Hardjawardaja said that the priest was already in Bandung at an address unknown to him. One Arab then said that he, as a Muslim, always talked with respect about Christ and could not understand why a priest did not talk with respect about Muhammad. If he were to have met Ten Berge in Muntilan he might have beaten him and maybe even killed him. In the same file there is a letter by Attorney General R. Verheijen, 25 August 1931, declaring that the further distribution of the Ten Berge article was a penal offence in the Dutch Indies. Verheijen (a Catholic) suggested that Ten Berge make public apologies for the most objectionable of his statements.⁷²

In a 1939 publication, Muhammad Natsir referred again to the lenient treatment of Ten Berge by the colonial government. The Ministry of Justice in mid-1931 had sent a telegram ordering all copies of the Dutch periodicals containing Ten Berge's articles to be seized. The seizure was not successful because the telegram had been incompletely and inaccurately addressed to the parsonage in Muntilan, with the result that it was not legally valid. No further action was then taken. At the end of his 1939 article Natsir asked on behalf of Muslims, 'May our people expect such mild treatment as well?' (Natsir 1969:87-94). Natsir brought the case up once more in 1941, including even more details of different treatment in this and similar cases of blasphemy (Natsir 1969:158-61).

⁷¹ Police report in Poeze 1988:xxxviii, 90, 100, 116, 211-2. Also in ARA Mailreport 1931, 963x, 1066x, 1025x, 1095x.

⁷² AJAK M 3-1-2: 'zou ik in Uw geval ruiterlijk erkennen dat het krenkende van de bewuste zinsnede U destijs niet duidelijk voor ogen heeft gestaan en dat U zulks achteraf betreurt.'

On the Catholic side the reactions were quite mixed. As discussed in Chapter II, the affair caused a conflict in the political party IKP and between the bishop and IKP leader G. Pastor, who resigned because of this case. Ten Berge was removed to Bandung, where he became editor of the Dutch-language Catholic newspaper *De Koerier*. His fellow editor, also a Jesuit, Van Aernsbergen, cautious but honest about facts, had a mild criticism in his book, published in 1934, on the Jesuit presence in the Indies, 'In August (1931) there was some upheaval in the press and in the Volksraad about a description of Muhammad in the Dutch academic journal *Studiën* written by a missionary who was editor of *De Koerier*. His expression was considered by some people as unnecessary incrimination of the Muslim population' (Van Aersbergen 1934:367). This is the common Jesuit style of one of our main sources for this period! This same source informs us that on 17 July 1931 (still in the midst of the hot debate), Father J.J. ten Berge was removed from Muntilan to his new post as the assistant editor of the Dutch-language Catholic newspaper *De Koerier*, with an office in Bandung.

Catholic missionaries were generally very cautious in their treatment of Islam. They preferred to remain silent and to prevent expressions of Islam rather than openly attack the religion. A theological dialogue was no option in this period. The only Jesuit to write in detail about Islam and about Javanese expressions of Islam was Piet Zoetmulder. Born in 1906 in Utrecht, the Netherlands, Piet Zoetmulder went to Yogyakarta in 1925 for his novitiate as a young Jesuit and to study philosophy, as well as the Javanese language. Between 1931 and 1935 he studied in Leiden, where he defended a doctoral dissertation on the doctrine of God, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature*.⁷³ In this work, Zoetmulder presents a thorough study of the classical period of Islamic mysticism and even defends mystics suspected of heretical doctrines by Muslim and Orientalist (especially Protestant) scholars. In writing about Al-Hallāj (executed in 922 CE for heretical mystical pantheism), he followed the sympathetic interpretation of Catholic scholars like Asin Pallacios and Louis Massignon, and he wrote a nearly apologetic defence of Hallāj's ideas about the close relation between God and man: 'This union could best be compared with the indwelling of God in man by his *gratia sanctificans* (sanctifying grace), as in the Catholic doctrine which preserves fully the divine transcendency' (Zoetmulder 1995:37).

Even before publishing his dissertation this young Jesuit had defended his vision of Islamic mysticism in a critical review of the work of Protestant missionary Barend Schuurman. In the same journal where Ten Berge had published his notorious articles, *Studiën*, Zoetmulder wrote a sharply worded review of Schuurman's dissertation on Javanese mysticism. Under the pen name R. Artati he criticized Schuurman's view of pantheism on the basis of

⁷³ Zoetmulder 1995; English translation by Merle C. Ricklefs, with a biography on pp. viii-x.



Jesuit Jan J. ten Berge (see p. 404-9), with the 50 first baptized in the station of Banyubiru, south of Ambarawa, in a former cantine of the military barracks, 1933 (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen)

his own Catholic tradition, 'Here [in Schuurman's book] mysticism is largely regarded as a psychological phenomenon in which religion is completely overrun by "anthropology" [...] It is indeed characteristic of the writer not to incorporate into his study the genuinely Christian mysticism which manages to retain the proper distance between God and humanity, the mysticism, for example, of Saint Theresa and Saint John of the Cross' (Zoetmulder 1933:316). In this respect Zoetmulder saw a place for Christian and Islamic mysticism to be viewed as companions. This exceptionally positive attitude was continued in Zoetmulder's prize-winning Dutch translation of one of the most important products of Javanese spiritual literature, the *Serat Wedatama*, composed by the Surakarta minor ruler Mangkunegara IV (1811-1881). The competition was announced by the prestigious magazine *Djawa*. The first round in 1935 produced no winner for the translation of this very famous but complicated text. In the second round in 1941 it was the Jesuit priest (who like the others had submitted his translation anonymously) who won the prize.

The *Wedatama* is a fiercely Javanese interpretation of the Islamic tradition. It introduces a number of anti-Arab elements by labelling as useless the practice of reciting Arabic texts, and criticizing the habit of spending a lot of money on a pilgrimage to Mecca. People should seek the core of religion 'closely tied to their own self'.⁷⁴ In his later academic career in Indonesia, Zoetmulder moved away from the Islamic period and became a pioneering scholar of pre-Islamic classical Javanese literature. In this way he exemplifies the usual practice of the Jesuits and the Catholic leadership of Java: neglecting, ignoring, or even denying the Islamic aspects of Javanese culture.⁷⁵

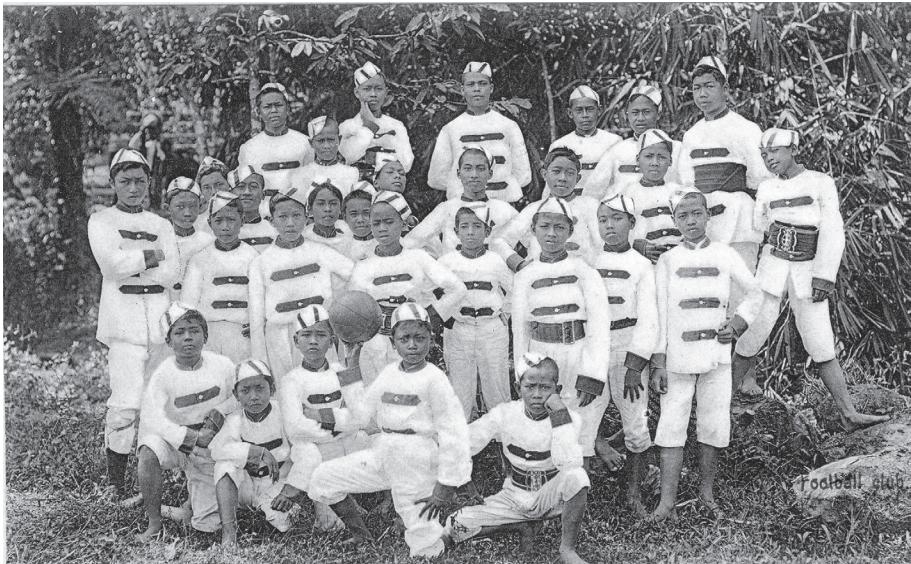
Danoesoegondo: Muslim protests against growing Christian institutions, 1935

In 1935 Raden Tumenggung Danoesoegondo, *regent* of Magelang, was elected to the embryonic parliament of the Dutch colony, the Volksraad. Danoesoegondo was one of the more experienced and senior Indonesian officials. He had been a *regent* since 1908 and remained in office until 1939. He was considered one of the more 'leftist' members of the council, which did not at all mean that he had socialist or communist sympathies, but only that he was somewhat in favour of the nationalist movement and that he was less obedient to European authorities than many of his colleagues were.⁷⁶ In one of the first sessions of the Volksraad in 1935-1936, he discussed the govern-

⁷⁴ For an evaluation of the Zoetmulder translation and a new English rendering see Robson 1990.

⁷⁵ 'In Memoriam P.J. Zoetmulder' by Robson and Clara van Groenendaal 1997:1-9.

⁷⁶ On his career see Van der Wal 1965:179, 709. In a 1918 report by Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum to the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs he was called 'den overbeterlijken schuldenmaker' (the incurable debtor), Van der Wal 1965:231.



Above and below: Football players in Muntilan. From a set of cards that were sold to support the mission in Europe (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen).

ment's proposal to save money by transferring hospitals and clinics to private institutions, especially to Christian missions. In cautious but clear words, he emphasized that 'from the Muslim side the transfer to Catholic or Protestant mission has been criticized'. Danoesoegondo himself was entirely in favour of a transfer, but preferred local organizations that were non-sectarian, or even Muslim organizations like the Muhammadiyah Hospital of Yogyakarta. He blamed the government for making it too difficult for Muslim organizations to receive government subsidies, while it was so easy for Christian institutions to receive subsidies. If necessary, he felt money from the village savings (*desaksgelden*) could be used. He made a strong plea for giving responsibility to indigenous institutions, starting with the self-organization of the villages. If the government was unwilling to support this, he feared that 'the people would be left to Protestant or Catholic missions'.⁷⁷

This last utterance – the (Muslim) people left to the Christian mission – soon led a life of its own. Several other members of the Volksraad, like Raden P. Soeroso and Wiwoho Poerbohadidjojo, joined Danoesoegondo in his criticism of government subsidies for the Christian mission. The first to attack Danoesoegondo was the Catholic IKP delegate, P. Hildebrand, who stressed that the Christian mission served all people, including Muslims. Among the 50-odd hospitals and clinics of the Catholic mission, only two had hired doctors exclusively in mission service: all others had hired medical doctors who also worked in other institutions, many of them Muslim Indonesians. But Soeroso emphasized that most of the tax money was collected from Muslim citizens, who apparently objected to their money being used for Christian propaganda. The debate went on for a few days and was covered widely in the Malay press.⁷⁸

Within one month after this debate one of the leaders of the Catholic mission in Muntilan started an action against Regent Danoesoegondo. It was the parish priest of Muntilan, A. Spekle, who wrote a malicious letter to Vicar Apostolic Willekens in Batavia with complaints about Danoesoegoenda ('probably well-known to you from the report of the Volksraad sessions'). Spekle gave information about the many activities of the *regent* of Magelang in his region, especially those related to the construction of new mosques. Spekle blamed the *regent* that not only mosque funds were used for this purpose but also that the public funds of villages were used – by order of the *regent*. No clear expression of the wish of the local population was heard, and therefore Spekle considered this building activity as a strategy to propagate Islam among nominal Muslims by a civil administrator who was in fact creating religious needs. The most serious construction plan was in a district of the

⁷⁷ 'Vrees ik dat het volk overgelaten wordt aan de Missie of de Zending', *Handelingen van den Volksraad* 1935-36:331, session of 19-7-1935.

⁷⁸ See *Handelingen van den Volksraad* 1935-36:30-58, session of 19-7-1935.



The orchestra of Muntilan. From a set of cards that was sold to support the mission in Europe (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen).



Choir rehearsal in Muntilan. From a set of cards that was sold to support the mission in Europe (Jesuit Archives, Nijmegen).

town of Muntilan, Pucungrejo, where a Catholic secretary to the district head, Raden Didacu Soekardjo Mertadirdjo, could not prevent the construction of the new mosque that was ordered by the *regent* of Magelang but financed by district funds, notwithstanding the fact that 'there was virtually no Islamic spirit in the district'. The construction of this mosque was considered a serious setback in the effort to make Muntilan a Catholic town.⁷⁹ Spekle asked his superior about precise regulations for the construction of mosques. He assumed that specific permits and an expression of local need were necessary for these plans, and hoped with this information to start a campaign against Regent Danoesoegoenda. The bishop in Batavia probably took no overt action against this prominent public figure.

The Jesuits working in Central Java faced a situation of increasing dynamics of official Islam. It is commonly accepted that the religious beliefs and practices of Java were not exclusively dominated by official Islam. Many local religious traditions flourished as well. But in the Jesuit strategy of the first half of the twentieth century, official Islam was more or less ignored. Only the Javanese culture was seen as important. For the Jesuits, Islam had to be seen as separate from this Javanese culture. All direct confrontations with Islam were avoided in this strategy, and a Javanese Muslim identity was denied, or at least the Muslim element in Javanese culture was belittled. The Jesuits tried to adapt Catholicism as much as possible to the Javanese culture, neglecting the Islamic character of that Javanese culture. However, contrary to the aim of their strategy, the position of official Islam in the twentieth century only grew stronger.

The many varieties of Javanese Catholics

Anton Soekiman, born into a Javanese family with nominal adherence to Islam, was one of the many young boys of Yogyakarta who came to Muntilan as a schoolboy around 1910. In his autobiography, written in the mid 1920s while a student of theology at a Jesuit college in the Netherlands, he wrote about his first encounter with Catholic mission personnel. This person was a Franciscan sister who was watering the flowers in front of their religious house in Yogyakarta: 'A human being that only partly belonged to the world, without ever laughing, always praying, never in anger but also never friendly: without passion, absolutely ascetic' (Soekiman 1927:7). At his government primary school there was a Catholic teacher who occasionally came to give

⁷⁹ 'In Poetjoengredja is zo goed als geen Islamitische geest [...] de missigt in Poetjoengredja waarmee nu begonnen zal worden, zijn groote hinderpalen voor de catholiceering van Moentilan.' Spekle to Vicar Apostolic Willekens of Batavia, Muntilan, 16-8-1935, AJAK K 10-5-3. See also Document 31.

religious lessons to the handful of Catholic pupils. He read the Bible in an extremely solemn and dull way. The other pupils laughingly imitated this style of reading. In retrospect Soekiman called it a Protestant habit, owing to the Protestant background of the first catechists of Muntilan.

Still, Soekiman came to Muntilan, because it was easier and cheaper to enrol in that teacher training programme than at the government institute in Yogyakarta. There was only one opening for the graduates of all six primary schools of Yogyakarta, and many of these Javanese boys wanted to become government officials. Thus the young Soekiman applied to enter the school in Muntilan, was accepted, and promised himself never to become a Christian, but only to follow the training to become a teacher. As was the case with nearly all pupils at Muntilan, Soekiman too accepted Catholicism. According to his autobiography, he discovered the weak sides of Javanese culture, especially the cruelty of the feudal class, many of whom were addicted to opium and did not concern themselves with the poverty of the common people. Children who came to a European school 'become industrious and hard-working, more ordinary in their outward appearance; cock-fighting and that kind of entertainment disappear; honest trade, despised by the feudal class, is now accepted as honest work' (Soekiman 1927:11-2). For Soekiman it was most of all this disciplined hard work that was the main value of Christianity. He regretted that the separation between Europeans and Javanese had been so strict during the colonial period. This separation reminded him of the caste system in British India. If this separation had been less strict, Christianity could have flourished better and more quickly.

Soekiman was not the only one to write about his conversion. Another interesting story is that of Albertus Soegijopranata. Here we see the same theme of the choice of the school at Muntilan for reasons of prestige and career, the guarantee that the school would not urge religious conversion, the reluctance of the young boy to go to religious classes. But his classmates persuaded Soegijopranata to follow the religious lessons and soon this young man asked for baptism, even without his parents' permission.⁸⁰ A similar conversion story is available for Willibrord J.S. Poerwadarminta. He also went to Muntilan for the benefit of a good education and to become a teacher and government employee, but, like almost everyone else, he converted. Because he did not become a priest, but wanted to marry, he had to have his bride converted. At that time the Catholic priests would not give permission for a mixed marriage. The young lady, already selected by his parents (who were not Catholic), consented to conversion to Christianity, took a three-month course, was baptized, and then they married (Lasminah 1980).

Several social scientists have recently applied to colonial Indonesia the idea of an 'apartheid of souls'. According to Albert Schrauwers, a major pro-

⁸⁰ Van Klinken 2003:176-9 and Subanar 2003:25-51.

tagonist of the theory, Dutch colonialism exported the pillarization of Dutch society to its colony. Whereas in the Netherlands it was a pillarization based on religious and ideological differences, in the Indies it was a mixture of religious and ethnic differentiation.⁸¹ In the Protestant churches we see this principle leading to ethnic churches such as Javanese and Eurasian ('white') Protestant churches. This was not the case with the Catholics. In liturgy and church buildings, they remained united. But in many respects there were sharp dividing lines between the various ethnic groups of Catholics, at least during the colonial period. With the departure of most Europeans after 1945 and the fading of Eurasians in Indonesian communities, the great variety of Javanese Catholic communities did not lead to permanent internal separation. Notwithstanding the Jesuit emphasis on Javanese Catholics remaining culturally Javanese, and only differing by religion, the label '100% Catholic and 100% Javanese' could not be so easily applied as several people thought.⁸² The arrival of Protestantism and Catholicism, and of Muslim organizations like Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama which sought membership in addition to adherence by birth, finally changed the idea of what religion is. It opened the possibility (just as during the revolutionary period of 1450-1600, when Islam slowly entered Javanese society) that religion was optional and not enforced by the culture of one's birth and early education.

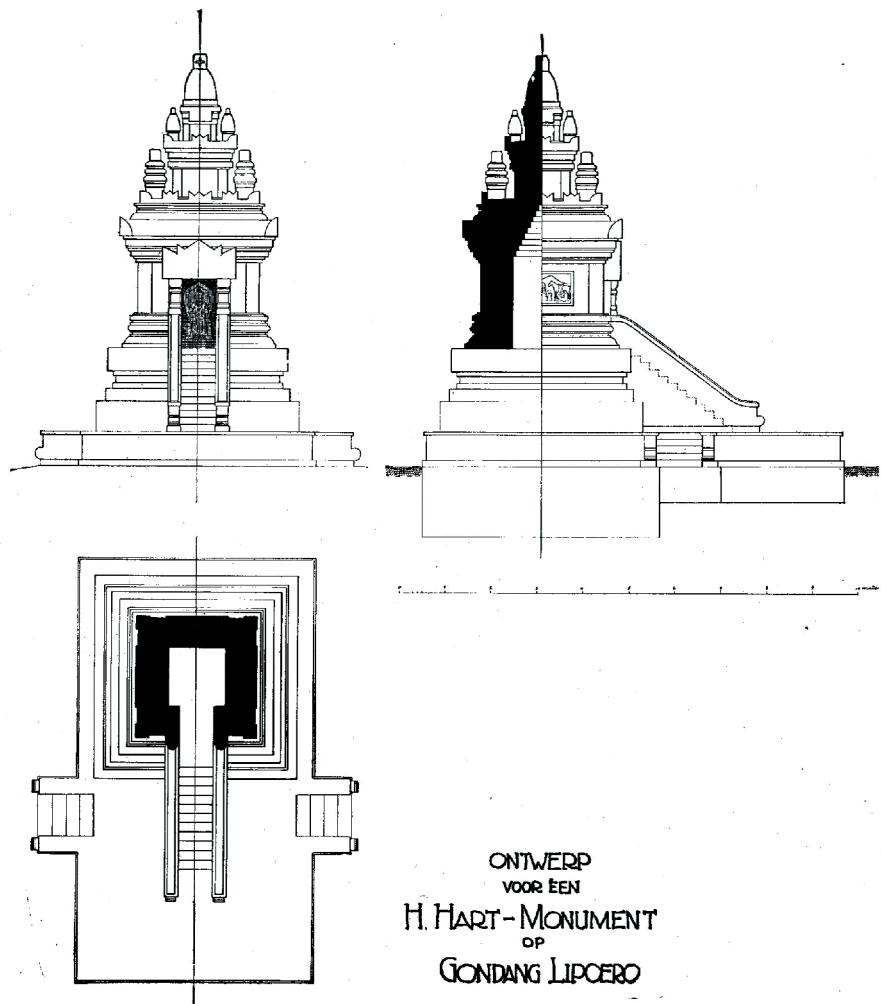
Bali: A big struggle for a small community

In the second half of the nineteenth century there were several plans for starting mission work in Bali. Through mediation of the linguistic researcher Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk in the 1870s and 1890s, the Catholics obtained permission to start the study of language and to do missionary work.⁸³ However, owing to a lack of personnel, no activities were undertaken other than occasional pastoral visits to soldiers and other Catholics. In 1913 the SVD priests formally took over responsibility for pastoral and missionary work in Bali, as part of the withdrawal of the Jesuits from eastern Indonesia. From then on, pastoral visits (*dienstreizen*) were arranged by the prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands, with its centre in Ende, Flores. After the good start of work in Muntilan, Central Java, a similar proposal was made for Klungkung in the densely populated southern plains of Bali. Father Piet Noyen repeatedly sent

⁸¹ See the special issue of *Itinerario* 2003 nos. 3-4, on 'An Apartheid of Souls'.

⁸² The slogan is most often attributed to Bishop Albert Soegijoprano; see Subanar 2003:11.

⁸³ Steenbrink 2003:66-7, 392-4; on 25-8-1891 the governor-general gave permission to start language study and missionary work in Buleleng ('ten einde de Balische taal aan te leren en na afloop van hunne studie voorlopig te Boeleleng gevestigd te blijven om aldaar het missiewerk onder de bevolking te beginnen'), Muskens 1974:1401.



ONTWERP
VOOR EEN
H. HART-MONUMENT
OP
GONDANG LIPURO

Architectural design for the Holy Heart shrine in Ganjuran at the estate of Gondang Lipuro (Schmutzter, Ten Berge and Maas 1929, fig. 16)

requests for this to the central colonial government in 1918 and wanted to discuss the matter during a visit to the governor-general in November 1919.

Notwithstanding support by Resident H.T. Damsté of Den Pasar, who hoped that the SVD would open a Dutch-language primary school, HIS, and Noyen's hope that the formal permission of 1891 would be renewed, there was no permission given for true missionary work. In September 1920 permission was given to start an HIS, in Den Pasar or Gianyar. However, because of Noyen's death during a trip to Europe, on 24 February 1921, implementation of the plan was postponed. Noyen's successor, Arnold Verstraelen, had to renew the request for an HIS, to be opened in Bangli. Verstraelen sent his request on 11 June 1924. On 24 June of that year Volksraad member Tjok. Gede Raka Soekawati gave a fiery speech against the influence of any Christian mission in Bali, 'Western influences of any kind are welcome, but not the Christian religion.'⁸⁴ This was the beginning of a long debate that was described by Hendrik Kraemer (1933) in his book on 'the missionary struggle for Bali'. In 1924 a private HIS with a Hindu-Balinese background was established in Klungkung and the missionary proposals were rejected.

The Catholics were not the only ones to seek access to the mission field of Bali. Protestant mission tried to start work even more earnestly among the Balinese. The first initiative of the Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging of 1864 was discontinued after the one and only convert killed missionary J. de Vroom in 1881 (Coolsma 1901:870). Requests from the Protestant side after that were repeatedly rejected on the argument of 'law and order'. These requests came from mainstream or traditional missionary societies. In 1929, however, Tsang Kam Fuk, evangelist for CAMA received permission to work among the Chinese population of Bali. Tsang was born in China, had followed a Bible school in his home country and, waiting for permission to enter Bali, had studied the Malay language for some time in Lombok. He still spoke little Malay and no Balinese at all.⁸⁵ Unexpectedly, most of the people who attended the public lectures he gave in Den Pasar were not Chinese but rather Balinese. He was also invited to visit several villages. Apparently, it was not the evangelist himself who was spreading interest in Christianity, but two Chinese Christian families, recent immigrants from China, who had had contact with CAMA in their homeland. They mobilized other Chinese men married to Balinese women. They became the intermediaries for the success of this preacher, who in the course of his stay became more fluent in communication. In June 1931 CAMA missionary R. Jaffray baptized four Balinese by immersion. In November 1932 he baptized 12 more Balinese, mostly from

⁸⁴ 'Westersche invloeden, welke ook, zijn welkom, alleen de christelijke godsdienst niet,' quoted in Muskens 1974:1408.

⁸⁵ I use here the spelling of his name as is used now in the CAMA historiography, Lewis 1995:242. He is also called Tsang or Tjang To Hang.

the Mengwi region. He soon sent some twenty newly baptized Christians to Makassar for study at the Bible School of CAMA. Critics said that some among them were illiterate (Kersten 1940:208). It was said that a number of Balinese conversions were inspired by the wish to escape from the many obligations of Balinese traditional village life.⁸⁶ But there are also indications that the first Balinese converts in the Mengwi region were followers of a Javanese primary schoolteacher and mystical leader, Raden Atmadjakoesoema, working in Bali since 1908, who expected an eschatological event in the near future. After the 1926 communist uprisings in Java and Sumatra, Atmadjakoesoema was banished in 1927, but apparently a group of people saw in the coming of the Chinese preacher a fulfilment of his pronouncements (Swellengrebel 1948:68). The Balinese villages of the Mengwi region reacted drastically. All new Christians were expelled from the villages and declared excommunicated and dead. Quite a few returned to Balinese tradition and religion, but many remained loyal to their new faith. In August 1933 permission for work in Bali was withdrawn, and evangelist Tsang and Dr Jaffray were no longer allowed to spread Christianity. In October 1934, 125 Balinese were baptized by a young Balinese, I Made Glendung, who had followed the Bible school in Makassar between 1931 and 1933.⁸⁷

Coordinating official for all Protestant missionary societies, including CAMA, *zendingsconsul* graaf S.C. van Randwijck, suggested that the 'CAMA Christians' should be supported by Javanese ministers of the East Javanese Christian Church. This was considered by CAMA for some time as an effort by a rival organization to take over the promising mission in Bali. But under pressure of government threats, and with the imminent fear that CAMA could be excluded from the whole territory of the Dutch colony, Dr Jaffray gave in. Javanese ministers needed no special permit for work in Bali, and they took over the care for the small group of Balinese Christians. The Reverend Th. Gramberg was nominated as resident minister of Den Pasar in charge of the Indische Kerk, theoretically for the white Christians, but in fact also as a supervisor for the growth of Protestant Christianity in Bali, which in 1937 already counted some 1,000 baptized members. CAMA did not withdraw fully from the region. In 1939 they opened a preparatory class for a Bible school in Lombok, hoping for a return to Bali that could be realized only in the 1950s.

Notwithstanding difficulties with Hindu-Balinese people in their surroundings, the Balinese Christians survived in the 1930s, most often in their original villages. On 30 November 1939 the first male Christians started work for the development of Blimbingsari, a Protestant village located at the utmost western

⁸⁶ On these motives see also the Catholic priest Kersten 1940:208. Kersten spoke with some CAMA evangelists who had left that society. See also Swellengrebel 1948:72-4.

⁸⁷ See Sudhiarsa 2001:134-5, based on local sources; also Kersten 1940:208. Swellengrebel 1948:73 mentions October 1934 for the first mass baptism of 123 candidates; Lewis 1995:247. Müller-Krüger 1968:239 mentions for this November 1932 baptism a number of 113.

(and negative, or bad) side of Bali. It was soon followed, as of 1940, by the development of its neighbour Palasari as a segregated Catholic village.

On 16 March 1932 Bishop Verstraelen died in a car accident in Flores. His successor, Heinrich Leven, visited Bali and Lombok in October 1933 and met about 150 Catholics on the two islands. He applied for a permit for a priest to work in Bali. In September 1935 Father J. Kersten SVD settled as a resident priest in Den Pasar. Soon after his arrival, I Made Bronong and I Wajan Dibeloeg, two former evangelists of Jaffray who had refused to join the Reformed Christians of East Java, visited him. One of them came from the village of Tuka, east of Mengwi, the other from Gumbrih, in the Jembrana region, more to the west. With their families and converts they now joined the Catholic tradition of Christianity. This Bronong-Dibeloeg group had already translated hymns into Balinese and used them in the weekly service on Sundays. Father Kersten allowed them to continue to do so. About this first period he wrote,

At Sunday meetings they sang their hymns in Balinese. By turns one of the leaders would stand up to pray with a bowed head from the fullness of his heart for all the needs of his brothers, while others would remain seated. Although we could barely understand his words, we were deeply touched by the religious seriousness of this man and all the faithful. (Kersten 1940:212.)

In 1936 the creative and inventive artisan priest Simon Buis (maker of two films on Flores) joined the Bali mission. In 1937 the two priests left Den Pasar to live in a new parish house in Tuka, where the first Catholic church of Bali was built. It would remain a small community. In 1939 there were about 250 baptized Balinese and some hundred catechumens. One exceptional convert was the linguist and historian Roelof Goris, acknowledged as a great scholar of Bali, who became a Catholic in June 1939. From the beginning much emphasis was placed on a style of Catholicism with full attention for Balinese culture.⁸⁸ Jan Kersten wrote a grammar of Balinese (published in Dutch and Indonesian) and a dictionary (published in Indonesian only).

After a visit to Bali in 1915, the first SVD prefect for the region, Piet Noyen, concluded that 'only those missionaries who are humble, patient and learned will meet with success in Bali'. From the later 1930s on there were humble, patient and learned missionaries. There was, however, never much success as to numbers: in 1998 the island of Bali counted some 2,500,000 inhabitants, among them 15,371 Catholics (compared to 28,000 Protestants and 160,000 Muslims).

⁸⁸ See the two examples of the woodcarving for the altar in Tuka and a stone carving of the Last Supper in Kersten 1940:between pp. 224-5.

CHAPTER XI

Catholicism in late colonial Indonesia

Civil and spiritual aspects of a distinct community

Religion was not simply a private affair in late colonial Indonesia. Gender and ethnicity were the main divisions within society, but religion came third, not only in statistics, but also in the legal system and in social reality. This had been clear for centuries in Kalimantan, where Malay was equal to Muslim, and where Dayak was synonymous with indigenous or traditional culture (although in the twentieth century Dayak could also be associated with modernizing and Christian). On the island of Java the traditional rulers and their successors, the *bupati* or *regenten*, considered themselves as the 'head of religion', and it was taken for granted that they were Muslim. The same could be said about the traditional sultanates in Malay areas, as well as in Minangkabau and Aceh. In regions like the Minahasa, the Batak lands, and Papua, Christianity also became associated with the modern identity of literacy, schools, and the wider world.

The Christian religion as a rival of Islam and as destructive for tribal religion

From the first formal contracts between Dutch colonialism and Indonesian society, religion was a public affair. Many of the contracts between sultanates of the archipelago and the VOC contained a section on religion that confirmed the boundaries between the religions as social and political realities that should be respected, maintained, and not transgressed. With sultanates like Ternate, Tidore, Mataram, Bima, and many others, treaties were signed that guaranteed the religious status quo and formally forbade the change of religion (Steenbrink 1993:66-74). In nineteenth-century colonialism, the religious factor became weaker politically, but continued to be respected for the sake of law and order. For this reason some regions remained closed to missionary activities until the end of the colonial period. These were Minangkabau, Aceh, Bali, and parts of West Java. Besides the majority of regions where Islam was recognized as the dominant religion, certain regions, since the early nineteenth century, were considered to be dominated by Protestants: Sangir and Talaud, the Central Moluccas, and later Minahasa. In the second half of the

nineteenth century additional areas were seen as 'Protestant regions', while the dominant position of Catholicism in East Flores and some parts of West Timor came to be recognized, although the colonial administration never formally declared these to be Christian areas. The growing cooperation of colonial government with missionary societies and churches in providing basic education was a major feature of the early twentieth century.

Rivalry with Islam has been described in this study in the greatest detail for the island of Flores. Colonial officials were the first to realize that the Dutch 'pacification' rule could be beneficial to both religions. Of these, B. van Suchtelen favoured the government taking a firmly neutral position, while A. Couvreur in an earlier and even more deciding period had opted for strongly encouraging the Catholic mission with favourable conditions. In the long run the Dutch supported a process that looked like state formation. West Flores was reconstructed as a small community under a quasi-feudal Catholic leader, Raja Alexander Baroek. His position was a major step towards the containment of the Muslim sultanate of Bima. The same can be said for the strong government support of the Christianization of Ngada and Lio, where the interior became more and more important – to the detriment of the few but old and powerful strongholds of Islam in the region, especially Ende.

In the Kai Islands the colonial position was much more modest. The religious situation was already more complicated because of the simultaneous growth of Protestantism and Catholicism. Moreover, the spread of Islam in the major trading centre was already established before the arrival of the two Christian missions. In regions like Timor, Sumba, and Ambon, Protestantism had been the religion favoured by colonial strategy and the Catholic mission profited but little from this earlier policy (which also caused many problems). In Kalimantan the Dutch position was not so obviously pro-Christian as in many other regions of eastern Indonesia. This was probably related to the well-established, centuries-old position of Islam in the coastal regions and in the major centres of trade along the main rivers. Only in the sparsely populated regions upriver and between the major branches of the rivers was there a battle for souls between Islam and Christianity. Although most of the education budget went to the Catholics, in their western and eastern inland areas (and to the Protestants in the southern sectors of the vast island), the colonial government did not give outright support of Christianization against Islam.

Christianity was a rival of Islam, but was a comparable religion, because both brought supra-regional, even international openness and relations, and a message that had no direct relation to local sanctuaries, divinities, or ancestors. The attitude was completely different in respect to traditional or tribal religiosity. Here we see two religious systems that could not easily be compared. For most societies in eastern Indonesia which were confronted with Christian missionaries, the idea that one could change religion seemed incom-

prehensible. In these societies (as also among the Batak of North Sumatra) it was completely unheard-of that religion could be something optional, or that something like 'a religion' separate from other aspects of society existed at all. Marind society in southwest Papua was a riddle for white missionaries, who could not view the people's exuberant joy in sexual activities as religious expressions, but the missionaries' message long remained equally incomprehensible to Papua people. Many societies had no word for religion, and therefore the Sumbanese coined the word meaning 'Bitter House' for churches, because of the relation between 'bitter' and taboo, and the fact that churches were visited on the Christian taboo day, Sunday. For traditional Sumbanese, the new Western, or Christian, religion was most easily understood as a set of taboos and prescripts. The taboo on physical work on Sunday, along with obligatory sitting in the church, was the most important. Reading texts from paper became the first prescript of the new lifestyle, as it was the most obvious skill that was trained and practised in missionary schools.

In this period drastic measures were taken against tribal societies and cultures that were at the same time severe restrictions for tribal religions, if I may use this term. It was not only headhunting that was banned in Papua, but in the southern coastal regions all major traditional rituals were forbidden. Even the few basic material items for tribal society – the separate longhouses for men, women, and bachelors – were severely condemned. The new social structure started with small villages consisting of a number of houses for nuclear families, a school, and in many cases a church or chapel. The teacher (in many cases an outsider, for Protestants an Ambonese or Menadonese, for Catholics someone from Kai or Tanimbar) became the provisional but effective head of this new style of human society. This was the way the Catholic mission started among the Marind of the southeastern part of West Papua. This was not just a religious conversion, but was meant to be a total reorganization of society. As such, it was quite successful, although Catholic religion could not reign so immediately and absolutely over people's hearts and acts as some missionaries wished. In fact, however, most missionaries were quite realistic, down-to-earth, and accommodating in their wishes.

In Flores and Kai, as in Sumba, the Batak lands, and Kalimantan, government measures against traditional religion were also quite drastic although less direct. Measures like the ban on longhouses and the order to establish new villages, consisting of houses for small families along the new main roads, were based on health considerations (the unhealthy conditions in and under traditional longhouses) and on the wish of the colonial government to exert more effective control (small villages in remote areas, where possible on hilltops, could not easily be accessed by a colonial army that needed transport for vehicles). But in fact the neglect of ancestral houses very often also reduced the role and importance of traditional rituals, and made some

of these impossible. In these regions, however, the new colonial state was not so directly opposed to traditional religion.

The colonial government never went so far as the New Order government under General Suharto (1966-1998), when it became obligatory for all Indonesians to be a member of one of the major world religions, but there were strong tendencies in that direction. One of these was the marriage regulation of 1895 (*ordonansi perkawinan*) for Java and Madura and its later modifications, which made it necessary for all non-Christian natives of Java and Madura to employ a Muslim religious official for their marriages (Van Ophuijsen 1907). Like all later regulations (including the reform of the Islamic courts of 1937 and the Indonesian law on marriages of 1974), it strengthened the position of formal and orthodox religious leaders and weakened popular religion, local spiritual movements, and deviations from orthodox Islam. On the other hand, in many fields, especially education, but also in marriage rules, health-care provision, and agricultural reform, the colonial government took the new Christian religious organizations as partners, partly because they were the strongest social organization besides traditional rulers in the Outer Islands, and partly because they were definitely more open to modernity than were traditional leaders.

Patterns of church-state relations: From nearly total dependency to a marriage of convenience

There was in the colonial period a rather strict distinction between two types of Protestantism. The Indische Kerk, the Protestant Church of the Indies, was closely related to the state. Its ministers, assistant ministers, and local catechists or schoolmasters were appointed by the colonial government. This was not only the case for the white European and partly Eurasian communities of the big cities of Java and elsewhere, it was also the case for the indigenous Christians in the Moluccas, Minahasa, and Timor. The Indische Kerk gave the impression of being the foreign branch of the mainstream Dutch Reformed Church, because it remained closely attached to this major Protestant church in the Netherlands. Its ordained ministers (never more than 45 in number) came from that church, selected by a royal committee in The Hague.

In sharp contrast to the Indische Kerk were the Christian communities that were the result of missionary societies since the early nineteenth century. Their foreign (mostly Dutch or German) missionaries needed special government permission for religious work. They received much support, both financial and political, for their schools and medical work, but for the rest they tried to remain as independent of the colonial government as possible.

The Catholic church held a position in between the nearly total dependency of the Indische Kerk and the ideal of independence cherished by missionar-

ies of Protestant societies. They obtained incidental government subsidies for church buildings and even regular salaries for a large number of clergy. But priests were formally not government officials, not even those who had government salaries. There was much more distance between their clergy and the government than was the case with the ministers of the Indische Kerk, who were selected by a royal committee in the Netherlands and ruled by a church council in the Indies, presided over by a high government official.

Inner circles of government and Indische Kerk were not in fact happy with the close ties between them. After 1874 efforts were undertaken several times to alter the relationship between the two. In 1910 the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs in the Netherlands, J.H. de Waal Malefijt, constituted a commission to loosen the ties and give the Indische Kerk more independence. Its report of 1913 received much criticism in the Indies and generated long debates.¹ The discussion changed totally in 1918 when the Volksraad was formed. In this institution, a first step towards a democratic parliament, Muslims had a majority voice and the debate extended to them and to Catholics as well. From the very beginning, the Volksraad criticized the budget of the Department of Education and Religion, which gave low subsidies to Islamic activities and a substantial amount of money to Protestants and Catholics, some 1,400,000 guilders for Protestants and about one-third of that for Catholics annually, for salaries of ministers and assistant ministers, teachers, priests, and catechists alone, not including subsidies for schools themselves. For Muslim activities not much more than 7,000 guilders was on the departmental budget. However, most Muslim religious officials (*penghulu*) received a modest salary (100 to 150 guilders per month) as a religious advisor to secular courts, and this amount was on the budget of the justice department (Hisyam 2001).

At the request of the Volksraad, a long process began that aimed to achieve financial and administrative independence between religions and the colonial state. All proposals came to a deadlock, however, because of financial problems: the yearly payments had to be replaced by a single payment for all time. Because of financial problems, even in the prosperous 1920s, this solution could not be used. In 1932 the Protestants chose an administrative solution: the creation of three, later four, independent churches – the Moluccan, Minahasa, and Timorese Protestant churches in the early 1930s, to be followed by the GPIB in 1948 – as successors to the Indische Kerk.

In the process to separate state and religion, the Catholics became involved in the early 1920s. They had a different agenda. For Catholic leaders, the first and main priority in all discussions about relations between government and religion was the right to preach Catholicism everywhere. This involved the freedom to establish parishes and found schools wherever they deemed it necessary, and to have priests permanently working anywhere, without im-

¹ For detailed descriptions, see Van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam 1947:382-403.

pediments to missionary and pastoral work, including baptism and marriage. This went against article 123 of the *Regeeringsreglement*, which became article 177 in the revised version of 1925 (then renamed *Wet op de Staatsinrichting van Nederlandsch-Indië*, also known as ISR or Indische Staatsregeling). This article required special permission (*bijzondere toelating*) for Christian teachers, priests, and missionaries to work in any part of the Dutch Indies.² Until the 1930s this ruling was used, first, to prevent missionary work in regions that were considered unfit for this work because of being dominated by strict Islam (such as Aceh, Minangkabau, West Java) or by Hinduism (Bali); and second, to prevent 'double mission'. According to this 'double mission' policy, a given region was assigned to one missionary organization to the exclusion of any other missionary organizations. The twenty Protestant missionary societies or churches that were working in the colony were generally quite happy with this ruling, but the Catholics never accepted it wholeheartedly and always sought ways to circumvent it. The most common reason given was the need to provide pastoral service for all their flock (confession and mass with communion minimally once a year).³ The easiest excuse was provided by the fairly large number of European and later also Indonesian soldiers, spread in many parts of the archipelago. There were also the dispersed planters, traders, and government officials who deserved pastoral visits.

In the discussion about the admission of West Papua in the 1920s, it was concluded that the second reason for article 123/177 could not be maintained, because a government should not differentiate between missionary organizations and should not directly interfere in religious affairs. However, the motivation of 'law and order' was maintained and therefore the article so hated by the Catholic clergy was never removed from the colonial constitution. Again and again the clergy argued that article 123/177 was in conflict with article 119/173 of the colonial constitution, guaranteeing freedom of religion. Another argument was that it created legal injustice because this special restriction applied only to Christian teachers, priests, and missionaries, while Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims were free from this ruling. The article also put heavier restrictions on well-organized institutions like the Catholic church, while movements established on a more informal basis like the Protestant activities that generated the first baptism in Bali (see Chapter X) could more easily evade the limitations of the law.⁴

² *Regeeringsreglement van Nederlandsch-Indië* art. 123: 'De Christen-leeraars, priesters en zendenlingen moeten voorzien zijn van eene door of namens den Gouverneur-General te verleenen bijzondere toelating, om hun dienstwerk in eenig bepaald gedeelte van Nederlandsch Indië te mogen berrigten. Wanneer de toelating schadelijk wordt bevonden, of de voorwaarden daarvan niet worden nageleefd, kan zij door den Gouverneur General worden ingetrokken.' Included in these exact words as article 177 of the Indische Staatsregeling of 1925.

³ For the number of 20 societies and the topic in general see Eijkman 1934:145.

⁴ For summaries of the argumentation see Eijkman 1934, Visser 1939 and Weitjens 1969.

In Protestant circles there was not so much opposition to article 123/177, but many were against the next one, article 124, which stipulated that ‘the native priests who do not confess Christianity will be placed under the supreme authority of the rulers, *regenten*, and chiefs as to the religion that is practised by them. These must ensure that nothing is carried out against this constitution or against decisions taken by the Governor-General or in his name.’⁵ In the arguments opposing this, it was suggested that this article more or less automatically assumed that the Muslim *regenten* of Java were the supervisors and high authorities for the practice of Islam. This would make Islam the official religion of the majority of the population of Java. A theoretical question often put forward in Protestant circles was: what about a *regent* who converts to Christianity?⁶ For the Catholics, the other demands in the debate were the removal of the hated article in the ‘Nota der Punten’ of 1847 and a new treaty or concordat between the Holy See and the government in The Hague. These points were less important to Catholics than the absolute freedom of missionary action. And they did not forget the financial consequences. The very important government subsidies, directly to the 37 appointed priests and indirectly through allowances for ‘civilizing’ work (schools, medical work, and some other initiatives) had to be maintained. In the late 1920s there were proposals to change annual payments for clergy into a fixed amount to be paid once and for all, in order to prevent the return of the nasty questions by Muslims in the Volksraad about the generous subsidies for Catholic clergy and Protestant ministers, but because of the recession this concrete plan of 1924 for 10,080,000 guilders to be given to the Catholic church of the Dutch East Indies to replace regular salaries for its clergy was never carried out.⁷

The final goal of the Catholic mission was not a modest one: it was the conquest of the whole world, for everyone to become members of the Catholic church and so obtain salvation. This required the worldwide presence of the Catholic church, down to the smallest and most isolated places where people might be living. Although in practice Catholic missionaries set themselves more modest aims, this global spread of the religion was always sought after. In the twentieth century the increase of missionary personnel made it more feasible to search for means to work towards this ideal.

Although in theory Protestants were recognized by Catholics as fellow Christians, by recognizing the possibility of a valid baptism by their ministers,

⁵ Regeeringsreglement 1854:124 (also Indische Staatsregeling 1929:178) ‘De priesters der inlanders die het Christendom niet belijden, zijn geplaatst onder het oppertoezigt der vorsten, regenten en hoofden, voor zoveel betreft de godsdienst die elk hunner belijdt. Deze zorgen dat door de priesters niets worde ondernomen strijdig met dit reglement en met de door of uit naam van den Gouverneur Generaal uitgevaardigde verordeningen.’

⁶ See the proposals on this subject by Carpenter Alting, Kleintjes and Van Vollenhoven 1909.

⁷ For this debate Van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam 1947:411. The amount to be given to the Indische Kerk was fixed at 31 million guilders.

in reality there was no sense of a common religious base. There was no cooperation in fields like Bible translation, language teaching, the quest for survival and adaptation in difficult cultures. Protestants were rivals of the Catholics and vice versa. In nearly all chapters of this book we have seen examples of the bitter rivalry between these two denominations of Christianity.

Marriage: Official regulations for the marriages of native Catholics

What is the essence and what are the side-effects of religion? Is there a difference between traditional religion and world religions – in our case Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism – as to their role in society? The general opinion was that in traditional society religion is so interwoven with customs and tradition, with economy and social structure, that a separation between religion and other aspects of society is not possible. Many Muslims claim that 'Islam is much more than a system of theology: it is a whole society', a quote from Orientalist H. Gibb (1932:12), but often repeated by many, including Indonesian Muslims.⁸ For tribal religions it is often accepted that religion is identical with a whole culture. The Muslim claim, however, often seems more an ideal than a reality. Many scholars have emphasized that, with the exception of ritual prescripts, marriage, and inheritance, not much of formal Islamic law, or *shari'a*, has been incorporated in the social, economic, and legal practice of Indonesia. But in marriage, divorce, and inheritance Muslims have been quite strict, although up to the present the Muslims of Minangkabau (West Sumatra) still partly follow the matrilineal line of inheritance for capital goods like houses and land. What about the Christians? Among them the Protestants are the more liberal about marriage rules, recognizing secular authority first of all, while Catholics everywhere in the world continue to try to maintain marriage rules of their own, for instance the ceremony performed by a parish priest and two witnesses and the impossibility of divorce. How did this work in late colonial society? Here, we have to distinguish among the various official 'races'.

Marriage was quite uncommon for European soldiers or planters until the late nineteenth century. Most of them had a consort and often children, but quite seldom a formal marriage. The arrival of many more Dutch women in the twentieth century diminished the number of these irregular relations. But among Eurasian Catholics, often descendants of unions between European soldiers and native consorts, it was not uncommon that they continued the informal marriage custom of their parents.

As to native Christians, the Catholic missionary initiative experienced many problems in adjusting to traditional marriage. During the nineteenth century there were no government rules for native marriage in general, and

⁸ For Indonesian references see Steenbrink 1974:97, 198-9.

the Catholic priests in Flores and Timor promoted the idea that in the sixteenth century the decrees of the Council of Trent were not promulgated and therefore customary traditional marriage could be recognized by the clergy as well, even if it was not concluded in the presence of a parish priest, because this requirement of the presence of the parish priest for the validity of a marriage was an innovation of the sixteenth-century council.⁹ In the course of the twentieth century it became more and more apparent that marriage had to be regulated in a more formal way, involving not only traditional society but also the government and the clergy. The relation between these three parties in this matter was quite delicate, all three often claiming absolute superiority.

In 1892 a draft for a marriage regulation for native Christians was sent to the vicar apostolic of Batavia, Adamus Claessens, for comment. In the bishop's absence, the Jesuit priest Peter van Santen answered the government. His comments were subsequently repeated again and again, and are summarized here in some detail. Van Santen stipulated that it would be unjust to have a special law for native Christians. He did not like the practice of the Moluccas and Minahasa where native Christians were considered in personal law to be living under European (Dutch) law. In Europe, the state would make no distinction between Christians and people of other convictions. Why then should a native person after baptism be subject to a different law than his fellow citizens? Native people of Muslim faith or Chinese descent were free in the administration of marriages, births, and burials, and they could perform these according to their faith and tradition. Colonial law did not regulate their ceremonies even if they perhaps disturbed other people in their loud public performances. If there were to be a change in personal law, it had to be a civil administration for all non-Europeans and not only for native Christians. Besides, the application of European personal law to Christians would make many aspects of life complicated and expensive. They would have to go to a government post for administration of marriage, and for registration of babies and deaths. Because of the small number of government posts in the Outer Islands and the long distances involved, this would be a heavy burden for native Christians, as was shown in the Minahasa in the early twentieth century, when Christians had to travel for more than one day to go to the office of the *controleur* for marriage, to register a birth, or death. Now and then an argument against conversion to Christianity was raised as *djangan soesah*, the fear that official regulations for Christians would be much more complicated than for ordinary non-Christian natives, who could just report to the village chief.¹⁰ Although the Batavia and Buitenzorg offi-

⁹ The priests of Portuguese Timor held a different opinion. On this matter see Steenbrink 2003:124-5, 196-8.

¹⁰ A case from Central Java, the Kalibawang district, is described in AJAK A 11-7-1 by Jesuit priest Jos Dieben in his letter to Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen, 18-1-1931. Catholics from the Menoreh mountains had to walk 25 kilometres to Magelang to report births and deaths. They also had to bring

cials hoped that this application of European law would make conversion to Christianity attractive, the priest expressed his fear that it would be counterproductive for the missionary initiative. The most basic argument against special regulations for native Christians was the fact that the Catholic church in all countries opposed the introduction of civil marriage and only accepted it under protest for fear of greater evil, because it considered marriage not as a civil but as a religious and ecclesiastical matter that should be controlled by the highest religious authority, the church. It took a long time before Van Santen's ideals were partially implemented, but they remained constant during the following period.¹¹ The reformulation of Catholic canon law of 1917 ended the discussion in Flores and Timor about whether the innovative rules of the council of Trent should be followed on the island. It was clear that the new common ruling for a valid marriage required the presence of a parish priest, in addition to two lay witnesses.

A special feature of Catholic marriage was the ban on mixed marriages. In some cases an exemption could be given. It was quite regularly granted to European and Eurasian candidates for marriage, but in the case of native Catholics there was a firm policy not to allow mixed marriages, not with Protestants and not with non-Christians.

This was not, however, the end of the story. For the new Christians that converted from tribal religions, the strict marriage regulations of early twentieth-century Catholicism proved to be very difficult. In many regions sexual relations of unmarried youth were not uncommon. Perhaps we cannot imagine a greater difference than that between the very puritan Dutch sisters who had opened school-cum-dormitories in the Dayak region of the Upper Kapuas and the rather free sexual practice of local youngsters. Because the first generation of pupils at the school were often much older than in primary schools elsewhere, the sisters had difficulty managing them. This was one reason the girls' school of Benua Martinus was closed in 1928, after eight difficult but fruitful years. In nearby Bika, also called Rumah Nazareth, a village head came asking for the Christian *adat* of divorce and could not be convinced that there was no Catholic rule in divorce other than absolute prohibition.¹² This was only one of many cases where people slowly came to realize that becoming Catholic also involved new rules for marriage.

witnesses with them. The parish priest was responsible for proper reporting, otherwise he would get in trouble with the *controleur*. Therefore he had to give some money to poor Catholic peasants in this dry mountainous region. In 1928 only 28 people reported cases to the civil administration. That was too few to nominate an official in their own region. In the same file in the archives is a letter by Van Kalken to the vicar apostolic, 11-4-1928, where he states that 30 people were baptized in Kalibawang, but that 15 people had withdrawn their intended baptism for fear of this complicated civil administration. They preferred direct regulations with the village head.

¹¹ Letter by Petrus van Santen to the director of Onderwijs en Eeredienst, 3-9-1982, NA 2.10.36.04, inv. 5476, no. 31 (Verbaal 31 maart 1900).

¹² 'De kapela kampung van Bika Tengah, Rindja, komt vragen naar de adat van echtscheiding van de christenen. Ze kunnen maar niet begrijpen dat daar geen adat van bestaat', 28-2-1940 (Kleykers 1995b:102).

The strict Catholic rules requiring monogamous marriage and restricting sexual activity to married couples were drastic changes for Papuan youngsters. Missionaries and colonial officials cooperated here in the ban on sexual activities during rituals attended by large gatherings, where customarily many men had sex with the same woman. In other regions the strict Catholic rules were harder to apply. On the islands of Flores, Sumba, and Timor the marriage process was quite complicated: it involved not just one official act before the parish priest, but quite often it was a long process with many steps, involving not only the marrying couple but also their families. After some of the main steps were taken, the young people could live together and be sexually active. This conflicted with the strict rules of the parish priests, a problem that has not yet been solved even today.¹³

In most cases there were problems between customary and Catholic marriage. In some cases, a third party was involved, the colonial government and its increasing control over the local population. In January 1927 the priest of Sanggau in Kalimantan celebrated his first Catholic marriage. The couple were two Chinese who could not yet register for a civil marriage. It occurred therefore 'on the advice of the *controleur* without a public ecclesiastical celebration'. Here the informal solution was quite easy, but in other cases priests were threatened with court and heavy fines.¹⁴

Under colonial law, native Indonesians in Java and Madura could only contract a religious marriage under Islamic law or following Hindu or Christian rules. Only those individuals who were explicitly placed under European law had the choice of contracting merely a civil marriage.¹⁵ Catholic leaders hesitated in taking a position on the matter of civil marriage for native Indonesians. Theoretically they applauded the exclusive right of the major religions to administer marriage. But in practice they saw some problems. Catholics who could not marry according to Catholic rules (in case of divorce or mixed couples) might decide to change religion (turn Protestant or Muslim) to contract a marriage, and that would be a greater danger (for Catholicism).

In the early 1930s, after long discussion, a regulation of marriage for native Christians was promulgated.¹⁶ And this new law was only the beginning, because many local decisions had to be taken on where the new law should be applied, like in the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. This 1933 regulation acknowledged the religious ceremony as the final ceremony for all native citizens of the colony. The priests (like Muslim and Hindu religious

¹³ See Prior 1988:222 for a plea that the *forma extraordinaria* (referring to customary marriage without the blessing of the parish priest) should become the rule instead of the marriage regulations of the Catholic church.

¹⁴ Archief van de R.K. Missiestatie te Sanggau, 3-1-1927.

¹⁵ For the Minahasa rules on government permission before church marriage see Steenbrink 2003:192-4.

¹⁶ *Staatsblad van Ned. Indië* 1933, p. 74, see also Coolhaas 1980:224.

officials) had only to report church marriages to the civil administration, and therefore they were also formally appointed civil officials for the administration of marriage. One big problem was cases of divorce. Catholic doctrine allowed only separation of the couple; any divorce would be understood by the Catholic clergy as merely separation.

The discussion preceding and following this decision was rather long and sometimes contradictory. Here some aspects of the long debate will serve to illustrate the civil position of Catholicism in late colonial society. In 1917 Frederik Justus Herbert Cowan, an official at the Justice Department, was given the task of formulating a new regulation for native marriages, and he requested the cooperation of the Catholic leadership. In line with his ideal of total integration of Catholics (and other Christians) in a village community where Muslims also fully participated and even were the dominating party, related to customary law that was partly based on Muslim tradition, Father van Lith wrote a very unorthodox recommendation that is worth quoting at some length:

1. The material regulation related to marriage should altogether be left to local customs (*adat*). In those regions where the other [i.e. non-Catholic] natives usually follow Islamic law and no adat law is known, Islamic law can be followed without any problems.
2. Even for Catholics divorce must remain a possibility, in the sense of the dissolution of the civil effects of the marriage contract. When church authorities declare a marriage invalid, the civil marriage contract must be dissolved.
3. After divorce a new marriage between the divorced partners should not be absolutely forbidden.
4. We cannot circumvent silently the relationship between various Christian (Catholic, Protestant, etc.) and Muslim marriages. (1) An Islamic marriage is dissolved by conversion to Christianity of one of the partners; (2) there are civil effects upon the divorce of a Christian marriage; (3) in the marriage and divorce register of a village not only the acts of the *pangoeloe*, but also those of Christian ministers should be recorded; (4) if a Javanese woman does not receive a written proof of divorce from her husband and becomes a Christian, the Christian official has to record her divorce in the register on the basis of her conversion to Christianity; (5) the rights of children must be listed. It must be stressed that children from a Muslim marriage after conversion to Christianity have the same rights as Muslim sisters and brothers.¹⁷

These proposals by Frans van Lith, unrealistic as they may sound, were the logical consequence of Van Santen's viewpoint of 1892 and the earlier views of Van Lith that there should be no (complete) difference in rules for Christian and Muslim citizens, that marriage should be considered basically a religious institution, and that in Javanese society a formula for coexistence should be found on the village level of Christians and Muslims within one Javanese cul-

¹⁷ Undated letter by Frans van Lith, in one file with drafts of a marriage regulation of 1917. In AJAK A 11-8-2-2

tural unity. This policy was also in line with the general policy of law between 1900 and 1930 that a unified code of law should be created for all groups in the colony. Only after 1930 was there more room for various ethnic and religious differences in the field of law.

According to a reconstruction in 1925, the debate about a regulation for marriages of Christian natives started (again) in the early 1920s with the case of a native Catholic in Buitenzorg (Bogor). The *resident* sent them to the Protestant minister ‘because it is his duty to keep the registers of native Christians’.¹⁸ This was apparently partly wrong: in Minahasa at the time Protestants too had to go to the civil administration and register their marriage before they were allowed to hold a marriage blessing ceremony in the church. Unlike marriages for Europeans, where the formal ceremony was held before the civil official, in Minahasa the planned church ceremony was to be communicated to the civil official but the actual wedding was a church affair. This was labelled in 1902 as a ‘hybrid system, half civil, half ecclesiastical marriage’.¹⁹

As usual it took some time before new regulations were formulated. Only in 1932 was the Ordinance on Marriages of Native Christians in the Dutch East Indies sent to the Volksraad, whereupon on 1 January 1937 the new decree became valid for many parts of the archipelago.²⁰ This became the basic law, while for the various regions more detailed instructions were formulated during the 1930s that again created local variations. The process was summed up on 1 November 1930 in a rather jubilant comment by Bishop B. Visser of Purwokerto, the main negotiator on this matter with the colonial government, after a discussion with the director of the justice department, with the real author of the ordinance, the specialist in customary law, Professor B. ter Haar, and some other people who were involved in the preparation of the legislation:

There will be no separate institution of legal separation; instead, parties will be released from certain obligations, as for divorce. The Ordinance will be valid if both parties are Christian and also if only the husband is a Christian. The same is the case when both or only the husband converts to Christianity [...] *Summa summarum*: we received everything we wanted and even more.²¹

After the first experiences with the effects of the new ruling, Bishop Willekens of Batavia concluded in a positive mood:

1. The world turns in a circle, and this is also the case with people’s ideas. Marriage and its administration must be part of the church. The state took over

¹⁸ AJAK A 11-8-2-1, letter by Father Jos Hoeberechts SJ to vicar apostolic, 6-10-1925, as a general report about the matter.

¹⁹ Carpentier Alting, quoted in a report by W. Burer, 6-10-1925, *Een en ander over het huwelijksrecht der inlandsche Christenen*, in AJAK A 11-8-2-1.

²⁰ Details of the long history are in Van Hasselt 1952:17-32.

²¹ B.J. Visser in a report of the meeting, *Verslag van Ontmoeting*, 1-11-1930, AJAK, A 11-8-2-4.

its administration and even judged that it was entitled to regulate marriage. The church got its administration back and even the making of its laws: for the formulation of these laws the state asked advice from the bishops.

2. The administration is a heavy burden. I will not deny that the state probably benefits from the fact that we are willing to do this.
3. The advantages are very clear for the Outer Islands. But also here [in Java] there are many profits, because Christians have to call in the priest for their marriage.

Conclusion: a new burden, but also a reinforcement of the position of the church. Greater influence on public moral values.²²

The outcome of this long process was that priests now acted before instead of after the civil administration of marriage, and even had to perform some acts as civil administrators of marriage. Was this in the long run really a victory for the Catholic (and Protestant) church and its ministers? The three levels of marriage administration and celebration continued. Customary law continued to regulate marriage in many regions and for most cases, both the actual arrangement of marriage and its celebration. Besides, the civil administration continued to set its own rules. In marriages the Catholic church and its doctrine could not yet play a dominant role. If ever there were double or even triple loyalties, there certainly were in the case of marriage, notwithstanding the reinforcement of Catholic and Protestant authority in marriages in the 1930s.

The role of religious institutions was continued and even reinforced in the 1974 Indonesian law on marriage, where special regulations were no longer specified for the various religions, but the rules of any religion were accepted as the deciding element. In the pillarization of Indonesian society along religious lines, marriage continued to play an important role.

Education: Contribution to a modern society or immersion in Catholic doctrine

Another institution that was instrumental in creating religious identities and in establishing barriers between the various denominations and religions was the school.

Long before the colonial government insisted on the spread of education, missionaries had started schools as the main means of propagating their faith and of introducing Catholicism in traditional cultures. With strong official backing by the colonial government in the 1910s in Flores, Timor, and Papua, primary education became even more the cornerstone for the expansion of the number of baptized Catholics. In many regions there was no strategy and no special procedure for adults to become Catholic. Quite a few cases

²² Note Bishop Willekens's conciseness in this introduction to a speech by Jan van Rijckevorsel about the marriage ordinance and its effects, Batavia 4-1-1937, AJAK 11-8-2-1.

are known of older people who feared that traditional rituals would be abandoned after all children were sent to school. Some Dayak regions therefore were reluctant to send girls to school, because they were the main leaders of religious rituals. Some boys were also withheld from going to school, to be the group to continue traditional ritual (Coomans 1980:212-3). Some missionaries, in contrast, feared that Catholicism would be seen as part of the process of education, and that leaving school would also mean an end to Catholic practice (Coomans 1980:214). Education was in many cases given by first-generation Catholics, young adults who had converted in primary school as the first in their families. The job of teacher was one of many jobs where schooling really could be used, and not all of these teachers were active in the continuous promotion of the new religion. In many regions of eastern Indonesia, parish priests could visit their flock only once every two or three months. In these remote regions it was the teacher who had a decisive role in the formation of the local religious community.

The colonial government had, of course, other priorities in the spread of basic education in the newly conquered ('pacified') region of eastern Indonesia. The totally new structure of society in Papua, Flores, Kai, and Tanimbar was based on new villages with nuclear families living in small houses. In these villages the school and the church or chapel were important centres for a new society. The negative sides of more education, the brain drain of higher educated who left their villages and wanted to live in cities, are not yet so clearly seen in this period. The school in this region also became the propagator of Malay as a language. On the whole, Catholics were much less propagators of local languages than were Protestants. For the liturgy they had Latin, and local language differences in many regions were so great, that foreign missionaries sometimes did not make it their first priority to learn local languages. In the early twentieth century, missionaries in Flores still tried to communicate in local languages. But eventually Catholicism in Flores became mostly a Malay tradition, and later an Indonesian-speaking tradition, due to schools. The local language continued to be used locally. This development left more space for a continuing loyalty to customary traditions, including spiritual ones.

In strategy and curriculum, mission schools did not differ much from government schools. We saw in Chapter VIII that the Catholics were willing to open some Chinese schools with English rather than Dutch as the main language of education – the HCS. These English-language schools for Chinese were not eligible for government subsidies, but were financed by school fees paid by parents. The mission schools concentrated in most cases on reading, writing, and arithmetic, and few of them could properly be called vocational schools. This was recognized at the time as a major deficiency of colonial schools, but not much was done to improve the situation.

Catholic schools in the Outer Islands in fact promoted Malay as a means of

communication, but Javanese schools were strong bulwarks of Javanese and even prevented the use of Malay as much as possible. Jesuit priest Frans van Lith, founder of the school at Muntilan, argued: 'Two languages in primary schools [Javanese and Dutch] is the limit. A third language is only possible to the detriment of the other two. Malay can never be the basic language of Javanese culture in schools, but will only work as a parasite. Javanese should be the first language in the land of Java and it will then automatically become the first language of *Noesantara*' (Van Lith 1921:285). This rejection of Malay was a constant policy in the Jesuit mission in Central Java, partly out of fear that promotion of Malay would indirectly support Islam, and partly out of true love for the beauty and richness of Javanese. In the long run the policy was not successful, because Indonesian society decided after independence that Indonesian language as the successor to Malay would become not only the lingua franca for economic transactions and government, but also the medium of instruction for education starting in primary school.

In the Outer Islands there usually was not much competition from non-sectarian (non-religious) schools. The most serious competition for Catholic schools was with the Protestant schools, and both denominations looked first among their own flock for pupils. It was most of all in Java where a milder type of *schoolstrijd*, or the 'battle of schools' occurred, which ended in 1917 in the Netherlands with the full emancipation of religiously affiliated private schools: these were put on par with non-sectarian government schools. Among European and Eurasian groups as well as among the native population, it was a constant struggle, first, to receive government subsidies for Catholic schools, and second, to attract Catholic and non-Catholic pupils to these schools. The struggle continued until the end of the colonial period. On the second point: in his pastoral letter of spring 1929, Bishop Van Velsen urged Catholics to send their children to Catholic schools using harsh words: parents would commit a great sin by not sending their children to Catholic schools. In later times some priests even threatened their flock that they would be excommunicated and prevented from receiving the eucharist if they were to send their children to non-Catholic schools. The basis of this measure was canon 1374 of the Catholic code of canon law. The majority of priests, as well as bishops Van Velsen and Willekens of Batavia, did not like to go so far as the formal application of excommunication.²³

As to maintaining the large number of Catholic primary schools in Central Java, where few or even no Catholic pupils were available, this was a clear

²³ Correspondence between the hard-liner Jesuit K.A.M. de Hoog and Bishop Willekens, 18/29-8-1939, in AJAK D 2-6-1. De Hoog applied excommunication; his colleague in the mission Father J. Sträter was not so strict. Bishop Willekens took the mild strategy of strongly recommending sending children to a Catholic school, without threatening excommunication. Article 1374 of the code refers the decision in this matter to the local bishop.

strategy, first, to provide a government salary to graduates of the Catholic teacher training college at Muntilan; and second, to prevent the growth of non-religious government schools and to use this opportunity in a later period for propagation of Catholicism.

As late as 13 November 1939, Bishop Willekens issued a circular letter to his colleagues as leaders of the mission in Java on non-sectarian education under the label of humanism, writing in response to charges made by their old enemy the NIOG, Nederlandsch-Indisch Onderwijzers Genootschap, the non-sectarian and often anti-clerical teachers' union in the Dutch East Indies. In defence against their charges of intolerance towards non-Catholic pupils in Catholic schools, Willekens wrote:

In the majority of schools that are established under supervision of the Catholic Mission and where pagans and Muslims are registered as pupils, the mission does not give specifically Catholic education, but more general religious instruction. See the publication *Wel te leven*. Humanism without God is unthinkable among Eastern nations. God is so present for them that not mentioning him would not be a neutral act but a positive attack on their convictions. Humanism in this country must at least take the form of the Declaration of Schools in the Philippines, 'Have faith in the divine providence that guides the destinies of men and nations.'²⁴

Albert Schrauwers, in several publications, has recently defended his thesis about the pillarization of Dutch colonial society along religious lines. The debates in the Indonesian parliament in 2002-2003 about the bill on national education (Sisdiknas, Sistem Pendidikan Nasional) reinforced the idea that in addition to the marriage law, the strong position of Protestants and Catholics in denominational schools is one of the pillars of communalism in Indonesian society. In contrast to the participation of Catholics (and Protestants) in health care and some aspects of social welfare, for vast regions of eastern Indonesia, Catholic and Protestant participation in education was regulated through exclusive contracts with the colonial government. The late-colonial period in the early twentieth century was therefore the most important period for Catholic education. As for many other aspects discussed in this chapter and the rest of this book, there were decisive differences between Java and the Outer Islands. In the Outer Islands there were many areas where education was an exclusive duty and right of the Catholic mission. Although the schooling offered was mostly on the primary level, teachers had much influence in local society, not only as catechists but in the whole process of adapting to a modern society. In the Outer Islands pupils were introduced at mission schools to Malay as the growing national language. In Java, the Catholic mission offered secondary school and soon developed into a system of Dutch-language education, in addition to a network of Javanese-speaking

²⁴ Petrus Willekens, 'Aan de Kerkvoogden van Java', 13-11-1941, AJAK D 2-5-2.

primary schools. Until independence the Catholic mission ignored the switch to Malay-Indonesian as the new national language.

Medical care, relief for the poor and some large agricultural projects: Catholics and the nationalist movement

Medical work, and a set of programmes that today would be called development work, were nowhere the exclusive focus of Catholic missionary efforts and were never directly seen as major means of proselytizing. Schools were expected to generate baptisms, but hospitals, clinics, and projects like facilitating the migration of poor Eurasian Catholics to South Sumatra or Pulau Laut, off the coast of South Kalimantan, were more commonly seen as works of charity and not as strategic activities in a greater plan of spreading Catholicism among the people of Indonesia. Whether or not such activities had this effect depended on local circumstances. Many of the Dutch sisters working in hospitals were disappointed to be obliged to give medical care to rich white people, because they had hoped to be active in 'real missionary work' among natives and have a chance to talk about the gospel. In most cases there was no opportunity for this. But when there was, it was not seen as direct proselytizing.

In the islands outside Java, there was no direct involvement of Catholicism in the national movement for independence. Interest in social and political progress focused more on regional needs. This was a continuing strategy of Catholic leadership. Even after independence, the Catholic church, like many Protestant churches, often defended regional autonomy against the central state. Apart from a few efforts in Flores, there was no true participation of Catholic missionaries from these outer areas in the nationalist movement.

We have seen in Chapters II and X that the Catholic community in Java was strongly divided on the issue of the political future of Indonesia. The division was clearest among the white and Eurasian population. They were united perhaps only in a vague criticism of European colonial guidelines and a general sympathy for 'the Indies ruled by the people of Indonesia', but many perceived this ideal as a system of apartheid with a more or less permanent white and semi-white minority rule over an overwhelming native majority. There was a small group among Europeans in the Indies who thought more realistically about the transfer of power in the near future. Among the white clergy a similar division was clear. Jesuit priest Frans van Lith was the most prominent proponent of an inevitable and imminent independence for Javanese people (Van Lith thought in terms of Java rather than the whole archipelago). For many Catholics he was too radical, but there were no such outspoken defenders of the continuation of white rule. Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) had repeated the Vatican's policy in his encyclical *Maximum Illud*

(1919) that missionaries must maintain some distance from colonial politics. It was a policy that was urged more strictly after the German defeat in World War I had led to a large exodus of German missionaries from former German colonies. Therefore, the clergy in the Indies followed a cautious policy and admitted that Catholic representatives in the Volksraad found themselves taking opposing positions.

There were several reasons that Catholics in the Dutch colony became active in politics later than Protestants. The first may be the more international character of the Catholic church and its general policy of abstention from politics. The second reason is the greater distance of Catholics from colonial government. The established Indische Kerk was more closely bound to the colonial government in the Indies than the Catholic church ever was. Catholics in the twentieth century no longer had the dreams they had once cherished for African countries like Uganda and Tanzania, where they dreamt of a new Constantine, establishing their faith there as the majority religion. The nineteenth-century hope for a Flores under a Catholic ruler had vanished. Finally, Protestant missions had developed more rapidly and earlier (early or mid-nineteenth century) than the Catholics in the Moluccas, Minahasa, the Batak lands, and Roti-Sawi-Timor. The overall level of education of native Christians in Protestant areas was much higher than in 'Catholic areas' like Flores, southwest Papua, and central Timor, where schools were not started until the second decade of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding prominent figures like Van Lith and Ignatius Kasimo, Catholics were even weaker than Protestants in the nationalist movement.

A new self-confidence: Tribal religion, local cultures, and early twentieth-century international Catholic tradition

For readers who are unfamiliar with Christianity, and more specifically with Catholicism in its early twentieth-century form, this book does not give much background about the Catholic doctrines that inspired the deeds of the major players in the spread of Catholicism and that were taught to so many new converts. In contrast to a book like Clifford Geertz's *Religion of Java* (published in 1960 and based on research in the early 1950s), this book only occasionally enters into details of Dutch or international Catholic spirituality and its transformation in the Indies by the European and Eurasian population as well as by new converts. While writing these pages I have had to assume that these aspects are familiar to the well-informed reader of secular, Christian, or Muslim upbringing. Neither will this last section go into much detail, although I discuss here some global Catholic doctrines, particularly some that are specific to this part of the world.

The conclusion of this section will be that we can clearly notice a development from a small and hesitant Catholic presence in the nineteenth century to a much more assertive and self-confident attitude in the first half of the twentieth century. This was most visible in actions of priests and laypeople in Java who more and more often proudly defended Catholic positions in public. As to the mixed and the white population of the Dutch East Indies, Chapter II discusses in some detail how Catholicism went outside the church building and church yard, and became more and more involved in trade unions, political parties, and other social activities and networks. The Katholieke Sociale Bond with its many organizations proved to be a powerful institution for a much more intense involvement of the Catholic population in the colony's main cities.

Official Catholic doctrine remained exclusive and all-embracing in this period. Man was held to have sinned by virtue of the original sin committed by Adam, and inherited by all people born after him; an individual can only be rescued by the grace of God, as given in response to Jesus's death on the cross. In the mediation of this divine grace, a major role was given to the institution of the Catholic church. For Protestants the most important thing was personal faith in Jesus Christ, but for Catholics it was the institution of the church, most decisively represented in its hierarchy of bishops and priests, that was seen as the doorway to salvation. This is why the Catholic church in its concrete work was satisfied with achievements in minor fields, although it never gave up its ambition to convert the whole of humanity. The perseverance of the mission to find openings in places like Ambon and Bali must be seen in this context.

In January 1996, amid growing tensions between majority Islam and minority Christian denominations in Indonesia, the priest, architect, novelist, and socio-political activist Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya gave a series of lectures to priests of the archdiocese of metropolitan Jakarta. His theme was the diaspora of Catholicism in Indonesia. By diaspora Mangunwijaya meant the fact that Catholicism in Indonesia is dispersed, scattered over many regions, not concentrated in majority Catholic areas. Through short interviews and articles his ideas became a topic of much debate, and Mangunwijaya was invited in November 1996 to address the national assembly of Indonesian bishops to discuss the matter further. Shortly after his death on 10 February 1999, his 230-page book on the matter was published (Mangunwijaya 1999).²⁵ In his vision of the history of Catholicism in Indonesia, Mangunwijaya distinguishes the Portuguese period as a brutal military invasion during which missionaries could do no more than try to show a more human face of Western and Christian nations. For the bulk of the period covered by this book, 1900-1942, Mangunwijaya sees two deciding factors. First, the growing importance of Catholic leadership, as a number of development activities like education and health were entrusted to religious institutions under the Ethical Policy

²⁵ See also references to this discussion in Chapters II and X.

after 1901. The second factor Mangunwijaya cites is the remarkable increase in Dutch missionaries. They came mostly from the southern Dutch provinces of Brabant and Limburg with a nearly totally Catholic population, where traditionally priests and nuns regulated not only religious matters, but also the cultural and social life of their homogeneous communities. This ideal of a *Volkskirche*, the identification of religion with the social group, produced a ghetto spirit that created internally homogeneous, obedient communities with a strong hierarchical structure. According to Mangunwijaya, this situation led to a church community where laypeople were not taken seriously, where internal variety was weak, and where cooperation with 'outsiders' was neglected. In Mangunwijaya's sketch of the development of Catholicism in Indonesia, the Japanese period of 1942-1945 caused an outburst of creativity and responsibility on the part of the laity, because most of the clergy were in prison. However, after 1945 the old habits were resumed, the laity were sent back to their earlier position on the sidelines, and ghettoism increased.²⁶

Mangunwijaya's analysis may serve as a starting point for a comparison of the 1900-1945 period with earlier and later developments. After a very modest fresh start during the nineteenth century, Catholicism grew very quickly. In the early twentieth century came institutional refinements and growth in personnel. After World War I a period of increase in the number of faithful started that was not equalled until the early years of Suharto's New Order, in 1967-1973. This process of rapid growth took place under a church leadership that strictly followed international Catholic tradition as guided by a strong Vatican strategy. This aimed at keeping the Catholic church as a spiritual community rather independent from any government, including the Dutch colonial state. That was the reason Javanese Catholic leaders like Frans van Lith (by the 1910s) and Ignatius Kasimo (only in the later 1930s) could opt for an independent Indonesia under native leadership, because the Catholic community was not related to the colonial state. In addition, there was a lack of ecumenical engagement and of respect for other major religions: this strong and self-confident spiritual community was quite inward looking. It was a strong pillar in an Indonesian society that was growing towards segmentation.

Mangunwijaya's analysis is quite different from some earlier assessments of the overall development of Catholicism in Indonesia. The main predecessor of this analysis, Martin Muskens's work published in 1973-74, concludes in a jubilant way its series of five volumes with a publication entitled 'Integration in the Indonesian Society' (*Pengintegrasian dalam Alam Indonesia*). Its main author and editor, repeating the bulk of his 1969 Dutch dissertation, had asked the comparative question why Christianity in all countries of Asia (with the exception of the Philippines) was only a small and quite isolated minority, having little interaction with other communities and without any cultural or

²⁶ There are more specifics on these issues in Mangunwijaya 1999:20-31.

political influence on a national level. Muskens was thinking of countries like China, Japan, India, and Sri Lanka. Why was Indonesia different, with quite a few prominent Catholics in leading political and cultural positions, with a leading Catholic national newspaper, with respected educational and medical institutions, and a strong contribution to economic development? Muskens gave the English translation (published in 1980) of his dissertation an even stronger title, 'Partner in nation building; The Catholic Church in Indonesia'.

Somewhat more modest, but still praising the harmony between various religious groups is the broad study by Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi* (1991). Boelaars emphasizes the rapid process from a Catholic community that in 1940 was still served by an overwhelmingly foreign clergy to one that, in 1960-1980, had definitely become Indonesian. Like Muskens, Boelaars has a final chapter with the title 'Integration of the [Catholic] Church in the Indonesian Society' (Boelaars 1991:377-88). With Pancasila as the main ideological background, Catholics did not live in a ghetto, but participated in many sectors of society.

Does Mangunwijaya's analysis contradict the more optimistic Dutch scholars? Was he influenced by the sudden outburst of inter-religious conflicts in 1996? Or should we consider these two impressions of the development of Catholicism in Indonesia complementary? I propose the latter. In the early twentieth century all religions in Indonesia grew towards stricter orthodoxy, towards stronger exclusiveness. This can be seen in the rise of the major Muslim movements of Muhammadiyah (1912) and Nahdlatul Ulama (1926), and in the increasingly orthodox Protestantism, supported by the staunchly Reformed Governor-General Idenburg (1909-1916). This tendency towards increasing orthodoxy, similar to what Geertz saw, in Islam, as a growing influence of *santri* Islam, hardened the boundaries between religions. Catholicism managed to become one of the five recognized religions in modern Indonesia (alongside Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Protestantism) which were able to divide up the religious landscape. The strict division was certainly influenced by more factors than just the agrarian and strictly Catholic character of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, as Mangunwijaya suggests. It was a complex process with foreign factors (European and Middle Eastern), but finally it was a strictly Indonesian process where modernity served to reinforce and separate the world religions, including Catholicism. Therefore, when Muskens claims an integration of Catholicism within the overall Indonesian social system, it was an integration within a segmented and divided society. Mangunwijaya stresses this latter aspect, giving full attention to the uneven balance between the major players and defining the role of Christianity in general as one of diaspora, more strongly so (with a few local exceptions) for Catholics.

But there is another difference between Muskens and Mangunwijaya, in their view of the role of religion. Muskens is not just 'a Dutch scholar'. His

paradigm of 'partnership' represents very much what the Catholic elite desired, at least after 1950, both Catholic politicians and the church hierarchy, and their efforts to continue in a different way the warm cooperation between colonial government and missionary activities. Mangunwijaya, on the other hand, was involved with the more liberal and open intelligentsia, those who had not sold their intellectual integrity to the regime. Here is a middle-class group articulating the voice of the victims. Muskens and Mangunwijaya therefore symbolize the two Catholic churches in Indonesia: the one has accommodated itself to the culture of power (although in fact it is increasingly without influence) while the other is 'partnering' with forces of resistance and reform. In both interpretations we see a minority seeking its place within a changing society. This Catholic minority had grown solidly and with great success in the first four decades of the twentieth century, but the process was a modest rather than a spectacular growth of a more and more confident and definitely distinct minority community.

Documents

1. New procedures for the Larantuka Confreria, 1903

The Confreria or Brotherhood of the Rosary was the most important remnant of Portuguese-style Catholicism in East Flores and Adonara. It was a lay organization that gave much prestige to the traditional elite. From the early 1860s on, the clergy either tried to destroy or to reform this strong tradition. One reorganizational effort is found in the 1903 statutes for the Confreria, which were written following the format of Dutch statutes for civil organizations.

Atoran Confria¹ di Larantoeka (Woereh dan Conga)

Art. 1 *Kahendaknja*

Confria ada perkoempoelan agama poenja, jang nijatnja itoe: beri moelia pada pekerjaan gredja, dan toeloeng sama Toewan-toewan Padre dalam perkarra agama dan dalam dia poenja adat. Dia poenja Patrona Kadoesa Prawan Maria, dan dia poenja hari pesta ada hari Dominggo Rosari.

Art. 2 *Orang irmaó*

Dalam Confria ada orang parintah, orang pegang pangkat, orang irmaó² dan orang candidate. Orang parintah ada:

Toewan Bispo: Kapala melindong

Toewan besar: Director

Toewan Radja: President

Toewan-toewan Padre, jang satoe berpangkat Scriban³

Porcardoor,⁴ Thesaurero

Orang parintah berkoempoel, kalau Toewan Director soeka itoe.

Orang berpangkat diseboet: Tjoemadoor, Capella, Mestri, Sacrista.

Scriban, Porcardoor, Thesaurero dan lagi segala orang berpangkat dapat dipi-

¹ The Dutch text still has the usual term *confreria*, but the Malay text reads *confria*, AJAK H 4-1-1.

² *Irmaó* (Portuguese) means 'brother'.

³ The Dutch text reads: 'de andere Pastoors als leden, waarvan een als secretaris' (the other priests are members; one of them is secretary).

⁴ Dutch text reads *Procuator*.

lih⁵ oleh orang-orang parintah dan ditentoekan oleh Toewan Director. Saban tiga tahoen dia misti lepas pangkatnja, tetapi dia djoega boleh diangkat kom-bali.

Art. 3 Samoewa orang, jang tinggal dibawah Gredja Larantoeka dan Tengah boleh diangkat djadi *orang irmaó* dalam Confria Larantoeka; orang Woereh dan Tanah Merah dalam Confria Woereh; orang Conga, Waitioe, Lewolaga dalam Confria Conga. Tetapi ada tersoeroeh:

diorang ada orang sambot⁶

diorang hidoep soenggoeh toeroet parintah agama

diorang misti soeka ikoet parintah dan adat Confria.

Art. 4 *Kaängkatan*

Orang, jang soeka masok Confria misti presenta namanja sama saorang parintah. Djoega masing-masing orang irmaó boleh presenta orang poenja nama sama orang parintah. Dalam perkoempoelan orang-orang parintah membit-jarakan maoe tarima masok orang itoe ka tida: tetapi tarima masok tidak boleh, kalau Toewan Director tida tarima. Soedah ditentoekan masok, orang itoe tinggal candidate sakorangnja satoe tahoen lamanja, for pariksa apa dia hidoep betoel toeroet parintah agama, dan apa dia ikoet djoega adat Confria. Tahoen itoe habis dia diangkat masok dengan moelia pada hari Dominggo Rosari: pada hari itoe candidate misti sambot, dan dahoeloe missa besar Toewan Padre berkat dia poenja opa dan bernica.⁷

Segala orang irmaó (djoega orang candidato) misti bajar saban tahoen 5 roepija sakorangnja dalam boelan October (melainkan orang itoe, jang dahoe-loe soedah beri festa makan Natal).

Art. 5 Kalau saorang irmaó ada hidop korang betoel toeroet agama Sorani, kalau dia salah besar, kalau dia tida ikoet parintah dan adat Confria, orang-orang parintah membitjarakan dalam perkoempoelan for kasih lepas dia dari Confria; Toewan Director sendiri djoega boleh kasih lepas saorang dari Confria.

Art. 6 *Djandji*. Orang-orang irmaó berdjandji:

Hidoep betoel toeroet agama sorani dan memberi toeladan baik sama orang lain.

Djaga, jang anak-anak dikampong (dan djoega orang-orang toewah) pigi prendor hari-hari adjaran sorani.

Saboleh-boleh datang Salve pada hari Dominggo dan hari festa, datang djoega di gredja, kalau pekerjaan agama disitoe, dan mengadjak djoega orang lain boewat begitoe.

Pariksa orang siapa tida Missa pada hari Dominggo dan hari parintah

⁵ Reading uncertain, it means 'chosen' (Dutch: *gekozen*).

⁶ *Sambot* (Malay), lit. 'join, receive' here used to mean admitted to the Holy Communion; Dutch: *toegelaten tot de eerste Heilige Communie*.

⁷ *Bernice*: medal (Portuguese; Dutch *medaille*).

tida dengan sebab, dan toelis diorang poenja nama. Mengadjak orang dengar Missa didalam gredja dan tinggal disitoe dengan patoet dan hormat.

Djaga orang panggil lekas Toewan Padre, kalau ada orang sakit pahaja; dan pigi sembahjang, kalau orang sakit itoe dekat mati.

Koeboerkan orang mati.

Beri tahoe sama Toewan Padre perkara-perkara, jang djadi didalam kampong.

Datang ikoet procisan, dan djaga djangan orang bekin tersiboek atau melawan atoran.

Sambot pada hari Paska, Pentecosta, hari Dominggo Rosari dan hari Natal.

Art. 7 Kalau djadi pekerdjaan agama besar, dan kalau dia sambot, orang irmaó misti pakai opa dan bernica. Pada 4 hari itoe, jang dahaeloe, orang irmaó misti datang sambot bersama-sama dimedja koedoes dahaeloe dari samoewa orang lain.

Art. 8. *Orang mati*

Kalau seorang irmaó soedah mati, dia poenja bangkai taroh dalam peti, berpakai dengan opa dan bernica, belandjanja Confria poenja (ia itoe legados dan belandja for peti dan pakean).

Orang-orang irmaó, berpakai dengan opa dan bernica, misti ikoet membawa koeboer, dan Toewan Padre dengan ampat adjoeda datang di kampong atau di Kapella Maria manghantar orang mati.

Confria misti Missa alma⁸ cantada besar (kalau boleh hari ketiga habis koeboer) for orang mati poenja alma, dan orang-orang irmaó misti dengar missa berpakai dengan opa dan bernica.

Saban tahoen dalam boelan November Confria minta djoega satoe missa alma cantada for segala orang irmaó jang soedah mati, dan for diorang poenja familie.

Art. 9 *Festa Natal*

Orang-orang irmaó bekin festa makan kira-kira pada tempo Natal: Confria bajar segala belandja itoe; dan dalam festa itoe boleh datang segala orang irmaó dan irmá.⁹

Art. 10 *Barang Confria*

Barang Confria, jang barang Gredja, dan barang itoe jang dipakai for koeboer orang mati, Toewan Padre simpan didalam Gredja. Barang Confria lain thesaurero simpan didalam Kapella Maria, dan saban tiga tahoen orang parintah pariksa barang itoe.

Art. 11 *Koeboer orang mati*

For koeboer orang mati boleh pakai barang Confria: tetapi toeroet adat Gredja dan Confria, dan kalau soedah dapat permissie dari Toewan Padre.

⁸ Alma (Portug.): soul. This is a mass sung for the dead.

⁹ Irmá (Portug.): sister. Only on this occasion are women mentioned.

Art. 12 Atoran festa didalam Gredja, procisan, pasang damar, dan segala perkara Confria poenja, tida boleh djadi melainkan dibawah parintah dan bitjara Toewan Director atau dia poenja Toewan pengganti.

Art. 13 Confria poenja doewit didapat dari orang irmaó poenja bajar saban tahoen, dari orang poenja denda, dan dari orang poenja promessa dan pembrian.

Dengan doewit itoe Confria bajar orang irmaó poenja legadoe dan belandja for beri pesta makan dan pakaian dan missa alma, bajar djoega belandja samoewa for beri festa makan tempo Natal.

Confria boleh pakai doewit djoega for toeloeng sama orang miskin dan for boewat kerdja baik lain-lain.

2. Catharina, daughter of Raja Lorenzo II of Larantuka writes to her brother Servus in Surabaya about the imprisonment of their father, 1904

Servus was in Surabaya in 1904, probably at the school of the brothers. His sisters Catharina and Magdalena wrote him letters to inform him about the events in Larantuka, when the resident of Kupang, F.A. Heckler, came to capture their father.¹⁰ Especially the first letter is full of short visits to the church and the sisters' devotion and prayers, showing the conventional piety of young girls educated in the school of the sisters. The letters are dated Larantuka, 14 July 1904.¹¹

Larantoeka 14 Juli 1904 Kapada Kakakoe Servus jang tertjinta

Maka saja poenja soerat di moeka bersenang-senang adanja dan kitorang bersoeka-soeka hati, pada sekarang itoelah terbalik semoeanja. Tentoe saja rasa bahoea Servus kakakoe tertjin-beringin sekali akan dengar chabar dari kitorang dan sebab itoe saja tjoba saboleh-boleh maskipoen hatikoe sakit dan hantjoer sekali.

Pada hari pertama 1 Juli Bapa seperti biasanya pergi ka Missa dan orang kampoeng adalah soembahjang di Gredja, lagi Bapa jang tertjinta samboet pada hari itoe djoega. Samantara Bapa pada Missa soembahjang pada wak-toe habis samboet akan trima kassih pada Toehan Allah, berlaboeh di Posto doewa kapal: kapal Pelikaan dan kapal prang satoe. Djikalau Bapa lihat itoe, sabentar Bapa kaloear Gredja dengan Radja Pajong lagi Lagawoedjoeh jang ikoet Bapa ka roemah kitorang dimana Bapa makan sedikit lantas diorang naik kekapal akan bertemoe Toehan Resident jang soedah pesang dengan soerat lebeh doeloe. Bapa naik kapal 'Pelikaan' kalau kapal kembali datang di Larantoeka. Tetapi dari soerat pesang itoe Toewan Pastoor atau Moeder dan

¹⁰ For this episode see also Steenbrink 2003:95-7.

¹¹ In AJAK H 4-1-1 in a copy by Bishop Luyken, written in Kotaraja, 22-8-1904.

Zusters tida tahoe satoe apa; lagi kitorang tida tahoe. Sampai di kapal Bapa naik dan tida toeroen lagi.

Oom Pajong dan Lagawoedjoeh minta akan ikoet Bapa, tapi itoe tida dibrikan. Adoeh! Ja kaka jang tertjinta Bapa sendiri di kapal di tangan Toewan Resident. Trada orang jang boleh toeloeng. Bapa jang ingat kitorang selaloe, jang baik pada kami, soedah tertjere dari kitorang, dengan tiada sempat akan bitjara “slamat tinggal” atau beitorang “slamat djalan” Bapakoe jang tertjinta. Soenggoeh hatikoe terantjoer dan sakit amat pedih.

Meski kitorang soeka toeloeng tida boleh djadi melainkan dengan soembahjang. Saja kaloeear masok Gredja tidak brenti, tapi hati tida senang, saja ingat Servus djoega jang djaoe bagitoe deri kitorang. Orang kampoeng samoeanja bersoesah dan doedoek diroemah atau didjalan dengan diam sadja. Diaorang tertjengang adanja.

Pagi poekoel 8 Bapa soedah dikapal dan poekoel tiga kapal berlajar ke Koepang. Kitorang berdoewa berdiri dipintoe Gredja dengan menangis dan intai kapal sampai kapal masok di tandjoeng, laloe kami masok Gredja dan taroh Bapa dibawah perlindoengan Kadissa Prawan Maria, dan dalam Hati amat Koedoes Toehan Jesus.

Kapal prang tinggal disini dan berlaboeh dikapela Maria djaga orang goenoeng Lewokloewo dan lain-lain. Tapi segala orang goenoeng takoet dan diam. Habis pada malam anak-anak sekola jang soedah menangis dan soembahjang dengan beitorang pergi tidoer. Tetapi Servus jang terkaseh tidoer tida boleh djadi malam antero saja pikir Bapa, trada orang tahoe apa misti djadi dengan Bapa.

Hari Saptoe terkemoedian kitorang amat bersoesah, dan pada hari Domingoe pagi kapal ‘Pelikaan’ soedah balik, tapi Bapa tidak balik. Sekarang loeka hati kombali terboeka, Moeder dan Zuster hiboer kitorang dan tjerita lagi jang Bapa doeloe di soeatoe kamar dan makan minoem lagi baik. Orang bilang Bapa diam sahadja dan soembahjang dengan tida brenti. Saja harap Kadissa Prawan Maria hiboer Bapa poenja hati. Tabej banjak deri Moeder jang terhormat dan Zuster-zuster lagi deri anak sekolah dan famili terlebeh dari saja jang ingat Servus siang-malam dan jang selaloe tinggal Adikmoe jang bersoesah. (Signed) Catharina

3. Complaints about aggressive evangelizing by Father Petrus Hoevenaars in Mendut, 1905

Governor-General Van Heutsz sent two letters to Vicar Apostolic Luypen in Batavia. The first is by L.G. Bertsch, Inspector of Native Education, the second by J.H.F. ter Meulen, Resident of Kedu, the Central Javanese region between Semarang and Yogyakarta. Both describe the event in Mendut where Father Hoevenaars showed

the church to school pupils who later said that they had been unwillingly baptized by surprise. This is followed by an apology by Jesuit priest Petrus Hoevenaars and a Malay report by the Javanese M. Brahim. According to the latter two testimonies there was no excessive zeal on the part of Father Hoevenaars.¹²

Buitenzorg, den 5den maart 1906

Geheim Kabinet no. 2 [B. 18 april 1906. Nr. 519 zeer vertrouwelijk E.L.]

Uit de respectiefelijk in extract en in afschrift hierbij aangeboden, aan de waarnemenden Directeur van O. E. en N. [J.H. Abendanon] gerichte, geheime brieven van den Inspecteur van het Inlandsche onderwijs in de 2de afdeelijg [L.G. Bertsch] en van den Resident van Kedoe [J.H.F. ter Meulen] van 23 November 1905 en 15 Februari 1906 Nos. 1135 en 63, zal Udoorluchting Hoogwaardige kunnen blijken dat de hulppriester P.J. Hoevenaars, vroeger te Moentilan, thans te Cheribon, zich het vorige jaar aan onberaden bekeeringswerk heeft schuldig gemaakt. Met leedwezen heb ik hiervan kennis genomen en ik heb daarin aanleiding gevonden om den Resident van Cheribon te doen uitnodigen op de verrichtingen van genoemden hulppriester nauwlettend toezicht te doen houden.

De GG van Heutsz.

Batavia den 23 November 1905 No 1135 geheim.

In voldoening aan Uw verzoek, om hetgeen UHEGG, heden mondeling door mij werd medegedeeld, alsnog schriftelijk te rapporteren, heb ik de eer het ondervolgende ter Uwer kennis te brengen. Een poosje geleden bevond ik mij op een middag te Moentilan (Kedoe) waar ik de openbare Inlandsche school bezocht had, op den grooten weg wachtende op de tram om naar Djokjakarta terug te keeren. Toevallig kwam een kennis van mij, tabaksplanter in de omstreken dier plaats, in mijne nabijheid en van hem vernam ik dat er rare dingen waren voorgevallen aan de particuliere zendingsschool te Moengkid, zoo vreemd, dat ik den volgende morgen mij wederom naar Moentilan begaf, teneinde daarover inlichtingen te vragen aan den Controleur aldaar, den Heer Stortenbeker.

Deze deelde mij bereidwillig het volgende mede. Sedert het vorig jaar staat de particuliere gesubsidieerde school te Moengkid onder leiding van den Roomsche-Katholieken zendeling te Mendoet. Pastoor Hoevenaars, onlangs naar Cheribon overgeplaatst, vervulde aldaar sedert jaren de functie van missionaris en bezocht geregelde de bovengenoemde school te Moengkid, waarvan wel de onderwijzers Roomsche-Katholiek zijn, maar de leerlingen niet. Deze laatsten zijn kinderen uit den omtrek en behooren tot de Mohamedaansche bevolking.

¹² AJAK K 10-1-4.

Op zekere dag, kort voor een der Christelijke feestdagen, kwam pastoor Hoevenaars voornoemd, in de school te Moengkid en verzocht alle leerlingen om op een door hem genoemde dag naar Mendoet te gaan, opdat hij hen in een groep zou kunnen photographeren. Aan dat verzoek werd door die kinderen voldaan en zij begaven zich allen, netjes gekleed, op den bepaalde tijd naar Mendoet. Daar werden zij in eene groep opgesteld en gefotograheerd. Daarna zei pastoor Hoevenaars tot hen: 'Nu, kinderen, zult gij zeker eens willen kijken, hoe eene Roomsche Kerk er uit ziet. Komt maar allen mee, dan zal ik U daar binnen brengen.'

De kinderen volgden hem, maar zoodra hij binnen was, nam hij de wijwaterskwast in de hand en besprenkelde alle binnenkomende kinderen met wijwater. Toen allen binnen waren, werd er eene formeele godsdienstoefering gedurende ongeveer een half uur gehouden; deze afgelopen zijnde, sprak pastoor Hoevenaars de kinderen bij het verlaten der kerk nogmaals aan; o.a. zeggende 'dat zij nu allen zoo goed als Christenen (srani) waren geworden.'

De kinderen verhaalden, thuis gekomen, aan hunne ouders wat er met hen te Mendoet was voorgevallen en deze waren daarover zoo verontwaardigd, dat zij den volgende dag bijna allen hunne kinderen niet meer naar de school te Moengkid wilden zenden. In plaats van 80 à 90 kwamen er slechts 30 leerlingen op school.

Het enz.-

Op mijne vraag, of de Controleur Stortenbeker het gebeurde officieel gerapporteerd had aan het bestuur, bekwam ik een ontkennend antwoord, 'want', zeide hij, 'ik kwam de heele toedracht der zaak eerst te horen na de overplaatsing van pastoor Hoevenaars,¹³ nadat door de andere pastoors voor de school te Moengkid de noodige voorzieningen waren getroffen nopens het schoolbezoek der leerlingen. Alles was toen dus al gebeurd, ik kon er niets meer aan veranderen en door het vertrek van pastoor Hoevenaars naar Cheribon was die kwestie als afgedaan te beschouwen.'

Bij den controleur Stortenbeker vd hield ik dien avond nog eene besprekking over dat onderwerp met hem en pastoor van Lith, die te Moentilan verblijf houdt, waarop ik aan beide heeren meedeede, dat ik mij verplicht gevoelde het voorgevallene toch aan mijnen Departementschef te rapporteren. En aangezien ik spoedig zelve naar Batavia zou gaan, nam ik mij voor, zulks mondeling en desgewenscht ook schriftelijk te doen.

Bij het vorenstaande behoort nog te worden vermeld, dat pastoor van Lith mij verklaarde, dat én hij én zijne andere ambtgenoten te Moentilan en Mendoet het overijld en hoogst onverstandig optreden van hunnen fanatieken

¹³ According to Van Aernsbergen (1934:224). Petrus Hoevenaars was removed to Cheribon on 12 June 1905. Easter Sunday that year was on 23 April. The further removal of Hoevenaars to Bandung took formally place on 28 December 1906 (Van Aernsbergen 1934:231) but apparently Hoevenaars was already in Bandung before that time.

collega Hoevenaars ten hoogste afkeurden en diep gevoelden, dat daardoor aan het werk der zending aldaar een geweldige schok onder de omwonende bevolking was toegebracht.

Het aldus voorgevallene geeft mij intusschen aanleiding, UHEdG, dringend te verzoeken, het daarheen te leiden, dat door de Regeering aan de bestuursambtenaren in Cheribon, waar pastoor Hoevenaars thans werkzaam is, last gegeven worde om voortdurend en scherp een wakend oog te houden op zijnen zendingsarbeid in dat gewest, aangezien zulk overijld en fanatiek optreden ten laatste niet zonder invloed zal kunnen blijven op de rust en orde bij de Inlandsche, voor het meerendeel Mohammedaansche bevolking op Java.—De Inspecteur van Het Inlandsch Onderwijs in de 2de afdeling, Bertsch

Magelang, den 15den Februari 1906. Aan de Directeur van OEN. Geheim. no. 63.

Referte Uw schrijven van 28 November. a.p. No 505 geheim.

Het UHEdG, door den Inspecteur van het Inlandsche Onderwijs in de 2de afdeeling bij schrijven dd. 23 November l.l. No. 1135 geheim medegedeelde, waarvan ik eerst door Uw bovenvermelden brief kennis bekwam, is mij, na een door den regent alhier ingesteld onderzoek en door van den Controleur te Moentilan verkregen nadere inlichtingen, gebleken juist te zijn.

Bij eene inspectie der zendingsschool te Moengkid in de maand Augustus door den Controleur van Moentilan, trof deze het geringe aantal aanwezige kinderen. Een onderzoek instellende bleek hem, dat het aantal leerlingen van 94 in de maand Maart, gedaald was tot 34. Hij liet daarop de wegblijvers verzamelen ten huize van den Assistent-Wedono van Moengkid en vroeg hen naar de reden waarom zij de school hadden verlaten, waarop hij vernam, wat er met hen in de maand April te voren (Paschen) te Mendoet was voorgevallen.

Zij verklaarden niet gedwongen te willen worden Christenen te worden en eerst naar de school te zullen terugkeren, als het verplichte godsdiestonderwijs, waarvoor zij door het hoofd der school dikwijls gestraft werden als zij hunne lessen niet kenden, werd opgeheven. Dit had na mededeeling door den Controleur van zijne bevinding aan den Pastoor van Lith te Moentilan, onmiddellijk plaats; het godsdiestonderwijs werd geheel van de tafel van werkzaamheden geschrapt, met het gevolg, dat het aantal leerlingen allengs weer toenam. In Oktober bedroeg dit 44 en na de poewasa in December 63, terwijl het nieuwe schooljaar aanving met 102 leerlingen.

Het bovenstaande geldt ook gedeeltelijk voor de school te Mendoet, in hetzelfde district Moentilan, waar Pastoor Hoevenaars het Godsdiestonderwijs eveneens verplichtend had gesteld. Daar verwijderden zich om dezelfde reden een drietal leerlingen dat overging naar de school te Moentilan.

Op de zendingsscholen te Moentilan, Daekoen en Salam in dezelfde contro-le-a afdeeling, werd nimmer godsdienstonderwijs gegeven. Het is zeker, dat het onverstandig en onoordeelkundig optreden van den Pastoor Hoevenaars het vertrouwen van de betrokken ouders in belangrijke mate heeft geschockt. Naar mij door de Assistent-Wedono aldaar werd medegedeeld, zouden die ouders de strekking van het godsdienstonderwijs aanvankelijk niet ten volle hebben besefd, maar na het met hunne kinderen voorgevallene te Mendoet tot inzicht zijn gekomen.

Intusschen blijkt uit de omstandigheid, dat noch hij noch de Controleur daarvan rapport heeft uitgebracht – volgens het zeggen van den eersten omdat het godsdienst betrof, waarin ieder vrij wordt gelaten – dat de indruk van het voorgevallene zich niet in wijde kring heeft uitgestrekt en op de rust en orde niet van invloed is geweest. Na verandering van richting na het vertrek van Pastoor Hoevenaars en nadat de Controleur zich met de zaak heeft bemoeid, is het vertrouwen bij de ouders teruggekeerd en bestaat blijkens het toegenomen aantal leerlingen er bij hen thans geen overwegend bezwaar van de gelegenheid tot het verkrijgen van gewoon lager onderwijs op de zending-school te Moengkid en elders voor hunne kinderen gebruik te maken.

Intusschen heb ik den Controleur te Moentilan, alsmede aan dien van Salam en dien van Magelang in wier ressorten zich mede particuliere schoolen der Roomsche-Katholieke missie bevinden, opgedragen op den gang van zaken aldaar een nauwgezet toezicht uit te oefenen, waartoe zij ingevolge Art. 5 van Staatsblad 1895 no. 146 verplicht zijn. –De Resident van Kedoe, Ter Meulen.

Answer by Father Petrus Hoevenaars to Bishop Luypen:

Bandoeng 10 Maart 1906

Monseigneur, dank voor die groote papieren, welke ik hierbij aan UEH terugzend. Vrijdag laatstleden ontving ik dat moois. Heden moet ik vastenpreek houden. Morgen den 11e moet ik voor een paar dagen naar Cheribon, Donderdagavond ben ik weder hier. Dus is wat haastig gewerkt, en niet kort, maar toch wel zakelijk, naar ik hoop.

De voorstelling van Bertsch is ten ene male valschen onwaar. Er is niets gebeurd met Paschen te Mendoet, wat aanstoot kan geven en ze zijn er niet heen gelokt onder een onwaar voorwendsel. Dat er te Moengkid een exodus plaats heeft is waar, maar absoluut niet om hetgeen er te Mendoet is geschied. Dat mijne uitnodiging om naar Mendoet te komen enkelen der kinderen heeft afgeschrikt is mogelijk. Ook is mogelijk dat enkelen die niet gekomen zijn daarover verlegen, maloe, werden, en uit de school bleven. Doch dat is niet geweest de reden van een exodus. Ik weet ook niet wanneer die exodus heeft plaats gehad, in April, vóór Paschen of in Mei.

Zeker weet ik dat te Mendoet niets is gebeurd van hetgeen mij ten last wordt gelegd. Een enkele maal gebeurde het wel eens dat jongens elkaar als eenden nalopende naar school kwamen of eruit. Waarom? De Resident van Kedoe was mij steeds genegen, zoo ook controleur De Santy. Stortenbeker was tegen mij en naar nu blijkt ook Bertsch, dat ik vroeger niet wist, en waarvan ik thans nog geen enkele reden kan opgeven. Stortenbeker leefde ook zedeloos; ik meende beter te doen niet steeds hem na te loopen, toch waren wij uiterlijk vriendelijk en beleefd den laatsten tijd.

Hoe Pater van Lith zich over mij bij beide heren, waarmede Zijne Eerwaarde intieme relaties heeft, uitlaat weet ik niet. Maar wat Bertsch zegt, geloof ik niet. Wat ik van Stortenbeker zag, dat hij hoogst zelden op tournee ging, is zeker waar en algemeen bekend. Hij is alleszins een rare schutter. Hoe wonderlijk dat hij Assistent Resident is geworden; doch zijn resident te Madioen is blijkbaar niet van hem gediend. De resident van Kedoe speelt een dubbelzinnige rol. Ik heb hem expres gespaard, en meen nog, dat hij mij zal helpen.

Ik weet van De Santy¹⁴ (uit een brief) dat Stortenbeker op een vergadering bij den resident, zoo ongeveer in September, werkelijk is komen aandragen met dat malle verhaal over mij. De Santy keek hem aan en de resident lachte schouderophalend en uit was de kwestie. Later is Bertsch gaan meedoen en die feestende tabaksplanter is waarschijnlijk mhr Roos te Blabog (Moengkid) een verloopen susjet die jaren in de gevangenis heeft gezeten en dien ik eens onderhouden heb over zijn hemeltergend woekerken. Enfin, was will man machen?

Mijn vriend Leydri Melville¹⁵ weet alles, maar hij praat zo onbeholpen. Is Melville te Batavia vraag hem dan eens of het niet juist waar is zoals ik schrijf.

Grimpvoets,¹⁶ is een bedaarde, volstrekt niet domme man, doch die is na de H. Mis weggegaan. Anders ook een uitstekende getuige. En mijn goeroe's die weten alles. En de rest weet ook alles, en zal het ook wel zeggen als er maar één is, die begint. De zaak is volkommen zuiver en met 300 getuigen. Flink aangepakt moet de waarheid voor den dag komen. Slechts moet, dunkt mij, getracht worden te blijven bij de gewraakte feiten en niets anders erbij gehaald worden.

In mijn antwoord heb ik er veel bij gehaald, 1° om een juisten blik te geven op mijn wijze van doen; 2° om de beschuldigingen op sommige punten voor te zijn. Maar ik heb geen copie van hetgeen ik UDHG zend. Ik wilde zelfs een dubbel exemplaar opzenden, doch 't is zondagavond. Excuseer dat ik het UDHG zoo lastig maak, doch ik dacht in *celeritate salus*.¹⁷ UEd zal het

¹⁴ Reading of name uncertain: Du Lantry is also possible.

¹⁵ No further references available.

¹⁶ Spelling of this name uncertain.

¹⁷ *In celeritate salus*: There is salvation in speed, a rather awkward and uncommon Latin expression.

in geval het goed gedaan wordt toch moeten overtikken en dan word ik later wel in de gelegenheid gesteld daarvan copie te maken. Beide fotografien zend ik op. De leerlingen van alle scholen staan daarop bij elkaar. Maar enige leerlingen van Tanipoeran wilden zich niet laten fotograferen. Schrijf me svp wat UDHG denkt over mijne replieken zend mij later nog een de paparassen om er een copie van te maken. Overigens alles wel hier.

Ik ben volstrekt niet er onder gebukt, maar ik vrees aan UDHG groot onaangenaamheden te hebben begaan, zonder ooit te hebben kunnen vermoeden, dat zoo iets mogelijk was.

PS. Indien de heer Melville te Batavia is, dan zijn ook daar de teekenaars, die tegelijk met Paschen bij mij waren. Zodoende zouden dan te Batavia reeds een drie of viertal getuigen zijn.¹⁸

Through Mr L. Melville a report was sent on 14 March 1906 by a Javanese witness, one Mas Brahim, who saw a large number of children coming to the church on Sunday morning 23 April 1905. After service they received a ceremonial meal (slametan) that was concluded by music and the making of a picture.

Saja jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini M. Brahim Teekenaar leerling sama M. Karmo orangnya toean Melville mengetahoei betoel dari kaadaanja di Mendoet koetika tanggal 23 April 1905 adanja terseboet dibawah ini. Bermoela kira-kira poekkoel 7 1/2 pagi saja melihat orang-orang dan anak-anak pegin sembahjang di Geredja Roemkatoliek, sehabisnya sembahjang lantas slametan, orang-orang jang toea berkoempoel di roemahnja Goeroe sekolah dan anak-anak di dalam sekolahannya diket tjandi Mendoet. Sasoedahnja slametan saja lihat itoe anak-anak dan goeroenja djalan-djalan sembari main moeziek (soeling dan tamboer) la-goenja memoedji. Dan sateroesnya ini orang-orang dan anak-anak berkoempoel di tanah lapang deket tjandi Mendoet perloenza di Potret dan pindah lagi di moeka gredja betoel di djalan djoega di Potret. Sahabisnya di Potret ini anak-anak semoeanja di kasih minoem setroop, sasoedahnja begitoe masing-masing pada poelang karoemahnja.

Weltevreden, 14 Maart 1906. Saja membilang begimana di atas semoea saja brani soempah. Brahim.

¹⁸ The following day, 11 March 1906, Petrus Hoevenaars wrote another draft in defence of his behaviour in Mendut. He emphasized the tolerance of his speech in the church: let us thank the One and True God, Whom we, Muslim and Christians, acknowledge together ('Danken wij den eenen waren God, dien we allen Christenen Mohammedanen gelijkelijk erkennen.'). According to Hoevenaars, similar celebrations were also held at Easter and on 15 August (Mary's Ascension) 2003 and 2004. Also in AJAK K 10-1-4/5.

4. Notes for a discussion about school subsidies with Hendrik Colijn in Flores, 1906

Hendrik Colijn, special official for colonial policy in the Outer Islands, visited Larantuka to discuss his educational plans with the Jesuit priests. Preceding this visit Father Jozef Hoeberechts prepared some notes about the actual situation and possible development of Catholic education. He emphasized that the main goal should be religious education, besides simple, practical skills, to be offered without school fees. Pupils should do some agricultural work.¹⁹

Larantoeka

Ons hoofddoel: Godsdienstonderwijs

Werkzaamheid: Wij laten en leeren onze kinderen werken, ook in den tijd dat ze op school zijn.

Elke dag tweemaal handenarbeid, voornamelijk werken in de tuin

Lesuren 8½-10 10¾-11¾

's avonds 1 uur godsdienstonderricht/bijbelsche geschiedenis

Kostenloos: Internaat, voeding, kleeding, onderwijs gratis.

Zonder dit onmogelijk, daar wij zeker geen kinderen zouden krijgen van meer verwijderde kampongs en van de minder beschaafde bevolking (Bergvolk). Internaat noodzakelijk daar de kampongkinderen altijd naar de tuinen gestuurd worden.

Onderwijs overeenstemmend met den *graad der ontwikkeling*. Dit is wat wij inzien, maar de inspecteurs niet begrijpen. Deze verlangen een school boven de maatschappelijke ontwikkeling van *dit* volk.

Onderwijs voor *het hele volk* is voor deze bevolking onmogelijk en zelfs iets ondenkbaar. Tevens totaal nutteloos. Van de bevolking waar wij onder werken geniet misschien 1/5 onderwijs.

Wij werken op *praktische resultaat*. Daarvoor lezen, schrijven, rekenen voldoende en meer dan voldoende.

5. Support for conversion to Christianity from government officials in Flores, 1907

On 1 October 1907, while the 'war of pacification' by Captain Christoffel was still going on, Controleur A. Couvreur wrote a pressing letter to Father J. Hoeberechts in Larantuka to ask him to start mission work in Central and West Flores. He praised the populous, fertile, beautiful, cool mountainous region for its open-minded inhabitants.²⁰

¹⁹ From HDC, Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme, Free University, Amsterdam, Archief Colijn 1906/054/doos 2, handwriting, no signature, but definitely by Father J. Hoeberechts.

²⁰ From Laan, 'Larantuka':1344 Controleur A. Couvreur to J. Hoeberechts in Larantuka, Badjawa, 1-10-1907. A similar request for a quick start of mission work in the newly conquered territories of Flores came on 25 December 1907 from Rozet, posthouder of South Flores in Ende, Laan, 'Larantuka':1345.

Waarde Pastoor,

Tusschen Nanga Pandan en de Aimere (zie stafkaart) strekt zich een pracht van een vruchtbare en zwaar bevolkte hoogvlakte uit, welke een gemiddelde hoogte heeft van 750 tot 1200 M. De hoogvlakte heeft een omvang van ongeveer 70 bij 30 Km. En wordt naar een matige schatting door een 250.000 zielen bewoond.

Door het woord 'woest' in den zin van prima onbeschaafd²¹ kan een streep gehaald worden, niet door het woord 'roofzuchtig'. Persoonlijk zag ik tot nog toe de bevolking van de ZW-hoek van dit plateau, het z.g. Tokkagebied, ten rechte het *Ngada* gebied, bewoond door den stam der Komi (knevel) tero (rood). Zij staat meer op een hogere trap van ontwikkeling dan de bevolking van Oost Flores. Ten bewijze hiervan geef ik enkel dit staaltje dat de hoofden den kapitein Christoffel om de oprichting van een school vroegen.

Dat voor de missie hier een pracht van een arbeidsveld open ligt, ook op economisch gebied (vruchtbaar bij uitstek en luftkuort ook bij uitnemendheid) zal ik wel niet nader behoeven aan te toonen. Met den aanleg van wegen o.a. van de Aimerebaai, zal weldra een aanvang worden gemaakt; aan laatsbedoelden weg zal zelfs dadelijk worden begonnen.

Ik kan U gerust den raad geven dat het in het belang der missie zal zijn én in dat van het gouvernement en het volk, wanneer op deze hoogvlakte zoo spoedig mogelijk bijv. een pastoor en een broeder onderwijzer-timmerman worden gevestigd.

Om U bekende redenen verzoek ik U echter dit schrijven als *strikt particulier* te beschouwen, ook om de zaak zelf. U en de overige heeren mijn beste groeten aanbiedend, hoogachtend, gaarne Uw dienstwillige dienaar, A. Couvreur.²²

While in Larantuka, 12 February 1908, A. Couvreur wrote a request to Vicar Apostolic Luypen in Batavia to urge him to start mission work in Central and West Flores, in order to prevent the population from becoming Muslim. The influence of the sultanate of Bima on Manggarai and of the Muslims of Ende on the inland territory should

²¹ The formal speech of A. Couvreur shows many anomalies. Here we would expect 'primair onbeschaafd' in the sense of 'primitive and uncivilized' with *primair* implying 'primarily' rather than 'excellent' as *prima* does.

²² After his career in Flores A. Couvreur was, from May 1912 until March 1915 *controleur* of Sumba. He wrote similar recommendations for the Protestant mission on Sumba, stressing that he considered the conversion to Christianity great Dutch interest. 'Daar nu de christianisatie van het Soembavolk, hoe men hier verder persoonlijk ook over mag denken, m.i. onbetwistbaar is een groot Nederlandsch belang.' Letter of 23-2-1915 to the four *gezaghebbers* of districts on Sumba, published in Van den End 1987:188. See also Laan 'Larantuka':1782 from a record of a meeting between Prefect Noijen and Couvreur in Sumbawa, June 1917, where Couvreur, himself a Catholic, states that he personally would have preferred the work of the Catholics in Sumba, but that the policy of giving priority to the Protestants in Sumba was the best choice for the people of Sumba, although the *hulprediker* was stupid and unpleasant (*een domme en onhebbelijke kerel*).

*be diminished as far as possible. Even if the first generation did not become true Christians, but only showed some outward solidarity with Christianity, this would be enough to reach the goal of halting the progress of Islam and preparing them as true Christians for the next thousand years.*²³

Monseigneur!

Zoowel uit godsdiestig als uit een zuiver politiek oogpunt wordt het én door kapitein Christoffel én door mij van het hoogste belang geacht dat aan de R.K. zending op Flores niet alleen groote uitbreidung wordt gegeven, doch ook dat deze uitbreidung zoo spoedig mogelijk geschiedt en indien het enigszins kan, samenvalt met de vestiging van ons (daadwerkelijk) bestuur in de pas onderworpen streken op dit eiland.

Zijn wij er niet spoedig bij, de Islam dringt ongetwijfeld in het binnenland en wij zullen het pleit voor immer verloren hebben, hetgeen ook daarom te meer te bejammeren zoude wezen, omdat de missie helaas in het economisch en ook geestelijk meest achterlijke deel van Flores is gevestigd en dat een deel is, dat zeker ook iets belooft, doch op geen stukken na dat zal worden wat Manggerei, z.g. Rokka, boven Endeh (Manggerai, West Midden Flores, Oost Midden Flores) kunnen worden. Ook de dichtheid van de bevolking in deze streken is verreweg groter dan die in Oost Flores (Maumere en Larantuka).

Vlug aangevat zullen wij met uitzondering van de betrekkelijk enkele strandplaatsen waar de Islam reeds wortel schoot, Flores voor de R.K. Kerk behouden, *ook* het onder den invloed van het Islamitische Bima staande en zeer vruchtbare Manggerai; *ook* de streken, het geheele binnenland van Endeh.

Ten einde U eenig overzicht te geven van de plannen omtrent Flores voeg ik hierbij een afschrift van mijn reorganisatie voorstel, ten aanzien waarvan ik alle hoop heb, dat het in hoofdtrekken zal worden aangenomen. Ter standplaats van de onderafdeelingschap zullen een tweetal geestelijken gevestigd moeten zijn; als *leek* stel ik mij voor dat zij in de eerste jaren meer *extensief* dan *intensief* zullen moeten werken; meer zich zullen moeten bepalen tot het gereeld bezoeken van de streek en doopen, dan tot onderricht; in het kort dit hun hoofdtaak in de eerste jaren zal moeten zijn, de bevolking zich te doen

²³ AJAK H 4-1-3, A. Couvreur in Larantuka to Luyken, 12-2-1908. Laan, 'Larantuka':1348 has another letter by Couvreur to Luyken, requesting confidentiality. Couvreur, himself a Catholic, is in a difficult position because his superior, the *resident* of Kupang, J.F.A. de Rooij, is quite suspicious of him, and only with great difficulty could Couvreur make him somewhat more favourable towards Catholics. De Rooij is in conflict with Protestant missionaries and it is reasonable to assume that he allowed the work of Catholics on Flores to prevent the expansion of Protestantism: 'Laat ik er hier echter onmiddellijk op volgen, dat de zeer slechte verhoudingen, tusschen den Resident en de voorgangers van de Protestantsche zending, de vrees dat deze haer oog ook op Flores mocht slaan een niet geringe, wellicht *de hoofdfactor* deser onverwachte medewerking is. Doch al mijn pogingen zoude, indien de Resident van mijn geste op de hoogte komt, *in den grond en totaliter* vernietigd zijn. De Resident is van plan, of heeft reeds gunstig geadviseerd op het door Uwe Eminentie geopperde plan.'

verklaren voor het Christendom. Hebben wij het er eenmaal in dat zij zeggen *saja orang serani*, dan hebben wij duizenden jaren voor ons om hen tot *werkelijke* serani te verwerken. Want dit doel, het ‘*saja orang serani*’, bereikt, zullen wij den Islam de deur voor de neus hebben toegegooid.

In het belang van de zending verzoek ik U echter dit schrijven en uw bekendheid met mijn reorganisatievoorstel als *strikt partikulier en geheim* te willen beschouwen. De huidige resident is *tegen* de zending, als ambtenaar bega ik dus hier een daad die ik strikt genomen niet *kan* verantwoorden. Deze politiek is echter in mijn oogen zoo stupide, zoo tegen elk gezond verstand indruischend, zoo in het desbelang van Flores, dat ik *in het belang* van Flores over dezen om *ondergeschikte* ambtelijke bezwaren heen stap.

Doch houd U zich wel ervan overtuigd dat wordt deze mijne houding bekend, en de zending en ik minstens de meest geactiveerde tegenwerking zullen ondervinden. Voorzoover het in *mijn* macht ligt dat de zending de meest mogelijke medewerking en hulp erlangen, dat zal ik wel niet nader behoeven te betogen. Met *mijn* keuze van personen als civiel gezaghebber zal hiermede rekening worden gehouden. U mijn eerbiedige groeten aanbiedend, verblijf ik hoogachtend gaarne Uw Doorluchtige Hoogwaardigheid de [nederige dienaar] A. Couvreur.

6. Pastoral letter at Lent, 1910, by Bishop Luypen²⁴

In 1910 for the first time the annual pastoral letter of Bishop Luypen was published in the new Catholic magazine Geredja Katholik. It has as subject the celebration of Sunday as a day of rest, to be devoted to spiritual exercise. Besides, special attention is asked for the four Catholic holidays of Ascension Day, Christmas, Corpus Christi and Assumption of the Holy Virgin. As usual the letter finishes with the prescriptions for fasting and a list of Catholic holidays.

SOERAT POEASA PADA TAHOEN 1910

Edmundus Sijbrandus Luypen, Titoelair Oeskoep negeri Oroke dan Vicaris Apostolik Betawi. Berkat dan selamat dari pada Maha Toehan kepada segala toean Paderi dan segala orang beriman, pendoedoek djadjahan ‘Vicariat Apostolik Betawi’.

Saudara-saudara jang dikasih! Pada permoelaan waktoe poeasa ini, hai saudara-saudara jang dikasih, baiklah kita bersama-sama memandang barang hoekoem Allah, jang teroetama. Inilah boeninja: ‘Koedoeskanlah hari Maha Toehan’.

Apakah kiranya hendaknya hoekoem ini?

²⁴ *Geredja Katholik*, a monthly published in Woloan, Minahasa, Vol. 1 (1909-10):65-8, excerpts only.

Apakah sebabnya dikatakan ‘hari Maha Toehan?’ Tiadakah patoet kita menghormati Allah pada tiap-tiap hari se’oemoer hidoepl kita? Itoelah kewaduhan atas segala manoesia, boekan? Patoet masing-masing kita berkata, seperti Nabi Radja David: Akoe akan memoedji Allah selaloe, selaloelah patoet ada dalam moeloetkoe poedjian kepadanya! (Ps. XXXII).

Demikianlah keharoesan! Pada segala hari dengan segala pekerdjaaan haroes kita mempermoeliakan Allah menoeroet perkataan Kadis Pauloes, katanja: ‘Maka sebab itoe baik kamoe makan atau minoem, baik kamoe boeat apa-apa jang lain, boeatlah kesemoeanja akan kemoeliaan Allah.’

Hai saudara-saudara jang dikasih, perhatikanlah kiranya perkataan itoe! Adalah kita hidoepl dalam doenia ini, soepaja kita menghormati dengan segala pekerdjaaan Maha Toehan. Itoelah maksoednya Allah, apabila didjadikannya manoesia.

Maka meskipun demikian keharoesan manoesia pada tiap-tiap hari me-noeroet boenji Kitab Koedoes, ada satoe hari besar djoega dari pada segala hari lain ja’ni hari Minggoe. Maka apakah sebabnya hari itoe diseboet besar? Boekan, sebab hari itoe berlainan dengan hari jang lain. Samalah sadja. Adalah matahari terbit, matahari terbenam, ada hoedjan, ada panas! Ta’ ada bedanja padanja dengan hari-hari lain. Adapoen lainnya datang dari pada perkataan Allah, sabdanja: ‘Koedoeskanlah hari Maha Toehan!’ Hari itoe besarlah, sebab pada hari itoe disoeroeh kepada manoesia menghormati Allah atas peri jang moelia lagi njata ...

Adalah seakan-akan Allah berkata kepada kita, katanja: Dari pada 365 hari baiklah kebanjakan dipakai orang akan mentjahari kehidoepl menoe-roet kehendaknya. Pada hari-hari itoe oleh orang berkeboen dikerdjakan sawah dan ladangnya; pada hari itoe oleh toekang-toekang diboeatnya roemah dan serba roemah; pada hari itoe oleh koeli-koeli ditjaharinja oepah dan oleh nelajan ditangkapnya ikan, dengan pendek oleh masing-masing dioesahakan dirinja, soepaja hidoepl dengan selamat dan sentosa dalam doenia ini, ja’itoe ada padanja makanan dan pakaian tjoekoep oentoek diri dan anak-anaknya.

Akan Dakoe Maha Toehanmoe tjoekoeplah kepadakoe satoe hari dalam tiap-tiap minggoe, dan keempat hari itoe jang telah ditentukan oleh Geredjakoe ja’ni hari raja Kenaikan kesoerga Toehan Jesoes, hari raja Djadinja Toehan Jesoes, hari raja Sacramen Maha Koedoes, dan hari raja Keangkatan Kadisa Maria kesoerga. Maka Akoe tiada biarkan dirampasi sebahagian djikalau ketjil sekali poen dari pada hari-hari itoe. Hari minggoe itoe ja’itoe harikoe, hari Maha Toehanmoe! Adapoen hari minggoe itoe haroes dikoedoeskan dengan memberi hormat kepadakoe.

Hai saudara-saudara jang dikasih. Djawablah kiranya akan dakoe! Bolehkah lagi koerang kebaktian jang disoeroeh oleh Allah? Katalah kiranya: tiadakah patoet satoe hari kepada Allah! Tiadakah patoet kebaktian ketjil itoe kepada Toehanmoe?

Djika dipandang kebaktian orang kafir kepada ilahnja, maka tiada terbilang kebanjakan hari jang dikoedoeskan oleh mereka itoe. Periksaileh olehmoe segala `adat nenek mojangmoe jang kafir. Heran benar! Betapa kebaktian mereka itoe kepada ilahnja! Betapa takoetnya akan bekerdja pada hari dilarang oleh agamanja pekerdjaaan. Betapa radjinnja pada hari disoeroeh membawa koerban kepada ilahnja. Maka kesemoewannja itoe sebab takoet akan kena tjetlaka dalam doenia ini! Katalah, sedemikian djoega kebaktianmoe kepada Allah jang benar? Demikianlah takoetmoe akan bekerdja pada hari minggoe ja`ni pada hari jang Allah empoenja? Demikianlah keradjinanmoe akan menghadapi pada hari minggoe Missa ja`ni koerban jang benar? ...

SOERAT HOEKOEM POEASA

Dengan izin Santo Bapa inilah hoekoem poeasa jang haroes ditoeroet pada tahoen ini.

1. Pada tiap-tiap hari Djoem`at waktoe poeasa (ja`ni 7 hari Djoem`at) lagi pada Vigil ja`ni hari jang mendahoeloei hari raja Paska dan hari Djadinja Jesoes Christoes, disoeroeh boeat poeasa dan pantang dari pada makan daging.
2. Pada segala hari Djoem`at sepandjang tahoen dilarang makan daging.
3. Diloloeskan makan daging bila hari Djadinja Jesoes Christoes dirajakan pada hari Djoem`at.
4. Diloloeskan makan teloer dan minoem soesoe pada segala hari.
5. Diloloeskan kepada segala serdadoe dan kelasi kapal perang, lagi kepada segala orang jang disediakan oleh Goepernemen makananja, makan daging pada segala hari sepandjang tahoen. Tetapi Akoe mengadjak banjak-banjak mereka itoe hendak pantang dari pada makan daging pada hari Djoem`at besar.
6. Diloloeskan makan daging pada segala hari sepandjang tahoen, kepada orang jang berdjalan atau berlajar, djika tiada boleh didapatna dengan moedah makanan jang lain.
7. Akoe mengadjak segala orang jang diloloeskan makan daging pada hari poeasa seperti ada terteloelis diatas ini, akan sembahjang pada hari itoe satoe kali *Bapa kami* dan satoe kali *Assalam `Alaikoem*, lagi, djika ada, akan memberi derma.

DIPERINGATKAN

1. Pada segala negeri tempat kedodoekan toean Paderi, *waktoe Paska* moelaï pada hari Minggoe Daoen-daoen, dan dikoentjikan pada hari Minggoe kemoedian dari hari raja Paska itoe.
2. Wadjib atas segala orang, jang tiada tinggal; dinegeri kedodoekan toean Paderi memboeat Paska ja`ni menjamboet Sacramen Maha Koedoes, waktoe diboeat oleh toean Paderi Missa dinegerinja.

3. Maka sebab hoekoem poeasa itoe telah diringankan oleh Santoe Bapa pada memikirkan kesoesahan orang Hindia akan menoeroet segenap hoekoem poeasa itoe, maka Akoe mengadjak segala orang serani akan berboeat dengan sekehendakna pekerdjaan tapa ja`ni djangan berboeat pesta besar waktoe poeasa, berilah derma, sembahjanglah lebih dari pada kebiasaan, hadapilah Missa lagi pada hari jang tiada hari Minggoe, masoeklah gere-dja hendak mendengar tjeritera sengsara dan kematian Toehan Jesoes.
4. Hari raja jang disoeroeh dirajakan seperti hari Minggoe:
 Hari raja *kenaikan* Jesoes Christoes kesoerga.
 Hari raja *Sacramen* Maha Koedoes.
 Hari raja *keangkatan* Maria kesoerga, 15 Aug.
 Hari raja *djadinya* Jesoes Christoes Toehan kita, 25 December.
5. Hari 'ibadat, ja`ni hari jang baik dirajakan dengan menghadapi Missa, meskipoen tiada disoeroeh:
Soenat Jesoes Christoes Toehan kita, 1 Janoeari.
Tiga Radja atau Epiphania, 6 Janoeari.
 Pesta *pesoetjian* K.P.²⁵ Maria, 2 Febroeari.
Chabar Malaekat kepada K.P. Maria, 25 Maart.
 Hari *Paska*, jang *kedoea* (28 Maart tahoen ini).
 Pesta *Hati amat koedoes* Toehan Jesoes (3 Juni tahoen ini).
 Hari *Pentecosten*, jang *kedoea* (16 Mei tahoen ini).
 Pesta *Kadis Rasoel Petroes* dan *Pauloes*, 29 Joeni.
 Pesta *djadinya* K.P. Maria, 8 September.
 Pesta *Al-Kadisin* 1 November.
 Pesta K.P. Maria diperkandoengkan tiada dengan *tjela asal*, 8 December.
 Hari *djadinya* Jesoes Christoes jang *kedoa* 26 December.

7. Complaints by a dismissed Javanese catechist, 1912

In late 1897 and early 1898 Father Frans van Lith had dismissed some catechists on accusations of fraudulent practices. The leading figure was Josaphat Mertodiredjo in Muntilan. His brother Martinus Mertodiredjo, former catechist in Bedono, makes an effort to be accepted again as catechist and to receive remuneration for his salary during the previous years. He claims that he prepared 138 people to be baptized by the priests W. Hellings and L. Hebrans but was unjustly dismissed by Van Lith.²⁶

Ini soerat tersembahkan terhoendjoek padaeka kandjeng Toewan Besaar Bisschop jang amat moelija die negri Batavia.

²⁵ K.P., or Kadis Perawan (the Holy Virgin).

²⁶ AJAK K 10-5-1.

Dengan segala kerendahan dan hormat. Adapoen hamba saorang djawa bernama Martinus alias Mertodiredjo goeroe Christen Roomsch Katholiek jang tinggal beroemah die desa Djamboe onderdistrict Djamboe district Ambarawa, Afdeeling Salatiga Residentie Semarang.

Bahwa hamba mohon beriboe ampoen die hadapan Serie Padoeka Kandjeng Toewan Besaar Bischop jang hamba ta kebranian mempersembahkan sepoetjoek soerat darie sebab hamba lama beloem dapat katrangan darie Toewan pastoor W. Helings²⁷ itoe waktoe bilang pada hamba bernatie²⁸ gantienja Bischop²⁹ sampai sekarang hamba kirim soerat 2 kali, tidak dapat balasan, mendjadie hamba menerangkan dihadapan Kandjeng Toewan Besaar disini sebab hamba beloem dapat katrangan hamba poenja pekerdjaan apa masih djikalaoe dilepas hamba maoe soerat lepas, kaloe misih didjadikan goeroe hamba poenja soerat boeslit darie Toewan Bischop Jacobus Staal ham- ba minta kembali sebab Toewan Besaar jang kasih pada hamba.

Koetika taoen 1895 arie 24 boelan october Kandjeng Toewan Bischop dateng di Bedono dengan senang atie lijat orang Christen banjak dan hamba die angkat mendjadie goeroe adjar orang2 dan anak2 samoewa terima gadijhf 20 satoe boelan boelanja

Arie 21 joelij 1895. Toewan W. Helings nrimaken Batis	47 orang
arie 2 Augustus 1895 Toewan W. Helings nrimaken Batis	21 orang
arie 20 oktober 1895 Toewan W. Helings nrimaken Batis	15 orang
arie 24 oktober 1895 Toewan Besaar Jacobus Staal Batis	20 orang
arie 17 desember 1895 Toewan W. Helings nrimaken Batis	7 orang
arie 12 Januarij 1896 Toewan W. Helings Ambarawa nrimaken Batis	10 orang
arie 13 April 1896 Toewan L.M. Ebran ³⁰ Bedono nrimaken Batis	1 orang
arie 6 Julij 1896 L.M. Ebran Bedono nrimaken Batis	7 orang
arie 7 Augustus 1896 L.M. Ebran Bedono nrimaken Batis	5 orang
arie 18 Augustus 1896 L.M. Ebran Bedono nrimaken Batis	5 orang
Total	138 orang

²⁷ From 5 November 1894 to 16 June 1901 W. Hellings was the assistant priest in Semarang. In that period he was also Superior Missionis, director for the Jesuits as members of their order.

²⁸ Bernatie; meaning unclear, to be read as *bernantie?* (expecting).

²⁹ Bishop W. Staal died on 30 June 1897; on 15 June 1898 a message was received that E.S. Luypen had been appointed as his successor. He arrived in Batavia on 15 July, left the country soon after, and returned only on 25 September 1899 after ordination in the Netherlands. The whole affair of the dismissal of the catechists took place during Luypen's absence.

³⁰ Ludovicus Hebrans arrived in the mission as a young missionary one year before Van Lith, 22 October 1895. He worked first in Semarang, then in Mendut and later in Muntilan, until he had to leave the Indies due to bad health on 22 August 1900.

Koetika tahoen 1897 misih Pastoor L.M. Ebran. Taoen 1898 ada pastoor datang nama Vanlit dieja poenja adjaran lain sendiri tidak tjotjok sekalie sepertie jang terseboet die atas inie itoe Vanlit adjaranja adoek orang dan adjar bekalai mengrampas poenjanja Christen die kasiken orang selam³¹ dan boedjoek blanda asal Banaran nama Toewan Semals die adjak mengrampas hamba poenja Kerek Gredja die rampas toewan Semals diebongkar semoewa medja korsi bangkoe dan bigora semoewa di bawak pigi percil³² Banaran.

Lantas pastoor sendiri datang masoek hamba poenja roemah ambil hamba poenja soerat boeslit dan lain2 soerat ada di dalam tromol die dalam tempat hamba, pastoor jang masoek dalam kamar lantas hamba bikin kelat³³ pada Kandjeng Toewan Assisten Resident.³⁴

Kamoedian jang soedah terseboet die atas ini adanja dengan betoel2 hamba branie soempah dan lagi hamba poenja gadjih beloem trima sampek sekarang jang darie itoe hamba moehoen dengan menangis kehadapan Kandjeng Toewan Besaar ada belas kasian pada hamba poenja diri soepaja hamba bisa trima itoe gadjih dan boeslit kasie balie pada hambanja terlaloe miskin.

Waktoe boelan september tapen 1897 hamba beloem trima itoe gadjih samppek sekarang inie.

Jang bertanda toelis terseboet die atas hamba sekorang miskin die 2 januarij 1912, Martinus Mertodiredjo.³⁵

³¹ On 11 January 1914 Martinus Mertodiredjo sent another letter to Bishop Luypen, again stressing that he had received an official letter from Bishop Staal, appointing him teacher at a salary of 30 guilders per month. In this letter this event is described as 'Adapoen pada 9. 1897 toean pastur Van Lit datang di desa Bedono lantas membikin hiroe-hara, ia memboedjoek orang kampoeng2 (desa2) dan poelite, soepaja meroesakan gredja dan segala tanah hamba dan tahnha orang Christen. Gredja dengan isinja disoeroeh disoeroeh rampas Toean Smal dan tanah2 dibagaikan kepada orang kafir.' In that letter Mertodiredjo claimed 5,490 guilders for 15 years salary and 15,967 guilders for the loss of land. Also in AJAK K 10-5-1.

³² Percil probably from Dutch 'perceel', piece of land. Banaran is the hamlet close to Bendono where coffee planter Schmalz, someone close to Van Lith, lived.

³³ From Dutch *klacht*, or complaint?

³⁴ In his detailed description of the affair (written down in 1922, about 25 years later) Van Lith openly acknowledges that he took the official letter of Staal's appointment with a trick: he wanted to arrange an official acknowledgement with the *assistant-resident*. See the manuscript *De geschiedenis der Katholieke Java-missie* in the Nijmegen Archives of the Jesuits, Dossier 32, Inv. 9, 13-6.

³⁵ On 15 January 1912 Frans van Lith wrote the following comment to Bishop Luypen: 'De brief door U.D.H. opgezonden handelt over een perkara van ± 13 jaar geleden. Het ontslaan der goeroes te Bedono onder Ambarawa en de verkoop onzer kerk aan mijnheer Schmalz, destijds administrateur te Benaran. Martinus doet eene laatste poging om geld los te krijgen. Men zegt dat hij thuis eene zaak aanhangig heeft gemaakt tegen Mr. Schmalz wegens het afbreken der kerk. Het beste zal zijn niets te doen, zoolang de rechterlijke macht van ons geene verklaring vraagt' (AJAK K 10, 5-1).

8. Summary of Catholic doctrine for Papua society, 1912

MSC missionary in West Papua, J. van de Kolk, published in 1912 a summary of the Catholic doctrine as planned for a course for Papua candidates for baptism. The course ran in twenty lessons from the doctrine of God to liturgical and ethical teachings. The Dutch text is mixed with Malay and some Marind religious terminology.³⁶

Eerste les: Toean Allah: wie is God? Waar? Hoedanigheden, Schepper, Goedheid.

Tweede les: Tiga Oknoem: één God, drie personen, welke? Gelijkheid. Tweede mens geworden.

Derde les: Malaikat: voornaamste schepselen. Waar? Veel? Hoedanigheid. Engelbewaarder. Gevallen engelen. Duivel.

Vierde les: Anim³⁷: schepping, eerste mensenpaar, paradijs, ziel, lichaam, graf, ziel eeuwig naar hemel of hel.

Vijfde les: Hevai-end-dosa: Adam, Eva, vrucht, slang, zonde, erfzonde. Dood, vergiffenis, Maria onbesmet.

Zesde les: Toean Jezus: verlosser, profeten, mens geworden, Maria, Jozef. Leven, dood, verrijzenis.

Zevende les: Kadis Gredja: door Christus ingesteld: apostelen, Petrus, paus, bisschoppen, priesters, serani. Vijf geboden van de H. Kerk.

Achtste les: Kadis Indjil: Bijbel, evangelisten, openbaring, overlevering. Leer der Kerk. Joden, heidenen, ketters, bijgeloof.

Negende les: Tien Geboden: eerst laten opzeggen. Korte aanvulling ter verklaring van elk gebod.

Tiende les: Kadis Sakramen: eerst zeven laten opzeggen. Korte verklaring van elk.

Elfde les: Missa: verplichting van mishoren, delen van mis, communie, eerste communie, paascommunie, laatste communie.

Twaalfde les: Dosa: voornaamste zonden, gevolgen, duivel, bekoringen, gelegenheden, heidense gebruiken, snellen, toverij enz.

Dertiende les: Vergiffenis: door Jezus' bloed, doopsel, biecht, oliesel. Laatste biecht, hoe dikwijls. Delen van de biecht. Manier van biechten.

Veertiende les: Doa: voornaamste gebeden laten opzeggen. Kruistekken maken, pater, ave, credo. Vier akten, twaalf artikelen.

Vijftiende les: Kadis-anim: heiligen, Maria, zielen in het vagevuur, verdoemden.

Zestiende les: Isi-anim: plichten van ouders, kinderen, jegens evennaasten, medelijken enzovoort.

³⁶ Published in the popular mission magazine *De Volksmissionaris*, second series no. 4, also in Boelaars 1992:272-3.

³⁷ *Anim* is the Marind word for 'humans'.

Zeventiende les: Levensdoel: God kennen, dienen, beminnen, braaf leven, hulp der genade, sacramenten, beloning.

Achttiende les: Uitersten: dood, oordeel (bijzonder en laatste), hel, hemelse glorie.

Negentiende les: Hari mingo, pesta: zondagen (sabbath), welke verplichte heilige dagen, voornaamste: mishoren, niet werken, biecht en communie.

Twintigste les: Rubrieken: voornaamste dingen om te verklaren wat is: een kruis, wijwater, heilige olie, kelk, missaal, misgewaden, altaar, tabernakel, rozenkrans, kruisweg, lof, enzovoort.

9. Regulations for school subsidies in Flores, 1913

By decision of governor-general 31 March 1913 no. 44 all education in Flores was entrusted to the Catholic mission, and for Sumba to the Protestant mission. In 1916 a specific decision for the 'Catholic districts of Timor' was issued. The decision was adapted several times. From this long decision only the sections on Catholic education are included.³⁸

Besluit van Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch- Indië van 31 Maart No 44 (Staatsblad 1913 No. 309)

Gelet enz.

.. Ten zesde: De zorg voor het Inlandsch onderwijs in de tijdelijke afdeeling Soemba der residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden voorloopig voor het tijdvak 1 Juli 1913 tot en met 30 Juni 1923 op te dragen aan de Zending der Gereformeerde kerken in Nederland op voet van der navolgende bepalingen

...

Ten zevende: De zorg voor het Inlandsch onderwijs in de tijdelijke afdeeling Flores der residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden, met uitzondering van Rooms Katholieke meisjesscholen, voorloopig voor het tijdvak 1913 tot en met 1922 op te dragen aan de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten op den voet der navolgende bepalingen.³⁹

§ 1 Er zijn standaardscholen en volksscholen.

§ 2 Standaardscholen zullen worden geopend a) te Larentoeka en te Lela (Maoemerie) binnen 12 maanden, b) te Ende binnen 2 jaren, c) te Badjawa (Ngada) en te Reo (Maoemerie) binnen 5 jaren; a t/m c na inwerkingtreding van deze bepalingen.

³⁸ Staatsblad 1930, No. 30; Soegarda Poerbakawatja 1970:438-51; Ezerman 1916:174-80. For the Sumbanese regulation see Van den End 1987:160-5.

³⁹ In Laan 'Timor':1024-29.

Volksscholen zullen worden geopend op de plaatsen en tot een aantal als jaarlijks door de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten of door haar vertegenwoordigers op Flores in overeenstemming met het Hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur zal worden bepaald.

- § 3 1° Het onderwijs op de standaard scholen omvat: a) onderricht in den Rooms Katholieke godsdienst; b) het zingen; zooveel mogelijk de vakken, onderwezen op de openbare lagere Inlandsche scholen der 2de klasse met een vierjarigen leertijd;
- 2° De voertaal bij het onderwijs is het Maleisch;
- 3° Aan het onderwijs, bedoeld in alinea 1 sub a, evenals aan het gebed aan het begin en het eind van iederen schooldag, behoeven anders-denkenden geen deel te nemen.
- § 4 Het onderwijs op de volksscholen wordt, ter beoordeling van de vertegenwoordigers op Flores van de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten, ingericht naar de behoefté van de bevolking, zooveel mogelijk evenwel naar het voorbeeld van het onderwijs op de Inlandsche gemeentescholen op Java en Madura.
- § 5 Alle scholen hebben te voldoen aan de volgende voorwaarden:
- 1° De schoollokalen moeten bij voldoende licht en ruimte behoorlijke beschutting geven tegen wind, regen en zonneschijn;
- 2° De scholen zijn toegankelijk voor alle kinderen van Inlanders en met dezen gelijkgestelden, wier leeftijd valt binnen de daarvoor door de vertegenwoordigers op Flores van de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten in verband met de aanleg der kinderen te bepalen grenzen, zonder onderscheid van godsdienstige gezindheid;
- 3° Kinderen met besmettelijke, voor de andere kinderen gevaarlijke, afzichtelijke of kinderlijke ziekten worden niet toegelaten.
- § 6 1° Wordt op de standaardscholen schoolgeld en vergoeding voor verstrekte leermiddelen geheven, dan mag daarvoor in totaal geen hooger bedrag worden gevorderd dan aan schoolgeld kan worden geheven op den voet van Staatsblad 1906 No. 241 gesubsidieerde particuliere Inlandsche scholen op Java en Madura.
- 2° De geïnde schoolgelden en vergoeding voor leermiddelen moeten ten bate van de standaardscholen worden aangewend.
- § 7 1° Ten aanzien van de overeenkomstig deze bepalingen tot stand gekomen dan wel als zoodanig erkende volksscholen verleenen de ambtenaren van het Binnenlandsch-Bestuur hun medewerking om, zoonodig met enige tegemoetkoming uit de na te noemen aan die scholen te verlenen Gouvernements-subsidiën, door de ouders der ingeschreven leerlingen of zoo zulks wenschelijker wordt geacht, door de geheele betrokken kampongbevolking, te doen voorzien;
- a) bij wijze van onbetaalde gemeentelijke dienst in de oprichting van

- een schoolgebouw, den aanmaak van het schoolmeubilair en zoo noodig, het bouwen van woningen voor de onderwijzers; b) in de stichting, hetzij door gemeenschappelijken arbeid, hetzij door het bij-eenbrengen van gelden, van een schoolfonds ter bezoldiging van het onderwijzend personeel.
- 2° Die bezoldiging bedraagt maandelijks ten hoogste f 30,- voor het hoofd eener school, ten hoogste f 25,- voor elken onderwijzer van bijstand en ten hoogste f 7,50 voor elken kweekeling. Bovendien kan ieder der leerkrachten in het genot van vrije woning worden gesteld.
- 3° Het hoofd eener school wordt bijgestaan door ten hoogste 1,2,3,4 enz leerkrachten wanneer het aantal ingeschreven leerlingen respectievelijk meer dan 40, 80, 120, 160 enz. bedraagt.
- § 8 Het recht van benoeming en ontslag van het onderwijzend personeel zoowel bij de standaardscholen als bij de volksscholen, berust bij de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten, die ook aan dat personeel op te dragen werkzaamheden regelt.
- § 9 Indien daar aan naar het oordeel van de Gouverneur Generaal behoeft bestaat, kan aan de standaardscholen een tweearige normaalcurcus voor de opleiding van onderwijzers voor de volksscholen worden verbonden of kan voor dat doel een kweekschool worden opgericht.
- § 10 1° De Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten kan jaarlijks een door de Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst te bepalen aantal van de van haar scholen in de tijdelijke afdeeling Flores afkomstige leerlingen zenden naar Woloan (Menado) ter opleiding bij de Roomsche Katholieke kweekschool voor de vorming van Inlandsche onderwijzers aldaar.
- 2° Aan de in de vorige alinea bedoelde leerlingen zal tegemoetkomming in de reiskosten en/of vrij transport voor rekening van den lande worden verleend, van hun woonplaats via Menado naar Woloan en, na het afleggen van het bij voornoemde kweekschool af te nemen eindexamen of bij vroeger eervol ontslag als leerling dier school, van Woloan via Menado naar hun woonplaats, op den voet van de bepalingen, voor ongehuwde kweekelingen vastgestelde subsidie van artikel 12 van het besluit van 1 januari 1875 No 22 (Staatsblad No. 1)
- § 11 1° Subsidie wordt verleend ineens en jaarlijks.
- 2° De subsidies bedoeld in § 12, letter A sub 1 en letter C, worden verleend door den Gouverneur Generaal, de overigen door den Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst.
- 3° Van de door dezen Departementschef genomen besluit inzake door hem te verleenen subsidies kan bij de Gouverneur Generaal in be-roep worden gekomen.

§ 12 De subsidiën bedragen:

A. voor zoover betreft de standaardscholen, de normaalcurussen of de kweekschool

- 1° In eens: a) het totaal der werkelijke uitgaven voor de opgerichte of op te richten gebouw naar een daarvan te verstrekken gespecificeerde opgaaf, vergezeld, zoo mogelijk, van het project en de begroting waarnaar gebouwd is (zal worden); b) het totaal der werkelijke kosten van aanmaak en aanschaffing van het schoolmeubilair en de leermiddelen, noodig voor de eerste inrichting;
- 2° Jaarlijks: $\frac{3}{4}$ der werkelijke kosten van de bezoldiging van het onderwijzend personeel, van vernieuwing en aanvulling van schoolmeubilair en leermiddelen en het onderhoud der gebouwen, met dien verstande dat, wat de subsidiën sub I betreft ten genoegen van den Gouverneur Generaal moet worden aangetoond dat bij het doen of het ramen der uitgaven sub a, en het maken der kosten, genoemd sub b, gepaste zuinigheid is te betrachten en dat, wat aangaat de subsidie sub II, geen hooger bedrag wordt uitgekeerd dan a) voor de standaardscholen $\frac{3}{4}$ van het door den Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst te bepalen gemiddelde der jaarlijkse kosten van eene openbare Inlandsche school der 2de klasse met overeenkomstigen leertijd en een zelfde aantal leerlingen; b) voor de normaalcurussen $\frac{3}{4}$ der jaarlijksche kosten van een Gouvernements normaalcursus ter opleiding van Inlandsche hulponderwijzers met een gelijk aantal leerlingen en een gelijk aantal lesuren per week, voor de kweekschool het bedrag dat te haren behoeve zou kunnen worden toegekend bij toepassing van de Ordonantie van 4 mei 1906 (Staatsblad No. 242) zoals die ordonantie is gewijzigd en aangevuld bij de ordonantie van 7 juni (Staatsblad No. 359).

B. Voor zoover betreft de volksscholen:

- 1° Ineens per school ten hoogste f 3000,- tegemoetkomming in de kosten van oprichting en eerste inrichting;
- 2° Jaarlijks per school ten hoogste f 100,- tegemoetkomming in de bezoldiging van het onderwijzend personeel, de kosten van onderhoud, vernieuwing en aanvulling van het schoolmeubilair en de leermiddelen enz. voor zoveel in een en ander door de betrokken bevolking niet zelf kan worden voorzien.

C. Ineens het bedrag dat der regering billijk en noodig zal voorkomen ter bestrijding van de passagekosten voor Inlandsch onderwijzend personeel, waarvan de overkomst uit andere deelen van Nederlandsch-Indië door de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten in het belang van het door haar op Flores te geven onderwijs wordt noodig geacht.

- § 13 Na de inwerkingtreding van deze bepalingen zullen a) de te Larantoeka en te Lela bestaande scholen van de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten worden hervormd tot de aldaar te openen standaardscholen en ten aanzien van de te haren behoeve te verleenen subsidie worden beschouwd als op te richten scholen van dien aard; b) de overige bestaande scholen van de Missie voor zoover zij tevoren geen subsidie van Gouvernementswege hebben genoten, worden beschouwd als op te richten, de overige als bestaande volksscholen, en dienovereenkomstig worden gesubsidieerd.
- § 14 De aanvragen om subsidie worden ingericht en ingediend op de wijze als door de Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst wordt vastgesteld.
- § 15 1° De op den voet van deze bepalingen toegekende subsidiën mogen slechts ten bate van het daarin bedoeld onderwijs worden aangewend.
- 2° Van alle aan subsidie ontvangen gelden en van alle daaruit gekweten uitgaven worden door of namens de Missie van de Orde der Jezuiten nauwkeurig boek gehouden en telken jare voor of uiterlijk op 31 Januari door tusschenkomst van het betrokken Hoofd van Gewestelijk Bestuur en van Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst aan de Regeering een verantwoording van haar geldelijk beheer over het afgelopen jaar ingediend. 3° Ongebruikt gebleven subsidiegelden worden voor het eind van het jaar in 's Lands kas teruggestort en het (de) betreffende stortingsbewijs(bewijzen) wordt (worden) bij de in de vorige alinea bedoelde verantwoording overgeleverd.
- § 16 1° De standaardscholen, de normaalcursussen en de kweekschool zijn onderworpen aan het toezicht van de betrokken inspecterende ambtenaren van Inlandsch onderwijs.
- 2° De missie van de Orde der Jezuieten behoort de wenken en bemerkingen van die ambtenaren op te volgen, behoudens beroep op den Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst.
- 3° De volksscholen zijn onderworpen aan het toezicht van de betrokken bestuursambtenaren.
- § 17 Voor of uiterlijk op den 31sten Januari van elk jaar wordt door de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten door tusschenkomst van het betrokken Hoofd van Regeering verslag uitgebracht nopens den stand en de resultaten van het van haar uitgaande onderwijs gedurende het voorafgaande jaar.
- § 18 In alle gevallen, waarin de vorenstaande bepalingen niet voorzien, zich omtrent bedoeling en strekking van die bepalingen verschil van opvatting openbaart, of een door die bepalingen voorgeschreven overeenstemming tusschen ambtenaren en de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten niet kan worden verkregen, kan de uitspraak worden ingeroepen van den Gouverneur Generaal.

§ 19 In vorenstaande bepalingen kunnen geen veranderingen worden gebracht dan met goedvinden van de Missie van de Orde der Jezuieten.

Ten achtsten: enz.

Afschrift enz.

Ter ordonantie van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië: De Wd Algemeene Secretaris De Graeff.

10. Rules of the Catholic Social Union, 1913

From the 1910s on, a growing number of associations were founded for Catholics in the Dutch colony. One of the first to expand outside Java was the section for teachers within the Catholic Social Union. It started in Muntilan for the Catholic teachers of Java and also made itself known to Woloan and the Minahasa. The Catholic bi-weekly Geredja Katholik published the first rules. Probably the Jesuit Jan van Rijckevorsel was the author of this document, as he was for so many other organizations. This text was accompanied in the bi-weekly by an article written by J.J. Masi who quoted the 'pagan' (kafir) Aristotle and Saint Thomas Aquinas about the social nature of human beings as the basis of any organization. This tradition of Catholic organizations remained mostly restricted to the island of Java and never became popular among Catholics of the Outer Islands during the colonial period.⁴⁰

Katholieke Sociale Bond

Rentjana segala hal jang hendak ditentoekan dan ditoeroet oleh anggota Perserikatan jang bernama 'Katholieke Sociale Bond', artinjya Perserikatan orang Katholik jang bersama-sama hendak memadjoekan tanah India Belanda menoeroet pengadjaran Katholik, tjabangnja 'Goeroe-goeroe bangsa Djawa'.

Art. 1. Perserikatan 'Katholieke Sociale Bond, afdeeling Javaansche Onderwijzers' didirikan di-Moentilan. Hendaknja 29 tahoen lamanja moelaï datang dari 14 September 1913.

Art. 2. Maksoednja Perserikatan ini memadjoekan tanah India Belanda menoeroet pengadjaran Katholik, terlebih memadjoekan dan memperbaiki pengadjaran disekolah Djawa.

Art. 3. Tahoen perserikatan ini moelaï pada 1 Maart dan dikoentjikan pada hari jang achir boelan Febroeari tahoen jang datang. Tahoen perserikatan jang pertama moelaï pada 13 September 1913 dan dikoentjikan pada hari jang achir boelan Februari tahoen 1914.

Art. 4. Segala orang Djawa jang beragama Katholik, jang telah beroleh diploma hak akan mengadjar ditanah India Belanda, boleh disamboet akan anggota serikatan ini.

⁴⁰ Geredja Katholik (1913-4):65-6.

Barang siapa berkehendak mendjadi anggota Perserikatan ini haroes memberi tahoekan kehendaknya itoe kepada Bestuur jaïtoe kepada jang mengepalai perserikatan ini. Wadjib atas Bestuur itoe menimbang djika permintaan itoe dikaboelkan atau ditolak. Sesoedah menimbang barang permintaan, oleh Bestuur itoe dalam 14 hari akan diberi chabar kepada jang meminta, djika soedah dikaboelkan atau ditolak permintaannja.

Art. 5. Tiada dihitoeng lagi dengan anggota perserikatan ini: 1. Jang keloear atas permintaannja. 2. Jang dikeloearkan atas kehendak Bestuur Perserikatan.

Art. 6. Segala anggotanja memilih dari pada antaranja sedikit-dikitnya lima orang jang kelimanja didjadikan Bestuur. Jang pertama mendjadi Voorzitter, jang kedoea Secretaris, jang ketiga Penningmeester. Pada perhimpoenan segala anggota, jang diadakan tiap-tiap tahoen pada waktoe Paska, segala anggota Bestuur itoe haroes berhenti dari pada djabatannya, tetapi boleh dipilih poela. Apabila dalam tahoen tiada genaplah lagi anggota Bestuur itoe, maka anggota Bestuur itoe jang tinggal memilih seorang anggota Perserikatan akan anggota Bestuur, sampai datang kepada perhimpoenan segala anggota jang diadakan pada waktoe Paska tahoen jang datang.

Art. 7. Adapoen Voorzitter itoe dan Secretaris itoe, baik bersama-sama, baik masing-masing seorang sendiri, mengatoerkan segala perkara perserikatan atas nama segenap Perserikatan.

Art. 8. Apabila berlakoe perhimpoenan segala anggota jaïtoe pada waktoe Paska, maka Secretaris dan Penningmeester jang baroe berhenti itoe akan menerangkan hal perserikatan dalam tahoen jang laloe ja'ni jang Secretaris hal segala pekerjaan perserikatan itoe, jang Penningmeester hal oeang jang soedah masoek keloear kasnya.

Art. 9. Kepada Padoeka toean Apostolisch Vicaris di Betawi akan dipinta Perserikatan itoe hendak dikaboelkannja, lagi hendak diberinja kepada Perserikatan seorang Geestelijke Adviseur (Pembitjara Agama), dan kepada Pemerintah negeri akan dipinta oentoek Perserikatan ini hak berlakoe sebagai seorang sendiri (*rechtspersoonlijkheid*).

Art. 10. Apabila oleh Perserikatan ini hendak dioebahkan barang apa jang telah ditentoekan dalam segala Artikel ini, ataupoen hendak diperhentikan Perserikatan, haroes 2/3 segala anggota Perserikatan berhimpoen, dan 2/3 segala anggota itoe jang ada mengambil baik peroebahan atau ketiadaan itoe. Tambahan haroes kepoetoesan itoe dikaboelkan oleh Padoeka toean Apostolisch Vicaris di-Betawi, dan djikalau perloe djoega, diperoleh izinnja Pemerintah negeri. Sesoedah ditiadakan Perserikatan ini maka pokok oeang jang tinggal didermakan kepada Perserikatan Katholik jang lain, jang ada di-tanah Djawa.

*Artikel jang toenggal Tertib oentoek segala anggota Perserikatan
Segala anggota akan membajar tiap-tiap boelan f 0,10 atau lihat gandana
seperti hendak ditentoekan oleh masing-masing.*

11. Governor-general recognizes prefects and vicars apostolic outside Batavia as independent leaders of the Catholic mission, 1913

In 1902 the first prefect apostolic, a member of the MSC Congregation, took over the responsibility for Kei and Tanimbar Islands. The governor-general, however, recognized the vicar apostolic of Batavia as the sole spokesman for the Catholic mission. In his decision of 12 August 1913 no. 29 other Catholic leaders were acknowledged. For that moment only areas in the Outer Islands were recognized.⁴¹

Nadere regeling van de verhouding der Roomsche-Katholieke Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië tot de Regeering in verband met de vorming van Apostolische Prefecturen in de Buitenbezittingen.

1° De Apostolisch Vicaris van Batavia en de hoofden der Missies (Apostolische Prefecten) in die gedeelten van Nederlandsch-Indië, welke door het kerkeelijk gezag zijn of worden onttrokken aan den werkkring van het Vicariaat en tot zelfstandige missie gebieden zijn of worden verheven, worden door de regeering erkend als hoofd van den Roomsche-Katholieken Eeredienst in het ieder hunner door het Kerkelijk gezag aangewezen gebied. Van de verheffing van eenig deel van Nederlandsch-Indië tot een zelfstandig Kerkelijk resort en in het algemeen van elke wijziging in de omvang van de bestaande ressorten, wordt door den Vertegenwoordiger van den Heiligen Stoel bij de Nederlandsche Regeering aan den Minister van Koloniën kennis gegeven.

2° Met opzicht tot de plaatsing, verplaatsing en schorsing of suspensie van geestelijken, belast met parociaal werk in gevestigde Roomsche-Katholieke Christengemeenten, zoomede ten aanzien van het beheer der Kerkelijke goederen of fondsen van die gemeenten, gelden met betrekking tot de sub 1 bedoelde van het Vicariaat van Batavia afgescheiden Kerkelijke ressorten, voor de apostolische Prefecten dezelfde bevoegdheden en verplichtingen als voor den Apostolisch Vicaris zijn omschreven blijkens het zeer geheim kabinetsrescript van 2 Januari 1847 Litt. B door den Koning goedgekeurde 'Nota der punten betreffende de Roomsche-Katholieke Kerkaangelegenheden in Nederlandsch-Indië, waaromtrent de Minister van Koloniën met den Zaakgelastigde van den Heilige Stoel is overeengekomen.'⁴²

⁴¹ In AJAK E 11-1.

⁴² On this 'Nota der punten' see Steenbrink 2003:22-5, 255-7.

12. Chinese man in Jambi asks for information about conversion to Catholicism, 1913

One The Djoe Hong wanted information about conversion to Catholicism and put the following questions to Bishop Luyken: does conversion to Christianity involve people having the same rights as Europeans? Is it easy to embrace Catholicism? Is Catholicism as difficult to learn as Protestantism? Does conversion to Catholicism bring as many expenses as Protestantism?⁴³

Djambi den 28 November 1913.

Kapada Jang Mahasoetji Toean E.S. Luyken, Apostolisch Vicaris Jang Terhormat di Batavia.

Bahoea jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini saja The Djoe Hong. Saja mintak dengan hormat, soepaja dapat keterangan dan penjaoeten atas pertanjaan jang ada ini.

1° Kalau orang soeda anoetken diri pada kepertjajaan Roomsch Katholieke, apa haknja soeda di persaken seperti orang Europa? 2° Apa sembarang orang dengan gampang boleh anoetken diri boeat kapertjajaan Roomsch Katholieke? 3° Toeroet saja soeda taoe, orang djadi terlaloe soesa kapan dia maoe anoet pada kapertjajaan Protestantsch, kapertjajaan Roomsch Katholieke mapa begitoe djoega? 4° Kalau orang maoe anoetken diri pada kapertjajaan Roomsch Katholieke, apa orang misti banjak menanggoeng onkost, seperti orang ada anoet pada kapertjajaan Protestantsch?

Lain tiada, melainkan tjoema demikian saja menoelis; dengan mengharap-harap aken terima keterangan dari toean nanti jang aken datang. Dengan segala hormat.⁴⁴

13. Pastoral letter at Lent in 1914 by Bishop Luyken

In 1909 the committed Reformed Christian, A.W.F. Idenburg, was nominated governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. One of his first decrees was about the necessity of establishing Sunday as a day of rest. Afterwards this call for a public celebration of Sunday was taken over by more and more people. In 1914 Bishop Luyken dedicated his pastoral letter to this theme. Notwithstanding a majority of Javanese-speaking native Catholics in Java, the letter was in Malay. In the usual tradition of his time, Luyken starts with the rational arguments to save some time for the praise of God (quo-

⁴³ AJAK E 6, 1-2.

⁴⁴ Mr The received an answer from Bishop Luyken, dated 9 December 1913, and thanked him on 19 December 1913, at the same time asking for a book of instructions about Catholicism. In his answer Luyken clearly denied that conversion to Catholicism would involve a change of legal status to that of a European. As to the financial aspects, Luyken stressed that no obligatory costs would be involved, but that for practical consequences Mr The should approach a priest. Also in AJAK E 6-1-2.

ting Thomas Aquinas), then turns to the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday. Luypen stresses the obligation to attend mass on Sunday, whenever possible. Mass is explained quite explicitly as a sacrifice, reiterating the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross. It is quite surprising that Luypen does not insist on Sunday rest, abstention from physical work, and closing of shops. The last section encourages the participation of youngsters (those who can discern bad from good, that is, from the age of 6-7 years) to join Sunday mass. This was the time when in the general estimation of Catholics the weekly Sunday mass became the visible sign of committed Catholics (replacing the yearly communion at Easter of an earlier period).⁴⁵

Soerat poeasa pada tahoen 1914. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, Titoelair Oeskoep negeri Oroe dan Vicaris Apostolik Betawi.

Kepada segala toeang Paderi dan segala orang beriman pendoedoek djaduhan ‘Vicariat Apostolik Betawi’ berkat dan selamat dari pada Maha Toehan.

Saudara-saudara jang kekasih!

Pada waktoe poeasa ini akoe hendak memperingatkan kepadamoe, hai saudara jang dikasihi, soeatoe perkara jang penting jaïtoe kewadijiban atas kita akan mengoedoeskan segala hari Minggoe dan segala hari raja.

Adapoen dari pada peri mengoedoeskan hari-hari itoe njatalah bahwa beberapa besarnya kebaktian maoe seorang sendiri maoe soeatoe bangsa kepada Maha Toehan. Menoeroet Hoekoem Allah, jang njata djoega kepada boedi segala manoesia, kata Santoe Thomas dari Aquine, wadjiblah atas kita mempergoenakan beberapa waktoe dalam hidoeat kita akan berboeat pekerjaan bakti kepada Allah, jaïtoe soepaja kita mengakoe bahwa Allah berkoeasa atas kita, lagi akan membawa sjoekoer karena segala koernia jang selaloe diberinja kepada kita. Itoelah wajib atas kita menoeroet Hoekoem Allah itoe, seperti njata djoega kepada boedi segala manoesia, tetapi oleh Hoekoem itoe tiada ditentoekan apabila haroes kita berbakti kepada Allah itoe artinja waktoe atau hari itoe boleh dioebahkan djoega.

Kepada orang Jahoedi disoeroeh oleh Allah sendiri mengoedoeskan hari sabtoe dengan berbakti kepadanya. “Ingatlah akan mengkoedoeskan hari Sabtoe itoe.” Demikian boenjinja Hoekoem jang ketiga jang telah diberi oleh Allah kepada orang Jahoedi digoenoeng Sinai. Sedemikian dalam kitab Keloearan bertitah Allah: “Enam hari engkau akan bekerja dan memboeat segala pekerjaanmoe. Akan tetapi hari jang ketoedjoeh jaïtoe hari Sabbat Toehan Allahmoe.” Maka soedah ditentoekan oleh Allah peri mengoedoeskan hari Sabbat itoe, apakah wajib diboeat pada hari itoe, dan apa dilarang. Maka dengan keras disiksakan akan orang jang melawan Hoekoem itoe.

Sesoedah bangkit Toehan Jesoes pada hari Minggoe maka dari pada waktoe itoe oleh kepala Geredja ditentoekan menghormatkan Toehan Allah tiada lagi pada hari Sabtoe, melainkan pada hari Minggoe itoe djoega. Adapoen

⁴⁵ *Geredja Katholik* 4 (1913-4):93, 101-3.

hari Minggoe hari Maha Toehan kepada orang Serani, pada hari itoe haroes kita berbakti Allah jang Tiga Oknoem.

Atas peri apakah haroes kita mengoedoeskan hari Minggoe itoe? Seperti dikehendaki oleh Christoes, dan disoeroeh oleh Geredja jang diangkat oleh Christoes itoe akan pengganti dalam doenia ini: "Siapa mendengar akan Dikau, ia mendengar akan Dakoe." Apa disoeroeh oleh Geredja kita boeat pada hari itoe?

[...]⁴⁶

Hai saudara-saudara jang kekasih adalah Hoekoem Allah jang ketiga menjoeroeh kepada kita djoega. "Ingat akan mengoedoeskan hari Maha Toehan," tambahan peri mengoedoeskan hari itoe ditentoekan oleh Geredja dalam Hoekoemna jang kedoea: "Hadapilah dengan sopan santoen Missa pada hari Maha Toehan dan pada hari jang haroes dirajakan itoe." Hendak menjatakan kepada Allah bahwa kita mengakoe Dia akan Maha Toehan, akan memperlihatkan kita ta'loek kepada Maha Toehan itoe, ta' ada apa-apa dalam doenia jang lebih indah dan lebih moelia, ta' ada apa-apa jang lebih baik akan berbakti kepada Allah itoe, ta' ada peri lebih elok akan mengoedoeskan hari Maha Toehan itoe melainkan membawa Koerban jang tiada berhingga indahnja jang telah diadakan oleh Christoes dalam Geredja itoe jaïtoe Koerban itoe jang dibawa kepada Allah pada tiap-tiap kali oleh Imam jaïjae Koerban Missa. Maka itoelah Hoekoem jang besar jang soedah diberi oleh Allah dan Geredja kepada kita itoelah peri jang haroes ditoeroet pada mengoedoeskan hari Maha Toehan itoe.

Menjadi Hoekoem besar kepada segala orang Katholik, jang soedah datang kepada 'oemoer ia tahoe membedakan baik dengan djahat, jaïjae menghadapi Koerban Missa itoe pada segala hari Minggoe dan hari raja.

Dalam segala Kitab Pengadjaran agama maoe besar maoe ketjil diadjar kewadjiban besar itoe, jaïjae bahwa seorang jang dengan sengadja dan sebab jang tiada betoel tiada menghadapi Koerban Missa itoe, berdosa besar dihadapan Toehan, sebab tiada memberi kepadanja kebaktian jang patoet diberi kepada Maha Toehan itoe.

Maka sebab itoe pada seloeroeh boemi, dimana-mana orang beragama Katholik dengan sebenarnya, orang Katholik pada Hari Minggoe dan hari raja masoek geredja, soepaja dengan menghadapi Koerban Missa ia membawa kepada Allah kebaktian jang haroes diberi kepadanja oleh segala manoesia. Maka djikalau kita ingat bahwa ta' ada apa-apa dalam doenia jang indah seperti Koerban itoe, sebab ta' ada apa-apa jang boleh dibandingkan indahnja dengan Toeboeh dan Darah Toehan Jesoes, nistjaja boleh kita mengerti sedikit akan peri kelakoean dan hal hati jang patoet kepada kita apabila kita menghadapi Koerban jang soetji itoe.

⁴⁶ Here a section is omitted that elaborates on the life and death of Jesus as a sacrifice to God and mass as the commemoration and continuation of this sacrifice.

Maka djikalau kita bertanja akan maksoed jang haroes membawa kita pada hari Minggoe kegerdja akan menghadapi Koerban Missa itoe, maka patoet ta' ada lain, melainkan kehendak akan berbakti kepada Allah, membawa sjoekoer kepadanja, dan memberi kepadanja hormat oleh Koerban jang telah diadakan oleh Allah sendiri. Maka itoelah atas peri jang disoeroeh kepada kita oleh Geredja, jang wakilnya kepada kita dalam doenia ini.

Maka djikalau patoet demikian maksoed hati kita, maka setara dengan maksoed itoe patoet peri kelakoean jang njata. Patoetlah segala kelakoean kita serta dengan hal pakaian kita menjatakan kebaktian hati kita, tiada sebab menghadapi pekerdjaan soetji Imam itoe sadja, hanja⁴⁷ selakoe pembantoe Imam jang sehati dengan Imam membawa Koerban itoe.

Djika sebegitoe maoe maksoed hati kita maoe kelakoean kita, maka dalam hal itoe boleh dikatakan kita berboeat jang wadjib atas kita pada hari Minggoe jaïtoe kita menghadapi Koerban Missa dengan sopan santoen.

Tetapi ada lagi soeatoe perkara jang haroes diterangkan. Siapa gerangan haroes menghadapi Koerban Missa itoe pada hari Minggoe? Maka djawabnja inilah: Segala orang serani jang soedah datang pada 'oemoer ia tahoem membedakan baik dengan djahat, dan ta' ada sebab jang betoel akan tiada menghadapi, ia sekalian haroes menoeroet hoekoem itoe. Maka djikalau Akoe haroes mengakoe dengan sjoekoer kepada Allah bahwa makin lama makin bertambah-tambah banjakna orang jang mengerti akan Hoekoem jang besar ini, artinja jang masoek tetap geredja pada hari Minggoe akan menghadapi Koerban Missa itoe. Ada djoega banjak jang beloem mengerti, artinja tiada masoek pada hari Minggoe itoe. Kepada mereka itoe, entah ia tiada akan mendengar pembatjaan soerat ini, hendaklah kamoe jang tetap digeredja memberi tahoem isinja soeratkoe ini, dan memaksalah mereka itoe dengan namakoe, akan menoeroet Hoekoem besar itoe, soepaja oleh mereka itoe djoega diperoleh koernia besar jang diberi kepada djiwa badan jang menghadapi Koerban Missia itoe.

14. Warning by the parish priest of Sikka against registering for the colonial army, 1914

After the military actions in Flores and the intensification of colonial administration, recruitment officers came to Flores to enrol young men in the army. Father A. IJsseldijk communicated the following warning during Sunday mass on 3 May 1914, in Sikkinese. He was afraid that young Catholics would forget their family and lose their faith when placed outside their region of origin somewhere in the archipelago. It might take more than 20 years before they could return to their family.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Hanja is here used to mean 'but also'.

⁴⁸ Sikkinese text in Laan 'Sikka':371.

Ata Sorani,

Ene aoe toetoer mioe naroek weroen, naroek gette rakan ene poi atatibo lameng sorani sawe, ko ina ame rimoeng mogna nahe reintang ep-epang. Ata Sergeant Djawa bia ha, odi mai dri laoe Alok, letta ata tibo lameng, moleat lora wai moge bin, dadi sordadoe ke pradjoerits.

Enne hanoe sape tei dadi pradjoerits ei tanah ei ko ei tanah pehang. Ata teeken baa loar leoe walong rehi, nahe panagolo ei tanah pehang. Naroek gette rakan. Dadi mioe nahe raintang ep-epang; mioe dena naroek apa nahe nora teeken, denna mioe bain moering loppa soesar gette, loppa dari loneng teeken baa.

Naha raintang mogna ep-epang ata teeken baa nahe dri ei tanah blawir rakan, dadi lai ina ana woee wari, ganoe pradjoerits sape etei rewang baa, mioe odi rehi golo. Eh, odi ennen walong wai ha bing loning bia iwa ei rimoe odi mate mole bia iwa odi teeken walang sapa rimoe sordadoe liwang 20 baa denna pensioen.

Mole ata pie baa liwang 20 hai rimoe odi walong ei bau? Aoe brau ene bia gawang, loning rimoe hoelir baa natar rimoeng mole ina ama mate nane baa bing. Mola ata sorani di nahe loppa hoelir ei tanah gawang Nokeroea eeng, dadi hai odi djaga maeng rimoeng? Hai kawit rimoe? Mole rimoe odi kawit lora hai? Missa di rehi, ngadji hoelir. Dadi ata sorani mole toi lioe me sekola goeng, ata mai letta mioe teeken dadi sordadoe ke pradjoerits, masi ina ama mioeng ngareng bae, pra oti M. Nokeroea epang teeken, ko oeang denna mioe mole ina amo mioeng loppa soesar baimoering loning mioe teeken baa. Mole ata laen sorani lee toetoer M. Nokeroea, pra M. Pettor poi (ko M. Ratoe) soesar apa dadi sordadoe laen ko pradjoerits.

Dutch translation by Father N. Beijer:

Christenen. Vandaag kom ik u iets nieuws mededelen, iets heel belangrijks, waar niet alleen alle jonge mannen, maar ook de vaders en moeders heel goed van op de hoogte moeten zijn. Een Javaanse Sergeant zal in Alok komen wonen om de jonge mensen en misschien ook de getrouwde mannen uit te nodigen soldaat of pradjurit te worden. Niet zoals dat tot nog toe de gewoonte was om in ons eigen land als soldaat dienst te nemen, maar in een vreemd land. Wie eens zijn handtekening heeft gezet kan zich niet meer terugtrekken, die moet naar een ander land gaan. Dat is geen kleinigheid.

Daarom moeten jullie goed begrijpen wat u doet met zo'n handtekening te zetten, zodat u naderhand niet in grote moeilijkheden geraakt, en ook niet gaat huilen omwille van die handtekening. Daarom moet u heel goed weten, dat alwie een handtekening plaatst, die moet in een verafgelegen land verblijven, en kan zijn vader en moeder en familie niet komen opzoeken, zoals de soldaten tot nu toe werd toegestaan: jullie zullen dat beslist niet kunnen doen. Ja, misschien zullen zij nooit meer terug komen, want sommigen zullen

sterven in dat vreemde land, anderen zullen opnieuw tekenen, totdat ze na 20 jaar diensttijd pensioen kunnen trekken.

En die het dan na 20 jaar hebben uitgehouden, zullen die nog wel terugkomen? Ik vrees dat het er niet veel zullen zijn, want zij zullen hun kampong vergeten, en bovendien, hun vader en moeder zijn dan misschien reeds overleden.

Verder moeten de christenen niet vergeten, dat er in veel landen geen priesters zijn. Wie zal daar bezorgd zijn voor hun zieleheil? Wie zal er hun huwelijk inzegenen? En met wie zullen zij daar trouwen? De H. Mis bijwochen: onmogelijk! De gebeden raken vergeten. Derhalve christenen, en vooral gij oud-leerlingen van de school, als men u vraagt om de handtekening te plaatsen en soldaat te worden, zelfs als uw vader en moeder erin toestemmen, kom eerst bij de priester en vraag of het wel goed is om die handtekening te zetten zodat jullie naderhand niet in moeilijkheden geraken omwille van een handtekening.

En wanneer degenen die nog niet gedoopt zijn, liever niet met de priester praten laten ze dan Moang Fettor (ofwel Moang Radja) vragen naar de moeilijkheden alvorens soldaat of pradjurit te worden.

15. Veneration of Chinese ancestors with joss sticks not allowed, 1914⁴⁹

Rev. Bishop of Batavia or His Successor!
Your Lordship,

I have a few days ago informed Father Hoevenaar, the Parish Priest of Samarang, to ask you whether it is allowed in the Catholic Religion to give respects to the ash of our late ancestors by means of joss sticks. So this I heard from Father Hoevenaar who has just received your letter that this should not be tolerated as this is a part of the Chinese Religion. This offering with joss sticks to the ash of our late ancestors is not surely part of the Chinese Religion, but merely to show that we have not forgotten our parents who are already dead, who while still alive, provide us with food, clothing, education, etc. The joss sticks simply mean that the person to whom we show respects are dead; to those who are still living we do the same: but without joss sticks. The Oriental kneeling does not mean Adoration as we kneel when passing our altar in the church. Incense or wood is burnt, because it has nice smell. Those Chinese over here who are considered pagans believe only in one God as we Christians and they always pray to God first before giving respect to their late ancestors, saying that they value our God more than their ancestors, who are only His creatures. The other things aside, for the giving respects to

⁴⁹ Jan Goey, Pekodjan Samarang, 27-3-1914, from AJAK D1-14. There is a handwritten note in the margin: 'Getelegefeerd: 31.3.14 Mr. Jan Goey Pakodjan Semarang not allowed Luypen'.

our ancestors mean: *nothing* whatever. I do not surely mean to scrutinize in Your Lordship's ability, but I being a Chinese, think, know better than any European with regard to the matter.

I shall be married in the Catholic Church here on the 4th of April, after which I shall be obliged to show respects to my ancestors with joss sticks, which is the Chinese custom on such an occasion. I sincerely trust Your Lordship will not tolerate me from doing this after the above explanations and kindly let me know as soon as Your Lordship receives this letter. If necessary please send by telegram. I shall only be too pleased to refund the expenses. Awaiting your curly and kind response, I remain your obedient servant, Jan Goey.

16. Sultan of Yogyakarta gives permission for conversion to Catholicism, September 1915

In 1915 the Indo-European Jesuit Father Henri van Driessche started missionary work in Yogyakarta, mostly through a Javanese catechist. He asked later in an official letter to the Sultan of Yogyakarta whether it was allowed that subjects of the Sultan embrace Catholicism. The short affirmation (in Dutch) was published only in 1939, more or less hidden in an article in Javanese, published as the announcement of the Eucharistic Congress of 29-31 July 1939 and giving a summary of the first conversions of Javanese of Yogyakarta to Catholicism.⁵⁰

[The announcement of the event started with a short history of the mission among the Javanese since 1896. Hebrans baptised 30 Javanese in 1896] Ing taoen 1897 Rama P.J. Hoevenaars mbaptis Mangoendikara. Malah goeroe ngèlmoe ing Mataram ing misoewoer inggih poenika Radèn Pandji Natarata oegi dipoenbaptis déning Rama Hoevenaars ing taoen 1897. Ing taoen 1914 Rama Leemker mbaptis tijang Djawi. Doemoeginipoen taoen 1915 inggih poenika djamanipoen Rama van Driessche, tijang Djawi in Ngajodja ingkang sampoen dibaptis wonten 166. Rama van Driessche mbaptis tijang nomer 167 inggih poenika R.L. Caecilia Soedjirin kala 3 Augustus 1915. Ingkang neksèni inggih poenika R. Cyprianus Soegiri. Nanging kala samanten Rama van Driessche anggènipoen makarja wonten ing Ngajogja dèrèng opisiil, dèrèng angsal palilah saking Sampéjan Dalem Ingkang Sinoehoen Kg. Soeltan. Serat kekantjingan saking Sampéjan Dalem Ingkang Sinoehoen Kangdjeng Soeltan saweg ing woelan September 1915. Ing ngriki para maos priksa pijambak. Oengeling kekantjingan waoe makaten:

Zeer Geachte Pastoor.

In beleefd antwoord op Uwen brief van 6 dezer deel ik U mede, dat de Sultan verklaard heeft geen bezwaar te hebben tegen den overgang naar den R.C. Godsdienst van Zijne dienaren, indien zij zulks wenschen. Onder aan-

⁵⁰ From *Swara Tama* 10/13, 1939.

bieding mijner beleefde groeten,
 Hoogachtend
 Uw zeer dw. Dienaar
 (boten tjeta, nanging wonten aksaranipoen Cau).
 Kala samanten Rama van Driessche taksih wonten ing Moentilan, tandani-poen adresipoen makaten:
 Weleerwaarden Heer
 H.E.F. van Driessche
 Pastoor te Moentilan, Kedoe.
 Samanten roemijin anggèn koela mèngeti Missie ing Vorstenlanden.
Perscommissie Euch. Congres.

17. Father Frans van Lith defends the use of Javanese texts in the Easter liturgy, 1916

After complaints of a young Dutch Jesuit, K. de Hoog, Bishop Luypen gave an order that in the church of the Muntilan College the general rules of the Latin liturgy should be obeyed completely without the rivalry of simultaneous Javanese readings and hymns. Father Van Lith considered this an open attack on his strategy to create a more Javanese atmosphere during church service. He took the orders of the bishop as a straight overruling of the guidelines of the Gospel and rebuked his bishop in very harsh words. In a later reaction Luypen mitigated his decision and allowed the singing of Javanese hymns during the Latin mass.⁵¹

Monseigneur! Ofschoon overkropt met werk, acht ik mij verplicht Uw Doorluchtige Hoogwaarheid op de hoogte te brengen van den indruk, dien uw laatste schrijven hier gemaakt heeft. Ad unum omnes⁵² en die één iemand, die niets voor de Javanen doet, niet voor de buitenbewoners en niet voor de jongens, die zich van alles terugtrekt om met zijn scrupels bezig te zijn: allen waren geërgerd. Iedereen weet natuurlijk dat de edelste bedoeling UDH tot handelen gedreven heeft en toch treuren allen er om. Het is waar, Mgr., dat de Zaligmaker heeft gezegd dat geen iota en geen tittel van de wet verwaarloosd mag worden.⁵³ Maar tegen wien heeft de Zaligmaker ooit getoorn? Tegen hen die door in alle omstandigheden de letter van de wet te willen doordrijven, het zielenheil in gevaar brachten. Alle zijn zij het er over eens, dat door uw bevel het zielenheil ten zeerste zal geschaad worden en wij zien de zaken van nabij. Wij kennen bovendien uw karakter Mgr. met zijn licht en

⁵¹ AJAK, K 10-5-1.

⁵² *Ad unum omnes*, or ‘unanimously’, meaning that all other Jesuits of Muntilan, without exception, were very angry about the solitary action of the Jesuit student De Hoog, who reported about the Javanese elements in the Muntilan liturgy.

⁵³ Matthew 5:18 ‘Not the smallest letter, not the least stroke of a pen, will by any means disappear from the law until everything is accomplished.’

schaduwzijden. Werkelijk, Mgr., UDH heeft altijd te veel gelet op kleine bepalingen en te weinig gedaan om de bevordering van het zielenheil. Het nederig verzoek van UDH is voor R.P. Rector⁵⁴ een bevel. Durft U het aan, Mgr., een maatregel door te voeren, waarom U van alle kanten min het ongelijk gesteld wordt, ook door pater Wenneker?⁵⁵ Is U niet bang, wanneer Uw maatregel verkeerd gewerkt zal hebben en U rekenschap gevraagd wordt, wat U dan zal antwoorden? De bedoeling is wel goed, maar heeft UDH vertrouwen op eigen oordeel tegen zoovelen? Ik heb reeds zoveel en zoolang gezwoegd voor de Java-missie. Wanneer U nu dat werk komt schaden, zal U toch aan God niet kunnen antwoorden: 'Het is waar, dat ik schade heb gedaan aan het missiewerk, maar ik weet dat U gezegd hebt dat geen iota en geen komma mag verwaarloosd worden in de wet, en daarom heb ik voor de iota en komma gezorgd en geen tijd gehad op de zielen te letten?' Of zoo: 'Ik heb gezorgd dat de tiende van de winst binnenkwam. U heeft het immers bevolen.' U vergist zich, Monseigneur, in de opvatting omtrent de positieve wetten. U handelt volgens uw geweten, maar dat geweten is verkeerd. De Joodsche wijze van de wet toe te passen is door den Zaligmaker ten scherpste veroordeeld, de Christelijke is anders. U leeft voor kleine bepalingen. Goed, maar niet ten koste van alles. Dit is niet de bedoeling. De Katholieke wetgeving bedoelt de algemene omstandigheden en rekent op de toepassing eener *epikeia*⁵⁶ voor bijzondere omstandigheden. Dit is hier aller meening tegen U. Vóór Christus, Mgr., en tegen U zoo U schade gaat doen aan zijne kinderen.⁵⁷

18. *Request by Prefect Noyen to allocate North Central Timor (Noemuti) to the Catholic mission, 1917.*

A treaty of 1916 between Portugal and the Netherlands involved the exchange of the Dutch colonial territory of Maukatar with the former Portuguese enclave of Noemuti in North Central Timor. It was not yet decided whether the Protestant mission from

⁵⁴ Jacob Mertens was rector of the Jesuit community of Muntilan between 1911 and 1921 (Van Aerdenbergen 1934:289, 298).

⁵⁵ Carolus Wenneker, born in 1837, had worked in the Indies since 1876, mostly in Sumatra where he had also learned some Batak. Later he worked in Batavia. As a retired missionary, at that time 79 years old, he stayed in Muntilan (after May 1912) where he taught Latin to candidates for the priesthood. He also rejected the action of De Hoog in favour of an exclusively Latin liturgy.

⁵⁶ *Episkeia* (Greek): common term in Catholic moral teaching for urgent need that may break the common law.

⁵⁷ Bishop Luypen wrote in the margin on 29 April 1916, 'Schrijven van 26 dezer in orde ontvangen en met heel veel belangstelling gelezen. Hartelijke groet'. After later complaints that apparently also the singing of Javanese hymns was banned, Bishop Luypen made a note in the margin of a letter by P. Groenewegen SJ, of 29 April 1916: 'Het schijnt dat ik me verbazend onduidelijk heb uitgedrukt! Helemaal mijn bedoeling niet, dat de zang in het Javaans tijdens de gelezen H. Mis worde afgeschaft!'

Kupang or the Catholics from Lahurus would receive permission to work in this region. The local raja of Noemuti is Catholic and, although they do not very actively practise their faith, many people of the new Dutch region consider themselves as Catholics. In the case of Larantuka, 1859, the Dutch government had assured that a change of flag would not involve a change of religion. Apostolic Prefect Piet Noyen SVD pleads for the Catholics in his letter to resident of Kupang, E.G. Maier, Ndona, 17 January 1917.⁵⁸

Met verschuldigde eerbied geeft ondergetekende aan U. H. Ed. Gest. te kennen: Dat hij reeds per missive van 9 Nov. 1916 No 77 door Uwe tusschenkomst aan Zijne Excell. den G.G., in overweging gaf de Portugesche enclave, nu Hollandsch gebied geworden, aan de werkkring der Paters van het Goddelijk Woord toe te voegen, daar Noimoeti altoos door de R.K. geestelijken van Oeikoesi uit bezorgd werd, omdat daar de radja met zijn geheele familie en nog vele anderen reeds katholiek zijn, en wij zodoende de verplichting hebben hem in de vervulling van hun godsdienstplichten behulpzaam te zijn.

Dat echter de Z.E.H. Pastoor Verstraelen op zijn dienstreis in Noord Midden-Timor, al is het ook niet officieel, vernomen heeft, Noimoeti nietegenstaande niet aan onzen werkkring zal toevertrouwd worden.

Dat ondergeteekende hieraan weliswaar geen geloof kan hechten, daar juist art. 123 van het Regeerings reglement o.a. ook bestaat om mogelijke onaangenaamheden bij eventueel samenwerken van verschillende zendingscorporaties te voorkomen. In Noimoeti is nooit een Dominé geweest, en zoveel mij bekend zijn daar ook geen protestanten. Wel echter zijn er van oudsher R.K.geestelijken heen gegaan, en zijn daar reeds tamelijk veel katholieken.

Ondergetekende herinnert verder U. H. Ed. Gest. dat hoe de eindbeslissing aangaande Noimoeti ook moge zijn, wij toch daarheen moeten gaan, om de bestaande gemeente te verzorgen, wat immers altijd geoorloofd is, en niet afhankelijk is van art. 123 van het Reg. Reglement. Zulk een toestand zou dan onaangenaam zijn en voor ons en voor de eventueel daar werkende protestantsche zending. Ook maak ik reeds nu opmerkzaam dat bij eventuele oprichting van scholen door de protestantsche zending de ouders van hun recht gebruik zullen maken, om hun kinderen niet deel te laten nemen aan het godsdienstonderwijs.

Verder is het bekend dat het volk van Noimoeti, al is het wegens omstandigheden in enkele punten niet praktizeerend, aan hun geloof gehecht is, en eene eventuele, ook al is het maar indirect, tegenwerking zal m.i. juist niet bijdragen tot waardering van het nieuwe Holl. Bestuur.

Ook herinner ik nog daaraan, dat bij de overgave van Larantoeka in 1859 de Holl. Regeering zelf den pastoor van Timor Dehli verzocht heeft de gemoederen te bedaren en aan het volk van Larantoeka de verzekering te geven dat met de verandering van de vlag geen verandering van godsdienst plaats

⁵⁸ Copy in Laan 'Timor':1038-9 from the SVD archives in Ndona.

had, en zelfs door de Holl. Regeering de bezorging van dat gebied door een pastoor officieel gewaarborgd werd. Redenen waarom ondergeteekende U. H. Ed. Gest. eerbiedig verzoekt, al Uwen invloed aan te wenden, om voor het welzijn van volk en van het Gouvernement, Noimoeti aan onzen werkking toe te vertrouwen.

19. First translation of Our Father in Lionese, 1917

The SVD Father F. De Lange arrived in Ende, Central Flores, in the beginning of 1917. After six months he already presented a first translation of the Our Father in Lionese.⁵⁹

Ami kami leka soerga: pati kita ata saweh taoe sauto nadji kaoe; pati oekoe kaeo mai leka kami; pati dei kaeo mbale leka tana sawe ngere leke one soerga; kedjoeka kami ledja, pati kami ledja ina; seli pati kami ampoen sala kami, ngere kami ngeni pati ampoen ata sala dewa noe kami; seli mae noe kami leka pertjobaan, so nggengge kami leka lo soesa. Amin.

20. Conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in the Kai islands, 1918

The Kai and Tanimbar Islands were an exceptional region, where since 1900 the 'double missions' of Catholics and Protestants were active in clear competition. Protestant assistant minister (hulpprediker) H.G. Plattel, not only in conflict with the Catholic missionaries but also with the Protestant controleur P.M. Hooijkaas, composed a dossier about several local cases as reported by indigenous teachers and catechists. Plattel had his main work in Elat, Kai Besar, but had his house in Tual.⁶⁰

10 October 1917, Goeroe Djemaat of Ohoiraat F. Tuanakotta to Assistant Minister Plattel in Tual (Kepada Toen jang Moelia Toeán Pendeta p.p. Kei, Aroe di Toeal)

Toean jang Moelia. Di tanggal 10 october 1917, sekira-kira djam 1, hamba sama-sama 2 orang Protestant, serta J.A. Tomasoë wakil goeroe Ohoïmoer, sementara ada tanam tiang-tiang dari roemah sekolah di-Ohoïmoer, maka datanglah Fastoer serta berkata: "Siapa soeroeh kamoe tanam tiang di saja poenja loetoer,⁶¹ hai goeroe Ambon koerang adjar." Ketika ada berbitjara,

⁵⁹ From Van Suchtelen 1921:172. He noted: 'The prayer was said by a stark naked black boy, who stood among a group of adult men with a serious face'. Text also in Laan 'Ende':207, where a much better version of 1960 has been added.

⁶⁰ From a larger document about this kind of conflicts in the KITLV Archives, Leiden, H 516.

⁶¹ Loetoer: not found in dictionaries. Must mean something like 'territory'.

Fastoor menggoeloeng tangan djasnja, serta ia rampas penggali besi dari tangan Frans, sedang ada kerdja, laloe diboeangkannja djoega. Meski begitoe, hamba soeroeh tanamkan poela tiga tiang itoe pada tempatnya, sehingga katalah Fastoor, esok goeroe haroes toeroen di Toeal. Kemoedian dari pada itoe, masing-masing poelang pada roemahnja, maoe Fastoor, maoe kami jang kerdja, bakan hambapoen poelang teroes ke Ohoiraat.

Sekira-kira djam tengah empat datanglah J.A. Tomasoa dari Ohoimoer ke Ohoiraat dan menjatakan bagi hambanja katanja: "Sementara ia berdiri pada serambi roemahnja, maka liwatlah Warnemend⁶² Haar serta goeroe Romsch Haar, naik keatas kampoeng itoe, sambil rombak peroesahan kami dan boeang itoe dari atas loetoer." Hamba dengar perkara kami ini, koeranglah kepertjaan dalam hamba, tetapi ada seorang anak sekolah, jang bersaksi itoe dengan seterang-terangnya, karna ialah jang melihat Warnemend dan goeroe Romsch tjaboet itoe.

Te gal⁶³ itoe sekarang hamba ada menoelis sepoetjoek soerat tertanggal 10 October 1917 no. 13B kepada Menteri Politie akan menjatakan perkara itoe, baiklah Toean jang Moelia membatja boenji soerat itoe, kemoedian Toean jang Moelia teroeskan dia kepada Menteri terseboet di Elat.

3 February 1918, *Goeroe Djemaat* of Ohoiraat F. Tuanakotta to Controleur P.M. Hooijkaas of Tual

Dengan soerat ini, hamba F. Tuanakotta Goeroe-djamaat Ohoiraat dan Ohoimoer, menjatakan kehadapan padoe ka toean jang moelia, toean Controleur di Toeal. Bawa tentang soerat pengadoean hamba tertanggal 15 April 1917 angka 5 kepada toean Manteri Politie Elat, tentang perkara toean Pastoor Haar, menoendjoekan dirinja kepada orang Kei, jari Toea-agama Ohoiraat, Marinjo Ohoiraat, kepala-Soa Ohoiraat, dan Orang-kaya Ohoiraat, lagi Orang-kaja Haar. Bawa Pastoor ada orang jang ta diprentahkan oleh Companie, melainkan maoe Controleur Toeal maoe toean Resident Ambon haroes dengar dibawah Pastoor, terlebih pada toean Controleur Toeal, jang haroes mendjalankan perentah Pastoor Haar. Bahkan lagi ia mempermalukan Orang-kaya Haar, bahwa Orang-Kaya terseboet terlaloe bodoh sebab ia tiada maoe berperang dengan orang Ohoiraat, apa laho Pastoor terseboet menghinakan Igama Protestant dimoeka orang Kei.

Maka semoeanja itoe sampai sekarang tida diperiksai. Tagal itoe hamba jang rindah bertanja dengan sapoetjoek soerat ini, jang dilajangkan toean jang Moelia, benarkah bitjara toean Pastoor Haar, sehingga itoe ta oesah dieroeskan lagi? Demikian lagi soerat pengadoean hamba kepada Menteri

⁶² Warnemend (correctly *waarnemend*), 'caretaker' (Dutch) for a caretaker village head (*orang kaya*). See also the letter of 3 February 1918.

⁶³ Tagal/tegal: (be)cause (older Malay).

Politie Elat tertanggal 10 October 1917 dengan angka 13b tentang perkara Waar-nemend Orang-kaya Haar, dan Goeroe Roomsche Haar, merombak peroesahaan hamba di Ohoimoer, maka sampai sekarang soedah tiga boelan dan 24 hari. Tagal itoe hamba bertanja poela kehadapan padoeka toeang jang Moelia, adakah perkara jang sebegitoe ta' oesa di oeroeskan lagi? Demikianlah hamba oesah akan pengadilan dari pada Padoeka toeang jang Moelia atas kedoea perkara ini.

21. Social conditions according to the Catholic doctrine at the Schmutzer Plantation, 1920

The Schmutzer family was not only a great promotor of mission by financing social activities of the mission and stimulating conversion of workers at its sugar plantation, it had very progressive working conditions: fewer hours of work per day than usual, a pension plan, also for widows, payment during illness, holidays and some other benefits. The conditions were printed in the second issue of the Catholic monthly Swara Tama, September 1920.

Kalajan soeka bingah ing manah kita mireng pawartos, bilih ing siti kaboodidajen Gondang Lipoera (Ngajohjakarta) ing samangké sampoen ngawon-tenaken collectief arbeids-contract, inggih poenika serat kekantjingan pradjanjianipoen pangrèhing kaboedadajen kalijan poenggawanipoen Collectief arbeids-contract waoe ngewrat:

1e. dangoening pandamelan ing sadinten-dintenipoen; 2e. indak-indakaning balandja ingkang mesti ing ngatasipoen poenggawa ingkang sampoen tetep; 3e. pensjoenipoen para poenggawa oetawi randanipoen; 4e. gandjaran toewin pandoeman batik dateng poenggawa ingkang sampoen tetep; 5e. Tetanggelan bilih wonten poenggawa ingkang sakit; 6e. Tetanggelan bilih wonten poenggawa ingkang ketiwasan ing salebetipoen njamboet damel; 7e. Dinten perlop toewin liboeran; 8e. Sinten ingkang mantjasji prakawising pangrèh kalijan poenggawanipoen; 9e. lan sanès-sanèsipoen ingkang mikantoeki ing ngatasing gesangeipoen para poenggawa.

Mengkah sasoemerep kita ingkang damel toewin mindakaken Collectief arbeids-contract makaten poenika, kanggé ing wekdal samangké ngamoeng-gaken siti kaboodidajen Gondang Lipoera pijambak, inggih poenika darmèkipoen toewan Dr. Schmutzer, warga Parepatan-kawoela (Volksraad).

Boten anggoemoenaken, manawi ingkang makaten waoe adamel tjingaking para pangrèhing kaboedadajen sanèsipoen. Pangalembana katoer toewan Dr. Schmutzer ingkang awit saking loehoering pambekanipoen, toehoe boten kelintoe.

22. Declaration on the migration of Dutch Catholics to the Indies

In 1927 the Katholieke Indisch Bureau in The Hague published a 280-page handbook of directions for Dutch Catholics who wanted to migrate to the Indies. It was full of practical information about life and work in the colony. The general message of the book was that the colony needed well-educated and truly dedicated Catholics. Because of the generally weak condition of the Catholic community, especially in the interior of Java and in some Outer Islands, it could be dangerous to settle there and people could lose their faith. This was primarily a risk for single men. Married couples could go without much fear of losing their faith and morality. When well-prepared and permanently in contact with the clergy and obedient to their directions, and as members of the Catholic organizations, the migrants could maintain their faith. The Indies needed not only priests and sisters, religious missionaries, but also good lay people 'to repay the Indies the rich wealth that came to the homeland from the treasury of its soil. We must teach the natives how to live according to God's law, according to personal conscience and divine command [...]. Without the help of good Catholic lay people the religious condition in the Indies cannot be improved to the state where it should give light like a candle, placed upon a candlestick that shines in front of the native population. This radiation is needed for the native population to take our religion in serious consideration and to take the step of conversion.' (From the speech of J.J. Hoevenaars SJ, 22 September 1929 in Rotterdam, p. 13 of the second edition of 1925). Below is printed a 1921 declaration that was published as the major ideology of the book.⁶⁴

Manifest over het gaan van Katholieken naar Indië

Het werk onzer Missionarissen in Nederlandsch-Indië heeft behoefte aan den steun, dien een krachtige katholieke gemeenschap kan bieden. Het is daarom van het grootste belang, dat mannen en vrouwen van *vaste geloofsovertuiging en degelijk karakter* naar Indië gaan.

Zijn *zulke* personen *gehuwd* dan bestaat er in den regel geen aanleiding tot vrees, dat zij voor godsdienst en moraal overschillig zullen worden.

Zijn zij *ongehuwd*, dan is die vrees niet denkbeeldig. Wel kunnen zij in onderscheidene plaatsen, *waar priesters* wonen, evenzeer aan het kerkelijk leven deelnemen als in Nederland en zijn zij daar aan geen erger gevaren blootgesteld dan in de groote steden van Europa; *maar niet* iedereen kan zich in deze plaatsen vestigen. Alleen wanneer dat laatste verzekerd is, behoeft gewoonlijk ook tegen het gaan van ongehuwden naar Indië geen bedenking gemaakt te worden. *In het binnenland* echter laten de verhoudingen nog veel te wenschen over.

De Katholieke Sociale Bonden in Indië streven er naar, voor de nieuw aangekomenen den toegang tot kringen van geloofsgenooten te ontsluiten.

⁶⁴ Source: Schnebbelie 1927:11.

Geraden wordt, eersten niet naar Indië te vertrekken zonder tijdig inlichtingen gewonnen te hebben aan het "Katholieke Indisch Bureau" en verder zich zo spoedig mogelijk na aankomst in Indië mondeling of schriftelijk tot de naaste pastorie te wenden.

Dr J.G.C. Vriens, *Voorzitter van de Indische Missie-vereniging*
 Mr W.J.M. Brantjes van Rijn, *Voorzitter van de Vereeniging van Oost- en West-Indische Katholieken in Nederland*
 J.A. Monod de Froideville, *Voorzitter van den Centraalen Raad der Katholieke Sociale Bonden in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*
 Ir. L.J.M. Feber, *Oud-voorzitter van de Indische Katholieke Partij*
 Jos F.A. Frencken SJ, *Oud-missionaris in Ned. Oost-Indië*
 Dr Ir. Jos. Schmutzer, *Lid van de Volksraad in Ned. Oost-Indië*
 Mgr. M.J.D. Claessens, *Oud-missionaris in Ned. Oost-Indië*
 C.J.J. Janssen, *Oud-directeur van Financiën, Ned. Oost-Indië.*

23. Batak Protestants complain about Catholic interference in their village, 1924

To obtain permission for the start of the Catholic mission in the Batak heartlands, the Catholic priests adduced a large number of requests from Batak people. However, among the documents preparing the debate in Dutch parliament, two letters were included that blamed Catholic efforts in the Toba-Batak villages of Hutabarat and Tarutung as an intrusion by Catholic priests.⁶⁵ The first letter is based on the testimony of a police officer who acted as though he wanted to become a Catholic. He states that the most important applicant for Catholicism was a Batak Protestant minister, Kenan, who was expelled from his office by the bishop (Ephorus) of the church. Several other applicants for conversion to Catholicism were also present. The priest urged that he needed a formal request with some 100 signatures before he could accept people as Catholics. In his conclusion the police officer and the native district head of Silindung stressed that Christianity in any form is an outward Western custom and not good for the Easterner. The second letter was directed to Dr. Johannes Warneck, the Bishop (Ephorus) of the Batak mission, between 1920 and 1931. It praises the Protestant mission and asks its leaders to prevent the intrusion of Catholics. It was signed by the church council of Hutabarat and also by the district head of Silindung, who two weeks before had written a cynical comment about both Protestants and Catholics.

Taroetoeng 12 Okt. 1924,
 Aan de controleur van Silindoen

Menjamboeng soerat saja dd 6 boelan ini no 50 geheim sub 2^e. dimaloem-

⁶⁵ NA 2.10.36.04, 3060 (Vb 26 Febr. 1919/27)

kan dengan hormat pada 11 boelan ini toean Pastoor jang terseboet soedah ada disini. Pada hari minggoe 12 boelan ini toean Jansen kantoor-chef disini, ada menjoeroeh seorang dari personeelnja membawa soerat ke Hoeta Barat kepada pendeta Kenan memberitahoe toean Pastoor soedah dateng. Kenan mendjawab, dia bersama isterinja dan anak-anaknja serta temanja akan datang poekoel 3 sore.

Pada djam itoe berkoempoellah dalam roemah toean Jansen, pendeta Kenan, Friedolin Panggabean, bekas goeroe Zending sekarang bekerdja pada Drukkerij Philemon, dan Jason politieagent tidak pakai uniform, bersama toean2 Pastoor dan Jansen, masing2 doedoek atas korsi. Jason itoe boekan sebenarnja hendak masoek Katholieke hanja poera-poera sadja, soepaja dia dapat tahoe apa jang dibilitarkan.

Isteri dan anak2 dari pendeta Kenan tinggal diluar, dalam pekarangan belakang, tidak toeroet dalam perkoempoelan itoe. Toean Pastoor menerangkan, dia soedah terima soerat dari Kenan dengan perantaran toean Besar Resident Padang sebab itoe dia = pastoor, datang.

Toean Pastoor tanja pendeta Kenan, kenapa dia keluar dari pekerdjaaannja dan kenapa hendak masoek Katholieke. Djawabna: 'Saja keluar dari pekerdjaaan pendeta, sebab saja tidak maoe disoeroeh oleh zending membuat djoesta djoemlah moerid jang masoek sekolah dan jang datang hari2 dan sekarang saja maoe masoek Katholieke sebab Protestant tidak toeroet benar apa jang terseboet dalam Oude Testament, toean2 pendeta Protestant mempoenjai hati boesoek, tidak loeroes dan adil, wang subsidie dan wang gemeente tidak kerohanian kemana dipakai, sedang agama Katholieke ada baik, oeroesan baik, soeka menolong.'

Toean Pastoor tanja berapa orang hendak masoek Katholieke, djawab Kenan: 'Saja, Friedolin dan Polin kepala kampoeng Hoeta Barat bersama 10 orang lagi.' Kata toean Pastoor: 'Dari Hoeta Galoeng soedah ada 40 orang.'

Kenan minta soepaja dia dipermandikan (doopen) tetapi toean itoe bilang: 'Saja tidak berani, sebelum dapat izin dari pemerintah. Tjaharilah dahoeloe sekoerang-koerang 100 orang, semoea bertanda tangan, kirim tanda tangan itoe bersama rekest kepada Toean Besar (Resident) Padang. Toean Besar itoe nanti akan beri rekest itoe kepada saja dan saja akan kirim ke Goerbernor Betawi, izin itoe tentoe dapat.' 'Boleh saja tjahari,' kata Kenan. 'Dimana kamoe bikin itoe boekoe jang saja kirim kepadamoe?' tanja toean Pastoor. 'Soedah saja kasi pindjem sama goeroe Polin bekas goeroe zending di Balige, diapoen maoe masoek Katholieke,' kata Kenan. 'Saja maoe masoek lekas djadi Katholieke', kata Kenan, 'saja minta soepaja toean kawat (Jansen) adjar saja sekarang.' 'Saja tidak berani,' djawab toean Jansen. 'Lekaslah kirim rekest itoe,' kata toean Pastoor, 'soepaja saja lekas datang disini boeat adjar kamoe orang.' Sampai disini pembitjaraan mereka.

Timbangan saja: Kenan itoe maoe masoek Katholieke sebab dia soedah

dikeloearkan oleh toean Ephorus dengan harapan dia dapat pentjaharian (gadjil) dari Katholiek. Djadinja boekan disebabkan oleh kepertjajaan pada Katholiek itoe. Sedang orang Batak kebanjakan jang pegang agama Protestant itoe boekan karena kepertjajaan makanja djadi Protestant tetapi karena orang ada banjak kasitoe, dan tidak soedah mendjalankan agama itoe. Agama Christen itoe sebenarnya pakajan Westerling sadja, tidak bisa dipakai oleh Oosterling.

Demang van Silindoeng, Baginda Hamonangan.

Kehadapan jang terhormat Toean Ephorus Dr. Warneck di Pea Radja. Tabi bersama hormat kami kepada Toean.

Kami pendoedoek gemeente Hoetabarat, datang dengan perantaraan kerkeraad jang bertanda tangan dibawah soerat ini. Memberi tahoe dan menjatakan besar serta terima kasih atas berdirinja gemeente boeat kami orang Hoetabarat, jang didirikan oleh toean2 jang dikirim oleh Kongsi Mission Barmen moelai dari dahoeloe sampe sekang; dan itoe djoega jang kami soekai sampe kamoedian hari toean kelihara bersama perkerdja jang toeansoeroeh ketengah-tengah kami.

Oleh karena itoe kami semoefakat dengan mengharep pertolongan kekoetan dari Toean kepala (indoek) kami, hendak menampar (pareeren) pengadjaran lain, ataupoen menampar toekan lezing jang hendak datang ketengah-ten-gah kami memasoekkan agama lain. Karena kami pikir, perboeatan begitoe adalah mendjadikan keriboetan dalam gemeente Hoetabaratu, jang ditoentoen oleh kerkeraad jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, soedah sehati dan moefakat mengirim pemberi tahoean dan permintaan ini kepada Toean.

Tabi dan hormat dari kami kerkeraad gemeente Hoetabarat.

Wg. K.N.R. Lazarus Origenes Sitoemoreng

K.N.R. Josua HB

St. Wilhelm H. Barat

Hiskia H. Barat

Kr. Josep Hoeta

Soleman Hoeta Barat

K K Loether H B

R.R. Eccles et al./I.B.

Voor vertaling de demang van

Silindoeng wg Baginda Kanonangan,

25.10.1924

24. Severe rebuke of the Oudenbosch brothers for their worldly lifestyle, 1925

By order of the council of Catholic leaders in early September 1925, Vicar Apostolic Van Velsen wrote to Father Timotheus, the general superior of the Oudenbosch or CSA brothers in the Netherlands. The Catholic leaders had talked about possible reasons for the withdrawal of Brother Arnoldus from the congregation. They criticized the lax observance of rules for religious people, easy contact with non-clerical people, even the use of hotels in holidays, going out in the evenings, free contacts with the families of their

pupils. Brothers were never to go out shopping by themselves, but to leave this to one person. They were always to leave their religious house accompanied by another brother. Even when the large rooms of their schools were used by Catholic organizations for social events like movies or theatre plays, they were not to be present. Brothers were not to go to vacation houses where Holy Mass could not be attended daily. A special danger was the fact that the well-trained and qualified brothers could leave the congregation and easily find a well-paid job in the Indies. As a solution it was proposed that contact between the brothers and 'the world' outside the religious house, even with relatives and parents of their pupils, be limited as much as possible.⁶⁶

Eerwaarde vader Timoteus,⁶⁷

In opdracht van het Concilie der Kerkvoogden van Ned. Oost-Indië van 1 tot 8 September 1925 te Weltevreden-Java gehouden, moet ik U Hoog Eerw. Het volgende mededeelen.

De Kerkvoogden vernamen de uittreding van Br. Arnoldus, hoorden van de vele vrijheden, die ook nu nog aan de Eerwaarde Broeders worden toegestaan als b.v. het overnachten met het zangkoor in een badhotel, het overnachten bij vrienden en kennissen (wat de Apostolische Delegaat zelf medeleefde te Malang), het niet dragen van het kleed van de congregatie op Nongka Djadjar,⁶⁸ het niet volledig dragen van wat bij het geestelijk kleed behoort, het onnoodig in aanraking komen met de familie der leerlingen, het te laat op straat wandelen, het zelf koopen van benodigdheden, het nog te veel genieten van geestrijke dranken, het doorbrengen op buitenplaatsen, waar geen gelegenheid is dagelijks de H. Mis te hooren, waar zelfs het H. Sacrament niet mag bewaard worden, en meenden dat in die vrijheden het groot gevaar voor de E. Broeders gelegen was, in aanmerking genomen, dat wanneer een verkeerde verbintenis zijn beslag heeft gekregen, en de E. Broeder de Congregatie wil verlaten, hij zoo gemakkelijk een goed gesalarieerde betrekking kan bekomen.

Zij verklaarden dat er middelen moesten gezocht worden om den omvang dier gevaren tot de geringste afmeting terug te brengen, dat ik als kerkvoogd aan den Algemene Overste voorstellen moest doen, en zoo er in afzienbaren tijd geen afdoende maatregelen getroffen werden, ik volgens Canon 618 verplicht zou zijn zelf daarin te voorzien.

Het grootste gevaar voor menig Eerw. Broeder is gelegen in den omgang met mensen der wereld. De strikken worden soms van buitenaf gespannen. Middelen om het verkeer met de buitenmensen zoveel mogelijk te beperken, en het gevaar zoveel mogelijk te keeren, zijn:

⁶⁶ In AJAK, C 1-1-1, draft, not signed.

⁶⁷ Brother (later called Father) Timoteus, or Antonie Scheffer (1859-1939) second general superior of the Oudenbosch Brothers between 1901-11 and 1917-29.

⁶⁸ We could not identify this festive occasion.

1. Wanneer ouders of voogden met de leermeesters hunner kinderen wenschen te spreken, zal dit alleen bij uitzondering worden toegestaan, en zal bij het bezoek of wel de overste zelve, of een andere Eerw. Broeder door den overste aangewezen tegenwoordig zijn.
2. Behalve deze bezoeken van ouders en voogden, worden door de Eerw. Broeders geen bezoeken van broers, zusters, of andere bloedverwanten der leerlingen ontvangen.
3. De overste zal er voor waken, dat bij het uitgaan der klassen, door de Eerw. Broeders geen gesprekken gevoerd worden met degenen die de kinderen komen halen. Er diene een Eerw. Broeder-Portier te worden aangesteld tot wien men zich moet wenden voor boodschappen. Deze mag alleen aan den Overste deze boodschappen overbrengen, nooit onmiddellijk aan den betreffende Broeder.
4. De Eerw. Broeders zullen nooit zelf boodschappen doen in de stad. Dit geschiede door den Overste zelven of door den Econoom. Slechts bij uitzondering en om een passende reden kan de overste toestaan, dat de Eerw. Broeder die iets noodig heeft, hem of den econoom vergezelle.
5. Nooit wordt door den Overste aan een Eerw. Broeder oorlof gegeven om alleen uit het huis te gaan tenzij bij overplaatsing naar een ander huis.
6. De Eerw. Broeders mogen in de stad der inwoning ook niet in gezelschap van een anderen Eerw. Broeder, vriendschap of wellevendheid bezoeken afleggen. Hiervan echter zijn uitgesloten bezoeken aan leerlingen van eigen klas, die geruime tijd zwaar ziek zijn. Deze bezoeken mogen plaats hebben in gezelschap van een anderen broeder en wel eenmaal gedurende dezelfde ziekte en nog eenmaal in stervensgevaar.
7. Ofschoon in No. 5 reeds bepaald is dat de Overste nooit oorlof kan geven om alleen uit te gaan, zoo moet hij op bijzondere zorg dragen voor een deugdelijke gezel wanneer iemand een dokter moet consulteren, of zaken te verhandelen heeft met ambtenaren.
8. Nooit worde aan de Eerw. Broeders toegestaan om buiten de plaats hunner inwoning bij vrienden of kennissen den dag door te brengen, laat staan te overnachten. Wanneer door den Overste op een of anderen vrijen dag een autotochtje wordt toegestaan, dan zal men te voren bij de geestelijkheid vragen om hen bij te eten, ofwel men kieze een goed hotel, zoo er geen geestelijken op die plaats wonen, of nog beter men zorge voor eigen proviand.
9. Indien de EER VAN GOD zulks vraagt mogen de Eerw. Broeders het kerkkoor leiden, daarin medezingen, en het orgel bespelen. Wanneer de leden van dat koor buiten de kerk willen zingen, b.v. in de K.S. Bond, dan mogen geen der broeders hieraan deelnemen. Ook indien de leden van dat koor feestvieren b.v. op St. Cecilia of pot verteren, dan mogen de Eerw. Broeders voortaan ook hieraan niet meer deelnemen.

10. Indien de Overste een schoollokaal of toneelzaal beschikbaar stelt voor een voorstelling b.v. van den K.S. Bond, zullen de Eerw. Broeders hierbij toch niet tegenwoordig mogen zijn, tenzij de Overste na overleg gepleegd te hebben met den Hoofdpastoor der plaats bij uitzondering hiertoe vergunning geeft.
11. Wanneer den Eerw. Broeders wandeling wordt toegestaan zoo zullen zij én de groote drukke straten, én de stille afgelegen buurten zooveel mogelijk vermijden. Zij zullen hunne wandeling doen bij daglicht b.v. van 5 uur tot 6 ½ uur en niet meer gelijk gebruik was in de duisternis van 6 uur tot 8 uur.
12. Overeenkomstig canon 595.2 zullen de Broeders nooit op reis gaan of een uitstapje doen, alvorens de H. Mis zoo mogelijk te hebben bijgewoond. De buitenplaatsen der Eerw. Broeders zullen moeten verlegd worden, naar plaatsen waar Canon 595 zoo stipt mogelijk kan onderhouden worden en zij niet wekenlang verstoken blijven van de H. Mis, de H. Communie en het bezoeken van het H. Sacrament. De naaste omgeving van Bandoeng, Malang en Ambarawa bieden geschikte gelegenheden.
13. Het gebruik van geestrijke dranken worde nog beperkt, en alleen op grote feestdagen toegestaan.⁶⁹

25. Inauguration of the Javanese-style chapel in Ganjuran, Central Java, 1930

On 11 February 1930, as part of the sugar plantation of the Schmutzer family, a Javanese-style chapel (candi) was inaugurated and dedicated to the sacred heart of Jesus. On the same occasion the whole island of Java was dedicated to Jesus. The hope was expressed that the chapel in Ganjuran would have the same effect in Java as the sanctuary of Lourdes in Europe and also generate many miracles. From the report in the Javanese Catholic weekly Swara Tama this is the prayer in solemn Javanese by Father Van Driesche. ⁷⁰

**TJANDI GANDJOERAN BINARKAHAN
MISSIE DJAWA KAOENJOEKAKEN TYAS DALEM SRI JESOES KRISTOES**

... Moega-moega Tjandi Gandjoeran bisa kaja Lourdes: diparingana moe-djidjad! Minoelja tyas dalem, minoelja Kath. Djawa, minoelja Missie Djawa, minoelja bangsa Djawa, minoelja Tanah Djawa, minoelja Tjandi Gandjoeran! Bakda sesorahipoen Rama van Driesche ing nginggil, noeswa Djawa ladjeng kaoendjoekaken Tyas Dalem Goesti Jesoes makaten:

⁶⁹ A comment on this draft by Father A. van Kalken estimates this last regulation too strong and also wants to mitigate some of the previous rules.

⁷⁰ *Swara Tama* 10(9), 1930.

Kondjoek ing saandap Sampéjan Dalem Maha-Praboe Jésoes Kristoes, ingkang djoemeneng Pangérانing para bangsa. Sakalangkoeng genging manahipoen abdi Dalem Biskop, pare Préfèk, para Imam, toewan para wewakiling pakempalan Katoelik ing tanah Djawi, wonten ing ngarsaning pepetaning Tyas Dalem ing Tjandi Gandjoeranngriki sami pinarengakan soeméwa manoebawa loehoering Kraton Dalem amangéraní goenging pradja toewin bansa saindenging bawana. Baloedaging manahipoen ingkang abdi, kamipoeroen ngoengsel-oengselaken rahadjenging noeswa Djawi, borong ing Sampéjan Dalem Sang Maha-wisésa. Kalajan adrenging manah ngantoe-antoe angentoosi Karsa Dalem angedjoemi ingkang abdi, kawaela Dalem ingkang sampoen sami pinaringan pepadang angimanaken ing Sampéjan Dalem.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa ngemoedèni lampahing boedoeni poen ingkang abdi kapedak Dalem, ingkang saèstoe badé sami teloek mengah ing sadaja prakawis iman; lan sami ngangka-angka amrih lestantoeing soengkem ang-andel ing Sampéjan Dalem, badé sami remen mirengaken piwoelang sabda-sabdananig Allah.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa ngendalèni lampahing kadjengipoen ingkang abdi kapedak Dalem, ingkang saèstoe badé ngèstoaken sadaja dawoeh Dalem; lan sami ngangka-angka amrih lestantoeing soemarah ndèrèk ing Sampéjan Dalem, badé sami taberi nggegoelang kaoetamèn, andjangka ing kasampoernan.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa ngleresaken lampahing manahipoen ingkang abdi kapedak Dalem, ingkang saèstoe badé sami moeloeng mligi tresna ing Sampéjan Dalem; lang sam [sic] ngangka-angka amrih lestantoeing moe-loes moerni roemaket ing Sampéjan Dalem, badé sami noenggil ing Sampéjan Dalem karana kerep nampi Sakramèn Maha-soetji.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa oegi ndombani kawaela Dalem ingkang taksih sami kapir moek-moekan wonten ing pepeteng, ingkang dèrèng mangretos oetawi soetik nampi pawartos kabingahan, ingkang saèstoe badé katah ingkang nemahi sangsara bok bilih tampa loebèring sih pitoeloengan Dalem ingkang amrih nggajoe pangretos kasoenjatan toewin karahajon langgeng, djer kawaela kapir oegi Sampéjan Dalem teboes karana Rah Dalem.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa ndjawahaken sih paring Dalem barkah dateng Misi Djawi ingkang saèstoe madé mardika, sepen ing gora-goda, toeloes ang-gènipoen mentjaraken sabda-sabda Dalem.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa paring teteg mantep sengkoed tjakoet dateng abdi Dalem Imam, ingkang saèstoe badé toelatos napak tilas paring Dalem toelada ngempal-ngempalaken ménda ingkang sami kesasar-sasar.

Soemangga Goesti, karsaa ngloentoeraken goenging sih Dalem dateng kawaela Dalem ingkang sami man toewin ingkang taksih kapir, ingkang saèstoe sanoeswa Djawi badé ngempal dados sakandang, soeka goemjah ngloehoer-aken ing Sampéjan Dalem Maha-Praboe Jésoes Kristoes, Pangérانing para bangsa, widada mangrèh Misi Djawi ing salami-lamanipoen. Amin.

26. *Regulations for Dayak teachers, 1930*

In 1930 the vicar apostolic of Pontianak issued a set of regulations for teachers at the mission schools of West Kalimantan. The instructions emphasized that the major task of the teacher was to educate the pupils to become true Catholics. He or she⁷¹ had to lead the regular prayers in the morning and evening and before and after meals in schools that were generally boarding schools. The teacher had to follow the books prescribed by the inspector of schools in the vicariate. It was stipulated that teachers should, if possible, be qualified, with valid certificates. The teacher also had to visit the sick in the village and look after people who were in danger of death so that they could be baptized. As to marriages (or people starting to live together), the teachers should inform the priest. They also had to give medicine to the sick. Some teachers were also appointed catechists (with the title of hulpleeraar). They had to regularly visit the villages of their area and go at least to one village each week, preferably in the evening when people were at home. On Sundays they had to lead a religious service by praying the rosary, the confessions of faith, hope, love and repentance, as well as give instruction and lead the singing of hymns. In their leisure time the teachers could work in their fields, growing vegetables or rice or even rubber, but they were not allowed to start commerce by opening a shop. The document also has detailed scales for salaries (not included here).⁷²

Reglement oentoek goeroe-goeroe jang bekerdja didalam djaduhan Seri Padoeka Toean Oeskoep Boerneo-Belanda

Pendahoeloean

Pekerdjaan jang teroetama bagi goeroe-goeroe ja'ni boekan sadja akan mengadjar anak-anak, tetapi teristimewa akan mendidik anak-anak itoe. Kewadjian goeroe-goeroe jang pertama boekan akan mendjadikan anak-anak itoe orang jang berilmoe, tetapi akan mendjadikan mereka itoe orang jang baik dan serani. Sebab itoe pertama-tama patoetlah goeroe-goeroe beroesaha sedapat-dapatnya akan menjempoernakan tabi'at dan kehendak anak-anak itoe, dan kedoea akan mendjadikan 'akal boedinja kaja dengan pengetahoean jang oesah dan bergenra. Akan menjempoernakan kehendak anak-anak, wajiblah goeroe memberi nasihat dan terlebih teladan jang élok kepada anak-anak itoe, karena kebadjikan dan peri hidoe jang baik itoe melampaui kepandaian dan pengetahoean adanja. Goeroe haroeslah mengadjak selaloe anak-anak akan bersembahjang, soepaja djangan sekali-kali meréka bermalas dengan sembahjang, meskipoen pendek sadja, terlebih pada waktoe pagi dan malam, sebeloem makan dan habis makan.

⁷¹ The text does not specify gender, like Indonesian texts in general, and can be interpreted as meaning both male and female. There were some women teaching in the schools for Chinese, but, to our knowledge, the Malay schools were all run by male teachers.

⁷² From the Capuchin Archives in 's-Hertogenbosch, ArchMiss, Inv. 212, no. 1.

Wadjiblah goeroe memberi nasihat selaloe anak2, bahwa perloe sekali dengar-dengaran kepada pemerintah Geredja dan kepada pemerintah negeri, djika dalam perkara ketjil sekalipoen; karena perkara-perkara jang ketjil itoe terhisab djoega pada pendidikan. Wadjiblah goeroe beroesaha akan mendidik anak-anak soepaja tahoe bekerdja dan tahoe menjimpan wang,⁷³ apalagi mentjoba akan mendjaoehkan dari pada pikiran anak-anak itoe maloe bekerdja. Melainkan haroeslah tahoe melakoekan semoea pekerdjaan dengan terematnja. Wadjiblah goeroe selaloe melarang anak-anak akan berdjoeedi, djika perloe dan pimpinlah mereka itoe dari masa moedanja akan tiada sadja tahoe meninggalkan perboeatan jang djahat, tetapi poen tahoe melakoekan perboeatan jang baik. Dalam hal itoe patoetlah goeroe mendjadi tjontoh jang baik dan tetap. "Toendjoekkanlah kepada anak-anak djalan jang haroes di-djalaninja sampai kepada 'oemoer toeanja, soepaja djangan meréka itoe menjimpang dari pada djalan itoe" (Proverbs 22:6).

Karena menjempoernakan 'akal boedi anak-anak, wadjiblah goeroe meradjinkan diri akan memberi pengadjaran jang perloe kepada anak-anak, seboleh-bolehnja baik adanja. Dan wadjiblah goeroe memakai kitab-kitab jang telah ditentoekan oleh t. Beheerde, dan menoeroetlah kitab itoe. Djanganlah goeroe mengadjarkan anak-anak barang jang boekan-boekan dan ta' bergenra serta hanja boleh mendjadikan anak itoe angkoeh hati. Goeroe-goeroe haroes mengadjar, boekan karena sekolah tetapi karena kehidoepan.⁷⁴

Boekannja mengetahoei banjak perkara jang teroetama, melainkan tahoe betoel-betoel peladjarannja. Dalam pada itoe wadjiblah goeroe mengadjar anak-anak akan tahoe bekerdja sendiri; dan lagi goeroe haroes beroesaha soepaja barang pengadjarannja itoe dapat ditangkap dengan betoel; djanganlah menoeroeh anak-anak akan menghafal sadja.

Menengok pekerdjaan orang lain haroes dilarang. Goeroe haroes merasa dirinja senang hidoe bersama-sama dengan orang-orang pendoedoek désa itoe; ia djangan membesarke dirinja, djangan menjombong diri, tetapi memandang dirinja selakoe orang anggota dari desa itoe. Goeroe haroes mentjahari perhoeboengan antara sekolahnjia dan orang toea moeridnjia dan haroes hidoe beramah-ramahan dengan pendoedoek désa itoe, sehingga kepada orang-orang jang soedah sampai 'oemoer itoe djoega ia dapat mengadjarkan pengetahoeannja.

⁷³ Artikel V (not included here) has very detailed prescriptions for the money teachers had to save, at least 1.25 guilders per month on a salary of between 15 and 40 guilders per month. These savings functioned more or less like a pension plan because the teachers could receive the money only after twenty years of service.

⁷⁴ This is the Malay version of the Latin proverb, *Non scholae sed vitae discimus*: we should not learn for school but for life, after Seneca's *Moral Epistles*, 106, 11.

Artikel I. Atoeran akan Memangkatkan Goeroe

Seorang goeroe haroes ada padanja soeatoe diploma jang tjoekoep oentoek sekolah tempat ia dipekerdjakan, sepoetjoek soerat keterangan tentang kesehatan, dan sepoetjoek soerat keterangan tentang kekoeatan badannja oentoek djabatannja itoe, jang diberi oleh toean Dokter, kalau perloe. Seboleh-bolehnya akan tiada ditoentoet lagi kelak goeroe-goeroe desa jang tiada berdiploma oedjian penghabisan Normaalleergang jang cursusna doea tahoen, dan jang tida berdiploma agama oentoek Inl. Hulpleeraar.

Artikel II. Pekerdaan dan kewadijiban Goeroe

§ 1. Wadjiblah goeroe menoeroet benar-benar akan atoeran jang soedah ditetapkan oentoek sekolahnya masing-masing, tentang daftar pekerdaan, vacantie dan hari raja, dan lain-lain. Lain dari pada pekerdaän⁷⁵ sekolah ada lagi pekerdaän jang ditanggoengkan kepada goeroe oleh t. Beheerde akan dilakoekan, ja'ni: mendjagai anak-anak sekolah jang sedang melakoekan pekerdaan tangan, memberi pengajaran agama: Hikajat Perdjandjian Lama dan Baroe, mengadjar disekolah pada malam dan mengadjar sembahjang kepada orang-orang dan lain-lain.

Djikalau kiranya ada goeroe jang berkeberatan dengan alasan jang benar dari pada salah soeatoe pekerdaan itoe meminta timbalan dari pada t. Beheerde. Bilamana dalam hal itoe akan timboel pikiran jang tiada setoedjoe dengan t. Beheerde itoe, bolehlah ia meminta timbalan dari pada Jang moelia S.P. t. Oeskoep. Jang Moelia S.P. t. Oeskoeplah jang dapat mendamaikan perselisihan itoe. Selama hal itoe beloem dipotoeskannja, wadjiblah goeroe menoeroet dahueloe jang ditetapkan oleh t. Beheerde.

Sekiranya ada orang-orang jang hendak beladjar pada goeroe waktoe malam (ketjoeali agama) bolehlah goeroe meminta bajaran kepada meréka itoe, ontoek pengajaran dan perkakasnja. Lain dari pada itoe wajiblah goeroe melewati orang-orang sakit dalam kampoeng, terlebih kalau ada orang jang sakit pajah; dan djagalah baik soepaja orang sakit itoe dipermandikan serani. Tentang hal kawin, baiklah diberi tahoekan kepada Toeant Pastoor. Baiklah goeroe memberi obat djoega kepada orang-orang dan menolong mereka itoe dengan nasihat dan perboeatan.

§ 2. Goeroe itoe jang ditentoekan melakoekan pekerdaan seperti Inl. Hulpleeraar, haroeslah mengendoengi seboleh-bolehnja kampoeng-kampoeng dalam djadjahannja pada waktoe jang beratoer, sekoerang-koerang-nja seboeah kampoeng seminggoe, pada malam ketika orang ada diroemah, akan bertjakap-tjakap dengan meréka itoe hal agama; goeroe haroeslah mengadjarkan meréka itoe sembahjang, memberi pengajaran pendek tentang agama, dan mengadjaklah meréka itoe selaloe akan bersembahjang pada

⁷⁵ There is no consistent spelling in this text: most often it is written *pekerdaan*, while *pekerdaän* is the exception.

pagi dan malam, sebeloem dan habis makan, meskipoen pendek sadja. Akan pekerdjaan itoe, baiklah dibilitarkan dahoeloe dengan toean Pastoor atau t. Beheerder, laloe diboeat seperti nasihat toean Pastoor atau t. Beheerder itoe.

Pada hari Minggoe dan pada hari jang haroes dirajakan, wadjiblah goeroe memboeat sembahjang diroemah sekolah atau pada tempat lain jang baik bersama-sama dengan orang-orang, sembahjang pagi jang pendek, sembahjang Rosario dan sembahjang Fa'al Iman, Harap, Kasih dan Tobat, dan lagi berilah pengadjaran sedikit dari pada kitab Pengadjaran Serani jang ketjil ($\pm \frac{1}{4}$ djam). Djikalau ada anak-anak atau orang jang soedah tahoe bernjanji baiklah sembahjang itoe disoedahkan dengan soeatoe njanjian Geredja. Bila bersembahjang Rosario, baiklah diseboet sembahjang itoe dengan terang, djanganlah lekas-lekas sadja.

§ 3. Sesoedah sekolah ada diloeaskan serta dipinta dengan sangat kepada goeroe akan menambah oeroesan roemah tangganja dengan djalan lain, oemp.: dengan berladang, bersawah, berkeboen sajoeran; dengan menternakkan babi, ajam; dan dengan menjadap getah d.l.l. Iamoen pekerdjaan itoe tiada mengoerangkan oentoek pekerdjaan sekolah. Akan tetapi goeroe dilarang sangat berdagang atau memboeka waroeng.

Artikel III. Menempatkan goeroe-goeroe [...]

Artikel IV. Gadji goeroe-goeroe [...]

Artikel V. Menaboeng wang [...]

27. Malay prayers and a list of Catholic holidays, 1930s

In 1916 Father Anton Van der Velsen translated the new Dutch catechism into Malay. It was published for the whole territory of the vicariate apostolic of Batavia. Below are included the basic prayers (Our Father, Holy Mary) and the lists of Catholic holidays and days of fasting and abstinence of meat, according to the edition of the 1930s. The texts are included for the sake of comparison with nineteenth-century prayers that were published in Volume I of Catholics in Indonesia.⁷⁶

Tanda Salib

+ Dengan nama Bapa, dan Anak laki-laki dan Rohoe'l-koedoes. Amin

Bapa Kami

Bapa kami jang ada disoerga:

Dikoedoeskanlah kiranya namamoe.

Datanglah kiranya keradjaanmoe.

Djadilah kiranya kehendakmoe seperti didalam soerga demikian diatas boemi.

⁷⁶ From *Kitab Pengadjaran Serani* 1938:3, 107 and Van Velsen 1932. See also Steenbrink 2003, documents 79 and 80.

Roti kami sehari-hari berilah kepada kami, seperti kamipoen mengampoeni orang jang bersalah kepada kami.

Maka djanganlah masoekkan kami kedalam pertjobaan.

Hanja lepaskan kami dari pada jang djahat. Amin.

Assalam 'Alaikom

Assalam 'Alaikom ja Maria penoeh ni'mat, Toehan ada dengan Dikau; terberkati Engkau diantara segala perempoean, dan terberkatipoen boeah toeboehmoe, Jesoes.

Ja Santa Maria, Boenda Allah, mintalah do'a kami jang berdosa ini, sekarang dan pada waktoe kami mati. Amin.

Salve Regina

Assalam 'Alaikom ja Permaisoeri. Boenda kasihan; kehidoepan, penghiboran dan pengharapan kami, assalam 'alaikoem;

Kepadamoe kami, orang boeangan anak Eva, berseroe;

Kepadamoe hati kami sembahjang seraja mengadoeh dan menangis ditempat doeka ini.

Hai pembitjara kami, pandanglah kami dengan matamoe jang bersinar kasihan;

Maka setelah soedah peri hal keboeongan ini, toendjoeklah kepada kami Jesoes, Anakmoe jang terberkati.

Hai Maria Perawan jang moerah, jang berkasihan, jang manis!

V.⁷⁷ Mintalah do'a akan kami ja Santa Boenda Allah;

R. Soepaja patoet kami ini beroleh djandjian Christoies itoe.

Sembahjanglah kita. Ja Allah jang mahakoeasa dan kekal, jang bersama-sama dengan Rohoe' Ikoedoes soedah menjediakan toeboeh dan djiwa Maria Perawan Boenda jang moelia itoe soepaja baik akan didjadikan tempat kediaman jang patoet kepada Anakmoe; berilah kiranya, maka kami jang bersoeka-soeka pada menginat akan Dia, oleh bantoe sembahjangnya jang mengasihi kami dilopoetkan dari pada kematian jang kekal. Oleh Christoies itoe djoega. Toehan kami. Amin.

28. Javanese headdress allowed in Catholic churches, 1931

Javanese men in traditional dress cover their heads with a beautifully decorated cloth and they do not feel neatly or properly dressed without this cloth. Therefore two prominent Javanese Catholics from Yogyakarta asked permission of the vicar apostolic to cover their heads during church service. They are conscious that this is against international Catholic rules, but as an argument they write that being without this

⁷⁷ In Catholic prayer books V. stands for Verse and R. for Response.

*headdress in a church has for them the same effect as women who wear miniskirts and do not cover their arms. No written answer is known, but from photographs we know that Javanese in traditional dress wore their headdress inside churches.*⁷⁸

Mataram 25 October 1931

Terpoedji Nama Toehan Jezus. Terhoendjoek Kehadapan Padoeka Bapa Gembala Kangdjeng Toewan Oeskoep jang bersemajam di Batavia

Jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini: 1. hamba seorang katholieker bernama R. Rufus Soejadi mendjabat Voorzitter dari Commissie toeziicht cursus K.S. Triasa; 2. hamba seorang katholieker bernama R. Ignatius Bernatkijana Voorzitter dari Verg. Moedo Katholieker afd. Joannes Bergmans, masing2 bertinggal di Djogjakarta, ampoen beriboe-riboe ampoen karena hamba kedoewa berani menghoendjoekken sepoetjoek soerat permoeohoenan keterangan kepada Padoeka Kangdjeng Toewan Oeskoep jang misalna: Apakah kita ra'jat katholieker diperkenankan memakai petjie (koeploek) dalam gereda atau tidak?

Dengan ini permoeohoenan, hamba moehoen soedi apalah kiranya padoeka Kangdjeng Toewan Oeskoep tida hanja kepada kita, tetapi mengoemoemkan titah padoeka diseleroeh daerah Ke-oeskoepan Padoeka doenia Katholieker di Indonesia, jang kita ra'jat Katholieker tidak akan bimbang hati, tentoe akan mendjoendjoeng titah Bapa Gembala kita Padoeka Kandjeng Toewan Oeskoep, boleh atau tidaknya hal terseboet, dengan sebabnya masing jang akan memoeaskan dengan sedjelas-djelasnya.

Adapoen kita hingga sebegitoe djaoeh berani mempersempahkan ini soerat pada hadapan Padoeka, sebab ini hal selaloe gemper mendjadikan boeah bibirnya ra'jat Katholieker, jang hingga sekarang beloem ada kesoedahannya jang dengan poeas.

Pada kita poenja pemandangan, oleh karena poelau Djawa itoe termasoek pada daerah Melajoe, djadi selajknja djoega djika pakaianya (*kleederdracht*) mendjalar didaerah Djawa, jang kita jakin djoega bahwa Igama Katholieker tidak akan pandang bangsa atau tida djoega akan membedakan bangsa dengan pakaianya, memperkenankan mengoendjoengi gredja2, biarpoen ra'jat Djawa berkain kepala (boekan topi) ra'jat Indonesia berkoeploek (seperti kain kepala djoega boekannja topi) maoepoen orang lain bangsa bertopi dan lain2nya.

Djika memang Igama tida pandang bangsa dengan pakaianya, apa djeleknja djika perpetjie diperkenankan masoek gredja sedang itoe sedikit-sedikitnya lebih netjis daripada rok pendek tida berlengan dan tida berkaos kaki atau hanja sampai dimatakaki.

Kemoedian dari pada itoe, sedjak ini siang dan malam menoenggoe titah Padoeka jang senantiasa berhak, jang kita jakin djoega, bahwa hanja titah Padoeka Kangdjeng Toewan Oeskoep jang akan kita djoengdjoeng dengan setinggi-tingginya dan jang akan membikin poeas kita poenja permohonan

⁷⁸ Source AJAK E 8-3-7.

pertanjaan dengan sedjelas-djelasnja. Poetera Padoeka jang selaloe berta'loek dengan menoenggoe berkat: Soejadi, Bernatkijana.

29. Ban on the IEV, the Eurasian Social Union, by De Backere contested by other Catholic leaders, 1933

In early 1933 Theophilus de Backere, prefect apostolic of Soerabaja, planned a formal ban of the IEV, Indo-Europeesch Verbond, Union of Eurasians in the Indies. Many of these Eurasians were Catholics and the ordinary of Soerabaja wanted them to join specific and exclusively Catholic societies. The other ordinaries on Java fiercely opposed this ban. A special meeting of the five ordinaries gathered in Giri Sonta, close to Semarang, without any result (29 March 1933). De Backere still wanted to publish his ban in his message to the Catholic community of Soerabaja in an official letter to be read in the churches on Palm Sunday (2 April 1933). Those Catholics who persisted in their membership of the IEV were to be excluded from the sacraments. After the unsuccessful meeting in Semarang, the matter was confidentially communicated to two high officials in the Department of Justice. The highest in rank succeeded in persuading De Backere to postpone the publication of his letter. The matter was also communicated to the apostolic delegate in Sydney, who immediately forbade De Backere to take any public steps in this matter. On 1 June 1933, the four other ordinaries wrote a letter about this discussion to the Propaganda Fide and on 6 July 1933 this central administration joined the opinion of the majority and formally forbade De Backere to take any action on his own.⁷⁹

Batavia, le 1 Juni 1933

handwritten: Aan de S. Congregatio de Prop. Fide

Eminentissime Seigneur,

Les soussignés: 1) le Provinciaire du Vicariat Apostolique de Batavia; 2) le Préfet de la Préfecture Apostolique de Malang; 3) le Préfet Apostolique de Poerwokerto et 4) le Préfet Apostolique de Bandoeng, dans les grandes difficultés où ils sont, décrites dans les pages si-jointes, se sont adressés à son Excellence le Délégué Apostolique de Sydney. Le Délégué Apostolique a pris une décision provisoire, sous obligation de faire connaître tout à la Sainte Congrégation de la Propagation de la Foi.

Pour satisfaire à cette obligation les Ordinaires soussignés se sont appliqués à faire un exposé bien exact, et demandent humblement à la Sainte Congrégation de donner une décision en cette affaire et d'indiquer comment il faut agir en cas pareil.

⁷⁹ AJAK A 2-1-3 and 4.

L'île de Java, avec une population d'après la plus récente statistique de 41.719.524 habitants, dont 193.618 Européens, est divisée en cinq ressorts de Mission, à savoir le Vicariat Apostolique de Batavia et les Préfectures Apostoliques de Malang, Soerabaja, Poerwokerto et Bandoeng. Elle est de toute nécessité, surtout à Java, la ligne de conduite prescrite dans son Encyclique 'Maximum Illud' par le Pape Benoît XV d'heureuse mémoire, que dans l'intérêt de la religion, il faut toujours tenir compte des sentiments et des vues des Ordinaires des Missions environnantes. En effet, les Catholiques, européens comme indigènes sont en bonne partie employés du Gouvernement et par là sujets à de fréquents changements de domicile, de sorte qu'ils font part tantôt d'un ressort de Mission tantôt d'un autre. Il est donc évident de quelle importance il est pour la Religion que les Ordinaires agissent toujours, si faire se peut, de commun accord. C'est pourquoi selon le désir de la sainte Congrégation de la Propagation de la Foi des conférences furent tenues pour délibérer des mesures nécessaires ou utiles aux âmes.

Ainsi depuis quelques années déjà l'attention des Ordinaires de Java est attirée sur une association qui, quoique non catholique, compte pourtant bien des membres catholiques. Cette association, dite *association indo-européenne*, veut être une association pour les intérêts matériels de tous les demeurants stables aux Indes, qui ne sont pas nés de parents purement indigènes. Pour juger de l'importance de cette association il faut se souvenir d'une loi déterminant que tout enfant né d'un père européen, de quelque race que soit la mère, peut acquérir à quelques conditions très faciles les droits civils d'Européen. De là le grand nombre d'Européens en ces contrées-ci, dont une grande partie ne seraient pas censés Européens en d'autres colonies.

Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de données exactes sur ce sujet, on croit généralement que la plupart de ces Européens est catholique. L'Association indo-européenne veut être une association neutre comprenant des membres de toutes les religions. Il va sans dire que de ce projet sortent des dangers pour les Catholiques dont les intérêts seraient mieux assurés par une association à base purement catholique. On a réussi depuis quelque dix ans à ériger dans la plupart des grandes villes de Java une *association catholique spéciale* qui, à base purement catholique, a pour but de veiller aux intérêts spirituels et matériels de *tous* les catholiques. Malgré les efforts des Missionnaires et de quelques laïques de marque on n'a pas réussi à faire entrer la masse des Catholiques indo-européens dans les associations catholiques sociales. C'est toujours l'antithèse entre Européen pur sang et l'Indo-Européen, qui fait obstacle. De plus la vie religieuse n'est pas assez intense pour leur faire surmonter le sentiment de race.

A la Conférence des Prélats des Indes néerlandaises à Moentilan du 4 Juin 1929, le Vicaire Apostolique de Batavia a introduit la question de l'Action catholique et a dit e.a., qu'il ne fallait pas commencer une action directe contre la Ligue indo-européenne de peur que cette ligue ne nous devînt un ad-

versaire par trop puissant. C'est pourquoi le Vicaire Apostolique de Batavia proposa de faire pénétrer de plus en plus les principes catholiques sans action directe contre la Ligue indo-européenne. Nul n'opposa, on était donc d'accord que l'action ouverte contre la ligue indo-européenne ferait grand dommage à la cause catholique; d'abord l'Indo-Européen lui-même devrait comprendre la nécessité d'une organisation catholique.

C'était la même chose à la Conférence des Ordinaires de Java à Jogjakarta du 27 mars 1930, où l'on demanda si les Indo-Européens catholiques peuvent entrer dans la Ligue indo-européenne, et si les Missionnaires doivent s'efforcer à les faire entrer plutôt dans les associations catholiques sociales. On imposa aux Missionnaires de s'informer de l'opinion des catholiques de marque sur la possibilité d'exercer plus d'influence dans la Ligue indo-européenne et d'en rendre compte au Prélat. Fut convoquée une autre conférence de tous les Ordinaires des Indes néerlandaises vers le mois de septembre 1933 (différé jusqu'à 1934). Un ordre du jour provisoire fut envoyé aux Ordinaires avec prière d'indiquer le cas échéant d'autres points à traiter. Réponse du Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja: « Je regrette de ne pas voir (à l'ordre du jour provisoire) quelques points capitaux, à savoir:

- 1) ...
- 2) L'urgence de détacher nos Catholiques des organisations neutres c.à.d. des organisations syndicales et de les organiser de plus en plus selon le désir de Sa Sainteté, en des syndicats catholiques. Nous perdons beaucoup de catholiques aux syndicats neutres (rouges).

3) Pour ce qui regarde la Ligue indo-européenne, son influence funeste agit fortement sur nos Catholiques; toujours plus grand dommage est porté à la cause catholique, nommément à la pensée et à la vie pratique catholiques. La conclusion ou plutôt l'observation est celle-ci: depuis des années nous concluons négativement de ne rien faire. Soerabaja ne peut plus longtemps suivre cette méthode *propter evidens animarum detrimentum.* »

Suivant cette lettre, la question du rapport des Catholiques à la Ligue indo-européenne et celle des autres organisations neutres est placée à l'ordre du jour. Sur ce parut au mois de février le mandement de carême du Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja. Sans avoir consulté les autres Ordinaires de Java, il défendit aux Catholiques sous peine de refus des Sacrements d'être membres de certaines associations sociales non-catholiques (citées de leurs noms), qui sont répandues dans toutes les missions des Indes néerlandaises. De là des difficultés pour les Missionnaires des autres ressorts: comment agir par rapport aux gens de Soerabaja, qui viennent se confesser ailleurs? Que faire de ceux qui vont se fixer dans un autre ressort et sont membres d'une de ces associations?

Quoi que ce soit de la mesure en soi, il est clair que prise par un seul Ordinaire par rapport aux associations répandues dans les ressorts environnants, elle doit nécessairement troubler les esprits. Aussitôt ce mandement

paru, les autres Ordinaires de Java ont délibéré de la ligne de conduite à suivre. En conférence à Bandoeng le 3 mars 1933 on a jugé de commun accord, que la mesure prise par le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja ne servait pas l'intérêt de la Religion. Ce jugement des Ordinaires de Batavia, Malang, Poerwokerto et Bandoeng, ne fut pas publié, mais envoyé au seul Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja. On lui signifia aussi le regret causé par une action à lui seul sans consulter les autres Ordinaires.

Une ligne de conduite fut donnée aux missionnaires. On ne reçut pas de réponse du Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja, mais le Provicaire de Batavia apprit d'un de ses missionnaires qu'il avait reçu une lettre de l'Ordinaire de Soerabaja annonçant un 'Oekase'⁸⁰ sur la Ligue indo-européenne pour le dimanche des Rameaux. Comprenant que ce serait funeste à la cause catholique, le Provicaire de Batavia convoqua tous les Ordinaires de Java en conférence à Giri Sonta et pria le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja d'envoyer auparavant aux autres Ordinaires un exemplaire de son manuscrit; cela fut fait de sorte que le manuscrit put être étudié avant la conférence.

Jugement unanime des autres Ordinaires: a) en plusieurs points la forme est contraire à la dignité d'un Ordinaire; b) le contenu n'est pas exact; c) la publication serait une faute. Par tact on ne parla à la conférence, le 29 mars 1933, que du seul point c). Il ne s'agit que de l'opportunité de la publication. Les quatre autres Ordinaires prièrent instamment le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja de renoncer à la publication, parce qu'elle serait funeste aux autres ressorts de mission. Il fut démontré que c'était une cause d'intérêt commun auquel l'action séparatiste d'un des Ordinaires porterait toujours dommage. Cependant le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja ne démordit point.

On proposa de préparer des mesures pour faire passer les catholiques de la Ligue indo-européenne à des associations catholiques déjà existantes ou à ériger. Le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja le crut insuffisant. On proposa de trouver une formule de déclaration par principe sur la Ligue indo-européenne et les autres associations non catholiques que tous pourraient souscrire. Le Préfet Apostolique présenta comme tel son manuscrit et ne voulut pas d'autre.

Voyant épuisés tous les autres moyens de tomber d'accord en une affaire si importante pour l'Eglise, et considérant qu'il est pourtant devoir de conscience d'y arriver, on proposa de demander à la Sainte Congrégation de la Propagation de la Foi de tracer une ligne de conduite. Le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja ne le crut ni nécessaire ni utile.

Après beaucoup de pourparlers on finit pourtant par obtenir que le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja différerait sa publication de 8 à 10 jours. Pendant ce temps les autres Ordinaires cherchaient des mesures à prendre pour en prévenir tant que faire se pourrait les funestes suites pour leurs propres ressorts. Il était à craindre que la Justice ne s'en occupât, si publication se ferait.

⁸⁰ English 'ukase'.

C'est pourquoi les Ordinaires de Malang, Poerwokerto et Bandoeng ont prié le Provinciaire de Batavia de consulter sur ce sujet des gens compétents et si besoin en était, de prendre ses mesures; de même, de demander l'intervention du Délégué Apostolique de Sydney.

Le Provinciaire de Batavia a -sub secreto commisso- donné à examiner le manuscrit de Soerabaja à un des plus hauts fonctionnaires judiciaires. Celui-ci, catholique, jugea nécessaire de soumettre (avec permission du Provinciaire) la question à la plus haute autorité judiciaire aux Indes, au Procureur Général, qui lui aussi est catholique convaincu.⁸¹ Celui-ci, comme catholique et comme haut fonctionnaire du Gouvernement, a prié par téléphone le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja de renoncer à la publication *dans l'intérêt de la cause catholique, mais aussi dans l'intérêt du Gouvernement*, c.à.d. dans l'intérêt de la tranquillité et de l'ordre. Ce haut fonctionnaire de Gouvernement était si convaincu de l'urgence d'empêcher la publication qu'au besoin il voudrait faire un voyage de quelques jours pour convaincre personnellement le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja. Cela ne fut pas nécessaire, parce que, à la prière téléphonique du Procureur Général, le Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja se déclarait aussitôt prêt à renoncer à la publication.

Cependant sur le voeu des autres Ordinaires et après avoir pris encore l'avis de ses consulteurs le Provinciaire de Batavia a envoyé la dépêche suivante: 'Apostolic Delegation Sydney. Praefecti Apostolici Bandoeng et Poerwokerto, Provicarius Batavia, Proprefectus Malang enixe petunt Excellentiae Vestrae interventionem. Praefectus Soerabaja feria quinta proxima edet libellum condemnatorium de associatione dicta indo-europea omnium nostrum consensu perniciosum pro unitate ecclesiae Java. Conferentia a nobis cum eo habita nullum effectum habuit. Velit Excellentia Vestra ad bonum Ecclesiae telegrafice jubere istius publicationis suspensionem. Provicarius Bataviae.'

Le jour même vint la réponse du Délégué Apostolique: 'Suspendatur publicatio de associatione indo-europea. Adeatur Roma pro decisione. Apostolic Delegate. Le Provinciaire de Batavia a envoyé la dépêche au Préfet Apostolique de Soerabaja. Il fut ajouté que la susdite autorité judiciaire suprême aux Indes néerlandaises a exprimé son étonnement du fait de ce qu'un Ordinaire voulait émettre son opinion dans une publication si indigne de ton et que la publication était fixée au premier jour de la Semaine Sainte.

⁸¹ R.J.M. Verheijen was *procureur-generaal* or attorney general between 1930 and 1934.

In his decision of 6 July 1933 the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide stipulated that De Backere had to follow the majority of church leaders in Java in all matters that involved Catholics of the whole island.

SACRA CONGREGATIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Revmo P. Theofilo de Backere, Prefecto Apostolic de Soerabaja, Romae 6 Julii 1933

Huic S. Congregatio nuper relatum est controversiam exertam esse inter P. Tuam et ceteros Revmos Ordinarios insulae Javae de ratione agendi in ordine ad quandam 'Consociationem indo-europeam' in eadem insula existentem. Dum enim ceteri Ordinarii, omnibus perpensis, non esse aperte et directe oppugnandum eandem Societatem concorditer decreverint, Paternitas Tua nomine proprio declarationem quandam in vulgus edendam praeparavit, qua Consociationem supra memoratam damnaret. Quibus attentis ac rerum adiunctis mature perpensis, haec S.C^o ad praesentem quaestionem decernit ut in re quae omnes Ordinarios insulae Java tangit, P. Tua non agat seperatim sed in praxi sequatur cum normas quae maiori Ordinariorum numero probantur, collatis in simul consiliis. Id sine dubio maiori Ecclesiae bono conferet et P. Tuam ab omni responsabilitate etiam coram hac S. Congregatione levabit. Haec Tibi manifestans, Deum precor ut P.T. diu sospitem servet.

PATERNITATI TUAE addictissimus in Domino

P. Card. Fumasoni-Bondi

30. *Henri Maclaine Pont's spiritual journey as an architect and journalist, 1934*

In his letter to Jesuit Superior A. Th. van Hoof, dated 'beloken Pasen', or Low Sunday (one week after Easter, 8 April 1934), Henri MacLaine Pont first relates the problems between the Catholic Bandung politicians who wanted a separate party for Eurasians, and the national leadership. General Max Bajetto⁸² is seen as the person who would be acceptable to both parties (this section on Bandung politics is not included). In the second part of the letter he gives a very detailed account of his financial and relational problems, with a wife and children who live separated from him (also not included). He then turns to his spiritual journey since the early 1900s, when he already wanted to become Catholic. MacLaine Pont describes in much detail his turn from Freemasonry to Catholicism, the departure of his wife as a consequence of his conversion, his archaeological work and its social impact, as well as his contacts in the European Catholic community.⁸³

⁸² Max Bajetto was born in 1881 in Meester Cornelis/Jatinegara as member of a Prussian family that migrated to the Indies. His Lutheran grandfather embraced Catholicism to be able to marry a Catholic woman. Max Bajetto was an officer in the colonial army and finally became a lieutenant general. Between 1937 and 1940 he was a member of the Dutch parliament. In 1908 he married Pauline Gesine Clementine Rijckmans, a professional opera singer and teacher of music (piano). Max Bajetto himself was also active in the Caecilia choir of Batavia.

⁸³ AJAK M 6-7-1.

In de tweede plaats wilde ik U mededeelen, dat ik van de Paaschdagen, die ik op Sarangan bij de Schmutzers doorbracht, gebruik heb gemaakt om in overleg met Pastoor J. van Rijckevorsel, die daar tevens logeerde, te trachten op de wijze die U voorstelde de keuze te doen, die het Koerier-bestuur van mijn vraagt. Omdat de tijd daarvóór veel te druk was (Witte Donderdag kon ik nog juist één uur aanbidding meemaken in Malang, Goeden Vrijdag maakte ik de plechtigheden mee in Djember, Paasch Zaterdag in Modjokerto van 7-9 's-ochtends, 's-avonds was ik op Sarangan en onder dat alles door had ik heel veel te doen) en de tijd daarna eveneens (woensdagavond was ik weer te Bandoeng) gelukte het in het geheel niet, om mij geheel volgens de zoo uitstekende handleiding van den Heiligen Ignatius op die keuze voor te bereiden. En daar kwam nog bij, dat ik de in het kerstrummer van de Koerier afgebeeldte monstrans, waarvan nu ook het goudwerk gereed is, moest afleveren. En daar moest nog heel wat (het polijsten) aan gebeuren, waarvoor ik alleen die vrije dagen den tijd had.

Ik heb dus zoo goed als ik kon getracht, om het voor en tegen goed te overwegen. Het spreekt vanzelf dat ik me daarbij overgaf aan de leiding van P. van Rijckevorsel, die me Paaschzondag meenam op een tocht te paard naar Tjemara Sewoe, waarop ik hem vrijwel geheel den toestand kon bloot leggen, en waarop hij me enkele goede raadgevingen deed. Maandagochtend begeleidde ik hem en Schmutzer een eindweegs op een wandeltocht, maar keerde toen terug, om het werk aan de monstrans af te doen, werktuigelijk werk, dat me de gelegenheid liet tot overweging.

Een groot gedeelte van den namiddag en den geheelen avond (P. van Rijckevorsel was met Schmutzer na de lunch naar Djokja vertrokken) besteedde ik ernstig aan de keuze, mij goed afvragend, wat God mij meegaf, wat Hij mij gaf, waar Hij mij voor plaatste, wat ik ermude deed, welke mijn verplichtingen zijn tegenover mijn vrouw (die echtscheiding doorzette) en kinderen.

Materieel is de toestand deze dat Trawoelan, in verband met de opbrengst van een huis, dat ik te Batavia heb, en waarvan de hypotheek in '42 afgelost zal zijn, voor mij een oude dag betekent, waarin ik tot aan het eind de studie zal kunnen voortzetten, die tot nu al erkende vruchten afwierp, en die binnen mijn bevattingsvermogen ligt. Laat ik Trawoelan schieten, dan gaat, zoo niet de heele collectie oudheidkundig materiaal, dan toch het grootste deel en in elk geval mijn vasten voet aldaar verloren. Dat is overigens een punt zonder veel beteekenis, omdat ik wel wat anders vinden zal. Verder gaat verloren de geheele bouw- en houtsnijdersploeg. En ook de kans, om juist door dit werk bijverdiensten te krijgen.

Tot nu toe kost Trawoelan me tusschen Fl. 175 en Fl. 250 in de maand, afhankelijk van autoreparaties. Maar juist dezer dagen kreeg ik de aanvraag voor enkele bouwopdrachten te Malang en boven Patjet, en bovendien te Bandoeng voor projectwerk voor woonhuizen, terwijl het aantal opdrachten

aan de timmerploeg voor meubels vermeerderde. Die bouwopdrachten nam ik nog niet aan.

In Januari j.l. stelde ik den Heer Heyne voor, om mijn salaris (400) te splitsen in Fl. 250 salaris en Fl. 150 reiskosten. Ik zou, in verband met den moeilijken financieelen toestand van De Koerier, trachten die Fl. 150 op den duur uit andere bronnen te krijgen. Daartoe is, door genoemde opdrachten, nu de kans open. En als ik nu stelselmatig werk maak van deze lijn, dan is de mogelijkheid van meerdere verdiensten in de toekomst niet uitgesloten. Mogelijk is in ieder geval, dat ik daardoor aan mijn verplichtingen tegenover mijn vrouw en kinderen zou kunnen voldoen.

Deze zijn tot '38 verzorgd. Mijn drie kinderen hebben (in samenwerking met mijn schoonvader) tot '38, resp. '39 en '40 elk Fl. 150 per maand aan studieverzekeringen. Daarna is hare opvoeding af, staan zij alleen in het leven en zullen zij mij zeker nog noodig hebben. Het huishouden van mijn vrouw rust behalve op enige eigen inkomen, op die studieverzekeringen. Ook zij heeft na '38 onderstand van mij noodig. Is de toekomst van De Koerier dermate verzekerd, dat ik gerust ook de kans op bijverdiensten als bovenbedoeld kan laten schieten? In '38 zijn mijn vrouw en kinderen op mij aangewezen.

Geestelijk: Ik wilde reeds Katholiek worden in 1903. Mijn vader stelde mij voor eerst af te studeeren, en daarna 2 jaren de controvers.⁸⁴ Ik stemde hierin toe. Mijn eerste bekeering was vrijwel zuiver een gevoelskwestie: zin voor mystiek was ze, geen werkelijk streven naar zelfherziening, wat ze toch moet zijn. Ik was zwak van gezondheid (gewrichtsrheumatiek) en deze, samen met hard werken en de morele crisis brachten mijn zenuwen danig overstuur. De lichte sport (tennissen en wandelen) die ontspanning bracht, bracht me ook in kennis met mijn vrouw. Zij verkeerde in dezelfde omstandigheden als ik: onbevredigd met catechisatielessen opgehouden, niet gedoopt. Ik was op slag, eer ik iets van haar wist, verliefd. Het duurde 2 jaren eer ik haar vroeg. En hoewel zij van mijn genegenheid niets gemerkt had en mijn vraag een volkomen verrassing voor haar was, stemde zij onmiddellijk toe. (Het was direct na mijn afstuderen): wij zouden samen de waarheid zoeken. Zij, evenals ik, was volkomen overtuigd van de alomtegenwoordige Liefde Gods.

Dit was mijn eerste fout: ik zocht eerst haar en daarna God. Ik moest praktisch werken en zag haar hoogsten 1x in de 14 dagen, meestal veel minder. In dien tijd preste haar vader (maçon) haar om catechisatielessen te nemen bij Ds. Carpentier Alting (maçon)⁸⁵ welke lessen zij eerst met tegenzin volgde. Later hadden die lessen groter invloed op haar en liet zij zich aannemen en doopen. Van toen af was het: "samen de waarheid zoeken, goed, maar ik word nooit katholiek". Haar onder die omstandigheden alleen laten? Ik deed het niet, vertrouwde dat het wel terecht zou komen; had voor haar te zorgen,

⁸⁴ *Controvers* means 'under discussion' but here a conversion must somehow be intended.

⁸⁵ Rev. A.S. Carpentier Alting.

huwde en ging naar Indië. Maar elken keer dat ik in geloofskwesties stu-
deeren wilde, bezorgde dit haar angsten, dat zij verliezen zou. Dit vertraagde
mijn bekeering tot '31. En nog ging ze niet zonder volledige verbreking van
ons huwelijk. Dit was 't gevolg van m'n 2e fout.

Na enkele voorspoedige jaren kwam de oorlog en zeer ernstige zorg.
Midden '15 moest ik 'voorgoed' naar Europa. Van toen af gold in mijn leven:
waartoe? Dit maakte, dat ik toen ik in '19 voor den bouw der Technische
Hoogeschool te Bandoeng, waarvan ik de plannen maakte, naar Indië ging,
heel wat materiële kansen (volkswoningbouw, standsuitbreidingen) liet
schielen, omdat ik overtuigd was, dat in dien hausse-tijd alles topzwaar ge-
maakt werd en men vergat, dat de 40,000,000 Javanen beter geleerd konden
worden, hoe ze zelf bouwen konden, dan dat men voor hen met behulp van
een hele ambtenarij bouwde. Daarom ging ik in tijdelijken dienst bij de B.G.D.
[Burgerlijke Geneeskundige Dienst] onder Dr. de Vogel, als Inspecteur-tech-
nicus, met het doel de tropenhygiëne en den volksbouw grondig te leren
kennen. Ik bestudeerde dien volksbouw van Banten tot Banjoewangi: vond
merkwaardige nog rudimentair in deze volksbouw aanwezige constructiebe-
ginselen en wel zeer waardevolle gegevens, die verlaten werden omdat onze
bovendrijvende cultuur zoo geheel afwijkt van het volkseigen en besloot dat
deze alleen historisch te verklaren waren: dat er een tijd moet zijn geweest
dat het Javaansche volk meer hygienisch leefde en woonde en met de eigen
constructieve gegevens ook groote zaken voortbracht, waarvan het beginsel
bepaalde voordelen heeft boven het onze.

Mijn contract bij den B.G.D. werd met 1 jaar verlengd. Intusschen begon
ik oudheidkundig onderzoek uit technisch-maatschappelijk en kreeg voldoen-
de gegevens bijeen om de belangstelling te wekken. In '24 richtte vooral Dr.
Bosch⁸⁶ de Oudheidkundige Vereeniging Madjapahit op omdat de methode
van onderzoek niet in overeenstemming te brengen was met de constructie van
de Oudheidkundige Dienst (Uitgangspunt: Monumentenonderzoek en -zorg).
Dit werk heb ik negen jaar lang onder moeilijke omstandigheden doorgezet.

Ik vond niet alleen waardevolle historische topografische gegevens, eerst
in Madjapahit, toen in heel Oost Java, later over geheel Java, maar bovendien
een zeer uitgebreide vrije terra-cotta volkskunst, waarvan tevorenen het bestaan
niet vermoed werd, en die veel beter aan de historische overleveringen van
het volk aansloot, dan de officiële hofkunst der tempels. En daarbij vond ik
den sleutel tot verklaring van meerdere volksoverleveringen en van enkele
mythologische verhalen, die niet anders bleken te zijn dan historie in den
verhulden vorm van een mythologisch kleed.

Ook vond ik inderdaad wat ik zocht op het gebied der Middeleeuwsche
burgerlijke bouwkunst. Het gevolg was, dat mij plannen voor de restauratie
van de Masjid Agoeng Kasopoehan in Cheribon werden opgedragen, en dat

⁸⁶ See Pott 1972:105-13.

ik een bouwmethode weer in toepassing kon brengen, die zeer veel gemeen heeft met onze gothiek, maar die veel goedkoper is en meer aangepast aan dit aardbevingsgebied. Alleen door de malaise gingen in Oost-Java enkele kerkbouw-plannen niet door.

De Madjapahitvereeniging werd gesticht met een tweeledig doel. Het eene was de bestudeering der oudheid uit technisch-maatschappelijk oogpunt; het andere was om de waardevolle gegevens weer ter nutte te brengen aan het volk van nu. Ik vormde een bouwploeg die werk kreeg tot de corvée intrad. Maar mijn werk kreeg de belangstelling van zeer veel Javanen. Ik won hun vertrouwen.

Toen ik Katholiek werd, was mijn hoofdgedachte, om mijn positie dienstbaar te maken aan de Missie. De groote moeilijkheden, waar dit volk voor staat, had ik leeren kennen. U weet, wat ik daarover in de Koerier schreef, eer ik nog aan het blad verbonden was. Maar daarnaast begreep ik, dat er heel wat noodig is om dit volk voor God te winnen. Door en door begreep ik de beteekenis van Charles de Foucault in dat andere Islamitische land: Algiers. Paschen '32, enkele maanden na mijn doop, droeg ik mijzelf aan God op tot dit doel, geheel in de *herstelgedachte van uitboeting*. Ik heb mij hieraan gehouden. P. van Asseldonk, mijn biechtvader,⁸⁷ keurde de boetedoening goed, waar ik vooral na 't lezen van P. Doyle toe gekomen was.⁸⁸ Zo zou ik te Trawoelan ten bate der missie naast het sociale werk een geestelijk [onderkomen]⁸⁹ willen geheel ten bate der missie.

Ik geloof dat mijn archeologisch werk daaraan ten goede kan komen. Het heeft het Javaansche volk een stap nader gebracht tot overbrugging van de kloof die het van zijn verleden, zijn traditie scheidt. Ik moest echter verder op sociaal gebied. Op instigatie van Mgr. De Backere schreef ik de eerste serie: 'Brieven uit Modjokerto'.⁹⁰ En toen P. van Kalken mij vroeg, om bij De Koerier te komen werken, nam ik het direct aan, toen bleek dat ik kon voortgaan met de verzorging van het in zijn middelen al te zeer gekrompen werk te Trawoelan. Geen haar op mijn hoofd dacht aan de hoofdredactie. Zoo zijn in mijn besef de belangen van mijn werk aan De Koerier en dat andere wel nooit gescheiden geweest.

Ik heb in mijn werk voor het Javaansche volk, dat mijn hoofdbelangstelling sinds zoo lang had, bovendien zoveel regelrechte vertroostingen van God gekregen, dat ik mij niet kan voorstellen, dat het Zijn wil is, dat ik het afbreek.

⁸⁷ Anton van Asseldonk was a priest and member of the Order of the Holy Cross (OSC). In 1928 he went for some time to Palestine in an effort to establish a Catholic community (*kibbutz*) with the high-spirited but unstable Francisca van Leer. In 1930 he was sent to the Indies. See further details in Appendix I under no. 1.10, OSC.

⁸⁸ For the life of the Irish Jesuit William Doyle, see the booklet of 64 pages, translated by Jan van Rijckevorsel 1923.

⁸⁹ *Onderkomen*: uncertain, nearly illegible because of the bottom line.

⁹⁰ Published in *De Koerier* 1933.

En in mijn besef is ook voor de Kerk de bekeering van het volk hier een groter belang, dan de Europeesche gemeenschap, waarvan men niet weet hoe lang ze hier nog heerschen zal. Mijn hartgrondige overtuiging is, dat ik de lijn, die ik tot nu toe volgde, geen m[oment] moet vieren, maar dat ik juist 1° op de hoogte moet zien te blijven van de toestanden op Java; 2° het contact dat ik tot nu toe met de Javanen heb, moet onderhouden, kan het zijn veel verder uitbreiden en versterken, zooals onlangs mogelijk bleek door de kennismaking met den heer Casimo [sic for Kasimo] en met de Swara Katholieke in verband met de kleine landbouw kwesties in Djember. En ik begin door mijn reizen ook in andere deelen van Java: Tegal, Batang, Probolinggo e.a. [meer] contact te krijgen dan ik vroeger al had. Wat beteeken ik nu daartegenover als journalist? Ik voel niets dan tekortkomingen.

Ik meende het dan ook hartgrondig, toen ik P. van Asseldonk mededeelde, dat m.i. een opgeven van mijn werk te Trawoelan en mijn ook voor de Koerier te benutten reizen niet in het belang kon zijn van ons blad, en ook niet in het belang van mijn verplichtingen tegenover mijn vrouw en kinderen. Dit voorzover ik het bij ernstige overweging inzag. Maar ik heb tevens gezegd, dat ik mijn eigen inzicht niet op de voorgaande wilde dringen, en dat ik bereid was, om te doen, wat de kerkelijke overheid van mij vraagt: al vraagt zij mij om het gehele werk, waarvoor ik mijzelf zoo van nature geschikt en voorbestemd voel, op te geven.

Ik hoop zoo, dat de beslissing mij in staat zal stellen het meest voor God te doen, wat met mijn vermogens en alle gegevens die hij mij gaf, bereikbaar is. Maar alleen, als dit Zijn wil is. Hiermede hoop ik U een overzicht te hebben gegeven van de kwestie, zoals ze nu staat. Mag ik mij aanbevelen in Uwe gebeden en om Uwen zegen? Met beleefd groeten en met de meeste hoogachting, Uw dienstwillige dienaar, H. Maclaine Pont.

31. Complaints about the promotion of Islam by the regent of Magelang, Danoesoegonda, 1935

In mid-1935 the native ruler of Magelang, Regent Danoesoegoenda, was elected as a representative in the People's Council (Volksraad), the 'parliament' of the Dutch Indies. He attacked the influence of the mission in his speeches in this council. More specifically he complained that as an economizing measure government hospitals were given to mission organizations that received subsidies for this work. Thereupon the parish priest of Muntilan, the Jesuit A.M. Spekle, complained about this high official (who also had authority over the town of Muntilan) that he promoted Islam in areas where the people were quite negligent in their religious duties and indifferent as to the Islamic religion. The regent had built mosques with funds from villages without consulting the village population. He had falsified documents showing that proper

consultation of the village population had taken place. Spekle asked the vicar apostolic of Batavia to take steps to curb the religious influence of this official.

Part of the letter is about the present state of the parish of Moentilan. Because of the growing influence of the Dutch language and habits in the only Jesuit college, the liturgy in the only church (serving also as parish church but often dominated by pupils of the college) acquired an increasingly Dutch character. Students sat on chairs and prayed and sang in Dutch, while the poor Javanese sat on the floor and did not understand the Dutch prayers. 1,000 guilders had already been put aside for a separate Javanese parish church.⁹¹

Op raad van R.P. van Hoof, die niet lang geleden retraite gaf in Moentilan, wilde ik U op de hoogte brengen van de volgende zaak die ik reeds rapporteerde ruim een jaar geleden aan R.P. Superior,⁹² bij gelegenheid van den bouw van een misdjid in Soemberredja en ongeveer 2 maanden geleden bij de bouw van een nieuwe misjid in Poetjoengredja (kota Moentilan), in Tambakan, in Langgengsari (Taman agoeng) enz.. Dit zijn allemaal prestaties van den ijveraar voor den Islam, R.A. Danoesoeganda, Regent van Magelang, dien U wel zult kennen uit de verslagen van de Volksraad.

De bouw dezer misdjids wordt bekostigd ook uit bijdragen van enige vurige Islamieten, maar vooral uit de dessa-kas en misdjid-kas. Dat deze misdjids worden gebouwd uit fondsen van de misdjid-kas is niet verwonderend, maar dat vooral hiervoor gelden uit dessa-kas⁹³ worden gebruikt, is niet verantwoord. Zoo bv voor bouw missigit⁹⁴ Poetjoengredja worden f. 6000,- getrokken uit dessa-kas van deze kaloerahan (rijk ca. f. 14.000). De regent schijnt de meening toegedaan te zijn, dat beschikking dezer dessa-kasselden afhangt van besluiten van dessa-bevolking. Nu zijn deze 'besluiten' zeer gemakkelijk te maken, met of zonder raadpleging der bevolking. Zo is voor missigit Poetjoengredja een som van f. 6000,- beschikbaar gesteld door regent van Magelang zonder enige consultatie van bevolking. Deze bewering is gemakkelijk te bewijzen door een eenvoudig onderzoek bij de bevolking. Zoo bijvoorbeeld is de tjarik van Poetjoengredja, tweede in waardigheid, onder loerah, onkundig van eenig beraad. De tjarik is RK.⁹⁵

⁹¹ A. Spekle to Vicar Apostolic P. Willekens, Moentilan, 16-8-1935, AJAK K 10-5-3.

⁹² For several periods between 1920 and 1924, Father A.Th. van Hoof was caretaker or *provicaris* for Bishop or Vicar Apostolic Luyken. In the later 1930s he was superior of the mission as to the work and personal life of the Jesuits.

⁹³ Later note included in the letter explains, '1. Naam van deze tjarik is: Raden Didacus Soekardjoe Mertadirdja. Verzoek om naam van deze persoon niet te vermelden, ter vermindering van mogelijke tegenwerking of haat, of erger die hem ten deel zou kunnen vallen of vanwege de overheid, of wel van de kant der santri's en fanatieken.'

⁹⁴ Both the spellings *misdjid* and *missigit* are used.

⁹⁵ In the margin a note by the Vicar Apostolic: 'Hoe heet deze tjarik, mag zijn naam genoemd worden of verlangt hij onbekend te blijven?' Answers to this and other questions are in the appendix, also included in this document.

Een tweede mistoestand⁹⁶ is dat de bouw dezer moskeeën uitgaat van den regent, als hoofd der misdjid-raad. De regent is bestuurder van volk, maar ook hoofd der godsdienstige (Islamitische) beweging en op zijn instigeeren en besluit worden overal nieuwe missigts opgericht, die (met gesalarieerde krachten) weer nieuwe middelpunten worden van den Islam. In Poetjoengredja is zo goed als geen Islamitische geest. Hoe zal het worden na oprichting van deze missigit?⁹⁷

Voor zover ik weet mogen geen nieuwe missigts gebouwd worden zonder speciale vergunning en behoeft. De Regent moet zeker daar nieuwe behoeften scheppen.

Monseigneur, het zou kunnen gebeuren dat mijn vroegere brieven en inhoud niet tot U doorgedrongen zijn en daarom denk ik dat het noodig is dat ik bovenstaande neerschreef. Deze missigts en o.a. de missigit in Poetjoengredja, waarmee nu begonnen zal worden, zijn groote hinderpalen voor de catholiceering van Moentilan. A. Spekle.

PS. Met behulp van deze bronnen, die bevatten de dessa inkomsten van jaren en jaren her, kan bijna iedere kaloerahan een buitengewoon mooie misdjid krijgen. De RK bevolking van Moentilan heeft al meer dan f.1000 bij elkaar gebracht voor mogelijke bouw van nieuwe kerk. Daaraan zou behoeft komen omdat de Kerk van Moentilan een college-Kerk genoemd wordt, binnenkort van banken moet voorzien worden voor leerlingen centrale kweekschool, alles nu al door P. Rector wordt verhollandscht (arme parochianen!), in lof bijvoorbeeld. Hollandsch wordt gebeden, Rozenhoedje Hollandsch enz. en nu al de leerlingen gaan zitten op stoelen, die verhuurd zijn aan parochianen (f. 0,50 per mnd).

a. De oprichting van nieuwe bedehuizen is afhankelijk gemaakt van de vergunning der regenten (Bb 6196 Regeeringsalmanak 1927, blz 70). Dit sluit zeker in dat de regenten in het algemeen niet de oprichters of ijveraars zijn van nieuwe bedehuizen, zoals hier feitelijk het geval is. In één of twee jaar zijn hier in de buurt gebouwd: missigts te Soemberradja (Mertajoedan), Taman-agoeng, Tambakan, nu Poetjoeng enz.

b. 1. aankoop van terrein: het terrein werd uitgekozen door regent, begeleid door den Wedana van Moentilan en Assistent Wedana. 2. De ass. wedana heeft het bevel uitgevaardigd langs den Loerah, dat de mensen bij wijze van

⁹⁶ A later note, included in the letter, explains, '2. Het onrecht wordt duidelijk indien opgemerkt wordt dat hij: a. op eigen initiatief, medewerken, drijven missigts opricht; b. dit ten uitvoer brengt door bevelen langs BB als Assistent-Wedanna, Loerah enz c. daarnaast gelden gebruikt van dessa-kas; d. deze gelden aanwendt zonder dat er een vergadering van de gerechtigden (koeli's) gehouden is.'

⁹⁷ In the margin: 'Ad 2 de gegevens onder 1 zijn duidelijk, maar het onrecht van 2 zie ik niet goed in. Immers de regent is voorzitter (hetzij krachtens zijn ambt of niet?) van de misdjid raad. Dat nu een Misdjid raad ijvert op het oprichten van misdjids en het bevorderen van de islam en den islamitische geest kan niemand kwalijk nemen.'

dessa-diensten (vergelijk heerendiensten) zand moesten gaan halen voor de te maken missigits (Katholieken weigerden). Anderszins zouden de mensen niet voor 'wakap' te vinden zijn. Dit moet in strijd worden geacht met de bepaling dat mensen niet tot wakap mogen verplicht worden: Bb no 1741.

c. Dessa-kas-gelden (iets anders dan moskeekas) gevormd door gelden bij koop en verkoop van grond enz. van pasar-wezen, dessa-bank enz. Zoo bijvoorbeeld werd in de dessa-kas van Poetjoen-gredja in 1934 gestort f. 832,- van pasar geld fl. 4040, 02 van Dessa-bank enz. Dit geld is zeker bestemd voor zaken van algemeen dessa belang en niet voor een overwegende ? religie.⁹⁸

d. Volgens den regent van Magelang zouden deze dessa-kas-gelden voor een doel kunnen aangewend worden, als de zg Koeli's⁹⁹ van de Kaloerahan, in vergadering verzameld een besluit zouden maken van die strekking. Zoo dacht de regent vroeger, dat door een Besluit van deze vaste koeli's (met grondbezit) de katholieken konden geweerd worden van de gemeenschappelijke begraafplaatsen; een standpunt (?)¹⁰⁰ waarvan hij nu teruggekomen is.

e. Deze dessa vergadering werd echter i.e. nooit gehouden. Het Besluit werd echter 'gemaakt' door den Loerah. Zoo werd een Besluit opgemaakt, waarin vermeld wordt dat op 20 jan, '35 een somma van ca. f. 5000,- door de dessa werd toegewezen voor den aankoop van een stuk grond voor bouw missigit Poetjoengredja. Zoo is nu op 24 Augustus door assistent wedana bevolen een Besluit op te maken inhoudende dat f. 7000,- beschikbaar wordt gesteld door dessa-kas voor bouw dezer missigit. (Zoo werd vroeger een Besluit 'gemaakt' de opslag padjeg belasting nog eens 11/6 te verhogen zonder enige vergadering). Het Besluit luidt echter, door vergaderde koeli's werd besloten ...

32. Comments on a meeting of the League of Nations in Bandung, 2-13 February 1937

The League of Nations planned a conference for 2-13 February 1937 in Bandung on the theme of 'Traffic in women and children'. Several Protestant organizations of the Dutch East Indies were involved in the preparation, but only in October 1936, after information from Batavia and on its own initiative, the Vatican Congregation for the Propagation of Faith was invited to nominate representatives from several countries to be present at the conference. The Vatican in its turn suggested that Vicar Apostolic Willekens should send an observer. In a letter to the secretary of the

⁹⁸ The question mark after the qualification *overwegende* is in the original.

⁹⁹ The word *koeli* here should not be understood as the coolie or contract worker in Sumatra, but as a contraction of Javanese *kawula* for 'subject' of the Sultanate or common citizen.

¹⁰⁰ Question mark in the original handwriting indicates that Spekler does not share this view.

League of Nations, the Vatican authority regrets that it received the invitation so late, and that it could not invite delegates from countries other than the Dutch East Indies. Besides, Catholic churches worked mostly on prevention and moral education in this field. These matters were deemed unimportant in the preparation of the conference. ¹⁰¹

A Mr Le Secrétaire de la Société des Nations, Rome 10 Novembre 1936

J'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception de la lettre du 24 octobre, par laquelle vous invitez la Sacrée Congrégation de Propaganda Fide, à se faire représenter à titre consultatif à la Conférence des Autorités Centrales des Pays d'Orient, qui s'ouvre à Bandoeng (Java) le mardi 2 février 1937.

Etant donné le développement des Missions Catholiques, répandues dans tous les pays d'Orient, il ne nous est plus possible, à la date où l'invitation nous parvient de nous mettre en rapport avec la direction des missions dans les différents pays et territoires en cause, dont les autorités missionnaires n'auraient pas le temps d'étudier l'ordre du jour de la Conférence à la lumière de leurs multiples activités.

En outre, cet ordre du jour ne semble pas devoir intéresser particulièrement les missions qui sont principalement préoccupées de l'aspect préventif de la traité des femmes et des enfants. Or une étude de la prévention comporterait entre autres, l'examen de questions d'ordre éducatif et moral qui ne sont pas portées à l'ordre du jour. Cette omission paraît d'autant plus regrettable qu'elle ne semble pas en accord avec les conclusions présentées par la Commission d'Enquête sur le Traité des Femmes et des Enfants en Orient dans le rapport qu'elle a soumis en Conseil de la Société des Nations (voir Dpc. C. 849.N.393. 1932.IV page 105 et suivantes sous le titre: "Collaboration entre les autorités, les missions et les organisations".)

Cependant tout en regrettant qu'il ne soit pas possible que la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande soit représentée à la Conférence, comme nous estimons qu'il est désirable de rendre aussi étroite que possible la collaboration entre les autorités d'une part et les missions et les organisations privées en Orient d'autre part, nous inviterons Mgr. Pierre Willekens, Vicaire Apostolique de Batavia, à déléguer un de ses assistants pour suivre, à titre observateur, la Conférence de Bandoeng.

Veuillez agréer ...

¹⁰¹ AJAK 2-1-3. 'Ut vir aptus Congressui in Bandoeng assessurus mittatur.' Propaganda Fide to Willekens, 14-11-1936. In these circles only a male candidate was seen as a possibility! First L. van Rijckevorsel was suggested, but later Joh. Burgers SJ, 'Professorem in Collegio Bataviensi Patrum Societatis Jesus', teacher at the Jesuit secondary school of Batavia, would attend the meeting in Bandung. The results of the conference, published in a booklet, were later sent by surface mail, because the conference could not come to any concrete solution and therefore the contents 'did not look important enough to be sent by airmail'. AJAK 2-1-3 has a special folder about the presence of a delegate at this conference.

33. Special dispensation to ordain first-generation converts to the priesthood, 1938

Bishop Willekens wrote to the Propaganda Fide about seven candidates for the holy ordinations, starting from the lower orders until finally the priesthood. These candidates are considered possibly illegal children, because their parents were Muslims and therefore might have committed polygamy, simultaneously or by divorce and remarriage. The request was sent to Rome upon their entrance in the minor seminary. An undated affirmative answer was put in the archives. The candidates were about to enter the minor seminary.¹⁰²

Eminentissime Domine et Pater,

Infrascriptus, Petrus Joannes Willekens S.J., Episcopus titularis Zoravenus, Vicarius Apostolicus de Batavia, humiliter petit ut nonobstante Canone 1363 C.I.C.¹⁰³ possint ingredi seminarium minus: Aloysius Ambijah, filius Kartasoewirja et Partijem,

Marcus Saridja, filius Tjakrawidjaja et Bajem,

Henricus Soehari, filius Soerasoemardja et Hadijah,

Aloysius Parlam, filius Najaprawira et Moersinah (nomen matris est incertum),

Ignatius Dalim, filius Wangsawikara et Soetimah (nomen incertum),

Aloysius Moekidja, filius Partapawira et ... (nomen matris ignotum),

Et ad cautelam Josef Sirdja, filius Santoanom et Sanimah.

Hi septem filii naturales, fortasse adulterini sunt; viri enim Mahumetani plures uxores, saltem successive, habent, itemque nonnumquam eadem mulier plures viros successivos habet; compertum autem haberi in casibus supradictis vix aut ne vix quidem potest, quomodo res se habeat. Ratio petendi haec est: Juvenes bonis moribus sunt, nec mala fama timenda est, cum vulgo habeantur pro legitimis.

Cum summa devotione Sacram Vestram Purpuram deosculans me profiteor atque obtestor,

Eminantiae Vestrae Rev.mae, in Christo addictissimum, P. Willekens,
Vicarium Apost. de Batavia.

¹⁰² AJAK 2-1-2, dated 25-10-1938.

¹⁰³ The Code of Canon Law of 1917 stipulated that candidates for the priesthood upon entering the (major) seminary should prove that they were born in a legal marriage and baptized. There was no discussion of being born in a Catholic or even Christian family.

34. No Chinese and/or Christians to be buried in Muslim cemeteries, 1939

In a joint decision of the religious court (Raad Soerambi) and the office of the agricultural service of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta it was decided that in the future no Chinese and other non-Muslims be buried in the Muslim cemetery in the village of Sarean Karangtalun in the district of Imogiri.¹⁰⁴

Soerat saking Pangagenging Raad Soerambi Dalem, kantoor Pangagenging Kantor Agrarische Zaken

Kangatoeri keterangan serat katiti mangsan kaping 10 Mei '39 angka: 4475 Ax/Ps. menggah bab koeboeran doesoen Sarejan Karangtaloen (Imogiri) kanggé ngoeboer majitipoen bangsa Tiong Hwa, sarehning sampoen kaladjang, ladjeng kados poendi sakéjaning toemindak.

Menggah menika mitoeroet wawatoning Agami Islam kaseboet ing Kitab Koerbe djoes II katja 28, toewin kitab Pekik sanès-sanèsipoen, pakoeboeranipoen tijang Islam poenika boten katjampoeran bangsa ingkang dédé Islam (béda agamanipoen), mila bilih bangsa Tiong Hwa ingkang kakoeboer pa-koeboeran Djawi Islam waoe boten angrasoek Agami Islam, inggih boten kénging, déné sakéjanipoen kedah katetepaken ing wawatonipoen bab waoe wonten warni kalih:

- I Majit kedah kaelih saking pakoeboeran ngrika (oetawi)
- II Koeboeranipoen tijang ingkang dédé Islam wonten ngrikoe poenika kedah karadin, sampoen ngantos katingal oetawi katawis bilih koeboeranipoen tijang Agami sanès, amargi manawi makaten, badé damel soesahipoen tijang Islam ingkang gadah loeloehoer wonten ngrikoe, sebab bénging pe-patjak: boten kénging djiaran (toewi) dateng koeboeranipoen tijang Agami sanès, temahan badé boten prajogi sanget ing wingkingipoen, pramila njoemanggakaken.

Déné sinten doking kalepatan, pantes kagalih kalajan kentjeng moerih boten wonten kadadosan makaten malih, wasana moegi andadona kawoeningan.

Katoer ingkang: 25 Mei 1939, w.g. Tapsiranom.

35. Albertus Soegijoprano appointed as the bishop of Semarang, 1940

Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, head of the Propaganda Fide, apologizes in a letter to Mgr. Willekens, that he could not consult him about the appointment of Mgr. Soegijoprano. He already knew Willekens' opinion from the five-year visit in May 1940. He gave a letter of advice to Soegijoprano and urged him during these first years to consult Willekens on important questions. He praises the Jesuit order for having educated a suitable candidate for this position.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ AJAK D1-1a-1/2.

¹⁰⁵ Both documents in AJAK A 2-1-2.

Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Romae 18 septembris 1940
 Excellentissime Domine,

Exc.mo Domino Soegijopranata misi, per Rev.mum Superiorem Generalem Societatis Jesu, una cum Litteris Apostolicis, epistolam qua ei generales quasdam normas proponerem in regimine sequendas: quas, quamquam ex se evidentes, ratus sum opportunum recensere ut agnosceret absque dubio huic Sacrae Congregationi probatas. Inter alia, ei commendavi ut in rebus maioris momenti Te consulat, idque praesertim in initisi ardui sui officii: omnino sane superfluum est Te adhortari ut eum fraternis Tuis consiliis adiuves.

De eius electione non potui Te consulere ob magnam difficultatem Tecum communicandi. Satis autem censui Te mentem Tuam manifestasse in Relatione quinquennali; ideoque, cum res non differenda videretur, expostulato voto Rev.mi P. generalis, nominationem iudicio Summi Pontificis proposui, qui benigne adnuit.

Laetum mihi est gratum huius S. Congregationis animum expromere Societati Jesu, quae in Indiis Neerlandicis missionarios ipsa regionis natione ortos praeparavit, ex quibus potuit dignus episcopatu vir eligi.

Libenter nanciscor occasionem ut Tibi profundissimi obsequii mei sensus proferam, cum quibus manere gaudeo,

Excellentiae Tuae Rev.mae addictissimus in Domino, P. Card. Fumasoni-Biondi, Praef.

Letter of instruction from Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi to Mgr. Soegijopranoto, appointed the first Javanese vicar apostolic. An indigenous hierarchy is the final goal of the mission. He is urged to consult the council of missionaries and to include Javanese priests in this council, to have a good relationship with other leaders of the mission, especially with the vicar apostolic of Batavia. His first policy must be to educate an indigenous clergy. Although some attention has to be given to expatriate Catholics, he must spend most of his time on the propagation of the faith among his own people.

Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Prof. N. 2366/40 Romae 18 Septembris 1940,
 Excellentissime Domine,

Laeto animo at magna cum spe, Te primum episcopum ex ipsa natione javanensi electum in Domino saluto. Per Tuam enim electionem initia habet etiam in Tua patria hierarchia indigena. Quod quidem, cum eiusdem indigenae hierarchiae constitutio finis sit proprius operae missionalis, et in magnum vertit laudem missionariorum et spem adauget felicioris in dies incrementi catholicae Ecclesiae in Indiis Neerlandicis.

Agnoscit haec Sacra Congregatio onus sane non leve Tibi esse impositum, eo vel magis quod ex bono successu Tui episcopalnis officii aliquomodo dependeat optata institutio, quando tempus ferat, aliorum indigenarum regiminum;

confisa vero in auxilio Dei, in Tuo zelo, prudentia et oboedientia, in fraterna mutua adsistentia omnium Ordinariorum, in filiali cooperatione missionariorum, Religiosarum Familiarum et bonae voluntatis fidelium, non dubitat quin ministerium Tibi concreditum sancte et fructuose adimplere valeas.

Ut autem aliquid auxilii et ipse Tibi afferam, opportunum censeo quasdam generales normas Tibi proponere: quas quidem, utpote ex se evidentes, iam p[re]a mente habes, at iuvabit, puto, certo, cognoscere huis Sacrae Congregationi probatas.

1) In omnibus alicuius momenti negotiis ne neglexeris prudentiores missionarios interrogare; et Consilium Missionis, quod ad normam iuris constitendum est, saepe convokes et magni facias. Unum alterumve ex javanensibus missionariis in numerum consiliariorum includas.

2) Exc.mum Vicarium Apostolicum Bataviae consulas, nunc praesertim in initiosis, quando difficultates in regimine experiaris.

3) Cures fraternalm concordiam servare et fovere cum omnibus Ordinariis; et in rebus quae communem Missionum utilitatem tangant, semper una mente procedatis.

4) Maxima sollicitudo danda est institutioni cleri indigenae. Huic Sacrae Congregationi non potest non placere quod genuinae vocaciones ad Ordines religiosos foveantur; simul tamen magnopere exoptat ut saecularis clerus non minori cum cura educetur, ita ut et numero sit frequens et sanctitate vitae, zelo, scientia eniteat. Constat enim tum sollummodo pervenisse Missiones ad maturitatem, quando clero saeculari earum regimen concredi queat. Maxima ergo gloria Ordinum religiosorum, quibus arduum sit munus fundandi Missiones, ea absque dubio est, tradere saeculari clero excultum campum et multas promittentem segetes.

5) Praeter ministerium pro exteris in colonia commorantibus, danda est assidia tenaxque opera propagandae et confirmandae fidei inter indigenas gentes. Numquam ex mente excidat hunc esse finem proprium vestri laboris, ut ecclesias condatis quae aptae sint suis viribus subsistere et augeri, ideoque earum fundamenta in sacerdotibus et fidelibus ipsa loci natione ortis esse stabilienda.

Haec praecipue esse reculenda duxi, ut veluti parvulum quoddam memoriale haberet eorum quae ex Te sacra haec Congregatio sperat. Deus auxilietur Tibi et omnibus Tuis cooperatoribus, detque vobis benignus aurorum saltem prospicere illius diei, qua Indiarum Neerlandicarum nationes unum Dominum Jesum Christus omnes nobiscum agnoscant et adorent.

Tibi largissima gratiae munera auguratus me profiteor.

Excellentissimae Tuae Rev.mae addictissimum in Domino

P. Card. Fumatori-Biondi Praef.

36. Guidelines for Catholics present at Chinese religious ceremonies

The use of Chinese civil or religious rituals had been subject to intense and passionate discussion in the early China mission, during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. In 1742 Pope Benedict XIV prohibited the use of all Chinese habits and even the debate of the matter. Bishop Luypen also took this rigid stance (see Document 15). In the 1930s the Vatican started an opening by giving permission to attend and use some comparable Japanese rituals. In 1939 there was an explicit opening of the debate about Chinese practices. In October 1940 the Jesuit L. Zwaans formulated detailed rules. Simple bowing and even kneeling before images of the deceased members of the family, and even to the memory of Confucius, were now permitted. People were not allowed to offer food to the memory of deceased persons, but eating food offered by others was allowed.¹⁰⁶

Richtlijnen voor de Katholieke Chineezen te Batavia inzake de Chineesche gebruiken die van godsdienstige aard of oorsprong zijn.

Inleidende beschouwing

1. Paus Pius XII schreef in zijn eerste Encycliek: *Summi Pontificatus*, 20 Oct. 1939: 'De Katholieke Kerk denkt er niet aan, die eigen bizondere waarden der verschillende volkeren aan te tasten of te minachten, die door elk volk met gevoelige aanhankelijkheid en begrijpelijke trots hooggehouden en als een kostbaar erfgoed der vaderen beschouwd worden [...] Alle gebruiken en gewoonten, die niet onafscheidelijk verbonden zijn met godsdienstige dwalingen, worden steeds met welwillendheid onderzocht, en zooveel mogelijk, hooggehouden en aangewakkerd.'

2. In een Instructie gedateerd Rome 8 Dec. 1939 lezen wij het volgende: 'Het is duidelijk, dat in Oostersche landen verschillende ceremonies, hoewel ze vroeger met heidensche riten verbonden waren, heden ten dage gezien de gewijzigde zeden en opvattingen onder invloed van den tijd, slechts bewaard hebben een burgerlijke beteekenis van piëteit voor de voorouders, van liefde voor het vaderland of van burgerlijke beleefdheid.'

¹⁰⁶ L.M.I.M. Zwaans SJ, 22-10-1940, referring to the decisions of the Church Leaders Conference of August 1939; in AJAK D 1-14. In an accompanying letter Zwaans wrote that this was also the summary of a talk for the Organization of Chinese Catholics, Lo Pa Hong in Batavia, October 1939. On this topic see also Alph. Mulders 1940a:101-11, where the Latin text of the instruction of 8 December 1939 is given, as well as Dutch translation and commentaries. Mulders only refers to Chinese territory, and defends the opinion that other countries like Vietnam should follow the same rulings, but makes no reference to the Dutch East Indies. The Batavia instruction is much more detailed than the Vatican ruling.

Te volgen regels

a. *De Confucius-vereering.* Tegenwoordig-zijn bij en meedoен (door buigingen) aan plechtigheden ter eere van Confucius werd de Katholieken-in-China toegestaan. Men beperke zich echter tot die eerbewijzen, die met recht als zuiver-burgerlijk (hulde aan een groot vaderlander) beschouwd kunnen worden. – Men zorge ergernis-geven en het wekken-van-verbazing over zijn wijze van doen bij niet-katholieken te vermijden, door uit te leggen waarom Katholieken aan deze huldebetuigingen meedoen, b.v. door te zeggen: hooggeplaatste Chinese autoriteiten hebben meermalen aan de Kerkelijke Overheid officieel verklaard dat zij zelve deze hulde-betuigingen niet beschouwen als een godsdienstige daad, maar slechts als een huldebetoон aan een zeer beroemd man, die de vereering van het nageslacht waardig is. (Aldus in de bovenaan gehaalde instructie van 8 Dec. 1939.)

Om dezelfde reden geldt dit voor de huldebetuigingen gericht tot Sun Jat Sen, den 'Vader des Vaderlands' van het nieuwe China. Vele officiële vergaderingen worden geopend met 3 buigingen voor het portret van Sun Jat Sen en het eerbiedig aanhooren van de voorlezing van zijn testament (een stuk van zuiver politieke strekking).

b. *Hoofdbuigingen* en andere uitingen van burgerlijke beleefdheid (b.v. *knieien* – volgens de mij gegeven verklaring wordt *knielen* te Batavia gehouden voor uiting van piëteit en is dus geoorloofd) voor overledenen, hun portretten of tabletten zijn eveneens geoorloofd. – Voor een 'volledige' Sien Tjie is dat niet geoorloofd.

c. *Het gebruiken van wierookstokjes* is, bij uitsluiting van verkeerde geestesvereering geoorloofd. Deze ceremonie moet vergezeld gaan van een gebed: Onze Vader, Wees gegroet voor het zieleheil van de(n) overledene(n), met het schietgebed 'Heer, geef hem (haar, hen) de eeuwige rust en het eeuwige licht verlichte hem (haar, hen); dat hij (zij) ruste(n) in vrede. Amen'.

d. *Het voorzetten* van spijzen, vruchten, dranken op de offertafel, als onderdeel van het ritueel, bij welke gelegenheid ook, maar speciaal bij overlijden en bizondere gelegenheden als Tsing Bing, is de Katholieken verboden. Het nuttigen zelf van die spijzen, als onderdeel van den maaltijd, die bij een begrafenis of andere gelegenheid wordt aangeboden, is geoorloofd.

e. *Bij het overlijden* hebben nog verschillende ceremonies plaats die door het jongere geslacht (tot aan 40 jaar) meestal worden beschouwd als burgerlijke traditie-plechtigheden.

Vanwege de bijgelovige opvatting der oudere niet-katholieke Chinezen en vanwege het gevaar, dat aan zulke praktijken niettemin ook door de jongeren bijgelovige opvattingen verbonden kunnen worden, doen de Katholieken goed zich te onthouden van het meegeven in de kist van allerlei voorwerpen als 'geld', kleedingstukken, parels in oogen, mond, enz.

Waar kinderen terwille van hun ouders praktisch gedwongen zijn eraan

mee te doen, zullen zij duidelijk laten uitkomen dat zij meedoen aan iets dat zij beschouwen als een volksgebruik, zonder geloof te hechten aan de invloed die de geest van de overledene ten goede of ten kwade zou kunnen aanwenden. *Men zorge ervoor*wanneer de persoon in kwestie zelf al Katholiek is, dat de Priester tijdig gewaarschuwd wordt om bij den zieke te komen opdat alle zuivere Katholieke ceremonies bij ziek- en sterfbed, bij de uitvaart en bij de begrafenis kunnen plaats vinden.

f. *Het bezoeken* van de graven der afgestorvenen is geoorloofd. Ja meer! dat is een oeroude Katholieke traditie en een uitleg van Katholiek geloofsleven. Men *bidde* daarbij voor de zielerust van de afgestorvenen en voor de zielerust van 'alle zielen in het vasevuur'. (*Zie* wat gezegd wordt onder b, c, en d).

Aan andere ceremonies mag men deelnemen, indien vaststaat, dat ze niet als afgodische geesten-verering bedoeld zijn. Men doet dus zeker niet mee aan 't bidden voor het huisje van den beschermgeest van 't graf, den zgn. cipier (dit is een *te-pekkong*; zie onder h.)

g. *Het huisaltaar* op zich zelf is niet verboden. Maar men bedenke dat het huisaltaar voor den pasbekeerde een andere beteekenis krijgt. De Katholiek kan op 't huisaltaar wel portretten of tabletten van ouders of bloedverwanten plaatsen (vergelijk 't onder b gezegde). Maar een *Hio Lo*, met onderin *keukenasch*, die bij de buren gehaald wordt is niet geoorloofd. Een bakje om de wierookstokjes in neer te zetten is geoorloofd.

h. *Tepekongs* zijn als afgodisch te beschouwen. Men mag dus nooit deelnemen aan plechtigheden in krentengs en dergelijke.

i. *De sembahjang Toehan Allah* is gezien de strekking – dank- en vraaggebed – voor de Katholieken overbodig. En dient als zoodanig bij het volgen van den Katholieken eeredienst te vervallen. Onze eeredienst, ons offer aan God met zijn viervoudige strekking van *aanbidding, dank, verzoening* en *smeeking* is de Heilige Mis.

Slotbemerkung: In twijfelachtige gevallen raadplege men een pastoor: en zoo mogelijk een pastoor die meer met de Chineesche gebruiken op de hoogte is. Deze richtlijnen zijn uitdrukkelijk bedoeld voor de stad Batavia. De vraag of men deze regels ook *buiten* Batavia kan volgen, moet men aan een pastoor daar ter plaatse ter beoordeling voorleggen.

37. *Diary of a teacher in Rifado, West Papua, 1941*

Like lower government officials, teachers also had to keep a diary. At the regular inspection the priest, head of the mission station, took this diary as one of the starting-points for the evaluation of his work. The diary of the teacher Effroejan in the village of Yatan, Tanah Merah/Muyu region in West Papua, runs from 6 April 1941 to 1 May 1943. In this period Father C. Meuwese visited the teacher six times. The diary

shows the close cooperation between teachers of various villages. It has examples of the instruction they received from the lowest colonial official, the bestuurs-assistent, to be communicated to the people of their village. Several pages relate the violence that was common in this region. Teachers have to prevent violence and first of all to stop headhunting. The booklet is not a real diary: sometimes there are weekly notes, but there are also gaps of more than one month without written report. It shows involvement with a great variety of village affairs: from domestic troubles of polygamous husbands to the ban on headhunting and staying away from the village during the night. The diary also functioned as the baptismal register.¹⁰⁷

6 April 1941. Menoeroet chabar dari seorang Méwa bernama Yakato, bahwa Poelitie soedah ada di-tanah jang bernama Kowa, laloe pada djam setengah 4 petang hari mereka mengangkoet keloear panah2 jang terkoempel itoe.

7 April 1941. Hari ini saja moeläi boeka sekolah, dengan banjaknja moerid 19 anak; tanggal 9 april baroe masoek poela 3 anak. Sama2 ada 22 anak. Saja boeka teroes sekolah dari dd° 7 april dengan tida bervacantie. Hanja di Maandstaat¹⁰⁸ saja toelis sadja Vacantie Pascha, itoe menoeroet peratoeran sekolah. Tetapi pengadjaran sekolah, saja mendjalankan teroes setiap hari, dengan tiada bervacantie Pascha.

17 April 1941. Hari ini datanglah t.t. goeroe Ragagai dan Jehoembe pada jam ± 3 sore. Kemoedian pada djam 4 petang datanglah Wajoeb dan Jatarai dengan membawa kiriman2 Java Tabaak; jani kiriman2 dari toeān Pastor Meuwese. Kami memboeka dan hitoengkan: Boengkoesan Ragagai ada 31 lémpéng tembakau; boengkoesan Jehoembe ada 29 lémpéng dan boengkoesan Refado ada poela 29 lémpéng tembakau, tambah 1 kotak Kien;¹⁰⁹ tetapi diperiksa Kien (dadoe) n° 10 tidak ada. Djam 5½ petang poelanglah kedoea t.t. goeroe itoe ke Jehoembe.

19 April 1941. Pada malam ini Darö poenja bini jang 2 perempoean itoe berbantah, sebab jang pertama itoe mengambil oedang bini jang kedoea poenja dan dimakannja.

22 April 1941 Hari ini orang Katan 3 orang namanja: Katoebar, Baroe dan Mawo pergi ke Jahim akan panggil orang Kandaimae jang ada disana boeat pergi potong orang Jatan 3 orang dikepala kali Yaunit nama Bagi; tiga orang itoe ja'ni: Magatje, Barak dan Bodomae; ketiganja pergi kesitoe boeat bekerdja djerat. Beroentoeng ketiga orang itoe lari poelang ke Jatan.

¹⁰⁷ Through the kindness of Father Arie Vriens at the MSC Archives in Tilburg. On Effroeans see also Jan Boelaars 1995:208.

¹⁰⁸ *Maandstaat*: monthly list of pupils.

¹⁰⁹ *Kien* (French *quine*, from Latin *quini* or 'rows of five', a game known in English as 'bingo') is a game with numbers up to 90, with cards that give a selection of these numbers in rows of five: from a set of numbers one is pronounced and this continues until one of the players has a row of five full. It was especially popular in the southern provinces of the Netherlands, the region where most missionaries came from.

23 April 1941. Orang Jatan bawa kabar bahwa orang Katan soedah boe-noeh perempoean dari Kampoeng Waraimoe di Nggeim. Nanti tanja Goeroe Katan. Nggeim ada dipertengahan kali tjabang Kandaimoe.

5 Mei 1941. Hari ini kedoea orang Jatan bernama Bako dan Wageep memaksa sama orang Jatan soepaja mereka lari poela kehoetan.

9 Mei 1941. Hari ini kedoea orang bernama Kainigi dan Wageep berbantah sebab Kainigi bilang, Wageep, sekarang baroe engkau poenja boor di Kandaimoe, tetapi doeloe engkau poenja boor dimana?

10 Mei 1941. Ditanggal ini saja permandikan seorang anak perempoean namanja "Kawe Pitronela".

11 Mei 1941. Hari ini menoeroet perkataan orang Jatan, bahwa mereka pergi pangkoer sagoe di Digita, sebab mereka poenja sagoe tida ada. Tetapi dahoeloe dari mereka pigi, masing2 orang membawa bahagian kajoe apinja dan koempoel dimoeka roemah laki2 itoe lantas dibakarnja. Saja tjoba me-nahan anak2 sekolah, tetapi jang tinggal hanja anak laki2. Jang perempoean semoea tidak maoe tinggal.

16 Mei 1941. Ditanggal terseboet baroe kembalilah orang Jatan pada pagi2 sekali. Tetapi sajang, karena 3 anak mati poela disitoe.

19 Mei 1941. Hari ini saja permandikan seorang anak namanja: Warai Paulina, dalam bahaja dekat mati. Sehabis dipermandikan, wafatlah anak itoe. Dalam hari ini djoega, kira2 pada djam 11 tengah hari, larilah poela orang Jatan dekat kali, namanja Raraija & Manipe; diantara Jatan dengan Moendau. Dan separoe lari ke Waan.

26 Mei. Hari ini anak sekolah dorang¹¹⁰ minta pergi pangkoer sagoe di Digita; karena dilopeanja padam api; laloe api membakar habis roemah dan segala barang jang didalamnya.

2 Juni 1941. Hari ini orang Jatan separoeh soedah kembali dikampoeng. Keësokan hari, kembalilah poela separoeh orang; tetapi sajang benar, karena disitoe 3 anak mati lagi. Separoeh masih ada dihoetan poela.

3 Juni 1941. Soedah lahir dengan selamat di-Jatan pada tanggal terseboet, oleh njora, tuakna perempoean, namanja:¹¹¹

9 Juni 1941. Tanggal ini soedah tiba disini P.T.B.A.¹¹²; dan ia soedah memberi nasihat2 inilah: a) Moelai sekarang Kaja2¹¹³ tidak boleh taroeh lagi orang2 mati diatas para2; b) Tidak boleh lagi Kaja2 tidoer lama dihoetan; c) Anak2 tidak boleh ditahan masoek sekolah; d) Pemboenoehan di Hamoei, sekarang boleh dapat ampoen; djika dibelakang hari dorang mengajau lagi, akan disiksa; f) Bila ia datang lagi akan diangkatna seorang mandoer jang tahoe omong Melajoe sedikit dan diberinja kepadanya pakaian mandor dan

¹¹⁰ Dorang, the now obsolete form of the plural 'they', used in eastern Indonesia.

¹¹¹ The place for the name (probably to be filled in at baptism) was left open.

¹¹² Padoeka Toewan, bestuurs-assistent.

¹¹³ Kaya-kaya is 'friends' in Marind. It was used by the Marind tribe at the first encounter with people from outside and later came into use as a common name for natives of West Papua.

lagi sehelai bendera.¹¹⁴ N.B. Ini nasihat semoea soedah diberi kepada goeroe, jang nanti goeroe tolong sampaikan kepada Kaja2.

28 Juni 1941. Hari ini datang kabar dari satoe anak Jatan bernama Wajoeb, bahwa seorang Katan datang memanggil orang Jatan, soepaja mereka sama2 dengan orang Katan dan Jemaein pergi mangajau. Namanja orang itoe Ramba.

2 Juli 1941. Hari ini anak Jatan satoe bernama Jawakaim membawa chabar bahwa 2 orang Jatan bernama Kaimah mandor dan Bako, bersama orang Katan pergi potong orang Taragai anim. Mandor Kaimab boenoeh 2 orang laki2 dan Bako boenoeh 1 orang. Mereka kembali dari pengajuan tertanggal 1 Juli '41.

4 Juli 1941. A) Soedah tiba disini P. toeant Comendant Polij bersama politienja dan soedah memberi perintah kepada Kaja2 disini, seperti soedah ditoe-lisnja didalam "Boekoe Tamoe". B) Hari ini poen saja terima perkakas sekolah jang toeant Beheerde telah kirim: ja'ni 20 helai kitab toelisan, 1 goeloengan kertas akan diboengkoes kitab2 dan 1 botol "obat Kenine". C) Tertanggal 5 Juli boelan ini djoega datanglah seorang Katan bernama Ramba (Manijai) membawa kabar, bahwa Poelitie nanti kembali dari Katan akan pasang orang Jatan. Laloe larilah orang Jatan semoea kehoetan. Kira2 djam 12 tengah hari, hari itoe baroe poelanglah orang kekampoeng.

13 Juli 1941. Hari ini 2 orang Ragagai anim, namanja: Kaireend dan Wageep datang di Jatan; dan menoeroet katanja, orang Ragagai ada di Namair.

27 Juli 1941. Tanggal terseboet menoeroet chabar dari seorang Jatan bernama Jadiin, bahwa Poelitie soedah pasang dan soedah tangkap orang2 Ragagai anim. Lantas orang jang lari bilang, nanti dorang tjari goeroe Kadmoer atau seorang goeroe boeat mereka boenoeh.

29 Juli 1941. Hari ini soedah tiba disini P.T.B. Ass. Sahatoppi¹¹⁵ dan ia soedah memberi nasihat2 iiri kepada orang2 Refado anim. A) Djangan orang pergi potong orang lagi; siapa potong orang lagi nanti ditangkap masoek Boei. Dan djika ia lari akan dipasang mati. B) Tidak boleh orang tidoer lagi dihoetan; karena orang jang tidoer dihoetan, itoe boekan manoesia, tetapi babi hoetan sadja; djadi perloe dipasang mati. C) Moelai sekarang anak2 sekolah tida boleh lari sekolah; djika seanak lari sekolah nanti ditangkap bersama iboe bapanja, boeat masoek Boei. D) Bila datang Kompeni perloe sekali sekalian orang laki2 perempoan berkoempoel. Laki2 dimoeka roemah Befak.¹¹⁶ Dan perempoan dimoeka roemah Goeroe.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ This must probably be understood as the appointment of a village head.

¹¹⁵ About the controversial but certainly very active and domineering *bestuurs-assistent* Sahetapy-Engel; see also Boelaars 1995:171-3.

¹¹⁶ From the Dutch *bivak*, bivouac.

¹¹⁷ A similar list from this diary with 'suggestions' (*nasihat*) or rather commands from the police officer Woersok, 13-11-1941, includes the order that the village should always be clean, pigs should be put in sties, and says that there would be fines given to pig owners who allowed their animals to enter school gardens. This list ends with the ban on headhunting (*kaja2 djangan pergi mengajau lagi*).

38. Diary of a teacher in Sanggau, Kalimantan, 1942-1945

Ketapang born Petrus Denggol¹¹⁸ was the senior Catechist in the village of Janang Ran since August 1941. He also took care of the affairs of the parish house in Sanggau during the Japanese occupation. He came several time in conflict with the Malay officials in Sekadau and Sanggau and later also with some Japanese. He could not prevent the theft of many valuable things from the parish house in Sanggau. Much of these were stolen by some Akim, a Dayak nurse in Sanggau with whom Petrus Denggol had stayed for some time and whom he had trusted before. Religious objects from other places had to be given to the Japanese officials. During this period Denggol tried to keep the Catholics together, continue instruction and lead their prayers. He said especially prayers for the sick and went to see them, to secure that no traditional healers would be called for this purpose. Administration of baptism and name giving were executed for the same purpose.¹¹⁹

10 April 1942. Menjamboeng pembitjaraan seperti termaksoed oleh soerat toean P. Donatus, 15 Nov. 1941, dan memoetoeskan tentang pendirian roemah sekolah di kampong Pakit.

5 Juni 1942. Moelai mendirikan roemah itoe, tetapi ta' dapat teroes diselesaikan berhoeboeng antjaman dari Pemerintah Keradjaan Sekadau, jang dengan perantaraan Menteri hoetan (Goesti Bedoei) mengatakan bahwa roemah itoe haroes dikenakan tjoekai. Tetapi roemah itoe soedah bisa djoega digoenaikan oentoek tempat sembahjang.

15 November 1942. Diterima soerat pemberian tahoe dari Sekadau.

29 December 1942. Saja pergi ke Sekadau oentoek mengeroeskan apa2 jang terseboet dalam soerat itoe.

23 Maart 1943. Dikirim soerat merjoesoel. Tidak ada balasan!

23 Maart 1943. P. Boean – dikantor Sekadau, mendapat pertaanjan2 dari Demang Sekadau bernama Loekman:

Demang:

P. Boean:

Toean manakah jang moela2 datang dibahagian Moealang?

Ed. Gijsbers

Goeroe mana dan berapa goeroe2 di Moealang?

P. Denggol, 1¹²⁰

Berapa orang soedah masoek?

Tidak tahoe

¹¹⁸ Petrus Denggol bin Sali originated from the village of Serengkah in the Ketapang region, from the Matam clan. He had been at the minor seminary in Pontianak for five years before he returned to Ketapang and married there in the 1930s. At the age of about 27 years he was appointed a catechist in 1939. In August 1941 he came to Sanggau, from where he was sent to the Dayak village of Janang Ran. Gentilis van Loon 1992:32 and 37-39.

¹¹⁹ Archives of the Capuchin Friars in 's-Hertogenbosch, Dossier Mualang, Wilbert de Wit no. 6.

¹²⁰ In the extremely concise style of Petrus Denggol this means that there is only one Catholic teacher in Mualang.

Siapa jang masoek moela2?	P. Boean + bini, P. Lebong + bini
Atas kehendak sendirikah atau karena dipaksa oleh Toean atau oleh goeroe?	Atas kehendak sendiri
Toean Ed. Gijsbers dimana?	Chabarnja soedah ditangkap kep.
Goeroe lagi mengadjarkan?	Lagi mengadjar tiap2 minggoe
Apa kerdjana oentoek hidoe?	Berladang
Achirnja Demang berkata dengan menjindir: "Begitoelah kerdja kamoe matjam-matjam sadja."	"Begitoelah kerdja kamoe matjam-matjam sadja."

7 April 1943 Opas Matnoer dari Sekadau datang mengantar blanco dengan pertanjaan2 jang haroes saja djawab:

1. P.J. Djenggol lahir dimana pada
2. Sekolah dimana?
3. Soedah pernah kerdja apa, dimana?
4. Soedah kawin? Anak? Oemoer?
5. Apa kerdja sekarang?
6. Alamat tempat diam?
7. Agama?

Melihat pertanjaan2 itoe saja merasa heran sebab boekankah sebahagian besar dari hal2 itoe soedah boleh dapat dilihat dari soerat2 saja kepada Pemerintah pada 29/12/ '42. Oleh karena itoe soedah saja kirim soerat pertanjaan tentang hal itoe serta dioelang soerat menjoesoel pada 7/4 1943, soerat mana archiefnya kena bakar serta dengan boekoe2 pada waktoe pembakaran boekoe2 pada 30/11 1944.

10 April 1943 Saja pergi ke Sanggau, mengadjak goeroe2 agama akan mengirim rekest pada Pemerintah oentoek melakoekan dienst lagi. Saja rasa itoe perloe, soepaja Pemerintah maoe memberi soerat idzin dan oleh itoe biarpoen kami ta' bisa melakoekan dienst sebagai moestinja berhoeboeng dengan hal penghidopean, hati orang Serani dan Katechumen djadi tetap, karena waktoe ini gelombong penganiajan moelai bergerak dan tersiar oleh moeloet kemoeloet dari orang Tjina ke Melajoe dll.

Di Sanggau saja tjoema dapat bertemoe goeroe D. Lansan, jang dengan setengah menangis mentjeriterakan hal2 kesoesahan hidoepranja kepada saja serta bertanja kalau2 ada pesan dari Pastoor dan apakah kita mesti mentjari kehidopean, atau barangkali ada wang gadjih kita ditinggalkan oleh toean pada salah seorang goeroe.

Saja mendjawab bahwa saja tidak mengetahoei apa2 dan bahwa hal saja poen lebih soesah dari dia. Saja adjak dia akan bikin rekest oentoek madjoekan agama, moedah2an Pemerintah maoe tolong.

Diroemah Menteri Vaccinateur Akim.

Koerang sedikit 2 tahoen jang laloe, jaitoe pada tahun 1941 boelan Aug. (dan waktoe ini April 1943) saja hidoepl dalam satoe roemah dengan Akim dan saja kenal betoel2 akan keadaan roemahnja jaitoe: tidak ada apa2 sama

miskin seperti saja. Tetapi sekarang (April 1943) tjoema dalam tempo koe-rang dari 2 tahoen ini ia soedah mendapat kemadjoean besar dalam roemah-nja. Dikamarnja serba ada, serba tjoekoep, seperti kehalatan roemah orang Belanda jaitoe hasil pengapakannja atas Pastorie Sanggau.

Waktoe ini Pastorie soedah kosong. Kata Akim koentji dipegang oleh Goesti Ari Penembahan Sanggau, tetapi saja lihat dia masih bisa dengan moe-dah masoek Pastorie. Saja tanja kalau saja bisa dapat rosario atau boekoe2 Sembahjang oentoek disimpan? Katanja, tidak bisa karena semoea barang soedah disoerat oleh Nippon.

Dari Bantan dan Serang (doea anak C.V.O.¹²¹ Sanggau dan Oeloe Kapoeas) jang dari pada penangkapan Pastoor sampai masa saja datang di Sanggau itoe diam dengan Akim, saja mendengar bahwa: 1. Akim banjak ambil barang2 Pastorie ta' dapat diseboetkan satoe2nja. 2. Anggoer2 didjaminkannja ke-pada orang2 jang kerdjakan ladangnja. 3. Keboen karet dan belian Missie dipeladanginja. 4. Koeboeran P. Ignatius diboekanja boeat tjari wang. Kata Akim ia berboeat begitoe selakoe pembalasan dendamnja atas Missie jang memperboedakkannja sewaktoe ia masih kerdja pada Missie di roemah sakit Singkawang dahoeloe, jang dia haroes kerdja tiap2 hari setengah mati oen-toek gadjih 50 sen sehari.

Dikamar Bantan dan Serang ada 2 boeah koffer koelit jang masih ada tjap disebelah toetoep dalam merk Rotterdamsche Lloyd. Kata Bantan peti itoe didjoear Akim kepada mereka dengan harga f 5 seboeah.

Saja teroes ke kamp Bansoe dan bertemoe goeroe Anggai. Saja mengadjak dia akan kirim rekest kepada Pemerintah serta saja beri tjontohnja. Saja dengar dari Anggai bahwa goeroe Lingge ada berselisih dengan Akim tentang mesin toelis Pastorie. Masing2 maoe poenja. Sebab itoe di Sanggau saja mengeloear-kan antjaman: Bahwa biar Missie Belanda tidak akan datang sampai kekal-poен, tetapi bila ada Missie baroe akan diadakan toentoetan atas barang2 Missie. Kepada Bantan dan Serang saja memberi kewadjiban bahwa mereka haroes menoeliskan semoea barang jang didjoear oleh Akim sedapat2nya.

Akim mengatakan pada saja bahwa didalam Geredja diatas bahagian tjan-di barangkali masih ada tersimpan piala mas, dan disoeroehnja saja periksa boeat disimpan. Saja tidak maoe periksa karena itoe soeatoe kail sadja oen-toek mengotarkan saja tentang barang2 Pastorie.

17. April 1943. Diterima balasan soerat dari Penembahan Sekadau (zie brief 15/4 2603 no 742/20).

23 April 1943. Saja pergi ke Sekadau oentoek mendjawab pertanyaan dari soerat itoe serta menjerahkan segala besluit. Pada waktoe itoe ditanjakan Demang: Siapa Chef saja dan dimana adanja sekarang serta harta2 Missie minta diserah-

¹²¹ C.V.O.: Centrale ... Ondernemingen?

kan kekantor. Siapa jang moela2 masoek agama di Moealang dan berapa adanja sekarang ini. Setelah itoe saja ditoedoeh dihadapan Penembahan dan kepala kamp. Paket nama Pantan. (Penembahan nama G.M. Kelip). Demang memperlihatkan sepoetjoek soerat toedoehan atas saja. Katanja soerat itoe dari salah seorang spion Nippon. Dalamnya: 1) Saja ditoedoeh menghasoet anak boeah kp.¹²² Paket dan Djanang Ran soepaja djangan mengeloearkan padi beras oentoek bajar belasting ke kantor. 2) Saja ditoedoeh sebab dipandang melakoekan pekerjaan gelap tegal¹²³ saja masih kerdja selakoe goeroe agama, sedang soerat idzin beloem ada diberi. Achirnya saja diantjam akan dihoekoem djika ada satoe boekti lagi njata. Kata Penembahan: 'Tentang agama Pemerintah tidak sekali melarang, tetapi ingatlah menanggoeng djawabna sendiri.'

2 Aug. 1943. Diterima kwitantie dari Menteri hoetan Sekadau oentoek tjoekai Geredja dikp. Paket (zie kwit. 2/8 2603 no 29). Menteri itoe tidak minta kepada saja, tetapi kepada Boean kepala kp. Paket. Moela2 diminta tjoekai f 15. Saja menjeroeh Boean menawar tjoekai itoe dan minta kwitantie karena moelanja Menteri itoe tidak maoe beri kwitantie. Tawaran itoe djadilah f 10, diminta derma dari anak2 Katechumen dan kwitantie meskipoen dengan soesah pajah dan makan tempo banjak diperoleh djoega. Pemerintah Kerajaan Sekadau roepanje setoedjoe djoega dengan perboeatan menteri itoe, karena waktoe kwitantie sampai doea kali diperlihatkan kepada Demang, tjoema dapat djawab dengan kasar: "Kalau soedah, soedahlah!"

December 1943. Moelai hoeroe hara. Mata2 Nippon, Koelik dan Delan (Melajoe) bekerja dengan radjin mengintip saja. Koempoelan dari 3 orang dewasa heroes ditangkap dan ada chabar bahwa saja akan ditangkap Keibethaij tegal saja biasa koempoel2 orang sembahjang pada hari Minggoe.

25 December 1943. Hari besar itoe masih dirajakan dengan sepatoetnja, tetapi moelai hari itoe djoega Geredja ditoetoep. Hoeroe hara bertambah hebat dan chabarnja, bahwa orang2 jang telah mendapat soerat seperti jang saja terima pada 7 April 1943 itoe semoea soedah ditangkap. Oleh karena itoe saja beritahoekan dengan oemoem, bahwa Geredja ditoetoep dan orang2 Serani boleh sembahjang sendiri-sendiri. Diminta segala orang Serani dan Katechumen tiap2 hari sembahjang sekoerang2nya 1 as-salam alaikoem dan S. Maria Radja damai...¹²⁴ Oentoek menetapkan hati mereka, saja berdjandji akan menanggoeng djawab sendiri dan bermaksoed pergi ke-Pontianak oentoek menanja sendiri pada Pemerintah. Mereka mengoempel wang f 37

¹²² The text has kamp, and kp. for *kampung* or village.

¹²³ Classical Malay for 'because'.

¹²⁴ *Maria Radja damai*: Mary Queen of Peace is one of the titles given to Mary in the litany (*Regina pacis*), but the better-known prayer is to Mary Queen of Heaven, *Ave Regina Coelorum* as quoted above in Document 27 from the regular catechism.

tetapi oleh beberapa halangan teroetama tidak ada motor maka maksoed itoe ta' sampai.

Spion Koelik memberi tahoe bahwa saja lagi 2 hari akan ditangkap Keibethaij, roemah2 sembahjang akan dibakar dan orang2 jang menoeroet agama haroes berhenti, djikalau tidak akan ditangkap djoega. Spion Delan mengatakan bahwa orang Serani itoe kaoem Belanda dan di Djanang Ran ada tersimpan barang2 Belanda serta seboeah meriam mesin. Spion Bong Djoen Lieng (Tjina) mengatakan, bahwa kami ada menjemboenjikan seorang imam Belanda. Saja menoenggoe sadja apakah jang akan datang.

Sementara itoe saja melakoekan djoega sedapat2 meski dengan tjoeri2 pada mengoendjoengi orang sakit dan bersembahjang oentoekrija atau mempermandikan anak2 dari katechumen atau jang berbahaja mati. Banjak kali saja dipanggil orang oentoek bersembahjang. Itoe saja lakoekan sebab saja rasa perloe oentoek menetapkan hati mereka.

Tentang sembahjang bagi orang sakit saja lakoekan, karena djika tidak begitoe tentoe mereka terpaksa misti panggil doekoen. Tentang permandikan anak2 dari orang Katechumen saja rasa perloe djoega karena menoeroet adat orang Moealang, bahwa anak2 jang baroe lahir haroes di doekoen (ditampoeng ajoe) serta diberi nama. Djikalau tidak saja boeat demikian bisa terjadi pertjederaan antara familie2 jang tidak beragama dengan jang beragama, karena djika sisakit atau sianak jang baroe lahir itoe mati, maka pihak jang Serani dipandang memboenoeh dengan sengadja. Itoe njata dari seorang anak nama David. Ilroe bapanja Poepo' dan Adin dari kp. Paket anak Katechumen. Waktoe anak itoe lahir soedah diminta oleh mereka soepaja dipermandikan, tetapi saja minta toenggoe sampai 15 Augustus 1942. Tetapi anak itoe mati sebeloem tanggal itoe dengan dapat permandian djoega dalam bahaja mati itoe oleh saja. Tetapi hal itoe tidak diketahoei dengan oemoem oleh familie2 jang diloeear. Boekan sedikit perselisihan terjadi antara familie itoe. Dengan menanggoeng banjak kesoesahan hati dari antjaman dan tindakan baik dari fihak kantor,¹²⁵ baik dari fihak sama2 bangsa Dajak (dari bangsa Dajak jang amat djahat terhadap orang Serani: 1° Djimboen, kepala kamp. Melandjau; 2° Tibau, kepala kp. Tapang Poelau; 3° Oengkong kepala kp. Engkoening, oleh mereka inilah djoega maka Geredja Paket ditjoekai). Kita datang kepada hari 3 October 1944.

3 October 1944. Seorang spion, Delan, datang di kp. Djanang Ran dan dengan gap ia mengatakan dirinja "Keibethay" serta berhak ia menangkap atau melepaskan orang jang bersalah. Orang Serani dan teroetama goeroe ada dalam pengawasannya, karena kaoem Belanda, agama Belanda, dienst Belanda, dan tentoe ada menimpan harta2 dan rahasia2 Belanda. Selakoe boekti ia menoendjoek kepada patoeng2, salib dan gambar2 jang tergantoeng dalam Geredja, itoelah gambar2 dan patoeng2 itoelah pekerdjaaan Kompeni Belanda masih disimpan sedang soedah ada siaran bahwa barang2 itoe

¹²⁵ This is probably a reference to the Malay-dominated office of the administration in Sekadau.

moesti diboeang. Saja menerangkan, bahwa itoe semoea alat agama dan saja soedah memboeat rekest kepada Minseibu-Shibu Seimukatjo tentang pekerjaan agama dibahagian ini, dan bahwa saja beloem mendapat soerat larangan dan dari sebab itoelah barang2 itoe masih ada begitoe. Kata Delan, bahwa sekarang ini boekan Pemerintahan Minseibu lagi, melainkan Kebitai poenja oeroesan. Djikalau tidak dia (Delan) jang memelihara, soedah lama orang2 Serani dan goeroe ditangkap ...¹²⁶

Pada 30 October 1944 terpaksalah saja pergi ke Serandjin mentjahari keadilan. Dikantor Serandjin nama saja tidak asing lagi dan saja teroes diperiksa oleh wakil Keibethay, Mas Samsi.

31 October 1944. Saja disoeroeh poelang mengambil segala harta2 Belanda dan boekoe2 serta perkakas2 Geredja.

3 November 1944. Diserahkan boekoe2, patoeng2 dan gambar2 perhiasan Geredja Djanang Ran dan Paket serta poen boekoe dari orang2 Serani dan Katechumen dalam ressort saja. Adapoen daftar boekoe2, patoeng2 dan gambar2 itoe inilah:

Indjil T. Jesoes dan P.R., 1 à f 1,25
 Beberapa fasal dari Indjil, 1 à f 1,25
 Hikajat Perdjandjian Lama 4 à f 1,25
 Hikajat Perdjandjian Baroe 4 à f 1,25
 Katechismus, 2 à f 2,50
 P[engadjaran] Serani (jang pandjang) 4 à f 0,75
 P. Serani (jang singkat) 18 à f 0,25
 Meditatie I, II, 2 à f 1,75
 Djalan kesoerga 2 à f 0,75
 Pemimpin Serani 12 à f 0,50
 Alleluja 8 à f 0,75
 Njanjian Serani zonder noot 3 à f 0,25
 Njanjian oentoek Missa (dari P. Fulgentius), 18 à f 0,10
 Agama Jes. Christus 1 à f 1,-
 Berkat Geredja 1 à f 0,10
 Patoeng Maria 2 à f
 Patoeng H[ati] K[oedoes] Jesoes 3 à f
 Patoeng Malaekat (ketjil) 1
 Gambar Josep 1
 Gambar H. Familie 1

23. Nov. 1944. Dipanggil ke Serandjin. Ditahan tetapi dengan bebas, oentoek menoenggoe kedatangan Keibethaij, tetapi tidak datang. Mas Samsi me-

¹²⁶ More than two pages have been left out here. They discuss the position of the spies, who have low salaries and therefore need more income. The Japanese too easily believed their spies. Several *hajis* and Muslim religious officials were put in prison and consequently the practice of Islam was in decline. Christians had to try to prevent such a decline.

noedoeh saja: 1° Bahwa ia dapat tahoe masih ada boekoe2 jang tersemboenji beloem diserah, karena seorang spion nama Koelik ada mendapat boekoe2 dan seorang anak Katechumen nama Keritjoen dari kp. Djanang Ran. Boekoe2 itoe terdapat oleh spion tersemboeni dalam pondok padi di ladang dan teroes dikajat¹²⁷ oleh spion itoe. 2° Bahwa terdapat chabar, orang2 Serani masih la-koekan sembahjang meski sendiri2 diroemah masing dan itoelah tanda masih ada semangat Belanda. 3° Orang2 Serani melanggar adat Dajak, teroetama a) tentang hal kawin; b) sebab tidak kerdja pada hari Minggoe, sedang pada orang Dajak ta' ada Minggoenja. 4° Bahwa saja ada menjimpan barang2 dari toean Mauw, Pendeta Protestan dari Balak Sepoeak karena, katanja, waktoe dilakoekean pemeriksaan atas barang2 toean Mauw banjak barang2 hilang ta' sesoeai dengan inventarisnya.

Dari toedoehan itoe saja beri djawab hanja dalam fasal jang ke-4, karena menoeroet sangka mereka, bahwa pekerjaan agama di Djanang Ran itoe samalah dengan jang di Sepoeak itoe, hanja namanja sadja lain jaitoe Katholiek soepaja dengan begitoe toean Mauw simpan barangnya disitoe mendjadi samar bagi Nippon.

Saja menjangkal atas toedoehan jang ke-4 itoe dengan menoendjoekkan 2 besluit jaitoe 1 dari G.G. dan 1 lagi dari Oeskoep. Dengan pertolongan besluit itoe, maka toedoehan itoepoen padam.¹²⁸

39. Request by a Chinese Catholic in Batavia to postpone the start of Lent in favour of participation in Chinese New Year, 1945

A man called Tan Giok Sie of Batavia suggested in early 1945 to Bishop Willekens that the celebration of Chinese New Year for Chinese Catholics should be made easier by lifting the severe rules of fasting for the first day and following ten days. That year

¹²⁷ Reading and meaning unclear.

¹²⁸ We end the excerpt here on p. 20 of the diary (out of a total of 32 pages) and do not include the continuation of the troubles with the administrative office and especially Mas Samsi. On 30 November 1944 the books were burnt, as well as some letters from the personal archives of Petrus Denggol. To smoothe relations with Mas Samsi the Catholics of Djanang Ran collected 30 kilos of rice and several chickens. Petrus Denggol used it to bribe (*soeap*) him, with some results. On another occasion not only rice but also vegetables were brought to his office in Seranjing. In March 1945 Denggol read in a newspaper that the Javanese priest Adikadjana and the Chinese Father Bong were free and active again for the Catholics of Kalimantan. It did not yet have the result that the school and church could be used again. 29 April 1945 the Japanese of Seranjing were bombed and soon after they left. Denggol ends with a Latin praise from Revelation 19:2 with only one misspelling: *Alleluia. Salus et Gloria et virtus Deo Nostro est: quia vera et justa judicia sunt ejus, qui judicavit de matrice [sic, correctly: meretrice] magna, quae corrupit terram in prostitutione sua, et vindicavit sanguinem servorum suorum de manibus ejus. Et fumus ejus ascendit in saecula saeculorum!!* (The Latin text of Rev. 19, 1-2: Salvation and glory and power belong to our God [...] He has condemned the great prostitute who corrupted the earth by her adulteries. He has avenged on her the blood of his servants.)

Chinese New Year probably would start on Tuesday 13 February. This would make Friday 16 and 23 February difficult for Chinese Catholics. Tan emphasizes that only once in three or four years Chinese New Year coincides with Catholic Lent. Tan not only recommends a collective dispensation for all Batavia Chinese, but also suggests that Willekens should adapt his Sunday sermon to the celebration and at his own initiative he includes a sermon in Malay.¹²⁹

Terhoendjoeken kapada Padoeka Toewan Vicaris Apostolik Djakarta.

Dengan segala hormat:

Saia mengatoerken concept preek dari minggoe jang laloe tentang Tahoen Baroe Imlek, sesoedahnja dibatjaken Padoeka ampoenja soerat terboeka tentang koeadjipan Berpoeasa. Saia goenaken ini kesempatan dan ambil keberanian aken betaraken pikiran saia tentang Tahoen Baroe T.H. (T.H. = Tiong Hoa, chinees) terhadep hoekoem gredja tentang berpoeasa oentoek kafaedahanja Gredja Katholik. Sabelonja saia memoehoen ini boea pikiran tida dianggap sebagai critiek, atau kalo dianggap satoe critiek, satoe opbouwende¹³⁰ critiek.

Di ini djaman abad ke XX, Tahoen Baroe T.H. sifatnya soeda berlaenan dengan tahoen baroe 1 Januari. Tahoen Baroe T.H. tegesnya sampeu sekarang misi di rajahken dengen serba rame dan soetji oleh orang T.H., perajahan mana soeda berakar beriboe tahoen! Djaoe2 hari orang soeda bersedia aken menjamboet ini hari soetji dengen bikin bersi badan, tjoetji ramboet, bikin bersi roema, dan preksa kita poenja geweten, seperti terloekis dalem chotbah saia terlampir. Pada hari2 Tahoen Baroe sobat2 kenalan2 serta pamili saling mengoendjoengan saling memberi slamet tahoen baroe, serta mengekelken tali persobatan. Pakerdjahana2 jang koerang penting di oendoerken sampeu liwat tahoen baroe. Ada orang2 bagi amal sampeu 2 à 3 riboe roepia oentoek dikasi kaoem miskin. Ada jang lepaskan di oedara (in vrijheid geven) beratoes boeroeng2 sebagai symbool dan kesoetjian hati, sebagai djoega symbool2 lilin, garem, atau tamperan di pipi ada symbool2 dalem kalangan Katholik.

Hari Tahoen Baroe T.H. oemoemna dirajakan boeat 15 hari, dengan tt. 1-1 sebagai 'Tahoen Baroe Kepala', tt. 8-1 sebagai sembajang Toehan Allah, tt. 15-1 sebagai pesta tjap gomeh, penoetoep. Tahoen Baroe T.H. bisa djato antara 21 Januari dan 19 Februari tahoen Masehi dan ini tahoen djato 13-02. Dan moengkin sekali Tahoen Baroe T.H. bisa tepat HARI DJEMAHAT POEASA. Kalo kedjadian begini, saia pertjaia agama Katholik sebagai agama oentoek segala bangsa, tentoe dengen seneng hati soeka membriken Dispensatie Oemoem kapada bangsa T.H. zonder diminta.

¹²⁹ Letter by Tan Giok Sie, Djakarta, Japanese year 15-2-05, with a proposal for a sermon, AJAK D1-14.

¹³⁰ The Malay letter is mixed with some Dutch words like *opbouwend* (constructive, positive), *geweten* (conscience), *het geloof boven alles* (religion surpasses everything).

Saia toelis diatas kerna saia kwater itoe hari Djemahat Poeasa dikasi djalan setjara automatisch begitoe sadja zonder dengen sengadja meloepajken kepentinganja orang T.H. Soepaia agama Katholik kasi indruk jang lebi baik pada orang T.H. oemoemnja, serta orang T.H. Katholik choesoesnja, saia pertjaia selandjoetnja Padoeka atoer jang djadi baeknja. Paus poen soeda oetarak-en ia aken menghindahken adat istiadat serta kebiasaan jang baek dan satoe bangsa. Tjoba Padoeka pikir, pada hari Tahoen Baroe Europa, 1 Januari satoe kenalan baek mengoendjoein kita oentoek HAPPY NEW YEAR. Kita soegoe-hin ia hidangan zonder kita sendiri temenin ia makan kerna berpoeasah!

Saia pertjaia Padoeka tentoe tida madjoeken alesan 'Het geloof boven alles'. Malah saia harep bisa djoega diberiken dispensatie oemoem pada tt. 8 dan 15, apabila ini djato pada Djemahat Poeasa. Atau lebi baek lagi apabila pada hari Djemahat poeasa di lingkoengen Tahoen Baroe – seperti sekarang ini tt. 16/2 en 23/2 – dikasi dispensatie, kerna hari2 tahoen baroe jang berbareng dengan hari Djemahat poeasa tjoema terdjadi 1 kali dalam 3 à 4 tahoen.

Kalo Padoeka tida moefakat dengan toelisan diatas, harep sadja seperti ini tida perna ditoelis, dan maafkenlah saia poenja kelantjangan.

Mengatoerken saia poenja banjak hormat, Tan Giok Sie.

PREEK (van Tan Giok Sie)¹³¹ op Zondag 11/2 in de kerk van Prinsenlaan na voorlezing brief Monseigneur

Sin Tjhia ...¹³² Sato taon telah liwat lagi ampir tida terasa. Sang tempo teroes djalan, dan teroes ... tinggal idoep. Kita tjoema dapet persen sedikit dari itoe tempo, dan brapa besarnya tida taoe, sebab oemoer kita tida tentoe.

Hari besok laloe djadi hari kemaren, dan toedjoean serta pengharepan selaloe toeroet berobah menoeroet djalannja roda peroentoengan jang selaloe berpoeter seperti terpoeternja sang tempo dan ... boemi. Pengidoepan ada sebagai impian, ia ada satoe rentetan peringatan jang boekan maen pandjangnja. Sering orang soeka impiken iapoenja hari kemoedian sembari iapoenja nasib jang soeda laloe, dan hasilnya laen tida ... termenoeng-menoeng tida ada abis-nja. Sin Tjhia.. Bangsa Tionghoa banjak jang itoeng penghidoepan dengan 'Taon Baroe', sedeng pengidoepan sebetoelnya terdiri dari hari dan djam, jang teroes djalan ikoetin ketokanja sang lonteng dalem roemah. Kita rata-rata tida bisa dapet taoe brapa besar harganja 'satoe hari' boeat idoep, djangan sentara boeat menoenggoe sampe 'taon baroe'. Satoe menit, satoe djam, satoe hari liwat... dan kita tida bisa dapet kembali itoe tempo. Oewang dan pakerdjakkan jang soeda ilang bisa djoega balik kombali, tapi tempo jang soeda melajang pergi satoe menit poen tida aken bisa didapatken lagi.

¹³¹ The text of the sermon is typewritten, but 'van Tan Giok Sie' has been added in pencil. After 'brief Monseigneur' the note = *vastenwet* has been added with the same pencil. The many dots (...) are in the original.

¹³² Happy New Year (Chinese)?

Dalam pengidoepan orang tjari 'redjeki' tapi zonter terasa ia teroes di peberoeber oleh sang tempo, hingga taoe-taoe 'Taoen lama' sampe di achirnja..

Sin Tjhia.. ada sebagi Grand Hotel's menschen komen, menschen gaan. Manoesia berlahir, manoesia meninggal. Ada jang dateng, dan ada jang pergi. Taon baroe dateng, taon lama pergi. Begitoe Sin Tjhia, begitoe djoega .. persobatan. Dalem persobatan poen ada jang dateng dan ada jang pergi. Jang dateng disamboet dengan 'welkom anget', dan jang pergi dikasi saluut asem. Maleman Taon Baroe dengan oemoem dianggep sebagi malem jang soetji dan orang menginet pada Allah dan bersembahjang boeat minta diampoen doeadoea di taon jangliwat dan minta berka dan kekoeatan hati di taon jang mendatangin. Di maleman Taon Baroe seperti kita meloepaken pada badan lahir kita dan tjoema menginget pada roch dan batin. Sebrapa boleh kita berlakoe moerah hati dan onedjoekin manis boedi.

Kedjahatan dan kadjoestahan jang di hari biasa kita lakoeken boeat dapetken lebih banjak kasenangan dan kemachmoeran, kita lepaskken sabentaran, sampe nanti Taon jang maoe soedah dateng. Di itoe malem seperti djoega kita tida idoep, kita brenti sabentaran boeat dapetken meinsafan tentang artinja kehidoepan. Kita rasakan lapat-lapat, bahoea penghidoepan ini boekan tjoema berarti makan, minoem dan beristri, bahoea ia mengandoeng arti jang lebih dalem kerna maksoed kita di ini doenia soeda ada tingkatan oendoer. Soeal ini bakal moentjoel dalem kita poenja hati. Bagimana kita bisa menjelamatkan kita poenja roch kerna Toehan Jesus kata: "Apakah oentoeng-nja apabila orang oepamanja bisa reboet harta sadoenia aken tetapi tida bisa menjelamatken rochnja?" Di Maleman Taon Baroe banjak jang menjesel lantaran kamiskinannja dan banjak jang somborg kerna hartawannja. Jang tidak bisa beliken pakaian bagi anaknya jang moengil, menanja diri sendiri, kenapa di itoe gedong-gedong jang besar marika bisa beli segala apa jang marika inginken. Tapi si miskin itoe tida insaf, bahoea jang bisa dibeli itoe tjoema ada barang lahir sadja, jang lekas djoega ilang dan moesna kombali. Mana ada orang jang bisa membeli dengan oewang kebroentoengan? Katentraman hati dan kebesaran roch? Mana ada orang hartawan jang bisa tjega datengnja kesedian dan kematian? Insaflah bahoea segala apa tida kekel. Brapa banjak jang tida menanggoeng sengsara sakit dan sedi hati. Merasa pœaslah dengan apa jang Allah soeda kasiken dan djanganlah brontak boeat jang kau anggep tidak adil. Siapa taoe kesoesahan2 jang sekarang boekan ada persediaan bagi kaberoentoengan di penghidoepan jang aken dateng. Dan djanganlah anggep kedosahan2 tida aken terbales, lantaran banjak orang jang djahat masih hidoe dalem kesenengan lahir. Segala kedjadian ada sebabnja dan djoega ada boen-toetnja. Begitoe djoega kedjahatan akan terbalas.

Pikirlah dengan tenang segala jang kau soeda lakoeken di taon-taon jang liwat dan djudilah hakim jang bengis boeat dirimoe sendiri. Moelailah Tahoen jang Baroe dengan kemaoen keras aken tida oelangken perboeatan2

jang kliroe dan menjoesahken orang laen itoe. Penghidoepan lahir tida ada itoe harga aken kita belaken tapi bergoeletlah dengan djoedjoer dan sepe-noe tenaga oentoek dapetken saoeb nasi sehari-hari goena kau dan anak istrimoe dan paserahken jang laen-laen pada Allah. Berniatlah soepaia di laen taon kau bisa pandang dirimoe sendiri dihadepan katja dengen zonder perasakan maloe atau djenga ... djikalo kematian belon mendjambret padamoe. Dan hajolah sekarang kita samboet Tahoen jang baroe dengen hati jang tenang dan tentrem, dengen keinsjafan tentang fananja penghidoepan lahir dan tida kekelnja segala apa jang ada di ini doenia dan teroetama dengan itoe kemaoean jang tetep boeat toeroet membantoe melenjapken kesengsaraan kemanoesahan.¹³³

40. Anti-Japanese leaflet spread by an Allied plane in the Moluccas, 8 February 1945

In the Moluccas the Japanese army used pro-Muslim and anti-Christian propaganda more than elsewhere. In reaction to this propaganda, the federation of the American, British and Australian forces used the Japanese atrocities towards the Catholic churches and personnel in Guam as an argument against the Japanese. The leaflet ends with a reference to the execution of Bishop Aerts and the Catholic priests of Tual: 'Do not forget what this nation of dwarves has done to Bishop Aerts'.¹³⁴

DJEPANG MENGHINAKAN GEREDJA ROOMSCH-KATHOLIEK

Kaoem Roomsch-Katholieke:

Ketika si Djepang mendoedoeki poelau Guam di-Pacific-Tengah dia merobah geredja Roomsch-Katholieke djadi kamp boeat tawanan dan tempat pekerjaan, sedang patoeng2 jang soetji diroesakkannya, salib2 dibongkar dari atap dan menghinakan Hostie.

Jang memboeka tjeritera ini ialah J.M.M. Oeskoep dari Guam, jang mendakwa si Djepang bahwa dia menghinakan geredja jang soetji ini.

Beliau sendiri dianggap oleh si Djepang sebagai tawanan biasa, walau beliau seorang Spanjol dan negeri beliau tida ikoet perang. Baik tempat jang soetji itoe maoepoen beliau masoek ra'jat negeri jang netral, tida memperlindoengi kehormatan

¹³³ In his answer, Djakarta 21-2-2605 (according to the Japanese calender, or 1945 CE), Vicar Apostolic Willekens mentions, that the question had been debated several times before between the Chinese mission and the Vatican. Permission was given in 1868 to postpone the Catholic period of Lent during the first three days of the Chinese New Year, but not on the eighth and fifteenth days. The reason given: not the coincidence of the Chinese New Year and the Christian Lent, but the difficulties for the believers, due to local and temporal circumstances. A conference of Chinese bishops decided in 1924 that they would lead their flock to a full implementation of the common period of Lent. For general exemptions from the rules for the Lent period formal permission from the Vatican is requested, which is impossible in this period (of war). Therefore, in the Indies the Catholic community must obey the common Catholic rules and can only in a later period discuss this with the Vatican.

¹³⁴ From the MSC Archives in Tilburg. See also Schreurs 1992:272.

beliau. Dengan dipaksa beliau mesti menjaksikan doea orang Guam ditembak, karena didakwa atas kesalahan ketjil sadja. Ketika J.M.M. Oeskoep tjoba memberi sakremen jang penghabisan, beliau dihalaukan dengan bajonet.

Oleh sebab Guam sekarang dapat direboet lagi oleh Negeri2 Serikat, keroe-sakan2 karena ganggoean si Djepang itoe lagi diperbaiki. J.M.M. Oeskoep bersabda: 'Sebisa2 saja akan tjoba menghapoeskan Djepang poenja gang-goean jang doerhakaq, jang ditibakan pada pendoedoek Guam.'

Kaum Roomsch-Katholiek! Ati-atilah!

SI DJEPANG PENJEMBAH BERHALA TERNJATA MOESOEHNJA AGAMA JANG SOETJI.

BERGAOEL DENGAN DIA BERARTI MEROESAK NATIN TOEAN.

INGATLAH APA SI KATE BERBOEAT TERHADAP MGR. AERTS DI TOEAL

APPENDIX I

The corporate identity of 60 missionary orders

The Catholic clergy is divided into priests (either diocesan or members of a religious order), brothers and sisters. The diocesan clergy that dominated the mission territory until the arrival of the first Jesuits in 1859 had declined drastically since then. There was only one Dutch diocesan priest left in 1900, Reverend Maria Jozef Dominicus Claessens who served the parish of Buitenzorg between 1889-1906. Another diocesan priest was Jan Boen Thiam Kiat, of Chinese descent, who was ordained in 1935 in Pangkalpinang. All other priests for the period 1900-1945 were members of a religious order. In proper Catholic terminology there is a distinction between the classical orders, with the major last order being the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, founded in 1540, and the more recently instituted congregations. In this book, however, we often use the words 'order' and 'congregation' without distinction. The orders and congregations for male clergy are divided into those who have priests and lay brothers and those who have lay brothers only. In the first case (like the Jesuits, the SVD and the MSC order) the lay brothers concentrated on practical work like gardening, carpentry, ironwork and similar duties. The congregations instituted exclusively for lay brothers usually concentrated on education or medical work.¹

1. Orders and congregations of priests and lay brothers

The orders and congregations of priests and related lay brothers were all international orders. None of them were begun in the Netherlands, with the exception of the MSF whose founder was a French priest, though it started in the Netherlands. Some were well-established classical religious orders in the Catholic Church. Quite a few were established in the early decades of the

¹ The most important sources for this overview were Van Woesik 1938, *Jaarboek* 1929, 1932 and 1940; *Buku Petunjuk* 1986 and later editions. A list of missionary magazines related to the various orders is in Mulders 1930. A good bibliography for this subject is also Van Vugt and Voorvelt 1992.

great missionary fever that caused so much new enthusiasm in the Catholic Church of northwestern Europe after 1870. This is in striking contrast to the congregations of exclusive brothers or sisters: nearly all of these were purely Dutch institutions. The various orders are discussed below according to the chronology of the beginning of their work in the Dutch East Indies.

1.1. The Jesuits (*Societas Jesu*, SJ). The Jesuits were without a doubt the dominant Catholic organization in the Indies up to the early 1950s. Until the arrival of many other religious orders in the first decades of the twentieth century, they were the sole order of priests and lay brothers to serve the colonial mission. Starting with the eastern Outer Islands (Kai and Tanimbar were handed over to the MSC in 1903,) and soon followed by the northern and western Outer Islands (Kalimantan was handed over to the Capuchin Friars in 1905, Sumatra to the same in 1911) they gradually concentrated on the capital, Batavia, and more intensively on the promising mission in Central Java from the 1910s on. They were the first to start recruiting amongst Indonesian candidates. The Jesuit order was banned by several European governments in the late eighteenth century and was also dismissed by the pope in 1773. It was restored in 1814, while a Dutch province was formally re-established in 1849. Ten years later the first Jesuits arrived in the Dutch East Indies. In 1936 they had 712 members in the Dutch province, 162, or 23%, of whom worked in the mission of Indonesia. In 1939 the Jesuits counted 11 Javanese priests, 19 Javanese candidates for the priesthood who studied theology and 16 Javanese lay brothers. About one-quarter of the Jesuits in the Indies was ethnic Javanese in the late 1930s. In having such a substantial number of ethnic Javanese, the Jesuits had made the most progress in the programme of indigenous membership. This did not happen in Flores, the area in which they had started work in 1860, but on the island of Java where they had only begun in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The missionary strategy of the Jesuits was known as top-down. First the social and political elite was to be addressed and their (or their children's) conversion sought. There was a resulting emphasis on schools (often with dormitories for children of village heads) in Flores and Kai-Tanimbar. In Java the Jesuits could not freely select their pupils. They primarily sought them in the circles of the traditional elite so that consequently there was a larger number of lower nobility (with the titles of Raden, Mas) among the early Javanese Catholics.

To counteract Protestants and Freemasons, the Jesuits promoted the intellectual position of the Dutch-speaking Catholic community. They established magazines and even a newspaper in Dutch. The great difference between the white or Eurasian Dutch-speaking population and the new Javanese Catholics caused some tensions within the Jesuit community. The most prominent

missionary among the Javanese, Frans van Lith, came under fierce attack from the side of some fellow-Jesuits who deemed it necessary that he, as an 'ultra-nationalist', not return to the Indies after his sick-leave in the early 1920s. Vicar Apostolic P. Willekens, who arrived in Batavia in 1934 as an outsider and never learned proper Malay, had opinions about colonial policy that were opposed to the strategy of his fellow-Jesuit, Soegijopranoto, who became vicar apostolic of Semarang in 1940. The Jesuits were able to deal with these differences so that they did not lead to open conflicts or to ruptures.

The Jesuits did not show much interest in anthropology, as did the MSC and SVD priests. Quite a few studied languages in addition to theology, the best known of these being the writer G. Jonckbloet, who studied Dutch literature and worked in the Indies between 1890 and 1906. He wrote many articles on literary subjects in the local press and in books (Jonckbloet 1893, 1894). Rev. Piet Zoetmulder studied Indonesian languages in Leiden and received a Ph.D. in 1935, on a dissertation entitled *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature* (English translation by Ricklefs, 1995). Some Jesuits, like the Van Rijckevorsel nephews, studied philosophy and church law at Jesuit faculties in Europe. But on the whole, there was a common saying among the Jesuits that the physically stronger but intellectually less gifted members of the society were sent to the mission field, reflecting the double-entendre in the Dutch expression: *opgeruimd naar de missie* (which can mean both 'happy' or 'dismissed to the mission'). However, some priests who had easy and close contact with the elite, economically and intellectually, were sent to the 'European parishes' in particular.²

Awick, Jérôme M.

Born in Amsterdam 17-6-1897, ordained in 1929. Arrived in Java as a *scholasticus* in 1922-26 and returned to the Indies in 1931, was appointed to Batavia. Returned to the Netherlands in 1960. Died in Nijmegen, 29-9-1969.

Baal, J. van

Born in Oosterhout on 28-09-1884, ordained on 24-8-1916. Arrived in Batavia in 1919; was the director of the Canisius College of Muntilan (1927-31) and secretary of the educational Canisius Foundation. He worked at the Central Mission Bureau (education) as of 1931 and was appointed to Yogyakarta (Ignatius College) as the *superior missionis* and teacher in 1935-46. After the war he stayed in the Netherlands from 1946-49, but he went back to Jakarta in 1949. He died in Semarang on 23-3-1951.

Beckhoven SJ, J.I. van

Born in Zundert on 6-10-1865; ordained in 1899. Arrived in Java in 1900.

² Many of the Jesuits who are mentioned in this book were already included in Steenbrink 2003. We concentrate here on the Jesuits not mentioned there. For Luyken and Van Velsen see Chapter I. An eminent source for this section is Van Aernsbergen 1934.

Worked in Meester Cornelis, Semarang (Randusari); served with Father Verbraak in Padang, 1905-1912; later in Yogyakarta (1942). He died during World War II.

Berge, Johannes Josephus ten

Born in Leens on 14-12-1892. Was in Java as a *scholasticus* (1919-22) and came back to Java in 1927 after his ordination on 15-8-1926. He worked in Muntilan and during the Ten Berge affair (1931-33) he was removed to Bandung to work as the assistant editor of *De Koerier*. He worked in Ambarawa in 1933. Was in the Netherlands during World War II. From 1974 on he lived in Nijmegen as an emeritus. He died in Nijmegen (Berchmanianum) 28-12-1978.

Berndsen, J.G.

Born in Vollenhove on 24-2-1884; ordained on 26-8-1917. In the Indies from 1910-4 as *scholasticus* and later in 1919. He was appointed to Klaten near Yogyakarta. Worked in Batavia as 1933, and later in Yogyakarta once more. He died in a detention camp (Cimahi) on 31-1-1945.

Brantjes, Nicolas

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 26-7-1904; ordained in 1935. Arrived in Java in 1937. Appointed to Batavia, Canisius College. He worked in Tangeran in 1974. Died in Nijmegen on 1-3-1999.

Burgers, Joh.C.J.

Born in Deventer on 27-3-1895; ordained to the priesthood on 15-8-1928. Arrived in Java in 1930; first appointed to Muntilan, later to Canisius College, Batavia (1934). Worked for *De Koerier* until 31-6-1940. Died in Nijmegen on 19-2-1975.

Djajasepoetra, Mgr. Adrianus

Born in Yogyakarta on 13-3-1894; studied theology in the Netherlands in 1919; ordained as a priest of the Society of Jesus on 15-8-1928. Was appointed the auxiliary bishop on 18-2-1953; appointed as Archbishop of Jakarta on 3-1-1961; retired on 21-5-1970; died in Semarang on 10-7-1979.

Driel, J.H.Th. van

Born in Nijmegen on 2-4-1883; ordained on 8-9-1912. Arrived in Batavia on 16-11-1915. His first stay was from 1915-28. He was sent to Manado (1916-22), came back to Java when the MSC took over the Minahasa mission. From 1929 onwards he worked in various locations (Buitenzorg/Bogor, and later Batavia, 1930-42), where his special interest was the Indo-Europeans. He died in Semarang 26-7-1961.

Driessche, Henri van

Born in Surabaya on 1-2-1875, and educated in the Indies. He went to the Netherlands in 1895 and entered the Jesuit order. Ordained on 26-8-1909. He arrived in the Indies again in 1912 and started work in Muntilan. In 1919 he was transferred to Yogyakarta, where he organized courses for

new Catholics. Until his death in 1934 he was in charge of Javanese who wanted to enter the Jesuit order. He died in Semarang 10-6-1934.

Erftemeijer, Jan F.

Born in Amsterdam on 29-12-1874, ordained on 26-8-1893. Arrived in the Indies on 7-11-1904 and was appointed to Jainilu (Timor). In Atapupu after 4-1-1905, but had to leave Timor again at the end of 1907 after long periods of illness, mostly malaria; worked in Padang (1908), Yogyakarta (1912), Meester Cornelis (1924), Cheribon (1925), and Semarang (1926-32). Died in Sukabumi on 1-3-1938.

Groenewegen, L.P.

Born in Naaldwijk on 11-6-1878; ordained as a diocesan priest on 15-8-1901, later became a member of the SJ. Arrived in Java on 24-11-1912, appointed to Muntilan. Left the Indies in 1920 and died in Amsterdam on 11-7-1925.

Heuvel, G. van den

Born in Wanroy on 26-2-1854; ordained on 8-9-1886. Arrived in Batavia on 15-11-1891; worked in Magelang, Buitenzorg/Bogor, Bandung (1910), Malang and was editor of the *Java Post*; died in Semarang on 6-9-1928.

Hoof, Antonius Th. van

Born in Helmond on 18-4-1879; ordained on 8-9-1912. Arrived in the Indies on 4-1-1917; was the parish priest of Batavia, was frequently *provicaris* (1920-24, in the early 1930s also, replacing Luypen and Van Velsen). In Ungaran in 1942. Died during internment in Java on 22-9-1944.

Hoog, Carolus A.M. de

Born in Oosterhout on 22-7-1877; ordained on 8-9-1912. Arrived in Java in December 1914. Worked in Muntilan as a teacher at the teacher training school. In 1923 back to the Netherlands because of serious illness. Returned to the Indies in 1925 and was appointed as a teacher at the Ignatius College in Yogyakarta and in 1930 in Sedayu where he built a church. Internment from 1943-5. Return to the Netherlands in 1945. Died in Amsterdam on 10-5-1958.

Kalken, A.J.A. van

Born in Amersfoort on 8-6-1880; ordained on 2-8-1914. Arrived in the Indies first as a *scholasticus* 1909-11; later as priest in 1916. He worked in Ambarawa (1921-7), Yogyakarta (1940-53). Was *superior missionis* (1927-35). He died in Yogyakarta on 10-11-1953.

Korndörffer, Th.J.A.

Born in Amsterdam on 2-9-1863; ordained on 26-8-1897. Arrived in Batavia on 31-10-1898; to Maumere (1900), Manado (1905), Bandung (1911), Malang (1915), Semarang (1917). He died in Semarang on 10-6-1933.

Kortenhorst, Arnoldus

Born in Kuinre on 8-8-1848, ordained as a diocesan priest on 13-8-1873; later

became a member of the SJ. Arrived in the Indies on 25-2-1877; worked in Batavia as of 1889; died there on 25-10-1917.

Kurris, Dr Jos F.M.

Born in Maastricht on 19-10-1889, ordained on 10-8-1922. Arrived in Java in 1926, worked in Batavia (Canisius College), Yogyakarta (Ignatius College). Returned to the Netherlands in 1946 and died in Boekel, 17-5-1957.

Laane, Cornelius

Born in Rozendaal on 15-2-1856; ordained on 9-9-1891. Arrived in Java in 1902, worked in Batavia and Surabaya. He died from malaria on 21-11-1909.

Linden, Cees J.M. van der

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 13-2-1896, in the Indies as a *scholasticus* from 1923-7; ordained on 15-8-1930 and back to the Indies in 1932. Appointed to Semarang, later Batavia (1942). Died in Batavia/Jakarta on 5-6-1949.

Loo, J.D. van der

Born in Amsterdam on 15-9-1872; ordained on 26-8-1906. Arrived in the Indies in 1910 and was appointed to Larantuka; to Batavia, Kampung Sawah in 1917. Repatriated in 1922 because of health problems and died in Amsterdam on 5-4-1930.

Mertens, Jacob A.A.

Born in Oosterhout on 10-1-1867; ordained on 26-8-1898. Arrived in Java on 14-11-1900 and was appointed to Langgur (Kai); Muntilan (1904). In 1911 he became the principal of Xavier College in Muntilan. He died in Yogyakarta on 17-4-1922.

Muller, Peter J.W.

Born in Oude Pekela on 8-5-1876; ordained on 15-8-1928. Arrived in the Indies on 24-11-1912; worked in Surabaya (1912), Lela (Flores, 1913-19), Bandung (1920), Semarang (1925-33); died in Batavia on 9-6-1935.

Nateris, Jan de

Born in Amsterdam on 5-7-1875; ordained on 26-8-1904. Arrived in the Indies on 2-6-1906 and was appointed to Larantuka, where he died on 22-12-1915.

Offeren, H.A.M. van

Born in Amsterdam on 7-8-1883; ordained on 26-8-1917. Arrived in the Indies in 1925, but left the mission by 1928. He died in Maastricht on 30-12-1939.

Prennhaler, Johannes

Born in Innsbruck, Austria on 18-04-1885; ordained on 27-6-1917. Arrived in Java in 1921 and was appointed to Muntilan, Mendut, and later Bara (1934); Temanggung (1936), Rawa Seneng (1942). He died in Bara on 28-4-1946.

Putten, Victor W. van der

Born in Dennenburg on 25-8-1876; ordained on 26-8-1906. Arrived in Batavia on 15-12-1907, appointed to Lahurus, Timor (1908-11), and as of 1913 in Java (Madiun) and Ambarawa (1931-42); was president of the Minor Seminary in 1953. Died in Ungaran on 22-6-1960.

Satiman, Francis Xavier

Born in Yogyakarta on 26-8-1891. After additional courses in Latin, he went to the Netherlands in January 1914 for the last two years of grammar school, the Jesuit novitiate and theological studies. Satiman was ordained as a priest in 1926 and worked as a parish priest among the former Sadrach Christians of Kalibawang from the major post of Bara since June 1929. In 1936 appointed to Ignatius College in Yogyakarta. Left the Jesuit order 7-9-1940.

Sevink, J.Th.J.

Born in Aalten on 28-2-1875; ordained on 26-8-1903. Arrived in Indonesia on 7-11-1904, worked in Batavia, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Sukabumi. He died in a detention camp in Semarang on 24-12-1944.

Soegijopranoto, Albertus

Born in Surakarta on 25-11-1895; ordained as a priest of the Society of Jesus on 15-8-1931. Became vicar apostolic of Semarang on 1-8-1940; archbishop of Semarang on 3-1-1961; died in Tegelen, the Netherlands on 23-7-1963.

Spekler, A.M.

Born in Velp in 1895. Between 1922-5 in the Indies for training in Javanese and to study philosophy; ordained on 15-8-1928; return in Indonesia in 1930, appointed to Muntilan (1931) and Mendut (1938), Ungaran (1960). Died in Ungaran on 31-5-1965.

Sträter, Joseph F.M.

Born in Amsterdam on 5-4-1882, ordained on 24-8-1913. Arrived in the Indies in February 1917. In January 1918 was posted in Yogyakarta and soon he was the outgoing man. He was a keen educational organizer. During the war he was put in prison (Sukamiskin) where he died on 19-7-1944.

Willekens, P.J.

Born in Reusel on 6-12-1881; ordained on 24-8-1915. First visit to Indonesia as an inspector (February-October 1928); arrived in Batavia in 1934, appointed vicar apostolic; resigned in 1952; died in Yogyakarta on 27-1-1971.

Wubbe, J.W.M.

Born in Amsterdam on 24-11-1886; ordained as a diocesan priest on 15-8-1911. In 1916 became a member of the SJ. Arrived in Java in 1921, appointed to Batavia. He became a supporter and defender of the STRADA and the most important supporter of Catholic broadcasting (IKROS); 1935 pastor

of Semarang, and in 1938 of Sukabumi. Went in 1941 to Mr. Cornelis and in 1943 was interned. In 1944 sent to the camp in Cimahi where he died 1-8-1945.

Zoetmulder, Piet

Born in Utrecht in 1906. Was in Yogyakarta from 1925-31 for his novitiate as a young Jesuit and to study philosophy, as well as practise Javanese. Between 1931-35 he studied in Leiden, where he defended a doctoral dissertation on the doctrine of God in Javanese Islamic mystical poetry. He was ordained on 15-8-1938. He arrived back in Yogyakarta after a perilous sea voyage in September 1940. He was interned in 1943 by the Japanese and after 1945 by Indonesian Republican gangs in Kota Baru. He died in Yogyakarta in 1997.

Zwaans, L.M.I.M.

Born in Alphen aan den Rijn on 17-12-1904; ordained on 15-8-1933. Arrived in Java on 22-8-1935; appointed to Batavia. On furlough in the Netherlands in 1973 where he died in Nijmegen, 23-10-1973.

1.2. The MSC Priests (*Missionarii Sacri Cordis* or Sacred Heart Missionaries). The Congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus is one of the many new congregations that were established in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its founder was Jean Jules Chevalier (1824-1907), a French diocesan parish priest, who established his order in 1854. In 1880 the educational activities of the MSC were banned in France and in 1882 they settled in the Netherlands, in Tilburg. In the late 1930s the MSC counted in total some 1,900 members, 900 priests, 600 lay brothers and 450 candidates for the priesthood. The Dutch province counted 500 members. In total 155 priests and 73 lay brothers of these worked in the foreign missions, 87 priests and 25 brothers in the Indies, while the rest were sent to the Philippines or Brazil. Until the 1940s none of the brothers was an indigenous Indonesian, while there was one MSC priest of Javanese descent, Rev. Padmowidjojo.

The MSC started their work in the Dutch East Indies in Langgur, Kai islands in 1903. They extended to Tanimbar, the southern coast of Papua and later also in the Minahasa (starting in 1920) and Purwokerto (1926). In Kai, Tanimbar and Papua several of their members were known as gifted researchers in ethnology and linguistics. Among them were H. Geurtjens, P. Vertenten, and E. Cappers. In their region of Central Java they were most active amongst Eurasians and Chinese. They had no Javanese-language primary schools but concentrated on Dutch-language schools. In the regions where they worked, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart were also active as members of the same religious family (see below with the sisters under number 3.8).

Aerts, J.

Born in Swolgen on 3-2-1880; ordained on 16-8-1905. He worked first as a missionary in the Philippines; on 28-8-1920 appointed vicar apostolic of Dutch New Guinea. He was shot by the Japanese in Langgur (Kai) on 30-7-1942 together with 13 other missionaries.

Baptist, Gerardus H.

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 13-2-1887. Arrived in Batavia in 8-10-1931; head of the Central Mission Bureau. He died unexpectedly in 1936 (of typhus).

Bergh, Johan van den

Born in Vierlingsbeek; arrived in Kai on 24-12-1907. Was appointed to Ohaideratu. In 1917 he became a school inspector and was superior regionalis in 1923. After a furlough he was back in 1925 but returned to the Netherlands in 1927 because of health problems.

Braun, Philip

Born in Beverwijk in 1872, ordained in 1897 and left for Neu Pommeren. He went to Merauke in 1905 and to Kai in 1906. Later he left the Kai islands and worked as an MSC priest in the United States. He died there in 1916.

Bröcker, A.

Born in The Hague on 15-9-1888; ordained on 7-1-1914. Arrived in Batavia on 3-9-1920, appointed to Kembes, Moena; in Batavia since 1937. Died during World War II.

Cappers, E.

Born in Geldrop on 31-8-1877, ordained in 1904. Became vice-director of the minor seminary in Tilburg, but travelled to Merauke in 1906. He travelled, very ill, to Kai in 1909, was sent to Yamdena, Tanimbar in 1910. In 1925 Cappers moved to Ambon as the first resident priest. In 1933 he was appointed to Batavia and worked under the Chinese. He died in a camp in Cimahi in 1945.

Domsdorff, A.M.

Born in Wamel on 3-11-1891; ordained in 1915. Arrived in Manado in 1921; appointed director of the teachers' college; appointed to Tomohon (1924).

Drabbe, P.

Born in Heino on 4-6-1887, ordained in 1911 and sent to the diocese of Lipa in the Philippines. In 1915 he was appointed to Tanimbar where he remained for two decades. In 1935 he was transferred to Dutch New Guinea, working there as a missionary. In 1938 was released from immediate missionary work and appointed as the mission linguist. He continued to work in this capacity until 1959. Because of severe health problems he returned to the Netherlands in 1960. He died in Arnhem on 27-10-1970.

Geurtjens, Henri

Born in Deurne on 5-6-1875; ordained on 5-8-1900. Became a teacher in Tilburg. On 1-9-1903 sent to the Kai islands; later he worked on Tanimbar

and southwest Papua. In 1932 back to the Netherlands where he became curator of the Mission Museum in Tilburg. He died in Tilburg on 22-12-1957.

Grent, J.

Born in Wervershoof on 25-9-1889; ordained in 1914. He arrived in Tual (Kai) in 1921; from 1927-33 was the *superior missionis* and moved to Merauke in 1933. He stayed there from 1935-46 and travelled around a lot. After the death of Mgr. Aerts (1942) he was appointed administrator apostolic and on 10-7-1947, vicar apostolic of Amboina in Langgur; appointed Bishop of Amboina on 3-1-1961, retired on 15-1-1965; died in Jakarta on 11-8-1983.

Kapell, H.

Born in Bocket on 24-8-1888; ordained in 1913. Arrived in 1921 and was appointed to Sambioet-Banggaai in 1928.

Klerks, J.

Born in Oisterwijk on 25-8-1878; ordained in 1907. Arrived in the Indies in 1907; in 1910 was sent to Yamdena, Olilit, and Langgur from 1922-43. He died in Amboina after an attack by Japanese aircrafts.

Kolk, J. van der

Born in Wanroy 1879, ordained in 1908. Arrived in Merauke in 1910, began at the station of Okaba and in 1915 moved to Langgur in Kai, where he was appointed *superior missionis*. Returned to the Netherlands 1922, and died in 1931.

Kooij, J. van der

Born in Rijswijk in 1878, ordained in 1904. Worked in Merauke from 1909-1915, was then in Kai until 1923. In 1923 Father Johannes van der Kooij started his second period of work in West Papua. He died in Merauke in 1953.

Kowatzki, Francis Xavier

Born in Biskupice, Poland on 13-3-1892; ordained in 1918. Arrived 26-12-1921 in the Kai islands (1922-8), opened the Mimika mission (1928-33), back to the Kai (1933-35) and Wamal on Frederik Hendrik Island (1935-54). Because he was a German citizen he was interned on Java in May 1940, but was back in Wamal after some months (November). In 1955 he returned to Germany and died in Hiltrup 1957.

Kraanen, J.

Born in Tilburg on 11-11-1880; ordained on 21-8-1904. Arrived in the Indies in 1906; worked on the Kai islands and was appointed to Saumlaki (Tanimbar islands) in 1924 and Krawain-Sangliat in 1931. He died in Tilburg on 13-2-1934.

Laaper, J.

Born in Hilversum in 1914, ordained in 1938. Arrived in south New Guinea

in 1939, appointed to Mimika (Fak Fak)-Kaokonao and Wania (1942). He drowned in the Uta River in 1942.

Meuwese, Cornelius Josephus Johannes Maria

Born in Tilburg on 23-11-1908, ordained on 10-8-1933. Arrival in southwest Papua in 1934. Appointed to the Mappi territory in 1937 (1937-1948). In 1946 he moved from Tanah-Merah to Kepi, the centre of the Mappi territory. On 4-9-1948 he and Jan Verschueren MSC discovered a new river which they called the Queen Juliana River. He returned to the Netherlands in 1962. He died in Tilburg on 26-11-1978.

Neyens, Dr Mathieu

Born in Heel in 1868; ordained in 1896. In 1897 he defended his doctoral dissertation in systematic theology in Rome; became a professor at the MSC major seminary, but was appointed prefect of the new prefecture apostolic of Dutch New Guinea in 1903. He started the mission in New Guinea in 1905. He had great difficulties with the MSC in the Netherlands because of financial troubles, which resulted in his very unusual dismissal in December, 1914. He stayed on as a missionary in the Kai. He died in Haar on Kai Besar on 29-9-1941.

Nollen, Henricus

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1870, ordained in 1897. Arrival in Neu Pommeren (German east New Guinea) in 1897. Came to Merauke in 1905. He worked as a pioneer in Merauke and returned to Langgur because he became the *superior missionis* of the MSC in Langgur (Kai) in 1910, and the second prefect after M. Neyens in 1915. After the appointment of Mgr. J. Aerts MSC as vicar apostolic of Dutch New Guinea (1920), he went back to Neu Pommeren. He worked there under Bishop G. Vesters until 1951. He died in Sydney, Australia in 1951.

Oomen, Brother Melchior

Born in Hoeven in 1869, entered the MSC in 1897, and was sent to Neu Pommeren and Thursday Island. Came to Merauke in 1905 and died there in 1906.

Padmowidjojo, Th.

Born in Wanalila on 21-9-1910; after studying theology in the Netherlands, was ordained on 10-8-1937. Back in Indonesia in 1938 and appointed to Purworejo.

Panis, J.W.J.

Born in Dongen on 29-7-1882; ordained to the priesthood on 21-12-1909. Between 1909-20, Panis worked in Surigao, southern Philippines. He arrived in Manado in 1920 and was appointed prefect apostolic of Celebes after the departure of G. Vesters. In 1934 was appointed vicar apostolic and ordained as a Bishop. He died on 23-6-1952.

Raad, P. van der

Born in Noordwijkerhout on 3-10-1883; ordained in 1908. Arrived in Kai in 1909; worked in Hollat, Langgur from 1924-38; and was in Saumlaki (Tanimbar) in 1942 when the Japanese attacked.

Tillemans, H.

Born in Grave on 31-7-1902; ordained a priest on 19-8-1928. Arrived in the Indies in 1929, worked in the Mimika territory from 1930-50. In 1938 travelled to the Wessel Lakes. In 1943 he was just away when the Japanese arrived. Back in Mimika in 1946. Appointed vicar apostolic of Merauke on 25-6-1950. Ordained as a bishop on 5-11-1950; Appointed Archbishop of Merauke on 15-11-1966. He died in Merauke on 23-8-1975.

Verschueren, Jan

Born in Bavel on 22-8-1905, ordained on 10-8-1930 and appointed to southwest Papua in 1931. He stayed in Bupul (1931-47) and the Mappi territory (1948-53) and wrote extensively about the culture and traditions of the Marind-anim, the Jéi-anim and the Janum-anim. He died in Jakarta on 28-7- 1970.

Vertenten, Peter

Born in Hamme (Belgium) in 1884, ordained in 1909 and left for Merauke in 1910. He worked with Van de Kolk in Okaba. Back in Merauke in 1915. He became the 'saviour of the Kaja-kajas' (1921). In 1925 transferred to Congo (Africa). He died in Wilrijk, Antwerp, in 1946.

Vesters, G.

Born 's-Hertogenbosch on 27-8- 1876; ordained in 1903. He worked in the Philippines, Brazil, and the Indies. He was appointed prefect apostolic of Celebes-Sulawesi in 1920, but stayed for only three years. He was appointed vicar apostolic of Rabaul, Papua New Guinea on 16-2-1923. Ordained as a bishop on 5-8-1923. He died on 30-8-1954.

Viegen, J.

Born in Maastricht in 1871, ordained in 1897. Came to Kai, was *superior missionis* MSC until 1909, then moved to Merauke, back in the Kai in 1915, returned to the Netherlands in 1920, and died in 1936.

Visser, B.J.J.

Born in Arnhem in 1880, ordained to the priesthood in 23-3-1916. Arrived in the Indies in 1927. In 1927 the MSC took over part of Java (Purwokerto) from the Society of Jesus. In 1932 Visser was the first prefect. On 16-10-1941 the status of prefecture apostolic was raised to vicariate apostolic. In 1946 Visser returned to the Netherlands for rest and a health check-up, but in 1947 went back to Batavia. In 1950 his health deteriorated and he repatriated to the Netherlands. Mgr. W. Schoemakers was his successor (in 1950). Visser died in 1975.

Yernaux, Jos

Born in 1882, missionary in Kai Besar, Maluku, 1907-24. Then he worked in Bondombe et Boende, the Belgian colony of Congo, from 1925-50. He stayed in Belgium during the war of 1940-5 and from 1950-6. He died in 1956. In Belgium he is known as an artist, a painter of the African people.

1.3. The Capuchin Friars (OFCM Cap, Ordo Francisci Minores). Worldwide the Jesuits were and are by far the largest Catholic order of priests. In the middle of the twentieth century they had some 35,000 members. The Capuchin Friars are the second-largest branch of the great Franciscan family and the third-ranking among the great orders of priests. Whereas the OFM, commonly called Franciscans, counted some 26,000 members around 1950, the Capuchin Friars were, with more than 15,000, members the third Catholic order worldwide. In 1937 the Dutch province of the Capuchin Friars counted 573 members. 80 priests and 22 brothers worked in Kalimantan (as of 1905) and Sumatra (after 1911). One of them, Rev. Bong Sjoen Khin, was an indigenous priest of Chinese descent.

Like the other Franciscan order, the Capuchin Friars concentrated on pastoral care for lower-class people. They did not have the extended college system of the Jesuits, with their disciplined and high-quality education. They were not anti-intellectuals, but more reserved in their appreciation of science in general and also of theology. They fostered the spirituality of Saint Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), who loved the company of common people and also liked to live in the middle of nature as a hermit. Saint Francis discouraged his friars from following extensive secular or religious studies. In their internal structure, the Capuchins were a democratic order, where superiors, after a term of four years, could easily go back to the lower ranks of the common members of the community. Donatus (John) Dunselmans published anthropological and linguistic work on the Dayak culture only after 1945. In pre-1960 literature the friars are known under their monastic name rather than their secular name. Ger Driesen, for example, is Valentinus of Schoonhoven. To differentiate between lay brothers and priests, the former have been given the title 'brother' in the following short biographies.

Aloysius

Wilhelmus G.A.M van Heertum. Born in Schijndel on 20-8-1892; ordained on 21-5-1921. He studied Chinese at Leiden University in the early 1920s. In 1924 he lived among 25 Chinese priests in the vicariate of Canton. Afterwards he served the mission in Pontianak. He died in Udenhout, the Netherlands on 5-8-1941.

Beatus

Joseph Gerardus Angelus Baijens. Born in Dennenburg on 19-12-1876,

ordained on 21-12-1901. Arrived in Kalimantan in 1905 together with *Pacificus Bos*. For 23 years he was *Pacificus Bos's* good and trusted counsellor and *superior regularis*. From 1905 onwards he worked in Singkawang. He drowned in the Kapuas River in Pontianak on 30-9-19 (Franciscaans Leven 1930:275-7).

Benjamin

Karel W. Dijkstra. Born in Neerbosch (near Nijmegen) on 25-8-1908; ordained on 21-9-1935. He arrived in Sumatra in 1936, appointed to Simbolon on Samosir in 1939. He was the most popular missionary in Samosir and died in a Japanese detention camp on 13-9-1944.

Burchardus

Martinus A.P. van der Weijden. Born in Leiden on 29-10-1908; ordained on 4-2-1934. Arrived in Sumatra in 1935 and was appointed to Padang. In 1939 was allowed to enter Nias as the first Dutch missionary. From 1942-5 he was interned in a Japanese camp. He went back to the Netherlands because of health problems in 1971; became the vicar in the Velp monastery. In 1979 he moved to Nijmegen, where he died on 7-8-1982.

Caesarius

J.Th. Ram. Born in Bussum on 19-12-1894, ordained on 20-3-1926. Arrived in Kalimantan in 1932; appointed to Singkawang. He died in Pontianak on 14-1-1958.

Camillus

Franciscus A. Buil was born in Pannerden on 26-04-1877, ordained on 19-12-1903. Arrived in Kalimantan together with P. Bos in 1905. He was sent to Laham in East Kalimantan and moved to Medan, Sumatra in 1912. He left the Capuchin Order in 1915.

Cassianus

Bernardus F.J. Reynen. Born in Gemert on 29-03-1893; ordained on 14-6-1919. Arrived in West Kalimantan on 1-3-1921; was a pastor in Sanggau-Lintang (1925-32) and (1934-)42 Bengkajang (West Kalimantan). He was army chaplain (1942-50). In 1950 he returned to the Netherlands and was a pastor for the Indo-European and repatriated Dutch families. From 1963-5 he was the guardian of the house in Babberich. He died in Handel, the Netherlands on 1-9-1968.

Dionysius

Jacobus Pessers. Born in Tilburg on 27-1-1861; ordained on 24-8-1891. Arrived in Padang on 26-7-1913 and worked in Padang (1913-15) and Medan (1915-20). Back to the Netherlands in 1920. He died in Velp on 5-2-1946.

Donatus

Johannes Dunselman. Born Medemblik on 12-6- 1901, ordained in 1930. Arrived in Pontianak on 23-1-1933. He worked in several Dayak stations

(Benua Martinus 1933-5) Pontianak (minor seminary). He was detained in a Japanese camp from mid-1942-45. From 1946-58 he was a pastor in Sanggau and erected the stations Sekadau and Palit. In 1958, after furlough, he went to Medan-Sumatra and was a lecturer at the major seminary. In 1969 returned to Europe. He moved to Eckenhage (Germany) and died there on 9-7-1984.

Edmundus

Hendrikus A. Gijsbers. Born on 21-6-1888 in Heeze; ordained on 23-12-1916. Arrived in Kalimantan on 29-12-1919; worked in Rumah Nazareth. He died in Pontianak, Camp Kuching, on 4-9-1942.

Eleutherius

Gerrit Holstra, Born in Blesdijke on 17-12-1874; ordained in 1900. He was first appointed to Kalimantan, but he was transferred to Sumatra when he arrived in Batavia on his way to Kalimantan. He arrived in Sumatra in 1912. He was appointed for Tanjung Sakti and arrived there in January 1913. In November 1914 Eleutherius left Tanjung Sakti for Padang and in December 1914 he was sent back to the Netherlands because of his health. He died in Enschede in 1943.

Elias

Eduardus C. Langendam. Born in Nijmegen on 24-5-1900, ordained in 1927. Studied Chinese in Leiden; arrived in Kalimantan on 4-11-1929. Sent to China to learn the language, 1930-1, back in Kalimantan was appointed as a teacher and organizer of Chinese education in Pontianak 1933-68. He returned to the Netherlands in 1968 and died in Voorburg on 2-4-1980.

Eugenius

Adrianus F. van Disseldorf was born in Gilze-Rijen on 26-10-1875; ordained on 04-06-1898. Arrived in the Indies on 30-11-1905. Eugenius was appointed pastor of Nanga Sedjiram in 1906. He started with a plantation of rubber trees. He often suffered from malaria and in 1912 he moved to Pontianak. He was greatly interested in Chinese languages and culture. Because of his bad health he went back to the Netherlands in 1932. He died in Tilburg on 12-09-1952.

Ferdinandus

Johannes van Loon. Born in Udenhout on 24-5-1885; ordained on 5-6-1909 and sent to Penang to learn Tamil in 1913. In 1914 he transferred the Tamil church from the former plantation of De Guigné (at Sungai Sikambing, far outside the town of Medan) to Kampung Keling; between 1919-22 he was sent to Sambong (Bangka). In 1922 he resumed working for the Tamils in Medan. He stayed as a pastor until 1942. He died in Udenhout 10-2-1947.

Flavianus

Henricus J. Huybers. Born in Vortum-Mullem 22-2-1882; ordained 22-12-1906. Arrived in Kalimantan 4-9-1912. He worked from 1913-47 in Benua

Martinus; returned in 1947 to the Netherlands, stayed in Velp and died there 2-4-1971.

Gonzalvus

Joseph B. Buil. Brother of the aforementioned Camillus; born on 11-01-1873 in Pannerden. He was ordained in 1904 and sent to Kalimantan, and was appointed for Sejiram 1912 and later for Lanjak. He was sent back to the Netherlands because of illness in 1919, and he did not come back. He died in Babberich on 25-12-1941.

Herman Jozeph

Henricus A. van Hulten. Born in Drunen on 5-1-1907; ordained on 21-9-1935. Arrived in 1938 Kalimantan, appointed for Bernua Martinus; in 1939 to Sejiram (1939-47), in Jangkang-Sanggau 1947-64 and in Menjalin (1964-74). Returned to the Netherlands in 1974. He wrote a long report about his time living under the Dayak (1983). He died 27-1-1994.

Ignatius

Franciscus A. van der Putten. Born in Dennenburg on 23-2-1875; ordained on 22-12-1900. He arrived in Kalimantan on 3-9-1908, in 1912 in Landjak. He was the first residential priest in Bika (1923). He died suddenly in Sanggau on 22-4-1931.

Ildefons

Wilhelm C. van Straalen. Born in Scheveningen on 7-3-1911; ordained in 1937. He arrived in 1938-9 and was sent to the island of Nias as an assistant to Van der Weijden. After the war he worked in Doloksanggul (Medan), Sumatra and in Kalimantan. Around 1968 he returned to the Netherlands and died in Breda on 2-10-1989.

Ivo, Brother

Johannes van Schijndel. Born 7-5-1875 in Volkel. Arrived in Kalimantan on 28-11-1906. He worked as brother in Laham, and later on in Pelandjau. He died in Handel on 13-1-1957.

Justinianus

Johannes Goossens. Born in Deurne on 19-1-1876; ordained 21-12-1901. Arrived in Kalimantan on 10-05-1908. He worked in Singkawang and in Pemangkat, but from 1910 until 1925 in Laham. In 1910 he replaced Cluts; father Justinianus Goossens (*Toean Djar-ei*) was the real founder of the station in Laham. He was the first to learn the Busang language. In 1917 he travelled over land from Laham to Pontianak together with some schoolboys. In 1926 Laham was transferred to the MSF Congregation. Justinianus was removed to Bika (Rumah Nazareth) and in 1932 to Njarumkop, and was later the director of the Dajak seminary in Pontianak, and in 1937 he was in Sintang. He died in Singkawang in 1951.

Leo

Adrianus P. de Jong. Born in Spierdijk on 16-7-1903; ordained on 24-3-1932.

Arrived in Kalimantan on 23-1-1933, worked in Sejiram, Benua Martinus and Tumbang Titi (Ketapang) (1937-). He died in Nijmegen on 23-7-1980.

Leopold, Brother

Antonius A. Schellekens. From Riel; born on 9-6-1870. Arrived in Kalimantan on 28-11-06, worked in Sedjiram in a rubber plantation; was in Sambas in 1930 and later in Bika. He died in Udenhout on 25-10-1938.

Liberatus

Jacobus Cluts. Born in Exel on 17-9-1855; ordained in 1883. At the age of 51 he was appointed as a missionary for Kalimantan and arrived in Kalimantan in 1906, sent to Laham (East Kalimantan) where he worked until 1910, and was in Singkawang from 1910 until 1912. Then on 24-5-1912 he was appointed prefect apostolic of the new prefecture of Sumatra. He died on board of a KPM ship in 1921.

Marcellinus

Michiel G.J. Simons. Born in Nijmegen on 15-3-1889; ordained on 18-12-1915. Arrived in Sumatra in 1919. He was appointed to Medan. Later he was sent to Amoy (China) to study Chinese. He led this Chinese parish in Medan between 1924-42. He died in 's-Hertogenbosch on 27-4-1961.

Marinus

Franciscus M. Spanjers. Born in Escharen on 28-4-1884; ordained on 18-12-1909. Arrived in Sumatra on 16-1-1919. He concentrated his work on the Batak population, especially in the church on the Padang Boelanweg, Medan. He died in a camp near Kota Radja on 15-7-1943.

Matthaeus

Herman de Wolf. Born on 15-8-1865 in Purmerend, ordained on 24-8-1891. Arrived in Kalimantan on 10-5-1908. He was first in Indonesia, in Sedjiram (Kalimantan), between 1908 and 1912. He was nominated for Sumatra and worked there from 1917 onwards. He died in Medan on 21-1-1950.

Matthias

Leonardus T. Brans. Born in Strijp on 23-11-1879; ordained on 19-12-1908. He was sent to Sumatra in 1920, and was appointed to Tanjung Sakti (south Sumatra) and in 1921, after the death of Prefect Apostolic Cluts, to Padang as the prefect apostolic and on 12-7-1932 as the vicar apostolic of Padang; later of Medan. In 1955 he retired and returned to Tilburg, the Netherlands where he died on 12-12-1969.

Odilo

Antonius W.M. Wap. Born in Doetichem on 28-11-1905, ordained in 1931. Studied Chinese in Leiden, arrived in the Indies in 1934 (Sumatra) and went to China to learn Chinese. Appointed to Tanjung Balai in 1937. In 1947 he went to China again to study the language. In 1955-65 he worked in Jakarta in the Central Mission Office. Then went back to the Netherlands

where he worked at the Central Mission Committee as representative of the Indonesian bishops. He died in Voorburg in 1969.

Pacificus

Paschalis Bong Sjoen Khin. Born in Montrado (West Kalimantan) on 20-9-1902; went to the Chinese primary school of the mission and probably also received some secondary education there. In 1926 Bong (also called Wong) expressed his wish to become priest. He was sent to the Netherlands for further secondary education and to study theology; was ordained in 's-Hertogenbosch on 22-12-1934. Back in Kalimantan he was appointed to Singkawang. He died in Singkawang on 11-10-1965.

Pacificus

Johannes Bos. Born in Uden on 9-9-1864; ordained as a priest on 21-9-1889. In 1903 was chosen as the provincial of the Dutch Capuchin fathers, then on 10-4-1905 was appointed as the prefect apostolic of Dutch Borneo. He arrived in Singkawang on 30-11-1905. On 8-3-1918 the prefecture became a vicariate with P. Bos as the vicar. He resigned on 19-02-1934. He is to be seen as the founder of the mission on Kalimantan, *Bapak Misi Kalimantan* as he was called. He died in Pontianak on 21-3-1937.

Remigius

Petrus J. van Hoof. Born in Stratum on 25-1-1878, ordained on 19-12-1903. Arrived in Kalimantan on 10-5-1908; appointed as a teacher for Singkawang (Kalimantan) with Mgr. Pacificus Bos, he moved to Pontianak. In 1912 Remigius was appointed to Sumatra, Tanjung Sakti, the highland mission. He knew some Chinese and was sent to Sungaiselan in Bangka. He moved the Catholic centre to Sambong. He stayed here until 1924, when Bangka was transferred to the SSCC priests. After his furlough he worked in Payakumbuh and Padang as a teacher. He was already ill and died on the Indian Ocean on 30-5-1939 during his trip back to the Netherlands.

Salvator

Johannes P. van der Weerden. Born in Someren on 12-11-1882; ordained on 9-6-1906. Sent to Kalimantan on 10-5-1908; worked in Sambas, sent to China in 1925 together with Aloysius van Heertum (1924-25 in China) to learn the Chinese language; returned to Sambas in 1925 because of unrest. He died in Singkawang on 20-1-1950.

Sybrandus

Johannes J. van Rossum. Born in Houten on 24-1-1903; ordained on 16-3-1929. Because he was appointed to Sumatra he first went to study Chinese at Leiden University; arrived in Medan-Sumatra on 20-3-1931, appointed to Pematang Siantar (1932) in 1934 received permission to go into the Batak area around lake Toba, Balige, and in 1937 he became the pastor of Sibuntun Bagasan (near Balige) from 1937-55. Returned to the Netherlands in 1966 and died in Velp on 25-12-1968.

Tarcisius

Henricus. J. van Valenberg. Born in Asten on 19-3-1890; ordained on 6-6-1914. He was first a teacher at and the rector of the minor seminary in the Netherlands. Arrived in Kalimantan in 1925. Appointed to Pontianak. He was Mgr. P. Bos's secretary; appointed vicar apostolic of Pontianak on 10-12-1934; ordained as a bishop on 5-5-1935. Resigned as the vicar apostolic of Pontianak in 1957. Then became a consultant for the Propaganda Fide (1959) and stayed in Rome (1960-72). He very actively assisted with the preparations for Vaticanum I and acted as an adviser to the bishops of Indonesia. In 1972 he returned to the Netherlands, in 1983 to Nijmegen, where he died 18-12-1984.

Theodoricus, Brother

Wilhelmus van Lanen. Born in Uden on 26-3-1874. Arrived in the Indies in 1906 and settled in Sedjiram. He left the Capuchin order on 28-7-1916.

Valentinus

Ger Driesen. Born in Schoonhoven on 9-12-1893; ordained on 21-5-1921. Arrived in Padang in 1924. Became head of finances and administration at the Centraal Missie Bureau in Batavia-Jakarta in 1936. He died in Velp on 18-10-1980.

1.4. The Society of the Divine Word (SVD, after Societas Verbi Divini) was, like the MSC a recent Catholic society. They were established by a German priest, Arnold Janssen, in the Dutch village of Steijl, in 1875. This place was chosen because of the anti-Catholic policy of the German unifier Von Bismarck. When Janssen died in 1909, his society already counted 470 priests and 700 lay brothers, with more than 1,000 candidates in the schools, in addition to the two orders of nuns that he founded. The SVD did not have a home base in the Netherlands through parish work (as did the Capuchin Friars) or through colleges (which provided an important base for the Jesuits, in addition to their parish work). The SVD was admired and attracted many young people and a great deal of money through its extremely popular mission magazines, especially its monthly *Katholieke Missiën*, which in the 1920s and 1930s had a print run of more than 100,000 copies in the Netherlands. For their publications, their major means of generating publicity, the SVD were also nicknamed *Sie verkaufen Drucksachen* (German, 'they sell printed matter'). In their propaganda for missionary work, they placed great emphasis on interesting publications for the general public. They had richly illustrated magazines, and as a result there are many photographs of missionary work after the 1920s. They even made several films with the objective of making available information about the Indonesian mission in Europe. This information also had to make collecting money easier. The films *Ana Woda* and *Ria Rago* by father Simon

Buis (who went to the United States for training in film-making) from 1930 were followed by a novel on the same subject and with the same title (*Ria Rago*) by P. Heerkens in 1938.

The SVD had started a China mission in 1879, followed by work in Togo (West Africa, 1892) and the German section of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (1896). A missionary in East Guinea, the Dutch priest Constantinus van den Hemel, started the debate about the transfer of the mission during a visit to Batavia in April 1909. The superior general of the SVD, Nicolaus Blum, who had taken over leadership of the order after the death of Janssen in 1909, reacted with enthusiasm. But Bishop Luypen of Batavia was quite reluctant to make quick decisions, because at that time he was also negotiating with the Capuchin Friars about the extension of their work. In 1911 the Capuchin Friars opened mission stations in Sumatra and southeast Indonesia became the region for the SVD priests and friars. They started work in southeast Indonesia in 1913 (East Timor) with the arrival of Petrus Noyen, a former missionary to China and for a short time rector of the training college of the SVD in the Netherlands. When German priests had to enter the army as a consequence of World War I and only few funds could be sent from the Netherlands and nothing from Germany, it took until 1919 before the SVD could extend their work, which had started in Timor, and take over also mission stations in Flores. The last Jesuits left this region in February 1920.

From the 1920s on, the work of the SVD grew quickly. In 1929 they had 58 priests and 25 lay brothers in the mission field. These numbers had grown in 1939 to 145 for the priests and 42 for the brothers. With the exception of a few priests in Bali and Lombok, all worked in the lesser Sunda islands, most in Flores, Timor and Sumba.

Like the MSC missionaries, the SVD were founded with the explicit objective of doing missionary work in the sense of establishing new regions for the Catholic Church. The SVD put even less emphasis on a specific style of spirituality, unlike the MSC who propagated the devotion to the heart of Jesus as a symbol of divine love for humanity and as the particular MSC tradition of Christianity. The SVD were, like their founder, pragmatic organizers of the missionary undertaking. They realized the importance of studying of languages and cultures. They knew that they could never do missionary work without proper anthropological research. Father Paul Arndt started working full-time as a researcher in 1922. He was joined by Jilis Verheyen and Bernard Vroklage in the late 1930s. The SVD researchers based themselves on the idea of their colleague, Father Wilhelm Schmidt, who developed the idea of *Urmonotheismus*, claiming that remnants of the revelation of One God could still be found in virtually all cultures of the world. Their idea was not so much to rescue souls who were otherwise lost to Hell. Nor did they claim that pagan belief had no truth at all: they came rather as reformers and modernizers, reforming pagan belief systems to original monotheism, enriched

by the teachings of Christianity. Moreover they came to bring the blessings of modern society: roads, better housing, better medical care, and above all a school system fit for the underdeveloped societies that were entrusted to their supervision. Their major work was in the islands of Flores and the eastern districts of west Timor, where they were the sole players in the field of education, given in full to them by the colonial government.³

Arndt, Paul Josef

Born in Rasselwitz (Germany) on 10-1-1886; ordained on 29-9-1912. He worked as a missionary in Togo between 1913-7; arrived in Flores on 6-5-1923; appointed to Lela. From 1929 on a great variety of articles and books from his hand were published, mostly in German and Dutch. He composed dictionaries of Sikka, Lio (both published in 1933) and Ngadha (1961). He wrote grammars of the languages of Sikka and Solor (1931 and 1937). He died on 20-11-1962.

Baack, Wilhelmus

Born in Olfen (Germany) on 14-11-1886; ordained on 29-9-1910. Arrived in Flores-Timor on 16-9-1913; first worked in Timor and later in Flores. He became the regional superior, school inspector and pastor of Larantuka; he died as a victim of the Spanish influenza in Larantuka on 23-12-1918.

Bakker, Franciscus

Lay brother. Born in Roelofsarendsveen on 19-7-1895. Arrived in Indonesia on 19-2-1919; worked in Todabelu, in Maumere. He was a carpenter. Died on 18-1-1968.

Bala, Jan

Born in Waibalun, Flores, Indonesia on 10-7-1912; ordained early because of the Japanese internment of foreign missionaries. From ordination (15-8-1942) until the Japanese surrender he was pastor for the whole of Manggarai, West Flores. In 1948 he taught at Todabelu, Flores; later he moved to the minor seminary at Lalian in Timor where he spent most of his life. Died on 10-7-1990.

Beijer, Nicolaas J.H.

Born in Heerlen on 6-8-1909, ordained on 27-1-1935. Arrived in Flores on 13-9-1935; appointed to the Maumere region (1936). Was the parish priest of Koting for a long period. Returned to the Netherlands on 28-4-1992. He died on 13-3-1994.

Bekkum, Willem van

Born in Achterveld on 3-3-1910; ordained on 18-8-1935. Arrived in Flores on 24-9-1936. He was appointed to Ruteng on 7-7-1937; vicar apostolic of

³ The name of the SVD brothers are in italics. We want to thank Br. Rufinus Rehing, SVD Kantor Provinzial SVD Ende, who sent us a list of all the SVD fathers and brothers who worked in Flores, Timor, Sumba and Bali-Lombok from 1913-42.

Ruteng on 8-3-1951; bishop of Ruteng on 3-1-1961; resigned as the bishop of Ruteng on 10-3-1972. From 1973-8 he was in Germany. Back in Flores he stayed in Ponggeok. He died on 11-2-1998.

Beltjens, Pieter

Born in Roermond on 25-1-1901; ordained on 6-2-1927. Arrived in Flores on 19-3-1930; appointed to Todabelu (1933); was Arndt's companion and assisted Simon Buis with his films. Returned to the Netherlands in 1948; died on 1-8-1965.

Bode, Bernardus

Born in Bilshausen (Germany) on 20-8-1885; ordained on 29-9-1910. Arrived in Flores on 29-6-1920: Lamalera, Larantuka. Returned to Europe on 13-3-1951. Died on 20-8-1978.

Bouma, Johan

Born in Oude Mirdum on 27-5-1885; ordained on 29-9-1910. Arrived in Ende, Flores on 3-5-1919; back to the Netherlands for studies (1921-7) and returned to Flores on 9-1-1928. He was appointed school inspector for Flores. He was the founder of the major seminary in Ledalero in 1937 when he was the regional superior (1932-47). Interned by the Japanese from 1942-5. From 1948-54 the rector of Ledalero. In his old age he 'retired' to Jopu where he made the first Catholic translation of the New Testament into Indonesian; first published in 1965, seventh edition 1996. Died on 14-5-1970.

Buis, Simon

Born in Medemblik on 12-11-1892. He came to his vocation late; in 1910 he went to Steijl; he studied to become a teacher and arrived in Flores for the first time on 9-8-1919. In 1922 he went to the United States to finish his theological studies in Chicago; ordained on 28-3-1925. In June 1929 went to the United States once more to do a film-making course. In March 1930 Simon Buis was back in Flores. He shot two films in Flores around 1930; *Ana Woda* and *Ria Rago* are among the first-ever films shot in Indonesia. After moving to Bali he established the Catholic mission in Tuka, which is today regarded as the 'Nazareth of Bali'. In May 1932 returned to the Netherlands and there he travelled around showing his missionary films. In 1936 he was again in Bali as the regional superior of the mission on Bali, Lombok and Flores. In October 1951 he became very ill; returned to the Netherlands. He died in Deurne (mission house) on 25-8-1960.

Burger, Adolph Otto

Born in Atzgersdorf (Austria) on 8-12-1906; ordained on 5-5-1932. Arrived in the Indies on 8-9-1932; worked in Ruteng. Left Indonesia in 1938. He died on 31-7-1943.

Cleef, Jan van

Born in Belfeld on 20-2-1885; ordained on 27-3-1909; in Uden from 1911-19. Arrived in Ndona, Flores in 1919; in Sumba 1921, died on 28-7-1927.

Cornelissen, Frans J.J.

Born in Tilburg on 16-3-1896; ordained on 29-5-1920. Arrived in Flores on 5-11-1925. Started the minor seminary in Sikka in 1926, which then moved to Todabelu in 1929, where he stayed from 1929-45. During the war he was allowed to work in the minor seminary and was there able to also teach at the major seminary and work as a pastor. After the war he was in charge of the administration of the schools. He retired in 1970. He died on 12-2-1983.

Eickmann, Franciscus

Born in Weeze (Germany) on 11-11-1882; ordained as a priest on 23-2-1908. Arrived in Flores 5-1-1922. He mostly stayed in Rekas and Ruteng. He died on 5-7-1952.

Ettel, J.

Born in Riemertsheide (Germany) on 14-8-1887, ordained on 29-9-1912. Arrived in Flores on 1-3-1920. Returned to Europe in 1965; died on 13-3-1971.

Friess, Berthold

Born in Uznach (Switzerland) on 5-9-1889, ordained on 28-9-1913. Arrived in Flores on 27-12-1916, appointed to Lela. Died on 3-9-1981.

Glanemann, B.

Born in Münster (Germany) on 25-2-1881; ordained on 24-2-1905. Arrived in Flores on 5-12-1919; he became the first residential priest in Ruteng. Later he worked in Ende (1920). Died on 6-12-1929.

Heerkens, Petrus Martinus ('Piet')

Born on 4-11-1897 in Tilburg; ordained on 6-2-1927. He arrived in the Indies on 21-10-1927 and was appointed to Rekas, Flores. In 1929 to Todabelu to be a teacher. In 1933 he was appointed as a pastor in Sikka, Flores. Returned to the Netherlands in 1936 because of health problems. He died in Helvoirt on 28-1-1944. He wrote many novels and pamphlets promoting the mission in Flores and Timor.

Hemel, Constant van der

Born in St. Kruis on 17-9-1873; ordained on 1-5-1903. In Papua New Guinea from 1904-12; arrived in the Dutch East Indies on 14-2-1915, worked in Atapupu. In mid-1918 Constant van de Hemel left the mission and the SVD because of personal choice.

Heijden, Mgr. P.J. van der

Born in Cuijk on 27-4-1900; ordained on 1-2-1931. Arrived in Flores on 5-9-1931; first worked in Ende. In 1935 he became the resident priest in Mataram, Lombok, but was called back to Flores in 1940 to be the *vicarius delegatus* (assistant to the bishop). In 1947 he became general assistant of the SVD in Rome. He was prefect apostolic of Kenge (Democratic Republic of Congo) from 1957 to 1963. In 1963 he resigned and returned to the Netherlands. He died on 6-4-1988.

Hundler, Ed.

Born in Münster (Germany) on 19-12-1881; ordained on 23-12-1908. Arrived in the Indies on 3-4-1921; was in Ndona (1925). He left Flores in 1931 and died on 13-10-1951.

Jansen, Willem

Born in Oirlo on 19-2-1893; ordained on 28-9-1919. Arrived in Flores on 1-8-20, became the great missionary of East Manggarai. Worked in Riung and especially in Lengko-Adjang from 7-4-1921 onwards. He died on 19-10-1960.

Kale Bale, Karel

Born in Paga (Flores) on 13-5-1913; ordained on 28-1-1941. Worked in Waepeca-Ruteng (1968) Redong (1974). Died on 7-4-1989.

Karsten, Simon

Born in Andijk-Westwoud on 9-10-1885; ordained on 28-9-1913. Arrived in Flores on 27-11-1916; appointed to Larantuka and died there of the Spanish influenza on 21-12-1918.

Kerkhof, Camilius

Born in Lisseweghe (Belgium) on 20-5-1875; ordained as a priest on 23-2-1908. Arrived in Timor on 22-10-1919, appointed to Lahurus in 1922. Returned to Europe in 1932; died on 28-12-1939.

Kersten, Joh. P.

Born in Echt on 18-8-1907; ordained on 29-1-1933. Arrived in Flores on 3-9-1934; appointed to Den Pasar, Bali in 1935. He died in Teteringen on 27-4-1990.

Köberl, Johann

Born in Vöslau (Austria) on 17-1-1890; ordained on 23-9-1916. Arrived in Flores on 6-12-1919. He was the parish priest of Nele (close to Koting, southeast of Maumere) and there he started weekly devotions with girls who wanted to become nuns in 1923; appointed to Toda Belu in 1925. During World War II in the Netherlands on furlough. In the Netherlands in 1974. He died on 7-12-1988.

Koemeester, J.

Born in Westwoud on 16-2-1892; ordained on 26-10-1924. Arrived in Flores on 16-9-1933, appointed as the rector of the noviciate in Ledalero. He stayed out of prison during the war. He died on 7-10-1967.

Kreiten, Johann

Born in Sankt Tönis (Germany) on 17-3-18; ordained on 1-5-1903. Arrived in Timor on 16-9-1913 but did not stay much longer than one year. Left Indonesia in 1914.

Kuijper, Nicolaas

Born in Heiloo on 2-1-1907; ordained on 31-1-1932. Arrived in Flores on 28-3-1934, appointed to Wangka (Manggarai), Ndona, and after the war

was in Jakarta. Repatriated to the Netherlands on 10-4-1968. He died on 22-3-1994.

Lange, Frans de

Born in Bobeldijk-Hoorn in 16-1-1871. In 1899-1912 at the SVD seminary of Techny in United States; on 16-3-1913 he arrived in Ndona, then on to Timor; in mid-1917 to Flores again. Back to the United States in 1922. He died in Rome on 30-8-1938.

Leven, Henricus

Born in Lank (Germany) on 13-6-1883. He attended the minor seminary in Steijl; ordained on 29-9-1910. After his theological studies in Sankt Gabriel, Vienna, he was a missionary in Togo from 1911-7. Arrived in Flores on 11-12-1920. In 1927 he moved to Ndona to become a *provicaris*, or first assistant to Bishop Verstraelen. After the latter died, he was nominated to become the bishop's successor and in 1933 he became a Dutch citizen on being appointed the vicar apostolic of Ende. Founded the diocesan Sisters of the Imitation of Jesus (CIY) in 1933. He retired in 1951 when the Ende vicariate was divided into Den Pasar (Bali), Ruteng, Larantuka and Ende. Retired to Steijl where he died on 31-1-1953.

Limbrock, Heinrich

Born on 30-7-1875 in Bochum (Germany); ordained on 24-2-1905. Worked as a missionary in Togo from 1906-11. From 1911-7 in Mozambique, then back to Europe; arrived in Flores on 1-12-1923. He made the first tour on Sumba in 1927, then as the resident priest in Weetebula, Sumba. Left Indonesia on 16-8-1948. Died on 5-3-1949.

Lith, *Gallus van der*

Lay brother. Born in Willeskop on 6-6-1878. Arrived in the Indies, Flores, on 21-8-1920. Worked in Toda Belu. Left Indonesia in 1962 and died on 14-4-1973.

Manek, Gabriel

Born on 18-8-1913 in Ailoma, Lahurus (Timor); ordained as a priest on 28-1-1941. Vicar apostolic of Larantuka from 1951-61; became the first Archbishop of Ende (transferred from Larantuka) 3-1-1961; resigned on 19-12-1968. After his resignation in 1968 he went to the USA where he ministered among native Americans for many years and among whom he died on 30-11-1989.

Meekes, *Vincentius*

Lay brother. Born in Lichtenvoorde on 10-4-1885. Arrived in Flores on 27-12-1916; appointed to Larantuka where he died of the Spanish influenza on 21-12-1918.

Mölkens, *Lucianus*

Lay brother. Born in Datteln (Germany) on 19-11-1870. Arrived in Flores in 1913; worked in Halilulik as a carpenter. He died on 14-1-1936.

Noyen, Piet

Born in Helmond on 3-9-1870; ordained on 7-12-1893. Left for China the following year. He worked in the Shantung mission until 1909, when he returned to the Netherlands to become the first director of the SVD minor seminary in Uden. In May 1912 he was nominated as the prefect of the new mission territory of the Lesser Sunda Islands. He arrived in Batavia on 4-1-1913. In mid-1914 a Vatican decree decided that Flores was also included in the SVD mission. Noyen moved the headquarters of the mission from Lahurus in Timor to Ndona (9 kilometres from Ende) in Flores in May 1915. He died 24 February 1921 in Steijl, while on sick-leave, and just before his ordination to bishop.

Oosterholt, A., *Callixtus*

Lay brother. Born in Zwolle on 22-7-1867. Arrived in the Indies 18-2-1913. He worked in Tubaki, Timor and Ruteng-Nangahale until 1940 as a farmer. He died during World War II on 16-2-1942.

Pedrico, Rufinus

Born in Larantuka (Flores) on 8-9-1912; ordained on 15-8-1942. Appointed to Ende as the pastor. He died on 11-4-1996.

Pessers, Jac.

Born in Tilburg on 5-2-1896; ordained as a priest on 10-6-1922. Arrived in Timor on 23-12-1924, appointed to Halilulik. On 1-7-1937 became vicar apostolic of Atambua, Timor; he died on 3-4-1961.

Preissler, Johann

Born in Raspenau (Germany) on 9-3-1890, ordained on 24-9-1916. Arrived in Ende on 20-10-1920, worked in Lewoleba and Lamalera on the island of Lembata (east of Flores) from 1921-32. He died on 1-11-1971.

Schoorlemmer, G.

Born in Heeten on 13-6-1891; ordained on 10-8-1916. Arrived in Flores in 1920 and was appointed for Bajawa. He died on 18-8-1927.

Schoren, *Lambertus*

Lay brother. Born in Neer-Uden on 22-11-1888. Arrived in Flores on 15-2-1915, appointed to Ende (carpenter); left Indonesia in 1947 and died on 29-11-1948.

Stokkom, Ben van

Born in Uden on 27-5-1898; ordained on 26-10-1924. Arrived in Flores in December 1926 and was appointed to Ndona. He left Indonesia 6-1947 and died on 14-7-1992.

Streng, *Arnold*

Lay brother. Born in IJsselstein on 14-10-1900. Arrived in Flores on 2-10-1927 and went to Sumba in March 1930. He was based in Katiku Loku, Sumba and stayed there until imprisoned by the Japanese on 17-5-1942. After the war he was briefly hospitalized in Australia and worked once

more in Katiku Loku from 1946 until 15-11-1957 when the SVD left Sumba. He then moved to the seminary at Kisol, Manggarai, in Flores. He died on 1-2-1967 and is buried in Kisol.

Strieter, W.

Born in Röhlinghausen (Germany) on 26-8-1889; ordained on 1-10-1915. Arrived in Flores on 21-10-1919; worked in Larantuka, Maumere and Levolein. He died on the Van Imhoff, near Nias on 19-1-1942.

Suntrup Schülle, August

Born in Telgte (Germany) on 19-06-1888; ordained on 26-8-1914. Arrived in Flores on 5-2-1920, was appointed for Jopu and was there until 1940. Returned to Europe in 1964 and died on 4-7-1966.

Tol, J.

Born in Volendam on 29-12-1902; ordained on 1-2-1931. Arrived in Flores on 5-9-1931 appointed to Detusoko, Ende. After his return to Europe, Jan Tol did pastoral work in Germany before retiring to Teteringen, the Netherlands on 12-2-1966; he died there on 23-4-1999.

Velzen, Gerrit van

Born in Castricum on 5-9-1892; ordained on 8-12-1922. Arrived in Flores on 1-10-1919. Back in Teteringen from 1921-4 to finish his studies. Back in Flores (Ende) as the pastor on 21-12-1924. April 1925 tour of duty on Sumba; in 1940 Ende-Ndao, in Lewoleba in 1974. He died on 4-5-1978.

Verheijen, Jilis

Born in Zevenaar on 26-3-1908; ordained as a priest on 28-1-1934. Arrived in Flores on 1-11-1935 and was posted in the Manggerai (Tjibal-Pagal). During WW II he stayed in Pare Pare. In December 1945 returned to his parish. In 1959 he was relieved of his pastoral duties and devoted himself to scholarly work. He settled in Ruteng. In 1993 he returned to Teteringen, the Netherlands. He died on 25-4-1997 (Willemse 1998).

Verstraelen, Arnoldus

Born in Sevenum on 18-7-1882. He went to the SVD minor seminary in Steijl and studied philosophy and theology in Vienna. After ordination on 10-2-1907 he was sent to the German SVD mission in Togo. From May 1913-22 he was the leader in the Timor mission. He was nominated the successor of Noyen, in a higher grade, of vicar apostolic. Verstraelen died in Flores on 16-3-1932 in a car accident.

Vroklage, B.

Born 1897 in Oldemarkt and was an SVD priest since 1924. He studied systematic theology in Rome and anthropology at the University of Vienna. Between 1936-8 he did anthropological research in Flores and Timor, while he was a professor at the Dutch SVD seminary in Teteringen. In 1948 he became a professor at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. He died on 7-10-1951 in a traffic incident.

Well, L. van

Born in Horst on 2-3-1899; ordained as a priest on 26-10-1924. Arrived in Flores on 5-11-1925, appointed to Badjawa. He died during WW II on 27-11-1944.

Wolters, Jan

Born in Ginneken on 6-9-1907; ordained on 29-1-1933. Arrived in Flores on 16-9-1933 and was appointed to Weetebula 1934-40. He died on 16-4-1940.

Zwart, Piet de

Born in Amsterdam on 10-5-1911; ordained on 30-8-1936. Arrived in Flores on 17-9-1937; appointed to Weetebula (west Sumba). In 1957 Sumba was transferred to the Redemptorists (CSSR) and he moved to Flores. In 1986 he was still working in Tilang. Back to Teteringen on 3-5-1989. Died on 29-1-1993.

1.5. The Carmelites (OCarm) have a long history that starts with communities of hermits on Mount Carmel in Israel. Their spirituality is related to the stories of the prophets Elijah and Elisha. During the period of the crusades it was Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem who gave the order its rule in 1207. In 1246 the order was equated with the mendicant orders like the Franciscans. In 1568, the Carmelites experienced a reformation in Spain under the influence of Teresa of Avilla and John of the Cross. It was from this reformation the branch of the Discalceatorum (OCD 'without shoes') has started. The Carmelites are known for their emphasis on the mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine and practice. The single monastery of Boxmeer survived the anti-Catholic period of the Dutch Republic (1600-1795), but after the arrival of Protestantism the order was nearly extinguished in other parts of the Netherlands. The modern Dutch branch of the Carmelites was erected in 1890. The Dutch members of the order worked in some elite schools and in parishes. In 1903 they started a mission in Brazil. In 1923 they accepted responsibility for the prefecture apostolic of Malang, which was formally erected in 1927. In the late 1930s they had 28 priests in the Indies, two of whom were native Indonesians, Gerardus Singgih Padmowijoto (born 7 January 1905 in Ngawen, ordained to the priesthood in 1937 in Merkelbeek, the Netherlands) and G. Gondowerdojo. The OCD were not involved in the mission in Indonesia.

Albers, A.E.J.

Born 7-2-1904 in Nijmegen; ordained on 14-6-1930. Arrived in Java in 1931; appointed vicar apostolic of Malang on 15-3-1939; ordained as a bishop on 10-8-1939; appointed as the bishop of Malang on 3-1-1961. Resigned in 1973. He died on 22-10-1980.

Bijlhout, H.J. (Romualdus)

Born in Waalwijk on 22-20-1898; ordained in 1930. Arrived in Java in 1931, appointed to Malang. Died on 2-11-1978.

Gondowerdojo, G.

Ordained on 10-7-1938. Appointed to Jember.

Padmowijoto, Gerardus Singgih

Born on 7-1-1905 in Ngawen; ordained on 11-7-1937 in Merkelbeek, the Netherlands. Appointed to Malang.

Pas, C. van der

Born in Heeswijk on 13-06-1885; ordained in Boxmeer in 1910. Went to Indonesia in 1923 where he became the *superior missionis* in Java and in 1927 was appointed as the prefect apostolic of Malang. He died in Malang on 16-12-1933.

1.6. The Lazarists (CM, Congregatio Missionis) are named after their first religious house Saint Lazare, Paris, a former leper hospital. The French priest Vincentius à Paulo founded the congregation in 1625 after he had been released from kidnapping and slavery by Tunisian robbers. The Lazarists are also called Vincentians or Paulists after their founder. Because of the anti-religious politics of the French government the congregation sought refuge in the Netherlands in 1882 and moved their seminary from Lille, France, to Wernhoutsburg, close to Zundert, on the southern border of the Netherlands. In 1936 the Dutch province of the Lazarists counted 266 members, 167 priests, 74 students of theology, 21 lay brothers and three bishops in mission areas, China, Brazil and the Dutch East Indies. Since December 1922 the Lazarists took responsibility for the prefecture apostolic of Surabaya (officially erected in 1928). From the start until his retirement in 1937 Theofile de Backere was the leading priest in the Dutch Lazarist mission. He was a very outspoken and authoritarian church leader. In the late 1930s the Lazarists worked with 32 priests in East Java. One of them, the later Bishop J.A.M. Klooster was born in East Java (Jatirotto) into a family of Dutch planters in 1911. At that time there were not yet any native Indonesian members.

Backere, Theophilus E. de

Born in Eede-Aardenburg on 25-5-1882; ordained to the priesthood in 1909. He studied theology in Rome in 1909, was a lecturer at the major seminary in Panningen. Sent to Indonesia in 1923 to the new prefecture of Surabaya, was appointed *superior missionis*; De Backere became the first prefect apostolic of Surabaya in 1928. Returned to the Netherlands because of frequent illness in 1936 and resigned in 1938. He died in Veghel in 1945.

Litjens, Major G.W.

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 31-10-1891; ordained as a priest in 1917. He

worked in Paraguay and Argentina; in the Indies from 1926 in Surabaya (1926-7) and Wlingi. He was a chaplain for the navy, 1927-38. He died in 1974.

Klooster, J.A.M.

Born in Jatiroti, Besuki on 5-6-1911; ordained in 1936. Arrived in Java in 1936. He was the pastor in Kediri, Blitar, Surabaya. Went to Leiden for to study Indology (1946-52); 19-2-1953 appointed vicar apostolic of Surabaya (bishop of Germanicopolis, *in partis infidelium*); appointed Bishop of Surabaya on 3-1-1961; resigned in 1982 and died on 30-12-1990.

Smet, Th.

Born in Zuid-Clinge on 1-2-1881; ordained on 5-6-1909. First went to Yungpingfu. Arrived in the Indies in 1924 to be the *procurator* or financial manager. He stayed in Indonesia until 1954. Returned to the Netherlands in 1954. He died in Wenden in 1965.

Verhoeks, Michiel

Born in Velddriel on 29-3-1893; ordained on 27-4-1919. Arrived in Surabaya in 1938. Appointed vicar apostolic of Surabaya on 6-10-1941; ordained as a bishop on 8-5-1942; died in Surabaya on 8-5-1952.

Wolters, J.H.

Born in Montfort on 26-3-1893; ordained in 1921. Arrived in Java in 1923 with the first CM Fathers. He worked in Surabaya, Kediri (1924), Blitar and Poensarang in 1938. Returned to the Netherlands in 1952, died in 1954 in Panningen.

Zoetmulder, J.J.

Born in Schiedam on 15-7-1889; ordained on 23-12-1922. First was a teacher at the major seminary Wernshoutsburg from 1923-34. He arrived in Surabaya, Java in 1934. Was director of Don Bosco from 1937-54. Returned to the Netherlands in 1955. He died in Venlo in 1975.

1.7. The Picpus Congregation (SSCC after the abbreviation of their formal Latin name Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium Jesu et Mariae, Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; the more common name comes from the street in Paris where their major house is, the Rue des Picpus) were founded for pastoral and missionary purposes in Paris in 1800 in the spirituality of anti-revolutionary France. Their most famous member was the Belgian priest Damiaan De Veuster, who worked among the lepers of Hawaii (died in 1889 on the island of Molokai). The congregation settled in the Netherlands in 1896 and started a seminary. By the 1930s they counted 102 priests and 75 candidates for the priesthood in the Netherlands. In 1925 they started work in Brazil, where they had 29 priests and three lay brothers the late 1930s. Earlier, in 1923, they had started the Indonesian mission, by establishing the prefecture apostolic of Bangka and Belitung. In the late 1930s they had 19 Dutch

priests and two lay brothers in the Indonesian mission, all concentrating on the Chinese population of this region.⁴

Bouma,Vitus

Witse Bouma. Born on 6-12-1892 in Oude Mirdum, ordained in 1923. He came to Bangka in 1926. In May 1928 he succeeded Theod. Heckenrath as the prefect apostolic. His first headquarters were at Sambong (1928-31); later he moved to Pangkalpinang (1931-42). During the war he was imprisoned in Pangkalpinang (1942) where he stayed active. From May 1944 he was in Mentok. He died in camp Belalan, Lubuk-Linggau on 19-4-1945.

Herckenrath, Theodosius (1886-1972)

Jan Herckenrath was born in Velp, near Arnhem, on 26-3-1886. He was ordained in 1914 and appointed to Hawaii (1914-22). In 1922 he was appointed as the prefect apostolic of a mission in New Guinea that was entrusted to the SSCC Congregation. But that prefecture was exchanged by Rome for the mission of Bangka, Belitung and Riau in 1924. He felt that there was not much future for his prefecture and decided to resign. Vitus Bouma succeeded him in 1928 and Theodosius returned to Hawaii. He died in Honolulu on 13-4-1972.

Tromp, Engelmund (1898-1974)

Born in Wognum on 11-4-1898; ordained in 1923. He became a teacher at the minor seminary. In 1932 appointed to the Bangka mission, for the islands of Karimun and Moro. After the war he lived successively in Pangkalpinang (1946-7), Mentok (1948-50), Pangkalpinang (1950-2), Sungailiat (1952-7) and again in Pangkalpinang (1957-64). In 1964 he came back to the Netherlands. He died in Nuland on 19-11-1974.

1.8. Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (SCJ, *Sacerdotes Cordis Jesu*) are members of another congregation that was founded in the nineteenth century by the French priest Leo August Dehon. The congregation was rather late to start; officially it began in 1878, not as a missionary congregation, but concentrated on educational and pastoral work among European and American Catholics. The SCJ devoted much attention to high-quality education in secondary schools and seminaries. They were sometimes equated with the Jesuits for their intellectual interests and at times they called themselves the 'Jesuits with a heart'. In 1937, out of the 1,750 members, only 325 worked in mission territories, including Latin America. The congregation spread rather quickly to several countries. In 1883 they had to leave Germany, and they settled in Sittard in the south of the Netherlands. Since then there were also independent Dutch schools founded. The Dutch SCJ worked in Sweden, Finland, Belgian

⁴ Rademaker, Van Rossum and Steenbrink 1999; *Jaarboek 1940*.

Congo, north Brazil and since 1924 in Bengkulu and Palembang, where 22 priests and 8 lay brothers worked in the late 1930s.

Hermelink, Albert

Born in Emmen on 5-8-1898; ordained as a priest on 19-7-1925. Sent to south Sumatra in 1926 and appointed to Palembang; Pringsewu (1932). Appointed as the prefect of Tandjung-Karang on 27-6-1952, bishop of Tandjung-Karang on 19-7-1961; retired on 18-4-1979; died on 25-2-1983.

Mekkelholt, Henri Martin

Born in Lonneker on 25 February. Arrived in Palembang in 1927 and was elected as the prefect of Bengkulu on 19-1-1934; nominated as the vicar apostolic of Palembang on 11-7-1939. Resigned on 5-4-1963 and died on 26-12-1969.

Odulphus, Brother

G. van Gisbergen, born in Veldhoven on 27-9-1908. Arrived in South Sumatra in 1933 and was appointed to Pringsewu (1935). Was still working in Palembang in 1986.

Oort, H.J.D. van

Born in Zwolle, 23-12-1888; ordained to the priesthood on 22-7-1923. Arrived in Palembang on 23-9-1924. From 1928-42 he was the parish priest of Tanjungkarang. Died in a Japanese detention camp in Muntok, between 1943-5.

1.9. Missionaries of the Holy Family (MSF, *Missionarii Sacrae Familiae*) were established by a French priest, J.B. Berthier, a member of a missionary congregation in the archdiocese of Grenoble. In 1895 he erected a new congregation, the MSF, in Grave, the Netherlands. In Grave the congregation started a seminary for the education of priests. Initially the initiative was especially focused on the vocations of people who were somewhat older than the usual teenagers who entered the minor seminaries. In a later stage, however, they also accepted younger people for their seminaries. Until the 1930s their French origin and focus upon mature people could be seen in the French name of their institute, 'Institut des vocations tardives pour les mission étrangères de Grave' (see Van Woesik 1938:27). From the Netherlands the MSF spread to various other countries. Its first mission started in Brazil in 1910. In 1926 the MSF accepted responsibility for South and East Kalimantan (Banjarmasin, Balikpapan and Samarinda). They also wanted to have some places to work in Java and undertook some activities in the northern districts of Central Java (in Semarang, Pati and Kudus) from 1932 onwards. In Central Java they did not take full responsibility for the region but worked under the authority of the vicar apostolic of Batavia and after 1940 the newly nominated vicar apostolic

of Semarang. In the late 1930s, 21 MSF priests and 7 lay brothers worked in the mission in Kalimantan, while 8 priests worked in Central Java.

Groen, Joh.

Born in Grootshuizen on 15-12-1891; ordained on 17-12-1921. Arrived in Kalimantan on 6-6-1930, appointed to Banjarmasin (1931), Balikpapan (1936); vicar apostolic of Bandjarmasin on 10-3-1949; ordained as a bishop on 16-6-1949; died 18-4-1953

Kusters, J.J.M.

Born in Boxmeer on 2-6-1904; ordained on 30-7-1933. He arrived in Dutch Borneo in 1934; first worked in the southern and eastern parts of Dutch Borneo, especially in Mamahak; was appointed prefect apostolic of central and east Borneo, in Banjarmasin, on 21-5-1938 but left this position on 10-3-1949. He continued to work as a parish priest for the Banjarmasin cathedral until his death on 12-9-1963.

Schoone, P.

Born in Lisse on 22-6-1894. Arrived in Kalimantan on 10-10-1932; appointed to Banjarmasin; religious superior in 1939. In 1946 he returned to the Netherlands where he remained active as pastor for migrants from Indonesia. Died in Lisse on 16-8-1971.

1.10. The Order of the Holy Cross (OSC, Ordo Sanctae Crucis) is among the older Catholic orders. Established in Belgium in 1210, they remained a small order, concentrating on meditation and the solemn liturgy in their beautiful monasteries. Even after a revival in the nineteenth century and having begun in the United States (in 1910), the whole order only had 360 members in the late 1930s. Their objective for starting a mission in the Dutch East Indies was partly also because of their wish to join the missionary fervour in the Netherlands and to get their share of it, especially as regards vocations for the priesthood. In 1927 they accepted responsibility for the Bandung region (established as an prefecture apostolic in 1932). In the late 1930s there were 24 OSC priests in this region. They worked mostly among the Europeans, Indo-Europeans and Chinese of the Prianger districts in parishes that were organized on the model of Dutch parishes. Twenty-one priests worked in Bandung and adjacent Cimahi, two in Ceribon, and one in Garut. Anton van Asseldonk, a priest who was heavily involved in mission work among the Jews in the Netherlands and was even in Israel for some time together with the excentric Francisca van Leer, turned out to be a rather embarrassing nomination for the mission. In 1928 he was no longer allowed to work among the Jews because of his preaching about the end of the world. As a safety measure he was sent to the Dutch East Indies in 1930. Here he was once more involved in rather uncommon practices of radical, charismatic Catholics. Rumours about OSC

priests who announced the Day of Judgement and predicted their own death on Good Friday came to the Netherlands. Asseldonk was recalled to the Netherlands in 1938 (Poorthuis & Saleminck 2000:373). The unorthodox eschatological spirituality of some OSC priests was attractive for Eurasian Catholics.

In the 1990s a young Indonesian OSC priest, Leonardus Samosir, wrote a peculiar doctoral dissertation about the spirituality of his order in which he hypothesized that the proper spirituality of the OSC was the balance between outward activities like work for the poor and the more inward concentration on prayers and liturgy. Samosir suggested that rather than living alone or with a few colleagues in isolated mission stations, priests should live in larger religious houses with more people to establish some kind of a monastic life. There they could celebrate a solemn liturgy, not only of the Mass, but also the canonical prayers seven times a day. When Samosir wrote his book, the Indonesian dioceses had enough priests for the common pastoral care that was not considered by Samosir as the core activity of the OSC (Samosir 1999).

Asseldonk, Anton van

Born in Erp on 11-11-1892; ordained in 1916. Studied theology in Freibourg (Switzerland) and Rome. To the Indies in 1930, worked in Bandung; back to the Netherlands in 1938; died in Vienna in 1973.

Goumans, Jacobus Hubertus

Born in Venray on 19-9-1883; ordained as a priest on 22-12-1906 in Namur, Belgium. Arrival in the Indies in 1927; worked as pastor in Bandung and was *superior missionis* of the OSC. In 1932 appointed as prefect apostolic of Bandung; appointed as vicar apostolic on 16-10-1941; ordained as a bishop on 22-4-1942; resigned in 1951; died on 6-10-1953.

1.11. Franciscan Friars (OFM, Ordo Franciscani Minores, see also no. 3 previously). They are another branch of the same religious family as the Capuchin Friars. In the Netherlands they have had a continuing history since 1228. The large Dutch province (more than 1,000 members in the late 1930s) had sent 220 friars to mission areas with China (40 friars in the late 1930s) and Brazil (120 missionaries) as the most prominent places. In 1929 they started on the island of Java, taking over the orphanage of Batavia (Kramat) from the Jesuits. Later they also worked in Kampung Sawah and took responsibility for the later diocese of Bogor. In 1936 they also started work in the later diocese of Sorong, and in Halmahera and Ternate. In the late 1930s there were 29 Franciscan friars active in the Dutch colony.

Beekman, Victorius

Egbertus H. I. Beekman. Born in The Hague on 11-3-1883; ordained on 6-9-1902. Arrived in Batavia on 21-12-1929; appointed as the *superior regularis*.

Worked in Batavia (Kramat) until 1938 and later in Cianjur. He died in Venray on 15-7-1966.

Geise, Paternus

Nicolaas J. Geise. Born in Rotterdam on 7-2-1907; ordained on 6-3-1932. Arrived in Batavia in 1938 (Rangkasbitung, linguistic research); appointed as the prefect of Sukabumi on 17-12-1948, Indonesia; appointed as the bishop of Bogor on 16-10-1961; resigned on 30-1- 1975; he died in Weert on 1-8-1998.

Kun, Seraphicus van der

Antonius L.E.M. van der Kun. Born in The Hague on 22-6-1895; ordained on 11-3-1923. Arrived in Batavia on 17-9-1931; worked in Meester Cornelis, Batavia. He died in The Hague on 25-10-1955.

1.12. Scheut Fathers (CICM, Congregatio Immaculatae Cordis Mariae, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary); commonly called Scheut Fathers after the suburb of Brussels where the congregation was founded by the Belgian priest Théophile Verbist in 1862. In 1899 they started a minor seminary close to 's-Hertogenbosch, in Vught, the Netherlands. The first Dutch missionaries in this congregation were sent to the major mission areas, Mongolia, the Belgian Congo, and the Philippines. In 1937 the first Scheut priests travelled to the Dutch East Indies, where they took responsibility for the mission in Makassar. The Scheut priests joined the missionary élan of the late nineteenth century. They did not claim to spread a specific religious spirituality, not even for priests. They only wanted to educate diocesan priests and to serve young Catholic communities until the regular diocese with its local priests would have been established. Therefore they did not found an Indonesian branch of their congregation in contrary to what was done by most other religious orders. In 1939 there were nine members of CICM in the Prefecture of Makasar.

Eykemans, Chr. G.M.

Born in Vught on 13-3-1903, ordained in 1928. Arrived in the Indies in 1937 and was appointed to Makale; he also was *superior religious*; arrived to stay in Toraja land as the first Catholic priest on 4-6-1939. He died in Makassar in 1940.

Martens, G.

Born in Wanssum on 13-5-1885; ordained in 1908. Departed for the Philippines in 1909; returned to the Netherlands because of health problems in 1930. Arrived in the Indies in 1937; prefect apostolic of Makassar 1937. In 1948 Makassar became a vicariate apostolic and Martens retired. He died in 1949.

Vervoort, A.A.J.M.

Born in Eindhoven on 20-5-1912, ordained on 2-8-1937. Arrived in Sulawesi in 1938 and in 1940 became resident parish priest in Sepang, on the western edge of Toraja land. Returned to the Netherlands in 1968 where he died in Eindhoven on 9-10-1970.

1.13. The Franciscan Friars of the Conventual Branch (OFMConv). The third branch of the great Franciscan family that has been active in Indonesia is the Conventuals. In the thirteenth century, shortly after the death of Saint Francis, they were considered to be less strict because they lived in larger communities in religious houses (*conventus*), and not as hermits. This branch never had as many members in the Netherlands as the Capuchin or Franciscan friars did. In 1937 they started a mission in the Indies, where four Dutch priests took over the parish of Buitenzorg-Bogor. In fact this was an exception to the general policy of the OFMConv, where most foreign missions were served by friars of various nationalities. For some time they remained a small religious group in Indonesia. In 2000 they counted 20 priests, half of Italian and half of Batak origin.

1. 14. The Montfortans (SMM, Societas Mariae Montfortensis) were founded in 1715 in the French province of Brittany by the French priest Grignon de Montfort. Their most important goal was the revival of European Catholicism. In 1880, during a period of difficulties for French religious orders and warm reception of new settlements in the Netherlands, they founded the first Dutch minor seminary in Schimmert. In 1922 the Dutch province started a mission in Mozambique, in 1929 in Iceland, and in 1933 in Belgian Congo. In 1939 the first four Montfortan priests and one lay brother started work in West Kalimantan (Putu Sibau and Nazareth), where they later established the diocese of Sintang, still their main base in Indonesia. In 2000 they had 24 priests, most of them Indonesian, five lay brothers and 36 students of theology.

2. Congregations of lay brothers

2.1. Congregatie der Broeders van den H. Aloysius (Broeders van Oudenbosch, CSA, Bruder-bruder Santo Aloysius). This congregation was founded in Oudenbosch, the Netherlands, in 1840, by the vigorous diocesan parish priest Willem Hellemons who also organized the zouaves, the Dutch regiment of 3,000 volunteers for the defence of Vatican State in 1869-1870. Hellemons also organized the construction a giant church, a 1:3 replica of Saint Peter in Rome, in the small town of Oudenbosch, which at that time had less than 3,000 inhabitants. In addition to the large boarding school for boys, there was a similar institution for girls founded. In its heyday (between 1910-1940), the schools

had more than 3,000 resident pupils. The town became known as the 'Vatican of the North' because of its architectural style and many religious houses, among them the philosophical college of the Jesuits. It was one of those peculiar places where around 1900 the vigorous spirit of Catholic emancipation and new confidence in a Catholic identity was fostered. Although the CSA had also poor students, especially orphans, its general policy was to provide education for the elite. They emphasized this by using French as the language of the school and congregation in the Netherlands. In 1862 the Oudenbosch Brothers started their educational work in Indonesia (Surabaya), where they later also founded schools in the other major towns on Java: Batavia (1905), Bandung (1930), Semarang (1911), and Madiun (1934). Out of the 353 CSA brothers in 1939, 81 worked in the Indies, where they concentrated on high-quality Dutch language education. The Batavia school was founded at the instigation of some well-to-do Catholics in the capital, jeweller Van Arcken and the C. Welter family. Their settling in Semarang was to enhance the quality of the boys' department of the orphanage. One year after their arrival in that town the barracks for junior soldiers in Gombong ceased to exist and 50 of the former military pupils also went to the orphanage of Semarang (Christoforus 1940:245).

The harsh wording in document 24 clearly shows that the brothers had to obey very strict rules, similar to the very tight social rules for the sisters. This made for a poor social life for the brothers and sisters outside their strict work as teachers. Their influence and impact on Catholic life as a whole should therefore be seen as restricted, notwithstanding their large numbers. Other than their work in education and health service, they only had contact with the Catholics in the margin of liturgical activities, like the church choir or playing the organ at mass.

There are only few and incidental facts about the financing of the large investments for schools and hospitals. There were substantial gifts from lay people. In the case of the school of the CSA Brothers in Batavia, there was a gift of 10,000 guilders from the jeweller Van Arcken. The compound used for the school was bought in 1905 at a price of nearly 90,000 guilders. When the first superior of the Batavia settlement, Brother Julius,⁵ was succeeded in 1907, this amount had already been repaid (Christoforus 1940:243). The CSA brothers would not become really successful in Indonesia. In the late 1990s they had 45 Indonesian members, only half of the number they had 60 years earlier. It was apparently not attractive for the Indonesian youth to work in a position as a celibate lay brother.

2.2. The second order of lay brothers to enter the colony was the Broeders der Onbevlekte Ontvangenis (Brothers of the Immaculate Conception, commonly

⁵ Josephus Johannes Opdewoerd, born in Zwolle on 24-1-1859; arrived in Java in 1881; in 1905 appointed to Batavia, died in 1924.

called Brothers of Maastricht or nowadays often FIC, Fratres Immaculatae Conceptionis). They would become the most successful Indonesian order of lay brothers with some 120 members in the late 1990s. Their history is in many respects similar to the Oudenbosch Brothers. They were founded in the same period, in 1840, in Maastricht by a prominent priest, Ludovicus Rutten. His first disciple, Jacob Hoecken, became the lay founder of the congregation. Most members of the congregation worked as teachers in primary or secondary education. They spread more easily than the Oudenbosch Brothers. Their number was about twice that of the somewhat more sophisticated, but also more elite and more Dutch-oriented, CSA Brothers: over 800 in the late 1930s. In the Netherlands they were responsible for some 68 primary and 15 junior high schools in the late 1930s, as well as two teacher training colleges. They came to the Dutch East Indies in 1920, where two decades later some 65 Dutch brothers worked, together with their first four Indonesian members. They restricted their work to the Central Javanese territories of the Jesuit mission: Muntilan (where they took over some schools from the Jesuits), Ambarawa, Semarang, Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Bara in the purely Javanese Kalibawang area. Although most of their schools were Dutch language, their work was, from the beginning, among young Javanese pupils and not among the Europeans and Eurasians as the CSA did.

2.3. The third congregation of Brothers to enter the mission in the Dutch East Indies was the Congregatie der Christelijke Broeders van de Onbevlekte Ontvangenis der Allerheiligste Maagd en Moeder Gods Maria (Congregation of the Christian Brothers of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Sacred Virgin Mary, the Mother of God) commonly called Brothers of Huybergen after the Dutch village in which they were founded in 1854, the year in which Pope Pius IX promulgated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Its founder was the bishop of Breda, Jan van Hooydonk, initially with the purpose of giving shelter and education to orphans. In the Netherlands their work was mostly concentrated in the region of Breda. In the late 1930s they had 265 members, 35 of whom worked in the Dutch colony. They worked mostly in the Kalimantan territories of the Capuchin Friars, where they opened Dutch-language schools mostly for Chinese pupils in Pontianak, Singkawang, Banjarmasin. They also started a Dutch-language primary school (HIS) in Blitar. They are now known in Indonesia as the Bruder-bruder Santa Maria Tak Bernoda (MTB) and had some 44 Indonesian members in the late 1990s.

2.4. In 1920s one congregation after the other entered the Indonesian mission territory. In 1923 it was the Congregatie van de Fraters van Onze Lieve Vrouw Moeder van Barmhartigheid, the Fratres of Our Lady, Mother of Mercy, commonly called Fratres of Tilburg (CMM, after Congregatio Matris Misericordiae,

now in Indonesian Kongregasi Frater Santa Maria Bunda yang Berbelaskasih) who started work in some of the Outer Islands. They were founded in 1844 by J. Zwijzen, who in 1853 was the first bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch, though at the time of founding still the parish priest in Tilburg. The MSC priests later founded their major house in the same town in the Netherlands. It is therefore understandable that the CMM first started mission work in MSC territory, especially in the more prominent cities of Makassar and Tomohon on Sulawesi. They also worked in the Capuchin mission, probably because the Capuchin Friars also had a major house in Tilburg. In Sumatra they founded Dutch-language schools in Medan and Padang. In these four places they worked with 51 members, only a small part of their total number. In the late 1930s they had more than 1,100 members in the Netherlands, nearly all of them qualified teachers. In the Indies they often lived in larger communities, serving primary as well as secondary schools. In Padang 19 members taught, in Menado 14. They developed well in Indonesia. They had not yet any Indonesian members in the late 1930s, but registered more than 110 members in the late 1990s.

2.5. The Broeders Onze Lieve Vrouw van Lourdes or Brothers Our Dear Lady of Lourdes were commonly called the Brothers of Dongen after the village in the Dutch province of Brabant where in 1911 the major Dutch house of a Belgian-Dutch congregation that had started in the 1830s and had known a quite turbulent history in its early decades was established. The Dongen Brothers were first interested in helping the poor. Their first duty in Indonesia was the care of the great orphanage in Buitenzorg-Bogor, which they served from 1926 on. They soon founded more houses in West Java, in Sukabumi and Batavia. They also settled in two towns in Bangka, Pangkalpinang and Sungailiat, where they started Dutch-language schools for Chinese pupils. Among the Javanese Catholic of Kalibawang they started an unsuccessful agricultural training centre, 'Helderweirdt'. After their major house in Jakarta, the school Budi Mulia on Jalan Gunung Sahari 91, they are now commonly called Bruder-bruder Budi Mulia, although their official name is Kongregasi Bruder-bruder Santa Maria dari Lourdes. In the late 1990s they had 80 Indonesian members.

2.6. In the Netherlands there was an interesting rivalry between the two largest congregations of religious brothers. Besides the Fraters of Tilburg there were the Fraters of Utrecht, officially known as the Congregatie der Fraters van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart (Lady of the Sacred Heart). They were founded in Utrecht in 1873 by Andreas Schaepman, archbishop of Utrecht. In the Dutch East Indies the Utrecht fraters started their work in 1928, first in East Java (Malang, Kediri, Probolinggo) and later also Bengkulu. Like the Tilburg fraters they concentrated on Dutch-language primary and second-

ary schools. In Indonesia they are now known under the acronym of BHK after Kongregasi Frater-frater Bunda Hati Kudus and they counted more than 110 Indonesian members in the late 1990s (compared to 49 members in 1939, seven of whom were at that time Indonesia-born, a high percentage for the brother congregations).

2.7. The Congregatie der Broeders van Liefde were founded in 1803 by Canon P.J. Triest of Gent, in the heyday of the French revolution in Belgium, as an effort to survive Napoleon's anti-religious policies. Initially it was a foundation for sisters, but by 1808 a separate branch for male members was founded. Like the sisters they specialized in the care for the mentally and physically handicapped. In Indonesia they started work in 1929 in the MSC diocese of Purwokerto, where they had some Dutch-language schools but also an institution for deaf children. In 1939 they had some 23 members in Indonesia. They started a separate Javanese congregation for brothers, which by 1953 merged with the international Belgian-Dutch institution. They are now called Bruder-bruder Karitas (Friars of Love) in Indonesia and had 40 members in the late 1990s.

3. Orders and congregations of Sisters

Some general features: With the exception of the two female congregations that were connected with the SVD and MSC priests, there were no orders of sisters that specialized in missionary work. Still, missionary work was attractive for them as an extra activity alongside their work in the Netherlands. They paid a great deal of attention to the overseas missions in their magazines and other publications. It provided them with extra members and money. But overall they seldom had more than 10 per cent of their personnel in mission territories.

There was no general or overall strategy for choosing locations or making working combinations between male and female orders. In the 1920s newly appointed prefects apostolic travelled through the country to look for sisters for 'their' region. Incidental contacts, like a priest whose sister or niece was in a female order, often decided the concrete locations at which the sisters would start work. The congregations of sisters were also over-represented in Java, where much of their work was done for the European and Eurasian Catholics. Especially in West Java it was quite common for several orders to work in one town, whereas in the Outer Islands a whole prefecture or vicariate was generally served by one order only. To give an example, in 1939 in the town of Sukabumi there were only 934 Catholics, 818 Europeans or Eurasians and the rest were mostly Chinese. An Ursuline ELS, kindergarten and vocational school was here (see 3.1), as well as a compound of JMJ schools with the Chi-

nese HCS as centre (see 3.4). The Brothers of Dongen (see 3.3) had a boarding school, while the Franciscan sisters 'of Bergen op Zoom' (see 3.28) worked in the Saint Lidwina Hospital. There were 9 Ursuline sisters, 11 JMJ sisters, 3 Dongen Brothers, 14 Franciscan sisters, as well as 4 Jesuit priests in Sukabumi. Pontianak, the centre of the mission in West Kalimantan, had a comparable number of Catholics, 1,058, but only 210 of them European, the rest mostly Chinese or Dayak. They were served by 32 Veghel Sisters, who worked in Dutch-language primary and secondary schools, complete with dormitories, and in the hospital. There were 12 Huybergen brothers working in primary and secondary boarding schools. Two Capuchin friars served this parish.

3.1. The Order of the Religious Ursulines of the Roman Union (OSU, Ordo Santo Ursula) was in 1856 the first of the many groups of sisters who entered the Dutch Indies. The Ursulines were with the female branch of the MSC congregation, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, the only international order in the colony. They were founded in 1535 by the Italian Angela Merici as a community of women working for better education of the youth. Although Angela Merici (1474-1540) was a lay member of the Franciscan order and never met the Spanish Ignace of Loyola who founded the Jesuit order in 1540, the two orders are often compared, primarily because they put a great deal of emphasis on an excellent education for the elite.⁶ But the sisters had a different lifestyle from the Jesuit priests: they were much less outgoing. Although the order started as a gathering of teachers with a secular lifestyle, this changed within a few decades, by about 1600. Owing to strict Catholic rules, the sisters had to accept a life within the boundaries of a religious house and the practice of the seven prayers per day. There are several branches within the Ursuline order, with great independence for all houses. In 1900 Pope Leo XIII asked all Ursulines worldwide to unite. There was not, however, a unanimous response to this call. Many Indonesian houses joined this Roman Union in the first decade of the twentieth century with the 'great convent' of Noordwijk 29 in Batavia (now Jalan Ir. H. Juanda 29 of Jakarta) as the main house. Seven other convents were united with this house (two in Bandung, two in Surabaya, one in Bogor, Madiun and Malang). The house that is now located on Lapangan Banteng of Jakarta (in colonial time the Postweg in Weltevreden) opted for independence together with six other convents (two more in Batavia, one in Ceribon, Pekalongan, Purwokerto and Sukabumi). They became known as the Zusters Ursulinen van Weltevreden. Only in 1939 did all Ursuline Sisters unite under the banner of the Roman Union.

The Ursulines were divided into two classes of sisters: those who recited in Latin the seven daily prayers per day, the choir sisters, versus those who had

⁶ See also the Dutch publication by the Ursuline order, written by a French Jesuit, Henri de Lubac 1958.

more simple religious duties, the helping sisters. In French, the common language for the leadership of the order, the first were called *mère* (mother), while the latter category was called *sœur* (sister). Many of the Ursulines were qualified teachers. To provide the prestigious foreign language training they had, in Indonesia, several members who came from Germany, Britain and France. Ursuline schools were divided into first- and second-class schools. The second-class schools were for Catholic girls only, and provided cheap education, mostly for the Catholics of the Eurasian lower class of the bigger cities of Java. The first-class schools usually had a mixed population of Catholic and non-Catholic girls. They had high school fees (with high prices for the prestigious optional courses like piano lessons, French conversation, embroidery and needlework; there were no cooking lessons, because elite colonial women did not themselves cook). The expensive school fees of the first-class schools generated the funds for the second-class schools. In 1900 there was even a slight majority of non-Catholics in the first-class schools. They were not obliged to follow the classes in Catholic religions but received courses in ethics. After 1920 the percentage of non-Catholic girls quickly diminished because of the policy urged by the leaders of the mission to create a more outspoken Catholic character in the schools. For the first-class schools the sisters provided dormitories in most of their schools. This was an opportunity for the frequently moving colonial officials and for planters to acquire a good European education for their girls. In 1939 there were about 400 sisters in total in the 15 houses, or 27 per house. Ursuline houses were large organizations. They built big houses and most of them can still be seen in the modern Indonesian cities on Java. Although until 1940 the sisters were absolutely oriented towards education in the Dutch language, they made the move to the Indonesian language and society after 1945 and in 1997 they counted 261 Indonesian members: somewhat fewer than in the heyday of colonialism, but they were able to give their schools a new direction.

3.2. The second order to arrive in the Indies was the Congregatie des Zusters van de Boetvaardigheid en van de Christelijke Liefde van de Derde Orde van den H. Serafijnschen Vader Franciscus or the Sisters of Penitence and of Christian Love, belonging to the third order⁷ of the Holy Serafine Father Francis. In the colonial period they were named Sisters of Heythuizen⁸ after their first and major house in the Netherlands. In Indonesia they are now called Fran-siskanes Semarang after the major house, the orphanage for Eurasian children,

⁷ In the original order of Saint Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) the first order was the male religious, the second order the female religious and the third order was the associated lay people, male and female. It was the original idea of the founder of this Franciscan female congregation, Catherina Daemen from Maaseik, the Netherlands, in 1817, that they would not be confined to a monastery like the female order of Francis, but active 'in the world'.

⁸ Also written as Heythuysen.

where they started work in 1870. Another acronym is OSF, Order of Saint Francis. In 1879 they opened a school-cum-orphanage in Larantuka. This was an area where only Malay and Lamaholot could be spoken and the sisters had to learn the languages. In 1892 the sisters opened a Dutch language noviciate for candidates from the Dutch East Indies. For the first decades they accepted only European and Eurasian candidates. It was only in 1923 that they accepted girls of full Javanese descent, but they continued to use Dutch as the common language in the daily life of the congregation, as they also continued to serve Dutch meals. Many of the sisters only knew Dutch, and as late as 1946 a priest who came as an inspector for the houses of the congregation wrote that all sisters 'should try to learn at least one language of the country. The meals could also be adjusted to the Indonesian style' (Ackermans 1994:369).

In 1905 the OSF sisters extended their work to the Kai islands, where they founded schools in Langgur. In the 1920s, however, they left the houses in East Indonesia (Langgur in 1920 and Larantuka in 1925) because the SVD and MSC wanted to work together with sisters related to their orders. After that the OSF concentrated on Central Java. The school of the orphanage in Semarang was upgraded to the level of a good Dutch-language primary school, vocational and common secondary school and a teacher training school. In Mendut they also founded a large compound for primary and secondary education with most girls in dormitories. This school was close to the large Muntilan Jesuit compound for boys' education. Later they also opened schools in Yogyakarta, Magelang, Salatiga and Surakarta. In 1920 they celebrated their fiftieth anniversary with the extension of their work to the medical sector: a large Catholic Elisabeth Hospital was founded in Semarang with special sections for European and native patients. As was the case with the Ursuline sisters' first- and second-class schools, the rich European patients had to pay more in this hospital to provide funds for native patients.

Some of the first Javanese sisters who entered this congregation worked in Bara, the mission station for the Kalibawang Javanese Catholics, after 1930. The sisters served in a small clinic. In 1939, out of the eleven sisters working in Bara, five were Dutch. It had been their explicit wish not to work for Europeans in the Indies, but for the Javanese Catholic and non-Catholics: 'real mission work'.⁹ In 1935, on the urgent request of Bishop Willekens, they started an independent indigenous congregation of Javanese sisters, the Abdi Dalem Sang Kristus (Servants of Christ, after independence changed into Abdi Kris-tus, changing the Javanese wording of their name into Indonesian) which in 1997 had 144 members and worked in eight dioceses, as well as in several places outside Java, like Pangkal Pinang and Biak. The original 'Heythuizen' sisters, later called 'Semarang sisters', had 344 Indonesian members in 1997.

⁹ See Steenbrink 1997:37 for the nuns' complaint.

3.3. The Congregatie der Zusters van Liefde van Onze Lieve Vrouw Moeder der Barmhartigheid, abridged in English as SCMM, Sisters of Charity or Our Lady Mother of Mercy, or sisters of Tilburg after the place where they were founded in 1832 by Johannes Zwijsen, later bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch. They were one of the most popular religious orders in the Netherlands and in the late 1930s had more than 4,000 members, most of them working in education from kindergarten up to teacher training schools. Quite a few also worked in hospitals founded by the order. In the Dutch East Indies the sisters had worked in the mission in East Flores (Maumere and especially Lela), but left this region in 1917 after the arrival of sisters associated with the SVD priests. They concentrated on the West Sumatran region where they had started work in schools in 1885. In 1939 they had 49 members in Padang and 16 in Sibolga. In 1934 they accepted their first Indonesian members, but they were still sent to Tilburg in the Netherlands for their religious training. Only in 1953 could Indonesian candidates be trained in Sibolga, now the main place for the Suster-suster Belaskasih as they are nowadays called. In 1997 the Indonesian section of the congregation had 170 members, most of them working in West Sumatra, but quite a few in other regions of Indonesia, like Flores (once more), Sumba and East Timor. Some sisters worked as missionaries in the Philippines and Brazil.

3.4. The Sisters of Jesus, Joseph and Mary, commonly called the JMJ sisters, were also a large congregation in the Netherlands. Founded in 1840, they had about 2,500 members in the late 1930s, some 110 of them working in Indonesia, including 25 native Indonesians. The JMJ sisters had arrived in Tomohon in 1898, where they experienced many troubles before they could open their first school in 1907. They concentrated on the island of Celebes, with schools in Manado, Tomohon, Makassar, Raha (the island of Muna) and a hospital in Tomohon. Outside Celebes they had opened a Dutch-language school for Chinese pupils in Sukabumi (a HCS, while the Ursuline sisters had a more elite ELS, Europeesche Lagere School, for the European children in the same place). In 1997 they had 268 Indonesian members.

3.5. The Franciscanessen van Veghel are now officially called Suster Fransiskanes dari Bunda Terkandung tak Bernoda (SFIC, after Congregatio Sororum Franciscanum ab Immaculata Conceptione a Beata Matre Dei or Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God). They came to the Dutch East Indies in 1906 and until 1940 worked only on the island of Kalimantan, some as teachers but also quite a few in the hospitals of Pontianak and Singkawang and the attached clinic for lepers in Singkawang. In 1939 they had 89 members in the Indies, about 80 of them Dutch and some seven native Indonesian. Two of the non-Dutch sisters were born of Chinese parents outside Indonesia (Penang or mainland China). In 1997 they had 86 members in Indonesia.

3.6. The Missiezusters Dienaressen van den Heiligen Geest (Mission Sisters, Servants of the Holy Spirit, SSpS after Sorores Spiritus Sancti, now in Indonesian Suster-suster Abdi Roh Kudus) were established in 1889 by the founder of the SVD order, Arnoldus Jansen. They came to the Dutch East Indies together with the SVD priests in Flores (Lela, 1917) and Timor (Atambua, 1921). They did not accept Indonesians in their order until 1954. In the 1920s and 1930s they followed the official Vatican policy of erecting separate local congregations. In 1935, they founded in Flores the Susters-susters Pengikut Jesus (CIJ, Congregatio Imitationis Jesu or the Congregation of the Followers of Jesus) who had only few members in 1939, though 327 in 1997.¹⁰ The SSpS had 505 Indonesian members in 1997, the most for Indonesian orders.

3.7. The CB or Carolus Borromeus Sisters were also known as Onder de Bogen after the popular name of their first and major house in Maastricht, the Netherlands, which was located 'under the buttresses' of the cathedral in the old city. Founded in 1837 in the Netherlands by a spirited housemaid this religious congregation worked in schools and hospitals. They arrived in 1919 to lead the still famous Carolus Hospital. In 1921 the Borromeus hospital in Bandung followed, and in 1929 the 'Onder de Bogen' Hospital in Yogyakarta under the auspices of the Schmutzer brothers (now the Panti Rapih Hospital). In 1930 they started the much smaller Elisabeth Hospital in Ganjuran, south of Yogyakarta. In 1929 they also accepted responsibility for schools and started a Dutch-language school for Chinese pupils in Lahat (the Pasemah Highlands of Bengkulu) and in Yogyakarta they started several more schools in the 1930s. In 1939 they had 154 members in the Indies, 26 of them Indonesian-born, mostly Chinese or Eurasian because Dutch was still the only language of the congregation. In 1997 they had 409 Indonesian members, some of them working as missionaries in Tanzania and Brazil. At that moment the leadership of the congregation in Maastricht had been taken over by an Indonesian sister. They are the largest order of sisters in Indonesia after the SSpS.¹¹

3.8. The Dochters van Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart (Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, in Indonesian Putri Bunda Hati Kudus, PBHK) can be seen as the female branch of the MSC priests. They were established in France in 1882 by MSC founder Jules Chevalier. They arrived in the Netherlands somewhat later than the MSC priests, in 1911. In 1920 the first MSC sisters came to the Kai islands. In the late 1930s they had 375 Dutch members, some 50 of them working in the Indies in the MSC territories of Kai, Tanimbar, South Papua and the western part of Central Java (Tegal, Purworejo, Won-

¹⁰ For their difficult early history see Chapter III.

¹¹ For the history of the CB sisters until 1940 see Eijt 1995. This is continued by Labbeke, forthcoming.

sobo). In 1997 they had 118 Javanese members, 30 in Papua, 72 in the Moluccas, two Indonesian sisters in pastoral work in Japan and one in South Africa.

3.9. The congregation commonly known as Sisters van Dongen is formally called Congregatie der Religieuzen Penitenten-Recollectinen van de Reguliere Derde Orde van de Heilige Franciscus van Assisie and are now in Indonesia known as SFD, Suster-suster Fransiskanes Dongen. They started from the poor remnants of a seventeenth-century order of Recollectinen that was re-founded in several places in the Netherlands during and after the French revolution; in 1801 in Dongen, in 1820 in Etten, in 1834 in Roosendaal and in 1838 in Oudenbosch. The four branches developed more or less separately. The Oudenbosch sisters did not come to the Dutch Indies. The Dongen sisters came to the Capuchin mission of Medan (1923) and the MSF mission in Banjarmasin in 1937. In the late 1930s they had 400 Dutch members, 26 of them in the Medan and 5 in Banjarmasin. In 1997 they had 156 Indonesian members.

3.10. The origin of the Etten Sisters has already been described above under 3.9. They started work in the Indies in Sambas, from whence their present-day name KFS or Kongregasi Fransiskanes Sambas. In 1939 there were 32 members in Sambas and nearby Pemangkat for their schools and hospitals. In 1997 they had 128 Indonesian members. The oldest of them was Sister Auxilia (Agnes Sungguhria), born in 1914, who had entered the order in 1934 and worked in Sambas, West Kalimantan. Until 1940 she was the only native Indonesian (or Indo-Chinese) member.

3.11. The Congregatie der Zusters Franciscanessen van de H. Elisabeth was established in Breda in 1880 to take care of the ill in the Elisabeth Hospital. They had 315 Dutch members in the late 1930s. Nineteen of them had worked in the Indies since 1925 in the hospitals in Padang and Brastagi, and also as outgoing nurses (*wijkverpleging*), visiting the sick at home in Padang, a less common style of medical care in the Dutch East Indies. Their Indonesian name became FSE, Fransiskanes dari Santa Elisabeth. In 1997 they had 98 Indonesian members.

3.12. The Religieuzen Penitenten der Derde Orde van den H. Vader Franciscus are commonly known as the Franciscan Sisters of Bennebroek or Saint Lucia Franciscans, after their major house in the Netherlands. In Indonesia they became known as KSFL, Kongregasi Fransiskanes Santa Lusia. They worked in Catholic education in 29 towns in the Netherlands, mostly in the northern dioceses of Haarlem and Utrecht. In 1922 they wanted to accept an offer by the Capuchin Friars of Padang to start work there, but the Dutch bishop of Haarlem did not give them permission to work overseas. In that same year

they received a request of the Mill-Hill Fathers to start work in the Belgian colony of Congo. Only after long debates between the two missions and the bishop of Haarlem did the sisters receive permission to begin modest initiatives in the foreign mission. They preferred the Dutch East Indies because of their Franciscan origins, the mission on Sumatra also being of Franciscan origins. When the first six sisters arrived in Sawah Lunto, their house and school was already built. In 1928 they started the school in Bukittinggi and in 1931 in Payakumbuh. In 1997 the KSFL had 112 Indonesian members.

3.13. The Congregatie der Arme Zusters van het Goddelijk Kind (Poor Sisters of the Divine Child) were established in Amsterdam in 1852 by a parish priest who wanted to stimulate the care for poor children and their education. They established orphanages, common schools and also some houses for the elderly. They accepted the request to open boarding schools and a clinic in the island of Bangka, where they started their work in 1925. They had 23 sisters in the mission in 1939. They were also called the Sisters of Providence, hence their Indonesian name, Pemeliharaan Ilahi (not to be confused with Penyelenggaraan Ilahi, see 3.30) after their major institution, De Voorzienigheid (Providence), in Amsterdam. In 1970 they had still 21 Dutch members in Bangka who gradually returned to the Netherlands until the last one left Indonesia in 1980. They did not accept Indonesian members but since 1937 stimulated the founding of a new Indonesian congregation, the Kongregasi Suster-suster Dina Keluarga Suci, KKS, a small congregation that was formally established in 1960 and in 1997 had 35 members.¹²

3.14. The Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of Roosendaal, often called the Charitas Sisters after their main house, were an independent branch of the Franciscan Sisters (mentioned under 3.9 and 3.10). They took care of nine large hospitals in the Netherlands, as well as some institutions for orphans and the elderly. In fact they were one of two institutions in Roosendaal originating from these initiatives. In the late 1930s this branch of sisters had some 300 members, 19 working in South Sumatra (a Charitas Hospital in Palembang since 1926, and a Saint Joseph Hospital in Tanjung Sakti in 1929). They are now known in Indonesia as Suster Fransiskanes Charitas (FCh) and in 1997 had 151 members.

3.15. The Congregatie der Zusters van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Amersfoort (Sisters of Our Lady of Amersfoort) was founded in 1822 in cooperation with French sisters who came together to educate Catholic girls. In the Netherlands they were a flourishing order with many schools and a number of houses

¹² For their history see Molenkamp 1994.

for the elderly where wealthy retired people provided the funds for the care of poorer elderly. They started work in East Java in 1926, concentrating on Dutch-language schools, from primary education to a teacher training college. In the 1930s they started a noviciate in Probolinggo and in 1939 had five Javanese sisters among their 53 members in the Indies. Now they are known under the name of SPM or Suster-suster Santa Perawan Maria. In 1997 they had 184 Indonesian members.

3.16. The Congregatie van Onze Lieve Vrouw des Goeden Herders van Angers is also known as RGS, Religious of the Good Shepherd, in Indonesian Suster Gembala Baik. They were formally established in France in 1835 as a post-Revolution revival of a seventeenth-century religious order. In 1858 the first house was founded in Leiderdorp, the Netherlands. The order as a whole had a strong missionary spirit. Worldwide they had 330 houses in 1935, with only 137 in Europe. In total they had four houses in the Netherlands in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1927 they sent the first sisters to the Indies, where they had a boarding school for girls above the age of 13 in Meester Cornelis (now Matraman in Jakarta). They had 13 Dutch sisters in the Indies in 1939. They are now known as Suster Gembala Baik and in 1997 had 46 Indonesian sisters.

3.17. The Zusters van het Allerheiligst Hart van Jezus were established in 1885 in the village of Moerdijk after the parish priest had asked a beguine from a nearby town to teach in his newly erected school. The parish priest then urged this woman and others to accept the rules for religious sisters. In the late 1930s they had some 20 houses in the Netherlands. In the 1920s they wanted to start mission work. They thought about work in countries as different as Mongolia, Finland (where three sisters started work in 1922) and the Indies. They started working as teachers in South Sumatra in 1927 and had 29 Dutch members in Palembang, Tanjung Sakti and Teluk Betung. They are now known as HK or Suster Hati Kudus in Indonesia and in 1997 had 92 Indonesian members.

3.18. The Sisters of Schijndel, officially called Congregatie der Zusters van Liefde van Jezus en Maria, Moeder van Goeden Bijstand (Sisters of the Love of Jesus and Mary, Mother of Good Help), were in the early twentieth century one of the major educational congregations in the Netherlands. In the late 1930s they had some 1,150 members who took care of many primary schools. Like many of the major religious institutions in the Netherlands they could not resist the internal (members who wanted a more challenging and adventurous work among pagans) and external (many requests from individual mission leaders) pressure to accept mission work. In 1920 the first seven sisters left for the Dutch colony of Curaçao in the Caribbean. In 1928 they started schools in the Indies in Bagan si Api-api, Kutaraja and Pematang Siantar. They

are presently known as Suster-suster Cintakasih dari Yesus dan Maria, Bunda Pertolongan Baik (KYM) and had 100 Indonesian members in 1997.

3.19. The Congregatie van de Zusters van Barmhartigheid (Sisters of Mercy, Suster Misericordia, KSM in present-day Indonesia) is a branch of the various religious organizations founded by the creative French religious leader Magdalena Postel (1756-1846). The Dutch branch started in the small town of Boxmeer in 1886 and spread to 16 places in the Netherlands where the sisters usually concentrated on work in hospitals and clinics, as well as some primary schools. In 1929 a private hospital in Malang owned by a non-Catholic doctor, was handed over to the sisters. In the neighbourhood (Balearjosari and Tumpang) two additional clinics were opened. In 1939 there were 25 Dutch sisters working in the mission, while they were already joined by three Javanese sisters. In 1997 the KSM, also abbreviated as Misc. (after Misericordia) counted 74 members. Nowadays they are an individual province of the French order.

3.20. The Congregatie der Zusters Franciscanessen Dochters der Heilige Harten van Jezus en Maria (Franciscan Sisters, Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, FCJM) were founded as a German order in Salzkotten, close to Paderborn, in 1860 with the common purpose of better education for Catholic youth and medical care for older people. Because of the Bismarck policy of Kulturkampf (which denied the right of religious to establish private schools) they fled to the Netherlands (as was later the case with the SVD order). The first house was opened in 1875. In 1933 the great estate Boekendrode in Aerdenhout was renamed Alverna (after one of the favourite places of seclusion of Francis of Assisi) and taken as their Dutch centre. In addition to some large hospitals (one in Gouda), the sisters served some primary schools. In 1930 they went to the mission of Padang where they took over an already established Dutch-language school for Chinese (HCS) from the Franciscans of Dongen. In 1939 they had 13 sisters in the Indies, most of them in Tanjung Balei (East, now North Sumatra). As Fransiskanes Putri Hati Kudus Jesus dan Maria or Fransiskanes Pematangsiantar they developed to an order of 142 Indonesian members in 1997.

3.21. The Fransiscan Sisters of Saint Joseph, who had their main house in Amersfoort, were founded by a local priest in 1841, though formal ecclesiastical approval was given only in 1878. In 1928 they had nearly 300 members, most of them working in orphanages or in houses of retreat for the elderly. Because of the fiftieth anniversary of formal approval they wanted to start missionary activities. They had already been asked several times for this work, but in October 1929 they decided to accept the request of the Capuchin Friars working in the Padang prefecture. The first sisters left in 1931. In 1939

some 18 sisters worked in two orphanages and attached schools in Medan. In 1997 the Kongregasi Suster-suster Santo Yosef or KSSY had fourteen houses in various regions of Indonesia, from Medan to Surabaya and even Ruteng, with 115 sisters.

3.22. The Congregatie der Missiezusters Franciscanessen van den H. Antonius was one more recent order, founded relatively late in 1913 in the small village of Boerdonk. In 1921 its major seat was transferred to the village of Asten in the southern Dutch province of Brabant, the province that gave birth to so many religious orders. The small but quickly growing order had 97 permanent members in 1937, but 37 applicants. They had already started a mission in Belgian Congo in 1926, where nine sisters worked. In 1931 they started a mission in West Kalimantan where in 1939 some fifteen sisters were active in the interior of Sintang, Benua Martinus and Putu Sibau. In 1997 the SMFA, Suster Misi Fransiskanes Santo Anthonius, had only 28 Indonesian members. They arrived quite late and worked in a region that yielded limited results.

3.23. The Dominican Sisters of the Holy Family who arrived in the mission of the Indies in 1931 were a branch of a well-established and old tradition, the Dominican order, founded in the thirteenth century at around the same time as the Franciscans of whom there are many variants. In 1848 this branch of the order was not founded by a Dominican friar or sister, but by a diocesan parish priest, Dominicus van Zeeland, in the village of Neerbosch, now part of the city of Nijmegen in the Netherlands. In the general mood between 1880-1940 of the restauration of institutionalized Catholicism in the Netherlands this order was also successful, with some 15 boarding schools from primary school to vocational training, and some retreat houses. In 1931 they started their work in Indonesia where they initially founded two colleges, in Cilacap and Cimahi, the military suburb of Bandung. In 1939 they were with 23 sisters in the Indies, three of them Indonesian-born. The OP sisters (after Ordo Predicatorum, Order of Preachers, the common name of the Dominican Friars) did not have the support of the male order, which was not active in the Indies. Nevertheless they developed into an order of 104 members by 1997.

3.24. The Congregation of the Daughters of Love of Saint Vincentius a Paulo is a well-established order, founded in 1633. Worldwide it had some 40,000 members in the 1930s. It entered the Netherlands only in 1902 and was not really well developed before 1940. In 1931 the Dutch branch sent its first members to East Java where they founded houses in Surabaya and Kediri. In 1939 they had 16 Dutch sisters in the Indies. The PK, or Putri Kasih dari Santo Vinsensius dari Paul, continued their work. In 1997 they had twelve houses and 69 Indonesian members.

3.25. Another religious order from the southern Dutch province of Limburg that established a few houses in East Java was the Sisters of the Poor Infant Jesus, (PIJ) founded in Aachen, Germany in 1837. Because of the Kulturkampf 22 houses were closed in 1888 and 500 sisters had to find refuge in other countries, amongst them the Netherlands. They were often called after their major house in the Netherlands which had been established in Maastricht in 1920. They offered a combination of education for elite children who would provide the funds that could then be spent on educating destitute children. In 1932 they started work in Pasuruan and later (1935) in Batu. The PIJ, renamed Kongregasi Suster-suster Sang Timur, had 152 members in Indonesia in 1997.

3.26. The Congregatie der Zusters Franciscanessen van den H. Martelaar Gorgius is another member of the large Franciscan family. They were established in the St. George Hospital of Thuine (Hannover) in 1869 but moved to Denekamp, the Netherlands, in 1875 because of the Kulturkampf in Germany, as mentioned under 3.19 and 3.25. The Franciscan Sisters of Denekamp as they were commonly known in the Netherlands, founded 22 hospitals and clinics. In 1920 they accepted a mission station in Japan and in 1932 they started work in South Sumatra with Pringsewu as their first house. In 1939 they had 24 members in South Sumatra, about half of them of German origin and three Javanese, of families who had migrated to South Sumatra. In Indonesia they are known as the Fransiskanes Pringsewu and had 169 Indonesian members in 1997.

3.27. The Zusters Franciscanessen Missionarissen van Maria is a congregation founded for missionary purposes with education as its major means. It was founded by the French Hélène de Chappotin de Neuville in 1877 and placed under the supervision of the Vatican Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. In the late 1930s they had 7,200 members worldwide in 206 houses. In the Netherlands they started in 1903 and this developed into three houses in the 1930s. In 1932 they sent an international team to the Indies, where they established in Bogor and Rangkasbitung. In 1939 they had 12 members in the Indies, half of them Dutch, the rest from Spain, Britain and Germany. As FMM, Fransiskanes Misionaris Maria they had 73 members in Indonesia in 1997, nearly all of them born Indonesians. Only five members (from China, Lithuania and the Netherlands) continued the international character of the congregation.

3.28. The Franciscanessen van het Sint-Catharinagesticht who worked in the Saint Catherine's Hospital of Bergen op Zoom were established as an independent congregation in 1839. During the first decades of the twentieth century they founded Catholic hospitals in five more towns in the Netherlands and established district nursing in various places. In 1937 they had 180 members in 17 houses. In 1933 they founded the Saint Lidwine Hospital of Suka-

bumi where 14 Dutch sisters worked in 1939. As SFS or Suster Fransiskanes Sukabumi they had 65 Indonesian members in 1997.

3.29. The Liefdezusters, Dochters van het Kostbaar Bloed were established in 1862 in Sittard, the Netherlands. In 1877 they founded their major house in the hamlet of Koningsbosch, near Echt (the southern Dutch province of Limburg). They were a small order with eight houses in the Netherlands, concentrating on work in schools and houses for the elderly. Between 1933-1936 eight sisters arrived in Central Java (Kutoarjo and Banjarnegara) where they started Dutch-language schools and some district nursing. As ADM or Amalkasih Darah Mulia (the Charity Work of the Precious Blood) they had in 1997 some 106 Indonesian members in 12 houses.

3.30. The Zusters van de Goddelijke Voorzienigheid were established in Steijl, the Netherlands in 1876, after their order had to leave Germany because of the Kulturkampf. In 1935 they had 220 sisters in the Netherlands, mostly working in orphanages and primary schools. They started a branch in Indonesia in 1934 and in 1939 had two houses (Bandung and Semarang) with 24 sisters. In both places they already met three or four other congregations of sisters. The Steijl sisters expanded their offer of Catholic education for Chinese with Dutch-language primary and vocational schools. As PI or Suster Penyelenggaraan Ilahi they had 116 Indonesian members in 1997.

3.31. The Congregatie Zusters van Onze Lieve Vrouw was another order that took refuge in the Netherlands during the Kulturkampf. The order was established in 1855 in Coesfeld, Germany. In 1877 some of the sisters moved to Wesssem, just across the Dutch border. Since 1934 some sisters worked in Central Java, in a boarding school in Probolinggo and a small hospital in Pekalongan. In 1939 they had 15 Dutch and German sisters in the Indies. After independence they became known as SND (Sisters of Notre Dame) or Suster Santa Bunda Maria, with 106 sisters in Indonesia in 1997.

3.32. A different style of religious life came to the Indies with the arrival of eight Saint Clara sisters, who founded a monastery for contemplative life in seclusion in Cicurug, in the cool mountainous region of West Java, in 1934. Three sisters came from two monasteries in the Netherlands (Megen and Nijmegen). In 1937 two more sisters joined this group and soon three Javanese women applied for membership of this order. With twenty sisters they continued their monastic life as OSC (Ordo Sancta Clara) in Pacet (close to Cianjur) and Yogyakarta into the late 1990s.

3.33. The Saint Clara Sisters of Cicurug were followed by eight Capuchin Saint Clara Sisters (from Duivendrecht, the Netherlands) who founded a monastery in Singkawang in 1937. This monastery counted 22 Indonesian sisters in 1997, while they had also established another monastery in Sikeben, in Batakland with 17 sisters.

3.34. The Missiezusters van het Kostbaar Bloed (CPS, after Congregatio Prepositi Sanguinis) a congregation with its Dutch centre in Aerle-Rixtel, were quite a large international religious order with more than 1,000 members in the late 1930s. They were founded in Germany and developed in South Africa. They started a house in the Netherlands in 1891, where the German founder found a refuge because of the Kulturkampf. In addition to South Africa, they had already had foreign missions in various African countries since the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1937 they sent five sisters to Sumenep (Madura) where they started a Dutch-language primary school for Chinese pupils (HCS).

3.35. The Kleine Zusters van den Heilige Jozef were founded in 1867 in Heerlen, the Netherlands, to provide personnel working in a Catholic hospital. The sisters concentrated on orphanages, care for older people and later also education. They were among the larger congregations in the Netherlands with 1,078 members in 1929. In 1922 they started mission work in China. In 1938 they sent six sisters to Ternate to start a school. As DSY or Suster-suster Dina Santo Yosef they had 104 sisters working mostly in education and health care in East Indonesia (Papua, Moluccas and Minahasa) in 1999.

3.36. The Dochters van Maria en Joseph, who had their major house along the Choorstraat of Den Bosch, the Netherlands, were often called by the name of the street, Sisters of the Choorstraat. They were founded in 1817 as a Dutch order concentrating on education and became one of the larger orders in the Netherlands. In 1920 the Capuchin friars asked them to start Catholic schools in Medan, but they declined this request, because they were short of sisters with the required official qualifications. Instead they started a mission in Mongolia in 1921. In 1938 five sisters came to Wonosobo to start a boarding school for deaf children. As KPMY or Kongregasi Putri Maria dan Yosef they had twenty Indonesian sisters in 1997. This is a quite poor result. It shows that not all religious orders could flourish and grow quickly in modern Indonesia.

APPENDIX II

Catholic hierarchy¹

Java

BATAVIA (now Jakarta): 1807-42 prefecture apostolic; 1842-1961 vicariate apostolic

E. S. Luypen SJ, vicar apostolic of Batavia (1898-1923)

A. van Velsen SJ, vicar apostolic of Batavia (1924-33)

Peter Willekens SJ, vicar apostolic (1934-1952)

BANDUNG: 1932 prefecture apostolic; 1941 vicariate apostolic

Mgr J.H. Goumans OSC, 1932-41 prefect apostolic; 1941-51 vicar apostolic

SEMARANG: 1940 vicariate apostolic

Mgr Albert Soegijapranata SJ, vicar apostolic (1940-61)

MALANG: 1927 prefecture apostolic; 1939 vicariate apostolic

C. van der Pas OCarm, prefect apostolic (1927-33)

A. E.J. Albers OCarm, prefect apostolic (1933-9); vicar apostolic (1939-61)

PURWAKARTA (also PURWOKERTO): 1932 prefecture apostolic; 1941 vicariate apostolic

B.J.J. Visser MSC, prefect apostolic (1932-41); vicar apostolic (1941-49)

SURABAYA: 1928 prefecture apostolic; 1941 vicariate apostolic

Th. de Backere CM, prefect apostolic (1928-36)

M.L. Verhoecks CM, prefect apostolic (1937-42); vicar apostolic (1942-52)

Kalimantan

PONTIANAK: 11-2-1905 prefecture apostolic of Dutch Borneo; 13-3-1918

vicariate apostolic of Dutch Borneo; 21-5-1938 *vicariate apostolic of Pontianak*

Pacificus Bos OFMCap, prefect apostolic (1906-18); vicar apostolic (1918-34, died 1937)

¹ See also the website: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy> for extension until the present time. A Prefect Apostolic is not ordained as a bishop; a Vicar Apostolic is ordained as bishop, not for his 'own territory' but for a diocese that since long has been deserted, in most cases in Turkey or Northern Africa. In the Vatican wording this is called *in patis infidelium* or 'in territory of nonbeliever'. At the time the hierarchy was referred to in Dutch as *kerkvoogden*.

Tarcisius H.J.van Valenberg OFMCap, vicar apostolic (1934-57,
resigned; died 18-12-1984)

BANJARMASIN: 21-5-1938 prefecture apostolic; 1949 vicariate apostolic
Jac. J.M. Kusters MSF, prefect apostolic (1938-49)

Sumatra

30-6-1911 prefecture apostolic of Sumatra. This prefecture was divided on 27-12-1923 into (a) prefecture apostolic of Benkoelen, (b) prefecture apostolic of Bangka and Biliton, and (c) prefecture apostolic of Padang; after 18-7-1932 it became the vicariate apostolic of Padang; the name changed again on 23-12-1941 to the vicariate apostolic of Medan.

MEDAN: prefecture of Sumatra in Padang

L. Cluts OFMCap, prefect apostolic (1912-21)

Mattias L. Brans, OFMCap, prefect apostolic (1922-32); vicar apostolic
of Padang/Medan (1932-54)

PALEMBANG: prefecture apostolic of Benkoelen erected in 1923;

vicariate apostolic of Palembang since 13-6-1939

Harrie Smeets SCJ, prefect apostolic (1925-27)

Harrie van Oort SCJ, pro-prefect apostolic (1925); prefect apostolic
(1927-34)

Henri M. Mekkelholt SCJ, prefect apostolic (1934-39); vicar apostolic
(1939-61)

PANGKAL PINANG: 27-12-1923 erected as prefecture apostolic of Bangka
and Biliton

Theodosius Herckenrath SSCC, prefect apostolic (1924-28;
died 13-4-1972).

Vitus Bouma SSCC, prefect apostolic (1928-45; died in camp
Lubuk-Linggau)

Marcellinus van Soest SSCC, administrator apostolic (1946-51)

Sulawesi

Prefecture apostolic of Celebes (erected 19-11-1919); vicariate apostolic of
Celebes (1-2-1934); division of the vicariate on 13-4-1937.

MANADO

Johannes W. Panis MSC, vicar apostolic (1934 to 23-6-1952; died)

MAKASSAR

G. Martens CICM, prefect apostolic (1937-1948; resigned)

Dutch New Guinea

(Langgur for Kai, Tanimbar, Amboina and Dutch New Guinea)

22-12-1902 erected as prefecture apostolic of Dutch New Guinea; 29-8-1920 vicariate apostolic of Dutch New Guinea

LANGGUR

M. Neyens MSC, prefect apostolic (1903-14, resigned; died 29-9-1941)

H. Nollen MSC, prefect apostolic (1915-21; died 1951)

J. Aerts MSC, vicar apostolic (1921-42; executed by the Japanese army)

Lesser Sunda islands

16-9-1913 erected prefecture; 12-3-1922 vicariate apostolic; division on 25-5-1936 into vicariate apostolic of Timor and another for the Lesser Sunda islands.

ENDE

Piet Noyen SVD, prefect apostolic (1913-21)

Arnold Verstraelen SVD, vicar apostolic (1922-32; died in a car accident)

Hendrik Leven SVD, administrator apostolic/vicar apostolic (1933-53)

ATAMBUA

Jacques Pessers SVD, vicar apostolic (1-6-1937 until 1961)

APPENDIX III

Statistics for mid-1942

Appendix III

595

Prefecture/ Vicariate	Catholics			Priests			Brothers		Sisters		Schools		Pupils		Teachers	
	Europ.	Non-Eur.	Total	Europ.	Indon.	Europ.	Indon.	Indon.	Boys	Girls	Total	Religious	Lay	Total		
Batavia	19,663	2,409	22,072	47	—	52	—	292	4	94	5,138	4,855	9,993	130	206	336
Malang	10,471	4,232	14,703	28	2	35	3	135	17	96	4,606	4,116	8,722	126	181	307
Surabaya	14,934	30,460	45,394	71	9	101	28	257	84	472	34,097	16,166	50,263	222	1,166	1,388
Purwakarta	2,852	4,025	6,877	20	1	24	15	100	4	53	2,874	2,056	4,930	99	78	177
Bandung	18,331	1,416	19,747	24	—	13	—	143	17	55	2,709	2,963	5,672	60	137	197
Dutch Papua/ Langgur	586	45,198	45,784	43	—	21	8	34	15	209	6,617	4,629	11,246	19	263	282
Pontianak	257	8,143	8,400	32	1	40	—	130	9	64	3,263	1,518	4,781	79	95	174
Lesser Sunda Islands	386	328,896	329,282	85	2	23	—	60	7	247	19,748	13,774	33,522	48	524	572
Padang	5,422	22,521	27,943	44	—	33	—	204	5	208	8,673	4,470	13,143	138	239	377
Manado	403	26,513	26,916	25	—	24	—	54	27	100	2,584	2,818	5,402	73	111	184
Dutch Timor	70	56,394	56,464	27	—	3	—	14	—	43	2,737	1,130	3,867	15	62	77
Palembang	2,024	3,160	5,184	25	—	15	—	92	6	62	2,423	1,739	4,162	62	79	141
Bangka & Belitung	551	1,162	1,713	20	1	16	1	22	—	16	672	427	1,099	33	5	38
Makassar	985	2,311	3,296	8	—	6	—	29	9	20	881	808	1,689	23	19	42
Banjarmasin	933	2,418	3,351	19	—	10	—	10	—	21	778	661	1,439	20	22	42
Total 1941	93,245	543,521	636,766	549	16	450	60	1,727	206	1,868	103,156	66,877	170,033	425 male 823 female	3,417 male 951 female	4,665

¹ Source: *Jaarboek 1942:80*, 82-3.

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