



[...] *What is to be done? If the war is over soon, then the thing will be alright. But we've waited so long that we cannot wait any longer. It is too uncertain. We have to act as soon as possible. Steyl cannot send German missionaries. That's for sure. Uden also says it's impossible to send someone. I believe that is true. But are we now relieved from our duty and responsibility? I don't think so. Exceptional conditions also require extraordinary means.*

[Msgr. Petrus Noyen to Fr. Nicolaus Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918]

[...] *There is no time for us to take some rest; it is simply impossible. So, if you wish us to stay healthy and not collapse at work, then send us the above-mentioned missionaries directly. It is only a drop for our so extraordinary distress. It is nearly 12 o'clock midnight and I conclude hoping that this letter will be regarded as a serious cry for direct help.*

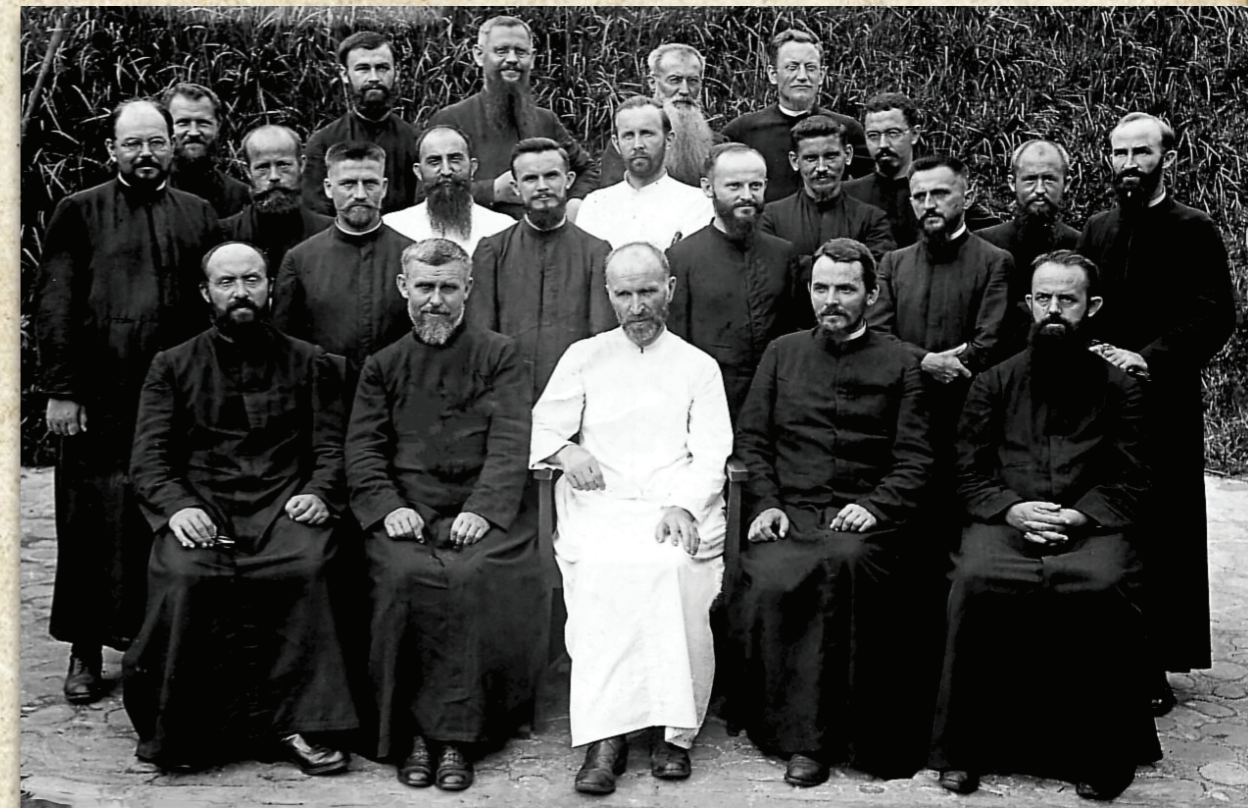
[Msgr. Petrus Noyen to Fr. Nicolaus Blum, Ndona, 13.8.1918]

[...] *The resident [= Mr. G. Schultz] told me a few weeks ago when he was visiting Ndona that we should work more seriously in the Ruteng area. «Don't ask too much from the people, baptize them. Instructions can follow later. If the mission does not go ahead, the Mohammedans will pull in everything,» said the resident [...].*

[Msgr. Arnold Verstraelen to Fr. Wilhelm Gier, Halilulik, 8.10.1923]

## The Catholic Mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands – Indonesia under the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)

From One Apostolic Prefecture  
to Two Apostolic Vicariates (1913-1942)



# **Analecta SVD - 99**

AD USUM PRIVATUM NOSTRORUM TANTUM

**Antonio Camnahas**

## **The Catholic Mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands – Indonesia under the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)**

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Group of missionaries with Father General Wilhelm Gier during his visit to Flores in 1922. *Front row, from left to right*: Msgr. Arnold Verstraelen, Fr. Joseph Schmitz, Father General Wilhelm Gier, Fr. Bernhard Glanemann, Fr. Johannes van Cleef.

*Second row, from left to right* (13 persons): Fr. Stephan van Cleef, Fr. Joseph Preissler, Fr. Lambertus Flint, Fr. Carl Stenzel, Fr. Franz Eickmann, Fr. Nicolaus van der Windt, Br. Salesius van de Lith, Fr. Joseph Haarmann, Fr. Wilhelm Janssen; Fr. August-Suntrup-Schütte, Fr. Josef Ettel, Br. Florentinus Breucker, Fr. Bertold Fries.

*Third row, from left to right* (4 persons): Br. Lambertus Schoren, Fr. Franz Meyer, Fr. Franz Mertens, Fr. Simon Buis.

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. Motivation for and the Scope of the Research

The SVDs began their mission work in the Lesser Sunda Islands in 1913 in Lahurus of Dutch-Timor. At that time, Dutch-Timor had only two mission stations with about 2,000 Christians. The eastern and central parts of Flores already had old Christian communities with more than 30,000 adherents, but at the beginning, Flores was not included in the territory of the SVD's mission. Flores was handed over to the SVDs only on 20 July 1914. By the end of 1939 (26 years later), Flores could count about 343,794 adherents, while in 1949 there were 506,940<sup>1</sup>. This rapid development in numbers happened during the period of the SVD presence.

Right from the beginning, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD realized that the western half of Flores had been neglected by the Jesuits because of reports claiming that this was an Islamic area. In reality, the Islamic influence only existed along the coast in places such as Ende, Nangapanda, Labuan Bajo, Reo, and Borong. The inhabitants of the inland areas still adhered to traditional religions. Flores was the only larger island in the area upon which Islam had not yet made great inroads. So, the Divine Word Missionaries tried to proclaim the Gospel to its peoples. Nowadays, Flores island has a population which is about 80 % Catholic. Thus, it is known as the Catholic island.

This study will deal mainly with these questions: How did the Divine Word Missionaries enable Flores, and other islands in the Lesser Sundas, to become a Catholic Island and region in Indonesia? Were there other forces at work? Or Were there also other behind-the-scenes forces pushing for the development of the Catholic Church in this area? Another question to raise is to what extent the SVD missionary work corresponded to the Universal Church's idea of mission in that period?

The scope of this study is to try to find an adequate explanation of the above-mentioned questions. Historical facts that can be found in various archives are the most appropriate way to better understand the current situation of Flores in particular and the region of the Lesser Sundas in general.

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<sup>1</sup> H. EMMERICH, *Die Kleinen Sundainseln in Zahlen*, in: «Steyler Missions-Chronik» (1971), 77.

## 2. Originality of the Research

There are few principal studies of this theme, especially for the period from 1913-1942. The book «*Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* (= History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia) edited by Petrus Maria Martinus Muskens is one such book. In this book, we find five articles regarding the history of the Catholic Church in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Br. Petrus Laan, SVD contributed an article about the history of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Ende and the Diocese of Larantuka. Laan did not discuss some important themes as thoroughly as expected. The history of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Ruteng was written by John Bettray, SVD, and that of the Diocese of Atambua and Kupang was written by Herman Lalawar, SVD. Y. Luckas, CSSR wrote about the history of the Diocese of Weetebula, and P. Patriwirawan SVD dealt with the history of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Denpasar. Other important books are «*Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*» edited by Kurt Piskaty SVD and Johannes Antonius Riberu; «*Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History*» written by Karel Steenbrink. He wrote generally about the presence of Islam in Flores and Protestantism in Timor and Sumba. Another important book is «*A History of Christianity in Indonesia*» edited by Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink. A book of Huub J.W.M. Boelaars, «*Indonesianisasi. Het omvormingsproces van de Katholieke Kerk in Indonesië tot de Indonesische Katholieke Kerk*» which was later translated into Indonesian in 1996 is also worth considering. Only a few of these writers used materials from «*De Katholieke Missiën*» and not all of them used the Archives of the SVD Generalate in Rome nor of the Propaganda Fide or other important archives. The materials in «*Steyler Missions-Bote*» (in 1959 it became «*Steyler Missions-Chronik*») were not also used enough to elaborate their writings.

This study uses all the materials that are to be found in the General Archives of the SVD in Rome (*Archivio Generale Societatis Verbi Divini* and *Archivio del Fondatore Societatis Verbi Divini*) and some other important archives such as *Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide* (Rome), *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (Rome), *Archivio Storico Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* (Vatican City), *Provincial Archive Societas Verbi Divini Teteringen* (Breda, the Netherlands) and *the Archive of Provincial of SVD Ende* (Flores, Indonesia). Materials in two important magazines regarding the SVD mission work in Indonesia: «*Steyler Missions-Bote*» (in German) and «*De Katholieke Missiën*» (in Dutch) which were still unused by others, will be used extensively. Naturally, this study will be completed also with some other important sources as well, such as «*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*», «*Analecta SVD*», «*Verbum SVD*», «*Nuntius*

*Societatis Verbi Divini*», «*Bintang Timoer*», «*Vergissmeinnicht*», «*Ende Post*», «*The Christian Family*», «*Schematismus*», «*Catalogus*», etc. Besides, some other sources have been taken into account to help the writer present this theme comprehensively. Surely, these materials will bring a new contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the Lesser Sunda Islands in particular and the history of the Catholic Church in Indonesia in general.

### **3. Method and Limitation of the Research**

The research is carried out in chronological order. The focus of attention is the correspondence between the SVD superiors of the Lesser Sunda Islands and the SVD superior general and SVD superiors at lower levels, also between SVD superiors and various related parties such as the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, the Bishop of Batavia, the Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sundas, the Jesuit superior at various levels, as well as personal correspondence with certain missionaries. Of course, the material taken is only that related to important themes of the SVD missionary work.

The writer relies on the documentary evidence to furnish a picture of the conditions of the SVD missionary work and other events related to the SVD working in the Dutch East Indies. The method used in this work is mainly the inductive method, the way of reasoning proceeding from particular facts to a general conclusion. Almost all the subtitles of this work are arranged after reading the extensive unpublished and published primary sources from archives in the form of letters and other types of documents. Many of the materials are written in German gothic old handwriting, old Dutch handwriting, typewritten materials and typescripts. Handwriting and unclear typewritten materials were first needed to be transcribed into readable texts before they could be used for this work. Of course, during the process, the historical critical method is applied. The writer had to check and recheck the retyped materials to make sure that the material was carefully copied and was faithful to the original text. This was done to avoid human mistakes in copying the materials as much as possible. Furthermore, to be faithful to the original text as well, the excerpts from some documents are cited verbatim in the footnotes without altering the mistakes to present the events described as close to the original text as possible. Another method that is also useful is the deductive method which is used when dealing with books and some other published works of literature. The above-mentioned combination of methodologies is considered effective and helpful to bring this work to its completion.

This research is limited periodically and territorially. The time frame chosen is from 1913 to 1942. In 1913, the Divine Word Missionaries began

their mission work in Timor as a part of the Lesser Sunda Islands mission area. This study will discuss the mission work carried out by the SVDs and the development of that work from 1913 to 1942, the year when the Dutch Colonial rule over Indonesia came to an end, following the beginning of World War II. This period was one of the most important periods for the mission work in Indonesia.

Territorially, this study will generally be focused only on two islands: Flores and Timor. Timor is the place where the SVDs began their missionary work in the Dutch East Indies in 1913. Flores is the second place where the SVDs began their missionary work. Only two years later (1915), Flores became the center for the SVD missions in the Lesser Sunda Islands. During this period (1913-1942) the mission work in other islands of the Lesser Sundas was not well developed.

#### **4. Structure of the Research**

This research is organized into four chapters. The first chapter has two important parts, namely the impact of the global context and then that of the local context on the mission work. Of course, aspects of these two major contexts are considered the focus of research and are those related to the presence of the Dutch in Indonesia as colonizers, the mission work of the Catholic Church, the SVD as a religious missionary congregation, Indonesia as a colonized-nation, and the SVD working area, the Lesser Sunda Islands with all its related religious, historical and cultural backgrounds.

In this chapter, the author tries to provide a fairly general description of the historical context between the period 1913-1942. During this period, the area which is now known as Indonesia was called the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, when talking about the mission work of the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies, one cannot simply omit the sixteenth century European action of colonialism. The spread of the Catholic faith is a fact that cannot be so easily separated from colonialism. Therefore, the author sees that it is reasonable to provide a general understanding concerning the basic motivations when, for the first time, the Catholic faith was brought out from Europe to the new lands.

The discussion on this matter helps us to better understand the status of Indonesia as a colonized nation under the Dutch for hundreds of years. So, one of the historical contexts to be taken into consideration is the era of religious liberty in the Dutch East Indies since 1808, after almost 200 years of persecution

under the VOC (= *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*)<sup>2</sup>. During the period of the VOC, not one Catholic priest was allowed to enter the Dutch East Indies. When the Divine Word Missionaries (= the SVDs) came to the Dutch East Indies in 1913, it was a time of religious liberty for all.

Besides, the author presents an overview of Indonesia and its struggle to become an independent state. Exactly in this time of struggle for their independence, the SVDs began their missionary work in the Lesser Sunda Islands. As an international religious congregation, the missionary work of the SVD certainly cannot be separated from the guidelines of the Holy See regarding mission work. One of those great guidelines in the mission work of the Church took place after World War I. Two papal encyclicals regarding the mission work, «*Maximum Illud*» (1919) from Pope Benedict XV and «*Rerum Ecclesiae*» (1926) from Pope Pius XI are used as points of consideration.

In the second chapter, the writer discusses the preparatory phase of the SVD missionary work. This chapter is divided into three sections: the first section deals with the negotiation process that the SVD went through to obtain a mission area in the Dutch East Indies.

The second section highlights the process of upgrading the status of the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands to become an SVD Region and an apostolic prefecture is studied. This can also be considered as the ecclesiastical legal process of setting foot firmly or «planting» the Catholic Church in the mission territory.

The third section describes the arrival of the SVD missionaries in their new mission area, some important plans from Msgr. Petrus Noyen as the local SVD superior, and the steps taken to get acquainted with the territory of mission work. One of the significant territory issues at that time was the incorporation of the island of Flores into the SVD mission area. All these processes were very important in commencing, affirming and expediting the progress of SVD missionary work more seriously in the forthcoming years.

In the third chapter it is discussed how the SVD began its missionary work in the mission field. The most important and decisive decision made by Msgr. Petrus Noyen was embarking on a mission to the western region of Flores. This area was visited only once or twice per year during the Jesuits period. Of course, from the beginning, Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD along with the missionaries who were sent to the Lesser Sundas were determined to begin their work with all their earnest and best will. The initial determination that was so noble

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<sup>2</sup> *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* is written in Dutch old spelling, literally «United East Indies Company» referring to the Dutch East Indies Company.

had to be slowed down and was even hampered in its realization because of an event that came at that time. The event was the outbreak of World War I. The war that involved many European countries at that time, turned out to be a factor that changed all the initial plans. The process of replacing Jesuit missionaries and plans to open new mission stations were hampered terribly by the war. The impact of this war affected both religious congregations. The Jesuits who had intended to help the SVD with all their best resources in completing the process of replacing missionaries, evidently in the middle of the plan, themselves experienced difficulties. This happened because their missionary personnel were worn out by old age and could not work properly. Furthermore, what was worse was that several of their missionaries had died and the new staff expected from the SVD did not arrive soon because of the war that hindered the process of sending missionaries.

Another issue that was no less important at that time was the difficulty in sending German missionaries to the Dutch East Indies. The situation of difficulties with the missionary personnel was further compounded by the death of four missionaries in Larantuka as a result of the Spanish Influenza which spread throughout the world after the war. Meanwhile, the SVD had been entrusted by the Dutch colonial government to handle the matters of basic education for the natives in Flores and Timor. Another issue which also greatly worried the SVD was the interreligious competition with Islam and Protestantism in attracting members from among the adherents of traditional religion.

Facing this great difficulty, the SVD almost left Flores and wanted to focus on working in Timor alone. Nevertheless, various endless efforts were made to find missionaries who were willing to be sent to the Lesser Sundas. Faced with this very extraordinary difficulty, the SVD generalate was forced to send two theology students to the Lesser Sundas, while continuing to seek help from dioceses in the Netherlands, from therapists, and even from other congregations. Meanwhile, Msgr. Petrus Noyen himself was urged by various parties to attend to the mission work in the Lesser Sundas more seriously. They did not seem to want to acknowledge the war situation at that time. Anxiety and labor-intensive work made several SVD missionaries sick, including Msgr. Noyen, culminating in his death at Steyl, 24 February 1921. This opened a new chapter in the work of the SVD mission in the Lesser Sundas.

After going through a difficult period because of World War I which caused difficulties in sending missionaries, from 1922, mission work in the Lesser Sundas could be carried out in earnest. This is the main issue that will be discussed in the fourth chapter. During this period, there were some incredibly significant developments such as the separation of offices between a church

official in the person of an Apostolic Vicar and the superior of the congregation in the person of a regional. These two offices were previously held by Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD. During the leadership of Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen as an Apostolic Vicar, the mission work was very well developed to many more places in Flores and Timor, and also in some other islands. Many mission stations were opened, and the educational affairs were developed in many places. This progress happened thanks to the presence of some experienced German missionaries in the Lesser Sundas who before the war worked in Mozambique and Togo and the presence of pastoral methods that were not found in the previous period. All instructions relating to pastoral work were discussed together in an annual conference which then were arranged in statutes for the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas and later were revised during the Synod of Ndona in 1935. A minor seminary was established in 1926 in Sikka to begin the formation of indigenous priests. During this period several deaneries were also formed. The SVD Mission Superior also established several rectorates for the entire Lesser Sunda Islands mission. In 1922, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands developed into the largest Vicariate throughout the Dutch East Indies<sup>3</sup>.

The SVD also began with a printing press that played a very large role in distributing books for the benefit of pastoral work and liturgical celebrations. Besides, a carpentry school was also opened by the SVD in Ende, Flores. The school then played a very important role in the building up of various churches throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands region. In 1937, the education of indigenous priests was further encouraged by the establishment of the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero in Maumere.

In 1936, the number of Catholics throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands reached 281,031. The number of Catholics in Timor itself reached 39,255<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, on 25 May 1936, the Holy See established the territory of the Dutch-Timor as a separate vicariate. On 1 June 1937, Fr. Jacobus Pessers, SVD was appointed as the first Apostolic Vicar for the new vicariate. This marked the first division of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Thus, since then, the Lesser Sundas mission had two vicariates. When an Apostolic vicariate is divided, implicitly it means that the vicariate has developed in

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<sup>3</sup> In 1922, the number of Catholics throughout the Dutch East Indies was 134,423 with the details as follows: 7,172 (Sumatra), 30,700 (Java), 4,500 (Borneo), 11,500 (Celebes), 16,714 (New Guinea) and 63,837 (the Lesser Sunda Islands). Cf. ARCHIVIO GENERALE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AG-SVD], 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Blum, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1921/1922, f. 1 (333); *Missie-Berichten: Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 48/11 (1923), 174-175.

<sup>4</sup> *Overzicht van het Werk der Missionaren van het Vicariaat de Kleine Soenda-eilanden (Flores-Missie) van 1 Juli 1935 tot 1 Juli 1936*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 62/4 (1937), 78.

many ways, especially in an increasing number of Catholics, as well as the appreciation of the Christian faith that is growing more than in the previous period.

# Chapter I

## Historical Context

### 1. Global Context

#### 1.1. European Explorations during the Sixteenth Century

##### 1.1.1. Various Motivations for the Europeans' Conquest of New Lands

The motivation for the conquest of Asia, Africa and America by the Europeans during the fifteenth and sixteenth century is the combination of the effort in search of gold, spices and the salvation of souls. In the fifteenth century, the supply of gold in Europe was being diminished, which led to economic setbacks because of a drop in trade. The price of goods in Europe was becoming very expensive. Only the rich who had gold could afford luxury goods from the East such as silk and spices. Therefore, many of them tried to get gold from various places such as Africa and America. When talking about spices, the two mentioned continents gave little hope of being sources for them. Many Europeans knew that the best quality spices came from faraway Asia. Hence, they strove to go straight to the centre of the source of spices in order to get cheaper deals and to avoid transactions with gold as a means of payment in trading transactions.<sup>1</sup>

Together with the economic motivation, there was an enormous desire to proclaim Christ as the Saviour of souls to the people outside Europe from traditional religions background who were considered as pagans<sup>2</sup> at that time. After fifteenth centuries of Christianity in Europe, following the discovery

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<sup>1</sup> N. MACQUEEN, *Colonialism*, London - New York, Routledge, 2014, 1-2; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1996, 56. For further reading about colonialism refer to: R. IVALDI, *Storia del Colonialismo*, Roma, TEN, 1997; J.G. ROBERTS, *The Colonial Conquest of Asia*, New York, F Watts, 1976; G. GUGLIELMI, *Discorso sul colonialismo*, Como, P. Cairolì, 1969; A. ROSA LEONE, *Dalla comparsa dell'uomo alla nascita del colonialismo*, in: «Storia di ieri e di oggi» 1 (2008).

<sup>2</sup> The words «pagan» and «paganism» come from the Latin *paganus* which itself derived from *pagus*, which means «village» (in opposition to city). The connotation of *pagus* is cultural backwardness and ethical inferiority. Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) described other meanings of *paganus* which were civil or bourgeois. The word «pagan» refers to people who do not belong to the *militēs christi*; people who do not recognize God and Christ. In this case «pagan» was interpreted not from a theological but from a cultural point of view. For this reason, recent scholars prefer to use the term «non-Christians» or «people from other religions», which is a theological expression, instead of «pagan». In this paper the writer sometime uses it intentionally in order to be faithful to the literature the writer is dealing with. Cf. H. RZEPKOWSKI – E. COCCIA – P. GIGLIONI, *Lessico di missiologia*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000, 481-482.

of the new continents, Europeans finally realized that there were still many people who did not yet know Christ. Meanwhile, many people were convinced that the end of the world was coming closer. This situation can explain the occurrence of mass baptism at that time, as well as the use of violence in evangelization. If one did not want to be baptized, at least he was willing to listen to the preaching of the Gospel. For the reason of extending the Kingdom of God, the conquest of the new lands was necessary for the sake of the development of the preaching of the Gospel.<sup>3</sup>

Beside those motives, the idea of the crusades remained in the minds of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Europeans. The fear of Islam that had conquered Constantinople and Balkan Europe through the Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe made this idea persist for centuries. After the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire – with Rome as its capital – in the fifth century (i.e. 476 AD), the Eastern Roman Empire with its capital Constantinople persisted for more than thousand years. Until the fifteenth century, Constantinople was the gateway to Europe for all trade items from Asia transported over the Silk Road and the Levant trade routes. This long-term trade route was finally cut off in 1453 by the Ottoman ruler, Mehmet II, who laid siege to that portal city. This occurrence caused the Europeans to live in a great unrest that forced them to drive Islam out of their continent. The first success in fighting against Islam was signalled by the taking over of Ceuta on the coast of Morocco by the Portuguese in 1415, followed by the capture of the last Muslim bastion at Granada, Spain, in 1492.<sup>4</sup>

According to European medieval conceptions of authority, the Pope had universal power over the entire globe received from Jesus Christ. According to his will, this power could be delegated to certain rulers in order to take care of the salvation of the people entrusted to them. This concept paved the way to another concept regarding the appropriation of territories, stating that only baptism conferred a legitimate right to property. These were the ideas that intertwined the crusade, colonization, and evangelization. David Jacobus Bosch put it in a short precise sentence saying that «[...] the king missionized as he colonized [...]».<sup>5</sup> This was also the background of the intervention of Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) in the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain, in 1494 dividing the sphere of

<sup>3</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> Those trade items were black pepper, nutmeg, cloves, silks, and perfumes, etc. that were sold in the European market. Cf. N. MACQUEEN, *Colonialism*, 2; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 57; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia. A Global Studies Handbook*, California, SCM Press Ltd., 2003, 16; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll (NY), ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1991 (American Society of Missiology Series, 16), 226-227; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Three Centuries of Advance A.D. 1500-A.D. 1800*, vol. 3, New York - London, Harper and Brothers, 1939, 300.

<sup>5</sup> D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 303.

expeditions between two Catholic powers, Portugal and Spain. But this lasted only until the seventeenth century. After that period, the Dutch, British and Danish who were Protestants in origin considered colonization primarily as an action of trading. This happened because of the fact that in the case of the Protestant nations, it was trading companies that were primarily involved in colonization, not the government, as happened with the two Catholic powers previously. This situation can explain their refusal to allow missionaries in the territory of their jurisdiction, at least during the early stages, since they were considered as a threat to their economical and commercial interests.<sup>6</sup>

During the era of discovery, Europeans were considered to be at the cutting edge in the matter of technology. They arrived in new territories as the «winner», after crossing the vast oceans. The fact that non-European nations differed in terms of race made the Europeans think of the local population as inferior and the Europeans considered themselves as superior. This way of thinking created the master-servant relationship that slowly but surely created a persistent system of slavery. The conquered people of colour were doomed to serve the interests of white people.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.1.2. The Arrival of Europeans in Asia in Search for Spices

After the fall of Constantinople, in the fifteenth century, European merchants were desperate to find another way of trading to replace that of the Silk Road route. And this time, they looked for a sea route to Asia. The first European to find that sea route to Asia was Vasco da Gama (1469-1524), a Portuguese navigator. This success, achieved in 1498, made the Portuguese dominant in the Indian Ocean for more than one hundred years. Respectively, Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, became one of the busiest ports in Europe. This sea route was valued as a less expensive route to Asia, compared to the old one, the Silk Road, which had forced Europeans to face arduous land routes with their high tariffs and political barriers.<sup>8</sup>

Arab traders, who had been in contact with the sea route and ports in Asia for the spice trades for centuries, found themselves attacked by Europeans. Not surprisingly they fought for their veritable monopoly over this region against the Europeans, but they lost the fight. Soon enough the Portuguese realized that Malacca was the port that controlled the sea route of all the spices coming

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<sup>6</sup> N. MACQUEEN, *Colonialism*, 4; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 62; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 227.

<sup>7</sup> D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 227.

<sup>8</sup> F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 17. For further reading refer to: C.E. GRIMES, *Spices from the East: Papers in Languages of Eastern Indonesia*, Canberra, Pacific Linguistics. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Australian National University, 2000; P.H. KRATOSKA, *South East Asia, Colonial History: Imperial Decline: Nationalism and the Japanese Challenge (1920s-1940s)*, London - New York, Routledge, 2001.

through the Malacca Strait from the spice islands in Indonesia. At first they tried to control Malacca, in which they succeeded in 1511. But this success did not last for long, because of the high cost the port imposed by the Portuguese for every incoming ship to Malacca, and because of security reasons as well. All these caused the trade in Malacca to decline. From there, in 1512 they sailed to the spice islands in Indonesia, especially to Lontar in the Banda Naira islands. Later, they built their port in Ternate, but in July 1575 they were forced by local people to leave the island because of religious differences and internal corruption. After Ternate, the Portuguese focused themselves on Macao, their primary colony in Asia which was established in 1557. From this colony, they set up a regular trade with China.<sup>9</sup>

It is important to notice that the fall of Malacca to Portugal in 1511 signalled a turning point in the history of the region of the South East Asian nations. It marked the initial steps of the Europeans domination of the region, lasting until the twentieth century, the region of the commodity spices in which many Europeans shared the same interest. After the Portuguese, the Spanish came also to Tidore (1521), the Dutch to the Banda Islands (1599), and the British to Banten (1602). By 1620, the Dutch were the only prevailing trader in the spice islands in Indonesia.<sup>10</sup>

## **1.2. The European and Catholic Missionary Outreach to New Lands**

### **1.2.1. Colonialism and Mission: From the Right of Patronage to the Right of Commissioning**

The age of discovery followed by the colonial period was also well-known as the period of great mission enthusiasm spreading the Catholic faith to the newly discovered territories outside Europe that had not yet embraced it. This task of mission was entrusted by certain popes to the king of Portugal and the king of Spain. This was called «*ius patronatus*» or the right of patronage. This right was obtained by those two kings because in the fifteenth century only their trading ships could circumferentially sail around the world. The right of patronage essentially contained the duty of the two Catholic kings to spread the Catholic faith in every new place they conquered.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 19; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia. The Unlikely Nation?*, New South Wales, Allen & Unwin, 2003 (Short Histories of Asia, 8), 32-33.

<sup>10</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, in: *The New Encyclopædia Britannica. Macropedia Knowledge in Depth [from now on: NEB]*, vol. 9, London, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1977, 483; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 17, 19-21, 24-25.

<sup>11</sup> D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 227-228. For further reading refer to: R. DELAVIGNETTE, *Cristianesimo e colonialismo*, Catania, Edizioni Paoline, 1961; D. VENERUSO, *Sul tramonto del colonialismo e sulla posizione della Chiesa nei confronti del mondo extra-europeo*, Roma, O.G.C., 1970.

Following the success of the Portuguese in conquering Morocco in 1415, the bulls of the popes were also associated with the right of patronage. From 1415 to 1500, there were 69 published bulls. According to Luigi Mezzadri, the most important bull with respect to the right of patronage of the king of Portugal is the one called «*Fidei constantiam*» in 1515 from Pope Leo X (1513-1521)<sup>12</sup>. Before that bull, Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) was asked to issue the so-called bull «*Romanus Pontifex*» (8 January 1455) that Jean Comby called a crusade bull in order to legitimise the Portuguese expedition along the coasts of Africa. This was appreciated as the way of extending Christendom to other nations<sup>13</sup>. Meanwhile, the Spanish king got his right of patronage from Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) through the «*Inter coetera*» bull of 3 May 1493, with the right to exercise his sovereignty over the lands discovered by Christopher Columbus and to Christianize its inhabitants. The same pope published another bull called «*Eximiae devotionis*» (3 July 1493) granting the king of Spain the same privilege given to the king of Portugal over the lands discovered in Africa.<sup>14</sup>

By issuing those bulls the Pope agreed to give up the organization of the Church in those conquered lands to the two kings. They were regarded as the heads or patrons of the new churches in their colonies, with the right to create a diocese and appoint its bishop without any direct papal intervention. The Pope could only ratify the nominations proposed by the king. As a result, the pace of evangelization was totally under the control of the king and was very much dependent on changes in the economic and political situation of Europe and the colonies. Often the king did not pay enough attention to the vacancies in episcopal sees; they delayed in their decisions and nominations, which made numerous dioceses vacant for a long period. Besides, there were also conflicts among religious orders, between bishops and religious, and the problem of an inappropriate attitude on the part of some priests who behaved more like a trader than a preacher.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For this thesis, all information regarding the term of pontificate of any pope is taken from Richard Peter McBrien. Cf. R. PETER MCBRIEN, *List of Popes*, in: R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995, 1028, 1030, 1032-1033. See also F.K. FLINN, *Chronological list of Popes and Antipopes*, in: J. GORDON MELTON (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, Facts On File, Inc., 2007, xxviii-xxxi and F. LESLIE CROSS (ed.), *List of Popes and Antipopes*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [from now on: ODCC], New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, 1786.

<sup>13</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 58, 62; L. MEZZADRI, *Storia della Chiesa tra Medioevo ed Epoca Moderna. Rinnovamenti, separazioni, missioni, il Concilio di Trento (1492-1563)*, vol. 2, Roma, CLV-Edizioni, 2001, 263; M. SIEVERNICH, *La missione cristiana. Storia e presente*, Brescia, CLV-Edizioni, 2012 (Biblioteca di teologia contemporanea, 160), 98.

<sup>14</sup> L. MEZZADRI, *Storia della Chiesa tra Medioevo ed Epoca Moderna. Rinnovamenti*, 264.

<sup>15</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 62-63, 70; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 228; M. SIEVERNICH, *La missione cristiana*, 100-101.

All these abuses in mission work were ended in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623) with the creation of the so-called «*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*» (from now on: The Propaganda Fide), the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith<sup>16</sup>. The concerns of this congregation were to safeguard the Catholic faith, spreading it among the infidels and non-Catholics, and to bring the heretics and schismatics back to the Catholic Church, since this was considered as the only true Church. The Propaganda Fide was aimed at depoliticizing the mission, to put to an end to the intertwining of mission and colonialism, violence and coercion of any kind and any abusive attitude towards other cultures. By putting into practice all these ideas, the Propaganda Fide was striving to emphasize the religious character of the mission and to separate the Church from the State and its political and commercial interests, orienting the Church to its proper origin from the apostolic era.<sup>17</sup>

In order to remedy the situation, right from the beginning the Propaganda Fide insisted on a good training for priests, missionaries and secular priests alike, in language and scientific studies. This goal was met by the foundation of the Urban College in 1627 by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) which trained many candidates of secular priests for mission countries and also the students coming from the mission fields intending to become a priest. They also paid attention to the formation of indigenous priests.<sup>18</sup>

Since the time of the Propaganda Fide, the pope held all authority for the entire mission among non-Catholics. He holds in his hands the privilege of evangelizing all newly discovered territories instead of any other civil authority such as the king of Spain and Portugal. Based on the so-called «*ius*

<sup>16</sup> On 15 August 1667 with the Constitution «*Regimini Ecclesiae universae*» of Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) the name of the congregation was changed to «Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or De Propaganda Fide». Again, on 28 June 1988, with the Apostolic Constitution of «*Pastor Bonus*» Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) just called it «Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples». Cf. *Annuario Pontificio. Per l'anno 2016*. Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2016, 1825.

<sup>17</sup> F.J. VERSTRAELEN, *Protestant and Catholic Missions on Java, Netherlands East Indies. A Comparison of Missionary Thinking, Strategies and Methods*, in: C. DUJARDIN – C. PRUDHOMME (ed.), *Mission & Science/Missologie Revisitée, 1850-1940*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2015, 318; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 228-229; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 69-70; M. SIEVERNICH, *La missione cristiana*, 101; L. MEZZADRI, *Storia della Chiesa tra Medioevo ed Epoca Moderna. Il grande disciplinamento (1563-1648)*, vol. 3, Roma, CLV-Edizioni, 2001, 348-349.

<sup>18</sup> After being elevated to a Pontifical University in 1962 (now the Pontifical Urbaniana University), its main task is to prepare priests, religious men and women and lay people for the missions. Cf. J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 70; F. LESLIE CROSS (ed.), *Vicar Apostolic*, in: ODCC, 1691; L. MEZZADRI, *Storia della Chiesa tra Medioevo ed Epoca Moderna. Il grande disciplinamento*, 350. «The Urbaniana University», in: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, <http://www.urbaniana.it/en/ateneo/storia.htm> [accessed: 11.01.2018].

*commissionis*» (i.e.= the right of commissioning) the pope entrusted any new mission territory to a certain missionary congregation or order. By performing this act, the Pope precluded the rivalry between missionaries coming from different countries and orders or congregations. Practically, this privilege is delegated to the head or the prefect of the Propaganda Fide, who takes care of and is responsible over all missions and every missionary congregation. In the colonial churches, the Apostolic Vicars – instituted in 1658 by Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) – performed ecclesiastical functions on behalf of the pope, because the authority they had was only a delegated-authority. It was a delegated-authority because they were regarded as the vicar of the pope, since only he himself has the real authority; he is the real ordinary. Consequently, those churches were considered as subsidiaries of Rome, missions, second-class churches, daughter churches, immature worshipping communities, and the objects of Western paternalism. This new arrangement was also applied to the areas in Europe where the Catholic Church had lost its majority because of the rise of Protestantism. The importance of those Apostolic Vicars for the missions was their independence from the patronage rights and every other civil authority. They were a separate order of bishops compared to the state-appointed diocesan bishops in the colonies.<sup>19</sup>

Looking back to the time of discovery and the way the missionaries brought the Gospel to other nations outside Europe, one cannot escape the fact that conquest and colonial exploitation were closely related to the mission work. This fact might make people think that colonialism and mission were «twin brothers». It is true by saying that where colonialism existed, there was also mission, but one cannot state easily that where there was mission, there was also colonialism. The reality proved the contrary since there were so many missionaries that sacrificed themselves heroically for the welfare of indigenous people. In some cases, some of them were so daring as to go against their own country, to stand only for the Gospel and the good fate of indigenous people. The icon of this kind of missionary was Bartolomeo de Las Casas (1484-1556).<sup>20</sup> It must be admitted that there are realities beyond the ability of a religion to cope with. This is what happened

<sup>19</sup> D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 229-230; M. SIEVERNICH, *La missione cristiana*, 100; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 70; S. HUGH MOFFETT, *A History of Christianity in Asia, 1500-1900*, vol. 2, Maryknoll (NY), Orbis Books, 2005, 16; L. MEZZADRI, *Storia della Chiesa tra Medioevo ed Epoca Moderna. Il grande disciplinamento*, 353-354.

<sup>20</sup> F.K. FLINN, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, in: J. GORDON MELTON (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, Facts On File, Inc., 2007, 414. For further reading about Bartolomé de Las Casas refer to: E. VALENZUELA VAN TEEK, *Utopistas indios en America: de Bartolomé de las Casas al papa Francisco*, Buenos Aires, Ciudad Nueva, 2013; L. ANTHONY CLAYTON, *Bartolomé de las Casas. A Biography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012; M. MAHN-LOT, *Bartolomeo de Las Casas e i diritti degli Indiani*, Milano, Jaca Book, 1985.

with Christianity in the face of the modern European expansion; it could do nothing about the conquest and colonialism. What the Church did was to try to act in the situation as it was and gain some profit from it in bearing witness to the Gospel. They were like surfers who do not change the wavy sea to make it calmer, but, quite the contrary, utilize it for other purposes.<sup>21</sup>

### **1.2.2. The Aftermath of World War I and the Holy See's Approaches to Mission**

Since the beginning of World War I in 1914, the Holy See had been aware of the difficult mission situation. A strong opposition between European countries in defending their own country in the name of nationalism was in the air everywhere. In turn, the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide gave an instruction that bishops should act according to their conscience and abstain from any political interference. During the war, Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) made great efforts and tried many strategies to be more differentiated in the worldwide mission of the Church because people from different nations excluded one another.<sup>22</sup>

World War I caused material damage and affected the mission areas severely. The missionary work was severely hampered by the disrupted connection with the motherland, by the military service obligation for all missionaries to defend their own country before going overseas and by the expulsion from their mission work because of a difference in nationality. The flaming of national hatred was transferred from Europe to the missions and resulted in discrediting Christianity. Since Europe was the «heart» of all missionary activities at that time, because of the war, this «heart» was weakened and the whole world mission felt the disturbed heartbeat.<sup>23</sup>

The disastrous nationalism that inflamed the war worldwide made many people think that Catholics should clearly understand the different interests that existed between those of the Church and those of the State. The missions were not to be built too heavily on earthly support, which proved disastrous in the war. The independence of the mission in economic and personal matters is something that was particularly important. The formation of the indigenous clergy was the right and necessary way to achieve this goal, as the experiences of war clearly showed.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 65, 70.

<sup>22</sup> A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel. Am Beispiel der Enzyklika «Maximum Illud»*, Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 1999, 43-44.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

These ideas later were developed in some encyclicals of some popes after the war to give a new spirit to the mission work. The first encyclical was the encyclical «*Maximum illud*» by Pope Benedict XV issued on 30 November 1919, followed by another encyclical entitled «*Rerum Ecclesiae*» (26 February 1926) by his successor Pius XI (1922-1939), and the last one was from Pius XII (1939-1958), entitled «*Summi pontificatus*» (20 October 1939). There are three important points regarding mission strategy as shown in the above-mentioned encyclicals: the reorganization and centralisation of the mission, the depoliticization of the missions, and the indigeneity in the Missions.<sup>25</sup>

In order to reorganize the mission, Pope Benedict XV sent his delegates as his representatives to countries that did not have full or regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The task of an Apostolic Delegate was to monitor the missions and send reports to Rome, so that the Holy See could be better acquainted with the mission situation and understand the most urgent needs of the missions. Related mission areas were joined together under a unified line of leadership. The Holy See also nominated new Apostolic Vicars and Apostolic Prefects for the missions with the ultimate goal of establishing independent Churches. The Holy See tried to purify the missionary work from nationalist and patriotic tendencies that had accumulated during the colonial expansion. The promulgation of the «*Codex Iuris Canonici*» in 1917 can be seen as the coronation of the centralisation process of the Roman Catholic Church, which formally granted that the direction of missionary works be under the control of the Holy See.<sup>26</sup>

However, centralization in missionary services could also increase the effectiveness of mission assistance. All Catholics were encouraged to participate in mission work by means of prayer and acts of charity. They could contribute in the form of alms to support the mission work through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Society of Saint Peter the Apostle, and the Society of Missionary Childhood. On 3 May 1922, Pope Pius XI declared these three societies as «pontifical» in order to manage and distribute the missionary funds more effectively to propagate the faith, to help seminaries for indigenous people and to help the children in need throughout the world. In order to assist the mission more effectively it was seen necessary to reorganize the four old main

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 90; BENEDICTUS XV, «*Maximum illud*», in Benedict XV. Apostolic Letters, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/apost\\_letters/documents/hf\\_ben-xv\\_apl\\_19191130\\_maximum-illud.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_ben-xv_apl_19191130_maximum-illud.html) [accessed: 19.02.2018].

<sup>26</sup> A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel*, 90-91, 93-94; J. METZLER (ed.), *Storia della Chiesa. Dalle missioni alle chiese locali (1846-1965)*, Torino<sup>24</sup>, Edizione Paoline s.r.l., 1990, 84-85.

collection funds every Lenten season, which were previously represented by Paris, Lyon (France), Munich and Aachen (Germany).<sup>27</sup>

Benedict XV had learnt a lot from World War I, and that was why he insisted upon the separation between the missionary affairs and politics. In his encyclical «*Maximum illud*» the pope clearly expressed his concern for the depoliticization of the entire evangelization work. Every missionary and mission must not compromise with politics and national interests, especially with the colonial policy. From the missionary activity people should clearly recognize that the missionaries were not messengers of any earthly power, but of God who cares only for the salvation of souls, the happiness of the peoples, and the proclamation of the truth. The pope also wished that more religious Sisters could be sent to administer the schools, orphanages and hospitals since those charity works were considered as being effective mediums in the propagation of the faith. The Holy See therefore sought to include direct diplomatic relations with the interested Asian governments in order to weaken the patronage of the Western powers. This is illustrated by the increase of diplomatic representations at the Holy See from 14 at the beginning of Benedict's pontificate up to 27 at its end.<sup>28</sup>

Regarding the indigeneity of the missions, Pope Benedict XV was well aware that the formation of a local Church was an indispensable requirement for the future of the Church. The question of the indigenous clergy was given a central position in «*Maximum illud*» and he himself strongly supported the training of the indigenous clergy. The pope stated that the formation and training of the indigenous clergy should be the main concern of every mission, because the future of the young Churches was based on it. The formation must be aimed at preparing indigenous priests in order to be able to assume responsibility as future leaders of the particular Churches. The pope was aware that only indigenous priests have the proper capability to root the Gospel in the heart of their own people.<sup>29</sup>

The theme of indigeneity was developed also by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical «*Rerum Ecclesiae*», stating that the aim of indigenous priests' formation is the establishment of the authentic particular Churches in the future. Regarding the preparation of indigenous priests, the pope stated clearly that they were prepared not only to be helpers of foreign missionaries but to be the first in

<sup>27</sup> A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel*, 95-96; J. METZLER, *Storia della Chiesa*, 85-86; *Annuario Pontificio 2016*, 1177-1180, 1824; «Pontificie Opere Missionarie», in: <http://www.ppoamm.va> [accessed: 9.02.2018].

<sup>28</sup> A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel*, 96-97, 99; J. METZLER, *Storia della Chiesa*, 84-85.

<sup>29</sup> A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel*, 97-98; J. METZLER, *Storia della Chiesa*, 86.

line in propagating the Christian faith to their own people. The pope even insisted on the foundation of indigenous religious orders or congregations for active and contemplative life. He also asked that indigenous candidates for religious life be admitted into the present congregations and orders. He insisted on the promotion of catechetical institutes and superior schools. To be a local Church meant to be self-sufficient and not to be dependent on overseas sources in matters of personnel and finance. Thus, she herself becomes a missionary Church indeed.<sup>30</sup>

The successor of Pius XI, Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) also issued an encyclical that paid attention to the development of local Churches. It was the «*Summi pontificatus*» issued on 20 October 1939. According to him, an authentic Church must mingle herself with the local situation in cultural, social and even in political life in order to meet the material and spiritual needs of the people. The Church must not present herself as a stranger to the people. People from different cultures are called to collaborate, to assist and to love each other because we come from the same father who is the Father in heaven.<sup>31</sup>

### 1.2.3. A General Description of the SVD as an International Religious Congregation

When the so-called «*kulturkampf*» erupted in Germany in 1874, many seminaries and convents were forced to close. The «*kulturkampf*» was a clash between the Catholic Church and the newly formed German Empire. The state under the leadership of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) unleashed the «*kulturkampf*» with a series of anti-Catholic laws, which severely restricted and afflicted the Church. These laws led to the expulsion of some priests and religious, while many bishops were imprisoned. As a result, some dioceses were without bishops and some parishes had no pastors. The aim of this struggle was to attack the authority of the Catholic Church in matters such as education, marriage, and the rights of papal authority. More particularly, the pope's authority over the Catholic Church – one which demanded the loyalty of all Catholics all over the world – was seen by Bismarck as a kind of

<sup>30</sup> PIUS XI, «*Rerum Ecclesiae*», in: Pius XI. Encyclicals, [http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_28021926\\_rerum-ecclesiae.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_28021926_rerum-ecclesiae.html) [accessed: 19.02.2018]; J. METZLER, *Storia della Chiesa*, 86-88.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-89. For further reading refer to: J. FRANCIS POLLARD, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism 1914-1958*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014; M. BALZARINI – A. ZANOTTO, *Le missioni nel pensiero degli ultimi pontefici: piccolo studio missionologico sui documenti pontifici: nel 40 anniversario dell'Epistola apostolica Maximum illud di Benedetto 15*, Milano - Bologna, Editr. Ancora-Editr. Nigrizia, 1960; C. SOETENS, *The Holy See and the Promotion of an Indigenous Clergy from Leo XIII to Pius XII*, in: «*Jurist*» 52 (1992); C. SOETENS, *Pie XI et les missions. Influences et circonstances majeures (1922-1926)*, in: «*Publications de l'École française de Rome*» 223/1 (1996).

intrusion which harmed the unity of the State. In the end Bismarck failed in attaining all his goals, but he was successful in weakening the existence and influence of the Catholic Church in Germany.<sup>32</sup>

In this chaotic situation Arnoldus Janssen<sup>33</sup> discovered that God was calling him to undertake a difficult task. He proposed that some of the expelled priests go to the foreign missions or at least help in the preparation of missionaries. In order to fulfil this goal, the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)<sup>34</sup> was founded on 8 September 1875 at Steyl, Holland, near the border with Germany. It was the first foreign mission institute ever for the people of Germany, Austria and Holland. This foundation happened exactly at the peak of the «*kulturkampf*» persecution towards Catholics in Prussia, especially after the Prussian government issued a law on 31 May 1875 regarding the expulsion of all religious orders from the country.<sup>35</sup>

In their first meeting in the new house on 5 August 1875, the three participants<sup>36</sup> decided that the main goal of that mission house was to prepare missionaries for the propagation of the Christian faith wherever Christianity was not yet known, especially among people from traditional religions. This goal was inspired by their veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. According to their understanding at that time, the Sacred Heart's desires were to save souls and to abide in the hearts of men. The second goal, which correlated with the first one, was the cultivation of true scholarship in theology, humanities, natural sciences and foreign languages in prevision to prepare true missionaries for the foreign missions. In the beginning,

<sup>32</sup> R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins, 1995, 385; R. LILL, *The Kulturkampf in Prussia and in the German Empire until 1878*, in: H. JEDIN – J. DOLAN (ed.), *History of the Church. The Church in the Industrial Age*, vol. 9, New York, The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1981, 31-44. For further reading refer to: V. SPETH, *Kulturkampf und Volksfrömmigkeit: die Diskussion im preußischen Staatsministerium und in der preußischen Verwaltungselite über die staatliche Repression des Wallfahrts- und Prozessionswesens im Kulturkampf*, Frankfurt am Main, PL Academic Research, 2013; L. ELLENA, *Kulturkampf, Chieta, Tabula Fati*, 2005; E. SCHMIDT VOLKMAR, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland: 1871-1890*, Göttingen - Berlin - Frankfurt, Musterschmidt, 1962; H. BORNKAMM, *Die Staatsidee im Kulturkampf*, München, Oldenbourg, 1950.

<sup>33</sup> Arnoldus Janssen (1837-1909) is the founder of three religious-congregations: The Society of the Divine Word (1875), the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (1889), and the Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit of Perpetual Adoration (1896). He was canonized by Pope John Paul II on 5 October 2003. Cf. J. ALT, *Journey in Faith. The Missionary Life of Arnold Janssen*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2002 (Analecta SVD, 85), 1036.

<sup>34</sup> The name Society of the Divine Word is a translation from the Latin *Societas Verbi Divini*, which is shorten to SVD. In this paper, the writer will use «the SVD» as a substitute for the term «The Society of the Divine Word», and «the SVDs» to refer to the personnel of the congregation.

<sup>35</sup> J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 76, 80-84; F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, Romae, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 1981 (Analecta SVD, 54), 17; R. LILL, *The Kulturkampf in Prussia*, 41-42.

<sup>36</sup> They were Arnoldus Janssen, Peter Bill and Franz Xaver Reichart. Cf. J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 74.

Arnoldus Janssen intended to accept priests and theology students who wished to be foreign missionaries. On 29 October 1875, a clerical student, J.B. Anzer, arrived in Steyl followed by Fr. Josef Freinademetz three years later (1878), although his real source for vocations to the missionary service was his Latin school of six classes<sup>37</sup>. After graduation from these schools, the students would continue their higher studies in the major seminary of St. Gabriel in Mödling near Vienna, Austria (erected on 26 April 1889), be ordained as priests and leave for the missions. Professors in Philosophy and Theology for this major seminary were sent to Rome for their academic studies.<sup>38</sup>

In order to attain ecclesiastical approbation for the congregation, on his visit to Rome<sup>39</sup>, Superior General Arnoldus Janssen met the president of the Vatican's Rule Commission. He wanted to clarify everything regarding the Rule and the name of the congregation following the documents that had been presented on 14 December 1899. On 19 December 1900 – only after the silver jubilee of its foundation, – the Holy Office finally declared its agreement with the name *Societas Verbi Divini*. The decree of ecclesiastical approbation of the congregation was finally issued on 25 January 1901 by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, fulfilling the sincere will of the Holy Father Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). This approbation meant that the pope listed the Society of the Divine Word in the ranks of religious societies. The Rule which followed the model of the Vincentians and the Jesuits in matters of government and appointments, was approved by Pope Pius X (1903-1914) on 11 May 1905. But Arnoldus Janssen was not so pleased and went himself to Rome to ask for modifications. The modified Rule was finally approved on 12 August 1905.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> These schools were established in Steyl (1875), Heiligkreuz in Silesia, Eastern Germany (1892), St. Wendel in southwest Germany (1899) and St. Rupert's, Sazburg, Austria (1904).

<sup>38</sup> It was hoped that this scholarly preparation would be conducted following the spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas and other inspired scholar-saints in the Catholic Church. Cf. J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 74-75; F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 18, 149.

<sup>39</sup> This was his eighth visit to Rome. Arnoldus Janssen visited this city ten times in order to take care of the interests of the Society he had founded. The first visit to Rome took place from 16 June until 12 July 1878, and the last visit was from 14 June to 23 July 1907, about 18 months prior to his death in January 1909. Cf. J. ALT, *The History of the Foundation of Divine Word Missionaries in Rome*, Romae, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2004 (Analecta SVD, 87), 276-305.

<sup>40</sup> J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 752, 754-756, 759, 766; F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 11, 18, 38; *The Constitutions of the Society of the Divine Word. The Constitutions of 1983 as revised by the 15<sup>th</sup> General Chapter - 2000*, Rome, SVD Publications, 1983/2000, 7-8. This Rule later was modified two times, in 1983 and 2000, in the form of a document called the Constitutions of the Society of the Divine Word. This was the fruit of a long-term preparation in some general chapters: 1967/1968, 1977, 1982, 1994 and 2000.

It was intended that the new Mission House for foreign missions was a Mission House for German and Dutch speaking countries. The first three members of the society represented three different nationalities: Arnoldus Janssen from Germany, Peter Bill from Luxembourg and Franz Xaver Reichart from Austria. This fact shows that right from the beginning, the sense of internationality has been something innate with the congregation and it has been and will be like that always.<sup>41</sup>

Certainly, the internationality, characteristic of the SVD, can be found also in some other congregations or orders such as the Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits. These orders and congregations are international in the sense of their presence in many Catholic countries all over the globe. But still, there is something very special in the SVD as compared to other religious congregations or orders. In the case of the Benedictines, every abbey is independent. For Dominicans and Franciscans, every province is a union of the same language area that cannot permit members from another country to cross the threshold. The same thing happened also with the Jesuits in the sense that every Jesuit province is independent. It is true that those orders or congregations have a few more nationalities represented, but their provinces are divided according their nationality proveniences. The internationality of the SVD is different in nature. In the SVD, people from different countries live together in the same province and community without any national prejudices. Every SVD has the same rights and obligations. All of them are bound to go anywhere whenever the Superior General asks someone to go where he is needed the most. None of provincials makes assignments but rather the Superior General does. This happens because the SVD's consider that the Church mission is never entrusted to a single province but to the congregation as a whole. This internationality characteristic shows an openness towards all humankind that characterizes the universality of the Church of Christ. One can say that seeing the SVD's communities in a certain sense is seeing the universal Church itself containing the people of God from every nation, tongue and tribe.<sup>42</sup>

In 1878, three years after the foundation of the Mission House, Arnoldus Janssen sent his first two priests to China, Fr. Johann Baptist Anzer and Fr. Josef Freinademetz, where they officially began the mission in South Shantung in 1881, taken over from the Franciscans. Four years later (1885) this mission was elevated to a Vicariate Apostolic. After this first mission, until 1911,

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<sup>41</sup> J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 77, 82.

<sup>42</sup> F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 78-81.

Arnold sent his missionaries successively to twelve other countries. In 1912, the whole membership of the SVD was 1545 members.<sup>43</sup>

Besides promoting the Christian faith in remote areas, right from its early years the SVD was involved in popular publications and promoting sciences. On 27 January 1876, Arnoldus Janssen started the mission press in Steyl. Just to mention some of these publications, a popular missionary magazine, *Steyler Missionsbote*, *Stadt Gottes* and *Michael's Calendar* were the first three material publications from the SVD. Another important magazine is *Anthropos*, a well-known anthropological review that was started in 1906 by Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954), an expert in linguistics. Other important experts worth-mentioning are Fr. Martinus Gusinde (1886-1969) and Fr. Paul Schebesta (1887-1967).<sup>44</sup>

The newly approved Constitutions of the SVD (1983/2000), number 102, states the purpose of the SVD missionary service as follows,

As members of the Society of the Divine Word, we consider it our duty to proclaim the word of God to all, to bring new communities into being within the people of God, to foster their growth and to promote communion among them as well as with the whole church. We work first and foremost where the gospel has not been preached at all or only insufficiently and where the local church is not viable on its own. Other tasks must be oriented towards these primary aims.<sup>45</sup>

At present the SVDs work in 82 countries and are divided into 45 provinces, 10 regions, and 4 missions plus the Generalate community. As of 1 January 2018, members of the SVD numbered 6,005, both priests and religious brothers, coming from more than 70 different countries.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12, 18; *The Statistic Office of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)*, Rome, 16 February 2018; *Schematismus S.V.D.* 1912, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1912, 30-31, 38, 41, 44-46, 51, 53, 57, 66-95. The twelve countries were Argentina (1889), Togo (1892), Ecuador (1893), Brazil (1895), Papua New Guinea (1896), the United States of America (1897), Chile (1901), Japan (1907), the Philippines (1908), Holland and Paraguay (1910), and Mozambique (1911).

<sup>44</sup> F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 11, 93-95, 100, 105-107. After World War I, they issued also the *Steyler Chronik* (1919-1939), followed by the *Steyler Mission Chronik* and *Verbum* (1959-1969) which later on became the *Verbum SVD* (1969-present) which evolved from a report and discussion about the life of the SVD into a missiological review, run by the SVD Missiological Institute (St. Augustine, Germany).

<sup>45</sup> *The Constitutions of the Society of the Divine Word*, 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Catalogus SVD 2018*, Romae, Apud Curiam Generalitiam, 2018, 497-563; *The Statistic Office of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)*, Rome, 16 February 2018.

## 2. Local Context

### 2.1. Indonesia

#### 2.1.1. The Origin of the Name of Indonesia

The word «Indonesia» comes from two Greek words «*indos*» which means India, and «*nesos*» which means islands. So, Indonesia means Indian islands. When the Netherlands colonized the region that is now Indonesia, it was simply called Netherlands India, the Netherlands Indies or Dutch Indies, or occasionally Tropical Netherlands. The word «India» is always attached to the name of this region due to the recognition of India's cultural influences over the region of Southeast Asia before the arrival of other dominant cultures such as Arabs, Chinese and European. Southeast Asia itself was once called Further India, the East Indies (*Oost Indië* in Dutch), the Indian or Malay Archipelago, or simply the Indies. Later on, in order to differentiate the Buddhist realm of the main land from the other islands influenced by Muslims and densely populated by Malays, some other names also emerged, such as Malesia, Insulinde, Nusantara, Malaysia and Indonesia.<sup>47</sup>

The name Indonesia itself was initially used in 1850 by James Richardson Logan, a British anthropologist, in analogy with Polynesia but most likely to refer to the many thousands of islands off the southeast tip of mainland Asia. In 1884, Adolf Bastian, a German anthropologist, adopted this word as the title of his book, «*Indonesien*» (1884). Since that time, the name «Indonesia» became very popular for all which itself in Malay would be translated as «*Hindia Timur*». The Netherlands helped also to popularize this name when they adopted this word in 1917 for the name of the Indonesian Students Society with the name «*Indonesische Vereeniging*» (in Malay: «*Perhimpunan Indonesia*»). In 1928, the so-called «*Sumpah Pemuda*» or the Pledge of Indonesian Youth to strengthen the nationalist movement toward independence formally adopted the name Indonesia to designate the future nation, its citizens and its language. The name Indonesia began to exist as a political entity since Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed its independence in 1945.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> R. CRIBB – A. KAHIN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, Oxford, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004 (Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East, 51), 185-186; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 2-3.

<sup>48</sup> R. CRIBB – A. KAHIN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 186; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 3; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 42-50.

### 2.1.2. Indonesia in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Islands, Population and Cultural Influences

Indonesia is characterized by its vastness in area and variety of people, languages and culture. The territory of Indonesia lies between two continents (Asia and Australia) and between two oceans (the Indian and the Pacific). It is the world's largest archipelago, comprising over 13,669 islands, of which 6,000 are named, 7,600 are unnamed, 1,000 are inhabited, and almost 12,700 are uninhabited. The islands can be divided into four main groups. The first group covers Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes, which are called the Greater Sunda Islands. The Lesser Sunda Islands or *Nusa Tenggara*, the second group, lie east of Java and extend from Bali to Timor. The third group is the Moluccas archipelago, which lies between Celebes and Papua. Another part of Indonesia is the western extent of New Guinea called West Papua. There are two major archipelagos, the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Moluccas, and about sixty smaller archipelagos. Indonesia has direct land boundaries with three countries: Papua New Guinea, Malaysia and Timor Leste (since 2002).<sup>49</sup>

Until 1914 the population of the Dutch East Indies was predominantly Malay. The second most dominant people were Papuan. Malay and Papuan stocks were divided into many tribes and peoples. Among them there were also Indians, Chinese, Europeans and Arabs.<sup>50</sup>

According to legend Indians had come to the East Indies in the beginning of the first century, the Arabs in the seventh century and the Chinese in the eighth century. About three-fourths of these were in Java and Madura, the neighboring island. Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century. They were never more than 240,200, and about 90 percent of them were Dutch. The Muslims in the East Indies came from two different places: Arabia and India. The majority of Arabs came from the Hadhramaut. Indian Muslims came from Gujarat, Coromandel, the Malabar coasts, Punjab and Sind. By the end of 1914 the population of the Dutch East Indies was more than 40,000,000.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> J.F. McDIVITT, *Indonesia*, in: *NEB*, vol. 9, London, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1977, 457, 459; R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, xiii-xiv; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 3-4.

<sup>50</sup> C. ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, vol. 2, London<sup>2</sup>, Longmans, 1959, 81; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes in den Heidenländern. Die Inselmissionen in Ostasien und der Südsee: Die Mission in Hollandisch-Indien. Das Apostolische Vikariat der Kleinen Sundainseln*, vol. 1, Steyl<sup>2</sup>, Missionsdruckerei, 1931, 9.

<sup>51</sup> C. ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, 71, 73, 81; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia, and Africa A.D. 1800 - A.D. 1914*, vol. 5, New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1943, 275; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft der Göttlichen Wortes*, 9; M. ALI GHUL, *Yemen (Aden)*, in: *NEB*, vol. 19, London, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1977, 1081.

The East Indies embrace a wide variety of people who represent successive waves of culture, notably from Asia and Europe. The influence of Indian Hinduism is evident from important monuments, especially in Java and Bali. Chinese culture influenced the development of technology. European civilization diffused into Asia through inter-marriage.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.2. Colonization and the Movement towards Independence in Indonesia

### 2.2.1. How Indonesia Became a Colony of the Dutch

Years before 1580, the Dutch were in a good collaboration with the Portuguese and Spanish. They acted as middleman in selling the spices brought by the Portuguese in northern Europe. Things began to change rapidly when in 1581 the Netherlands proclaimed their independence from Spain, following a decision of Portugal and Spain a year before to close the port of Lisbon to the Dutch. This action made the Dutch consider going directly to the spice islands in Indonesia. This consideration was possible for the Dutch because until that time, it had been for a long period that the Portuguese employed many Dutch as sailors and civil servants. One of these men was Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who knew the sea road to Asia. His book «*Itinerario near Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*» (= Itinerary to the East or Portuguese Indies) inspired the Dutch and the British alike to begin their expeditions to the East. These were the reasons behind the courageous decision to send the first Dutch expedition in 1595 to the spice islands under the command of Captain Cornelis de Houtman.<sup>53</sup>

For the purposes of the expedition, Cornelis de Houtman went to the spice islands twice, in 1595 and 1598, and Jacob van Neck only once, in 1599. Soon after these expedition voyages, all shipping companies realised that they could do the commerce better if they united themselves under one trade organization. As a result, the «seventeen gentlemen» merged themselves into the so-called VOC<sup>54</sup> (= *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) on 20 March 1602. Later, this trade union received its charter from the Dutch government to monopolize the spice trade in the spice islands carried on by indigenous Asian traders. In

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<sup>52</sup> C. ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, 72, 81; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century*, 275.

<sup>53</sup> F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 20-21; R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 244-245.

<sup>54</sup> The VOC in Dutch old spelling is Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie which literally means «United East Indies Company», well-known for many people as the Dutch East Indies Company. Cf. J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 483; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 21. Soon the Dutch acronym VOC became well-known to the people of the spice islands, especially on Moluccas and Banda. The VOC had 17 directors who were also known as the Seventeen Gentlemen with their headquarters in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

1605, the VOC allied with local people in Ambon against the Portuguese who had been there earlier. At that time, the Dutch had a good supply of finance, weapons and ships compared to that of the Portuguese. After winning the battle, the Ambonese gave exclusive rights to the Dutch to purchase spices on the island of Hitu. Under Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the VOC tried its best to monopolize the spice trade. Starting with the taking over of Banda from the Spanish who had been there until 1606, the VOC moved forward by attacking the local people of Banda in 1620s and replaced all the Bandanese farmers with Dutch farmers to take care of the spice orchards. A few years before the Banda attack, precisely in 1619, the VOC established its trading post in Batavia (now Jakarta).<sup>55</sup>

This was the time when the Dutch began to exclude all other European competitors in commerce in the Indies. Since that time, slowly the VOC formed a single organization which traded across a vast area and possessed superior military force. By 1677, the Mataram sultanate in Java had also fallen under the VOC's control. During the seventeenth century, the Dutch tried to control the pepper trade in Sumatra, by establishing a foothold in the southern part of this island, especially in Palembang. With the increase of its economic and military power, the VOC became a government in itself and employed a bureaucracy to serve its commercial concerns in the Indies. It could also impose its will upon other traders and force them to accept its trading conditions. This situation step by step formed the basis of the Dutch territorial empire over the region, especially over the territory which was from 1945 well-known as Indonesia.<sup>56</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century, the VOC was dissolved because it fell into bankruptcy. This tragedy happened because of smuggling, increasing administration costs, corruption and the pressure of British competition. All these paved the way for a new start for the Dutch government to take over the affairs of the company in 1799. In order to solve the economic problems inherited from the VOC (1602-1796), under the leadership of Governor General Herman Willem Daendels (1808-1811), the people of the Indies were forced to pay a tax in kind that represented a proportion of the total production, the compulsory cultivation of coffee was expanded, and the local rulers in Java were given salaries as civil servants. By so doing, the colonial government put them under government control. However, these actions did

<sup>55</sup> F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 22-23, 25; S. HUGH MOFFETT, *Christianity in Asia*, 214; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 40-42.

<sup>56</sup> In 1641, the VOC captured Malacca from the Portuguese and drove them away from Nagasaki. During the period between 1658 and 1663, they drove the Portuguese out of Malabar. In 1664, the VOC even monopolized the trade in Siam (Thailand). Cf. J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 483-484; S. HUGH MOFFETT, *Christianity in Asia*, 214.

not change the situation for the better. Only during the time of Governor General Johannes van den Bosch (1830-1833), through the introduction of the so-called Culture System (= «*Cultuur-stelsel*») the exports soared up from 13,000,000 guilders in 1830 to 74,000,000 in 1940. The commodity was distributed to the international market through the Netherlands Trading Company (*Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij*; NHM), erected in 1825, which embraced all merchants engaged in the Indies trade, with the king as its chief shareholder. Lasting for 40 years, this commerce brought to the Netherlands government an annual average, more or less, of a third of the Dutch budget at that time.<sup>57</sup>

Although its first intention was purely commercial in origin, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the VOC was involved in local politics, especially in Java. It would be an arbiter in conflicts between rival rulers in dynastic disputes. It was in the 1620s that the VOC for the first time entered a political conflict as Sultan Agung, the ruler of the central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, and the representative of the Hindu-Javanese civilization, sought to extend his power over Bantam in West Java. In the following centuries, VOC involvement in the internal dissent between the pretenders to the throne of Mataram hastened the VOC political influence over the territory. As a sign of gratitude for its help, the VOC received from Sultan Agung's successors the Preanger regions of West Java. Another territory was ceded to the VOC in 1704, as the Dutch forces succeeded in assisting the replacement of Amangkurat III with his uncle, Pakubuwono I. In this way, almost all of Java gradually passed under VOC control, and Pakubuwono's kingdom later was divided into two principalities, Jogjakarta and Surakarta. This division lasted until the end of the Dutch colonization.<sup>58</sup>

By the middle of eighteenth-century Dutch control over Java was effective, whereas their control over other islands was uneven. Government control over these islands was exercised in the form of agreements with local rulers. In other words, the government had no direct control over those islands. Sumatra was ruled over gradually during the nineteenth century. Java and Sumatra were ruled over using the so-called «Long Contract». Other islands such as Borneo, Celebes (Bone

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<sup>57</sup> This «*cultuur-stelsel*» had nothing to do with culture but more with the cultivation system which demanded that Indonesian cultivators grow export crops on their own land without any benefits for themselves. All this was done to meet the economic interest of the Dutch. Practically, the indigenous people were forced to set aside a fifth of their cultivable land to provide export crops for the government in lieu of tax. Cf. J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 484-486; F.J. VERSTRAELEN, *Protestant and Catholic Missions on Java, Netherlands East Indies*, 312-313; E. SERVAAS DE KLERCK, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, Amsterdam, B.M. Israël NV, 1975, 616; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 83-84.

<sup>58</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 484.

and Luwu), Moluccas (Ternate, Ceram, and Buru), Bali, the Lesser Sunda Islands and West New Guinea were controlled using the so-called «Short Declaration» that bound local rulers to accept the control of the colonial government. By 1910, the whole archipelago had been united as a colonial dependency with Batavia in Java as its main base.<sup>59</sup>

The administration of the Dutch colonial government known as the *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* or internal administration was formed as a distinct structure in Java in the early XIX century during the term of office of Governor General Herman Willem Daendels (1808-1811). In his time Java was divided into several prefectures which were headed by prefects. A prefect exercised his power in the name of the governor general in a particular region. Thus, a relatively regular bureaucratic hierarchy was formed. At the beginning of the XX century, Thomas Stamford Raffles changed the title of prefect to that of resident.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.2.2. The Political Changes in the Netherlands in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

After the French Revolution in 1789, there was a strong tendency towards the separation of State and Church in social life as pushed forward by socialists and liberal politicians. This was well-known as a liberal principle in political matters. The important achievement of this policy can be seen in a decree on 5 August 1795 which abandoned a dominating Church and favoured the separation of Church and State. This decree put an end to the Calvinist Netherlands Reformed Church as a «state religion» on the one side, and on the other side welcomed the political emancipation of Catholics and all non-Reformed people as brothers and sisters of the same nation, after more than two centuries of oppression by a Calvinist-oriented government.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 486; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Three Centuries of Advance*, 301. For further reading refer to: U. BOSMA, *The Sugar Plantation in India and Indonesia. Industrial Production, 1770-2010*, New York, Cambridge University press, 2013; G. ROGER KNIGHT, *Commodities and Colonialism. The Story of Big Sugar in Indonesia, 1880-1942*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2013; C.J. CHRISTIE, *Southeast Asia in the Twentieth Century: A Reader*, London - New York, Tauris, 1998.

<sup>60</sup> The *Binnenland Bestuur* was a system of authority that practiced «subsidiary power» under two branches, namely *Europeesch Bestuur* (European administration) and the *Inlandsch Bestuur* (native administration). With this system, all matters relating to indigenous people would be regulated through the intercession of their own rulers through their own fellow people. In the course of time, *Europeesch Bestuur* was developed into several hierarchical levels, starting from the lowest, namely *aspirant controleur*, *controleur*, assistant resident, resident, and Governor General. In Java the position of a *controleur* was the same as that of a regent or bupati in Indonesian, but he was referred to as «elder brother» because he served as an advisor to the regents. Cf. R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 57-58.

<sup>61</sup> F.J. VERSTRAELEN, *Protestant and Catholic Missions on Java, Netherlands East Indies*, 312.

Another important change in the second half of the nineteenth century was an evangelical revival in a Dutch colony that originated in the so-called «new theology» introduced by a Protestant pastor, Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen (1834-1918) in the land of Sumatra. It offered a new way of interpreting the Scriptures from the perspective of the Biblical Criticism school. In his pastorate, Nommensen tried to stress the inseparable implications of social and political aspects of the Gospel in a Christian's life. It was not easy because the indigenous were used to identify him as one of the Dutch invaders. Nevertheless, he could win their hearts because he launched eloquent protests against the slave trade and the blood violence between the tribes. He tried his best to do everything for the indigenous. Another important figure worth mentioning is W. R. Baron van Hoëvell who shared the same spirit of Nommensen. For both of them, slavery and other colonial abuses were considered to be against Christian principles. They asked the State to fulfil its moral duty. This way of doing evangelization showed many people the nobility of Christianity and attracted society and many Christians, especially politicians, to consider the moral duty of a State.<sup>62</sup>

This new way of thinking helped to balance the advance of political liberalism at that time which pushed to separate the State from the influence of any kind of religious values. Soon after that there was a great awareness in society that it was a great shame for Christians to be supporting and practicing slavery. This new awareness brought some political changes to the Netherlands. As a result, in 1860 Holland abolished slavery in all its colonies, followed by the annulment of the law that forbade the teaching of any religion in schools. As a call for moral duty, the government must set up schools for local people and education should not be hostile to the Christian faith. This policy paved the way for setting up many mission schools in villages aided by government funds. These schools were being established in order to support the government in the educational field. This new development also refreshed the nineteenth century missionary enthusiasm of both Protestantism and Catholicism in the colonies.<sup>63</sup>

Politicians from political parties based on religion – mainly Protestant and Catholic – were against liberalism as a non-Christian movement. The Protestants argued that a good and «healthy» State must derive from the guidance of God's Word. When in 1868 the Netherlands introduced neutral education in public

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<sup>62</sup> S. HUGH MOFFETT, *Christianity in Asia*, 622-624; E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931*, Leiden, Brill, 1977, 17; T. VAN DEN END, *Batak Protestant Christian Church of Indonesia*, in: H.J. HILLERBRAND (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* [from now on: EP], vol 1A-C, New York and London, Routledge, 2005, 337-338.

<sup>63</sup> S. HUGH MOFFETT, *Christianity in Asia*, 625-626.

schools, the Catholic hierarchy opposed this policy. This opposition was based on Pope Pius IX's (1846-1878) encyclical «*Syllabus Errorum*» (1864) that condemned liberal principles in education. The situation changed when towards the end of the nineteenth century Dr. Abraham Kuyper from the Protestant side (Anti-Revolutionary Party) and Dr. Schaepman from the Catholic side decided to collaborate in political matters. Their main purposes were striving for persistent influence of Christianity in people's life, securing free preaching of the Gospel, opposing the exploitation of the colonies, and asking the State to fulfil its moral responsibility and obligation for the colonies. In practice, they wanted that the indigenous must be educated, the colonies must be developed and prepared for a future independence, and Christianity must be preached to them. By doing this they hoped that the colonies could benefit from western Christian civilization. All this good political will resulted in the so-called ethical policy.<sup>64</sup>

### 2.2.3. The Ethical Policy

In 1901, the colonial Government applied what was called the «*ethische politiek*» (= ethical policy), following the «Speech of the Throne» of Queen Wilhelmina (1880-1962) which called for a moral duty to the people of the colonies.<sup>65</sup> This happened during the time of Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) as the Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1901-1905). Talking about this policy one may not forget Conrad Theodor van Deventer (1857-1915) as its initiator and promotor. Introduced and promoted by this man, the main purpose of this policy was to pay what was said to be «a debt of honour».<sup>66</sup> According to him, for a long period of time the Dutch had drained wealth from the Indies without doing anything for the colony, and the appropriate time has come to do something noble for the indigenous people. By introducing this policy, the Government wanted to take more care of the colony, such as improved health care, extended education to all Indonesian people – until then it was limited only to Dutch colonial administrators and businessmen – by establishing Dutch language schools, expanded communication facilities, irrigation and other infrastructure, and a transmigration program that brought mutual benefit to Indonesians and the Dutch.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, 10-12.

<sup>65</sup> R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 139-140; E.J.M. SCHUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, 14.

<sup>66</sup> E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, 8.

<sup>67</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, Westport (Connecticut), Greenwood Press, 2005, 45-46; R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 139-140; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 30-31; S. HUGH MOFFETT, *Christianity in Asia*, 625; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 105-106.

There were three major fields covered by the ethical policy, namely education, irrigation and transmigration. Its main concern was rooted in humanitarian and economic growth to transform Indonesian traditional society into a modern one by financial assistance. By means of education, it was hoped this policy would create new westernized Indonesian elites, stimulate the growth of the village economy, and lift the colony up to suit the demands of the modern world. New Indonesian elites were intended to be created by a cultural synthesis between the western and the local cultures. This process of synthesizing will prepare a new East Indian society that will have political influence and autonomy in the future within the framework of the Dutch empire. In the end, these elites would be grateful to the Dutch as good colonizers who elevated the local people to a better life full of prosperity and nobility.<sup>68</sup>

Despite this idealistic policy, in reality, all the programs were implemented more so in Java and Sumatra than in other islands. It also was not for the sake of advancing the local community but because the Government had a specific calculated plan. Education was encouraged more for the children of the Javanese with a view to setting up lower staff for the smooth running of the affairs of the Government administration. Organised irrigation was directed to improve the fertility and the production of the wet-rice technology of Java and to irrigate colonist plantations. Transmigration was more for the purpose of bringing energy-workforces for the success of the plantations of the colonizers in Sumatra. So, the welfare principle for the local people remained an ideal. The faraway Lesser Sunda Islands – and other islands as well – received little attention from the Government because they were considered to be not too important in the eyes of the Netherlands. This policy was effective until 1905 and totally abandoned in 1930 due to budget cuts in most of those areas and its paternalistic approach. However, for the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, who worked eagerly for the indigenous in remote areas, this policy paved a way to do more for them, especially in the education and health fields. This was possible for the missionaries because the Government considered them as cultural and humanitarian agents to expand the «noble» European values to non-Europeans.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> T. VAN DEN END – J. SIHAR ARITONANG, *1800-2005: A National Overview*, in: J. SIHAR ARITONANG – K. STEENBRINK (ed.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2008 (Studies in Christian Mission, 35), 163-164; J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 487; F.J. VERSTRAELEN, *Protestant and Catholic Missions on Java, Netherlands East Indies*, 313; E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, 14-16.

<sup>69</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 487; R. CRIBB – A. KAHN, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 140; F. ANING S. (ed.), *100 Tokoh yang Mengubah Indonesia. Biografi Singkat Seratus Tokoh yang Paling Berpengaruh dalam Sejarah Indonesia di Abad 20* [Hundred Prominent Figures that Changed Indonesia in the Twentieth Century], Jogjakarta, Narasi, 2005, 258-259; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 303-304.

Witnessing the ethical policy applied half-heartedly, the Indonesians did not stay silent. They sought to promote the nationalist movement which at that time was rampant in Asia and Africa. The various discontents of the local inhabitants over the Netherlands' colonists which tended to be discriminatory in social and economic life made this movement grow stronger. This time the movement which was promoted by Indonesian intellectuals in order to fight the Dutch colonization was intended more to promote nationalism and the idea of a nation. The above-mentioned Indonesian intellectuals had a higher education but had no place in the political affairs of the country. That was why they tried to push forward this movement to create an Indonesian modern state by embracing all the ethnic diversity throughout the whole archipelago and transforming the traditional pattern of authority to suit the needs of a new era in Indonesia.<sup>70</sup>

#### **2.2.4. The Rise of the Indonesian Nationalist Movement against the Netherlands' Occupation**

The Indonesian nationalism movement came into being partly because of the hard work of some Indonesian leaders but mostly because of the demands of the time. The cause of this movement can be specified globally and locally. Globally, it was the product of a new imperialism which created wide currents of unrest affecting many parts of Africa and Asia. During the nineteenth century new economic forces, the product of industrial capitalism, burst upon the Indies. It was known as a new wave of European capitalism. In term of politics, – especially after World War I had weakened the domination of Europeans over their colonial countries – new ideas such as democracy, nationalism, self-governance and socialism captured the popular imagination and empowered the political movement all over the world. The rise of socialist and radical movements in the Netherlands, the revolution in China (1911), the Bolshevik revolution in Russia (1917), the rise of Japan as a new powerful nation, independence struggles in India and the Philippines were the political resonances that reached, influenced and fired the nationalist movement in Indonesia. Another global influence came from the Islamic countries in the form of the development of new ideas and new movements. This happened because of the resurrection of a regular religious pilgrimage of many Indonesians to Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Because of that contact, their sense of religious and social community with other Muslims was strengthened. During the nineteenth century, many Muslim countries pushed a return to the primacy of Al Qur'an and Hadith and also encouraged the idea of a Pan Islam. These movements were deeply anti-colonialist in nature. In countries

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<sup>70</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 487.

such as Egypt and Tunisia strong nationalist tendencies were observed. All these inspired Indonesians to fight for their independence.<sup>71</sup>

Locally, this movement went hand in hand with the demands of a modern society that needed a modern bureaucracy. This need had transformed the traditional authority structures at that time. As a result, traditional rulers lost their political power because they were incorporated into the colonial regime. They had no influence at all in front of their own people in political and economic matters. The only notable authorities excluded from the Dutch power structure were the local Muslim religious leaders. They became very influential at the village level. Local people used to turn to them for leadership when they had grievances against the colonial regime. Certain factors affected the population, such as discontent, the economic discrimination of colonial rule, the psychological hurt arising from the slights of social discrimination, and a new awareness of the all-pervading nature of Dutch authority. Many times, these Muslim leaders led rebellions against the colonial regime that aroused considerable fears but had a local impact only.<sup>72</sup>

But still, the real threat for the Dutch rule lay in the cities where many Indonesians from various social and ethnic backgrounds assembled because of urbanization following the plantation industries at that time. In the new circumstances in the cities, these Indonesian urban dwellers lost their ties with their tradition and traditional rulers. They were more open to the new ideas, more aware of what was happening in the wider world and ready to try new solutions to their problems. These circumstances finally developed another need for new rulers. Individuals with the potential ability of leadership, no matter what kind of social status they might come from, were more likely to be trusted as their leader. They began to organize themselves willingly through modern organizational forms, such as unions, associations, and political movements. Another cause was the growing numbers of the new Indonesian elite who were educated in Europe but lacked adequate employment opportunities to match their education. From the heart of all those needs, politics began to develop.<sup>73</sup>

The period 1908-1925 marked the first steps of self-determination and the movement toward independence. At this time the principles and the foundation of Indonesian nationalism were fixed. The motive of the movement was different from what it had been before. The concern was not merely with resistance to Dutch rule but with a new perception of nationhood. The new

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<sup>71</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, 53, 55-56; A. MIOTK, *Das Missionsverständnis im Historischen Wandel*, 27-29.

<sup>72</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, 52; J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 487.

<sup>73</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, 53; E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, 76-77.

nationhood manifested itself in a general awareness to embrace the ethnic diversity of the archipelago.<sup>74</sup> The traditional patterns of authority had to be restructured in order to enable the creation of Indonesia as a modern state. Mass associations were a *conditio sine qua non* to meet the needs of this movement. The first mass association was *Budi Utomo* (= High Endeavour), which was founded on 20 May 1908 by Wahidin Sudirohusodo. The realm of *Budi Utomo* was economic and cultural rather than political. However, it is considered the first of these associations because it represented the beginning of an organized nationalism.<sup>75</sup>

*Budi Utomo* could not fulfil the needs of the independence movement. So, some wanted to change *Budi Utomo* into a political party. This desire produced an internal controversy. As a result, some prominent political figures quit *Budi Utomo* and joined the *Indische Partij* (Indies Party) – a Eurasian party<sup>76</sup> founded in 1911 by E.F.E. Douwes Dekker. This party was succeeded by another Eurasian party, *Insulinde*. Finally, *Budi Utomo* itself became a political party when in 1915 it became a member of the *Commissie Indië Weerbaar* (= Committee of Indies Defence) and later on received a chair in the *Volksraad* (= People's Council), created by the government.<sup>77</sup>

The *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Association) was founded in Solo on 10 September 1912 by Omar Said Tjokroaminoto, a Surakarta batik merchant. This Islamic organization was very popular among the lower class and also attracted not only Muslims but also Chinese and Dutch merchants. In 1914 Hendricus Sneevliet founded the *Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging* (ISDV; Indies Social Democratic Association), which in 1920 became the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI: *Partai Komunis Indonesia*).<sup>78</sup>

The organizations were broadly nationalist in aim, although differing in their tactics and immediate goals. They were different also in the sharpness of their perceptions of independent nationhood. This difference also appeared in

<sup>74</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 484.

<sup>75</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, 77-78; P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: the Integration], vol. 4, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1973, 211.

<sup>76</sup> P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 211.

<sup>77</sup> The Volksraad was intended to be something similar to a parliament where the East Indies people had a body for political discussion and for making recommendations to the government. In reality everything was decided by the government alone. Cf. J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 488; P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 211-212, 231; G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20* [History of Catholic Church in Indonesia: from the Prefecture to the Apostolic Vicariate], vol. 2, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1972, 87.

<sup>78</sup> J. DAVID LEGGE, *History of Indonesia*, 487; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 31-32; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 119-120.

*Budi Utomo*, for instance, between the Muslim members on one side and the members of *Regentenbond* and *Jong Java* on the other. The Muslim members were Islamic-oriented, and the other members were Javanese and Hindu-oriented. The last groups wanted to maintain the neutrality of *Budi Utomo* as an organization for all. A conflict over the neutrality of *Budi Utomo* took place in 1917. The Muslims left *Budi Utomo* and joined the *Sarekat Islam*.<sup>79</sup>

It was common for individuals to belong simultaneously to more than one organization. This happened at a time when there was no firm party discipline. For instance, some members of *Sarekat Islam* were also members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The presence of PKI members often created conflict, since they were able to act as a bloc within the larger movement. However, this double membership was put to an end during the congress of 1921. Agus Salim, the chairman of the party (*Sarekat Islam*), insisted that individuals could belong to only one party.<sup>80</sup>

From the very beginning the neutrality of *Budi Utomo* attracted native Catholics to participate as members. In the course of time Catholics realized that *Budi Utomo* did not accommodate their political interests as Catholics. So, they left in 1917-1918 and joined the *Indische Katholieke Partij* (IKP; Indies Catholic Party), which was a Dutch Catholic party. In 1923 they founded a new political party, the *Perkempalan Politik Katolik Djarwi* (PPKD; Political Association of Javanese Catholics), which remained in federation with the IKP. The PPKD became an independent party in 1925 and changed its name to *Perkumpulan Politik Katolik di Jawa* (PPKD; Political Association of Catholics in Java) which included not only Javanese but Catholics throughout Indonesia.<sup>81</sup>

### 2.2.5. Indonesia as an Independent Nation

Previously known as the Dutch East Indies, Indonesia proclaimed its independence on 17 August 1945 and was acknowledged as an independent republic by international treaty in 1949 after rounds of negotiations at the so-called «Round Table Conference». The official motto, «*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*» (unity in diversity), reflects a nation of some 350 languages and over 100 cultural groups.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> P. M. MARTINUS MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 214-216, 219-221.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 230, 243-244.

<sup>82</sup> S. DRAKELEY, *The History of Indonesia*, xiii, 75, 81; C. BROWN, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 159, 169; F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 96. J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, in: T. CARSON – J. CERRITO (ed.), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* [from now on: NCE], vol. 7, Detroit – London, Thomson/Gale in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003, 428.

Indonesia has the largest Islamic population of any nation. About 90 percent of Indonesians count themselves as Muslims and observe Islamic practices to varying degrees. Regarding faithfulness to the orthodox teaching of Islam, Muslims can be divided into three major groups: *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan*.<sup>83</sup>

*Pancasila* as the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state affirms the Indonesian people's belief that God does exist. The constitution guarantees religious freedom for the five religions recognized by the state: Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Indonesia's post-independence history has been turbulent, with political instability and corruption, periods of rapid economic growth and decline, environmental catastrophes, and a recent democratization process.<sup>84</sup>

#### 2.2.6. The Lesser Sunda Islands in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

The name of the Lesser Sunda Islands which in the Portuguese era (1562-1859) was also known as Solor Islands; in Latin it is called *Insularum Sundae Minorum*. In Indonesian these islands are called *Nusa Tenggara*, which means «islands in the southeast». «Southeast» refers to the southeast of the Greater Sunda Islands, as well as to the southeast of the Indonesian archipelago. They include the islands of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa in the west; Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lembata, and Sumba in the middle; Alor, Savu, Roti, and Timor in the eastern part of the archipelago. There are some small uninhabited islands as well.<sup>85</sup>

The Lesser Sunda Islands were first noticed by Europeans in the period of discovery or exploration. But even before Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) found the

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<sup>83</sup> The *santri* group consider themselves to be Muslims, but in reality, they do not follow the full ritual of fasting and prayer. The *priyayi* group consists of those who are somewhat Hinduized – including a majority of white-collar workers. Those who are known as *abangan* are strongly influenced by popular religion and devotion to ancestral spirits. This group is largely comprised of peasants. Cf. J.F. McDIVITT, *Indonesia*, 467.

<sup>84</sup> *Pancasila* is originally a combination of two Sanskrit words: *Panca*, means five and *Sila*, means principle. The five principles of Pancasila are: belief in the one and only God; just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; democracy guided by inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations among representatives; and social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia. Cf. F. LAMOUREUX, *Indonesia*, 97-98; J.F. McDIVITT, *Indonesia*, 466; H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi. Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* [‘Indonesianization’: from the Catholic Church in Indonesia to the Indonesian Catholic Church], Jogjakarta, Kanisius, 2005, 27, 29-30. For further reading refer to: M. HARPER, *One Nation, One People, One Language: the Story of Indonesia and Bahasa Indonesia*, Macerata, EUM, 2013; F.P. MILLER – A.F. VANDOME – J. MCBREWSTER (ed.), *Indonesian National Revolution: Indonesian National Revolution, Timeline of the Indonesian National Revolution (1945-1950), Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, Dutch Ethical Policy, Japanese Occupation of Indonesia, Battle of Surabaya, Renville Agreement*, -, Alphascript Publishing, 2009.

<sup>85</sup> K. PISKATY, *The Work of the Divine Word Missionaries in Indonesia*, in: «Verbum SVD» 27/3 (1986), 270.

sea route to India, the Arabs and Indians had already laid their hands on the islands. Through them Hinduism and Islam spread in the area. Only by means of bloody wars was Portugal able to establish its dominion over the islands.<sup>86</sup>

Toward the end of the eighteenth-century Dutch rule extended to Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas. In the following years, through contracts with local leaders, other regions also fell into their hands. The Lisbon Trading Contract (1859) laid out the occupation relationship between Holland and Portugal. For the sum of 120,000 gulden the Netherlands were promised dominion over Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lomblem and the southwest part of Timor. In 1916, the only remaining Portuguese territory, namely Noemuti in western Timor, was also incorporated into the Dutch colonial possession.<sup>87</sup>

During the Dutch colonial occupation, the Lesser Sunda Islands was divided into two residencies: Bali-Lombok with its capital at Singaraja and Timor and its *Onderhoorigheden* (Dependencies) with its capital at Kupang. Sumbawa had its capital at Bima. Commonly, the people of this region have the Papuan physical characteristics.<sup>88</sup>

The relationship between the Dutch government and the Catholic mission was favorable. Especially in the field of education the mission enjoyed extensive support.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, the authority of Christianity was not promoted because of the tolerance shown by the government towards Islam. The motive was actually economic and not political. At that time, the East Indies were financially profitable to Holland and because of this importance to them, the government did not want to arouse Muslim opposition and so jeopardize Dutch income.<sup>90</sup>

Everywhere people more or less understand Malay. So, it can be said that the Malay language is the main language for the whole archipelago. This

<sup>86</sup> J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 16.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>88</sup> The residentie Timor covered the western part of Timor and the islands of Roti, Savu, Sumbawa, Flores, Solor, Adonara, Lomblen, Alor and many others as well. Politically it was divided into four Afdeelingen (units): Timor, Flores, Sumba and Sumbawa. Timor's subunits were Kupang, South Middle Timor, North Middle Timor, Belu, Roti and Savu. Flores' subunits were Manggarai, Ngada, Ende, Maumere, Larantuka, East Flores, Solor inland and Alor. Sumba's subunits were West Sumba and East Sumba. Cf. J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 19.

<sup>89</sup> On 31 March 1913 the Jesuits on Flores signed a contract with the government regarding the schools, a contract which the first SVD missionary to arrive in Indonesia, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD was later able to adopt for Timor and was later on able to develop it further for Flores. Support was gained from the government for this reason. Cf. K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, in: «Verbum SVD» 4/1 (1962), 74.

<sup>90</sup> J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 9, 19-20; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century*, 275, 277; C. ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, 248.

was the reason for the usage of Malay in schools instead of Dutch. Actually, Malay is a mixed language; there are many words from Sanskrit, Arabian and Portuguese. Later words came also from the Dutch and Chinese languages. However, there are also many local languages. In Timor itself, for example, there are four major languages. They are Tettum, Marai, Kemak and Dawan.<sup>91</sup>

On Flores there are more than ten different languages, each of which was spoken by an average of about 30,000 persons. In the Manggarai District Manggarai is spoken. The Ngada region itself has four dialects which differ not so much in their structure as in their pronunciation. In the Ende area, namely in the territory of the *Raja* of Lio and in a part of Maumere, they speak the Lio language. Each of the five tribes of the Maumere district has its own language. All are quite similar in both sentence and word construction. The language of eastern Flores and the three islands (Adonara, Solor, Lembata) is the so-called Solor language. This consists of five or six dialects which do not differ very much from one another. There is only one exception among these dialects: the language of the district of Kedang and Lerek (Lomblen), whose vocabulary differs from the others by almost 50 per cent. On the remaining islands there is a large number of different dialects, most of which differ according to the tribe whose name they bear. The dialects spoken in eastern Flores, Alor, Wetar and Timor have little or no relation to those of Flores and Sumbawa. They are more likely related to the languages of Amboina and Serang than to that of neighbouring villages.<sup>92</sup>

According to Johannes Thaurén, an SVD missiologist, by 1930 in Timor there were about 672,121 adherents of traditional religion, 274,000 Muslims, 170,000 Catholics and 73,000 Protestants. Muslims in Sumbawa were about 220,000. There were 800,000 Hindus in Bali and 40,000 in Lombok. Muslims and adherents of traditional religion in Lombok numbered 428,000. These figures show that on the Lesser Sunda Islands at that time people from traditional religions were eight times and Muslims three times more numerous than Christians – Catholics and Protestants combined.<sup>93</sup>

Bali has the largest concentration of Hindus, and it is the most important island for them. This importance is due to the capacity of the residents of Bali to develop a unique culture which differs substantially from that of the other islands. The Balinese were able to maintain a relatively pure form of Hinduism on this island.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Dawan was spoken by about 46,000 people, Tettum (Belu area) by about 45,000, Marai by 5,700, and Kemak by 2000. Cf. J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 12.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14; C. ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, 245, 248.

<sup>93</sup> J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 14.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

Sumbawa was the stronghold of Islam in this region. Since the thirteenth century Islam worked with intense energy at making the island an Islamic world. The Dutch government actually promoted Islam by an excessive considerateness and the preference given to its adherents. Extensive participation in the great annual pilgrimage to Mecca shows clearly the Muslim supremacy in Sumbawa, a supremacy which is felt even more in the neighbouring missions of Indonesia.<sup>95</sup>

Animism was dominant among the local tribes. Every tribe acknowledged deities of a higher order and even a «God of Heaven» and «Creator» who stands above even the demons. On Timor they called him *Nai Maromak* (Lord of Light) and *Uis Neno* (Lord of Heaven). In eastern Flores the Supreme Being was called *Lera Wulan – Tanah Ekan* (Sun-Moon-the Earth). In the Ngada district the Supreme Being was called *Tua Derwa* (God). In western Flores they called him *Mori Kraeng* (earth below, heaven above). On certain occasions, especially during times of war and at the beginning of the harvest, people offered goats and pigs as sacrifices to him. In the legends of the individual tribes we also find repeated echoes of the universal flood. There is a general belief that good deeds are rewarded, and bad deeds are punished.<sup>96</sup>

## 2.3. A Brief History of the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies until the first half of the Twentieth Century

### 2.3.1. The Early Christians

A Christian community, which was under the Diocese of East Suriah, existed at Baros in the seventh century on the west coast of northern Sumatra. There is also evidence of small Christian communities in south-eastern Sumatra and eastern Java from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Evidence about the existence of the Catholics in Indonesia in the seventh century is recorded in the book of a famous Egyptian historian in the twelfth century, Shaykh Abu Salih al-Armini [in short: Abu Salih], entitled, «*Tadhakkur fiha Akhbar min al-Kana'is wa'l-Adyar min Nawahin Misri w'al Iqtha'aibu*» which can be translated as «List of News about Churches and Hermit's Abodes from the Provinces of Egypt and Outside Egypt».<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century*, 277.

<sup>96</sup> E.J. SHARPE, *Animism*, in: S.W. SUNQUIST – D. WU CHU SING – J. CHEW HIANG CHEA (ed.), *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity* [from now on: DAC], Michigan - Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001, 15-16; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 15-16.

<sup>97</sup> P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Umat Katolik Perintis* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Early Christians], vol. 1, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 25, 27, 29.

This book is considered as part of the Coptic tradition. Abu Salih, an Armenian in origin, wrote this book to collect any available information about churches and convents in Africa and Asia. In writing his book, he relied on books of Abu Jafar al-Tabari (died 923) and of Al Shabushti (died 988). In the form of a manuscript, this document was purchased by a man named Vansleb in the seventeenth century and preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. In 1895 B.T.A. Evetts translated and edited the document in Oxford. In the chapter about India, Evetts mentioned a place namely Fahsur. This word «Fahsur» probably refers to Fansur or Pansur near Baros on the west coast of northern Sumatra which was well-known to the merchants from India for its camphor.<sup>98</sup>

There is some other information traced from the thirteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the writing of Ebedjesus of Nisibis (1291-1319) Dabbagh is mentioned as the district of a bishop. Dabbagh was a common name for Sumatra or Java. In 1503, Elias V appointed three travelling bishops, one of them was for Zabagh, which probably refers to Dabbagh. In 1347, Father J. de Marignolli OFM on his return from Beijing, met some possible local Christians in Palembang, Sumatra. Recent local research has found «*Janji Mariab*», a place near Baros that could mean «Promise of Mary».<sup>99</sup>

Based on these facts, some Indonesian writers presumed that the early Christian community in Indonesia existed in the seventh century in Northern Sumatra. However, these small communities died out. The present-day Catholic churches date back to the Catholic mission of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – or, more particularly, to the mission outreach of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>100</sup>

### **2.3.2. A Look at the Catholic Missions in the Sixteenth Century: Its Difficulties and Decline**

The sixteenth-century Catholic mission in Indonesia came from two directions: from the west by the Portuguese in Malacca and from the north by the Spaniards who were in the Philippines. The Portuguese started soon after their take-over of Malacca in 1511. They sailed to Indonesia seeking spices from the Moluccas and sandalwood from Timor. Their missionary activity, carried out by lay Catholics, Franciscans and diocesan priests, began in the Moluccas archipelago only after the occupation of Ternate and Tidore in 1522. Twelve years later (1534) the first baptisms

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<sup>98</sup> A. HEUKEN, *Christianity in pre-Colonial Indonesia*, in: J. SIHAR ARITONANG – K. STEENBRINK (ed.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2008, 5.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>100</sup> P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*. Umat Katolik Perintis, 29, 35-36.

were performed by Gonzalo Veloso, a lay Portuguese trader, in Mamuaia, Halmahera. Catholic communities were eventually established in the Moluccas, Amboina and Ternate. Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary, spent 14 months (1546-1547) visiting North Celebes and Ternate Island. Other Jesuits then continued the work of Xavier in the Moluccas and in Celebes. By 1569, the Jesuits took care of eighty thousand Christians in the Moluccas. In 1656 some Jesuits from the Philippines went to Borneo. Some years after that (1670), a prince from Siau north of Celebes went to Manila and asked for priests to teach his people Christianity. His request was well-responded to by some Jesuits who were able to gain some converts before the Dutch expelled them from that island. However, the results of evangelization in the big islands (Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes) were actually smaller. The efforts of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Borneo and Java remained fruitless.<sup>101</sup>

In 1605 the Dutch East Indies Company suppressed the Catholic mission because of their support of Portuguese trade rivals. Defeated in war, many Catholics converted either to Protestantism (in the Moluccas and Timor) or to Islam (along the coast of Solor and Flores). The Portuguese mission survived in eastern Timor and eastern Flores. However, it was almost totally neglected during the eighteenth century. During this period a fascinating symbiosis developed between the local culture and popular Catholicism. The *Confreria Reinha Rosario*, a group of powerful laymen in Larantuka, Flores, who placed themselves under the protection of *Reinha Rosario* (the Queen of the Rosary) maintained a Catholic identity until a Dutch Catholic priest arrived in 1860.<sup>102</sup>

### 2.3.3. A New Start

In 1800 the VOC was suppressed, and Indonesia became a Dutch colony. In 1808 the first Dutch Catholic priests landed in Java to minister to Dutch expatriates, Eurasians and later the urban Chinese-Indonesians. This happened because of the religious freedom granted by Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, in 1807. In 1841 the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia was erected for the whole archipelago.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> G. ROMMERSKIRCHEN, *Indonesia: Evangelizzazione*, in: Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. 6, Città del Vaticano, Ente per l'Enciclopedia cattolica e per il libro cattolico, 1951, 1888-1889; K. SCOTT LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Three Centuries of Advance*, 301-302.

<sup>102</sup> J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 429; H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi*, 463.

<sup>103</sup> C. VAN DE KIEFT – H.H. ROWEN – J. CHARLES VERLINDEN, *History of Low Countries*, in: NEB, vol. 11, London, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1977, 138; J. MARIA C. FRANCISCO, *Roman Catholic Church: Indonesia*, in: DAC, Michigan - Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001, 712; H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi*, 463; J. SCHMIDLIN, *Catholic Mission History*, Techny, Mission Press SVD, 1933, 640. Religious freedom was granted only after the suppression of the VOC and at the end of the French Revolution.

According to Karel Steenbrink, the Catholic religion in the period of 1808-1847 was never dominated exclusively by priests. There are some important factors that can be referred to as the proponent of the statement above. The Dutch East Indies is a vast archipelago that could not be reached entirely only by some priests. Thus, the preaching of the Gospel might not happen effectively. During the first four decades of the nineteenth century, there were only four priests in four main cities at that time, namely: Padang, Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya. Besides, the priests were not very influential towards the middle and upper class of European people in the big cities. Almost for two centuries, natives who converted to Catholicism were almost totally abandoned by Catholic priests because of the suppression policy of the VOC. During this difficult time, the people themselves took care of their faith through devotional activities. In places like Nias, Eastern Sumatra, Bangka, and Borneo, the Catholic religion was developed first by lay people.<sup>104</sup>

The arrival of some Dutch Jesuits in 1858 marked a new step in the Catholic mission development. From that time, they were gradually entrusted with the care of Catholics throughout the colony. Among the Jesuit missionaries, Francis van Lith SJ (1863-1926) was the most famous, at least for the Javanese. The arrival of van Lith in Indonesia in 1896 marked the re-founding of the Catholic Church in central Java among the indigenous population. The birth of the Catholic Church there can be dated to the baptism of four village heads on 20 May 1904, and more particularly to the baptism of 168 Javanese at the sacred spring of Sendangsono on 15 December 1904 by van Lith himself. Francis van Lith lived in the villages, learned the Javanese language, and then established farming cooperatives. He founded a suburban high school at Muntilan and educated the first generation of Javanese clergy and nationalist politicians. Many of the first generation of national leaders were educated at Catholic schools all over the country.<sup>105</sup>

In the twentieth century the Jesuits were complemented by other religious congregations – the Sacred Heart Missionaries in the Dutch New Guinea (1902), the Capuchins in Borneo (1905) and Sumatra (1911), the Society of the Divine Word in the Lesser Sunda Islands (1913), and again the Sacred Heart Missionaries

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<sup>104</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Orang-orang Katolik di Indonesia 1808-1942. Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja* [Catholics in Indonesia: A Modest Restoration], vol. 1, Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2006, 17-19.

<sup>105</sup> J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 429; H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi*, 463.

in northern Celebes (1919). The Jesuits remained in central Java (from Jogjakarta to Semarang) and Batavia (present-day Jakarta).<sup>106</sup>

#### 2.3.4. Catholic Mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands prior to the Coming of the SVDs

Christianity first entered the territory of the Lesser Sunda Islands in the sixteenth century. In 1555/1556, Father Antonio de Taveiro, OP, a ship pastor, sailed with the Portuguese from Malacca and briefly stopped at the coast of Timor, Solor and Flores (Ende). In the places he visited, he baptized about 5000 people. The result of this baptism was then reported to the bishop of Malacca Dom Jorge de Santa Luzia, OP (1558-1578), who then commissioned the Dominican Superior in Malacca to serve the spiritual welfare of the new baptisms.<sup>107</sup>

Twelve years later (1562), the Dominican missionaries from Malacca settled and made Solor the mission centre from which they moved to serve the surrounding region. The first Dominicans were Father Antonio da Cruz, OP, Father Simão das Chagas, OP and Brother Alexio, OP. Solor was chosen because it is located between the islands of Flores, Alor and Timor. There they established a fortress, a church and a settlement for the Portuguese. They also set up a school and a seminary to educate potential priests, teachers, and village leaders who would assist them in mission work. Then, by sea, they moved to Adonara, East Flores and Ende. In 1570, there were already two or three priests who settled on the island of Ende and built a fort at Numba. Father Melchior da Luz, OP was the first missionary in Timor, who in 1587 worked six months in Mena, and possibly also in Luca, Viqueque (now Timor

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<sup>106</sup> J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 429; Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione, *Guida delle Missioni Cattoliche 2005*, Roma, Urbaniana University Press, 2005, 338; ARCHIVIO STORICO DI PROPAGANDA FIDE [from now on: ASPF], N.S. vol. 560, Relazione circa la Modifica dei Confini della Prefettura Apostolica delle Isole della Piccola Sonda, July 1914, c. 677. For further reading refer to: S. SCHRÖTER (ed.), *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, Münster, LIT, 2012; R. GOH BOON HUA, *Christianity in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005; G. AREND VAN KLINKEN, *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation: Christians in Indonesia, a Biographical Approach*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2003; A. HEUKEN, *Be my Witness to the Ends of the Earth! The Catholic Church in Indonesia before the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Jakarta, Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002; G. SCHURHAMMER, Francis Xavier, *His Life, His Times*, Rome, The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973.

<sup>107</sup> F. CORNELISSEN, *Misi di Nusa Tenggara Timur*, in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Umat Katolik Perintis*, 369; F. DJARA WELLEM, *East Nusa Tenggara*, in: DAC, Michigan - Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001, 611; J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 428-429; A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara* [Priests Personnel of Nusa Tenggara], in: «Pastoralia» 2 (1969), 1-2.

Leste). Within just a few years, they had successfully established 27 mission stations with a total number of Catholic Christians of about 50,000 people.<sup>108</sup>

The work of this glorious mission was destroyed instantly by the civil war between two arch-rivals, Paji and Demon in 1598. The Demon family requested assistance of the Portuguese, while the Paji family sought support from the Muslims. At that time, a Christian fortress in Lamakera, East Solor, was seized by the Muslims, while another fortress in Lohayong was successfully defended by Catholics. In 1602, the Muslims again launched an attack on Lohayong, Paga and Ende but they failed. In a Javanese pirate attack that took place in 1606, Christians in Ende were forced to convert to Islam. The attack cost the lives of some priests and many civilians.<sup>109</sup>

On 17 January 1613, a Dutch Company fleet under Apollonius Scotte, attacked Solor's fortress and succeeded in conquering it on 20 April of the same year. Therefore, Dominican missionaries fled from Solor to Larantuka, East Flores, while Portuguese traders with their garrisons pulled out to the north coast of Timor. It was not until 1618 that the Dutch left Flores and at that time the missionaries could return to their mission. When they returned, they found that the number of Christians who remained were only 25,000.<sup>110</sup>

Three decades later, the Dutch Company re-emerged in this region and managed to control Savu, Roti and Kupang. The Portuguese defence in Lohayong and Ende was ended. In a peace agreement between the Portuguese and the Dutch in 1642, it was agreed that the Portuguese handed Bali and Lombok to the Netherlands, while Larantuka and Sikka remained under Portuguese control. Around 1650, the Portuguese withdrew to the north coast of Timor, precisely in Lifau, Oecussi (now Timor Leste). Then, around 1771, they moved again from Oecussi to Dili (now the capital of Timor Leste). During this time, Catholics in Larantuka and Sikka were served by missionaries from Timor by sea.<sup>111</sup>

As a result of the difficulties and trade rivalries between the Portuguese who were Catholic against the Dutch who were Protestant, many Dominican missionaries met their deaths. There were at least two main motives underlying their martyrdom: the motive of faith, meaning they died to defend their Catholic faith, and the motive of trade and politics. In this competition, the

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<sup>108</sup> J. BOT, *Mission History Sketch in the Lesser Sunda Islands*, in: «Mission Buletin» 7 (1955), 573-574; F. DJARA WELLEM, *East Nusa Tenggara*, 611; A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> J. BOT, *Mission History Sketch in the Lesser Sunda Islands*, 574.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 575; A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara*, 4.

<sup>111</sup> J. BOT, *Mission History Sketch in the Lesser Sunda Islands*, 576; J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 428.

Dutch were supported by Muslims from several sultanates in Makassar. This forced the Dominicans to be involved in several wars in Flores and Timor in order to defend themselves.<sup>112</sup>

In an agreement dated 20 April 1859, mission responsibility in the Lesser Sunda Islands were taken over by the Dutch. The following year, more precisely on 4 August 1860, the first Dutch diocesan priest, Fr. Joannes Petrus Nicolaus Sanders, arrived at Larantuka. Unfortunately, he did not last long because of illness and he was replaced by another diocesan priest, namely Fr. Caspar J.H. Franssen, in December 1861. For the same reason, Father Franssen was later succeeded by the first Jesuit priest on 17 April 1863. This Jesuit priest who landed in Larantuka, Flores, was Fr. Gregorius Metz, SJ. His arrival marked the commencement of the missionary work of the Jesuit priests in the Lesser Sunda Islands. The second station at Maumere was established in May 1874 by Fr. Cornelius Omtzigt, SJ. In 1883, the first Jesuit priest, Fr. Jakobus Kraaijvanger, SJ began missionary work in Atapupu, Timor. Fr. Bernhard Schweitz, SJ began a mission in Laora, Sumba in 1888 which was later abandoned by the Jesuits in 1898 due to a shortage of missionary personnel.<sup>113</sup>

Ahead of the arrival of the SVDs in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Protestantism was dominant on the islands of Timor, Roti, Savu and Sumba. No doubt at that time Bali was a «Hindu island», while Lombok could be called a «green island» or a Muslim island. At that time, there were 2,000 Catholic Christians in Timor served by 2 priests, while in Sumba there were only 500 Catholics without a priest. Meanwhile, in addition to the island of Flores which had about 28,000 Catholics, on the other islands the Catholic religion was not well-known.<sup>114</sup> Until 1930, the percentage of the traditional religion adherents who at that time were called heathen numbered eight times more than the total number of Christians

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> J. BOT, *Mission History Sketch in the Lesser Sunda Islands*, 576; J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 428-429; A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara*, 9, 33; J. SCHMIDLIN, *Catholic Mission History*, 643; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.: Bij den 75<sup>ten</sup> Verjaardag van Hun Aankomst in de Nieuwe Missie 1859 - 9 Juli - 1934*, Bandung; Amsterdam, Uitgave A.C Nix & Co; N.V. de R.K. Boekcentrale, 1934, 101.

<sup>114</sup> The data on the number of Catholics in Flores mentioned above is taken from A. MÖHLMANN, with details: 11,000 in Larantuka and 17,000 in Sikka. Cf. A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara*, 14; ARCHIVIO GENERALE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AG-SVD], 806: 1909-1919, A letter of Petrus Noyen to Nicholas Blum, Uden, 6.9.1910, ff. 1-3 (23<sup>rd</sup>-24); [For further citing used in this work, documents in type of a letter will be written in short form, using the last name of authors, for example: Noyen to Blum, etc.]; AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Vierte Serie [from now on = BL-4], Blum to Schwager, Steyl, 6.9.1910, f. 601; Schwager to Blum, Steyl, 14.6.1910, f. 3 (17).

(Catholics and Protestants altogether), while the percentage of Muslims is three times more than the total of all Christians in that region.<sup>115</sup>

### 2.3.5. Colonial Government Regulations Regarding the Mission Work

There were some regulations regarding the Mission. These regulations were concerned with two main aspects: religious freedom and financial support. In 1617 the government released a declaration accepting the spread of the Christian faith. In 1650 there was a clarification of this declaration, for it concerned only Calvinism, while other religions were prohibited. Catholics who met together in private or in public were strictly punished. Every ship which arrived at the harbour was strictly inspected for Catholic missionaries. Bringing even one Catholic to Batavia was forbidden and threatened with a fine of 300 Florin. This regulation was renewed in 1763.<sup>116</sup>

Another important regulation was the convention between the Vatican and the Dutch government (Holland) in 1847. This convention recognized only one Vicariate Apostolic for the whole Dutch East Indies – the Vicariate Apostolic of Batavia. In the so-called *Nota der Punten*, it was stated that the Vicar Apostolic could make two official journeys each year. The government paid for these journeys. More important than that, it was stated clearly in that convention that the Catholic clergy doing service in the East Indies should be appointed by the Church itself, not by the Governor General.<sup>117</sup>

Another government regulation, the so-called *dubbele zending* (double sending) of 1853 (renewed in 1922), prohibited Protestant and Catholic missionaries from working in the same district. Missionaries were also barred from regions considered strongly Muslim. Thus, there were no missions in western Java among the Sundanese and Banten people, nor in Aceh on the north tip of Sumatra, nor among the Malay and Lampung communities of Minangkabau in western Sumatra, or among the Macassarese and Bugese people of southern Celebes, nor indeed among the Hindus of Bali (where missionaries first entered in the 1930s).<sup>118</sup>

The government regulation of 1855 concerned the salaries of pastors in the Dutch East Indies. According to this regulation, the Vicar Apostolic received a first-class salary, and then nine priests could receive a second-class salary.

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<sup>115</sup> J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 14.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18; K. Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century*, 276-277; J. Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, 639-640.

<sup>117</sup> G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 70, 215; E. SERVAAS DE KLERCK, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, Amsterdam<sup>2</sup>, B.M. Israël NV, 1975, 524.

<sup>118</sup> J. MANSFORD PRIOR, *The Catholic Church in Indonesia*, 428-429.

The second article of the same regulation stressed that the growth in numbers of Catholics would raise the salary of the pastors. This article was effective until 1890, when the regulation was modified by increasing the number of the second-class salaries from 9 to 22. In 1892 the third-class salaries were granted to priests who worked among the natives. This was effective until 1921.<sup>119</sup>

The Art. 177 I.S. had the same content as that of the so-called *Regerings-Reglement* 1854 Art. 123, which in itself was a modification of the *Nota der Punten* 1847. According to the regulation of *Nota der Punten*, the Vicar Apostolic had the right to station a priest in any place. The governor general could intervene only in cases of security and to maintain law and order. In this case the power of the governor general was limited. In the *Regerings-Reglement* 1854 Art. 123, the power of the governor general had no limitations. This regulation was used effectively in the so-called «double sending». The reason behind this regulation was that the double sending could cause social disorder between the adherents of two religions.<sup>120</sup>

The government Regulation for Dutch East Indies Art. 177 I. S. (*Indische Staatsregeling*) states that Catholic missionaries, priests, and preachers must obtain special permission, the so-called *radicaal*, issued by the Dutch Governor General himself or in his name, to carry out their activity in certain parts of the Dutch Indies. This permission could be revoked at any time by the Government if the holder did not comply with the regulation. So, the governor general had the right to keep away Christian missionaries from areas with a Muslim majority. He also could divide the areas between Catholic and Protestant missions. Frequent conflicts erupted between the clergy and the colonial authorities because the Dutch governor general reserved to himself the authority to appoint and transfer Protestant and Catholic clergy.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 215.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 216-217.

<sup>121</sup> E. PECORAIO, *Indonesia: Condizione Giuridica della Chiesa*, in: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 6, Città del Vaticano, *Ente per l'Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il Libro Cattolico*, 1951, 1892-1894; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 18.

## Chapter II

### Preparatory Stages for the Mission Work of the SVDs in the Lesser Sunda Islands (1902-1915)

#### 1. The Handing over of the Mission to the Divine Word Missionaries

##### 1.1. Events Prior to the Handing over of the Mission

###### 1.1.1. Steyl: «Eyes on the Dutch East Indies»

From 20 May to 4 July 1905, Arnoldus Janssen, the founder and Superior General of the Divine Word Missionaries, was in Rome in order to meet Pope Pius X (1903-1914). The aim of this visit was to talk about the approval of the SVD's Constitution. He also met the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Cardinal G.M. Gotti. At that time, Arnoldus Janssen's main concern was providing a good foundation for the young congregation. This was his ninth visit to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

After this visit, Janssen gave a report to the SVD general councillors on the part of the conversation he had with Cardinal Gotti which regarded the division of the mission territories. Although the result of this conversation was unsatisfactory, since there was no mission available at that time for new congregations, there was the possibility of taking over some areas of the mission in the Dutch East Indies. Janssen wrote: «I also drew his attention to the fact that there was a desire [in the Society]<sup>2</sup> to get something from the Dutch East Indies or Japan. He seemed to take note of this.»<sup>3</sup>

In February of the same year, before Arnoldus visited Rome, the Generalate had discussed the possibility of gaining more tropical missions.<sup>4</sup> In his letter to

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<sup>1</sup> J. ALT, *The History of the Foundation of Divine Word Missionaries in Rome*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2004 (Analecta SVD, 87), 305.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase in the square brackets is from the writer. In the future, if you find this type of quotation, it is always by the writer of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> «5. "Ich machte ihn aufmerksam, es sei gewünscht worden, wir möchten vielleicht von holländisch Hinter-Indien oder Japan etwas bekommen. Er schien sich dieses merken zu wollen."» Cf. ARCHIVIO DEL FONDATORE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AdF-SVD], Arnoldus Janssen to the General Councillors of the SVD, Bischofshofen, 8.7.1905, f. 28.367.

<sup>4</sup> J. ALT, *Journey in Faith. The Missionary Life of Arnold Janssen*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2002 (Analecta SVD, 85), 699.

the general councillors of 27 February 1905, Arnoldus Janssen mentioned Java, the Dutch East Indies. He expressed a great interest in the Dutch East Indies as a possible choice to begin a new mission among the people of traditional religions. He welcomed the idea as a chance to enhance the popularity of the SVD in Holland. He requested from his mission secretary a thorough investigation of the communication between the islands, the weather, the population and any possible obstacles.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, a possible mission in the Dutch East Indies was mooted much earlier than 1905. SVDs had been talking about it since 1902. The precursor of this idea was Fr. Friedrich Schwager, who first wrote a memo to Superior General Arnoldus Janssen about this area. Janssen's first reaction was rather reserved. In his letter dated 26 March 1902 to Fr. Nicolaus Blum he expressed the following opinion regarding Schwager's memo on a mission in Java: «Schwager also wrote to me about Java. I told him that in this respect we must first see the will of God more clearly. At the moment we cannot. But in the future we can think about it and then first gather more exact information».<sup>6</sup>

Blum's response seemed to welcome the idea more positively than Arnoldus Janssen's. He stated that since the Generalate of the Society was at Steyl, Holland, it was reasonable to have a mission in the Dutch East Indies. In this letter Blum passed on a report to Arnoldus Janssen about the Catholic and Protestant missions in the Dutch East Indies which was compiled by Schwager himself. Besides Blum and Schwager, contributed to Arnoldus Janssen's decision regarding the importance of having a mission in the Dutch East Indies, the Apostolic Prefect Eberhard Limbrock (1859-1931), the founder of the Papua New Guinea mission. In his letter dated 28 March 1903, he brought up 9 reasons to be considered by Arnoldus Janssen. One of the reasons that had been stated previously by Blum was to express the SVD's gratitude to the Netherlands for giving space for the establishment of the Society's Mother House in Steyl. As an expression of this gratitude the Society would gladly send missionaries to the Dutch governed East Indies. According to Limbrock, if the SVD has a mission in the Dutch East Indies, it will become more «native» to the Dutch and would bring more blessings in the form of new vocations from the Dutch. With the contribution from these three important persons, Arnoldus Janssen was just waiting for the right time

<sup>5</sup> AdF-SVD, Arnoldus Janssen to the SVD General Councillors, St. Gabriel, 27.2.1905, f. 8323.

<sup>6</sup> «3. Ueber Java schrieb mir auch P. Schwager. Ich antwortete ihm, wir müssten in dieser Beziehung zuerst noch deutlicher den h. Willen Gottes erkennen. Augenblicklich können wir es auch nicht. In Zukunft aber können wir es überlegen u. vorher dann auch genauere Erkundigungen einziehen.» Cf. AdF-SVD, Arnoldus Janssen to Blum, St. Gabriel, 26.3.1902, f. 91445.

to schedule this theme at the SVD General Council meeting. The moment arrived when he got a letter from a young priest Constant van den Hemel on 21 January 1904, as he was crossing the Java Sea on his way back to New Guinea.<sup>7</sup>

Arnoldus Janssen's letter of 27 February 1905 (cited above) seems to have developed the idea of Blum and Limbrock. This discussion culminated in a plan to begin a mission house in Holland in order to prepare missionaries for the Dutch East Indies.

### 1.1.2. A Mission House for Holland

During the Fourth General Chapter of the SVD, held from 3 November 1909 to 15 January 1910, there were three capitulars of Dutch origin, after the death of Arnoldus Janssen: they were Fr. Theodor Vilstermann, Fr. Petrus Noyen and Fr. Franz de Lange. They were full of zeal in talking about the necessity of a mission house in Holland. Actually, implementing the plan for a mission house in Holland was only a question of time. Arnoldus Janssen himself had initiated the first step, but the realization came to being only after Nicolaus Blum, his successor, took office.

On July 1910, Father General Blum went to Uden to obtain the permission of the Bishop in 's Hertogenbosch and to conclude the purchase of a boarding house of the Ursuline Sisters in Uden. On 3 October 1910, Noyen opened a vocation house for the Dutch, using St. Gregory House in Steyl as the contact center. The inauguration of the new mission house in Uden took place on 8 September 1911 by Father General Blum himself, who at the same time installed Fr. Petrus Noyen as its first rector.<sup>8</sup>

On 7 November 1911, the feast day of St. Willibrord, the minor seminary of Uden began with 11 seminarians. This mission house adopted Willibrord as its patron. After four years, there were one hundred seminarians and some of them were ready for their novitiate.<sup>9</sup>

After receiving permission from the Bishop of Breda, the novitiate for Dutch SVDs – under the patronage of St. Francis Xavier – started in

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<sup>7</sup> AdF-SVD, Blum to Arnoldus Janssen, Steyl, 24.2.1902, c. 8325; M. WILTGEN RALPH, *Father Limbrock of New Guinea Proposes a Mission in Indonesia*, in: «Verbum SVD» 10/3 (1968), 220, 223; AdF-SVD, Arnoldus Janssen to Limbrock, St. Gabriel, 27d.7.1903, f. 34314f; Arnoldus Janssen to Limbrock, Steyl, 5.11.1903, f. 35131.

<sup>8</sup> J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1008; K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, in: «Verbum SVD» 4/1 (1962), 60-61.

<sup>9</sup> *75 Jahre im Dienste des Göttlichen Wortes: Gedenkblätter zum 75jährigen Jubiläum des Steyler Missionswerkes*, Steyl, Missionsdruckerei, 1950, 45.

Teteringen in 1915. This formation house served to prepare missionaries for the Dutch East Indies. In his letter of 25 January 1912 to Cardinal Gotti, SVD procurator general Fr. Carl Friedrich once again stated clearly that the main purpose of the mission house in Holland was to prepare missionaries to work for the evangelization of people in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.1.3. Initial Contact with the Jesuits

On 14 January 1904 Constant van den Hemel, an SVD missionary from New Guinea, left for Batavia from Alexishafen. There he went to the Jesuits for accommodation. A week later he wrote to Arnoldus Janssen, reporting his nice experience with the Jesuits in Batavia. He stated that the Jesuits received him in a very friendly way and did everything they could to make his stay pleasant and useful. According to van den Hemel, the Bishop and the Jesuits wanted to remain in close contact with the Society. They also offered the facilities of a sanatorium they had in North Celebes for any two missionaries in need of recuperation. The Society would have to meet the medical costs, but accommodation and all else would be offered free for three months by the Jesuits. This letter was placed before the General Council at its meeting on 14 March 1904 when the question came up about the possibility of having a mission in Dutch New Guinea – Papua in contemporary Indonesia. The General Council agreed with this suggestion.<sup>11</sup>

In his response to van den Hemel, Arnoldus Janssen expressed his joy and stated that he was very happy that everything went so well in Java and that Constant van den Hemel managed, through good connections with the Jesuit Fathers, to be of good use to the Society and the mission. Arnoldus even sent a special letter to the Most Reverend Vicar Apostolic of Batavia to thank him for the friendly reception which he and his missionaries accorded to Constant van den Hemel. The response from Msgr. Edmund Sybrand Luypen (1855-1923) which came on 30 March 1904 gave a very friendly impression. He

<sup>10</sup> In his letter Carl Friedrich wrote: «In regno hollandico novam missionis domum inauguravimus cum expresso scopo et quasi sub titulo, ut missionarii postea in Indiis hollandicis operae evangelisationis navarent [...]» Cf. ARCHIVIO STORICO DI PROPAGANDA FIDE [from now on: ASPF], N.S. vol. 560, Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 25.1.1912, c. 652; P. NOYEN, *Congregatie van Steil en het nieuwe Hollandsche Missiehuis*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 36/4 (1911), 62; Losse Berichten: Nederland, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 38/8 (1913), 185.

<sup>11</sup> Constant van den Hemel went to Batavia to buy some things needed in New Guinea. He bought six cartons of plants and seeds. He also brought along ten cows and three horses. Cf. AdF-SVD, C.v.d. Hemel to Arnoldus Janssen, auf der Java See, 21.1.1904, f. 65445; Arnoldus Janssen to C.v.d. Hemel, St. Gabriel, 1.7.1904, f. 65447; P. LAAN, *Steils Frühes Interesse an Indonesien*, in: «Verbum SVD» 5/4 (1963), 438; J. ALT, *Arnold Janssen SVD. Letters to New Guinea and Australia*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2001 (Analecta SVD, 79), 230.

even invited the SVDs who passed through the Dutch East Indies to come and honour the Jesuits with a visit. This visit would be for them a great joy.<sup>12</sup>

When Arnoldus Janssen heard about the Jesuits' warm welcome for Constant van den Hemel, he began to hope for a new mission in the Dutch East Indies. He even thought that it was a good sign that in the future the Jesuits might even be willing to cede some of their territory to the SVD. To have good relations with the Jesuits seemed to be of great importance to Janssen.<sup>13</sup>

In his first letter to Msgr. Luypen, the Administrator General Nicolaus Blum again mentioned the friendly welcome given to Constant van den Hemel by the Jesuits in Java. He considered it his duty to thank cordially His Excellency, Bishop Luypen for this. Luypen repeated his invitation that the Steyl Fathers passing through Java were always welcome, especially at his place.<sup>14</sup>

#### 1.1.4. Three Potential Missions for the SVD

In April 1909 Fr. Constant van den Hemel, SVD was commissioned by the Prefect Apostolic of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, Fr. E. Limbrock, SVD, to learn how to lay out rice paddies.<sup>15</sup> For this reason he had to leave for Saigon, Bangkok and Batavia. Unfortunately he did not stay long in Saigon and Bangkok, since it was in the middle of the dry season and he was not able to see what he wanted to. He then left for Batavia and arrived on 25 February 1909. First he went to meet the bishop, who received him in a very friendly manner.

During the Easter holidays, Fr. van den Hemel went to Semarang, central Java, to visit his Brother. During the trip he came to Bandung, where the Jesuits had a mission station. There they spoke about the need for missionary

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<sup>12</sup> Arnold's letter of 24 February 1904 to Msgr. Luypen was written by Fr. Herman auf der Heide (1865-1930). He was Arnoldus Janssen's secretary (1892-1899), then became his private secretary in 1899, and from 1902 also his confessor. On 31 December 1903 he was elected to the general council as the successor of Adolphus Breidenbach. He was re-elected at the IV General Chapter (1909/1910) and served as a general councillor until 1920. Cf. J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1035; AdF-SVD, Arnoldus Janssen to C.v.d. Hemel, St. Gabriel, 1.7.1904, f. 65447; Luypen to Auf der Heide, Batavia, 30.3.1904, f. 65446.

<sup>13</sup> Arnoldus Janssen suggested to Prefect Eberhard Limbrock to express his personal gratitude to the Jesuits and to maintain a friendly relationship with them. Cf. AdF-SVD, Arnoldus Janssen to the SVD General Councillors, St. Gabriel, 27.2.1905, f. 8323; Arnoldus Janssen to Limbrock, Steyl, 24.4.1904, c. 34333; J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 700.

<sup>14</sup> ARCHIVIO GENERALE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AG-SVD], Blum Briefe Zweite Serie [from now on = BL-2], Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 24.6.1909, f. 727; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 8.12.1909, ff. 1-2 (13-14).

<sup>15</sup> For a long time the New Guinea Mission tried to grow rice on its plantation. They had done all that they could, but unfortunately they failed as a result of the lack of experience. This was the reason behind the journey of Fr. Constant van den Hemel to Saigon, Bangkok and Batavia. Cf. K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 55.

work, and the Jesuits emphasised the need in the Philippines. Surprisingly Fr. van den Hemel himself expressed his regret that more could not be done in the Dutch East Indies. In response, Fr. Timmers replied that the Jesuits would gladly hand over some sections to other missionary congregations but they had no idea who was ready for such a task. Fr. van den Hemel responded that the Steyl Mission Society would be ready to lend a helping hand. Later Fr. Timmers reported this comment to the Vicar Apostolic in Batavia.

As he continued on his trip to Semarang, he stopped in Muntilan, where the conversation revolved around the very same topic. Fr. van den Hemel answered just as he had done in Bandung. It appears that Fr. Mertens, SJ also agreed with Fr. Timmers about the Jesuits' willingness to divide their mission and share it with other congregations. Fr. Mertens then reported the conversation to his mission superior in Surabaya, Fr. Eduard Engbers (1904-1918).<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after responses came from two different places: Surabaya and Batavia. Fr. Engbers seemed to be quite hesitant about the possibility of handing over another Jesuit mission, since they had just transferred Borneo to the Capuchins (1905) and the Kei Islands and Dutch New Guinea to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (1902).<sup>17</sup> The business of representing a foreign congregation to the government had some unpleasant aspects, especially since the two congregations had very different views on how to manage the mission. Besides, the Vicar Apostolic in Batavia was the only Catholic authority in all of the Dutch East Indies with whom the government would deal. On top of that, Fr. Engbers also mentioned that the Holy See was putting pressure on the Dutch government to change the law.<sup>18</sup>

From Batavia Msgr. Luypen told Fr. Timmers that it was possible to cede Sumatra to the Divine Word Missionaries since Fr. Pacificus, the superior of the Capuchins in Borneo, to whose Order an offer was also made to take over Sumatra, complained that he did not have sufficient personnel to staff Sumatra as well. However the final answer should come from their provincial in 's Hertogenbosch. In his letter, Fr. van den Hemel told Fr. Blum that, if Steyl was really set on taking over Sumatra, the quickest way to achieve that end might very well be an immediate discussion with the Capuchins in order to convince them to step back. He also mentioned that the Jesuits wanted to keep

<sup>16</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, C.v.d. Hemel to Blum, Bandung, 21.4.1909, f. 2 (3).

<sup>17</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Relazione circa la Modifica dei Confini della Prefettura Apostolica delle Isole della Piccola Sonda, July 1914, c. 677.

<sup>18</sup> Fr. Engbers referred to the Convention of 1847 between the Vatican and the Dutch government. Cf. G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20* [History of Catholic Church in Indonesia: from the Prefecture to the Apostolic Vicariate], vol. 2, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1972, 70.

Java only for themselves, and so it seemed that the mission in Flores might also be handed over to someone else. The mission in Timor had been abandoned as being too unhealthy and offering too little chance of success. There were, then, three possible missions for the SVD: Sumatra, Flores and Timor.<sup>19</sup>

From the beginning Blum was not very interested in Sumatra because of the large number of Protestants and Muslims there. According to him, a missionary can do little among the Muslims. As for van den Hemel's suggestion to contact the Capuchins to clarify their position, Blum preferred to wait until they made their own decision. Instead of Sumatra he really wanted to take over Flores and the small surrounding islands.<sup>20</sup>

## 1.2. The Negotiations for the Handing over of the Mission to the SVD

### 1.2.1. Blum to Luypen: «Ecce adsumus!»

The letter from van den Hemel to Blum on 21 April 1909 quickly had an effect. Fr. Nicolaus Blum, the Administrator General of the SVD after the death of Arnoldus Janssen (15 January 1909), wrote his first letter to Msgr. Luypen on 24 June 1909. As the superior *ad interim* of the Society, Blum found some good reasons to send a letter to the bishop. First, to thank him for their hospitality shown to Fr. Constant van den Hemel. Secondly, to clarify what had been written by van den Hemel about a possible mission in the Dutch East Indies. Thirdly, to assure him that the SVD was ready for the mission. Finally, to inform him which mission the SVD preferred to take over and also to ensure the bishop that the SVDs could work without having their own territory.

From the above-mentioned letter of van den Hemel, Blum learned about the insufficient personnel in the Jesuits' vast mission in the Dutch East Indies and about the Jesuits' search for help. He declared that he was ready to give some help despite the weak resources of his Society. «[...] We are well aware of the sacrifices, which we thus accept, but when it concerns the salvation of immortal souls, we say immediately «*Ecce adsumus!*» [here we are].»<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the possible difficulties between the Church and the colonial government caused by the territorial separation, Blum asserted that the territory did not have to be under the SVD in order for SVDs to serve

<sup>19</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, C.v.d. Hemel to Blum, Bandung, 21.4.1909, f. 4 (5).

<sup>20</sup> AG-SVD, BL-2, Blum to C.v.d. Hemel, s.l., 22.5.1909, f. 469; K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 58.

<sup>21</sup> «[...] Wij zijn ons wel bewust van de offers, die we daardoor op ons nemen, doch wanneer het de redding geldt van onsterfelijke zielen, zeggen we aanstonds: “Ecce adsumus!”» Cf. AG-SVD, BL-2, Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 24.6.1909, f. 727.

there. He suggested that the SVDs could work under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, but with their own *Superior Missionis* appointed by the Society (the SVD). SVD missionaries of course had to obtain their jurisdiction and instruction from the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, who also had the right of visitation. According to Blum, the best and most pleasant situation for both sides was if his missionaries could work on their own. Blum continued that further details about a partition or a complete separation of their own territory for the SVDs would be discussed later at an opportune occasion, after the assignment from the bishop. It is interesting that Blum, in his first letter to Luypen, preferred to take over a part of the Lesser Sunda Islands instead of Sumatra. He gave the same choice as he had before.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.2.2. Future Division as a Promise

Surprisingly, the letter from Blum to Luypen written on 24 June 1909 did not get a quick response. It took a long period<sup>23</sup> for Luypen to respond to Blum's letter. In his letter Msgr. Luypen explained that he was sick. He also acknowledged the lack of manpower for his mission. However, in Luypen's opinion, it was too soon to proceed to the next division of his vicariate or to invite new missionaries. The difficulties between the Church and the government caused by the divisions in 1902 and 1905 haunted his mind. This appears to be the main reason why Luypen did not respond to Blum's suggestion about the possibility of SVDs working under his jurisdiction.<sup>24</sup>

However, there was still hope. Instead of responding to Blum's suggestions, he postponed them until the next partition without mentioning any specific time. Luypen wrote: «[...] Meanwhile I am very grateful to Your Reverence for Your letter; I know now at least who would like to be considered and who I can propose to the Propaganda at a future partition.»<sup>25</sup>

### 1.2.3. A Promised Visit and the Preparation

Msgr. Luypen's response in the letter of 8 December 1909 restrained the negotiations. However, Fr. Blum, a determined superior as he was, did not lose

<sup>22</sup> AG-SVD, BL-2, Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 24.6.1909, ff. 727-729.

<sup>23</sup> During this time the Fourth General Chapter (3 November 1909 - 15 January 1910) of the SVD was held in Steyl and Fr. Nicolaus Blum was elected on 5 November 1909 as the second Superior General for the Society. Cf. K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien* (1913-1963), Kaldenkirchen, Steyler Verlag, 1963, 14.

<sup>24</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 8.12.1909, ff. 1-2 (13-14).

<sup>25</sup> «[...] Intusschen ben ik UHE. zeer dankbaar voor Uw Schrijven; ik weet thans ten minste reeds wie eventueel gaarne in aanmerking zou willen komen, en wie ik bij een eventuele dismembratio aan de Propaganda kan voorstellen.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 8.12.1909, f. 2 (14).

hope. The uncertainty came to an end when on 22 May 1910 Msgr. Luypen wrote to him again. This time Luypen promised to visit Steyl during his summer vocation in Holland.<sup>26</sup>

During this time of waiting, as a preparation prior to the meeting, Blum tried to equip himself with a comprehensive understanding of the mission in the Dutch East Indies. He asked Fr. Friedrich Schwager, his mission secretary at that time, to prepare him a memo on the mission. According to Schwager, there were some good possibilities. He suggested that Blum could suggest to Luypen to takeover one part of Sumatra, Java, Celebes or the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>27</sup> On the one hand, the Jesuits would probably cede Sumatra to the SVD, since they would lose nothing there. On the other hand, the Jesuits would not be able to hold Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands over the long term. Concerning Flores and Celebes, Schwager predicted that Msgr. Luypen would be more favourable to ceding Celebes than Flores. Flores would have to remain with the Jesuits. According to Schwager, Java was a good choice, since it was very important politically and economically for the whole East Indies.<sup>28</sup>

In another letter Schwager suggested that the SVD could ask Msgr. Luypen about obtaining Celebes or the western part of the Lesser Sunda Islands, especially the islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and Sumba. In this way the SVD would inherit a small group of Christians from Minahasa-Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands. He also mentioned that Celebes had one and one-half million people, the majority of whom were Muslim, while the Lesser Sunda Islands were largely pagan. There was also a sea connection between Bali and Celebes which was helpful for the mission.<sup>29</sup>

From then on Blum had some concrete suggestions for Msgr. Luypen. He was eagerly awaiting the bishop's visit. On 22 June 1910, Blum wrote to Schwager that Msgr. Luypen was not yet there. Blum then stated that he himself would look for the bishop, if he did not fulfil his promise to visit Steyl.<sup>30</sup> One week later Blum told Schwager that Msgr. Luypen was in Italy and that he would come to Steyl only after his return to Holland.<sup>31</sup> On 6 July (1910) Fr. Blum noted that there was no more news from Msgr. Luypen, and he wanted to find out if he had returned from Rome to Holland. As of 22 August (1910)

<sup>26</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Den Haag, 22.5.1910, f. 1 (15).

<sup>27</sup> In this paper you will find two different terminologies «the Lesser Sunda Islands» and «the Lesser Sundas». They refer to the same thing: the territory of the Lesser Sunda Islands in the Dutch East Indies. The writer will use them interchangeably.

<sup>28</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Schwager to Blum, Hohenfeld, 14.6.1910, ff. 1-3 (16<sup>r-v</sup>-17).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Schwager to Blum, Hohenfeld, 18.6.1910, ff. 1-2 (18-19).

<sup>30</sup> AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Vierte Serie [from now on = BL-4], Blum to Schwager, s.l., 22.6.1910, f. 200.

<sup>31</sup> AG-SVD, BL-4, Blum to Schwager, s.l., 30.6.1910, f. 236.

there was no visit and no news from Msgr. Luypen.<sup>32</sup> Finally Blum learned the address of Msgr. Luypen from Fr. Th. C. Ibelsloot, SJ, the Rector of Katwijk bij Leiden (Holland).<sup>33</sup> Blum then sent a letter to Msgr. Luypen inviting the bishop to Steyl.<sup>34</sup> The bishop then notified Blum that he would be visiting Steyl on 6 September (1910)<sup>35</sup>. The visit finally took place on that day.

#### 1.2.4. Visit of Msgr. Luypen at Steyl and the Territory Issue

On 6 September 1910 Blum wrote in his diary: «[...] Close to 3 o'clock, Msgr. Luypens, the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, came by. [...] I had written to the bishop in 1909 that we would like to have a mission in the Dutch East Indies. However, he acted as if he did not know anything about it.».<sup>36</sup>

We know the results of the meeting between Fr. Nicolaus Blum and Msgr. Luypen from the letter which Blum himself wrote to Schwager on the same day. Blum told Schwager that there was no more hope of obtaining Sumatra, since the Capuchins had taken it for themselves as another Apostolic Prefecture beside Borneo. The Jesuits wanted to keep Java, even Flores and Celebes. The SVD could get Dutch-Timor, Sumba, Sumbawa, Bali, Lombok and also Solor and Roti, all of which were in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Msgr. Luypen wanted to ask the consent of the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies about this tentative division, and Blum would consult his councillors as well.<sup>37</sup>

During the conversation they also happened to talk about the possibility of taking over Celebes. However, Blum's plans were concentrated on the Lesser Sunda Islands, about which he continued the negotiations. A letter to Msgr. Luypen offered an exact enumeration of the islands and a sketched map which included the islands of Timor, Roti, Savu, Sumba, Sumbawa, Lombok and Bali, etc.<sup>38</sup> Regarding the sketched map, Luypen noticed that there was a mistake, since Blum included some islands that belonged to other *residentie* (= district), such as Madura and Celebes. Indeed, the Jesuits wanted to hand over only the islands which belonged to Timor *residentie* and its dependencies

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Schwager, s.l., 22.8.1910, f. 519.

<sup>33</sup> AG-SVD 806:1909-1919, Ibelsloot to Blum, Katwijk bij Leiden, 1.8.1910, f. 1 (20). The address of Luypen was van Vollenhovenstraat n°. 1, Rotterdam, Holland.

<sup>34</sup> AG-SVD, BL-4, Blum to Luypen, s.l., 28.8.1910, f. 553.

<sup>35</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Echt, 3.9.1910, f. 1 (21).

<sup>36</sup> «[...] Gegen 3 Uhr kam Msgr. Luypens, Apost. Vikar von Batavia, hier an. [...] Ich hatte dem Bischof 1909 geschrieben, daß wir gerne eine Mission in Holländisch-Indien hätten, u. doch stellte er sich, als ob er nichts davon wüsste...» Cf. AG-SVD, Tagebuch Blum, Steyl, 6.9.1910, 291.

<sup>37</sup> AG-SVD, BL-4, Blum to Schwager, s.l., 6.9.1910, ff. 601-602; AG-SVD, Tagebuch Blum, Steyl, 6.9.1910, 291.

<sup>38</sup> AG-SVD, BL-4, Blum to Luypen, s.l., 15.9.1910, ff. 654-655.

and the islands that belonged to Bali-Lombok *residentie* and its dependencies. Msgr. Luypen also mentioned that he had written to Fr. Eduard Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies about what had been discussed at Steyl. Luypen then stated that the continuation of the negotiations would depend on Engbers' decision.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, Fr. Petrus Noyen came to know about bishop Luypen's visit in Steyl. He told Blum about what Luypen had said to a family in Helmond and also his own choice regarding the mission in the Dutch East Indies. He pointed out:

Msgr. Luypen was also in Helmond with a family here, with which I am well known [...]. Here the bishop said that the Jesuits will cede all missions except Java. If that is so, it would not be bad to request the island of Flores etc., where the Jesuits have beautiful communities. Sumatra is a beautiful, large area, but difficult and does not give the best hope.<sup>40</sup>

On 19 November 1910, still in Holland, Msgr. Luypen reported joyful news to Blum after receiving a letter from Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ. In this letter Msgr. Luypen stated that on 13 October 1910, the Jesuits' Reverend Fathers' Council had agreed to the ceding of the mission territory which had been indicated by Luypen to Blum during his visit in Steyl. It meant that the Jesuit mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands was to be ceded to the SVD – except Flores.<sup>41</sup> At the end of his letter Luypen added that he was expecting a response from Father Blum. Luypen would write to the Very Rev. Fr. General to gain a final decision about this matter if a response letter is received.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 20.9.1910, ff. 1-2 (25-26). Fr. Johann Bodems, Blum's Vice Superior General, was asked to present a sketched map to Msgr. Luypen. The sketched map was presented by Bodems on 17 September 1910, but it was not accurate. Regarding this mistake, in his letter of 22 November 1910 to Msgr. Luypen, Fr. Nicolaus Blum promised to present an accurate map to Msgr. Luypen for his approval.

<sup>40</sup> «Msgr. Luypen war auch hier in Helmond bei einer Familie, mit der ich gut bekannt bin [ . . . ] Msgr. bei dieser Familie eingeführt und dort gesagt, daß Msgr. im Sinne habe, alles außer Java abzutreten. Wenn das so ist, dann wäre es nicht übel, die Insel Flores etc., wo die Jesuiten ja schöne Gemeinden haben, zu erbitten. Sumatra ist ein schönes, großes Feld, aber schwierig und gibt nicht die beste Hoffnung.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Helmond, 6.9.1910, ff. 1-3 (23<sup>r-v</sup>-24).

<sup>41</sup> On the other islands there was no Christian presence. The number of Christians in this region was very small. If the division of territory excluded Flores from the list, it means there were only 2,500 Christians in this region. The SVDs would have to start from the beginning. Flores had 17,000 Christians at that time. Cf. AG-SVD, BL-4, Blum to Schwager, s.l., 6.9.1910, ff. 601-602; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Schwager to Blum, Hohenfeld, 14.6.1910, f. 2 (16<sup>a</sup>); A.I. van AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.: Bij den 75<sup>sten</sup> Verjaardag van Hun Aankomst in de Nieuwe Missie 1859 - 9 Juli - 1934*, Bandung: Amsterdam, Uitgave A.C. Nix & Co; N.V. de R.K. Boekcentrale, 1934, 252.

<sup>42</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Den Haag, 19.11.1910, ff. 1-3 (27<sup>r-v</sup>-28); Luypen to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 20.9.1910, f. 2 (26).

On 20 March 1911, Msgr. Luypen arrived in Batavia from his «annoying holiday». Some time afterwards he had an opportunity to discuss the issue of the division of the mission with Father Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis*. Luypen then met the Provincial, Fr. Vogels on 17 March 1911 in Padang, Sumatra. The result of the meeting was that everything mentioned in Luypen's letter to Blum (19 November 1910) was approved. Msgr. Luypen himself was happy to inform Blum about all the progress made. Before ending his letter, Luypen asked for Blum's assent to this good news.<sup>43</sup>

In his response, Fr. Blum thanked and assured Msgr. Luypen that he agreed with Luypen's proposal of 19 November 1910 and was ready to take over the mission. Blum then requested Msgr. Luypen to proceed with the further necessary steps.<sup>44</sup> On 22 June 1911 Msgr. Luypen sent a letter to the Propaganda Fide requesting the division of his vicariate in order to be able to form a new prefecture apostolic. In his letter, Msgr. Luypen stated clearly the islands to be ceded to the SVDs, except the one called Flores.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.2.5. Blum to Carl Friedrich: «Try a First Step!»

Father Superior General Blum judged that it was timely for the Procurator General of the SVD in Rome, Fr. Carl Friedrich, to try a first careful contact with the Propaganda Fide regarding the possible mission in the Dutch East Indies. On 15 May 1911 Friedrich reported his mission to Steyl. As for negotiation with the Propaganda, Friedrich stated that, since Msgr. Luypen wanted to write to Propaganda Fide about the matter, it would be better to wait until he took the first step.

In Friedrich's opinion, it was possible that a letter from the SVD would only procrastinate rather than accelerate the negotiations. Friedrich responded in this way because at the same time the question about an SVD mission in Japan<sup>46</sup> was also in progress. He felt that it would be better to wait until the Japanese question was decided by Propaganda Fide.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 12.4.1911, f. 1 (37).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Luypen, s.l., 11.5.1911, f. 1 (38).

<sup>45</sup> *ASPE* N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 22.6.1911, cc. 646-647.

<sup>46</sup> Simultaneously the negotiations concerning the establishment of a prefecture apostolic in Japan under the SVD was also in progress. In 1912 the Propaganda Fide put the SVDs in charge of an area comprising six civil provinces, of which Fr. Joseph Reiners became the prefect apostolic. Cf. F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 1981 (Analecta SVD, 54), 321.

<sup>47</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Friedrich to Blum, Rom, 15.5.1911, f. 1 (39).

### 1.2.6. Civil Acknowledgement

It seems that undertaking a division of mission territory in the Dutch East Indies was not easy. Two weeks after his first contact with the Propaganda Fr. Carl Friedrich reported that according to the Secretary of the Propaganda, Msgr. Laurenti, up to that time nothing arrived from Msgr. Luypen. The Secretary expressed the desire to be quite careful because of the government. According to him, there was no government that was so suspicious and fearful like the Dutch one. It could happen that the government would say «No» to the territory division. Therefore, it would probably be good if one of the SVDs informed the government previously and the communication did not come through the Propaganda. Friedrich, then, suggested that Blum himself make known the information in Holland.<sup>48</sup>

Looking for the best way to do this, Blum turned to the vice provincial of the Jesuits, Fr. Schmeits, to ask for his advice, especially to indicate the ways and means by which the negotiations with the Dutch government should be accomplished.<sup>49</sup> Blum's request was followed by a long pause. No one knows exactly what occurred afterward except the Jesuits. The Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Isidorus Vogels, finally broke this silence by sending a letter saying that he also regretted that the matter was not yet settled. By hoping that the affair will come to a good conclusion he asked Blum to pray together for it.<sup>50</sup>

During the negotiations of the handing over of the mission, there was always a great anxiety about the Dutch government. Msgr. Luypen and the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in Java were always on high alert over government regulations. The reason behind this fear was that if the government did not approve the division and accused the Catholic Church of being unconstitutional, they could persecute the Church severely.

The most important government regulation to be observed was the Convention of 1847 between the Vatican and the Dutch government (Holland). By this convention the government recognized only one Vicariate Apostolic for the entire Dutch East Indies: the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia. It is understandable that the new divisions of this vicariate caused anxiety and even trouble for Msgr. Luypen and the Jesuits' superior. Luypen had to negotiate with the government when the apostolic prefecture of Dutch New Guinea (1902) and the apostolic prefecture of Borneo (1905) were erected – and his efforts were not crowned with success.<sup>51</sup> These negotiations seemed

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 29.5.1911, f. 1 (45).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Schmeits, Steyl, 8.6.1911, f. 1 (46).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Vogels to Blum, Oudenbosch, 23.9.1911, f. 1 (48).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, C.v.d. Hemel to Blum, Bandung, 21.4.1909, f. 3 (4).

to have had a negative influence on Luypen, for when the SVD asked for another division, Luypen's response was not very enthusiastic<sup>52</sup>. Luypen then reported this problem to Propaganda Fide in the form of a memorandum. He stated that because of the Convention of 1847 there was no civil recognition of Borneo and Dutch New Guinea as apostolic prefectures, and the same would be true for other prefectures to be erected in the future.<sup>53</sup>

The Dutch Government justified its attitude by asserting that it was an application of the so-called «Article 123 of the Regulation for the Dutch East Indies», and that this article had its basis in the agreement concluded with the Apostolic Nuncio at that time, Msgr. M. Ferrieri, and legalized with the Rescript of the King's Cabinet on 2 January 1847. However, after the agreement, the Holy See had never ratified that above-mentioned Convention. Cardinal Gotti then wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State about this problem and asked the Cardinal to end this uncertainty.<sup>54</sup>

The definitive solution of this problem was achieved on 12 August 1913 with an agreement between the Apostolic Internuncio and the Dutch government. On that day they agreed to add two articles to the Convention of 1847, which later were recognized as the *Nadere Regeling* (= Additional Agreements).<sup>55</sup>

In the first article it was clarified that the Dutch authorities recognized, besides the Vicariate of Batavia, all the apostolic prefectures that were formed from Batavia, including those which were erected recently and those which would be erected in the future as freely decided by the ecclesiastical authorities. The only condition demanded from the Church in order to receive civil recognition was an official communication from the Internuncio to the Minister of Colonies, especially about the new apostolic prefectures. The second article declared that the Prefects Apostolic had the right to station or to recall a priest in any place in his territory without the intervention of the government. The same regulation applied to other ecclesiastical affairs. The governor general could intervene only in cases of security and in order to maintain law and order.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 8.12.1909, f. 2 (14).

<sup>53</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 532, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 1.6.1910, cc. 479-480.

<sup>54</sup> Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Archivio Storico, Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Olanda, 1925-1937, Pos. 51 P.O., fasc. 8, ff. 21<sup>rs</sup>; ASPF, N.S. vol. 532, Gotti to Merry del Val, Roma, 25.7.1910, c. 481.

<sup>55</sup> G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 74, 216.

<sup>56</sup> The text of these articles was attached to a letter sent by Cardinal Merry del Val to Cardinal Gotti dated 31 August 1913. The response from Gotti came to Merry del Val in a letter of 6 September 1913 thanking him for the success of the Internuncio of the Holy See to the Low Countries. Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 532, Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 31.8.1913, cc. 482-483, 486; Gotti to Merry del Val, Roma, 6.9.1913, c. 487.

### 1.2.7. An Issue about the Number of Christians

The Jesuits were not in any hurry, which tried the patience of Fr. Nicolaus Blum. However, his persistence remained unshakable, even when in September new difficulties emerged – this time, quite unexpectedly, from the side of the Propaganda Fide. Fr. Blum reported on this to the bishop of Batavia:

Our Procurator General has just written to me from Rome that the Propaganda did not settle our mutual concern yet, because Your Grace would transfer too few Christians to us. Therefore, Cardinal Gotti wrote to You. We are very sorry about this postponement. First, I would like to point out that this observation does not come by any means from us. We were quite astonished over this action of the Propaganda. Your Grace certainly knows how to lead this matter to a happy conclusion.<sup>57</sup>

Msgr. Luypen answered that the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies were also innocent about this new postponement. Luypen told Blum that he himself was still awaiting a response from the Propaganda Fide. Concerning the small number of Christians in the Lesser Sundas, Luypen presented a good comparison to the Christians in the Kei Islands and Borneo. In Luypen's opinion, the Christians in the Lesser Sundas were twice as numerous as they were on the Kei Islands when that area was transferred to the Sacred Heart Missionaries (MSC). The Lesser Sunda Islands had ten times the number of Christians as those on Borneo when the Capuchins received that island. At that time Propaganda did not cause any difficulties whatever regarding the small number of Christians. On this basis Luypen stated that the number of Christians should not be taken as a serious problem for the negotiations.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, in October 1911 Father General Blum began his visitation to Togo, which kept him away from the SVD Generalate at Steyl until January 1912.<sup>59</sup> In November<sup>60</sup> Fr. Carl Friedrich sent a new report about the situation at Propaganda to Assistant General Fr. Johannes Bodems. He told Bodems that a discussion occurred recently on the mission in Batavia. According to Msgr. Laurenti, the Cardinal Secretary of the Propaganda Fide, in the

<sup>57</sup> «Soeben schreibt mir unser Prokurator aus Rom, dass die Propaganda unsere gegenseitige Sache noch nicht erledigt habe, weil uns von seiten Ew. Bischöfl. Gnaden zu wenig Christen überwiesen würden. Der Kardinal Gotti habe deshalb an Sie geschrieben. Dieser Zwischenfall tut uns leid. Zunächst will ich bemerken, dass diese Sache keineswegs von uns ausgeht. Wir waren ganz erstaunt über dieses Vorgehen der Propaganda. Ew. Bischöfl. Gnaden werden gewiss die Sache zu einem glücklichen Ausgang zu führen wissen.» Cf. AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Siebte Serie, Blum to Luypen, s.l., 13.9.1911, f. 185

<sup>58</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 7.12.1911, f. 1 (49).

<sup>59</sup> *Reise des P. Generalsuperiors nach Togo*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 24 (1911), 136; K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 67.

<sup>60</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Friedrich to Bodems, s.l., 15.11.1911, f. 1 (47).

meantime, the SVD should take «the usual way». By this he meant that the SVDs could start working under the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia. When the SVD gained a foothold in the mission, then they could apply for a division.

#### **1.2.8. A Petition from Blum to Propaganda**

Blum seemed to agree with Msgr. Laurenti's suggestion to send missionaries under Bishop Luypen's jurisdiction. Immediately after his return to Steyl from his visitation to Togo Fr. Blum sent a petition letter to Propaganda Fide via Fr. Carl Friedrich. He also enclosed the letter of Msgr. Luypen which was dated 7 December 1911.<sup>61</sup>

In this petition letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Blum asserted that the SVDs could first work under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits' bishop without a formal division. Furthermore, he asked for a prescript from the Holy See regarding a decree that SVD Missionaries could start working in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>62</sup>

#### **1.2.9. Ledòchowski to Friedrich: «How about Timor and Celebes»**

Fr. Włodzimierz Ledòchowski, the Jesuit Assistant Superior General, read to Fr. Carl Friedrich a letter from the Jesuit superior residing in Java (= Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ) which mentioned the refusal to cede Flores to other religious congregations. Ledòchowski then made another proposal: the SVD should take over Timor and also the large island of Celebes, which was ministered to only in the northern part. The reason behind this proposal was to counteract the Protestants from gaining a strong foothold there. According to Ledòchowski the Jesuits would endorse this division, because the superiors in the East Indies also recognised this division as acceptable. They concurred that the division proposed by Msgr. Luypen was not a good one, and that Propaganda would probably never approve it.<sup>63</sup>

Ledòchowski then suggested to Friedrich to tell Propaganda that the Jesuits would consider the above-mentioned division. The Jesuit Superior General would also hand a letter over to Propaganda so that permission to begin the mission work could be issued. To begin, the SVD could take over the mission station on Timor. If the SVDs were ready to accept this proposal, there would be no difficulties in taking over the larger island of Celebes, which could be completely handed over.

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Friedrich, s.l., 21.1.1912, f. 1 (50).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 27.1.1912, f. 1 (52). This letter was sent to Blum after his visitation to Togo, but the suggestions presented in this letter were discussed earlier than the time when Friedrich put it to paper.

Steyl was rather astonished about the transfer of Celebes, as was Fr. Petrus Noyen, who was in Cologne. It seemed that Steyl had forgotten the «agreement» made with Msgr. Luypen on 6 September 1910. Noyen wrote to the Generalate saying that Celebes generally is a Muslim island and the Protestant presence there is quite strong. So, it is not so easy to convert this island to Catholicism. He, then, insisted that he did not want to give up Flores.<sup>64</sup>

### **1.2.10. Developments before 8 February 1912**

In the beginning of February Msgr. Luypen in Batavia received an official letter from the Apostolic Nuncio in Brussels, Msgr. Giovanni Tacci, who was also responsible for Holland and the Dutch East Indies at that time. The letter concerned the communication from Propaganda about the Lesser Sunda Islands. Propaganda did not yet think about the establishment of a new prefecture under the SVDs; the SVDs could work for the mission under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits' bishop in the territory of the Jesuits.<sup>65</sup>

On 6 February Fr. Friedrich informed his Superior General about the suggestion to take over not only the Lesser Sunda Islands but also Celebes. Friedrich passed on the information from Father Ledòchowski about the consent of his Superior General regarding the taking over of the Jesuits' mission in western Timor – under the condition that the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia was in agreement with this.<sup>66</sup>

## **1.3. The Decision**

### **1.3.1. The Decree**

A decree of Propaganda that clarified the situation was issued under the date of 8 February 1912. It was directed to the Superior General of the SVD as follows:

It has been referred to this Dicastery that the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, over whom Your Reverence worthily presides, are prepared to take on the work of evangelization in the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia, and precisely in the islands popularly called the «Lesser Sunda Islands». This is indeed pleasing to this Sacred Congregation, since this new help requested by the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia will certainly bring about a big increase of

<sup>64</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Cöln, 31.1.1912, ff. 1-4 (53<sup>r-v</sup>-55).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Blum, Medan, 5.2.1912, f. 1 (56); Tacci to Luypen, Bruxelles, 17.12.1911, f. 1 (57). In his letter, Luypen attached also a copy of the letter of the Apostolic Nuncio dated 17 December 1911.

<sup>66</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Ledòchowski to Friedrich, Roma, 1.2.1912 f. 1; Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 6.2.1912, ff. 1-2 (58-59).

our religion in those distant regions. While, then, with this letter this Sacred Congregation gladly approves your help, it gives your missionaries the well deserved praise and exhorts them that, in the meantime, they should in every way show obedience and submission to the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia in the exercise of the priestly ministry, and implores divine assistance and abundant heavenly graces for them. And I ask God to keep and protect you always. Your Paternity's most devoted servant F. H. M. Card. Gotti, Praefect. - Laurenti, Secret.<sup>67</sup>

By this decree, the Lesser Sundas mission was *de jure* transferred to the SVD. However, the SVDs were to work under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia as a helping hand for the Jesuit mission in the Dutch East Indies.

### 1.3.2. The Reaction of the Jesuits towards the Decree

For the SVD this decree was what they had been waiting for, but for the Jesuits it was unexpected. There were two main reasons for the surprise. First, Propaganda did not take into consideration the recent negotiations between the Jesuits and the SVDs. The Jesuits had offered new options in these negotiations. For instance, the Jesuits wanted to cede Celebes and Timor to the SVD. In other words, the discussion over territory had not yet come to a final agreement. Because of this the Jesuits complained that the decree actually came too early. It was a good decree, but it did not come at the proper time. Secondly, in the decree the Propaganda Fide acknowledged that SVDs would work in all the Lesser Sunda Islands, without any exception. In fact, right from the beginning the Jesuits and the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia had stated clearly that the SVD could take over the Lesser Sunda Islands with the exception of Flores. Therefore, this decree was deemed painful by Batavia and the Jesuits.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> «Relatum fuit huic S.C. [Sacrae Congregationi], Missionarios Societatis Verbi Divini, cui digne P.T. [Paternitas Tua] praeest, paratos esse ad evangelizationis opus suscipiendum in Vicariatu Apostolico Bataviensi, et praecise in Insulis vulgo «Saonde Minori» dictis. Quod quidem pergratum exstitit huic S.C. [Sacrae Congregationi], cum novum hoc auxilium, a R. P. D. Vicario Apostolico Bataviensi expetitur, magnum profecto N.R. [Nostrae Religionis] augmentum remotis in illis regionibus sit allaturum. Dum itaque per praesentes haec S.C. [Sacra Congregatio] hoc tuum auxilium libenter adprobat, Missionariorum tuorum zelum meritis laudibus prosequitur eosque adhortatur, ut interim omnimodam oboedientiam ac subjectionem R. P. D. Vicario Apostolico Bataviensi in exercitio sacerdotalis ministerii praestent, divinumque auxilium ac uberes caelestes gratias iisdem adprecatur. Ego interim Deum rogo ut Te diutissime sospitem servet. Paternitatis Tuae Addictissimus Servus F. H. M. Card. Gotti, Praefect. - Laurenti, Secret.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Gotti to Blum, Roma, 8.2.1912, c. 654; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Gotti to Blum [a copy], Roma, 8.2.1912, f. 1 (60).

<sup>68</sup> K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 71.

Then how did Propaganda come up with this decree? According to Kurt Piskaty, the decree was possible because negotiations had started three years before. Propaganda may have thought that there had already been sufficient discussion; now action was needed, not only talking<sup>69</sup>. Although the content of the decree was disappointing to the Jesuits, it was not completely new. Msgr. Luypen himself had sent a letter to the Propaganda Fide seven months before asking for the division of his vicariate.<sup>70</sup>

### 1.3.3. Acknowledgement and Confirmation

Following the decree, Blum sent the bishop in Batavia a transcript of the Roman decision with a friendly accompanying letter, in which he promised that at the end of that year he would send some priests to the mission in Timor and would find further replacements on some other islands as well. The SVDs would have their own *Superior Missionis*. As for the sacred ministries (*Ministerium Sacrum*), the SVDs would depend on the decisions of the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia.<sup>71</sup>

Fr. Isidorus Vogels, the provincial of the Jesuits in Holland, confirmed the reception of a copy of Propaganda's decree with a formal letter.<sup>72</sup> The answer from Batavia was very clearly in accord with the Roman decision. Msgr. Luypen invited the Steyler missionaries or the SVDs to replace the Jesuit missionaries on the islands of Timor and Sumba. The remaining islands could be attended to later so that the Holy See could finally proceed to the establishment of a new prefecture.<sup>73</sup>

The Catholic daily newspaper *De Tijd* on 29 March and 1 April 1912 in an article entitled «Katholieke Missiën in Oost-Indiën» reported that the Fathers of Steyl would take over the Lesser Sundas from the Jesuits. In the *Steyler Missionsbote* a beautiful sentence could be found: «[...] the Mother House at Steyl is happy finally to have the opportunity to extend her gratitude for Holland's hospitality, which it has enjoyed for a very long time, through the takeover of a mission in the Dutch East Indies.»<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 22.6.1911, cc. 646-647.

<sup>71</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 15.2.1912, ff. 1-2 (62-63).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, Vogels to Blum, Oudenbosch, 17.2.1912, f. 1 (64).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Blum, Weltevreden, 21.4.1912, ff 1-2 (68-69).

<sup>74</sup> «[...] das Mutterhaus Steyl freut sich, endlich Gelegenheit zu haben, die Dankespflicht für der Gastfreiheit Hollands, die es so lange genossen, abtragen zu können durch die Übernahme einer Mission in Holländisch-Indien.» Cf. P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, in: «Steyler Missionsbote» 40/3 (1912), 40; K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 72; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Copies of «De Tijd» 29 March and 1 April 1912.

#### 1.3.4. Noyen's Initial Personnel Plans for Missionary Work in Timor and Sumba

After knowing that he would be sent to begin a new mission in the Dutch East Indies, even before his appointment as the superior of the new mission<sup>75</sup> Fr. Petrus Noyen had made some plans for it. For example, regarding personnel, he requested from the Generalate three Fathers and two Brothers for Timor and two Fathers and one Brother for Sumba.<sup>76</sup> The Generalate then called Fr. Franz de Lange from the USA, Fr. Arnoldus Vestraelen from Togo, and Fr. Constant van den Hemel and Br. Calixtus Oosterholt from New Guinea. From Holland they appointed two priests and four Brothers to the new mission. They were Fr. Johannes Kreiten and Fr. Wilhelm Baack, Br. Lucianus Mölken, Br. Salesius van de Lith, Br. Lambertus Schoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers.<sup>77</sup>

At that time, before their arrival in Timor, Noyen learnt that in Lahurus there was a folk school with approximately 60 students in a boarding house. The matters concerning the school were considered very important for the mission in Lahurus. That was the reason for Noyen to ask for three Fathers for Timor: one Father dedicated for the school and another two for the pastoral work.<sup>78</sup>

In his letter dated 17 October 1912, Noyen asked the Generalate that all the first Fathers be Dutch. The reason behind this was that the Dutch government always preferred to deal with its own compatriots. Every missionary who wanted to be a paid-teacher or a paid-pastor should be a Dutch or at least obtain Dutch citizenship. Since SVDs lacked the numbers of Dutch missionaries needed, the German missionaries could obtain Dutch citizenship, learn Dutch and later come to work in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>79</sup>

Even though Noyen desperately asked for all the first missionaries to be of Dutch origin, in the generalate's first appointment it was immediately apparent that not all were Dutch. There were three missionaries of German origin. This happened because at that time the mission house in the Netherlands was

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<sup>75</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 16.

<sup>76</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 3-4, 7 (73-74, 77); J. DAMIANUS MUKESI – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka. Telusur Jejak para Misionaris Belanda* [How Beautiful are their Feet: Finding the Footsteps of Dutch Missionaries], vol. 1, Ende, Provinsi SVD Ende, 2004, 3-4.

<sup>77</sup> K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 72.

<sup>78</sup> P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, 39-40; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 3-4, 11 (73-74, 81).

<sup>79</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, f. 8 (78); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, f. 5.

still very young (no more than 4 years old) so not many could be expected from there regarding sending missionaries of Dutch origin. Moreover, until that time, there were not too many SVD missionaries from the Netherlands. Therefore, it was rather difficult not to accept a missionary presence from other nationality backgrounds to be sent to the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>80</sup>

## 1.4. Realization

### 1.4.1. The Arrival of the First SVDs in Timor

Before he received an official letter from the SVD Generalate to begin a new mission in the Dutch East Indies, Fr. Petrus Noyen stated openly in his letter to his Superior General that it was a great sacrifice for him to leave his glorious mission in China, where language and people were very dear to him. He realized the new situation he had to face: a very different climate that might be dangerous for his health, two more languages to be learnt, and to do mission among a very strange people. He admitted that only obedience as a religious led him to a new mission in the Dutch East Indies. Despite that Fr. Petrus Noyen followed every step of the negotiations concerning the mission in the Dutch East Indies. He prepared himself for the mission by learning Malay, by familiarizing himself with the situation, and by introducing the new mission in some places in Holland.<sup>81</sup>

Fr. Noyen even planned to leave for the Dutch East Indies on November 1912 together with Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen. After talking to Fr. Verstraelen, he changed his first plan. This happened because Verstraelen wanted to participate in a three-month medical course in Cologne. So, their departure to Timor was postponed to 16 January 1913. However, the call to leave for the new mission came sooner than planned. In the middle of October, while he was giving a retreat to the Sister novices, he learned that Fr. Viktor van den Putten, SJ and Fr. Adrianus Mathijsen, SJ in Timor both were sick. This news arrived through an uncle of Father van den Putten in Uden and it

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<sup>80</sup> They were Fr. Wilhelm Baack from Olfen who had worked for some time in Uden, Br. Lucianus Mölken from Hagen and Fr. Johannes Kreiten from St. Tönis. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 3 (122); K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 22, 122; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuis te Uden en de Floresmissie*, 225; F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 345.

<sup>81</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, f. 10 (80); PROVINCIAL ARCHIVE SOCIETAS VERBI DIVINI TETERINGEN [from now on: PA-SVD Teteringen], P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 2.

changed Noyen's plan of departure for the second time. This time he wanted to depart alone.<sup>82</sup>

The ship Tambora, which was leaving Marseille for Batavia on 28 November 1912, was already full. So, Noyen postponed his departure to 12 December on the next ship, the Kawi. After attending farewell parties, he left for Steyl. From there, he left for Paris on an express train. From Paris he left for Marseille again on an express train. On 12 December he sailed to Batavia, where he arrived safely on 4 January 1913.<sup>83</sup>

On the same day, Noyen met the Vicar Apostolic, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, SJ. After a friendly reception and discussion regarding Sumba and Flores, monsignor gave him the faculty as a priest, and asked about his *radicaal*. He had no idea about this because nobody had made him aware of the necessity of it. Without this permission, no one could be appointed a parish priest who received a salary from the government. Without this *radicaal*, therefore, Msgr. Luypen could not present Fr. Petrus Noyen to the government as successor of Pastor Mathijssen in Timor. This problem fortunately could be solved quickly thanks to the help of Sir van Waijenburg, a Catholic who served as a secretary for the immigration office in Batavia. The *radicaal* for Noyen was finally issued by the Netherlands' government a month after his arrival in Belu, Timor.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Father Viktor van den Putten, SJ was an assistant of Fr. Mathijssen, SJ in Lahurus, Timor. At the beginning of 1912 he left for Java to restore his health. After his recovery he was stationed at Madiun, as Msgr. Luypen was expecting the arrival of the SVDs before Christmas. So Fr. Mathijssen remained alone in Timor. When he got sick and left for Java, Fr. van den Putten was sent back to Timor. From Timor he wrote a postcard to his uncle in Holland, from whom Fr. Noyen got the news. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 1-2 (71-72); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 3; J. DAMIANUS MUKESI – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 4; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor* [History of the Catholic Church in Timor], vol. 2, s.l., s.d., 802-803.

<sup>83</sup> On 1 December 1912 Noyen attended a farewell party with his family in Helmond. The farewell in Uden was held on 3 December. From Uden he left for Steyl on 6 December. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 4-5; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuys te Uden en de Floresmissie*, 225.

<sup>84</sup> *Radicaal* was a proof of admission from the Queen of the Netherlands by which the Dutch government issued permission for someone to work in the Dutch East Indies, especially for the ecclesiastical services. At first, Noyen received an admission card for Java and Madura from Waijenburg, which at the same time was valid for all other parts of the Dutch East Indies. Such a card was valid for a stay of 2 years and could be extended for another 2 years. Noyen's *radicaal* was issued on 3 March 1913. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 5; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, The *radicaal* for P.C. Noyen, Oberursel, 3.3.1913, ff. 1-2 (94-95); Minister of Colonies to P.C. Noyen and A.J.H.V. Verstraelen, 's Gravenhage, 12.3.1913, ff. 1-2 (96-97); The Governor General of the Dutch East Indies to P. K. Noyen, Buitenzorg, 13.3.1913, f. 1 (98); Mgr. Claessens to Blum, Sittard, 16.1.1919, f. 1.

On his way to Timor, Noyen visited several places before he left for Surabaya and arrived there on 11 January. In Surabaya he had a chance to talk with Fr. Eduard Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits. Noyen and Engbers came to an agreement regarding the exact date when the handover of the Jesuit's mission in Timor could take place. Regarding the takeover of Flores, Engbers said that it would take place when the SVDs had enough personnel. In order to begin, the SVDs could first focus on Timor and Sumba. He also assured Noyen that the Jesuits would leave the Lesser Sunda Islands gradually. As long as their presence was still needed, they would remain in that mission.<sup>85</sup>

On 12 January 1913, accompanied by Fr. Engbers, Noyen left Surabaya to take the last route for Timor on board the «Duijmaar van Twist». Well-known as a great «runner» this steamer would bring him to Atapupu. After a week he arrived at Kupang, the tip of Timor's west coast. Here in Kupang he met the Resident Colonel Cornelis Hendrik van Rietschoten (1911-1913), Lieutenant Colonel Burton and a Manadonese by the name of Kailola, who was formerly a Protestant and had converted to Catholicism. The last two were well-known as faithful Catholics. During the visit to the Resident, Noyen came to know that it was a favourable time to do mission work arduously, since the government was cooperative, and people in a few places also were favourable.<sup>86</sup>

From Kupang he continued to Atapupu and arrived there on 20 January 1913. He was the first SVD missionary to arrive in Timor, welcomed by Fr. Adrianus Mathijssen, Fr. Viktor van den Putten and Br. Hermann Moehle. Some schoolboys were also present who all greeted Noyen in a military style. The two pastors came to the coast to meet him. They expected the arrival of five missionaries. The preparation was for 5 men, and in order to fulfil this need military beds were borrowed. It was a surprise to Br. Hermann Moehle when he saw only one new missionary arrive.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 6-7; J. DAMIANUS MUKESÉ – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 5; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, vol. 2, 806-807, 836.

<sup>86</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 9-10; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuis te Uden en de Floresmissie*, 225.

<sup>87</sup> This happened because the letter that contained the latest information about the coming of the SVDs was in the same boat with Noyen. Br. Moehle was disappointed, as he had already said goodbye to the people of Lahurus, and wanted to leave with the same boat to Surabaya. As Br. Calixtus, SVD had not yet arrived, he had to go back to Lahurus. Petrus Noyen and the Jesuit priests were still living in Atapupu for 5 days, accompanying Father Viktor van den Putten until he left Atapupu on 25 January 1913. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 11; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, ff. 1-2; J. DAMIANUS MUKESÉ – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 5-6; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuis te Uden en de Floresmissie*, 225.

On 18 February 1913, Br. Calixtus Oosterholt reached Timor as the second SVD to arrive there. Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen and Br. Lucianus Mölken then arrived in Timor on 14 May the same year. Msgr. Luypen's first visit to Timor after the arrival of the SVDs took place on 16 September 1913, the same day when Pope Pius X (1903-1914) decreed the establishment of the new prefecture apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands. He came to Timor accompanied by four new SVD missionaries, something that created a lot of little surprises for Noyen. They were Br. Salesius van de Lith, Fr. Franz de Lange, Fr. Wilhem Baak and Fr. Johannes Kreiten.<sup>88</sup> On 14 February 1914 Fr. Constant van den Hemel, Br. Lambertus Shoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers arrived at Atapupu. The two Brothers were the first among the Brothers who were sent from Uden for the mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands. This last arrival brought to completion the number of missionaries assigned by the SVD Generalate in its first appointment to the mission in Timor.<sup>89</sup>

#### 1.4.2. The Handing Over of the Mission to the SVDs

On the arrival of Fr. Petrus Noyen, during their first meeting in Surabaya, Petrus Noyen and Eduard Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies, agreed upon how the Jesuits mission territory in the Lesser Sunda Islands would be officially ceded to the SVDs. The date agreed upon was 1 March 1913. This date would be remembered as a lasting memory that marked the end of the Jesuit mission in Timor.<sup>90</sup>

Finally 1 March 1913 arrived. On that day, there was a simple ceremony of handing over the mission from the Jesuits to the SVDs. The persons involved were Father Adrianus Mathijssen as the representative of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies and Father Petrus Noyen as the representative of the SVDs. As a meaningful symbol of that ceremony, Mathijssen offered the honourable place at the dining table to Noyen, a place he had occupied since his arrival in that mission station. Mathijssen also wanted to give space for Noyen in front of the peoples' eyes to be considered as more important than himself. All this did not happen because Noyen refused with all his might Mathijssen's plan. So, both of them remained at their place on the table; other things remained likewise as it had been before until the Jesuits

<sup>88</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 15, 24, 37, 38; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Malang, 22.10.1913, f. 1 (147); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, f. 1; J. DAMIANUS MUKESI – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 6-7, 9; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, vol. 2, 887.

<sup>89</sup> K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme unserer Mission in Indonesien*, 72; W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 41/4 (1916), 103.

<sup>90</sup> From Noyen's arrival in Timor 20 January until 1 March (1913) he was considered as a guest of pastor Mathijssen. As such, the Jesuits took care of all his living costs. After 1 March Mathijssen would be considered as Noyen's guest, with all the financial implications. This was concluded in Surabaya and was effective from when Noyen reached Timor until the fixed date of handing over the mission. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 7.

left Timor definitively. Practically, Noyen took over the cash and all expenses with activities related to it such as taking care of the house and all its members.<sup>91</sup>

According to the agreement made between Noyen and Engbers, Br. Hermann Moehle, SJ should leave the Timor mission as soon as the SVD Brother(s) arrived. So, after the arrival of Br. Calixtus Oosterholt, on 22 February 1913, Br. Hermann Moehle left Atapupu, Timor. Fr. Adrianus Mathijsen himself left Timor on 24 May 1913, after 25 years of service as a missionary. He was the first Jesuit to begin the mission station in Lahurus and the last one to leave the Timor mission.<sup>92</sup>

After the last Jesuit departed, Noyen wrote in his diary praising Mathijsen as a man of soft character, humble, one who faithfully adhered to all sacred practices, rated poverty high and was always friendly and prepared for every service. In his past years, he travelled a lot on the steep rocks to catechize the poor good Timorese under the shadow of a tree or a stone. Noyen recognized that the «seed» had fallen not on hard ground but on fertile soil that had born many fruits; that is to say the Jesuits had prepared a good foundation for the mission. That was why Noyen cherished the best hope that on this good foundation, a great satisfaction and more fruit for the salvation of souls would come from Timor.<sup>93</sup>

## 1.5. Getting Acquainted with the Territory

### 1.5.1. Mission Territory

The Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands consisted of areas that were subject to two Residents, who of course stood under the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. One Resident lived on the island of Timor in Kupang, and the other in Singaraja on the island of Bali. The entire prefecture had about two and a half million inhabitants, of which those of the islands of Bali and Lombok belonged to the Malayan breed, and those of the other islands formed a transition between Malays and Papuan. Farthest advanced in civilization and culture were the islands of Bali and Lombok, especially Bali, where in many places a longing for education arose.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 7, 15, 27; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 1 (101); A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 255.

<sup>92</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 7, 15, 26; A. VERSTRAELEN, *De eerste Berichten van onze Missionarissen in Nederlandsch-Oost-Indië*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 39/2 (1913), 38.

<sup>93</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 27.

<sup>94</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen: Beantwoording der Vragen voor de Instructio S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, ff. 4-5 (257-258). These answers were attached to a letter of Noyen to Nicolaus Blum, the Superior General of the SVD: cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 30.7.1919, that was sent later to the Propaganda Fide after translating it into Latin.

During the colonization era Timor was divided into two by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese occupied the eastern part of Timor, Oecussi and the enclave Noemuti from the western region. The Dutch occupied the western part of Timor. So, there were Portuguese-Timor and Dutch-Timor. The western part of the so-called Dutch-Timor was divided into four parts: West, South, Middle, and Eastern Timor. The eastern part of Dutch-Timor was also called Belu. When the SVD received the Timor mission from the Jesuits, this religious congregation did not have freedom to spread the faith to all over Dutch-Timor, but only in «Eastern Timor», which was also called Belu, a very small district. The much larger part of Dutch-Timor was under the Protestants' control. The number of Catholics in Dutch-Timor in 1912 was about 2,500. There were two mission stations: Atapupu in the east and considered unhealthy and Lahurus up in the mountains located in a healthier place. Each of them had a simple church and a pastorate.<sup>95</sup>

On 1 November 1916, the Dutch government achieved an agreement and signed a contract with the Portuguese Government, whereby the enclave Noemuti was exchanged for a Dutch territory with the name Maukatar.<sup>96</sup> Since that time, Noemuti became Dutch territory, and in exchange, Maukatar became Portuguese territory. The Christians of Noemuti were formerly visited by Portuguese Catholic priests from Oecussi. Since Oecussi revolted against the Portuguese Government, no pastor came there, and the Christians in Noemuti were abandoned. For many practical reasons, Prefect Petrus Noyen presented a request to the Propaganda Fide to unite Noemuti and Oecussi to the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Because of the great political changes brought about by the revolt mentioned above, Noyen wanted to omit Oecussi. Propaganda Fide deferred that issue to the bishop of Macao. As the Bishop of Macao had died, the Vicar Capitular sent his consent to Noyen to unite the territory of Noemuti to his prefecture.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> According to Noyen, the mission station Atapupu was located in an indentation on the coast and was a very unhealthy place. None of the Fathers who had been there had been able to endure it. Some Jesuit Fathers advised him to move the station right from the beginning to another higher place, so as to protect the missionaries' lives. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 3-4, 11 (73-74, 81); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 2 (102); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 22.2.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 1 (181); P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, 40.

<sup>96</sup> H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang* [History of Catholic Church in the Diocese of Atambua and the Diocese of Kupang], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1305.

<sup>97</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen: Beantwoording der Vragen voor de Instructio S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, ff. 3-4 (256-257); ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 30.3.1915, c. 683; Gotti to Noyen, Roma, 15.5.1915, c. 684; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 1 (181); Noyen to van Rossum, Ende, 21.8.1918, f. 1.

Before Noemuti was officially included under the Dutch occupation, in 1915 Noyen had asked the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg (1909-1916)<sup>98</sup>, not only to transfer Noemuti to his sphere of influence, but also the whole of North Middle Timor. In North Middle Timor at that time, there were 3 autonomous municipalities that governed their respective territories under their respective local leaders. The three municipalities were Biboki, Insana and Miomafo. Biboki and Insana for a long period of time, kept their Catholic faith alive by worshipping statues and crosses received by their Portuguese ancestors<sup>99</sup>, while Miomafo was a territory of the Protestants. The Portuguese enclave Noemuti was located near the Miomafo municipality. So, it was understandable that Noyen wanted to have not only Noemuti but also the whole North Middle Timor. Even though the Resident of Kupang at that time, E.G.Th. Majjer, disapproved of his request, on 3 February 1916 the Governor General J. van Limburg Stirum agreed to surrender Miomafo to be a territory of the Catholic mission under Noyen<sup>100</sup>. According to Noyen, this decision was of great importance for the progress of Catholicism in Timor, supported by the fact that the favourable school arrangement of Flores, by decision of the same Governor General, was applied also to Timor<sup>101</sup>.

In their first meeting on the so-called «*Witte Stoomboot*» in Atapupu, 14 November 1913, the new Resident of Kupang, Mr. Majjer, successor of the

<sup>98</sup> E. SERVAAS DE KLERCK, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, vol. 2, Amsterdam, B.M. Israël NV, 1975, 616. All the names of the Governor Generals of the Dutch East Indies and the Minister of Colonies cited in this work are taken from this book on pages 616-617.

<sup>99</sup> A.D. MEAK PARERA – G. NEONBASU (ed.), *Sejarah Pemerintahan Raja-raja Timor: Suatu Kajian atas Peta Politik Pemerintahan Kerajaan-kerajaan di Timor sebelum Kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia* [History of the Governance of Local Chiefs of Timor before the Indonesian Independence], Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1994, 46, 216-217, 225. The writers of this book mentioned that for a long period the Portuguese also occupied Mena, one of the areas of Biboki. So, it could be that from the coast the Portuguese also brought the Catholic faith inland to Biboki and Insana, or it could be also that some people migrated from the Portuguese area to Biboki and Insana.

<sup>100</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History 1903-1942*, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) Press, 2007, 169.

<sup>101</sup> The negative reaction of the resident was caused by the fact that he was disappointed with Steyl because after two years since taking over the mission such a small number of missionaries were sent to Timor and Flores. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 22.2.1915, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 50, 100; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/4 (1915), 99; Id., *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/5 (1915), 153-154; E. SERVAAS DE KLERCK, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, 617; A.G. HADZARMAWID NETTI – H. ITTA (ed.), *Gerakan Cinta Hari Esok. Kabupaten Timor Tengah Utara Memasuki Abad ke-21* [The Love for the Future Movement. Timor Tengah Utara Regency Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century], Jakarta, Hanfed Institute, 2015, 2-4.

former resident, Colonel Cornelis Hendrik van Rietschoten (1911-1913), reminded Noyen that they needed to prepare themselves to expand the Catholic mission area into the so-called North Middle Timor. This meeting took place when Noyen and Verstraelen were on their way to make a territory exploration on their mission area in Timor. During this exploration, Noyen and friends did not pass through the Miomafo area because it was considered as a Protestant territory, even though, he passed through Maubesi, Biboki and Insana. These were the areas of North Middle Timor. So, one could say that, right from the beginning, the SVDs considered not only Belu as their territory but also two thirds of the area of North Middle Timor, where the Protestants occupied hardly one third of the whole area of this district (= only Miomafo area). Miomafo was ceded to the SVDs before the definitive unification of Noemuti to the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>102</sup>

The other island, Sumba by name, is not as big as Timor. In 1897 Fr. Schweiss, SJ was there for a short time, and he found great hospitality among the chiefs in the establishment of schools. Already a few hundred were baptized, when the Father, to his great regret, was summoned to another post, where the need was even more urgent and the help even more necessary. So this hopeful mission with its 500 Catholics had been orphaned for 15 years when it was offered to the SVD. Being aware of this new situation and some difficulties that could arise from Sumba, Msgr. Luypen complained to the government to ask the Protestants to step back from setting up a school in Laora, West Sumba, where two Catholic pastors had been there before.<sup>103</sup>

At the beginning, Flores that had about 28,000 Catholics, was not included in the mission territory of the SVD. After a long process of negotiation between the Jesuits and the SVD, on 20 July 1914 Propaganda Fide separated Flores from the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia and attached it to the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 50; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 97-98; ID., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 150; ID., *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/6 (1915), 164; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 91.

<sup>103</sup> P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, 40-41; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 6; J. DAMIANUS MUKESI – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 4-5; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, vol. 2, 804-805.

<sup>104</sup> A. MÖHLMANN, *Tenaga Imam Nusa Tenggara* [Priests personnel of Nusa Tenggara], in: «Pastoralia» 2 (1969), 14; ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Decretum. Augetur Territorium Praefecturae Insularum Sundae Minorum, Roma, 20.7.1914, c. 681; AAS 6 (1914) 379-380; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen: Beantwoording der Vragen voor de Instructio S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, f. 5 (258).

### 1.5.2. Territorial Exploration of the Timor Mission

On 1 October 1913, Noyen wrote to Blum that he would like to make a territory exploration in November. The first plan covered only the Belu area, where Tetum is spoken. Later, the plan also included the Dawan area. The aims of this territory exploration were to know better the land and the population, especially those who live in the Dawan region and southern Belu; to seek for a suitable place for a main station and some places for mission stations; and to see which place would be the best, for undertaking later a larger plantation, so as to be able to materially support the mission. In early November the mission was entrusted to Father Baack, and the school to Father Franz de Lange and Father Johannes Kreiten. A trip was planned for 10 November 1913, directed first to Atambua. The plan then changed after Noyen learned that the government officer Mr. Maijer would be there in those days. His arrival at Atapupu would take place on 13 or 14 November. So, they decided to start the journey from Lahurus on 12 November toward Atapupu.<sup>105</sup>

This exploration lasted almost 3 weeks, started from 12 November to 3 December 1913. He set out from Lahurus on 12 November 1913 accompanied by Father Verstraelen and 6 other persons with 7 horses.<sup>106</sup> Markus Mare, a carpenter, who had mastered at least 3 languages from this place, was asked to be a translator, guide and also a catechist. Beru was the «chef» for the group, Yosef Asten, a student from Lahurus, and 3 other persons were responsible for the horses and luggage. After this long journey Noyen came to learn the following:

First, the remnants of Catholicity and fugitive-Catholics. On his way, Noyen found remnants of Catholicity in the North Middle Timor area, precisely in Maubesi and Oelolok or the Dawan area from a cultural perspective. This area belonged to the municipality of Insana. The ancestors of the great king of Insana that migrated from the Portuguese-Timor territory used to be Catholics. Being deprived of missionaries and European Christians for a long period, gradually they had forgotten the truths of the faith; only a few points remained alive in their tradition. Yet they still worshiped – but unfortunately

<sup>105</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, f. 4; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 41-42.

<sup>106</sup> They took the following route: Lahurus – Ailomea – Mota Moruk – Baukama – Sadi – Wiehor – Atapupu – Atambua – Naitimu – Oiroki – Sufa – Maubesi – Bitauini – Oelolok – Oekmoruk – Hakniu – Besikama – Tubaki – Sukabi Hanawa – Alas Weolain – Fatu Malaka – Dafala – Lahurus. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 42, 51; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, ff. 2-4; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor: Door den HoogEerw. Pater P. Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 39/10 (1914), 217-218; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 164-165; J. DAMIANUS MUKESI – E. JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka*, vol. 1, 9-10.

in idolatrical ways – a crucifix of Our Lord and a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in a cave called Bitauuni.<sup>107</sup>

What remained was the Easter Celebration. People celebrated Easter in their own way. The preparation for this celebration began after the harvest, which usually occurred in March or April. The cave would then be decorated with banana leaves on Wednesday of Holy Week; around the crucifix and the statue of Virgin Mary they braid a wreath of flowers and place a large number of wax candles around them. On White Thursday, the local chief or the so-called *raja* came with his heads, all in their best clothes, to pray in the cave. People flocked together from all sides to the same goal. On Friday and Saturday everyone stripped their headkerchiefs as a sign of mourning and in remembrance of the «death of God». Easter, however, was a joyful celebration for everyone. For the celebration they slaughtered buffaloes and pigs, a portion of which was sacrificed to the crucifix.<sup>108</sup>

Bitauuni with its celebration was well-known not only by the people from Insana. Those from far-away Atapupu also knew Bitauuni. Sometimes they sent a delegate to inquire about the exact date of Bitauuni's Easter celebration. Catholics from Noemuti also had contact with them. As proof of this contact, in the cave there was also a bottle half filled with water – which they called «holy water» – and a candlestick. They were brought there by a Catholic *raja's* family from the Portuguese descendants in Noemuti.<sup>109</sup>

On his way, Noyen also met some fugitive-Catholics from the Portuguese territory. Generally, these fugitives were Catholics. They were also well-known as hard working people and as such showed good examples as Christians. Some of these fugitives became a blessing to convert local people to the true faith. This visit strengthened Noyen's hope that the SVDs could start their

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<sup>107</sup> They put the crucifix and the statue on two «altars», made from raw wood and mats. The ignorant people worshipped the crucifix as God. They invoked Virgin Mary as a divine woman. Many people from traditional religions also came there to offer sacrifices in special needs and asked for help. They offered, in the same way as they did to their idols, all kinds of objects and foodstuffs such as rice, fruits and meat. Cf. P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 98-99; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 154; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuis te Uden en de Floresmissie*, 225; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 3; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 64; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen: Erster Apost. Präfekt der Steyler Mission auf den Kleinen Sundainseln (Holländisch-Indien). Charakterbild eines Missionars*, Steyl, Missionsdruckerei, 1932, 122.

<sup>108</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 154; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 64; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 123.

<sup>109</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 154.

activity with great success on the base of those remnant Catholics and the fugitive-Catholics.<sup>110</sup>

Secondly, searching for suitable places for the main station and mission stations. The first place that caught Noyen's attention was Atambua. He learned that Atambua was indeed the main square of the whole area. It was the centre of civil administration where a *controleur* would reside, accompanied by a captain and soldiers, a doctor, and also the centre for commerce. In addition, Atambua was located near three large villages. Atapupu was not as well-known as Atambua, which was located 200 meters above the sea level, cooler and healthier. In his letter to Blum on 4 December 1913, Noyen told him that he will set up a mission station in Atambua. He also considered Oiroki as a suitable place for the main station of the mission in Timor, as one can reach this place from all sides with a good horse in one day.<sup>111</sup>

In Maubesi, Insana, Noyen found another place to put a mission station. After making a journey on horseback through the whole environment accompanied by *raja* the choice turned out to be more than clear. Fertile farmland and the mountain stream also came into his consideration. The terrain was very special to him in every respect and he made a decision on the spot that, according to God's will, this place would be where the new station would be erected. More than that, in accordance with the people's request, Noyen wanted to end the idolatrous way of worshipping the crucifix and statue of the Virgin Mary.<sup>112</sup>

The next place to be considered by Noyen as a mission station was Tubaki. According to the military officer in Besikama, Mr. Cherie, the southern part of Timor with its dense population could become a beautiful mission area. The villages were composed of more than a hundred houses everywhere, something extraordinary for Timor at that time. For this purpose, he had sought out a

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<sup>110</sup> Half of the island of Timor was occupied by the Portuguese. Many times, because of financial difficulties the Portuguese Republic failed to pay the salaries of employees and soldiers. So they were forced by the situation to make a living by their own means in the area. Because of this, many people were arrested in a harsh way to be employed as servants for certain people. Many of them had to flee and moved to the quieter Dutch Indies region. Various types of large villages along the border had been formed in this way, such as Sadi, Wichor, Tenu, Kamanasa, Sukabi Hanawa and Wini. Cf. P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 39/10, 219-220; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 100; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 154; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 165-166; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915, f. 2; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 53, 67; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 121.

<sup>111</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 3; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 100; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 3; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 54.

<sup>112</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 164-165; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 4; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 123.

favourable territory for the SVDs called Tubaki, a fertile land near a great spring with excellent drinking water, and situated at the foot of the mountains in the midst of large villages. This flat terrain was seen also as more than enough to have the opportunity to begin a plantation. A missionary could work to his heart's content here.<sup>113</sup>

Thirdly, experiencing the local people's hospitality and generosity. When they arrived in Naitimu on 17 November 1913, the bivouac was less well arranged, but the kindness and generosity of the *raja*, Don Basinti, in receiving them soon made them forget all this untidiness. He also gave them a little rooster and a number of eggs as a gift, which amply compensated them for the lack of bread. The heads from that area also came to greet them.<sup>114</sup>

From Naitimu, they continued the journey to Sufa, the residence of the *raja* Cornel of Biboki. When they arrived (19 November 1913), before they entered into the bivouac, the Chinese and the *raja* came to welcome them. They brought all sorts of gifts such as chickens, eggs, rice, coconuts and the delicious-refreshing pineapple. Sufa had numerous fruits of this kind. They also experienced the hospitality of the residents of Maubesi when they arrived on 21 November 1913. They were very accommodating. The head was not at home. Nevertheless, they offered all kinds of gifts such as eggs, chickens, coconuts, etc., all things that Noyen and his team could use for their needs.<sup>115</sup>

In Oelolok (22 November 1913) the *raja* of Insana, had already been informed of Noyen's arrival, and he called the heads and many people to gather together. All greeted Noyen and his team kindly. He even declared himself willing to have a house and school built for the priests. He invited Noyen and his group to come and honour him with a visit to his house and enjoy a meal together. Noyen finally realized that in Timor the *nai lulik* (= the priest) would be received everywhere well and with respect.<sup>116</sup>

Fourthly, letting himself be inculturated and get acquainted to the local religiosity aspect of the area. Noyen had a sense of «cultural literacy». Before they left from Lahurus, he had prepared large amounts of tobacco which would be distributed to indigenous people. He also knew that they liked betel nuts very much, including women and girls. He noticed most of them were always seen with betel nuts and tobacco behind their lips. In Naitimu, Noyen offered

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<sup>113</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 166; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 4.

<sup>114</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 101.

<sup>115</sup> *Id.*, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 150, 153; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 62.

<sup>116</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 164, 167; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 123-124.

to the heads of the village a large plum of tobacco, which convinced them fully of the goodness and affection of the pastors. When Noyen talked to them of the purpose of their coming and of the great usefulness of Christianity, they all gave an impression of special benevolence. In Maubesi, Noyen admired how people produced wine from palm trees. He was offered to drink sweet palm wine put in a waterproof basket made from palm tree leaf. He enjoyed it and saw this experience as something very excellent. It was his first-time drinking palm wine. In Sufa, he enjoyed the native dance presented to him as an honour to his visit.<sup>117</sup>

Noyen also was letting himself be introduced to the «paganism» of the place. He agreed to be brought to the mountains in order to visit an old man, the so-called «holy one» from Biboki. This man was a worshipper of the spirits. His sacrificial stone stood right outside the door of his house. Eventhough Noyen did not understand what they meant, he went together with them. In Fatu Malaka, he had an occasion to see the local people's idolatry worship of the souls of deceased relatives. In the cemetery buffalo and pig bones hung from the various tombs on a stick, after being sacrificed to the so-called *mate bian* (= the souls of the deceased). Many accidents, deaths and illnesses were taken into account. The motive behind the offering was to calm the spirits so as not to disturb human life. The residents of Fatu Malaka used to live on top of Mount Fatubissi, near the border with the Portuguese area. They were chased away by the Portuguese and their village was destroyed. Since that time, they moved to Fatu Malaka and re-established their «sanctuary» with three idols carved from wood. People usually come to this «sanctuary» to sacrifice.<sup>118</sup>

Fifthly, the food and drink of the natives. Timorese like to eat corn, rice and *sago*. When travelling people bring along a number of bunches of rice. When they were hungry in the middle of the trip, they would go to the shade of a tree and made a fire to cook the rice. Generally, rice with salt and strong pepper was the whole meal for them. In November, when they have to wait for a few months for the new harvest, *sago* becomes the common food. *Sago* trees, however, grow everywhere and were so plentiful that famine could not so easily hit the whole population. The more educated also kept a lot of rice for their needs. In Maubesi and some other places people knew how to make wine from palm trees. Regarding drinking water, in some places people still drank turbid water (Oekmoruk), brackish water and delicious ground water (Besikama). People in Atapupu had a water pipe for drinking water. This

<sup>117</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 43; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 39/10, 218; ID., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/4, 101; ID., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 152-154.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*; ID., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 167-168; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 62.

was due to the great gentleman, a military officer Le Cocq d'Armandville. In Besikama there were plenty of mangoes. In the whole of Timor people could still have delicious oranges from February until August. Noyen seemed to intend to introduce many delicious tropical fruits of Java to the Timorese.<sup>119</sup>

Near Besikama, when they passed through Hakneu, Noyen had the impression of the laziness and stupidity of the local people. The land prepared for planting was too small. Therefore, it was not surprising that yields could not always be sufficient for the whole year. Their laziness made them work only to fulfil basic needs or what was absolutely necessary. It often happened that, notwithstanding that there was a great beautiful cropland, they must at last be satisfied with a species of *sago* growing in the wild. They were people who lived only for the day; they did not worry about the future.<sup>120</sup>

Sixthly, the first impression regarding the people's character. The people in Wiehor were rather shy. Noyen wanted to talk to them but it turned out that it was not as easy as he imagined. In Sufa, when Noyen saw how people treated the old man that they called «the holy one» from Biboki, he was delighted to see these good traits despite the more uncivilized nature of the people. All the people had great reverence for that old man. They even had a «holy fear» of him, because they saw him as a person who was favoured by the spirits and therefore did not dare to insult him. All his subjects were real sons of the wilderness in the most distant mountains of Timor. And yet, they were good-natured people.<sup>121</sup>

After reading Noyen's travelogue, Blum replied that he was pleased with it. Blum also had the impression that Noyen loved the mission area indeed.<sup>122</sup>

### 1.5.3. Territorial Exploration of the Flores Mission

It is interesting to notice that before Flores was ceded to the SVDs by a definitive decision from the Propaganda Fide, Noyen had done his territory exploration over this island as well. This exploration happened when he returned from his first trip to Java in 1914. Why was Noyen so courageous as to do such a thing? It was said that several Jesuits in Flores were a little surprised with Noyen's unexpected visit. Actually, he did the exploration after his meeting with Msgr. Luypen during his first trip to Batavia (4 to 21 April 1914). In their meeting Msgr. Luypen advised him to visit Flores to know

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<sup>119</sup> Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 39/10, 218; Id., *Dwars door Timor: Door den HoogEerw. Pater P. Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 39/11 (1914), 246-247; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 153; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 165-166.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 39/11, 246; Id., *Dwars door Timor*, 40/5, 152.

<sup>122</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, ff. 1.4 (149.152).

more about this island without waiting for an official trip. This can serve as the context to understand Noyen's first visit to Flores. On his return from Java, he stopped at Ende in Flores, and from there he went on horseback towards the east and arrived in Konga on 16 May 1914.<sup>123</sup>

From Konga, Noyen continued the journey to Larantuka with a motor boat on the same day, to attend a school conference. It was interesting to notice that even though Flores was not included yet in the prefecture by Propaganda Fide, the government – the Nederland and Dutch East Indies alike – had officially recognized Noyen as the prefect also for this island. That was why he was officially invited to attend this conference. After the conference he left Larantuka for Atapupu.<sup>124</sup>

After this visit, Noyen wrote a long letter on 5 June 1914 to his Superior General Nicolaus Blum. In that letter he discussed important things such as: the take over of Flores, the main mission station, arrangement of schools, the threat of Islam in Flores, the introduction of Malay in schools, Brothers who dealt with schools. In Java they agreed upon the take over of Flores by the SVDs. According to his discussion with Msgr. Luypen (Batavia) and the Jesuit Superior Father Engbers (Surabaya) the take over of Flores would be done gradually, beginning from Larantuka. After visiting Flores, Noyen saw the great danger of Islam. So, he told Blum that there will be a change regarding the take over of Flores. According to him, the more urgent area to be occupied as soon as possible was Western Flores, starting from Ende. He planned to send missionaries first, not to Larantuka, but to these places in order to avoid the danger that people from traditional religions fell to Islam. There were still missionaries in Middle Flores and Larantuka to administer the area.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> This was not an official trip, so it was paid for by Noyen himself, not by the government. Noyen left Atapupu on 20 March and returned only in 3 or 4 June 1914. His first official trip paid by the Dutch Government was done around September 1914. On 21 April 1914, he left Surabaya and arrived in Ende 27 April. The trip followed this route: Ende (27 April - 4 May 1914), Wolojita (6 May), Loenga (=Wonda?) [7 May], Middle Flores (Paga, Lela, Sikka, Nita, Koting, Maumere, Ili, Nebe) [8-15 May], Eastern Flores (Riang Wulu, Lewolaga, Nobo, Konga) [16 May 1914]. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 92; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.6.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Bangli, 25.9.1914, f. 1.

<sup>124</sup> The school conference was held between 17-18 June 1914. Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 80-81, 83-84, 87-89, 91, 94, 97, 98, 100, 102-103, 107-110; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 18.6.1914, ff. 1-2.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 4-5; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 91.

## 2. The Establishment of the SVD Region and the Prefecture Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands

### 2.1. The Lesser Sundas Mission as an SVD Region

#### 2.1.1. During the Period of Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD

When it was already set that Fr. Petrus Noyen would depart for the Dutch East Indies, Nicolaus Blum, the Superior General SVD at that time, appointed him as the SVD mission superior for that mission. The letter of appointment was issued in Steyl on 7 December 1912 with a statement that the mandate was valid for three years.<sup>126</sup>

On 25 December 1913, after receiving the consent of the Holy See, Nicolaus Blum issued a decree regarding the establishment of the first five SVD provinces ever in the Society since the SVD was established as a religious congregation. In the same decree Blum also upgraded the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands to a region, along with six other SVD regions at that time.<sup>127</sup>

After Petrus Noyen was appointed by the Holy See to be the Prefect Apostolic, he continued to hold the position as the SVD mission superior. That means at that time he held two offices at the same time, namely as a church official, that is the prefect apostolic, and as a superior of the society. There was not even a single mention regarding the extension of his term of office as mission superior. The situation of World War I (1914-1918) that made communication very difficult as well as the death of Fr. Nicolaus Blum in his tenure as Superior General at that time (29 October 1919) could be

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<sup>126</sup> Petrus Noyen, who was 42 years old, was born in Helmond (Province of Brabant), the Netherlands, 3 September 1870. After being ordained a priest 7 December 1893, he served for 15 years in south Shantung, China. In 1904 he was appointed by his bishop Msgr. Augustin Henninghaus as the dean (= *vicarius foraneus*) of Ichowfu. After the SVD General Chapter 1909 where he was one of the participants, he was asked by the Generalate to start the first SVD mission house in the Netherlands, St. Willibrord in Uden, where he was its first rector. From Uden, he left for the Dutch East Indies. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1923, Letter of nomination of Petrus Noyen as the Superior of the SVD Mission in the Dutch East Indies, Steyl, 7.12.1912, f. 1 (1434); *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 27 (1913), 152; A. MÖHLMANN – W. NDOUK, *Kronik Sejarah 75 Tahun SVD Berkarya di Indonesia (1913-1988)* [Chronicle of the History of 75 Years of SVD Working in Indonesia (1913-1988)], in: H. DJAWA – M. BEDING – Y. DAMIANUS MUKESE (ed.), *Dalam Terang Pelayanan Sabda. Kenangan Tujuh Puluh Lima Tahun Karya SVD di Indonesia* [In the Light of Serving the Word. 75 Years of the SVD Presence in Indonesia], Ende, Komisi Komunikasi Provinsi SVD Ende, 1990, 46; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 19.

<sup>127</sup> The provinces were West German Province, East German Province, North American Province, Argentine Province and Brazilian Province. The regions were south Shantung, Togo, Japan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and Mozambique. Cf. *Errichtung von fünf Provinzen in der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 31 (1914), 207.

considered as the reasons why Noyen's position as mission superior had never been transferred to others. The appointment of Petrus Noyen to be a regional of the Lesser Sunda Islands on 3 May 1920 could be seen as a support, even a confirmation, from the Generalate to him as a superior of the Society. During the fifth SVD General Chapter in Steyl, he was present as a regional superior.<sup>128</sup>

### 2.1.2. After Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD

After the death of Petrus Noyen, 24 February 1921, and after the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands was upgraded to an apostolic vicariate, the dualism in office was ended with the appointment of Fr. Bernhard Glanemann as the new regional on 19 March 1922. He held the office as a superior of the society in the SVD region of the Lesser Sunda Islands, while the vicar apostolic's office was held by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen. The relation and cooperation between a regional and an apostolic vicar were arranged for in a document that was discussed in the fifth SVD General Chapter. The document is the «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*», in which is described the interaction between an apostolic vicar and the regional, the missionaries and the property ownership status between the two realms of office.<sup>129</sup>

On 2 June 1922, for the first time the Lesser Sunda Region was organized into six SVD districts with their respective district superiors called by name «rectors». On 28 July 1925 the SVD district of Ende was created in place of the SVD district of Ndonga with Fr. Eduard Hundler as its rector. On 7 July 1938 two other districts were created: Sumba-Sumbawa with Fr. Heinrich Limbrock as its first rector and Bali where Fr. Simon Buis was its first rector. So, by 1938, the region of the Lesser Sunda Islands had 8 SVD districts. The regional successors were Fr. Carl Stenzel (1925-1932) and Fr. Johannes Bouma (1932-1947). The region of the Lesser Sunda Islands experienced its

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<sup>128</sup> At the same time, Fr. Franz de Lange was appointed as his assistant regional and Fr. Berthold Fries as the admonitor regional. Cf. K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 29; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 61 (1920), 404; J. BETTRAY, *Die Steyler Indonesien-Mission im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Vergangenheit - Ein Datenbild*, in: «Steyler Missions-Chronik» (1971), 42.

<sup>129</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 33, 37; A. MÖHLMANN – W. NDOUK, *Kronik Sejarah 75 Tahun SVD Berkarya di Indonesia*, 50; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Appointment of Fr. Bernhard Glanemann as the regional of the Lesser Sunda Islands, Steyl, 19.3.1922, f. 1; AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922 (18 pages). The letter of appointment of Fr. B. Glanemann as a regional was signed by the Assistant General Fr. Johannes Bodems and Fr. Theodor Kost as Admonitor at their session on 19 March 1922 in Steyl. This meeting was not attended by the Superior General Wilhem Gier (1920-1932) because he was conducting a visitation in the Lesser Sunda Islands from 20 February - 12 April 1922.

first territorial division on 4 November 1947 when Timor was upgraded to a separate region. Since then, the region of the Lesser Sunda Islands has borne another name, that is Flores Region.<sup>130</sup>

## 2.2. The Prefecture Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands

### 2.2.1. Luypen's Call for the Consent of the Roman Curia

While the negotiations over the division of territory were progressing between the Jesuits and the SVD, Msgr. Luypen took an important step by writing to Propaganda Fide on 22 June 1911. This letter was sent via the apostolic internuncio to the Low Countries, Msgr. Giovanni Tacci. Luypen fulfilled what he had previously promised to Blum in his letter of 12 April 1911. This was an important step, since it marked the involvement of the Roman Curia in the process of negotiation. Referring to his visit to Steyl and to the letter of Blum of 11 May 1911, Luypen stated clearly that it would be a great pleasure if any part of his vicariate would be given to the SVD congregation. Father Nicolaus Blum, the Superior General of the SVD, preferred to take over the Lesser Sunda Islands. The willingness to take over this region was accepted by Luypen under the condition of excluding Flores. At the end of his letter Luypen wrote: «Therefore I ask ardently the consent of Your Eminence to do further division of our Vicariate of Batavia and establish the new Apostolic Prefecture of “the Lesser Sunda Islands”, which will be entrusted to the Reverend Fathers of the Divine Word mentioned above».<sup>131</sup>

Tacci enclosed this letter when he wrote to Cardinal Gotti reporting the acceptance of the decree on the apostolic prefecture of Sumatra. Citing Luypen's petition, Tacci pointed out that Luypen had asked for a further division of his vicariate in order to establish another new apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. This new prefecture would be entrusted to the

<sup>130</sup> The rectors were Johannes van Cleef (Larantuka), Frans Mertens (Maumere), Carl Stenzel (Ndona), Josef Ettel (Bajawa), Frans Dorn (Ruteng-Manggarai) and Henricus Leven (Timor). Cf. K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 37, 40, 47, 48, 52; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 68 (1923), 452; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 73 (1925), 495; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 78 (1929), 568; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 82 (1933), 630; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/2 (1935), 237; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/5 (1938), 529; *Regio Insularum Sunda Minorum in duas Regiones, Floresinam et Timorensem, dividitur*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 4/4 (1947), 337; A. PAIN RATU, *Jejak Langkah SVD di Timor* [SVD Steps in Timor], in: E. DOSI (ed.), *Seratus Tahun Societas Verbi Divini: Yang diingat, dialami dan diamati*, [Hundred Years of the SVD Presence in Indonesia: What was memorised, experienced and observed], Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2013, 16.

<sup>131</sup> «Supplex itaque rogo Eminentiam Vestram, ut ulteriore facta Vicariatus nostri Bataviae dismembratione, nova erigatur Praefectura Apa. “Insul. Soendae Minorum”, eaque assignetur RR. Patribus Verbi Divini supra memoratis.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 22.6.1911, cc. 646-647.

Divine Word Missionaries from Steyl in Limburg, Holland. Tacci did not forget to point out the sincere will of the bishop's petition while hoping that Propaganda would approve it favourably.<sup>132</sup>

### 2.2.2. Awaiting an Opportune Time

Gotti's response came on 18 November 1911. The response can be summarized in three main points. First, Gotti recalled the last divisions (Sumatra and Borneo) suffered by the vicariate of Batavia. Looking back on these, Propaganda considered another division as a hasty action. Therefore Gotti did not immediately give his consent to proceed with this petition. Secondly, he asked Msgr. Luypen to collaborate with the SVD. Since the SVDs were disposed to take over the mission, the Propaganda would be grateful if Luypen could entrust the Lesser Sunda Islands to them immediately. The projected prefecture would be erected when the time would be opportune. Thirdly, Gotti requested Tacci to pass on Propaganda's desire and dispositions to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia.<sup>133</sup>

After receiving Luypen's response Tacci wrote to Gotti. He told Gotti that Luypen – in agreement with the Jesuits' superior in the Dutch East Indies – submitted his will to the disposition of Propaganda Fide and that he would try to inform Superior General Blum in Steyl about the affair as soon as possible.<sup>134</sup>

Meanwhile, the Apostolic Internunzio to the Low Countries told the Dutch government – that is, the Colonial Minister – that the negotiations to upgrade the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands to an apostolic prefecture were in process. He also informed Msgr. Luypen about his communication with the colonial minister and stated that the decree would arrive soon.<sup>135</sup>

### 2.2.3. A Turning Point

After receiving Gotti's letter dated 18 November 1911, it was clear to Tacci that it was not yet opportune to proceed quickly to another division of the apostolic vicariate of Batavia.<sup>136</sup> He seemed to agree with Propaganda's stand. However, the situation changed only two weeks later. After being alerted to the political situation in Holland at that time, Tacci wrote to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val. The letter, marked as urgent, informed Merry del Val about the necessity of establishing a new apostolic prefecture

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Gotti, L'Aia, 7.8.1911, c. 648.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, Gotti to Tacci, Roma, 18.11.1911, cc. 650-651.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Gotti, L'Aia, 13.3.1912, cc. 655-656.

<sup>135</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 532, Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 31.8.1913, cc. 484-485.

<sup>136</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Tacci to Gotti, L'Aia, 13.3.1912, cc. 655-656.

before it was too late. The mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands needed to be upgraded into an apostolic prefecture as soon as possible. According to Tacci, there was no serious objection from Propaganda Fide about the creation, as a letter of 18 November 1911 demonstrated. Tacci then asked del Val to insist that Propaganda Fide proceed quickly to the establishment – even using an antedate if it was necessary.<sup>137</sup> It seems most likely that the antedate was meant to assure the government that the establishment of the apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands took place earlier than the announcement of the new cabinet in the Dutch government.

What was the exact cause of this urgency? Tacci explained it by mentioning what was going on behind the scene. He noticed that the new cabinet of the Dutch government would be announced in the next few days. According to Tacci, the next Colonial Minister would not be sympathetic towards Catholics in the Dutch East Indies. So it was urgent and necessary to make use of the moment, since the present Colonial Minister who had been told about the future apostolic prefecture (the Lesser Sunda Islands) was still in office.<sup>138</sup>

#### **2.2.4. Impact**

Four days later, on 11 September 1913, Cardinal Merry del Val wrote to Cardinal Gotti, the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, passing on the urgent letter of Tacci. Without a long explanation, Merry del Val told Gotti about the urgency of upgrading the Lesser Sundas mission to an apostolic prefecture. The Divine Word Missionaries (the SVD) would be assigned to take care of this new prefecture.<sup>139</sup>

While waiting for Propaganda Fide to take up this affair, on 17 September Merry del Val dropped Gotti a note concerning his audience with Pope Pius X (1903-1914) on the previous day. Del Val wrote that in the audience the Holy Father had granted the request to upgrade the Lesser Sundas mission to an apostolic prefecture. His Holiness then commanded that a decree should be issued by Propaganda Fide in order to fulfil this objective.<sup>140</sup>

#### **2.2.5. The Date of the Decree**

The Propaganda Fide, following the letter and the note from the Cardinal Secretary of State, issued a decree dated 16 September 1913. This date was the very day when the Pope granted the establishment.

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Merry del Val, Bruxelles, 7.9.1913, cc. 657-658.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Merry del Val, Bruxelles, 7.9.1913, cc. 657-658.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 11.9.1913, c. 659.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 17.9.1913, c. 660.

On 25 September (1913) Gotti sent the original text of the decree to Tacci and asked him to send two copies, one to Superior General of the SVD in Steyl and another to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia. In fact, Propaganda Fide did not put an antedate on the decree. It was given a proper date. In his letter to Tacci, Gotti wrote: «[...] As You see it was not opportune for us to put an antedate on the document, though, as I hope, we have prepared the text in a manner that can meet the exigency of the situation.»<sup>141</sup> In his response Tacci agreed with the date (16 September) given by Gotti. Tacci wrote: «[...] Regarding the date of the decree, I myself also believe that it will not bring us any inconvenience.»<sup>142</sup>

### 2.2.6. The Decree

Since Bishop Luypens' visit to Steyl on 6 September 1910, SVDs were looking at the possibility of taking over the Lesser Sunda Islands with the exception of Flores and the smaller islands at its eastern end (Adonara, Solor and Lembata). The negotiations over the Celebes (between the Jesuits and the SVD) were disregarded, and the apostolic prefecture was established with the boundaries agreed between Bishop Luypen and the SVD Generalate at Steyl. On 16 September 1913 Propaganda Fide created the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands (with the specific exclusion of Flores) by means of the following decree:

In order to promote a greater increase of the Christian faith in the Lesser Sunda Islands, which earlier belonged to the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia, the Sacred Congregation for the propagation of the Christian name some two years ago took care to entrust those islands to the members of the Society of the Divine Word of Steyl; they decided to establish in them a new Apostolic Prefecture. Since the new apostolic works have increased and been consolidated, this same Sacred Congregation, with the agreement of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, by means of the present decree declares the above-mentioned Prefecture in the Lesser Sunda Islands – with the sole exception of the island named Flores – as established. Given at Rome, from the seat of the

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<sup>141</sup> «[...] Come Ella osserverà non si è ritenuto opportuno di porre un'antidata al documento, ma si è redatto il testo in maniera da poter soddisfare, come spero, alle esigenze del caso.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Gotti to Tacci, Roma, 25.9.1913, c. 663.

<sup>142</sup> «[...] Quanto alla data del Decreto credo anch'io che nel modo con cui è redatto possa esso passare senza dar luogo ad inconvenienti.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Tacci to Gotti, Bruxelles, 27.9.1913, c. 668.

S. Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of September in the year 1913. Fr. H. M. Card. Gotti, Prefect; C. Laurenti, Secretary.<sup>143</sup>

On 20 September 1913 Gotti informed Blum about the decree of the establishment of the apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Gotti did not enclose a copy of the decree. He told Blum that the internuncio for the Low Countries, Msgr. Giovanni Tacci, would send the decree to him. The Secretary of State was informed by Gotti on 26 September (1913).<sup>144</sup>

Three days later the response came from Merry del Val which said that the Cardinal Secretary of State had received the copy of the decree and was pleased with the establishment to an apostolic prefecture for the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands<sup>145</sup>. On the same day (29 September 1913) Gotti passed on the information on the decree to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia. In his letter Gotti recalled that Luypen himself had asked for the establishment of the apostolic prefecture.<sup>146</sup> So Gotti expressed his gratitude to Luypen that his request was granted in this decree, and he asked the bishop for his approval.<sup>147</sup>

### 2.2.7. The Prefect Apostolic

Since the decree of the prefecture was in Tacci's hands, another question emerged: who was capable to fill the prefect's position? When Tacci wrote to Merry del Val on 7 September 1913, he also mentioned Fr. Petrus Noyen as the only candidate for that position. The second name mentioned was Fr. Arnoldus Vestrælen, but he was too young for the charge.<sup>148</sup> Before passing on the news to Batavia and Steyl about the new prefecture, Tacci wanted to know exactly who could be nominated as the prefect. Tacci wrote to Gotti on 27 September asking for a clarification of the matter.<sup>149</sup> Gotti responded that

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<sup>143</sup> «Ut in insulis Sundae Minoribus, quae ad Vicariatum Apostolicum Bataviensem iam pertinebant, nova promoverentur christianae fidei incrementa, haec S. Congregatio christiano Nomini Propagando easdem insulas, duobus fere abhinc annis, alumnis Societatis Verbi Divini de Steyl committendas curavit, novaeque Apostolicae Praefecturae in eisdem erigendae consilium inivit. Nunc autem, novis ibidem apostolicis operibus auctis atque solidatis, S. eadem Congregatio, accedente Summi Pontificis auctoritate, per praesens Decretum, praedictam Praefecturam, in insulis Sundae minoribus, ea tantum excepta cui nomen Flores, erectam declarat. Datum Romae, ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 16 septembris, anno 1913. Fr. H. M. Card. Gotti, Praefectus; C. Laurenti, Secretarius.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Decretum. Insularum Sundae Minorum Praefectura Apostolica Erigitur, Roma, 16.9.1913, c. 662; AAS 5 (1913) 433.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, Gotti to Blum, Roma, 20.9.1913, c. 666; Gotti to Merry del Val, Roma, 26.9.1913, c. 664.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 29.9.1913, c. 670.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 22.6.1911, cc. 646-647.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, Gotti to Luypen, Roma, 29.9.1913, c. 665.

<sup>148</sup> Fr. Arnoldus Vestrælen was only 31 years old. Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Tacci to Merry del Val, Bruxelles, 7.9.1913, cc. 657-658.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Gotti, Bruxelles, 27.9.1913, cc. 667-668.

he was still waiting for a response from the Superior General of the SVD, Fr. Nicolaus Blum, regarding the person suitable as a prefect. In fact, when Gotti passed on the information about the decree to Steyl, he asked the Superior General to present a list of candidates for prefect. He also mentioned Noyen's name and asked Blum's consent for his nomination as the first prefect apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>150</sup>

On 4 October 1913 Carl Friedrich, the procurator general of the SVD, passed on the response from Blum to Gotti. Friedrich wrote that Blum was very pleased with Noyen as the first prefect apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, Friedrich presented Fr. Noyen as follows:

Reverend Fr. Noyen was born in 1870. He was ordained a priest in 1893. After ordination he worked successfully as a missionary in southern Shandong [China]. He is also well-known as a well-behaved religious, devout, and sagacious. He is very prudent in his actions and decisions. All these qualities make him worthy to be promoted to the dignity of a prefect apostolic.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, on 8 October 1913, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD was appointed as the Prefect Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>153</sup> The news about the establishment of the new prefecture apostolic and its first prefect reached Timor on 26 November 1913. Noyen himself received the news via a telephone call when he was in Besikama on his long journey to observe the area of mission in Timor, especially Dawan and the southern Belu regions.<sup>154</sup>

#### 2.2.8. Ndona near Ende as the Mission Centre

Since the beginning Flores had always been of interest to Fr. Petrus Noyen, because it is located right in the center of the entire Lesser Sunda Islands. At least three times he wrote to Blum telling him about the importance of Ende for the whole Flores, even for the whole mission. For the entire island of Flores, Ende is located in the middle, even central to all islands of the Lesser Sunda archipelago. Ende's centrality was not only in terms of geography but also in terms of politics and economics. Politically, Ende was the center of government for all of Flores. In 1906, the resident J.F.A. de Rooy implemented

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, Gotti to Tacci, Roma, 3.10.1913, c. 669; Gotti to Blum, Roma, 20.9.1913, c. 666.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 4.10.1913, c. 672.

<sup>152</sup> «Rev. P. Noyen, anno 1870 natus, sacerdotio initiatus est 1893. Post acceptam ordinationem in Schantung meridionali sacro munere Missionarii magno cum successu est functus. Vir regularis disciplinae, pius, sagax est et in deliberationibus et agendi ratione ita prudentia excelluit, ut jure merito ad dignitatem Praefecti Apostolici promoveri possit.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 4.10.1913, c. 672.

<sup>153</sup> AAS 5 (1913) 518.

<sup>154</sup> P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor*, 40/6, 166; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Het Missiehuis te Uden en de Floresmissie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 61/11 (1936), 225-226.

the more active colonial policy towards the native rulers instead of the former one of non-intervention. In that framework, the small town of Ende was chosen as the base for the permanent colonial presence when the first assistant resident of Flores, A.J.L. Couvereur (1906-1909), was appointed to the task. The head of the government, known as the Assistant Resident resided in this town who oversaw all *civiel gezaghebbers* (= military commanders) which were distributed over all Flores. Because of that, Ende had a good ship connection with other islands thanks to the three steamers which every month regularly passed there back and forth. Ende was also equipped with electricity and a telephone network that connected all of Flores, and there was a plan to expand this with interlocal networks to Kupang (Timor), and even internationally. All of this had directly or indirectly developed Ende economically. Provided with a good sea connection with Java and other islands, Ende was the most important city for all of Flores. With all these qualities, Noyen stated that there was no doubt that Ende was the most favourable place to serve as the center for the whole mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>155</sup>

On his way to Java between April-May 1914, the ship which Noyen was on stopped at Ende for several hours (March 23), and he wanted to meet the Assistant Resident, Mr. A.M. Hens (1909-1916). On that occasion, the person concerned was not in place. Even so, Noyen was invited to the house by Mrs. Hens. On that occasion, Noyen expressed the reason for his desire to meet with Mr. Hens. He wanted to know more regarding whether Ende could offer a good prospect for the benefit of the Catholic mission, including the possibility of considering Ende as a central station for the whole mission. At that time, discussion regarding inclusion of Flores into the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands was still in process. Mrs. Hens responded that her husband had mentioned the port of Ipi, Ende, as a place that could be taken into consideration as a center for Catholic mission because there was delicious water in abundance. With this idea in mind, Noyen continued his voyage and arrived at Waingapu the day after. Here he met the *civiel gezaghebber*. On that occasion, they talked about Flores and this person said more or less the same as what was mentioned by Mrs. Hens before, namely about the port of Ipi as a central place for the mission station.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 1-2; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 77, 99; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 50/3 (1925), 203; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 252.

<sup>156</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 82-84.

It looked like the ceding of Flores to the SVDs was only a matter of time. During his discussion with Eduard Engbers, the Jesuit Mission Superior who resided in Surabaya, Java, regarding how to hand over Flores, they also happened to talk about Ende in Flores as a prospect for a central mission station. In this regard, Engbers was not so enthusiastic since he considered Ende as a bulwark of Islam. According to him, Ende was not a good place to put the central mission. In any case, one would not put the central station in such a «barren» place, but a little further inland, where it was even healthier, cooler, better people, etc. He considered the connection was good there; roads were not so difficult anymore to be travelled. If the government, by all means, wants a *standaardsschool* in Ende, it could be taken care very well also from there (= further inland).<sup>157</sup>

On his return after the visit to Java, Noyen stopped at Ende for 8 days. After his meeting with Engbers, he even eagerly wanted to fill Flores at the end of 1914. In Ende he was accommodated as a guest of Mr. Hens. The reason why he stayed a little bit longer in Ende was to find a suitable place for the main mission station there. It looked like their discussion in Java regarding Ende remained in his mind. At that time, Ende itself as a town was completely Muslim. Therefore, he decided that the SVDs would not settle right in Ende, but a little bit further inland. So, on 4 May 1914, all important people in the small town of Ende accompanied Noyen towards Ndona, a small village located up in the mountains. Since the aim of this trip was only to get to know the territory, the decision had not been taken as to which place was suitable. It seemed better that everything be discussed later down to the smallest detail, even though they all were of the same opinion that the center of the mission should be located there.<sup>158</sup>

After observing the place, Noyen went in the eastern direction and the end of the trip was Larantuka. He did not go there without any purpose. He was invited to attend a school conference. In this conference, the government asked Noyen to build a school in Ende, not later than 1 January 1915. It is

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>158</sup> There were the Assistant Resident A.M. Hens, the *Civiel Gesaghebber* van Suchtelen, the local chief or the so-called *raja* of Ndona Mbaki Mbani and lieutenant Charle Le Roux, who at that time was working on the trans Flores road. This trip started at 07.00 AM and only finished at 12.00. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 2; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 101; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Ende and the Diocese of Larantuka], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1112-1113.

not stated clearly why this request surfaced at the conference. Noyen certainly felt uncomfortable with the Jesuits, considering that until then, Flores had not been submitted to the SVD. Maybe because of that, he wrote a letter to his Superior General Father Nicolaus Blum to ask for an opinion. Noyen wrote, «[...] I ask you, do you have any objection to starting a mission in Ende of West Flores, even if the negotiations concerning Flores have not been completed by 1915[...] [?]]». <sup>159</sup> It meant the mission would be under the jurisdiction of Msgr. Luypen. By the time the reply arrived in a letter dated 28 July 1914 the matter had been finalized. Before the letter was written, Flores has been included in the prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands 8 days before (20 July 1914). It seemed that Blum had also known the matter because the decree from Propaganda Fide regarding Flores was directed to him. So, Blum just wrote that he and his councillors agreed that Ende was the best place for the prefect's residence and the main station for the whole mission. <sup>160</sup>

On the return from his official trip from Bali and Lombok (probably in September or October 1914), Petrus Noyen spent another 10 days in Ende, to examine the place for the desired future main residence. <sup>161</sup> Everyone who looked at the place said that this would be a favourable place for the main SVD mission station in Flores. After this observation, on 9 January 1915, Noyen told Blum that he had chosen an area near Ende. The government came to the SVDs' aid to preserve the area. <sup>162</sup>

In the beginning of 1915, Noyen had planned to leave Timor and begin to build a mission station in Flores. He wanted to settle down as soon as possible

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<sup>159</sup> «[...] Ich frage Sie nun, haben Sie etwas dagegen, daß wir in Ende in Westflores die Mission schon beginnen, auch wenn bis 1915 die Verhandlungen betreffend Flores noch nicht erledigt wären [...] [?]]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 18.6.1914, ff. 1-2.

<sup>160</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 2 (156).

<sup>161</sup> The place was healthy and located up in the mountains about 100 meters high above sea level. One can look at the sea and there was always a cool breeze there. The decline of the mountain ridge was not too great. Regarding water supply, a mountain stream close by passed across the village. It could be easily directed to the highest point of the place, so that everything could be irrigated from that reservoir in the dry season. So, water for rinsing, bathing, watering the garden, etc was enough. Even a hydro-electric power station could be installed at a distance of about three kilometers. There were also many villages of people from traditional religions in the immediate vicinity; a great prospect for the conversion to Christianity. In Ende itself were only Muslims and it would be impractical to settle there, because they were difficult to be converted. The course was more or less 7 ½ km from Ende. One could reach Ende by horse or bike or with a small carriage in 35 minutes. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, ff. 1-2.

<sup>162</sup> An official trip is aimed to take care of the European Catholics and also government officials and Catholics living in certain places. This type of trip can be done 3 times a year and is remunerated by the government. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 1.

in Ende. Flores was considered by him as his main mission. So, he planned to go to Ende on 13 May 1915 accompanied by two Brothers: Lambertus and Willibrordus, who were the first two Brothers sent from Uden. For this purpose, he wrote to his Superior General Nicolaus Blum twice. From «De Katholieke Missiën» we know the exact date of the departure from Timor and the arrival of Noyen and friends in Ende. They departed from Atapupu on Friday 14 May and arrived in port in Ende on Sunday 16 May with the steamboat «van Rees» and stayed there for several time. On 26 May they went to Ndona for good.<sup>163</sup>

In Ndona, for a temporary time, they stayed in a bivouac provided by the *civil gezaghebber* from the place, van Suchtelen. The distance between the bivouac and the construction site was about one km. From that day, they started building the station and a *standaardsschool* for the whole of Ende. Noyen seemed to have the idea that mosquitoes were seen rarely in the mountains. According to him, building a dwelling-place for the missionaries on a mountain was the best choice. There, one could read and write, without being disturbed by all sorts of annoying insects.<sup>164</sup>

By October 1915, Noyen wrote to Blum that on 8 September they had moved to a better place, to a part of the joinery, the 8 by 8 meter section. Noyen described the room and their situation as follows,

I live now with the two Brothers in a room of 8 by 8 meters. On one side stand our three beds, in the other corner my writing-board and book-bag, in the other corner a table where we dine. In the middle of the rear wall stands the altar, which is covered by the large picture cloth during the day so as not to become profane. A separate chapel, where we would always have the dear Savior with us, we do not have yet, to our great pain.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Its captain was van Kersten. On 19 May, from the port of Ende they climbed to Ndona, about 1 ½ hours by foot, where the construction site was located. The following day they went back to Ende and stayed there until 26 May, to prepare everything for the settlement in Ndona. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 12.5.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 11.6.1915, f. 2; THE ARCHIVE OF PROVINCIAL OF SVD ENDE, INDONESIA [from now on: AP-SVD Ende], Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., typescript, 177 pp., Ende, 12.9.1967, 53; N. VAN DER WINDT, *Ndona: 2 Februari 1916 - 2 Augustus 1928*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 53/12 (1928), 221; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1116.

<sup>164</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 54; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 4-5 (104-105).

<sup>165</sup> «Ich wohne jetzt mit den zwei Brüdern in einem Raum v. 8 x 8 Meter. An einer Seite stehen unsere 3 Betten, in der andern Ecke mein Schreibtisch u. Büchersack, in der andern Ecke ein Tisch, an dem wir speisen. An der Rückmauer in der Mitte steht der Altar, der am Tage, um nichtprofan zu werden, durch das große Lichtbildertuch verdeckt wird. Eine eigene Kapelle, wo wir den I[lieben] Heiland immer bei uns hätten, haben wir zu unserem großen Schmerz noch nicht.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 4.

In the last lines of his letter, Noyen asked Blum for some help in order to be able to build the «priest's residence» in the following year. The residence would include 8 large rooms and a part could be set up for the chapel for the time being<sup>166</sup>.

The work was so far advanced that on 2 February 1916, the *standaardsschool* (= primary school) could be inaugurated with 70 internee-students, began with a High Mass and then a procession<sup>167</sup>. On that day Father prefect went to live in the school, and the Brothers took for the first time the Holy Sacrament with them into the famous 8 by 8 meter room.<sup>168</sup>

When Blum expressed his opinion regarding the requested residence he agreed that Ndona, Ende was the best place for the prefect's residence and the central mission station. Besides, he asked Noyen whether he was also thinking of the Society's central building. Blum wanted to know more about Noyen's opinion whether the future Regional Superior should live in the same house with the prefect in Ndona, Ende, or whether they should live separately for many other reasons, especially to avoid unnecessary problems in the future.<sup>169</sup>

Noyen responded that the residence was also intended for the Regional Superior for the following reasons: first, considering ship connections with other places. On Flores there were plenty of other places that were even more beautiful, cooler and also very healthy, e.g. Bajawa near Aimere. Bajawa was connected to the northwest by a good road with the harbor place Aimere, located 1,200 meters high above sea level, fertile land, and well inhabited. In contrast, Aimere's bad connection with other ports would be the main reason to choose other places. Only every 6 weeks a steamer went from Ende to Aimere. So, the Regional should first come only to Ende. Secondly, a practical reason. According to him it was ideal that the prefect and the regional superior live and think together to accomplish any work as a whole. After all, their roles were more or less supplemental. Thirdly, need of a community life. Noyen wanted to live together with his missionaries at any time when they got together. Nevertheless, he was still open for another opinion, if in the future there be another better choice, the Regional himself is the one who decides

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<sup>166</sup> It would cost about 20,000 guilder. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 4.

<sup>167</sup> The full story regarding Ndona's *standaardsschool* inauguration party can be read in: P. NOYEN, *Een Heuglijke Dag voor Endeh en de Geheele Missie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 41/9 (1916), 257-258.

<sup>168</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221); N. VAN DER WINDT, *Ndona: 2 Februari 1916 - 2 Augustus 1928*, 222.

<sup>169</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 2 (156).

whether another place would be more suitable for him. In 1916 they began with the construction of the residence of the prefect apostolic in Ndona.<sup>170</sup>

### 3. Some Particular Problems

#### 3.1. The Question of Flores and Its Resolution

##### 3.1.1. Discussions about and the Decision on the Flores Mission

Even though the territory of the new prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands included the islands agreed upon in 1910, a glance at the map made it obvious that there was something wrong with the border. The territory extended over the west, south and south eastern part of the islands, thus surrounding Flores on three sides. Flores was in the center of the islands and at the same time the bridge to all travel connections within the prefecture – and for foreign travel as well. Could such an unnatural territorial demarcation last for long?

The discussion about Flores had begun among the Jesuits in 1911. On 9 December 1911 Fr. Engbers wrote to Fr. Franz-Xaver Wernz, Superior General of the Jesuits, regarding the Lesser Sunda Islands. He reported that they were negotiating the handing over of the islands which were located off the east coast of Java. They agreed to offer all those islands to the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word, with the exception of the island of Flores.

This meant that, besides Java and Madura, only the islands of Flores and Celebes would remain Jesuit territory. Engbers noticed that the Congregation of Propaganda Fide wanted them to offer the SVDs that part of the mission in which there was the greatest number of the faithful. Father Provincial suggested that the island of Flores could be divided between the Jesuits and the SVDs. However, Engbers and his consultants did not approve the suggestion. They thought that Celebes could be offered, Flores should not be divided, nor should it be offered as a whole to other missionaries. This opinion provoked discussion about the SVD taking over Celebes. It seemed that the Jesuits were attached very much to hold on to Flores. The reason behind this was apparent from the fact that at that time «the harvest» in Flores was properly ripe, and they only needed to harvest it; everywhere people asked for schools and priests.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, ff. 2-3; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diocese Agung Ende* [The History of the Development of Flores Mission in Archdiocese of Ende], s.l., s.d., 52.

<sup>171</sup> ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU [from now on: ARSI], 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 9.12.1911, c. 23; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 10 (110).

After the decree of 8 February 1912 was issued (regarding the admission of SVDs to the Jesuit mission), Engbers wrote again to Wernz on 27 April of the same year:

[...] Our provincial is now warning us of the danger that, if more are not allowed in, the establishment of the new prefecture will be postponed, perhaps the number of these Fathers will be equal to or even greater than the number of our own confreres in the Vicariate of Batavia, with the result that at the death of our bishop his successor may be one of the SVD Fathers.<sup>172</sup>

At that time the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia had already agreed to accept some SVDs on the islands of Timor and Sumba<sup>173</sup> with the provision that after the establishment of the new prefecture other islands could also be ceded to these same missionaries. Regarding the efforts to accelerate the process of establishing a new prefecture, Fr. Engbers continued in his letter as follows:

[...] All of us think that if the SVD Fathers have a large number of collaborators who on the island of Flores cannot only care for those stations that we have had until now but also erect many other new stations, then we – constrained by grave need and the good of souls – should also cede the island of Flores, although it is our loveliest mission among the indigenous. In case the island of Flores is also ceded to the SVD Fathers, Rome will probably be willing to erect a new prefecture. In the meantime, since the new prefecture has not yet been erected, and since those Fathers have been admitted only to the islands of Timor and Sumba, their number cannot grow in such a way as to constitute the danger of which Fr. Provincial is warning us.<sup>174</sup>

Regarding the coming of the SVDs to Timor, Fr. F. X Wernz, the Superior General of the Jesuits, responded to Fr. Engbers that he was happy to hear that news. He thought more positively than the provincial, as he stated that

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<sup>172</sup> «[...] P. Provincialis noster nos nunc admonet de periculo ne si plures admittantur, et erectio novae Praefecturae [sic.] procrastinetur, fortasse numerus horum Patrum aequalis fiat imo major quam numerus nostrorum in vicariatu Bataviensi, ita ut moriente Episcopo nostro fortasse ipsi daretur successor ex Patribus S.V.D.» Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 27.4.1912, c. 24.

<sup>173</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luyten to Blum, Weltevreden, 21.4.1912, ff. 1-2 (68-69).

<sup>174</sup> «[...] Censemus autem omnes, si Patres S.V.D. tantam habeant copiam operariorum ut in insula Flores non tantum staiones [sic] quas nunc nos ibi habemus possint occupare sed etiam novas stationes plures erigere, nos dura necessitate coactos, propter bonum animarum, debere cedere etiam insulam Flores, quamvis sit optima nostra missio inter paganos. Quodsi etiam insula Flores Patribus S.V.D. cedatur, probabiliter Roma magis parata invenietur ad erigendam novam Praefecturam. Interim, nova Praefectura nondum erecta, quia Patres illi tantum admittuntur in insulas Timor et Soemba, non potest eorum numerus ita crescere, ut adsit periculum de quo monet P. Provincialis.» Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 27.4.1912, c. 24.

no harm would come to the Jesuits from that<sup>175</sup>. Moreover, for the sake of the salvation of souls and the glory of God, the Jesuits might even have to be ready to cede also Flores one day. Since the new prefecture for the SVDs had not yet been erected, Wernz asked the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies to review the issue and to assess it more diligently to see how to settle it as a whole and in the best form with the SVDs. Wernz also passed on the information that the SVDs would take over the Jesuits' mission in Mozambique – something that had been unforeseen. The procurator general of the SVD testified that because of this new mission they were also working with a lack of personnel and that in the meantime they would not be able to send more men to the East Indies mission.<sup>176</sup>

Over the long run the Jesuits simply could not send enough Fathers and Brothers in order to hang on to the island of Flores any longer. The lack of workers on the island of Flores was greater and even more painful than on the island of Java. When towards the end of 1910 the Jesuits discussed the giving up of the Lesser Sundas to the SVDs, they decided to keep Flores. The Jesuit provincial superior, who was present at that meeting, expressed the hope that within a few years he would be able to send sufficient workers for both the existing stations as well as for new stations yet to be established. In a three-year period three Fathers were sent to Flores, of whom two had to leave after a few months because of health problems.<sup>177</sup>

Almost a year before Fr. Engbers wrote to his Superior General in Rome, he had considered that Flores would be ceded to the SVD. Fr. Eduard Engbers,

<sup>175</sup> ARSI, Assist. Germ. 1901-1918, *Missiones III*, Wernz to Engbers, Roma, 31.5.1912, cc. 329-330; ARSI, *Neerlandica IV* 1905-1921, *Epistolae. Praepositi Generalis ad Provinciam Neerlandicam*. A die 3 Ianuarii 1906 ad diem 5 Maii 1922, Wernz to Vogels, Roma, 29.12.1913, cc. 261-262.

<sup>176</sup> In 1910 the Portuguese government ordered the expulsion of all Jesuit missionaries from Mozambique. In order to maintain the mission there, Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of State, took the initiative in asking the SVD for a helping hand. A letter of Cardinal Merry del Val, dated 23 July 1911 and directed to Blum, said that the SVD could not refuse to take over the mission in Mozambique from the Jesuits who would be expelled from there. The answer from Steyl was given on 31 July 1911; the SVD agreed to take over the mission in Mozambique. In December of the same year Fr. Henry Limbrock, a former Togo missionary, arrived there with two Brothers and four other priests. In December 1919, just after World War I, they too were expelled from the country. Cf. *Mission in Mocambique*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 24 (1911), 133; F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 203-204.

<sup>177</sup> In the entire mission of Flores there were only five lay Brothers, of whom only one was really capable. In 1913 two Brothers died at Larantuka. Only one remained, but for health reasons he was sent to Java. Father Petrus Muller, who arrived from his home country to replace Fr. Looymans, should have been named to the mission in the southern part of Flores. There was no priest in the mission who was capable of taking on the duty of instruction or of governing in those regions. Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. *Indonesiana 1869-1922*, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Muntilan, 7.12.1913, ff. 1-2.

SJ who once insisted on keeping Flores, wrote to Fr. Noyen: «[...] From our side there should not be any more resistance to the idea of withdrawing from Flores. Our Fathers who are currently working in Flores could continue to work in the prefecture for the time being. I will gladly obtain the necessary permissions for this».<sup>178</sup>

Fr. Noyen, who for years had experienced a special love for Flores, soon came to the conviction that the ceding of Flores to the SVDs was unavoidable, especially in light of the decidedly modest number of Jesuit missionaries and the looming danger of Islam. The Jesuits did not have enough missionaries to administer the island. Seeing the situation, Noyen wrote to his Superior General, Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD to come to the rescue. In order to begin a serious negotiation with the Jesuits' superior regarding Flores, he asked Blum to assert that the SVD could send 4-5 missionaries every year. Moreover, Noyen planned to raise this issue knowing that Msgr. Luypen would pass by Atapupu on 16 September 1913. On that date, Msgr. Luypen promised Noyen to introduce the matter to Rome. When the Holy See established the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands on 16 September 1913, Flores was not included. Luypen's promise to write to Rome regarding Flores was fulfilled only after the establishment of the prefecture. On 24 April 1914, in his report to Propaganda Fide, Msgr. Luypen acknowledged the lack of personnel for the mission in Celebes and Flores. This was caused mainly by illness and the old age of the missionaries. In fact, before writing to the Propaganda Fide, Luypen had written to the internuncio with the same intention and the same request on 13 October 1913.<sup>179</sup>

In Luypen's letter of 24 April 1914 to Gotti, he mentioned that it was better to cede the entire Lesser Sunda Islands – without the exception cited in the decree of 16 September 1913 – to the SVD. The government itself also agreed with the division that took into account the civil borders of the territory. It is interesting to note that even before Flores was officially handed over to the SVDs, the Dutch Government in Holland and the East Indies had considered Flores as a territory of the SVDs under Prefect Noyen. For example, in 1913 the resident of Kupang considered Noyen as the one responsible for school

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<sup>178</sup> «[...] Van onze kant zal nu tegen de afstand van Flores geen beswaar meer worden gemaakt. Onze Paters die thaus op Flores werkzaam zijn, zouden voorloopig in uwe prefectuur kunnen blijven. Ik wil gaarne daarvoor de noodige permissie vragen an diegene die hieromtrent de beslissing hebben.» This letter of Engbers was appended by Noyen to the letter which he wrote to Blum on 28 January 1913 asking for more missionaries to come to Flores. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Engbers to Noyen, s.l., 9.12.1912, ff. 1-2 (82-83); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, f. 4.

<sup>179</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 10-11 (110-111); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 2.9.1913, f. 2 (139); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, f. 1; ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 24.4.1914, cc. 673-674.

matters in Flores; in the beginning of 1914, instead of sending the official files to Msgr. Luypen, he sent them to Petrus Noyen.<sup>180</sup>

The same request was made by the Superior General of the Jesuits, Fr. Wernz, to Propaganda Fide on 29 May 1914. In his letter Wernz mentioned that the plan to cede Flores had been discussed many times by the Jesuits. Since they did not have enough personnel to administer the mission, he willingly gave his approval. Wernz wrote to Propaganda Fide after being asked by Luypen to cede Flores to the SVD.<sup>181</sup>

It seemed like Msgr. Luypen and Fr. Wernz were in agreement about the presence of the Jesuit missionaries in Flores if the island was ceded. Both of them made the same request to Propaganda that the Jesuits who were already working in Flores would remain there under the direction of Prefect Petrus Noyen until the number of the SVDs was sufficient to administer the whole island.<sup>182</sup>

In his letter to Wernz on 7 December 1913, Engbers realized that even if the SVDs accepted Flores, at the beginning they would not have sufficient missionaries. They could not take care of the stations and of the schools at the same time. Therefore the Jesuits should remain with the SVDs for a while after the takeover of Flores.<sup>183</sup>

On 16 June 1914 Engbers wrote to his Superior General as follows:

We are waiting in frustration for the response of the Holy See in regard to the cession of the island of Flores to the SVD Fathers. At the last meeting the consultors were urging that Rome act so that the division of the mission might be completed and that the island of Flores be assigned to those missionaries; however, I was not able to bring our Bishop, who favours such a cession, to apply more pressure. I have worked hard with Prefect Apostolic Noyen so that this cession might take place. He readily approved the way which I proposed to him.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 24.4.1914, c. 673; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914, f. 3; Blum to Vogels, Steyl, 29.5.1914, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.6.1914, f. 1.

<sup>181</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Wernz to Gotti, Roma, 29.5.1914, cc. 675-676.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 24.4.1914, c. 674.

<sup>183</sup> ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Muntilan, 7.12.1913, f. 2.

<sup>184</sup> «Frustra expectamus responsum S. Sedis de cessione insulae Flores Patribus V.D. facienda. In ultima consultatione urgebant quidem consultores ut Romae ageretur ut divisio missionis fieret completa in hac re et Flores adscriberetur illis missionariis; sed Episcopum nostrum, qui ipse quoque cessionem desiderat, adducere non potui, ut fortiter ageret. Multum egi cum Praefecto Apostolico Noyen de modo quo cessio ipsa fieri possit. Modum quem ipsi proposui, libenter approbavit [...]» Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914, f. 1.

In fact, after receiving letters from Luypen and Wernz, Cardinal Gotti made a report to Cardinal Benedetto Lorenzelli (1853-1915), Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Studies, regarding the modification of the borders of the apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. In this report he told Lorenzelli that Flores had been retained by Luypen, but finally – in agreement with the Jesuits' Superior General – he also gave it up to the SVDs.<sup>185</sup> This report paved the way to a new decree on the island of Flores.

Finally, on 20 July 1914 Propaganda Fide separated Flores from the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia and attached it to the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands with a decree as follows:

Last year this S. Congregation, by order of His Holiness Pius X, by divine providence pope, took care to establish the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. In the session held on the 13<sup>th</sup> of the current month the Most Eminent Fathers of the same Sacred Council of the Propaganda Fide decreed to extend it by adding to it the island of Flores, located in the said archipelago, which by the present decree is now removed from the territory of the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia. The undersigned Secretary of the S. Congregation presented this decision to the Holy Father in an audience on the same day. His Holiness graciously approved and ratified it in its totality and ordered the present decree about the matter to be made. Given at Rome, from the seat of the S. Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith on 20 July 1914.<sup>186</sup>

After the decree was issued, Cardinal Gotti wrote to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia and Fr. Blum in Steyl and passed on the decree. Gotti assured Blum that the Jesuits would remain in Flores temporarily. Gotti also wrote to Luypen to remind the bishop about his promise not to call back his missionaries from Flores until the SVDs were sufficient in number to take care of the mission.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Gotti to Lorenzelli, July 1914, cc. 677-678.

<sup>186</sup> «Insularum Sundae Minorum Apostolicam Praefecturam, quam superiori anno S. haec Congregatio de mandato Ssmi. Domini Nostri Pii divina providentia PP. X. erigendam curavit, Emi Patres S. eiusdem Consilii Fidei Propagandae in comitiis die 13 vertentis mensis habitis, augendam esse decreverunt adiuncta insula Flores, in praedicto Archipelago sita, quae a territorio vicariatus apostolici Bataviensis per praesens decretum nunc distrahitur. Quam sententiam ab infrascripto S. Congregationis Secretario SSmo Dno. nostro in audientia eiusdem diei relatum, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus adprobare ratamque habere dignata est, praesensque ea de re Decretum fieri iussit. Datum Romae, ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 20 iulii anni 1914.» Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Decretum. Augetur Territorium Praefecturae Insularum Sundae Minorum, Roma, 20.7.1914, c. 681; AAS 6 (1914) 379-380.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, Gotti to Blum, Roma, 24.7.1914, c. 679; Gotti to Luypen, Roma, 24.7.1914, c. 680.

### 3.1.2. The Plan of the Handing over of the Jesuit Mission in Flores to the SVDs

After the official cession of Flores to the SVDs by a decree from the Propaganda Fide, the next step to be considered seriously was to manage the replacement of the Jesuit missionaries working in that island with those from the SVDs. For this purpose, on his first visit to Java (March-April 1914), Fr. Noyen, Fr. Engbers and Msgr. Luypen had agreed upon a plan of how the replacement of Jesuit missionaries in Flores should take place. An excerpt of the agreement was drawn up by Engbers on 12 September 1914 that also called by Noyen as a contract. According to what was written there, the first replacement would take place at the beginning of 1915, commencing with the coming of two SVD Fathers at the end of 1914. At that time two Jesuit Fathers would be released from their service in Flores. By 1920 Flores would be entirely taken over by the SVD missionaries.<sup>188</sup>

The excerpt of Engbers is as follows,

At the end of 1914, two SVD priests come to Larantuka, one for the *standaardsschool* and one for Tengah and Wureh. They remain our guests until 1 January 1916. They will be appointed as pastors for third class salary in place of the two SJ priests who are released. They do not have to give anything from their salaries to the Jesuit's Superior in Larantuka, but the benefits of their official trip with the expenses (the declaration fees) will be claimed by the Jesuit Superior. This will last until 1 January 1916. In the beginning of 1915, two SJ priests are released. At the end of 1915, two priests and the necessary SVD Brothers come to Larantuka. 1 January 1916, Larantuka and everything that goes under it passes to the SVDs, while it will be ensured that from that date the 5 third-class salaries will be received by the Steyl fathers [= the SVDs]. In the beginning of 1916, two SJ Fathers are released, one goes to Middle Flores, the Brothers go to Middle Flores or to *patria* [= Holland]. At the end of 1917, two SVD priests come to Middle Flores; one for the *standaardsschool* of Lela and one for Maumere. They will remain our guests until 1 January 1919. In the beginning of 1918, one SJ Father is released. At the end of 1918, two SVD priests come to Middle Flores, and the necessary Brothers, for Lela, Sikka and Maumere. On 1 January 1919, Lela, Sikka and Maumere and all the properties, all the schools of Middle Flores and the livestock are transferred to the SVDs. At the beginning of 1919, three SJ priests and all the Brothers who are not needed for Nita and Kotting are released. At the end of 1919, two SVD priests with the necessary Brothers

<sup>188</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Overzicht, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (169); M. GILBERT, *La Grande Storia della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, transl. C. LAZZARI, Milano, Oscar Mondadori, 2015 (Original Tit.: *First World War*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), 3; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 88.

come to Kotting and Nita. At the beginning of 1920, the last SJ Fathers and Brothers depart from Flores.<sup>189</sup>

On 2 April 1914 Noyen himself wrote in his diary his own plan for such a replacement. In this plan, one can easily see how heavily he depended on many missionaries to be sent from Steyl. He also kept in his mind how to begin the mission in Sumba and Larantuka and how to develop the mission in Timor and western Flores. Regarding the replacement, Noyen had three possibilities as follow:

1) This autumn only 4 priests arrive and Sumba has to be staffed, 1 priest will go to Timor, 1 to Ende with me, and 2 to Sumba. 2) If 4 priests arrive and Sumba is not yet taken over, 1 goes to Timor, 1 to Ende with me, and 2 to Larantuka. Respectively with first 3 new ones, I go to Larantuka and after learning the language, I go to Ende with a new missionary, while those 2 others stay there, or a new one with another. 3) In case 5 priests come and Sumba has to be staffed, then 2 go to Sumba, 2 go to Larantuka and 1 will go to Timor, and I alone go to Ende. If Sumba must not be taken over, 2 for Larantuka, 2 for Timor and 1 with me go to Ende. So, I agree with Father Superior.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup> «Einde 1914, twee Paters S.V.D. komen naar Larantoeke, een voor de standaardsschool en een voor Tengah en Woeree. Zij blijven onze gasten tot 1 Januari 1916. Zij worden benoemd tot bezoldigden 3de Kl[asse]. In de plaats van de twee Paters S.J. die vrij komen. Van hun tractementen behoeven zij aan den Superior S.J. te Larantoeke niets af te staan, maar aan den Sup[er]ior. S.J. blijven de baten (de declaratiegelden) met de onkosten hunner dienstreisen tot 1 Januari 1916. Begin 1915, twee Paters S.J. komen vrij. Einde 1915, twee Paters en de noodige broeders S.V.D. komen naar Larantoeke. 1 Jan. 1916, Larantoeke en alles wat er onder hoort gaat over aan de Paters S.V.D., terwijl gezorgd zal zijn dat vanaf dien datum de vijf tractementen 3de kl[asse]. door de Paters van Steyl ontvangen worden. Begin 1916, twee Paters S.J. komen vrij, een gaat naar M. Flores, de broeders gaan naar M. Flores of naar patria. einde 1917, twee Paters S.V.D. gaan naar M. Flores; een voor de standaardsschool van Lela en een voor Maumeri. Zij blijven onze gasten tot 1 Januari 1919. Begin 1918, een Pater S.J. komt vrij. Einde 1918, twee Paters S.V.D. gaan naar M. Flores, met e noodige broeders, voor Lela, Sika en Maumeri. 1 Jan. 1919, Lela, Sika en Maumeri en alles wat er onder hoort, alle scholen van M. Flores en de veestapel gaat over aan de Paters S.V.D. Begin 1919, drie Paters S.J. en al de broeders die niet noodig zijn voor Nita en Kotting, komen vrij. Einde 1919, twee Paters met de noodige broeders S.V.D. komen naar Kotting en Nita. Begin 1920, de laatste Paters en broeders S.J. vertrekken van Flores.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Overzicht, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (169).

<sup>190</sup> «1) Komen deze herfst maar 4 pastoors en moest Soemba bezet worden, dan zoude 1 pastoor naar Timor, 1 met mij naar Endeh, en 2 naar Soemba gaan. 2) Komen 4 pastoors en Soemba wordt nog niet bezet, dan gaat 1 naar Timor, 1 met mij naar Endeh, en 2 naar Larantoeke. Resp. [respectievelijk] ik met 3 nieuwe eerst naar Larantoeke en na de taal geleerd te hebben, ik met een nieuwe naar Endeh, terwijl die 2 nieuwe daar bleven, resp. een nieuwe met een ander. 3) Voor 't geval dat 5 pastoors komen, dan 2 naar Soemba 2 naar Larantoeke en 1 naar Timor, en ik alleen naar Endeh, indien Soemba bezet moest worden; moet Soemba niet bezet worden, 2 Larantoeke, 2 Timor 1 met mij Endeh.» Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 89-90.

### 3.1.3. The Cession of the Flores Mission to the SVDs

#### a) The farewell letter of Msgr. E.S. Luypen, SJ

Before the process of replacement took place, on 9 September 1914, the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen SJ, wrote a farewell letter to the people of his beloved Flores. Seven months afterward (April 1915), this letter appeared in the mission magazine «*De Katholieke Missiën*». In his famous farewell letter he acknowledged that the decree of Rome was truly in accordance with the wishes of his heart, in order to give space to many more missionaries to come and dedicate themselves for the salvation of souls in Flores. By doing so, he hoped that the missionary work could be promoted more than what has been done until that time.<sup>191</sup>

In his letter he addressed all people of Flores, the Catholics and the missionaries. He found himself obliged to express his heartfelt thanks for their great love, collaboration, hard work and support in the past. For the Christians, he challenged them to prove themselves as people who deserved to bear the name «Christian». Further, he addressed the clergymen and Sisters, for their praiseworthy dedication in fulfilling their vocation to preach Jesus Christ, to teach the people of Flores and to educate their children and young people to become true Christians. He acknowledged that they had done all these things because of their true love for the great King, Jesus Christ, and for His people entrusted to them. As for the Christian parents, he asked them to keep their children in true faith, not by words but by noble examples. And for the children, he admonished them to be their parent's pride by showing respect, obedience and love; be proud of their teachers by obeying their advice. Last but not least, he asked the merciful God to bless the people of Flores and their ecclesiastical successors and asked them to collaborate willingly with the new missionaries.<sup>192</sup> Luypen wrote:

May the merciful God bless and save you all. May he bless and protect my beloved Flores with all its inhabitants. He blesses and protects the Reverend Fathers, who will zealously take over the ecclesiastical service from us for the salvation of souls, who will work with great devotion and all their strength for your salvation. That is why you should also trust your new Fathers, love and give them your hearts, as you have done to us.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>191</sup> E. SYBRANDUS LUYPEN, *De Afscheidsbrief van Mgr. Edm. S. Luypen S.J. aan de Missionarissen en Christenen van Flores*, in: «*De Katholieke Missiën*» 40/6 (1915), 177-178.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-178.

<sup>193</sup> «Moge de barmhartige God u allen zegenen en behoeden. Moge hij zegenen en beschermen het mij zoo dierbare Flores met al zijne bewoners. Hij zegene en bescherm de eerwaarde paters, die vol ijver voor het heil der zielen den kerkelijken dienst van ons zullen overnemen, die met groote toewijding uit al hunne kracht zullen werken aan uw heil. Daarom dient gij aan uwe nieuwe vaderen ook vertrouwen te schenken, liefde te toonen en aan hen uw hart te geven, zooals gij dat aan ons gedaan hebt.» Cf. E. SYBRANDUS LUYPEN, *De Afscheidsbrief van Mgr. Edm. S. Luypen S.J. aan de Missionarissen en Christenen van Flores*, 178.

The press personnel of the magazine commented that the letter was overloaded with very emotional words. The Jesuits had to surrender to others such a beautiful mission where they had worked hard, had produced many good fruits and fruits of work that they could still expect in the future. Unfortunately, when spiritual life in Flores developed so rapidly, it turned out that the Society of Jesus did not have enough missionaries to meet the people's need at that time. This was the main reason for the transition behind the scene.<sup>194</sup>

Pastor Johannes Engbers who worked in Sikka-Lela almost 24 years wrote to Msgr. Luypen that he was regretting having to leave Flores. He would prefer to stay, even to die in Flores. He acknowledged the reason for the change. He recalled that 25 years ago they were 4 pastors, and now 5, that is, so to speak, the least progress. After 25 years it had been clear that the Jesuit Province was unable to provide sufficient missionaries. God's greater honour and glory would therefore gain a great deal if after a shorter or longer period a large number of Fathers of Steyl would come to occupy the whole of Flores.<sup>195</sup>

Pastor Antonius Ijsseldijk from Koting, Middle Flores, also sent a letter to Msgr. Luypen stating that it was a heavy sacrifice for him to leave Flores, but he would like to generously accept the requested sacrifice. Many of the Jesuits had worked with great success for so long and had sacrificed their life to God, even by a premature death. After all these sacrifices, the harvest was beginning to ripen everywhere, and they were not allowed to bring it in themselves, but others would bring the fruits in. Even though, he sincerely acknowledged that it was not for their own glory but for the greater glory of God and for the salvation of souls.<sup>196</sup>

Pastor Josef Hoeberechts on 15 October 1916 wrote to Msgr. Luypen:

The decision has been made. Flores is withdrawn from Your Excellency's jurisdiction. We have received the farewell letter from Your Excellency to the so beloved island. Your Excellency wrote that letter with tears in the eyes and I read it with tears in my eyes. [...] And now that we have been removed from Your Excellency's jurisdiction, may I also take this opportunity, in the name of all the people of Larantuka, but mainly in the name of pastors, Brothers and Sisters to thank Your Excellency for everything Your

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<sup>194</sup> E. SYBRANDUS LUYPEN, *De Afscheidsbrief van Mgr. Edm. S. Luypen S.J. aan de Missionarissen en Christenen van Flores*, 178.

<sup>195</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 9.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

Excellency has done both for the spiritual and temporal well-being of us all. May the good God reward Your Excellency abundantly.<sup>197</sup>

b) The process of ceding the Flores mission to the SVDs

It is interesting to find out that even before the decree regarding Flores was issued, the Jesuit Superior in the Dutch East Indies, Fr. Eduard Engbers, in his letter to his Superior General on 16 June 1914 already had in mind how the transition could be done. In that letter he passed on information saying that four SVD priests would arrive in Flores at the end of 1914 and he would like to have two living with the Jesuits in the main station of Larantuka and the other two would be sent to set up a new station among the people from traditional religions. At the end of 1915, the whole mission of Larantuka can be left to the same Fathers. Then every year some SVD Fathers would be sent to the western mission of Flores so that by 1920 the Jesuit Fathers will be able to withdraw from that mission. However, this was only a plan that in reality was very difficult to execute because of World War I which had started almost at the same time.<sup>198</sup>

According to the plan, at the end of 1914, two SVD Fathers would come to Larantuka to take care of the *standaardsschool* and the Catholics in Tengah and Wureh stations. After the time agreed upon, the first replacement did not happen as had been planned. One year later, Noyen told Blum that he would send the first SVD priest, Fr. Wilhelm Baack, to Larantuka. Father Contant van den Hemel would be assigned to take care of the Catholics and the school in Atapupu.<sup>199</sup>

In his appeal to the Generalate for missionary forces, Noyen lamented that he «was being pushed» constantly by the Jesuits and the government to move more quickly. The Jesuit superior always reminded Noyen that the reason

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<sup>197</sup> «De kogel is door de kerk. Flores is aan de jurisdictie van U.D.H. onttrokken. De afscheidsbrief van het U.D.H. zo geliefde eiland hebben wij ontvangen. U.D.H. heeft dien brief met tranen in de ogen geschreven en ik heb hem met tranen in de ogen gelezen. [...] En nu wij aan U.D.H. jurisdictie onttrokken zijn mag ik ook van deze gelegenheid gebruik maken om U.D.H. in naam van al het volk van Larantoka, maar voornamelijk in naam van de pastoors, broeders en zusters te bedanken voor alles wat U.D.H. gedaan heeft zowel voor het geestelijke als het tijdelijke welzijn van ons allen. Moge de goede God het U.D.H. ruimschoots vergelden.» Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 10.

<sup>198</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Decretum. Augetur Territorium Praefecturae Insularum Sundae Minorum, Roma, 20.7.1914, c. 681; ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Overzicht, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (169); M. GILBERT, *La Grande Storia della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 3.

<sup>199</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, f. 4.

why they wanted to give Flores up to the SVDs was to open the way for the arrival of many more missionaries to that island. But what was happening until that time was that after the arrival of Fr. Baack and his colleagues, no more missionaries were sent to Flores. Noyen found this situation to be very embarrassing.<sup>200</sup>

There was no news of how and when Father Wilhelm Baack moved from Atapupu to Larantuka. Before he went to Larantuka, after his arrival in Timor, he was with Fr. Verstraelen, Br. Calixtus and Br. Lucian in Lahurus. In Noyen's report to the Generalate on 1 December 1914, his name was on the list as pastor for Atapupu. Probably about mid-May 1915 he crossed over from Timor. However, on 20 May 1915, he was already in Larantuka. He came to replace the old and sick Father Karl van der Heijden, SJ. On 9 July 1915, Noyen wrote again to Blum reminding him about the previous plan of transition that on 1 January 1916, SVD should take over Larantuka completely. He also made an urgent request to get two Brothers for Larantuka, one of them should be a good carpenter to take care of the craft school.<sup>201</sup>

On 28 October 1915, again Noyen wrote to Blum reminding him that in early 1916, all Jesuit priests in Larantuka had to be replaced with SVD priests. It seemed that hope was increasingly impossible. Therefore, he decided to write to Eduard Engbers, the Jesuit superior, to make an appeal that the change be postponed for another year. If the time arrived, as a guarantee, Noyen promised to send two or three missionaries at once to accelerate the replacement of the Jesuits in Larantuka. If there are other difficulties, and the change must be done immediately before 1 January 1917, then Noyen himself is willing to go to Larantuka.<sup>202</sup>

As far as the material transfer of Larantuka was concerned, Father Superior Engbers said that no change is needed to be made. Noyen understood this statement as the contract was to take place according to the finalized date, 1 January 1916. So, the SVDs took care of the material needs for all missionaries

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, ff. 1-2.

<sup>201</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 55; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 2.9.1913, f. 3 (140); Noyen to Blum: Catalogus fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda Minorum in specie Insulae Timor a 1 Nov 1913 usque ad 1 Sept 1914, s.l., 1.12.1914, f. 3 (166<sup>v</sup>); Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, ff. 2-3; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 133; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Diocese of Larantuka], Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2017, 98.

<sup>202</sup> In his letter to Blum dated 28 October 1915 he passed on the information that he had written to Fr. E. Engbers on the same day. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 4.

working at Larantuka from that time on. On 9 December 1915 Noyen wrote a letter to Engbers to clarify his statement in the previous letter. In Noyen's mind, if the surrender of property occurred on 1 January 1916, the salaries of three Jesuits would also be included in the SVD treasury, which was then handled by Fr. Baack as the treasurer at that time. Until 1916, the SVDs had received three third-class salaries.<sup>203</sup>

It seemed to Engbers that Noyen had misunderstood his previous statement: «No change needed to be made». Engbers corrected Noyen's misunderstanding through his letter on 19 December 1915. According to him, what was meant by that statement was that «the excerpt of 12 September 1914» did not need a change, nor did they surrender the assets, before the needed SVD missionaries were sufficient to replace all Jesuit missionaries in Larantuka. All depended on the availability of the number of SVD missionaries who arrived in the Dutch East Indies. The salaries of Jesuits along with other possessions would only be turned over to the SVD when all the Jesuit members there had been replaced by SVD missionaries.<sup>204</sup> In this case, Engbers seemed to stick to the «Mode of surrender of the mission» that had been agreed upon, stating: «Ownership rights to movable and immovable property are transferred according to the requested authorization in Rome. Usufruct and management remain with the SJ Fathers as long as they occupy the station where the goods are needed».<sup>205</sup>

Quite soon, Noyen learned the real situation of the scarcity of Jesuit forces. On 28 October 1915 Noyen told Blum that the Jesuits were also in dire straits. Two priests died the previous September in Surabaya, two others were lying on their deathbed. Meanwhile, they got few new forces from Holland. The Provincial looked to Flores, where the missionaries could be freed. Noyen found himself in a pressured situation because he was unable to fulfill his obligations in the transition process, and at the same time should begin the new mission in Ende to counteract the advance of Islamism. Since the government officials wanted to establish a neutral governorship school in Ende – that can accommodate many students from families of traditional religion that probably would come to the mission school and be converted to Catholicism – in order to forestall that school,

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, ff. 2-3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.2.1916, f. 1; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 78.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>205</sup> «Eigendomsrecht op roerende en onroerende goederen gaat over volgens aangevraagde machtiging te Rome. Vruchtgebruik en beheer blijven bij de Paters S.J. zoolang zij de statie bezetten waarbij de goederen behoeren.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Wijze van overgave der missie S.J. op het eiland Flores aan de Paters S.V.D. van Steyl, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (170).

Noyen began with his school in Ndona, Ende. Noyen did not want the mission to suffer any great damage.<sup>206</sup>

On 26 May 1916, Blum wrote to Noyen passing on information that he would soon send one priest with some Brothers. The same information was passed on by Noyen with great joy to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia and Fr. Eduard Engbers in Surabaya. It was great news because it had been four years since any missionaries had come from Steyl. On 24 November, Blum wrote another letter saying that on the previous 3 November, Fr. Simon Karsten, Fr. Berthold Friess, Br. Vincentius Meekes and six SSpS (= *Servarum Spiritus Sancti*) Sisters had left for the Dutch East Indies. They finally arrived at Lela, Flores 13 January 1917. This was the fifth arrival of missionaries to that mission.<sup>207</sup>

As a follow up to the information of the arrival of new missionaries, Noyen suggested that after arriving at Larantuka, Fr. Berthold Friess and Fr. Karsten study the language and culture for three months. In the same letter, he recommended that the delivery of the assets of the mission at Larantuka take place on 1 April 1917 and the treasurer, Fr. Baack, be replaced by Fr. Josef Hoeberechts, as long as the Jesuits were still in Larantuka. Noyen also requested that Fr. Hoeberechts not be immediately transferred from Larantuka, but the decision was left to Engbers. Noyen's recommendations were accepted by Fr. Engbers. This agreement was then submitted to Blum on 22 January and 14 February 1917, while hoping that

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<sup>206</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 2. In September 1915, Pastor of Bogor, Nicolaus Visser died at the age of 60. On 11 October, P. Bernard Schweitz died in Madiun. He arrived in Larantuka in 1863 and departed from there in April 1889 to Laora, Sumba, to open a new mission there. On 7 November, Father Opdenkamp also died in Malang, East Java, after serving for 30 years. In Flores, Father de Nataris died on 22 December 1915. On 19 November 1916, P. Rouppe van Voort left Flores because of neurological problems. So, during 1915 and 1916, four Jesuits had died and one could not continue his service because of illness. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 77, 79-81, 121.

<sup>207</sup> According to Noyen's plan, Fr. Simon Karsten would be sent to Larantuka as the second SVD priest to arrive there after Fr. W. Baack. In the same letter, Noyen also mentioned that the first SVD missionary to go to Lela-Sikka was Fr. Friess. Br. Vincentius would be sent to Larantuka later. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Pecorari, Steyl, 16.3.1916, f. 1 (187); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.11.1916, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 2.9.1916, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 14.2.1917, f. 2; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 121-122, 126; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 140; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Ende and the Diocese of Larantuka], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1123.

Fr. Kerkhoff and Fr. Wortel would soon arrive in order to bring the transition process in Larantuka to its full completion.<sup>208</sup>

The preparation for the handover was agreed upon by Noyen and Engbers as follows: Father Friess would be sent to Sikka, Father Engbers to Nita, Father van der Loo and Father van der Velden would stay in Larantuka until the arrival of new missionaries from Steyl. Br. Moehle would be asked to move to Lela. It was also agreed that Father Hoeberechts would leave for Java on 5 May 1917 together with two Brothers, Br. Wilhem Busch and Br. Hermann Moehle.<sup>209</sup>

On 1 April 1917, Palm Sunday, there was a handover of the Jesuit Larantuka mission to the SVD. It was not reported how the turnover occurred. What is clear is that they might drink wine together. From 12 to 20 April Father Hoeberechts made his last pastoral visit to Lembata (Lamalera) and Solor (Karowatto, Pamakayo and Lewonama). After some farewell feasts, on Friday 4 May the «Outhoorn» steamer docked at Larantuka. The ship was scheduled to depart at 15:00 O'clock and would take Father Josef Hoeberechts and two Brothers to leave Larantuka forever and depart for Java, where their new mission would take place. At that time there were thousands of people coming to Larantuka to witness their departure. These people came from Lomblem, Solor, Adonara, Waibalun, Lewoleri, Konga and Lewolaga, as well as villages around Ile Mandiri. The three missionaries were taken to the harbor by a convoy of missionaries and people. That was the last day of the Jesuit mission in Larantuka after about 54 years of service.<sup>210</sup>

After the departure of Fr. Josef Hoeberechts<sup>211</sup>, Fr. Johannes van der Loo and Fr. Arnold van der Velden were still in Larantuka. Several other Jesuit

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<sup>208</sup> Fr. Noyen hoped that the Jesuit priests who would leave Larantuka (Fr. van der Loo and Fr. van der Velden) would still be there until the Easter Festivity of 1917. After that great celebration, they could leave with the first ship to arrive at Larantuka. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 122; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 14.2.1917, f. 2.

<sup>209</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 131-134; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 27.

<sup>210</sup> Since then, Father Prefect got six third-class salaries. The Jesuit missionaries who were still there were guests of the SVD. Starting from that day, Father Baack became the superior of the mission station of Larantuka. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 136-138, 140; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 272.

<sup>211</sup> On 24 February 1918, Fr. Josef Hoeberechts, SJ was appointed to the office of the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits, successor to Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ who carried out that responsibility since 1904. He was in office as a mission superior until 1927. Cf. A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 275, 404.

missionaries continued to work in their posts in Middle Flores while awaiting the arrival of their successors from the SVD missionaries.<sup>212</sup>

In Flores the Jesuit mission area was only a quarter of the island: parts of East Flores and Central Flores. Larantuka became the center of the mission at that time. It could also be an explanation, that the Vicariate of Batavia at that time comprised all of the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, the mission superiors were never able to free more than 12 Fathers and 6 Brothers for Flores. During the Jesuit period of service, no mission station was established in western Flores. When Flores was included in the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands, there were only 16 Jesuit missionaries (10 Fathers; 6 Brothers) serving six mission stations in Flores at that time. Following are the details<sup>213</sup>:

No.	Mission Station	Jesuit Missionaries
1.	Larantuka	Fr. Josef Hoeberechts ( <i>the District Superior of East-Flores</i> ) Fr. Karl van der Heyden Fr. Johannes de Nateris Fr. Johannes van der Loo Fr. Arnold van der Velden Br. Wilhem Busch Br. Hermann Moehle
2.	Maumere	Fr. Johannes Sevink Br. Gottfried de Groot Br. Cornelius Groot Br. Johannes Olivers
3.	Koting	Fr. Antonius Ijsseldijk
4	Nita	Fr. Theodor Rouppe van der Voort
5.	Lela	Fr. Petrus Muller ( <i>the District Superior of Middle-Flores</i> ) Br. Jakob Versters
6.	Sikka	Fr. Johannes Engbers

It is very coincidental that after Flores was handed over to the SVD, less than two months later World War I broke out and no one could foresee when the disaster would end. From the communication between the Jesuits and the SVD, the Jesuits understood this difficult situation. But these new

<sup>212</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 560, Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 24.4.1914, cc. 673-674; Franciscus Xav. Wernz to Gotti, Roma, 29.5.1914, cc. 675-676; Gotti to Blum, Roma, 24.7.1914, c. 679.

<sup>213</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 27, 32, 134; H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, in: «Steyler Missionsbote» 67/2 (1939), 30.

developments were related to the lack of personnel in some mission stations in Java which were their responsibility forced the Jesuit leaders not to be silent. At that time, in addition to asking the SVD to immediately send missionaries, they also tried not to immediately withdraw their missionaries on Flores.<sup>214</sup>

Meanwhile, Fr. Johannes de Nateris who served Adonara for the previous few years passed away on 22 December 1915. During 1916, on 12 October, the pastor in Nita, Middle Flores, Fr. Rouppe van der Voort, SJ who had been sick for a long time, suffered a severe illness (neurological disease). Therefore, Fr. Muller as the local superior, decided that P. v.d. Voort be sent back to Java on 19 November 1916. Since then, Nita Station was vacant. That was the reason why Petrus Noyen sent Fr. Berthold Friess to Middle Flores. In the end, he was sent to Lela-Sikka, and it was supported also by Fr. J. Engbers in his letter to Noyen on 5 December 1916. According to him, one of the Fathers was not to be sent to Nita but to Sikka with the intention of becoming a spiritual director for the SSpS Sisters who just arrived at Lela in January 1917.<sup>215</sup>

After that, there were no additional missionaries for Flores until the tragedy of 21 and 22 December 1918, known as the tragedy of the Spanish influenza epidemic which took the lives of 4 Larantuka missionaries, namely: Br. Vincentius Meekes, SVD, Fr. Simon Karsten, SVD, Fr. Wilhelm Baack, SVD and Fr. Arnold van der Velden, SJ. After their death Fr. Johannes Bouma, SVD arrived in Larantuka around April or May 1919 to handle the mission station. His arrival paved a new path for the arrival of many more missionaries to Flores and Timor after World War I.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>214</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, f. 2; Blum to Ledòchowski (Superior General of the Jesuits), Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (197); ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Blum to Ledòchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916, c. 33; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, ff. 1-2; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 102, 134.

<sup>215</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, ff. 1-2; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezùieten en de S.V.D., 121-122; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 140.

<sup>216</sup> Fr. Bouma was in Larantuka until 1921, and then had to go back to Uden, the Netherlands, because on 3 November 1921 he was appointed by the SVD Generalate as the rector of that minor seminary. He returned to Flores only in 1927 and served in the mission station Mauloö together with Fr. Stephan van Cleef. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 15.5.1919 (first attachment), f. 1; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 27, 31; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 66 (1922), 437; *Schematismus S.V.D 1919*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1919, 43; *Schematismus S.V.D 1922*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1922, 38; *Schematismus S.V.D 1928*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1928, 112.

Below is a table showing the dates of the arrival and the departure of the Jesuit missionaries from the Lesser Sunda Islands. It also shows their place of work including the death of the Jesuit missionaries during the SVD era<sup>217</sup>:

No.	Jesuits	Arrival	Work Place	Departure
1.	Viktor van den Putten	1907	Lahurus	25.1.1913
2.	Br. Hermann Moehle	1895	Lahurus	22.2.1913
		1914	Larantuka	4.5.1917
		1917	Maumere	March 1920
3.	Adrianus Mathijsen	1890	Lahurus	24.5.1913
4.	Karl van der Heyden	1900	Larantuka	Aug 1915
5.	<i>Johannes de Nateris</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>Adonara</i>	<i>+22.12.1915</i>
6.	Th. Rouppe v.d. Voort	1903	Nita	19.11.1916
7.	Josef Hoeberechts	1901	Larantuka	4.5.1917
8.	Johannes van der Loo	1910	Larantuka	Nov 1917
9.	Br. Wilhem Busch	1884	Larantuka	4.5.1917
		1917	Maumere	Nov 1919
10.	Br. Gottfried de Groot	1890	Maumere	Nov 1919
11.	Br. Kornelius Groot	1892	Maumere	Nov 1919
12.	<i>Arnold van der Velden</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>Larantuka</i>	<i>+22.12.1918</i>
13.	Br. Jakob Versters	1892	Lela	Nov 1919
14.	Petrus Muller	1913	Lela	14.12.1919
15.	Johannes Engbers	1890	Sikka	Jan 1917
		1917	Nita	14.12. 1919
16.	Johannes Sevink	1904	Maumere	6.1.1920
17.	Br. Johannes Olivers	1909	Maumere	March 1920
18.	Antonius Ijsseldijk	1885	Koting	10.3.1920

Although at that time there were difficulties in sending missionaries because the war was raging, the process of changing the missionaries went

<sup>217</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 18, 21, 27, 31-32; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioces Agung Ende*, 153-154; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, *Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen*, 15, 26; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: *Missiewerk door de Jezuiten en de S.V.D.*, 120; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuiten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 271, 280, 282-283, 417-418.

almost entirely according to the original plan. The deadline as stated in the E. Engbers' «excerpt of 12 September 1914» was fulfilled. The last Jesuit missionary to leave Flores at that time was Fr. Anton Ijsseeldijk. He left his last place of work in Koting, Middle Flores, on 10 March 1920, after working in Flores for 35 years.<sup>218</sup>

## 3.2. Property and Salary

### 3.2.1. Concerning Jesuits' Property and Salaries in Timor

Right from the beginning of the negotiations, the issue of property claimed the attention of both Msgr. Luypen and SVD Superior General Fr. Nicolaus Blum. Even before the negotiations over the territory came to a final agreement, Blum had asked Carl Friedrich, the procurator general of the SVD, to negotiate with the Jesuits over the mission property. It seemed rather hasty to talk about this issue at a time when everything was still not clear. In response to Blum's request, Friedrich mentioned that at the Jesuit's Generalate, there was no exact information about the mission property.<sup>219</sup>

The issue of property emerged for the first time during the negotiations on 19 November 1910, when Luypen wrote to Blum to get a final response from him regarding the territory. In this letter, Luypen wrote about the fixed property of the Jesuits in Timor. In this matter Luypen deferred all decisions to the Superior General of the Jesuits (Fr. Franz-Xaver Wernz). Luypen was convinced that there would not be many difficulties regarding the property<sup>220</sup>. Blum hoped that the Jesuit Superior General would not overburden the SVD with their land, houses and furniture.<sup>221</sup>

After the decree of 8 February 1912 Father Provincial Isidore Vogels got involved in the matter of the property of the Jesuits in Timor. On 30 March 1913 he wrote to Superior General Wernz asking for clarification about the

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<sup>218</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Overzicht, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (169); J. BETTRAY, *Die Steyler Indonesien-Mission im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Vergangenheit*, 42; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 17; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuieten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 284-285.

<sup>219</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Friedrich to Blum, 15.5.1911, f. 1 (39). It was understandable that Blum was attentive to properties, since he frequently assumed duties that had to do with financial issues. Before being elected councillor general he had been a treasurer, procurator, and treasurer general. Cf. J. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1032.

<sup>220</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Den Haag, 19.11.1910, ff. 1-3 (27<sup>r-v</sup>-28).

<sup>221</sup> AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Fünfte Serie, Blum to Luypen, s.l., 22.11.1910, f. 33.

ownership of the Jesuits' property in Timor. There were two stations in Timor, each with its own property.<sup>222</sup>

Regarding salaries, Luypen wrote to Blum on 19 November 1910 that one third-class salary – that of one of the Jesuits working in Timor – would be gladly handed over to the SVD.<sup>223</sup>

### 3.2.2. Concerning Jesuits' Property and Salaries in Flores

In his letter to Fr. Provincial Vogels on 29 December 1913 Father Wernz, the Superior General of the Jesuits, stated clearly that he agreed that all the goods on the island of Flores which was the property of the Jesuits should be offered freely to the SVD Fathers. The provincial informed Father Engbers in Java about this. According to Engbers – in his response to Vogels – it should be clear whether the property was to be given to the SVD or to the Prefect Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Luypen himself wanted to give those goods and properties to the Prefect Apostolic. Engbers seemed to agree with Luypen's suggestion. This was what he wrote in his letter to Father Wernz on 16 June 1914.<sup>224</sup>

When it was decided to hand-over Flores to the SVD, the Jesuits there wanted to know whether the second-class salaries that they received would also go to the SVDs. The government had some names of Jesuit priests who

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<sup>222</sup> In Atapupu there was a wooden and an iron house, a church, a school with its various buildings, and a cemetery. In Fialaran (recently called Lahurus) there was a good house, a school building and a dormitory, a new church, and a joinery. As regards the property of Jesuits in Timor, all houses, furniture, Church materials, etc., were offered freely to the SVD. The Jesuit's property in Timor (Atapupu and Lahurus) was estimated at 40,000 to 50,000 florins. Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Engbers to Werns, Surabaya, 9.12.1911, c. 23; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, *Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen*, 7-8, 15; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 4-5 (104-105); G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 73. If 2,2 florins equals 1 euro, the value of Jesuits' property in Timor (50,000 florins) is estimated as € 22,727,27.

<sup>223</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Den Haag, 19.11.1910, f. 2 (27°).

<sup>224</sup> ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914, f. 1; 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 4-I, Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 30.3.1913, c. 50; ARSI Neerlandica IV 1905-1921, Epistolae. Praepositi Generalis ad Provinciam Neerlandicam. A die 3 Ianuarii 1906 ad diem 5 Maii 1922, Wernz to Vogels, Roma, 29.12.1913, cc. 261-262. Vogels cited in his letter that the Jesuits' property in Timor had a value of no more than about 25,000 florins. According to Fr. Engbers the Jesuits' property in Flores had a value of about 200,000 florins. Wernz cited this amount when he wrote to Father Provincial Vogels on 29 December 1913. If 2,2 florins is valued as 1 euro, the value of the Jesuits' property in Flores and Timor altogether would come to € 102,272,72. In this paper you will find guilder, florin(s) and gulden(s). These words refer to the same thing: the Netherlands monetary unit in the past. In this paper the writer will use them interchangeably.

received second-class salaries<sup>225</sup>. The government did not care who served and who received the salary; they cared more about the commitment to serve the Europeans than about the person sent to them. In other words, the Jesuits sent various priests to minister to the Europeans, and they received the salary as a community not as a private income. It happened that in Flores there were larger salaries simply because the Jesuits who received second-class salaries were sent to this island. The actual amount of a third-class salary depended on the number of indigenous Catholics who were on the island.<sup>226</sup>

On 24 June 1914 Vogels wrote to Wernz regarding the salaries in Flores. He reported that the superior of the mission instructed that five of these third-class salaries be given to the SVDs instead of a second-class salary<sup>227</sup>. According to Engbers and his consultors, since no European Catholics lived in Flores, they could not grant any second-class salaries to the SVDs. For the same reason – since at that time those salaries were given to a specific name on the government list – the salaries would go with the Jesuits when they left Flores.<sup>228</sup>

According to Father Wernz, the property rights of the Society of Jesus regarding certain goods could be considered absolutely unrestricted, for example, books, etc., which one could dispose of freely and take away at their departure. As for the other goods – for example, churches, schools, and houses – although these may be the property of the Jesuits, they should be left behind for the Jesuits' ecclesiastical successors, that is, the SVD Fathers. Wernz asked his Jesuits to hold on to the principle that all goods which their benefactors had given them for the mission was for the primary intention of helping the mission and not the Society as such. Therefore these goods were to be freely ceded. One could as a matter of prudence ask for an exemption from the Holy See with regards to other types of goods. Concerning government salaries, Wernz answered that those seemed to come into consideration only as long as

<sup>225</sup> G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 215; ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 28.6.1914, c. 29.

<sup>226</sup> ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914, f. 2.

<sup>227</sup> One third-class salary was valued at 175 florins. So the SVDs would receive 875 florins every month. The Jesuits could still receive their second-class salaries, which were valued at 500 florins per person. Since there were four Jesuits, they received 2,000 florins each month. Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 28.6.1914, c. 29.

<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, Vogels gave two examples regarding Sumatra and Borneo. When the island of Sumatra was transferred to the Capuchin Fathers, they were granted two second-class salaries in proportion to the number of European Catholics present on the island. But when the island of Borneo was given to the same Fathers, no second-class salary was granted to them, because on that island there were no European Catholics. In this letter, Vogels asked for Wernz's approval of their plan. Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 28.6.1914, c. 29.

the Jesuits remained in Flores. Afterwards they were to be considered as goods given for the use of the region (Flores), and so they must be given up<sup>229</sup>.

On 15 April 1916 Fr. Blum wrote thank-you letters to Father Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, Cardinal Serafini, and the Jesuit Provincial in the Hague, concerning the Jesuits' property in Flores and Timor. Blum wrote to Ledóchowski: «[...] For this great and generous response, I feel obliged to express to you our heartiest gratitude. May God abundantly bless the Jesuit congregation. This is our wish and our prayer.» To the Jesuit Provincial, Noyen prayed that May God bless the Jesuits abundantly.<sup>230</sup>

When the Capuchin Fathers took over the island of Sumatra the Jesuits also transferred the movable properties to the Fathers. The same thing happened with the Sacred Heart Missionaries (MSC) when they took over the mission in the eastern part of Indonesia; the Jesuits bequeathed them their churches, houses and other properties. For the sake of the mission all were given for free.<sup>231</sup>

### 3.2.3. Question Regarding the Ownership of the Property

Following the decision regarding Jesuit properties in Timor and Flores, Noyen considered that it should be stated clearly right from the beginning, whether it should later be regarded as *bonum missionis* or as *bonum societatis* SVD as a religious congregation. In response to this question, Fr. Engbers, referring to the application letter of his provincial to the Holy See, stated clearly that the interests of the mission are more prominent than those of the congregation, and therefore one could decide that everything should come to the mission, where a prefect or vicar apostolic is the head of it. On 16 June 1914, Engbers wrote to his Superior General informing him that he and Msgr. Luypen would prefer that the Jesuit's property in Flores and Timor should be under the ownership of the mission and not the congregation.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>229</sup> ARSI, Neerlandica IV 1905-1921, Epistolae. Praepositi Generalis ad Provinciam Neerlandicam. A die 3 Ianuarii 1906 ad diem 5 Maii 1922, Wernz to Vogels, Roma, 29.12.1913, cc. 261-262.

<sup>230</sup> «Für dieses grosse Entgegenkommen fühle ich mich verpflichtet, Ew. Paternität unsere herzlichsten Dank auszusprechen. Möge der liebe Gott die Societas Jesu dafür reichlich segnen! Das ist unser Wunsch und unser Gebet.» Cf. ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl bij Tegelen, 15.4.1916, c. 33; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Serafini to Blum, Roma, 31.3.1916, f. 1 (190); Blum to Serafini, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (191); Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (197); Blum to the Jesuits' Provincial, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (192); AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Vierzehnte Serie, Blum to the Jesuit's Provincial, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (211).

<sup>231</sup> ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Engbers to Werns, Surabaya, 9.12.1911, c. 23 (ff. 1-2); G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 73.

<sup>232</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 7-8; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Engbers to Noyen, Muntilan, 26.7.1913, f. 1; ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl., Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914, f. 1.

Actually, Blum also considered this in his thank you-letter to Włodzimierz Ledóchowski on 15 April 1916. In the same letter Blum asked about the ownership of the immobile properties already transferred to the SVD, whether the Society (the Superior General of the SVD) or the Church (the Apostolic Prefect). Ledóchowski stated that since those goods were the property of the Society of Jesus, naturally under the permission of the Propaganda Fide, and in that sense, not the mission but the Society became the owner and has the right of the property. He then referred the matter to the Provincial Superior of the Dutch Province for any necessary explanations, should any further difficulties or doubts arise in the future.<sup>233</sup>

It seems that the property issue was not finalized. The question was still open for interpretation. That was the idea behind Noyen's letter to Nicolaus Blum on 14 September 1916 reporting the financial circumstances of the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands. In his letter he mentioned that there was no distinction yet between the property of the mission and that of the SVD as a congregation. Noyen and Blum seemed to agree to postpone this matter to be considered as an important issue for the Fifth General Chapter of the SVD in Steyl, Holland (23 September - 25 January 1920). The issue of property was indeed a theme of important discussion in the General Chapter. The result of their discussions were contained in a document called «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*». This document was officially promulgated by the Vice Superior General of the SVD, Fr. Johannes Bodems on 25 July 1922 after receiving a letter of clarification from the Propaganda Fide. The clarity of property ownership between the mission and the SVD represented by the local regional, was finally signed in Steyl on 18 October 1922, between Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen as the Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands (1922-1932) and Fr. Johanes Bodems, the Vice Superior General at that time, representative of the congregation. The essence of this agreement was that the property received during the handing over of the mission and the salaries received from the Dutch Government were considered as the property of the mission under the exclusive administration of the Apostolic Vicar, whereas, the mass stipends were considered as the property of the SVD as a religious congregation.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 2 (198); Ledóchowski to Blum, Zizers, 29.4.1916, f. 1 (199).

<sup>234</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, f. 4; van Rossum to Verstraelen, Roma, 17.6.1922, f. 1 (330); Letter of Agreement between the Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Island and the SVD Generalate, Steyl, 18 October 1922, f. 1 (331); A. МІОТК, *The General Chapters of the Society of the Divine Word (1884-2012)*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 2016 (Analecta SVD, 95), 38-43; AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini, Steyl, 25.7.1922 (18 pages).

## Chapter III

### Early Stages of the Mission Work of the SVDs in the Lesser Sunda Islands (1915-1922)

#### 1. The Mission Work in Its Initial Growth

##### 1.1. Background and Situation

##### 1.1.1. Aim, Motives and the Necessary Pre-Conditions

As a superior who was sent to start a new mission, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD certainly had his thoughts on how to carry out that responsibility properly. From his correspondence with the Superior General SVD in Rome, one can discover Fr. Noyen's understanding of mission, the qualities needed to be a missionary, how to relate to local people and government officials for the sake of the mission, and so on. According to Fr. Noyen, there are many important conditions needed for successful implementation of the mission work.

First, the mission was done to convert people from their traditional religion. The primary target of the mission work at that time was to convert people from their traditional religion who were labelled as infidels and needed to be saved from the final judgement before the second coming of Christ. Fr. Noyen had the European Church's concept about mission at that time, that is, converting people to Catholicism and planting the Church in the midst of those people who were converted. Planting the Church meant establishing the Church as it was known in Europe with its hierarchy among the converted people from traditional religions, like planting a tree from Europe on Asian soil. For Fr. Noyen, people from other religions such as Islam, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism, etc., were not the target of his mission work at that time. They were seen to be more like enemies than friends, especially those from Islam and Protestantism.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle of the missionaries to convert unbelievers was not without clear motivation. For them, the famous Latin adage from St. Cyprian «*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*» applied. This phrase meant that there was no salvation outside the Catholic Church. Islam was seen more like a religion

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<sup>1</sup> ARCHIVIO GENERALE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AG-SVD], 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, f. 2; AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Zehnte Serie, Blum to Tacci, Steyl, 18.11.1913, f. 915; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Tacci, Steyl, 18.11.1913, f. 2.

that taught people about various types of crimes that would not bring salvation. Protestants, emerged after the Reformation, were seen as untrue Churches. The only true Church was the Catholic Church. Because of this understanding, the missionaries fought earnestly so that the people from traditional religion would be saved in the afterlife. This struggle is, of course, founded on the command of the Lord Jesus Himself who urged His disciples to spread the Gospel throughout the world (see Mat 28:18-20). It also meant that if the gospel is not preached, then in the afterlife, those who will be held accountable for the destruction of the people from traditional religions are members of the Catholic Church who are considered to have neglected the command to preach the Good News to them<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, when Fr. Wilhelm Baack, SVD succeeded in baptizing a small girl named Martha of Muslim descent in Atapupu, Timor, in 1914 he wrote in «*De Katholieke Missiën*» as follows, «Thus, the grace of God leads this child as a loner among thousands out of the maze of Muhammad's teaching, on the safe path of the true Faith!».<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, laying a good foundation for the mission was a very important pre-condition in Noyen's eyes. That was why he preferably wanted to have only good missionaries for his mission. Therefore, when he heard that Br. Didacus, who was involved in a moral case in Mozambique would be sent to the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands, he firmly said that someone like him would only destroy the mission. He would better stay in Europe. Relating to Br. Calixtus and Father van den Hemel who liked smoking a lot, he requested from his Superior General to give a warning to them to quit their bad habits or issue an official permission for them to smoke. In short, for him, good missionaries would also have a good influence on the development of the pioneering mission.<sup>4</sup> According to him, religious Brothers should be reliable helpers for missionary work. Therefore, before being sent to a mission,

<sup>2</sup> H. DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum. Definitionem et declarationem de rebus fidei et morum. Edizione bilingue*, P. HÜNERMANN (ed.), Bologna, Edizione Dehoniane, 2003, 1383 (DS 3866-3873); AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 1 (221:1); PROVINCIAL ARCHIVE SOCIETAS VERBI DIVINI TETERINGEN [from now on: PA-SVD Teteringen], P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 82; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, London, SCM Press Ltd., 1996, 57, 59-60; D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll (NY), ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1991 (American Society of Missiology Series, 16), 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> «Zoo leidt de genade Gods dit kind als eenling te midden van duizenden uit den doolhof van Mohammeds leer, op het veilige pad van het ware Geloof!» Cf. W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, in: «*De Katholieke Missiën*» 41/4 (1916), 102.

<sup>4</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, ff. 1-2 (113-114); Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234).

they should be equipped with skills in certain fields of work, such as carpentry, plantations, finance, household affairs and so on.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, having a good relationship with the government was another necessary pre-condition. Fr. Noyen wanted to keep a good relationship with government officials since not only there were good employees but also those who liked to criticize anything related to the Church. According to him, it was better to foster good relationships with those who had a positive opinion toward the Church, in order to minimize interference from those who did not sympathize with the Church. Besides, every missionary in the Dutch East Indies was always under the observation of government officials. This situation can explain Noyen's refusal to receive Fr. Wortel to his mission, even though he was in great need of missionaries. Fr. Wortel was considered as a little bit careless in dealing with government officials. According to him, such a person would only bring discomfort to the mission and Steyl as the Mother House.<sup>6</sup>

Fourthly, having a good relationship with the local chiefs (the so-called *raja*) was also another important condition to work successfully in the mission. In his mission territory observations, Noyen usually paid special attention to visit every local chief (= *raja*) in every area. This was important in order to be able to build a good relationship with them, and in the end, if not successful in converting them to Catholicism, at least to gain their hearts toward the Catholic mission activities and to convert their subjects. The famous slogan from sixteenth century-Europe at that time, «*cuius regio, eius religio*», seemed to have influenced Noyen quite much in this respect.<sup>7</sup>

Fifthly, the necessity of learning local languages was another pre-condition. Noyen was very open to adapting himself to local cultures and customs. The best evidence for this was his earnest desire to learn the local languages. Two months after his arrival in Timor, he already preached in Tetum, the vernacular of Belu. Every missionary was expected to learn Malay

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<sup>5</sup> He praised Br. Lambertus, Br. Willibrordus, Br. Sales and Br. Lucian because they were faithful in their work, while Br. Calixtus was considered as a man who hardly deserved his bread. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 11.6.1915, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, f. 3; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b, inv. Nr. 1753 (persoonsdossiers), Noyen to Ariaens, S.S. Riemsdijk, 8.9.1914, f. 5.

<sup>6</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, f. 7; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 12.8.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 3.

<sup>7</sup> C. MURPHY, *Cuius regio, eius religio*, in: R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995, 385; P. NOYEN, *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/4 (1915), 101; ID., *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/5 (1915), 150; ID., *Dwars door Timor: Reisherinneringen van Pater Noyen, Apost. Prefect der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 40/6 (1915), 164, 166-167; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 59, 62, 68.

and the vernacular languages. This was something indispensable. According to Fr. Verstraelen, the languages were not so difficult to learn compared to those of Togo. Lahurus was chosen by Noyen as a place for language studies (Malay) for the new missionaries, since there was a healthier atmosphere than in Atapupu. He also suggested that the students in the minor seminary in Uden, after 3 or 4 years of studies should begin learning Malay. For those missionaries who already had their appointments for the Dutch East Indies, Noyen hoped that they could prepare themselves well by studying the Dutch and Malay languages before leaving for the mission.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.1.2. Favourable Conditions and Challenges

After some time in Timor, Fr. Petrus Noyen saw that there was a basis for continuing the missionary work in Timor. The basis intended was the foundation of the faith that has already been well laid out by Jesuit missionaries. Already in 1913 Noyen was convinced that Catholics of Portuguese heritage could become the basis for further missionary work in Timor. They could be found in several places in Belu and Middle Timor.<sup>9</sup>

The same thing happened in Flores. After Flores was handed over to the SVD in 1914, the number of Catholics in Timor and Sumba, which in 1913 numbered only about 3,000, grew dramatically with the presence of old Catholics in Flores, especially in parts of eastern Flores, middle Flores, Ende and other places. According to statistical data, the number of Catholics in the whole Lesser Sunda Islands by the end of 1913 was 30,000, the greatest and most fruitful mission after China. Thus, the presence of old Catholics in Timor, Flores and Sumba should be seen as a good potential in the effort to develop missionary work throughout the Lesser Sundas.<sup>10</sup>

Even so, it should also be acknowledged that the presence of old Catholics could also be an obstacle. In Timor, for example, Father Verstraelen wrote from Lahurus that unfortunately, many of the old native-Catholics were very

<sup>8</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 2, 4, 8 (102, 104, 108); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, f. 1 (113); Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, ff. 2-3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, ff. 5-6; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, f. 1.

<sup>9</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 27; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 7 (107); Noyen: Beantwoording der Vragen voor de Instructio S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, ff. 3-4 (256-257); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 53, 67; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen: Erster Apost. Präfekt der Steyler Mission auf den kleinen Sundainseln (Holländisch-Indien). Charakterbild eines Missionars*, Steyl, Missionsdruckerei, 1932, 121.

<sup>10</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, ff. 3-4; P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, in: «Steyler Missionsbote» 40/3 (1912), 40-41.

ignorant and therefore did not fulfil their Christian duties well. They were accustomed to a less Christian lifestyle, even seeming to be infidel. All those old Catholics could not be expected to have a good influence on the newly baptized Catholics. Therefore, these facts were seen as challenges for the mission work.<sup>11</sup>

When writing to Fr. Nicolaus Blum in late 1913, Fr. Verstraelen mentioned the issue of polygamy. He saw this problem as only present in exceptional cases found in Timor among those families living in unity and integrity. Polygamy was only practiced by a small number of people from the influential social class, while the community in general, was very loyal to their marriage.<sup>12</sup>

The local people's openness and reception of the missionaries can also be considered as a favourable condition for the fast growth of the mission work. After conducting a survey in his mission area, Petrus Noyen returned home impressed greatly by the hospitality of people in Timor. According to Noyen, they were peaceful and kind-hearted people often expressing their hospitality by offering gifts to missionaries. He also had the impression that people wanted to help missionaries willingly without any hidden intention or expecting anything in return. Fr. Arnold Verstraelen, SVD valued them as more sociable and polite than the Christians in Togo. He was all the more surprised to notice their friendliness towards missionaries. All these facts were in reality, an expression of the desire of the local people, especially in Timor, to adhere to Catholicism.<sup>13</sup>

As stated by David Jacobus Bosch, in the beginning, the colonialism of Protestant background countries was secular, in contrast to the two previous Catholic colonisers (Portugal and Spain) who were enmeshed with nuances of religion. But in the nineteenth century, secular protestant colonization took

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<sup>11</sup> Many old Catholics thought that being baptized was enough and learning the truths of the faith was considered not necessary. Sunday worship was still difficult for many. Besides, the bad example of many European Catholics – soldiers and others – did a lot to damage the work of the missionaries. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.1.1915, f. 1 (1441); AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915, f. 2; W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, 41/4, 102.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding polygamy, Fr. Mathijsen once wrote in the early days of his assignment in Timor in 1892 that women were more willing to accept the teaching of the Catholic faith and could be baptized whenever the opportunity arose. Not so with men, especially those from influential circles. This happened because some of them had a fundamental problem, namely polygamy, and some still held fast to their traditional religious practice inherited from their ancestors. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, f. 2; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor* [History of the Catholic Church in Timor], vol. 2, s.l., s.d., 140.

<sup>13</sup> The gifts offered were chickens, eggs, abundant fruits, corn, etc. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 4; Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.3.1914, f. 1; Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 14.4.1914, f. 2.

a new face: close collaboration with the missions and its personnel. They saw missionaries as ideal allies, so they welcomed the missionaries to their colonies. In their mind, they had the idea that only missionaries could change human hearts. Through the preaching of the gospel that was passionate about the love of others, the indigenous people who defied colonial power could be conquered. Thus, all occupational programs of the colonisers could work well. The missionaries were highly valued by the colonisers as important agents who could instil Western influence among indigenous people in political, cultural and economic aspects.<sup>14</sup>

Even so, according to Jean Comby, history has also proven that the work of these people did not always go in the same direction. People needed to really distinguish the work of a missionary from that of an official administrator, soldier, and colonist; the situation and the motivation were always not the same, and even differed from one place to another. This difference could occur due to differences in the basic spirit. A colonist might help with a humanitarian motive, but a missionary is motivated by God's command to proclaim the gospel to the natives.<sup>15</sup>

The Dutch as a colonial power and as a Protestant country also applied the same spirit in its colonies. This was indeed felt by missionaries throughout the Dutch East Indies. For example, the government's willingness to pay salaries to pastors who collaborated with them. In the field of formal education and public health, some missionaries were even paid by the government as they met certain requirements.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands, especially in Flores and Timor, it is undeniable that not only there was government support, but also it was mixed up with some political odour. The handing over of the schools in Flores and Timor into the hands of the Catholic mission and the insistence that the SVD immediately take over Flores from the Jesuits, the colonial government at that time had their proper agenda. The agenda intended was to fight the growth and spread of Islam in Flores and Timor. This was quite often expressed by government officials in their talks with missionaries. In the case of Flores, together with the Jesuits, the government also actively encouraged the SVD to immediately provide the missionaries needed for the Flores mission. In this

<sup>14</sup> D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll (NY), ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1991 (American Society of Missiology Series, 16), 303-304; J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 62-63.

<sup>15</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 136.

<sup>16</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 8.8.1914 (first letter), f. 1; G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20* [History of Catholic Church in Indonesia: from the Prefecture to the Apostolic Vicariate], vol. 2, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1972, 215.

regard, the advancement of Islam and other expressions of religion concurrent at that time could be considered as one of the challenges in the mission work.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.1.3. Impressions towards Mission Areas of Timor and Flores

Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD wrote to his Superior General a week after his arrival in Timor from Lahurus in 1913 that Timor was a great mission territory, he liked the mission a lot and he was satisfied. On another occasion, Fr. Noyen also wrote that the Timorese usually came for Mass on Sundays well dressed. They also practiced higher standards of morality than those in New Guinea. To have one wife was a rule for all and wives were not treated as slaves as in many other heathen regions. The boys themselves were more modestly dressed than in China during the summertime. Regarding girls and women, Fr. Arnold Verstraelen, SVD noticed that they were well dressed, which was not the case in Togo.<sup>18</sup>

In his annual report for the period 1914-1915, Fr. Petrus Noyen stated that his prefecture was a wonderful mission area. He even said that the Lesser Sundas were the most fertile mission areas, compared to other mission areas served by the SVD at that time.<sup>19</sup>

Being in Larantuka in 1916, Noyen described its beauty of nature as follows,

[...] At the moment I am at Larantoeke in East Flores. It is our oldest largest and also flourishing Christian community, beautifully situated on the narrow strait which at the narrowest point is only 500 meters wide. Behind our house stands the stately 1500-meter-high mountain Ilemandiri. To our right, we see the fire-breathing mountain Lebi-Tobi [= Lewotobi] who constantly sends his white clouds to heaven. Before us lie the islands of Adonara and Solor. It is as if the picturesque nature has also given art to its residents. It is remarkable how people here find so much aptitude for music and fine writing [= literature].<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 7 (107); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, ff. 4-5; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 2 (233); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 83-84; P. NOYEN, *Eine neue Mission in Niederländisch-Indien*, 40.

<sup>18</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, f. 7; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, f. 1 (149); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 4 (104); Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, f. 2.

<sup>19</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, ff. 1, 3 (181, 183).

<sup>20</sup> «[...] Op het oogenblik bevind ik mij te Larantoeke in Oost Flores. Het is onze oudste grootste en ook wel bloeiendste christelijke gemeente, prachtig gelegen aan de nauwe zeestraat die op het nauwste punt maar 500 meter breed is. Achter ons huis verheft zich statig de 1500 meter hooge berg Ilemandiri. Rechts van ons zien wij den vuurspuwende berg Lebi-Tobi [=Lewotobi] die voortdurend zijne witte wolkjes ten hemel zendt. Voor ons liggen de eilandjes Adonara en Solor. Het is als of de schilderachtige natuur aan hare bewoners ook zin voor kunst heeft medegegeeld. Het is opmerkelijk hoe men hier zoo veel aanleg voor muziek en schoonschrijven vindt.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 1 (221:1).

Larantuka was also the stronghold of Christianity in eastern Flores. From there the missionaries always made their outreach to the surrounding islands of Adonara, Lomblem, Solor and to the mountains of eastern Flores, to expand the Kingdom of God. A large number of faithful receiving the holy sacraments with zeal and piety was a testimony to their missionary zeal and success in the expansion of the Kingdom of God.<sup>21</sup>

## 1.2. Mission and Pastoral Work

### 1.2.1. Initial Work in Timor

The mission station Lahurus was founded by Fr. Adrianus Mathijssen SJ in 1890.<sup>22</sup> Once the Timor mission was taken over by the SVD from the Jesuits, Petrus Noyen settled himself there carrying out pastoral work while waiting for the other SVD missionaries to arrive. Upon the arrival of Fr. Verstraelen in Timor, Noyen informed the Superior General Fr. Nicolaus Blum that Fr. Verstraelen along with Br. Lucian Mölken and Br. Calixtus Oosterholt would live permanently in the Lahurus station. Meanwhile, Noyen, considering that he often traveled, he had not yet made up his mind as to where to stay. He would occasionally be in Atapupu and occasionally go to Lahurus. Later, while waiting for the arrival of two other Fathers, Noyen decided that Verstraelen would be assigned to handle the school in Lahurus, while pastoral affairs would be entrusted to Fr. Wilhelm Baack. Noyen himself at that time had begun to think about the possibility of settling himself in Atapupu to serve the Catholics there which, until then was widely known as an unhealthy area.<sup>23</sup> Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD chose to go to Atapupu to experience himself the real situation of the «unhealthiness» there. In one of his letters he wrote to Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD that if the place was truly unhealthy, they would take

<sup>21</sup> In 1916, 92 persons were baptized, 165,516 holy communions were distributed around 50,198 persons made the sacrament of confession and as many as 48 couples received the sacrament of matrimony. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 1 (221:1); Noyen to Blum, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1916, f. 2 (223).

<sup>22</sup> A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuiten in de Missie van N.O.-I.: Bij den 75<sup>den</sup> Verjaardag van Hun Aankomst in de Nieuwe Missie 1859 - 9 Juli - 1934*, Bandung; Amsterdam, Uitgave A.C Nix & Co; N.V. de R.K. Boekcentrale, 1934, 419.

<sup>23</sup> According to Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD, the causes of the unhealthiness of Atapupu at that time were: many corals that emanated a kind of offensive odour at low tide; the many sago palms that were close to the mission house; the buildings were enclosed by mountains on both sides that blocked the flow of the wind from the back, allowing the malaria mosquitoes to proliferate. The mosquitoes cannot withstand the wind. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 5 (105); Noyen to Blum, Catalogus fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda Minorum in Specie Insulae Timor a 1 Nov 1913 usque ad 1 Sept 1914, s.l., 1.12.1914, f. 2 (166).

turns every year to carry out the pastoral care in Atapupu. Catholics in Timor at this early stage were about 1,869 in Lahurus and 700 in Atapupu.<sup>24</sup>

On 17 May and 14 June 1913, Noyen wrote successively to Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD about his plans for the assignment of missionaries to the Timor and Sumba missions. According to Noyen, at least four Fathers must be assigned to Timor as a first step. He also wished that the oldest station at Atapupu – founded by Fr. Jakob Kraaijvanger, SJ in 1884 – which did not have the presence of a priest for 10 years would be occupied by missionaries again.<sup>25</sup>

Fr. Nicolaus Blum's response arrived via a letter dated 5 August 1913 exhorting Fr. Noyen to work slowly, calmly, gradually with well-planned goals. The inadequate availability of missionaries and mission funds was the reasons for this. Nevertheless, Fr. Noyen still wanted to place missionaries in Atapupu. On 16 December, the same year, Noyen, after his observations on the Timor mission, went to Atapupu with Fr. Johannes Kreiten, SVD and Br. Salesius van de Lith, SVD to stay permanently there. On that day, the Atapupu station, which had long been abandoned by the Jesuit missionaries, again received its permanent pastors. In December 1913, there were five missionaries in Lahurus: Fr. Arnold Verstraelen, Fr. Wilhelm Baack, Fr. Franz de Lange who was waiting for his final appointment for Sumba, and two Brothers, namely Br. Calixtus and Br. Lucian. Fr. Verstraelen was asked to stay back because of the school which was considered a very important aspect of the mission. After more than a month of residing in Atapupu, Noyen wrote to General Superior letting him know that all of them were in good shape and healthy. In fact, he affirmed that the place was not as dangerous as described previously. It looked like they had learned well how to make use of quinines to prevent malaria from deteriorating their health condition.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 1 (120); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 2.9.1913, f. 3 (140); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.1.1915, f. 1 (1441); AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2); P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 41/6 (1916), 174; ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU [from now on: ARSI], 1001 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869 - 1920, Ind. Neerl. 2 - XII, 4, Mathijssen to Wernz, Lahurus, 30.12.1911, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Blum: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1919, f. 3 (275); Noyen to Blum: Statistiek der Region Insulam Sunda Minorum vom Jahre 1921, f. 1 (306).

<sup>25</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, f. 3 (115); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.6.1913, ff. 1-2 (116-117); Noyen to Blum, Catalogus fructuum spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda Minorum in Specie Insulae Timor a 1 Nov 1913 usque ad 1 Sept 1914, s.l., 1.12.1914, f. 2 (166); A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 419.

<sup>26</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 5.8.1913, f. 1 (136); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.8.1913, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, ff. 1-3; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.1.1915, f. 1 (1441); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 71; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 23.12.1913, ff. 1, 3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, f. 1; W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 41/3 (1916), 79.

On 13 February 1914, Noyen wrote in his diary saying that on that day Fr. Franz de Lange arrived in Atapupu. He came there to prepare himself in order to begin a new mission station in Tubaki, south Belu.<sup>27</sup> This happened because until then, the government's permission to start missionary work in Sumba had not yet been obtained. In his correspondence with Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD, Fr. Noyen clearly stated about what should be done if the affairs related to Sumba were still unclear. He wanted that at least for the first two years, the attention be given to Timor and Flores. This was the idea behind his decision to place Franz de Lange in Tubaki. In Fr. Noyen's mind, Tubaki was a fertile, densely populated place that promised much in the future, both spiritually and materially. On 19 February, Fr. Noyen went with him to the intended place and stayed there for the first three weeks. On 22 February, he officially installed Fr. Franz de Lange as the first SVD priest to work there as pastor. This was a completely new station started by the SVDs. After four years, in 1918, Petrus Noyen set up another new station located three hours from Tubaki, namely Waiwiku.<sup>28</sup>

Fr. Franz de Lange, SVD worked in Tubaki for approximately two years accompanied by his confrere Br. Salesius van de Lith. In the beginning, his relationship with the people was rather tense because people were afraid of a «white» Father. But this situation gradually changed after he succeeded in healing a sick child in the village of Kamanasa. After a year, Franz de Lange reported

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the working area of Catholic missionaries in Timor, in a decree of Governor General Frederik s'Jacob (1881-1884) dated 21 April 1883, it was stated that their working areas were only in Jenilu (= Atapupu) and Fialaran (= Lahurus). This decision was then renewed by another decree by Governor General Cornelis Pijnacker Hordijk (1888-1893) dated 19 September 1893. It was stated in the decision that the pastor's working area in Timor covered the entire Belu region. Thus, the opening of a mission station in Tubaki was in accordance with the prevailing decree at that time. The desire of the Jesuit Fathers to start in Tubaki could not be realized because of the lack of missionaries. They only had time to conduct a regional survey carried out by Fr. Hendrik Janssen (1892), Fr. A. Mathijssen (1903) and Fr. Yan Erftemeyer (1905). Cf. H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang* [History of Catholic Church in the Diocese of Atambua and the Diocese of Kupang], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1294-1295; THE ARCHIVE OF PROVINCIAL OF SVD ENDE, INDONESIA [from now on: AP-SVD Ende], Generalaat 1914-1920, Noyen to Idenburg, Atapupu, 4.9.1914, f. 1. In this letter, Noyen recalled the decision of the predecessor of Gouverneur General Idenburg regarding the updating of the area of Jesuit mission work in Timor.

<sup>28</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 76; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.2.1914, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Catalogus Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda Minorum in Specie Insulae Timor a 1 Nov 1913 usque ad 1 Sept 1914, s.l., 1.12.1914, f. 2 (166); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.3.1914, f. 2; P. NOYEN, *Jaarbericht der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 43/9 (1918), 140; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 20-21; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 165.

that the mission work in Tubaki was progressing very well. Every Sunday, the 30-meter house, which served as a church, could not contain the believers.<sup>29</sup>

Fr. de Lange taught Christianity to those people beginning with how to make a sign of the cross while explaining the Holy Trinity, and then the Our Father and the Hail Mary. He also visited the closest villages around Tubaki such as Kamanasa, Besikama and Weoe, providing health services to the communities by distributing the needed medicines. All this changed the view of the local people towards a missionary. He was finally accepted as someone who cared for them like a «father». The government school at Besikama was finally handed over to the Catholic mission based on a contract signed by the Governor General Johann Paul van Limburg Stirum (1916-1921), on 18 May 1916. This agreement led to a problem known as the «Kakaun affair». Kakaun was the residence of a Protestant teacher who taught at the school and was not happy with the presence of Fr. de Lange in the school giving Catholic catechesis to students. He wanted to teach the Protestant religion.<sup>30</sup>

His early work in Tubaki did not go smoothly. He was involved in some conflicts with the *civiel gezaghebber* named Mr. Kievits (1914-1916), successor of Mr. Cherie (1912-1914). The problem seemed to be created by Mr. Kievits. There was still another problem during the *civiel gezaghebber* Agerbeek's mandate, namely the «Niki-Niki problem». Niki-Niki was a neighboring village of Tubaki where people often come to church for worship and health treatment. The problem began when an anonymous person conveyed a hoax to government officials stating that the pastor had informed them that they would be free from forced labor if they faithfully came to the Church. Then it was discovered that this hoax was spread by an accomplished fraudster at the place called Nahak Aman Fahik. Naturally, all these problems affected Father de Lange physically and psychologically.

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<sup>29</sup> After a period of mission work there, the first local lady was baptized on 23 March 1914. By the beginning of 1915, 227 people had already been baptized and 42 had received first Holy Communion. There was also a Christian marriage. At the feast of the Assumption of Mother Mary 15 August 1916, there were about 250 Christians who were given Holy Confirmation. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2); H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1299-1300.

<sup>30</sup> In the end the teacher was transferred to Naikliu, Amfoan, by the *civiel gezaghebber* J.R. Agerbeek (1916-1917) because he made a false report saying that Fr. de Lange forced him to teach the school children Catholic religion. Cf. F. DE LANGE, *De Missiepost van Toebaki*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 41/2 (1915), 44; ID., *Voor 't Eerst op Zuid-Timor*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 49/3 (1924), 92; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History 1903-1942*, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) Press, 2007, 167; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor* [History of the Catholic Church in Timor], vol. 3, s.l., s.d., 1261-1262; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1300.

However, he accepted all these as a chance to carry his «mission cross» with joy since he believed that a missionary should also undergo sufferings to obtain God's blessing.<sup>31</sup>

In his 1919 annual report, Noyen mentioned that the mission of south Belu, opened in 1914, already counted 2,870 Catholics. He also pointed out that in 1919 about 13,453 Holy Communions were administered to the congregation. Karel Steenbrink wrote: «In five years this mission post alone had gathered more Catholics than Lahurus had during 25 years of the Jesuit mission.».<sup>32</sup>

Due to the situation of an extreme shortage of missionaries, the mission in Timor experienced an unexpected problem. On 17 April 1914, an SVD missionary, Fr. Johannes Kreiten, left Timor for no apparent reasons. Thus, the Atapupu station was once again lacking a pastor. Father Wilhelm Baack, who was in Lahurus at that time, was asked to immediately fill the Atapupu mission post where he arrived on 22 April 1914. Unfortunately, he could serve there only for a year. During this short period of stay, Fr. W. Baack wrote to the «*De Katholieke Missiën*» stating that in 1914 the number of Catholics in Atapupu increased by 100, reaching a total the number of 800. He also wrote that on 24 August the same year, a school was opened in Atapupu with 24 boys. Since there was no boarding house, they remained in their villages and came only for classes. Fr. Wilhelm Baack judged this situation positively as a means of teaching discipline to the pupils. They were taught to come to the school and to the Church on time. On May 1915, Fr. Baack was transferred to Larantuka and his place at Atapupu was taken over by Fr. Constant van den Hemel.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> There were a number of problems regarding Father de Lange alleged by Kievits, such as buying community-owned coconuts and areca trees at prices that were too cheap, not rewarding bearers of goods from Lahurus to Tubaki, and also not living on the government's bivouac like other pastors. Cf. F. DE LANGE, *De Missiepost van Toebaki*, 45; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1299, 1300-1301; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 167; H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, vol. 3, 1251-1254.

<sup>32</sup> P. NOYEN, *Jaarverslag van de Missie der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «*De Katholieke Missiën*» 44/7 (1919), 107; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 168.

<sup>33</sup> Fr. van den Hemel also occasionally visited 500 Catholics in Wini who had fled Portuguese rule in the Oecussi region. It was noted that in 1916 he also traveled a long distance to other Dawan areas, such as Manamas, Noemuti, Kefamenanu, Noeltoko, Naikliu, on the north coast of the Amfoan area, where there were also people who had fled the territory of Portuguese-Timor. Cf. W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, 41/3, 79-80; ID., *Uit de Missie van Timor*, 41/4, 102; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915, f. 2; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1303; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien (1913-1963)*, Kaldenkirchen, Steyler Verlag, 1963, 21.

Between 1914-1917, Fr. Franz de Lange fell sick with malaria more often and therefore several times he had to return to the «sanatorium» in Lahurus or to Larantuka to attend to his health. During this period, Fr. Verstraelen and Fr. van den Hemel took turns in attending Tubaki. Eventually in mid-1917, he moved to Ndonga, Flores, where his help was requested. On 7 November 1918, Fr. Noyen wrote to Fr. Blum informing him that he had worked with Fr. Franz de Lange for almost a year. Meanwhile, in September 1918, Fr. Constant van den Hemel was asked to go back to Europe by Fr. Petrus Noyen because of his involvement in certain problems. It was done under the colonial government regulations that obliged him to leave the mission right away<sup>34</sup>. Thus, in 1918-1919 the whole Timor mission with its four stations and 6,418 Catholics were served by the only pastor left, Fr. Arnold Verstraelen. Thus, he had to take care of the entire mission of Timor from Atapupu to Tubaki alone. He also had to attend to the school matters. As a consequence, he was mostly on the road to offer help to the Christians and to give the SVD Brothers the opportunity to receive the Holy Sacraments and to participate in the Holy Mass. In that difficult situation, Fr. Petrus Noyen had to go back and forth between Timor-Flores to help Fr. Verstraelen.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In connection with the problem experienced by Constant van den Hemel, Petrus Noyen mentioned in his letter of 18 August 1918 that he was repatriated to Europe because it was required by article 177 of the Dutch East Indies Regulations. Article 177 itself was a renewal of the previous article 123 which in essence was seen as very much limiting the activities of the Catholic Church in the propagation of the faith. The limitation was intended to prohibit the Catholic missionaries from entering areas considered to be Protestant territories. This did not mean that the presence of the Catholic missionaries could disrupt the comfort of others, but because Protestants wanted to be an exclusive religion that controlled certain areas. It was not stated clearly by Noyen in his letter what was the violation committed by van den Hemel. But if it related to the mentioned article, it meant that the violation was most likely related to the issue of the working area of the Protestants. Cf. Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati [= S.RR.SS.], Archivio Storico, Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari [= AA.EE.SS.], Olanda, 1925-1937, Pos. 51 P.O., fasc. 9, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndonga, 13.8.1918, f. 1; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioces Agung Ende* [The History of the Development of Flores Mission in Archdiocese of Ende], s.l., s.d., 166.

<sup>35</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndonga 13.8.1918, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, ff. 3-4; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 11.6.1915, f. 3; Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ndonga, 16.8.1917, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.11.1918, ff. 3-4, 6; Noyen to Blum: Schrijven uit het Leven van den Missionaren op Timor, s.l., s.d., f. 1; P. NOYEN, *Jaarverslag van de Missie der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, 106-107; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1918*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1918, 38; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1919*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1919, 42-43. According to the *Schematismus 1919*, Atapupu had no pastor; Tubaki was taken care by an SVD lay brother, Salesius R. van de Lith and Fr. Verstraelen was in Lahurus. The name of Fr. Franz de Lange was put under Ndonga; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1301, 1303-1304; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioces Agung Ende*, 156-157; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 168.

Meanwhile, a large number of Catholics in Flores and the advancement of Islam propagation during that time forced the SVD to pay more attention to that island. This was evident from the Superior General's letter dated 13 and 20 January 1914, emphasizing the need for slowing down the pace of missionary work in Timor and other islands to be able to pay more attention to Flores. The consequence was clear: a larger expansion could not be undertaken either in Timor or on other islands. The situation of the war made it difficult to despatch missionary shipments forcing Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD to make that suggestion. However, it did not mean that Timor would be completely abandoned. Moreover, new personnel would be sent to Timor because several German missionaries, expelled mostly from Togo and a few from Mozambique during World War I, were not able to return to their mission posts. After the war, the Germans lost their colonies in Africa due to the Treaty of Versailles, which expelled them from Togo and Mozambique. Some of them were willing to apply for the mission of the Lesser Sundas. Thus, the first group arrived in 1919. Father Verstraelen, as the superior of Timor, finally moved the mission center from Lahurus to Halilulik because it was considered more central to the entire Timor mission area. On 3 May 1920, Arnold Verstraelen moved from Lahurus and started the new mission station in Halilulik. The *standaardschool* for boys in Lahurus was also moved to the new place. The transfer of the school was success due to the hard work of Br. Lucianus Mölken and Br. Willibrordus Donkers. They were entrusted with the responsibility to prepare the school building equipped with dormitories for school children from Lahurus who also moved to the new place.<sup>36</sup>

In 1915 Fr. Petrus Noyen wrote in the annual report that «the crops are indeed abundant, but workers are very few». This was very true with the prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Referring to the mission in Timor, he reported that the mission work there was well developed. In 1918, again Noyen wrote that the reception of the Holy Sacraments had increased significantly in Timor. In the year 1914, it was reported that there were only

<sup>36</sup> Once the World War I ended, some missionaries arrived in Timor: Fr. Camillus Kerckhoff (Belgian; 22.10.1919), Fr. Josef Schmitz (German, December 1919), Fr. Henricus Leven (German, 1920), and Fr. Matthias Berschbach (German, 1921). Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.1.1914, f. 2 (154); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, f. 3 (151); Blum to Pecorari, Steyl, 16.3.1916, ff. 2-3 (188-189); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.8.1917, f. 1 (225); J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 50/3 (1925), 203; J. BETTRAY, *Die Steyler Indonesien-Mission im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Vergangenheit - Ein Datenbild*, in: «Steyler Missions-Chronik» (1971), 42; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1302, 1304; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 31; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 102; H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, in: «Steyler Missionsbote» 67/2 (1939), 30.

about 4,105 Holy Communions, while in 1917 the number rose to 35,910. Timor could be called a Christian territory as there was no counteraction on the part of the Muslims. During the time of the Portuguese rule, Christian churches had existed in different places, and due to these ancient traditions, the people were friendly toward Christianity. In the year 1925, a fifth station in Timor was opened in Noemuti, located further west with its first pastors being Fr. Johannes Smit, SVD and Fr. Anton Baun, SVD.<sup>37</sup>

The number of Catholics in Timor in 1922 were as follows: 9,096 natives 16 Europeans, giving a total of 9,112 Catholics. According to the Schematismus SVD 1922, the distribution of missionaries in the Timor mission in 1922 was as fo as follows:<sup>38</sup>

Name	Nationality	Mission Station
Arnold Verstraelen	Dutch	Halilulik
Henricus Leven	German	Halilulik
Br. Lucianus Mölken	German	Halilulik
Camillus Kerkhoff	Belgian	Tubaki
Br. Salesius van de Lith	Dutch	Tubaki
Josef Schmitz	German	Lahurus
Br. Calixtus Oosterholt	Dutch	Lahurus
Mathias Berschbach	German	(in waiting)

### 1.2.2. Initial Work in Flores

Based on the population census made by the Dutch East Indies colonial government in 1910 the total population of the Lesser Sundas was 2,406,000. A decade later (1920), the population grew to 2,711,674. When the SVD took over the Catholic mission in this region, the population was estimated at 2,505,000. In 1914 the number increased to 2,533,800 residents. The total number of Catholics until 1914 when all the Lesser Sunda islands were taken over by the SVD, including Flores, amounted to 30,468. That means the percentage of Catholics in whole of the Lesser Sunda Islands at that time was only 1.2 % and 89.56 % of them were in Flores. The number of Catholics throughout Flores by the end of 1913 was around 27,290. Even though the percentage as cited above was small,

<sup>37</sup> P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 173; Id., *Jaarbericht der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 43/9 (1918), 140; Id., *Jaarverslag van de Missie der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, 107; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> *Schematismus S.V.D. 1922*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1922, 70; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 122; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Blum, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1921/1922, ff. 1-2 (332-333).

in terms of the number of people, i.e. 27,290 was not a small number and it was almost impossible for them to be served by only sixteen Jesuit missionaries (10 Fathers and 6 lay Brothers) present there. The harvest was so abundant, but the labourers were few. This situation hurt the hearts of a few present missionaries. They were «injured» because the harvest that could have been harvested could not be harvested or wasted just because there was no one to reap it.<sup>39</sup>

All these difficulties happened certainly not intentionally. The outbreak of World War I triggered all these difficulties. It happened right after the SVD accepted the Flores mission from Jesuit missionaries. The SVD had many German, Austrian, Hungarian, Swiss, Belgian and Dutch missionaries. In the beginning, when the SVD generalate decided to take over the Lesser Sundas mission, the Superior General Nicolaus Blum already knew that missionaries from other nationalities besides Dutch, especially German, could be sent to the Lesser Sunda Islands. This could be possible with the help of «*De Ost-Indische Missievereening*» (= The East Indies Mission Society) office in Nijmegen. This was proven by the presence of three missionaries of German origin in the first sending in 1913. But after the first shot in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, in just two months, the war had become a worldwide war. As a consequence, all sea travel routes became impossible, and therefore, the SVD Mother House in Steyl could not send the promised missionaries. Many SVDs were also involved in the war. This war situation disrupted the planned takeover of the Flores mission from the Jesuits, and also weakened the SVD as a religious congregation in terms of membership, as well as financially.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> H. EMMERICH, *Die Kleinen Sundainseln in Zahlen*, in: «Steyler Missions-Chronik» (1971), 77; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 174; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 201; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum: Status von Flores einde 1913, f. 1 (148).

<sup>40</sup> Until May 1915, the total number of SVD members involved in the war were 673. Those involved in the war were Fathers, lay Brothers, clerical Brothers or *fratres* and seminary students. From these there were 18 fallen, 28 wounded, 10 missing and 2 caught on the battlefield. In early January 1918, the SVD missionaries included in the war were 1,357 personnel. Of these, 46 people were arrested in prison, 222 were wounded, 23 were declared missing, 114 were killed on the battlefield. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, f. 3 (115); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 2.3.1916, f. 2; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, 201; *Kriegsstatistik vom Mai 1915*, in: «Nuntius» 36 (1915), 252; *Nachtrag zum Verzeichnis der Kriegsteilnehmer aus der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, in: «Nuntius» 47 (1918), 308; F. DE LANGE, *De Missiepost van Toebaki*, 44; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 22; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 101, 163; M. GILBERT, *La Grande Storia della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, transl. C. LAZZARI, Milano, Oscar Mondadori, 2015 (Original Tit.: *First World War*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), 31-52. In those pages of this book, Martin Gilbert describes the cause of the war and how the belligerent nations entered into the war.

Fr. Noyen was determined to start mission work in Western Flores where the Jesuit missionaries had not done enough, after returning from his first trip to Java in 1914. He even argued that immediate attention was needed in western Flores because of the danger of the propagation of Islam and therefore there was no urgent need to replace the Jesuits in eastern Flores as long as they still wanted to work in Flores. Thus, the SVDs could start immediately occupying some parts of western Flores beginning from Ende, then Bajawa and finally Reo. Noyen's seriousness in this matter was reflected in his decision to move the mission center of the Lesser Sundas from Larantuka to Ndonga, Ende, in 1915.<sup>41</sup>

There were also other developments that Noyen considered regarding his decision to move the mission center. One of them at that time was the improved mobilization of the community, especially from and to the inland. This happened because, since the so-called «wars of pacification» in the years 1907-1908 under the command of Captain Christoffel, the Flores region had become safer to travel. The ease of mobilization was supported by the construction of the trans-Flores road. The government also ensured the safety of the community travelling from one place to another, maintaining the peace among all the small realms of the inland. This development could facilitate the spread of Catholicism to the western part of Flores. Furthermore, Noyen was also aware of the fact that the same facilities could also be used by Muslims too to spread their religion inland.<sup>42</sup>

The first thing that Petrus Noyen and his friends did, as the first SVD missionaries arriving in Ndonga in May 1915, was to build a *standaardsschool* that could accommodate children from the Ende, Lio, Ngada and Manggarai areas. The building was required to have 5 classrooms according to the government's regulations for a *standaardsschool* at that time. When Muslims in Ende became aware of the attempt to spread Catholicism among the Lio people who were still adhered to their traditional religion, they began to carry out anti-Catholic propaganda. It seems that they succeeded in their

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<sup>41</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 4; Noyen to Benefactors, Ndonga, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2); J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 203.

<sup>42</sup> On 6 October 1927 the trans-Flores road of 625 km, connecting Reo on the North coast and Larantuka, was inaugurated by the Resident of Timor and dependencies E.H. De Nijs Bik. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 2 (182); P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 174; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 87, 115; *De Opening van den Flores-Weg*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 53/2 (1927), 27.

attempt and *raja* Ndona, Mbaki Mbani, who was still an infedel, began to hate the missionaries.<sup>43</sup>

According to Karel Steenbrink, during the Jesuit period, the spread of Catholicism to the western Flores region was already been made. The first Catholics sent there were not religious missionaries, but teachers who graduated from schools in Lela and Larantuka, together with several other Catholic teachers graduated from the Jesuits' school in Woloan, north Celebes. This happened in the case of Ngada and Manggarai. So, before Catholic priests settled there, there were already several established schools. When Father Prefect Petrus Noyen visited the western part of Flores in 1915, he baptized school children who had been already prepared by the school teachers.<sup>44</sup>

Why did the western part of the island of Flores island appear to have been neglected during the Jesuit era? The Jesuits did not make significant efforts in the above-mentioned area because of insecurity and a shortage of missionaries, they did not make significant efforts in the above mentioned area. Nevertheless, there were some short visits made by a few Jesuit missionaries. First, in 1882 Fr. Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville, SJ visited Numba and Maurongga, a village located between Ende and Numba. At that time he baptized 40 children in Maurongga. Secondly, visitations were made by Fr. Hendrikus Looijmans, SJ. In 1910, he visited Ende on his way to Labuan Bajo. There he met Catholics, the soldiers from Maumere and the carpenters from Larantuka and celebrated Easter-Mass for them. In 1911, he administered the sacrament of eucharist to 35 men and 17 women and baptized some children. His third visit took place in 1912 during which he continued to Reo in Manggarai and baptized several people there on 17 May 1912. This was recognized as the first baptism ever celebrated in Manggarai territory. Thirdly, there was a visit made by Fr. Johannes de Nateris, SJ. He went to Ende in 1913 where he blessed the marriage of two couples and baptized 4 children. That was the last visit by a Jesuit priest to the western region. More permanent visits were made by SVD Fathers since 1915,

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<sup>43</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 2 (233); L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioses Agung Ende*, 144; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 103.

<sup>44</sup> In 1910 a village school, the so-called *sekolah desa* in Indonesian, was built in Ende for muslim students. The first elementary school in Bajawa was founded in 1911, also the schools in Reo, Potta and Labuan Bajo were founded in the same year (1911), followed by Boawae and Ruteng (1912), Kotta (1914), Savu and Mbai (1916), and Raja (1917). Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 110, 114; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioses Agung Ende*, 146; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1104.

especially by Fr. Prefect Petrus Noyen, Fr. Wilhelm Baack and Fr. Franz de Lange.<sup>45</sup>

After working for a time, Petrus Noyen and the Brothers turned a classroom into a house that had just been built. Posteriorly, the Brothers continued the construction work, meanwhile Noyen began to travel to explore the western region of Flores. First, he traveled to Aimere, then to Bajawa and finally to Boawae to visit schools. There he baptized the school children who had already been prepared by the school teachers. It was for the first time that they received a visit from a Catholic priest.<sup>46</sup>

The following month (November 1915), Petrus Noyen visited Ruteng and Timor. He took the following route: riding to Maumere via Lela and from there to Reo by ship. He baptized 3 children in Reo on 17 November 1915. They were descendants from Menado, Maumere and Larantuka. Departing from Reo, he continued to Labuan Bajo and Ruteng. In Ruteng, he baptized 26 school children from 20 different villages. Among the baptized was the child of Naidju Kainde, a Menadonese who was the headmaster there, and there was also another child, that of another Menado teacher. In Labuan Bajo, he had time to celebrate the sacraments with Catholics from Larantuka who worked there as pearl divers. He celebrated the eucharist with them and baptized their children, both those who had attended school and those who were still very young. Baptism of children also took place in Ruteng. The baptized were school children who had been prepared by the school teachers there. When he returned to Maumere on 16 December (1915), he took with him 8 children to study at the *standaardsschool* in Lela. However, 3 of them soon returned to Manggarai. From Maumere, he continued his journey to Larantuka from where he took another boat going to Atapupu. After spending some time

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<sup>45</sup> P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Ende and the Diocese of Larantuka], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1102-1103, 1104; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 100, 102, 114; J. BETTRAY, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Ruteng* [History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Ruteng], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1255; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 32.

<sup>46</sup> In Aimere he baptized small children (17 October 1915) before continuing his travel to Bajawa and Boawae to visit the schools there. In Bajawa and Boawae he also baptized 38 children who had been well prepared by the school teachers there. The trip back to Ndona was taken by horse from Boawae through Nangapanda. Cf. L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diones Agung Ende*, 145; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1117.

in Timor, Noyen returned to Ndona, where he baptized 20 school children on 15 January 1917. The children were prepared by the teacher B. de Rosari (Iku). Though the baptized children attended school in Ndona, they were not native to that place. In all of his travels, Noyen always baptized children who were expected to be the foundation for future growth of Catholicism. Until that time, the towns of Boawae, Bajawa and Ruteng were still waiting for the much-needed pastors-in-residence. However, due to the lack of missionaries, this area could only be visited once a year.<sup>47</sup>

After Noyen's return from the pastoral visitation, Ndona's *standaardsschool* construction was completed and everything was set to start the school. The details regarding the inauguration day and the particulars concerning the functioning of the *standaardsschool* were prepared. Fr. Petrus Muller in Lela and Fr. Arnold van der Velden in Larantuka provided teachers for the school. Students from class II and III from the *standaardsschool* of Lela were sent to Ndona. It was Fr. Muller who arranged the transfer of all students from Lio who were in the first and second classes in Lela to classes II and III at Ndona's *standaardsschool*. Students to class I were arranged by Noyen and he found around 50 students. By February 1916, the curricular activities at Ndona's school were running normally. Meanwhile, since Father Prefect was always on the move, visiting different places, Fr. Franz de Lange was called from Tubaki to Ndona to take care of the school. Besides, he was also carrying out different pastoral activities in Ndona and the surrounding areas. It was necessary to transfer Fr. Franz de Lange to Ndona because of the imminent threat of the propagation of Islam in and around Ndona. When Fr. Franz de Lange arrived in 1917, two villages in Ndona, namely Nuakota and Koponio were still free of Islamic influences. The residents of these two villages requested to be baptized and taught the Catholic catechism. Heading to this request, Fr. de Lange taught catechism lessons in various villages around Ndona. He never got tired of giving religious lessons and fostering friendships with the local people. Slowly, he began to explore further into the coastal area, towards the east, and towards the mountains to the north and west of Ende. The pastors in Ndona also visited the village of Mbuli Lise that had quite a bit of Islamic influence. They even succeeded in baptizing many little children there. In October 1918, the number of Catholics in the entire Ende region had reached 1,750. According to

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<sup>47</sup> The other 5 were baptized in Lela, 29 May 1915. They received their first communion from Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ on 8 August 1915. We know the names of 4 of them: Paulus Tenggong, Benedictus Muda and Petrus Toa from Todo and Marcus Hoewa from Pagal. Cf. L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diones Agung Ende*, 146, 153; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., typescript, 177 pp., Ende, 12.9.1967, 101; P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 174; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2); P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1118, 1121.

the statistics of 1918, the number of Catholics in the area of Ndona, Ende, West Flores, Bali and Lombok was 2,953.<sup>48</sup>

On his appointment as school supervisor for the entire Flores region in 1916, Fr. Wilhelm Baack began his first inspection in the middle of that year (August-September 1916) from Lio to Manggarai. Through out his journey, he baptized school children prepared by the teachers. This happened in Boawae, Ruteng, and Labuan Bajo. In addition to baptizing the children, he administered first communion to the more mature school children in Bajawa, Boawae and Ruteng. He also blessed the marriage of several couples in Ngada and Ruteng. The total number of baptisms on this official trip was 614 people.<sup>49</sup>

The third inspection of the school in Manggarai by Fr. W. Baack was made in the second half of 1918. On 26 September 1918, he arrived in Labuan Bajo and baptized seven children of pearl divers. On 30 September, he arrived in Ruteng and baptized 152 children. On 6 October, he arrived in Riung, Ngada region, and baptized the first three people from that area. This was his final trip because he died of the Spanish influenza epidemic that same year after returning to Larantuka. Usually, every school inspection trip was filled with activities such as Mass celebrations, preaching, school inspections, joint rosary prayers, special meetings for baptized children and teachers, each made separately. As Prefect, Noyen himself carried out some pastoral activities in September 1918. On 1 September 1918, he was in Bajawa and he baptized the child of Gezaghebber Hamilton with 13 other boys. The same day, together with Hamilton, he reviewed a location between Toda and Belu hoping to build a *standaardsschool* there.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diones Agung Ende*, 147-148, 153; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1117, 1126-1127; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1918, ff. 1-2 (263-264).

<sup>49</sup> For instance, when Fr. Baack was in Ruteng, on 23 August 1916, he baptized four adult from Muslim and traditional religious backgrounds. The next day, 24 August, it was the turn of two schoolboys to be baptized, and 25 August two adult girls were baptized. In his second school inspection in July - August 1917, he baptized children in Bajawa (28 school children and small children), Savu (17 school children), Kota (3 school children), Jopu (16 boys and 2 girls), Wololele (10 children), Ruteng (39 babies and 23 school children), Reo (10 school children) and Labuan Bajo (7 babies). Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 16.8.1917, f. 2; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diones Agung Ende*, 148-151, 153, 155-156; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezüieten en de S.V.D., 102; P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1118, 1121, 1124-1125.

<sup>50</sup> On 8 September, the people of Mbai on the north coast of Flores met a priest for the first time in the person of Fr. Noyen. After the visit, he went to Timor together with Br. Willibrordus to start the construction of a *standaardsschool* in Halilulik. Cf. P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1128-1129.

During 1919, the western part of Flores was not visited by priests until the mission stations in Jopu, Mataloko and Ruteng were finally opened in 1920. In the same year, other stations were also opened in Lamalera (Lembata), Ili (middle Flores), Mauloö (middle Flores), and Halilulik (Timor).<sup>51</sup>

### 1.3. Facilities and Statistics

#### 1.3.1. Pastoral Facilities and Pastoral Needs

In his diary dated 3 July 1913, Noyen mentioned that he had introduced a new system for the administration of baptismal books, specifically related to the writing of the place of birth. During Father Mathijsen's time as a pastor, the place of birth was written according to the place where one was actually born. However, Noyen observed that the place of birth was not always the same as the place where one lived. For example, in Timor, people spent more time working in their garden and it often happened that someone was born there. It was not, however, one's place of permanent residence. Instead, in the baptismal document of a person, Noyen wanted the place of birth to be written with the name of the village where he lived. This would facilitate the work of a priest while visiting a particular village. Only by carrying a baptismal register, would the pastor be able to know immediately how many people had settled there.<sup>52</sup>

This pastoral administration system was then requested by Noyen to be applied throughout the whole prefecture, specifically in Larantuka starting from 1 September 1915. In his letter dated 3 July 1915, Father Baack informed the Prefect Noyen that they had used the new baptismal books for the following stations: Larantuka, Tengah, Konga, Lamalera, Wureh and Solor.<sup>53</sup>

Petrus Noyen wrote to Nicolaus Blum in Steyl, to support the pastoral work of his missionaries, to get him books such as a selection of Old Testament stories, Prayer Books and Song Books in Tetum that had been composed by Fr. Adrianus Mathijsen, SJ, who had also written a Tetum-Dutch dictionary with a concise grammar published in 1906 by the Batavia Society for Arts and Science. This book marked a pioneering work in the study of Tetum, the language of middle and eastern Timor. The translation of the New Testament text was already prepared by Fr. Mathijsen and he wanted this to be printed in Steyl. At the same time, he also wanted to reprint his Prayer Book with the errors already corrected. Noyen hoped that Steyl could help Fr. Mathijsen in this matter, not only because he had contributed to the mission in Timor,

<sup>51</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 32; J. BETTRAY, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Ruteng*, 1255.

<sup>52</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 31.

<sup>53</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 56.

but also because the materials were very useful for mission work especially in preaching and learning language. He also requested that the Scriptures-related images be printed in the New Testament translation. According to Noyen, images can speak a great deal to simple people who do not know how to read and write. In addition, for the sake of catechesis, a series of catechetical drawings were also of great importance. On another occasion, Fr. Franz de Lange also wrote a letter to Nicolaus Blum asking to send him some good rosaries. He wanted to give these rosaries to the children when they received their first holy communion.<sup>54</sup>

### **1.3.2. Statistics Arising from the Initial Phases of Pastoral Work**

The year 1922 reminded people of a new era of missionary work in the Lesser Sundas after Petrus Noyen's death in Steyl, 24 February 1921. The previous era was marked by various crises, such as World War I which complicated the sending of missionaries, the death of 4 missionaries in 1918, culminating in the death of Petrus Noyen himself. Important aspects of the new era were: first, the upgrading of the status of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands to a Vicariate and appointing a new leader in the person of Arnoldus Verstraelen as Apostolic Vicar ; secondly, increasing of the number of missionaries with the arrival of experienced missionaries from the former SVD missions in Togo and Mozambique; and thirdly, the opening of new mission stations resulting in the subsequent progress of the mission in terms of quantity and quality.

Looking at the missionary work in the Lesser Sunda Islands until 1922, one can see clearly that there were still many things to be done because the missionary work was at its starting point. Nevertheless, the situation was favorable and gave hope for the future. There are several important items that can give us an idea about the situation of the mission work until the above-mentioned time. The number of Fathers and religious Brothers in 1914 included both Jesuits and the SVDs, of which there were 10 Jesuit Fathers and 6 Jesuit Brothers, 4 SVD Fathers and 3 SVD Brothers, while in 1922 there was no Jesuit but all SVDs. The total number of Catholics was a combined number of all Catholics: natives, Europeans and oriental people present at that time, of which the majority were natives (Natives: in 1914: 32,246 and in 1922:

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<sup>54</sup> Fr. Petrus Noyen asked for 1,000 copies of the New Testament and the Prayer Book and Fr. Franz de Lange asked for 1,000 good rosaries. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. (102); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 9.8.1913, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 1.10.1913, f. 4; F. de Lange to Blum, Ndonga, 25.4.1919, f. 4; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 117; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 156.

63,589), Europeans: in 1914: 120 and in 1922: 207; other oriental people in 1914: 2; in 1922: 41). The following table contains information pertaining to the Catholic mission and presence in the Lesser Sunda Islands in 1914 and 1922:<sup>55</sup>

Subjects	1914	1922
Number of Catholics	32,368	63,837
Priests	14	36
Religious Brothers	9	13
Religious Sisters	35	46
Baptisms	2,862	7,308
Confessions	123,427	205,101
First Communions	960	17,653
Holy Communions	330,042	733,946
Matrimonies	224	447
Anointing of the Sick	179	273

It is interesting to see the number of Catholics in other Catholic missions in the Dutch East Indies until 1922. From the available data, it can be seen that the percentage of Catholics in the entire Dutch East Indies was not very large, being only 0.27 % of the population. The interesting thing is that 47.48 % of the total number of Catholics in the whole Dutch East Indies at that time was in the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Below is a table with this information:<sup>56</sup>

Subjects	Sumatra	Java	Borneo	Celebes	New Guinea	Lesser Sunda Islands	Total
Catholics	7,172	30,700	4,500	11,500	16,714	63,837	134,423
Priests							163
Brothers							113
Sisters							528
Population							50 million

<sup>55</sup> *Schematismus S.V.D. 1922*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1922, 70; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 204; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, *Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1914*, ff. 1-2 (174-175); AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Blum, *Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1921/1922*, ff. 1-2 (332-333); A. VERSTRAELEN, *Nieuwjaars-bericht aan Alle Vrienden en Weldoeners van Zijn Missie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 49/3 (1924), 36.

<sup>56</sup> *Missie-Berichten: Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 48/11 (1923), 174-175.

Relating the takeover of the mission stations from the Jesuits, there was an interesting situation regarding Fr. Belthold Friess. According to Kurt Piskaty and J. Antonius Riberu, he was first placed in Maumere. But based on the archives at the SVD Generalate of Rome, his first appointment was to Sikka and Lela as pastor. In his letter to the SVD Superior General Nicolaus Blum dated 16 September 1918, he introduced himself as the pastor of Sikka. This was also confirmed by other data which indicated that Fr. Johannes Sevink was still the Pastor in Maumere at that time, and he continued there until January 1920. In Schematismus SVD year 1922, Fr. B. Friess' name can be found in the station of Lela.<sup>57</sup>

Below is a table regarding the takeover of mission stations from the hands of the Jesuits in Flores:<sup>58</sup>

Mission Station	Foundation/ Beginning	Founder/ Beginner	The Take Over	SVD Successors
Atapupu	1884	Jakobus Kraaijvanger	1.3.1913	Petrus Noyen
Lahurus	1890	Adrianus Mathijsen	1.3.1913	Petrus Noyen
Larantuka	1863: (Jesuit's began in Flores)	Gregorius Metz	1.4.1917	Wilhelm Baack Simon Karsten Johannes Bouma
Maumere	1874	Cornelius Omtzigt	1919	Berthold Friess Josef Grootmann Josef Haarmann
Koting	1889	Antonius Ijsseldijk	1919	Leo Vogt Franz Mertens

<sup>57</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, f. 1; Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, ff. 1-3; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 121-122; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1922*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1922, 69; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 21, 32.

<sup>58</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, f. 1; Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, ff. 1-3; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 10, 27.; J. BETTRAY, *Die Steyler Indonesien-Mission im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Vergangenheit*, 41; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Diocese of Larantuka], Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2017, 49; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 418-419.

Nita	1905	Theodor Rouppe van der Voort	1919	Berthold Friess Josef Grootmann Josef Haarmann
Lela	1893	Johannes Engbers	1917	Berthold Friess
Sikka	1884	Cornelis Le Cocq d'Armandville	1917	Berhold Friess

Following is a list of mission stations established by the SVD missionaries from the beginning of their presence until 1939 in the mission of the Lesser Sundas:<sup>59</sup>

No.	Mission Station	Year of Foundation	Name of First Pastors and Brothers (= Br.)
1.	Tubaki	1914	Franz de Lange Br. Sales van de Lith
2.	Ndona	1915	Petrus Noyen Br. Willibrordus Donkers Br. Lambertus Schoren
3.	Jopu	1920	August Suntrup-Schütte Yosef Preissler
4.	Todabelu-Mataloko	1920	Josef Ettel Hermann Hellinge Br. Josef Segerink
5.	Ruteng	1920	Bernhard Glanemann Wilhem Janssen Franz Dorn Franz Eickmann
6.	Mauloö	1920	Lambert Flint
7.	Ili	1920	Josef Haarmann Josef Grootmann
8.	Lamalera	1920	Bernhard Bode
9.	Halilulik	1920	Arnold Verstraelen Henricus Leven Johannes Smit (1) Br. Lucianus Mölken

<sup>59</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 22, 27, 32, 37, 40-41, 47-48, 51-52; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 204; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 113-114.

10.	Nele	1921	Johannes Jakob Köberl Hubert Ehlert
11.	Bajawa	1921	Gerhard Schoorlemmer Leo Vogt
12.	Schakelschool Ende-Ndao	1925	Gerhard van Velzen
13.	Nangahale	1925	Ignaz Terheyden Frans Meyer Br. Callixtus Oosterholt Br. Berchmans Penninger
14.	Noemuti	1925	Johannes Smit Anton Baun
15.	Raja	1926	Josef Ettel Petrus Rozing (1)
16.	Rekas	1926	Franz Eickmann Leo van Well
17.	Lewoleba	1926	Josef Preissler Wilhem Martens Br. Berchmans Penninger
18.	Ende	1927	Bernhard Glanemann Heinrich Limbrock
19.	Bola	1927	Christian Lorscheid Petrus Hooiveld
20.	Lengko Ajang	1927	Wilhem Janssen Rudolf Wolfs Adolf Burger
21.	Hokeng	1928	-
22.	Minor Seminary Todabelu	1929	Franz Cornelissen Petrus Heerkens Martin Boots Johannes Smit (2) Karl van Trier Br. Gallus van de Lith Br. Colomanus Prunnbauer Br. Fransiskus Bakker
23.	Waiwerang	1929	Franz Kluiters Hermann Peters
24.	Waikelo- Karuni	1929	Heinrich Limbrock Hermann Enninga Br. Arnold Streng
25.	Riangwulu	1930	Lambert Flint Hermann Kremers

26.	Mangulewa	1931	-
27.	Atambua	1932	Jacobus Pessers Nikolaus Visser
28.	Oelolok/ Kiupukan	1932	Johannes Smit (1) Kornelius Martens
29.	Weëtebula	1932	Heinrich Limbrock
30.	Mataram, Lombok	1935	Johannes van der Heyden
31.	Denpasar	1935	Johannes Kersten
32.	Detusoko	1936	Josef Lambert Johannes Tol
33.	Ranggu	1936	Nikolaus Bot (1) Wilhem Wiebring
34.	Tuka, Bali	1936	Johannes Kersten Simon Buis
35.	Ledalero Major Seminary	1937	Jakob Koemeester Kornelius Molenaar Anton Thijssen Matthias van Stiphout Br. Crispinus de Wilde
36.	Watublapi	1938	Petrus Hooiveld
37.	Kupang	1938	Heinrich Schröder

Between 1922-1924 there was no new mission station established in Flores and Timor. Perhaps this happened because of the death of Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD at that time. His death opened a new page of missionary work in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Thus, the focus of the attention of the missionaries was to find a suitable successor to Msgr. Petrus Noyen and adapting themselves to the new developments occurring at that time. Another important development at that time after the formation of Apostolic Vicariate was the separation of the SVD's superior's office from that of the ecclesial office, namely the office of the Apostolic Vicar. During the time of Petrus Noyen, these two offices were held by the same person. Because of these reasons, the table above only shows the development until 1921.<sup>60</sup>

In 1939, though several mission stations were established, the absence of a priest was very much felt. This coincided with the outbreak of World War II (1939-1945), which began with Germany attacking Poland on 1 September 1939. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. The war slowly but certainly turned into a war between many nations giving rise to World War II. The Lesser Sunda Islands far-away from Europe were also

<sup>60</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 32-33, 37.

affected by this war. At that time almost all missionaries were made prisoners of war and many mission stations were lacking a shepherd. The war lasted for approximately 5 years.<sup>61</sup>

#### 1.4. The Indispensable Role of Lay Collaborators in the Mission

The success of mission work in the Lesser Sunda Islands was not merely due to the work of the missionaries. Local people made their own contributions as well and that could not be considered trivial. Their contribution came from their presence as lay colleagues in the mission. These are the collaborators whose presence was indispensable for the development of the mission work. They consisted of prayer leaders, religious teachers, catechists and school teachers.<sup>62</sup>

The Prayer leaders or the so-called *guru-guru agama* in Indonesian, were generally taken from the three-year-folk school graduates. The choice of being a prayer leader was not necessarily their first choice, but it was the last choice for them. Those prayer leaders would have had very little knowledge about Catholicism. It depended on what they had learnt at school from their school teachers. There were many things related to the faith they did not understand. Nevertheless, God worked through their shortcomings in achieving something more noble for His people. Usually for that task, they were given an additional course for half a year. Those who could be prayer leaders, of course, would have to meet certain criteria, such as they would have to have a sufficient knowledge of religion, be able to give a good example and have the talent to deal with people. In order to make them fit for the work, the missionary himself usually taught them step by step how they should best act and how they should win people's hearts; he reminded them of the mistakes made and always encouraged them not to lack zeal, nor to allow themselves to be influenced or become despondent because

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<sup>61</sup> The mission stations in Flores were Wolowaru, Maunori, Wangka and Pagal. Those in Timor were Nualain, Seon, Kotaoun, Besikama, Kefamenanu; and Gumbrih in Bali. Cf. K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 52-53.

<sup>62</sup> Until 1935, their number in the Lesser Sunda Islands were 245 catechists, 1318 prayer leaders, and 471 school teachers. The total number was 2034 people. They were indispensable collaborators of the 83 Fathers at that time. Cf. P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 61/7 (1936), 127; H. LEVEN, *Overzicht van het werk der Missionarissen van het Vicariaat der Kleine Soenda-eilanden (Floresmissie) van 1 Juli 1934 tot 1 Juli 1935*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 61/1 (1935), 6-7. In this paper the writer prefers to use the term «prayer leader/teacher», in the Dutch *gebedsleeraar* or *guru agama* in Indonesian, and ordinary teachers, in Dutch *hulpleeraar*, in Indonesian *guru bantu* or *penolong*, rather than other terms because these terminologies were used in the official document of the Synod of Ndona 1935, the first synod of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands, to refer to those collaborators of pastors in Flores and Timor.

of unpleasantness or by difficult children or unruly older people. The missionary constantly monitored their work and how they were performing their duties. In this way they gradually learned to understand their responsibility and tried their best to be effective helping hands for the pastors.<sup>63</sup>

In the early days of the SVD mission work, the most intelligent and the best of the elementary school students, who could thus enter the *normaalcursus* or the *kweekschool*, were trained to become teachers, catechists or lower rank government officials. The ordinary teachers, in Dutch *hulpleeraars*, in the past were boys who were VVS (= *vervolgsschool*) graduates, ex-seminarians who had been at the seminary for at least 2 years, those who finished the *schakelschool* and the prayer leaders who had joined for the half-a-year course. All these could be recruited to be an ordinary teacher or those who could be considered as «catechists». Before being an ordinary teacher or a catechist, the candidate should have spent a period of probation for about three months with a pastor who then checked whether that candidate had zeal, interest, good religious character and whether he could deal with people. If the pastor considered the candidate suitable, he proposed the candidate to the dean or the *vicarius foraneus* to be admitted to the religious course which lasted for 2 years. After finishing the course, each of them would receive a diploma and the formal *missio canonica* from the *vicarius foraneus* to work as an ordinary teacher or catechist. The official appointment of a catechist or ordinary teacher was made by the Vicar Apostolic after consulting with the parish priest of the place where he would work. Such criteria were regulated by the Synod of Ndona, which was held from 16 to 22 August 1935. Generally, they worked in established parishes assisted by members of the congregations and other lay collaborators. One of their tasks was to supervise prayer leaders in their area. In places where Christianity was already established, prayer leaders could gradually be retired.<sup>64</sup>

In areas where the villages were small and located far away from each other, the only way for Christianization to occur was by appointing prayer leaders, each having their own area of responsibility, often by taking care principally of the young children. Their task, especially in the villages, was teaching the non-school-going youth. The children they taught were Catholic children; children from parents who still adhered to their traditional religion, as well as adults who wanted to become Catholics. They were taught the questions and answers from the catechism book and daily prayers. The more detailed explanation or

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<sup>63</sup> J. KARSTEN, *Mijn Guru Agama's*, in: «Pastoralia» 8/2 (1950), 165; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 203; P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 128.

<sup>64</sup> There was an exception. A qualified and meritorious, long-serving prayer leader could be appointed to be an ordinary teacher by the local ordinary. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, f. 8.

catechesis was given by the pastor himself, usually done every Sunday after the High Mass and in remote places once a month during an official trip. The final preparation for first Holy Communion was always given by the pastor personally. Thus, the new Christians got sufficient knowledge of religion to justify the hope that they would become decent members of the Holy Church.<sup>65</sup>

In the course of time, other efforts emerged to better prepare the candidates for their first communion. An effort was made to establish what was called the «religion school» or *sekolah agama* in Indonesian. This religion school was not a formal school, but an informal one held twice a week. The places they used were usually school buildings, private-Catholic houses, chapels, churches or houses built specifically for this purpose. Those recruited to become teachers for this school were ex-seminarians, students graduating from village schools or those from prayer leaders who indeed had a dedication to carrying out such a task. The material taught was the catechism, daily prayers, singing practice and getting to know the preparations for the big celebrations in the church such as Christmas and Easter. This school began with the new school year and ended after the first communion celebration.<sup>66</sup>

When the missionary was on an official trip to distant villages, which he could only visit occasionally, these prayer leaders were then the first and the foremost of the «Catholic Radio Broadcasters», the communicators, who announced the coming of the pastor far and wide to the Christians who usually stayed in their gardens and encouraged them to come to the school or the church. That took a lot of effort and sweat on the part of the *guru-guru agama*, because they had to go up and down the hills to find the «sheep» here and there. Furthermore, they had to be able to give an account for every «sheep» that did not turn up to the pastor, who usually asked for the list of Christians or candidates during the visit.<sup>67</sup>

Their other duties which were far more difficult than teaching prayers were animating the community to carry out Sunday obligations such as praying and taking rest from their daily work and maintaining a good Christian spirit in their villages. They were not to leave the slow and lazy ones to their fate, but to encourage them and, if necessary, bring them along to meet the pastor personally. When the faith was not yet so strong among many newly converted, the exhortations of a *guru agama* could greatly contribute to the classification and strengthening of the faith. They also were repeatedly reminded to take care of the sick and the dying. They had to prepare people from traditional religion for

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<sup>65</sup> J. KARSTEN, *Mijn Guru Agama's*, 165; P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 127.

<sup>66</sup> J. KARSTEN, *Mijn Guru Agama's*, 165-166; P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 127; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 203.

<sup>67</sup> P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 128.

baptism in their last hour and administer that sacrament to them if the pastor was absent or lived too far away. If a Christian was in danger of dying, he had to report it to the pastor as soon as possible in order to administer the Sacrament of the Sick to the dying person. If the pastor could not be reached, they would pray with the Christians at the home of the sick or dying person and arrange the funeral for a Christian. On the first occasion, the *guru agama* had to give the pastor the names of those who were baptized in danger of death and of deceased Christians. The pastor then immediately inquired about how they had discharged their duties and, if necessary, he gave them directions or reminded them of their obligation in the event of proven negligence. Furthermore, it was their task to lead an evening prayer, in which the older Christians should participate as much as possible; conduct the prayer service on Sundays and if there was a Mass, to lead some of the prayers and hymns during the Mass.<sup>68</sup>

These collaborators of pastors were usually highly respected in the community. Therefore, they were usually given the title «religious elders» or *para orang tua agama* in Indonesian. For this task, they were given a little financial incentive, and were also freed from the yearly 5 to 6 weeks compulsory labor or the so-called *kerja rodi* required by the colonial government. Sometimes Christians also gladly helped their *guru agama* to cultivate his fields without having to pay. These things satisfied them quite well. Since most of them received only a small compensation for their services in money or something else, to instill in them a supernatural attitude to their work – which is all the more necessary – the pastor usually called them together to give them a monthly recollection and to have an annual retreat if possible.<sup>69</sup>

According to Fr. Alex Beding, SVD, an eyewitness to the history of the SVD mission in Indonesia, the ordinary teachers and prayer leaders were those who understood both the language and the local culture compared to foreign missionaries who did not. Therefore, they could appear to be reliable heralds of the Word. However, they did not teach based on their own abilities; missionaries empowered them first through monthly recollections and regular

<sup>68</sup> J. KARSTEN, *Mijn Guru Agama's*, 166; P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 127-128; H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, 34; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes in den Heidenländern. Die Inselmissionen in Ostasien und der Südsee: Die Mission in Hollndisch-Indien. Das Apostolische Vikariat der Kleinen Sundainseln*, vol. 1, Steyl, Missionsdruckerei, 1931, 51-52.

<sup>69</sup> Usually a catechist was given an incentive of 300 guilders per year, while a prayer leader was given 120 guilders. Catechists appointed for European children received 20 guilders a month. There had to be at least 10 children in the group. If there were fewer than 10 children for 2 months, the payment of 20 guilders would be cancelled. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Dr. J.G.C. Vriens to the Minister of Colonies, Sittard, 5.7.1923, f. 4 (343); J. KARSTEN, *Mijn Guru Agama's*, 166; P. HOOVELD, *Onmisbare hulpkrachten in de Missie*, 128; A. VERSTRAELEN, *Nieuwjaars-bericht aan Alle Vrienden en Weldoeners van Z'jn Missie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 49/3 (1924), 36; H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, 34; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 92.

retreats. In East Flores they were usually called «helpers». For example, among the more well-known prayer leaders or helpers or *penolong* in Indonesian, in Lembata were: Petrus Tetu (Puor) and Paulus Sili Bataona (Ile Ape). There were also school teachers who played a dual role as regular teachers as well as prayer teachers, namely Stanislaus Lela Tufan (Ile Ape) and Andreas Sinu Beding (Kedang). These people had a tremendous influence in the eyes of the community and of the people. In the early days of the SVD's work, such teachers were very common in Flores. At that time, Larantuka and Lela were the main providers of religious or prayer teachers and builders to all corners of Flores. In particular, school teachers really became the pastors' right hand in teaching faith in the schools. In reality, usually no child left school without being baptized first. At night, these teachers walked around from village to village with lanterns to teach the Catholic faith.<sup>70</sup>

In his survey in Timor, Noyen brought a carpenter, namely Markus, as a guide and interpreter. He was also considered by Noyen as a «cathechist». In Atapupu, Fr. Wilhelm Baack had a catechist with the name of Augustine. In Lahurus, the first two religious teachers or *guru agama* originated from the family of Joseph Atok, who was famous and well known by the name «Atok Serani». He often helped Pastor Kraaijvanger, a Jesuit Father in Atapupu, in various pastoral matters. His two children named Yakobus Taek Parera and Agustinus Diaz were trained as prayer leaders by Pastor Arnold Verstraelen. Thanks to the schools run in Atapupu and Lahurus, in the first decade of the SVD mission work. These two places became important centers for the provision of religious teachers for the various corners of Timor. By 1930, the mission had 877 religious teachers. However, the shortage of the prayer leaders and ordinary teachers in that year was still felt in Manggarai, western Flores.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Goeroe Tenga: Een Leeken-apostell*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 58/7 (1933), 127; H. DJAWA, *Karya SVD di Bidang Pendidikan* [SVD's Work in Education], in: H. DJAWA – M. BEDING – Y. DAMIANUS MUKESI (ed.), *Dalam Terang Pelayanan Sabda. Kenangan Tujuh Puluh Lima Tahun Karya SVD di Indonesia* [In the Light of Serving the Word. 75 Years of the SVD Presence in Indonesia], Ende, Komisi Komunikasi Provinsi SVD Ende, 1990, 91; An interview with Fr. Alex Beding SVD (born in Larantuka, 13 January 1924), a historian, writer and an eyewitness to the SVD mission work in Indonesia. The interview was done in Saint Arnold SVD Mission House of Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia, 5 August 2013, private archive of the author.

<sup>71</sup> Information about the whereabouts of religious teachers in Timor became clear in one of the letters of the Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen, dated 10 March 1920 to the Governor General in Bogor, Johan Paul van Limburg Stirum. The name and place of work was clearly stated of those appointed as religious teachers. Those who were mentioned were Thomas Pareira (Naitimu and Lidak), Leo Beru (Fialaran and Lamaknen), Leo Renu (Wehali), Aegidius Pareira (Manulea and Bani-Bani) and Petrus Basinti (Noemuti and Miomafo). Cf. P. NOYEN, *Dwaars door Timor*, 40/4, 101; W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, 41/4, 102; H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1292-1293, 1294, 1301, 1303, 1308; J. THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, 52.

The designation of these mission collaborators varies from place to place. Some call them prayer leaders, religious teachers, helpers, catechists and so on. All names refer to the same function. Of course there are many other well known names from among these «teachers» that were scattered throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands which unfortunately the writer has not mentioned in this paper. That does not mean their services was not known or appreciated. Their great and loyal services remain imprinted in the hearts of all those who have ever been able to know them personally. They are among the unsung heroes of the success of the SVD mission work in this archipelago.

## **2. Promoting Mission Work in Difficult Situations**

### **2.1. Concerning Mission Personnel**

#### **2.1.1. The Context Surrounding Father Prefect Petrus Noyen, SVD**

If one pays attention to how Father Prefect Petrus Noyen composed his letters requesting missionaries from Steyl, one certainly cannot fully understand what he was actually doing. He appeared almost like a person who did not care about the situation of the war that hampered Europe at that time. For him, whatever the situation, what was more important was receiving missionaries to serve people in need. Surely such an attitude could not just happen without reasons. There were some reasons in his mind that motivated him so intensely to make such impossible requests. Petrus Noyen sent innumerable letters to the SVD generalate in Steyl in the same tone: asking for missionaries. Based on the correspondence between Noyen and Blum, we can clearly see the situation surrounding Noyen at that time.

First, there was a mix up of a sense of responsibility between the demand from the Jesuits and government officials and Noyen's personal feeling. Noyen felt responsible for the mission's benefit and progress especially since he did not want to disappoint the Jesuits who had put their confidence in the SVD. They abandoned Flores because they themselves lacked missionaries. The Jesuit superiors always reminded Noyen that the spiritual motive behind the abandonment of Flores was the unwillingness to bear the responsibility before God for working with such a little force on that island. More than that, his first impression on his arrival in Timor was still haunting him; how embarrassed he was when the Jesuits saw him arriving alone. And after that, when the promised missionaries from Steyl did not soon arrive, he felt as if the Jesuits always put unpleasant long faces in front of him wherever he went. He

also felt constantly pushed by the Jesuits and government officials to protect Flores vigorously from the prey of Islam.<sup>72</sup>

Secondly, there was the common anxiety regarding Islam propaganda in Flores. Before the SVD missionaries arrived in Flores, Islam was very keen to control the inland territories. They entered from various directions into the inland territories through trade routes. When Noyen began in Ndona, Muslims immediately suspected that there were enemies who tried to disrupt the development of their religion's propagation. After that, the competition with Islam to convert people from traditional religion in the inlands became more severe. Therefore, every month that passed without any new effort from the mission was considered a big loss that could only be regretted later, because many people from the traditional religions could easily be converted to Islam in one day. Petrus Noyen considered this as a very serious threat to the mission work in Flores. Jesuit missionaries in Flores shared the same opinion and they could not wait any longer to see Flores under Catholic mission control. Therefore, in order to contain the pace of Islamic growth and to avoid many difficulties with Muslims in the future, serious efforts needed to be made immediately in the western part of Flores, considering that the Ende coastline area was under Muslims control. Petrus Noyen was so stirred by the anxious people around him seeing the fast spread of Islam in Flores. More than that, Noyen shared the same opinion of many people at that time arguing that Islam is an erroneous religion.<sup>73</sup>

Thirdly, there was the issue of maintaining a good image and the reputation of Steyl and the SVD in front of the Jesuits and the Dutch government officials. Noyen considered the deep desire of all government officials from top to bottom. They told him orally that they expected much more from the SVD to convert Flores and Timor to Catholicism. The Resident of Kupang and many other government officials had known Steyl's reputation for a long time. They respected Steyl very much and hoped that the SVDs would make much progress in converting Flores into a Catholic island. According to Noyen, the success of Steyl's missionaries in the Lesser Sundas mission would crown Steyl with great honor in front of Holland's government and its people.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 7, 9-10 (107, 109-110); Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, ff. 2-3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 10-11 (110-111); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 4-5, 11-12; Muller to Blum, Lela 17.1.1917, f. 2; Noyen to Craghs, Ndona, 24.12.1917, f. 1; Noyen to Serafini, Ndona, 29.12.1917, f. 2 (226<sup>a</sup>); Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, ff. 1-2.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 9-10 (109-110); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, ff. 4-5; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 11-12.

Fourthly, there was the matter of making use of the favourable conditions provided by the government in school matters. In his letter to Fr. Nicolaus Blum in January 1917, Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ wrote that this very special condition which would be effective only until the beginning of 1923 had to be utilized to its maximum extent possible to convert Flores and Timor to Catholicism. Since the government committed itself not to open schools in Flores, the mission could set up Catholic schools in places where there were many unbaptized people. As long as the SVDs could fulfill society's need for education, there would be no need for government schools. He reminded Blum that there was a *periculum in mora* [= danger in delay]. If the demand of building and attending to schools were not met quickly and properly, the Church would lose that irrevocable chance in the future.<sup>75</sup>

### **2.1.2. The Arrangement for the Deployment of Personnel and Mission Stations before the Unification of Flores**

After starting work in the Timor mission area, before Flores was officially combined with the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands, Noyen's main concern was seeking a way to start with missionary work on the island of Sumba. Msgr. Luypen himself stated that he had written official letters to the Governor General Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg presenting the name of Fr. Franz de Lange, SVD as a prepared missionary for Sumba. But until April 1914, his efforts were not crowned with success. The main reason mentioned at that time was that Sumba was a «Protestant» territory. Unfortunately, with such an answer, hundreds of Sumbanese Catholics who had been deprived of any Catholic pastor for more than a decade, had to wait for some more time in order to obtain a permanent pastor.<sup>76</sup>

Between 1912 and mid-1914, at least seven times Petrus Noyen wrote to the SVD central office or the generalate regarding the planning and sending of missionaries to the mission of the Lesser Sundas. At the core of his letters, namely for Timor and Sumba, he asked for 8 missionaries. However, in his last letter of 6 June 1914, he asked for a larger number, that was of 11 missionaries. The following is a list of his requests for missionaries for Timor and Sumba:<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 5, 9-10; Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, ff. 2-3; Muller to Blum, Lela, 17.1.1917, ff. 2-3.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 30.10.1913 (second letter), f. 1; Luypen to Blum, Malang, 22.10.1913, f. 1 (147); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, ff. 3-4; Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914, ff. 4-5.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum and general councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, f. 7 (77); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, ff. 8, 10 (108, 110); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, f. 3 (115); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.6.1913, f. 2 (117); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 2 (121); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 5; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 5.

No.	Date	Missionaries Requested (before Flores Unification)		Total
		Priest	Lay Brother	
1.	17.10.1912	3 for Timor 2 for Sumba	2 for Timor 1 for Sumba	8
2.	22.3.1913	5 for Timor 2 for Sumba	1 for Sumba	8
3.	17.5.1913	4 for Timor	Not mentioned	4
4.	14.6.1913	4 for Timor	Not mentioned	4
5.	14.7.1913	4 for Timor	Not mentioned	4
6.	04.12.1913	5 for Timor	3 for Timor	8
7.	05.6.1914	5 for Timor 2 for Sumba	3 for Timor 1 for Sumba	11

It is interesting to read Petrus Noyen's own words in his letter dated 14 July 1913. He wrote, «[...] So, two Fathers and a good upright Brother for Sumba. I do not want to withdraw from my previous request for Fathers, so that our number will grow to 7 Fathers and 4 Brothers».<sup>78</sup> His request for Timor until mid-1914 was more or less fulfilled with the sending of 6 Fathers and 5 Brothers. Regarding Sumba, since there was no certainty regarding the permission to begin there, the missionary prepared was only Fr. Franz de Lange. But until the end of his missionary work in the Lesser Sunda Islands, he never once set foot on Sumba. The following are the names of missionaries who worked in Timor until mid-1914, one part of the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>79</sup>

No.	Name	Arrival	First Place of Work
1.	Fr. Petrus Noyen	20.1.1913	Lahurus then Atapupu
2.	Br. Calixtus Oosterholt	18.2.1913	Lahurus then Atapupu
3.	Fr. Arnold Verstraelen	14.5.1913	Lahurus then Halilulik
4.	Br. Lucianus Mölken	14.5.1913	Lahurus then Halilulik
5.	Fr. Franz de Lange	16.9.1913	Lahurus then Tubaki
6.	Fr. Wilhelm Baack	16.9.1913	Lahurus then Atapupu
7.	Fr. Johannes Kreiten	16.9.1913	Atapupu then Europe
8.	Br. Salesius van de Lith	16.9.1913	Atapupu then Tubaki
9.	Fr. Constant van den Hemel	14.2.1914	Atapupu then Europe
10.	Br. Lambertus Schoren	14.2.1914	Lahurus then Ndona
11.	Br. Willibrordus Donkers	14.2.1914	Lahurus then Ndona

<sup>78</sup> «[...] Also zwei Patres und einen guten gediegenen Bruder für Soemba. Ich will damit meine früheren Bitten um Patres, so daß unsere Zahl auf 7 Patres und 4 Brüder wachse, will ich damit nicht Zurückziehen.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 2 (121).

<sup>79</sup> PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 11, 15, 24, 37-38; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 13.8.1918, f. 1; W. BAACK, *Uit de Missie van Timor*, 41/4, 103.

Responding to Petrus Noyen's requests above, Nicolaus Blum wrote on 13 January 1914 when negotiations regarding the surrender of Flores to the SVDs were in a state of being resolved. In this context, Blum asked Noyen to work quietly and in no hurry in Timor and Sumba. He found it difficult for the generalate to provide even 3 or 4 Fathers a year for the Lesser Sundas mission because he needed to consider other SVD missions as well.<sup>80</sup>

In his letter dated 20 January 1914, Nicolaus Blum gave a reason why he was late in replying to all Noyen's letters. Apparently, the letters arrived late in Blum's hands because they were lying too long in the Jesuit generalate in Rome. This time he responded in a much more serious vein than in the first letter mentioned above. He wrote as follows,

According to your account, the harvest is ripe, but the Word of the Lord is still valid, «the workers are few». Therefore, we need to pray for the Lord to send us workers and to set up our work according to the availability of missionaries. The Dutch Mission and the Holland Province is certainly very dear to me. I will therefore do everything I can. That is self-evident and there is no need of proof. On the other hand, however, the adage «*ultra posse nemo tenetur*» applies.<sup>81</sup>

He also reminded Noyen that almost all the SVD mission superiors wrote almost in the same tone to the generalate as he did. Fr. Heinrich Limbrock from Mozambique also urgently asked for missionaries. There was also the greatest need in China. In the Netherlands itself, in 1915 a novitiate was going to be opened in Teteringen for which capable missionaries were needed to do such a task. Certainly, a solid foundation in Europe can assure great success in the missions. On 5 August 1913, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Petrus Noyen asking him cordially to work slowly, purposefully and calmly and if necessary he needed also to calm down his confreres. Blum stated clearly to him that the generalate could not send dozens of missionaries at once, even after a few years. The same thing would happen also with the funds. He then wrote a saying as follows: «Rome was not built in a day».<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.1.1914, ff. 1-2 (153-154).

<sup>81</sup> «[...] Nach Ihrem Berichte ist die Ernte reif, aber es gilt doch noch immer das Wort des Herrn: „der Arbeiter sind wenige.“ Wir müssen daher den Herrn bitten, dass er uns noch Arbeiter sende und bis dahin selbstredend unsere Arbeit nach den vorhandenen Kräften einrichten. Die Holländische Mission und die Holl[and] Provinz liegt mir gewiss sehr am Herzen. Ich werde daher alles tun was ich kann. Das ist ja an sich selbstverständlich und braucht weder behauptet noch bewiesen zu werden. Auf der andern Seite gilt aber auch das Wort: „*ultra posse nemo tenetur*“». Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, ff. 1-2 (149-150).

<sup>82</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 5.8.1913, f. 1 (136); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, ff. 2-3 (150-151).

After receiving a letter from Blum in which one of the underlined points was to slow down the work, Noyen answered by showing him the large number of Catholics in the Lesser Sundas who needed to be pastored. Compared to the number of Catholics in other SVD missions at that time, such as Mozambique with 3,000, and Japan which had only 358 people, the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands in 1914 had 30,000. For this reason, Noyen seemed to be asking for more attention from the generalate for his mission.<sup>83</sup>

In his response, Blum acknowledged the importance of the Lesser Sundas mission as the second largest SVD mission after China. Therefore, he assured Noyen of the generalate's support and attention, but it did not depend on the number of Catholics. In his eyes, all missions had the same value and must be given as much attention as possible. In his mind, the SVD bore the same responsibility to all its mission fields, Mozambique and Japan were not exempted, even if there were only few Catholics there. Blum admonished Noyen for not acting wisely when he promised the Mr. Resident that they would receive «five»<sup>84</sup> Fathers from Steyl in 1914. Honestly he wrote that he himself did not know how to get the 5 Fathers requested by Noyen while he kept reminding him of the old Latin adage, «*ultra posse nemo tenetur*» [= no one is obliged to do what is impossible]. Even though, at the same time he knew that Fr. Heinrich Wortel was in Steyl. He was a bit tempted to ask that old priest, the 50-year-old Papua New Guinea missionary, to agree to be sent to the Dutch East Indies.<sup>85</sup>

In their correspondence regarding Fr. Heinrich Wortel, a Dutchman, Noyen stated that the old age of a missionary can make it difficult for the person to learn languages and adapt to new situations. According to him, rather than accepting an old Dutchman, he would prefer a young German missionary. He was more likely to ask for Fr. Franz Wulf, on the grounds that besides the fact that he was young, he could also be a good supervisor for an offset printing press that was planned to be opened in Ende, Flores. Apart from age, another factor why Noyen disliked Fr. Heinrich Wortel was his character. He was well known to be a person who did not know how to control his tongue when talking to others.<sup>86</sup>

Finally Petrus Noyen opened his heart to Blum. He acknowledged that Nicolaus Blum had tried hard and indeed the situation at that time did not allow him to send the much needed missionaries. Despite that, he acknowledged Blum's

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 5.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 10.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, ff. 2-3 (156-157).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.7.1914, ff. 2-3; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 3 (157); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, f. 7.

noble intentions for all SVD missions, especially toward Uden and the Lesser Sunda Islands. He then revealed that all the letters that had been sent to him were intended to show how great was the need in the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands. He hoped that by those letters the real situation was clearly illustrated. Even so, just like a «little boy» in front of his «father», he could not stop mentioning his need of missionary personnel. He then ended his letter by saying that he really had an absolute necessity of more personnel and he expected that Fr. Nicolaus Blum would send him many more missionaries at the earliest possible opportunity.<sup>87</sup>

### 2.1.3. The Arrangement for the Deployment of Personnel and Mission Stations after Flores Unification

When Flores became officially an SVD area of work, the affairs of Sumba were slowly being ruled out. The attention began to be directed only to Timor and Flores at least for a period of two years, 1914-1916. Even so, the attention intended was only shown on paper. In reality, the grand plan to start the mission on Flores was seriously hampered by a *force majeure*, namely World War I, that made the sending of missionaries from Europe very difficult, even impossible.<sup>88</sup>

Surprisingly, until mid-1914, just before Flores was handed over to the SVD, Nicolaus Blum had very little knowledge about the number of Catholics on Flores. He thought that the number was only around 8,000. Actually, at the end of 1914 Noyen had written to Blum reporting the state of the mission in Flores. Noyen finally straightened this out by saying that the actual number was 8,000 times three. He then showed the actual numbers. By the end of 1913, in eastern Flores there were 10,717 Catholics, middle Flores 16,573 and in Timor around 2,800. The total number of Catholics was around 30,000<sup>89</sup>.

In order to take care of the mission work on Flores and Timor, in 1916 Petrus Noyen already had plans regarding the placement of missionaries at certain mission stations. This plan was apparently reported to Steyl in his request for missionaries. In the prospect that he was able to support this plan, Nicolaus Blum

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 12.5.1915, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 11.6.1915, ff. 1-2.

<sup>88</sup> *Force majeure* is a French term that literally means «superior or irresistible force». The real meaning is an unforeseeable, unavoidable or unexpected event such as a war, crime or natural disaster which prevents someone from doing something that has been decided. Cf. «Force majeure», <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/force-majeure> [accessed: 25.7.2019]; «Force majeure», <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/force-majeure.html> [accessed: 25.7.2019]; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.3.1914, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914, ff. 4-5.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Status von Flores einde 1913, f. 1 (148); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 3 (157); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, ff. 3-4; Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 1.

wrote to the East German Provincial at that time, Fr. Theodor Kost. It was in this letter that Noyen's plan can be seen. The following is a summary of the plan.<sup>90</sup>

Island	Mission Stations	Priests Requested
FLORES	Larantuka	6
	Ndona	2
	Bajawa	2
	Ruteng	2
	Jopu	1
	Paga	1
TIMOR	Atambua	2
	Tubaki	1
	Kefamenanu	2
Total		19

A background description of the need for priests is as follows: first, Larantuka should already have been taken over from the Jesuits. So, he asked for 6 Fathers in order to speed up the replacement process. The total number of 6 Fathers was actually too few for so many schools and 12,000 Christians.<sup>91</sup>

Secondly, Ndona. Since his arrival in Ndona, Petrus Noyen had been practically unable to go anywhere because so many school children, two Brothers and other matters that could not be left behind; they demanded his constant presence among them. Thus, his duties as an apostolic prefect could not be carried out properly. Therefore, he wanted to have 2 more Fathers to take care of the *standaardsschool* and to do pastoral work.

Thirdly, Bajawa and Ruteng. According to Noyen, mission stations must be opened in Bajawa and Ruteng and the construction of the *standaards-schools* must begin not later than 1917. Also, there were already some baptized Christians. Because the territories were very large, two Fathers should be sent together to the same station.<sup>92</sup>

Fourthly, Jopu. In the previous two to three years the conditions were very favorable. But there was a serious threat from Islam; many local people already embraced this religion. Therefore, a Father was needed to be placed there immediately. Also there were 2 schools in the area.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 20.10.1916, ff. 1-3 (211-213); *Schematismus S.V.D. 1914*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaelen, 1914, 4.17; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 34 (1914), 238.

<sup>91</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 20.10.1916, f. 1 (211).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 20.10.1916, ff. 1-2 (211-212).

Fifthly, Paga. Here there were a few hundred Christians and about 100 school children who had already received their first holy communion but remained without any pastoral care.

Sixthly, Atambua and Kefamenanu. On 18 May 1916 North Middle Timor was assigned to the SVD under the same favourable conditions as in Flores. The Protestant teachers employed by the government had to leave the territory and they could be replaced by Catholic teachers. It was necessary to build a third station in Kefamenanu and a *standaardsschool*. It was also the government's wish that the necessary *standaardsschool*, which was hoped to be built in Lahurus, be transferred to Atambua; this place will become the centre of the mission in Timor, and then the Superior of Timor will have to live there with another priest.<sup>93</sup>

After two years of waiting nothing happened according to the above plan. There was no other news regarding the sending of other missionaries. On 25 January 1918, Noyen wrote again to Blum with his extraordinary suggestions. He described the situation in Larantuka after Fr. Hoeberechts and Fr. van der Loo left Larantuka in 1917. There remained a need for a missionary presence. Fortunately, the Muslims there did not develop such a huge activity as in Ende. For eastern Flores itself, at least 8 Fathers would have to be employed. In Paga and Ili there was real danger of the local people being converted to Islam. The raja of Ili was a Muslim. It was necessary that 2 Fathers should stay permanently in those places. So far, there had been people who embraced Islam. Nevertheless, Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ had taken firm root there, but a missionary would have to stay there permanently to win Christians and protect the gentiles from Islam. There were 2,000 Catholics in Nele without a pastor while it had been decided that in the beginning of 1919 Maumere would be transferred to the SVDs. Here are the details of the request for personnel:<sup>94</sup>

<b>Territory</b>	<b>Mission Stations</b>	<b>Priests Requested</b>
<b>Eastern Flores</b>	Larantuka	2
	Tengah	1
	Lewolaga	1
	Waibalun	1
	Riangwulu	1
	Adonara Island	1
	Lomblem Island	1

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 20.10.1916, ff. 2-3 (212-213).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 1 (232).

<b>Middle Flores</b>	Paga	1
	Sikka	1
	Lela	1
	Nele	2
	Ili	1
	Maumere	2 priests and 1 Brother
<b>Total</b>		<b>17</b>

#### 2.1.4. The Correspondence Regarding the Process for the Replacement of the Jesuits in Flores

After an official letter was published on 20 July 1914 by the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide regarding the *de jure* submission of Flores to the SVD, the *de facto* surrender took place on 1 April 1917, almost three years later, after Steyl managed to place 2 Fathers and a Brother in Flores at the beginning of that year. Nevertheless, the *de facto* surrender meant that there was still left a task for the Jesuits in Flores at that time. It was agreed that some of them still had to stay until the SVD had sufficient personnel to take over. Blum wrote to the Vicar Apostolik of Batavia and Jesuit Provincial in 's Gravenhage, the Netherlands, asking their benevolence to allow their missionaries to work together with the SVDs in Flores. In September came the reply from Msgr. Luypen containing his support and good will to maintain his missionaries in Flores as long as needed.<sup>95</sup>

This section is intended to investigate how far or how faithful the Jesuits maintained their promise to remain in Flores. Somehow, it is conceivable, how patiently the Jesuits had to – some times they lost their patience in this regard – until the time arrived for the last Jesuit to leave Flores in 1920. There were two periods of interesting correspondence between the SVDs and the Jesuits between 1915-1919. This section will look at the correspondence in 2 parts: the correspondence before 1 April 1917 and after 1 April 1917.

Before 1 April 1917, there were several occasions when Fr. Nicolaus Blum received letters from Petrus Noyen urging him to immediately send the missionaries needed for the replacement process. Noyen was apparently pressured by the contract that had been agreed upon, and was also urged on by some Jesuits in Flores. Nevertheless, until September 1915, Steyl had not succeeded in sending any more missionaries to Flores because the war situation had worsened. Noyen reminded Blum to inform the Jesuits regarding

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 1 (161); Blum to Vogels, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 1 (162); Luypen to Blum, Weltevreden, 14.9.1914, f. 1 (164).

the difficulty and asked them to consider the war situation as a *force majeure*.<sup>96</sup> On 8 September 1915, Blum wrote to Msgr. Luypen,

To my great regret, I must tell Your Episcopal Grace that, unfortunately, the war is still going on and we are therefore not yet able to send new missionaries to Flores and Timor. We do not lack people, but they are currently prevented from leaving by the war. I would therefore like to sincerely and humbly ask Your Episcopal Grace to have some leniency with us and not let Father Noyen be left in the lurch. It is not our fault that the delay has occurred and as soon as the road is unobstructed, we will try to send helpers. Until then I would like to ask for patience.<sup>97</sup>

After that Blum directly wrote to Noyen on the same day passing on a copy of his letter to Luypen. When writing to Msgr. Cesare Pecorari, undersecretary of Propaganda Fide at that time, Blum also told him that unfortunately, because of the terrible war, the SVD had not sent missionaries to Flores since 1913. He continued that the Lesser Sundas mission really needed missionaries; help would be so necessary. On 15 April 1916, Blum wrote to Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, SJ, the Jesuit Superior General (1915-1942) to tell him that he had written to Msgr. Luypen and Father Provincial at the Hague to look for some understanding. It was because of the war that the SVD could not provide Flores with missionaries as it should be.<sup>98</sup>

Petrus Noyen himself wrote a letter to the Jesuit Mission Superior, Fr. Eduard Engbers, on 28 October 1915 about the issue and he received a positive response. Engbers wrote that he could completely understand the difficulties and promised to maintain the Jesuits in Flores, unless in *extrema necessitate*. On 14 December 1915 Noyen wrote to Blum to pass on the favorable response from Engbers, while thanking him for the letter written

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, f. 2.

<sup>97</sup> «Zu meinem sehr grossen Bedauern muss ich Eurer Bischöflichen Gnaden mitteilen, dass der Krieg leider noch immer fort dauert und wir daher noch nicht in der Lage sind, neue Missionare nach Flores und Timor zu schicken. An Leuten fehlt es uns nicht, aber sie sind zur Zeit durch den Krieg an der Abreise gehindert. Ich möchte daher Eure Bischöfliche Gnaden recht herzlich und demütig bitten, mit uns etwas Nachsicht zu haben und den P. Noyen nicht im Stiche zu lassen. Es ist ja nicht unsere Schuld, dass die Verzögerung eingetreten ist und sobald der Weg frei ist, werden wir uns bemühen, Hilfskräfte zu schicken. Bis dahin möchte ich um Geduld bitten.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 8.9.1915, f. 1 (178).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 8.9.1915, f. 2 (179); Blum to Pecorari, Steyl, 16.3.1916, f. 1 (187); Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916, f. 1 (197); ARSI, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl. 2-I, Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916, c. 33.

to Luypen. Blum then sent a copy of Luypen's response to Petrus Noyen. He wrote that Msgr. Luypen took his request well.<sup>99</sup>

The response of Msgr. Luypen was written on 21 October 1915. He thanked Blum since he had heard from the Jesuit superior in Larantuka that Fr. Wilhelm Baack, SVD, was doing very well as a missionary. Regarding Blum's request, basically he replied that he could understand the situation, but that Blum also needed to consider the old age and health condition of the Jesuit missionaries in Flores. This was what Msgr. Luypen wrote:

I would like to thank Your Reverend for your friendly letter of 8 September current, received here last night. Indeed, the war, which continues so long, is an ugly line out of our reckoning! But there is nothing to do about that. [...] Certainly, our Fathers will continue to help on Flores, but unfortunately, we cannot give further help from new missionaries; in doing so, the missionary work expands and becomes increasingly heavy, while the Fathers there do not get any stronger, meanwhile their age is increasing. [...] As soon as the circumstances become more favorable, Your Reverend should help with missionaries, I am convinced of that and we also count on it. [...] <sup>100</sup>

In a letter dated 26 May 1916, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Noyen that the Jesuits were, almost impertinently, pushing for replacement. He did not know what should be done while hoping in prayer that God's help would arrive soon. At that time, he asked if there was a way to send the SVDs interned in Mozambique to the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>101</sup>

The Jesuit mission in the Dutch East Indies at that time was in a very difficult situation too. In order to keep the Jesuit missionaries in Flores, Fr. Eduard Engbers as mission superior decided to leave their mission station in Makassar, Celebes.<sup>102</sup> Meanwhile, in the last half of 1915, there were 5 Jesuit Fathers who died. To fill the void left behind, they needed missionary personnel. And at that time, no other priest could be sent from the Netherlands

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<sup>99</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 2.3.1916, ff. 1-2.

<sup>100</sup> «Van harte dank ik U.H.Eerw. voor Uw vriendelijk schrijven van 8 Sept. l.l. gisteravond hier ontvangen. Inderdaad, de oorlog, zoo lang voortdurend, is een leelijke streep door de rekening! Maar daar valt niets aan te doen. [...] Zeker, onze Paters blijven helpen op Flores; maar helaas, verdere hulp van nieuwe missionarissen kunnen wij ook niet geven; daarbij: het missiewerk breidt zich uit en wordt steeds zwaarder, terwijl de Paters er ook niet sterker op worden, bij het klimmen der Jaren. [...] Zoodra de omstandigheden gunstiger worden, zal U.H.Eerw. helpen met missionarissen, daar ben ik van overtuigd en rekenen wij ook vast op. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Luypen to Blum, Magelang, 21.10.1915, f. 1 (180).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, f. 2.

to the Dutch East Indies. The only hope was to turn to Flores, hoping that the missionaries there would soon be replaced by SVD missionaries. Thus, the superior general of the Jesuits could put them in stations that needed their help the most.<sup>103</sup> Because the hoped for change could not have been taken place, later in early 1916, Engbers asked Petrus Noyen to place an SVD Brother in Larantuka. Thus, the Jesuit Brother there could be transferred to Lela, middle Flores, to replace Br. Vester, who was then diabetic, grew older and was paying attention to the school children who lived in a big dormitory. Responding to this need, Petrus Noyen asked Nicolaus Blum to send Brother Bonifatius on the grounds that he had great mission enthusiasm and he was getting along with Fr. Wilhelm Baack very well. But this request was not granted. At the end of 1915, Eduard Engbers asked for more Brothers. This time he asked for 2 people. Petrus Noyen himself expected to be sent two Brothers from Uden and Teteringen. This time Noyen really hoped that his request would be granted. According to him, if the Brothers he requested could not be sent, it would be a sign that the SVD was not seriously paying attention to the Lesser Sundas mission. All of these requests were not fully granted during the war.<sup>104</sup>

Naturally, in this difficult situation, the Jesuit Provincial in the Netherlands wrote several times to Nicolaus Blum pushing for the shipping of the much needed missionary priests for Flores. He began by stating that he had heard that Steyl would send 4 to 5 Fathers to the Dutch Indies. For this happy news, he wrote to let them know that the trip would be safe, if the ones sent were Dutch Fathers since the British would not intern the Dutch. In addition, the Dutch East Indies government would also prefer to work with fellow Dutch people. He hoped that Blum could detach some Dutch Fathers from other places for this mission. In response, Nicolaus Blum wrote that the SVD Fathers in the Netherlands could not be transferred to other places. It was not possible, with the best of intentions, to take Dutch Fathers from Uden or Teteringen, partly because they were not suitable, partly because they were indispensable for the institutions in which they worked. All he could do was ask Brazil and German New Guinea for one Father each to be sent to the Dutch East Indies while hoping to find another Father from among the SVDs in the Netherlands. Hopefully there would be three Fathers available. He concluded by stating that as soon as he received news from him he would write immediately to Beuken.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, Luypen to Blum, Magelang, 21.10.1915, f. 1 (180); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.2.1916, ff. 1-2; Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 7.10.1917, f. 1.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.2.1916, ff. 1-2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 2.9.1916, ff. 1-2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 21.4.1916, f. 1 (195); Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 1.6.1916, f. 2 (196).

Replying to Fr Blum's letter, Fr. E. Beuken began by writing that even though he had not succeeded in removing one or two Fathers from their posts in the Netherlands, he appreciated Blum's efforts in looking for missionaries. He hoped that the positive responses would come soon from Brazil and German New Guinea. Beuken also promised to convey to his mission superior in the Dutch East Indies that Fr. Blum had done everything possible to help the mission in the Lesser Sundas. He was sure that such news would make the mission superior feel more satisfied. The next day, he wrote another letter. In this he informed Fr. Blum that in August or September 1916 some Jesuit Fathers would leave for the Indies. If there are one or two SVD Fathers who are ready to leave for the Dutch East Indies at the same time, they could depart together. Blum responded that at least in late autumn an SVD Father would leave for Timor. He did not mention the name of the intended Father but he stated that there was no objection to his departing together with the Jesuits.<sup>106</sup> This news had a happy impact on Beuken and he wrote again to Blum as follows: «[...] I would like to thank Your Reverend for the good news that in the Fall at least one Father from your Society will leave for Flores. I hope by Autumn you would have found a second Father. [...]»<sup>107</sup> He then added that of course good news like this would certainly be delivered also to the mission superior. On 1 June 1916, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Petrus Noyen that he had asked for Fr. Camillus Kerkhoff from Brazil, Fr. Heinrich Wortel from German New Guinea and Fr. Berthold Friess, of Swiss origin. Of those three, Fr. Friess was the first who arrived in Flores with two other friends. They arrived in Ende, Flores, on 13 January 1917. This arrival allowed the Flores mission to be handed over to the SVD that year on 1 April 1917 in Larantuka.<sup>108</sup>

After the handing over of the Flores mission as mentioned above, no more missionaries were sent to Flores at this time. Towards the Fall of 1917, there were no signs that there would be SVD missionaries leaving for the Indies. Maybe because of that, on 7 October, Fr. Beuken wrote another letter to Blum,

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 11.6.1916, f. 1 (202<sup>n</sup>); Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 12.6.1916, f. 1; Blum to Beuken, 's Gravenhage, 5.7.1916, f. 2 (202<sup>n</sup>).

<sup>107</sup> «[...] Ich danke Ew. Hochwürden recht herrlich für die gute Nachricht, dass im Herbst wenigstens ein Pater Ihnen Gesellschaft nach Flores wird abreisen. Hoffentlich haben Sie gegen Herbstzeit noch einen zweiten Pater gefunden. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 8.7.1916, f. 1.

<sup>108</sup> After the ceding of Flores and Timor to the SVD, the Jesuits still had to take care of 45 mission stations in Java (33), Sumatra (5), Borneo (2) and Celebes (5). Cf. A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 407-417; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 1.6.1916, f. 2 (196).

The Fathers in the Indies have already several times insistently asked if Your Reverend is not possible to send some Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word to Flores again, as our Superior General cannot do anything on Java in the Indies without the help of our missionaries who are still working in Flores. Is it now possible for Your Reverence to do something? You have previously written about a trip of the Fathers from Brazil and New Guinea to Flores. It seems they are not yet embarking. I hope, however, that you can do something for the benefit of this beautiful and hopeful mission.<sup>109</sup>

On 10 October 1917, Blum gave a response as follows,

How would I like to send 10-15 missionaries to Flores if the road is open! I therefore ask Your Reverend sincerely to withstand a little, because the Lord will soon help. I once again urgently wrote to New Guinea and Brazil today. In New Guinea, there was an obstacle to departure. The correspondence to Brazil is very difficult and so I suspect that my letters have not arrived.<sup>110</sup>

In a letter of reply from Fr. Beuken dated 24 June 1918, he conveyed an insistence on making the replacement of Jesuit missionaries in Flores immediately. He even said that the pressure not only came from one person but from several Jesuit Fathers in Flores. They were so insistent that a change should be made immediately that it was like he was trying to interfere with the SVD's household affairs. Isn't the question of replacing SVD missionaries an internal affair in the SVD? Fr. Beuken wrote,

[...] from Flores our Fathers once again send an urgent request for help. I know that attempts are being made. One of our fathers writes to me: «I hear from Fr. Friess SVD, who is currently serving Sikka, that there are still some Dutch Fathers in Uden who, in his opinion, could be replaced by German

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<sup>109</sup> «Die Patres in Indien haben schon mehreren Malen eindringlich gefragt, ob es Ew. Hochw. nicht möglich sei wieder einigen Patres der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes nach Flores zu schicken, da unser Generalsuperior in Indien die Hilfe unserer Missionaren, die jetzt noch auf Flores arbeiten, auf Java nicht entbehren kann. Ist es Ewer Hochwürden jetzt möglich etwas zu tun. Sie haben vorher geschrieben über eine Reise der Patres aus Brasilien und Neu Guinea nach Flores. Wie es scheint, sind sie noch nicht einschiffen. Ich hoffe, dass Sie allerdings etwas leisten können zum Nutzen diese schöne, hoffnungsvolle Mission.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806: 1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 7.10.1917, f. 1.

<sup>110</sup> «Wie gerne möchte ich 10-15 Missionaren nach Flores schicken, wenn der Weg offen stünde! Ich bitte daher Ew. Hochwürden herzlich, noch ein wenig auszuhalten, denn der Herr wird doch bald helfen. Ich habe heute noch einmal dringend nach Neu-Guinea und Brasilien geschrieben. In Neu-Guinea bestand ein Hindernis bezüglich der Ausreise. Der Briefverkehr nach Brasilien ist sehr schwer und so vermute ich, dass meine Briefe nicht angekommen sind.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806: 1909-1919, Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 10.10.1917, f. 1.

Fathers in this emergency. If those Dutch Fathers then came to Flores, this would make the overall surrender of the mission possible.» [...].<sup>111</sup>

Beuken then forwarded that letter to Blum while saying sorry for the content if there was something unpleasant and stated that it should be seen as a cry for help from his missionaries in an emergency situation. He then suggested that Blum could consider the possibility of asking help from other mission societies that had enough personnel and could tackle the need immediately. He then continued, «[...] Can you at least not give them telegraphic certainty in advance that they can expect so many missionaries in such and such month? This certainty will already satisfy them somewhat».<sup>112</sup>

Some time later, on 24 April 1919, Fr. Beuken wrote again to Nicolaus Blum that he had just received two letters from two Jesuit missionaries in the Dutch East Indies (Fr. Hoeberechts, the mission superior at that time and Fr. Muller the superior of middle Flores). They both requested that a final take over of the Jesuit mission be held in Flores. Of course this request showed how much they wanted the Catholics in Flores not to suffer too long with a lack of missionaries. It could also be seen as a hope that their longing to see Flores being better developed become a reality. Blum also replied in more or less the same tone as before. He wrote how much he wished to send missionaries to Flores if the way was free for the 12 German Fathers that had been already appointed.<sup>113</sup>

On 14 June 1919 Blum replied to Fr Beuken's letter by asserting that he was very aware of the suffering of the missionaries in Flores. He stated that had World War I been already foreseen, Flores would not have been taken by the SVD at that time. He promised that by the end of 1919, Steyl would send 5 Dutch<sup>114</sup> and 10 German Fathers. He assured him that this matter was just

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<sup>111</sup> «[...] uit Flores zenden onze Paters nogmaals een dringend verzoek om hulp. Ik weet, dat pogingen worden aangewend. Een onzer paters schrijft mij: "Van pater Friess SVD, die op het ogenblik Sika bedient, verneem ik, dat er te Uden nog enige Hollandsche Paters zijn, die volgens zijne mening in dit noodgeval gevoegelijk door Duitse Paters konden worden vervangen. Als die Hollandsche Paters dan naar Flores kwamen, zou dit de algehele overgave van de missie mogelijk maken." [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, Den Haag, 24.6.1918, ff. 1-2; Muller to Beuken, Maumere, 20.3.1919, f. 1.

<sup>112</sup> «[...] Kunt U hun tenminste niet van tevoren telegraphisch zekerheid geven, dat zij in die en die maand zoveel missionarissen te verwachten hebben. Dit zekerheid zal hun reeds enigszins tevreden stellen.» Cf. AG-SVD 806:1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, Oosterhout, 11.6.1919, ff. 1-2.

<sup>113</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 25.4.1919, f. 1; Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 27.4.1919, f. 2.

<sup>114</sup> In September 1919 there were 5 alumni from the first batch of the Teteringen Major Seminary who were ordained priests. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Siebzehnte Serie [from now on = BL-17], Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 409.

a matter of time. After that, the Flores matter would be settled completely. Fr. Beuken sent a thank you letter and hoped that what was promised in Blum's previous letter could become a reality. If this was the case, then matters relating to Flores would be resolved completely. What Nicolaus Blum promised was true. In 1919, 14 SVD Fathers arrived in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>115</sup>

## 2.2. Practical Difficulties Give Way to New Ideas

### 2.2.1. Towards the Highest State of Emergency in Mission Personnel

Within a year of Flores being taken over by the SVD, seeing that the SVD missionaries in the Lesser Sundas mission were still very few in number, Msgr. Luypen wrote a complaining letter to Father Prefect Petrus Noyen. He even foresaw that Flores' future would be very miserable. What he regretted the most was that the golden opportunity to develop a school system in Flores seemed to be wasted.<sup>116</sup>

After Noyen's letter to Blum mentioned above, there were still more letters written between 1915 and 1917 from the Lesser Sundas to Steyl. Many of these letters arrived at Steyl safely, but apparently their arrival was too late. This can explain why there was no reply from Fr. Nicolaus Blum in those years. All this happened probably because of the war.<sup>117</sup>

Even if a reply from Steyl was very rarely received, for Fr. Noyen it was not an obstacle to continue sending letters to Steyl. During the war, he kept writing to ask for more missionaries for the Lesser Sundas mission. Noyen learned that the main problem during the war was the traffic jam from Europe to various parts of the world that hampered the sending of missionaries to his mission. Therefore, in his letter of 28 October 1915, Noyen suggested that during the war, the SVD missionaries in Papua New Guinea who were adjacent to the Dutch East Indies could be temporarily sent to the Lesser Sundas mission. His main reason for this was the ease of transportation. The Lesser Sundas could be reached easily from Papua New Guinea with a steamer to Makassar then to Ende, Flores. He even suggested that Nicolaus Blum

<sup>115</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 14.6.1919, f. 1; Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 18.6.1919, ff. 1-2; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1920*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1920, 46-47.

<sup>116</sup> This is known from a quote made by Noyen to Blum on 9 January 1915 written from Singaraja. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, f. 2.

<sup>117</sup> Blum's last letter to Noyen was that of 28 July 1914. Only after two years, on 2 March 1916, another letter of Blum arrived as a reply to a letter of Noyen written on 21 December 1915. His next letter was written on 26 June 1916. The letters were: cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, ff. 3-4; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 2.9.1916, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, ff. 2-3; Muller to Blum, Lela, 17.1.1917, ff. 1-2.

should make use of his authority as a superior general to ask for 5 missionaries from New Guinea. Even though Noyen was in great need, he preferred not to accommodate old missionaries. At that time, Petrus Noyen and Wilhelm Baack had moved to Ende and Larantuka, and according to him, missionaries in Timor could not be transferred to any other place. In his consideration, to fully implement the process of replacing the Jesuits in Flores at least 10 missionaries were needed.<sup>118</sup>

On 25 May 1916, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Noyen. He promised to send a Swiss Father and the best of 3 Brothers who would profess their perpetual vows in Teteringen on 8 September that year. He also promised to write to Brazil asking for Fr. Camillus Kerkhoff's obedience to be transferred to the Lesser Sundas mission. He suggested that Noyen should accept Fr. Heinrich Wortel whom he had refused before. Until then, that was the best possibility available considering that German missionaries were not allowed to travel during the war.<sup>119</sup>

In his reply letter, Noyen passed on information about the miserable situation of Fr. Franz de Lange in Tubaki, Timor, emphasizing that he really needed some helping hands. There were many things to do, so much that he could not endure his colossal work anymore. In searching for missionaries, he suggested some names. It seemed like Noyen had repented of his refusal of Fr. Wortel as shown in his previous letter written on 7 July 1914. Actually in this letter of 14 September 1916, he assured Blum that he had sent a telegram to Fr. Wortel asking him to come at the first opportunity. However, he added that it would be good if later Blum still gave him the freedom to return to New Guinea. He even stated that if there were enough missionaries, he would surely omit Fr. Wortel.<sup>120</sup>

On 24 August 1917, Blum forwarded one happy news and one less encouraging news in the same letter. What was encouraging was that the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide donated 1,000 lire [= DM 1,000; 333 guilders] for the Lesser Sundas mission. This contribution was of course very large in value in the midst of the difficult situation at that time. The less encouraging news was about the situation of the SVDs in Europe. To give

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<sup>118</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915, f. 3.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186).

<sup>120</sup> He mentioned the name of Fr. Johannes Honderop who was working in the SVD Province of the Southern United States. Beside Honderop, he also mentioned some other names such as Simon Karsten, Berthold Friess, Camillus Kerkhoff, and Heinrich Wortel with the same intention. Cf. *Schematismus S.V.D. 1914*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1914, 53; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, ff. 1-3.

Noyen a picture of the situation in Steyl and some SVD houses in Europe during the war, Blum wrote,

The war is hurting us more and more, especially here in Steyl, as the German money is almost worthless. In addition to that there is the big shortage of coal and paper. You can easily imagine what happens when we cannot print anymore. In the winter 1917/1918 you will not be able to think of a warm stove [= heating system]. Here, 15 parish priests have recently been drafted, including Fr. Rector, the Prefects, the Procurator, Fr. Möchel and others. Also, Uden and Teteringen were affected by it. May God give us peace soon.<sup>121</sup>

On 25 May 1918, Noyen wrote again to Blum telling him that they were all fine. There was only one thing lacking: missionaries. This was felt very much everywhere. He felt pressured from various directions, especially from the Jesuits and government officials. He then asked to be sent 22 Fathers and 5 Brothers as stated in his various previous requests. Blum then replied to his letter on 25 September that year. He told him that the farewell party had been made for a theology student, the so-called *frater* in Latin, 3 Brothers and 4 Sisters. Blum felt that he needed to apologize to Noyen for not being able to send a Father to the Lesser Sundas mission. Prior to this letter, Blum had written earlier about the state of the mission in Mozambique and Togo in 1916, 1917 and 1918. From these letters, he gave Noyen hope that missionaries from those places could be sent to the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>122</sup>

The mission's state in 1918 was indeed very heartbreaking. This can be proved by a letter of Noyen dated 13 August the same year. He began his letter by writing that the need of the mission could not be taken lightly; on the contrary it was at the highest state of emergency. Then he explained the reasons why he said so. First, the repatriation of Fr. Constant van den Hemel to Europe. In the midst of the highest shortage of missionaries, this departure became a very regrettable event. Secondly, the plan of the Jesuit Superior which was to withdraw Fr. Arnold van der Velden, the only Jesuit left in Larantuka. Regarding this decision, Petrus Noyen decided to let it go as they wished since the Jesuits should not neglect their own mission in order to help other missions that belonged to the SVDs. Surely,

<sup>121</sup> «Der Krieg nimmt uns immer stärker mit, besonders hier in Steyl, da das deutsche Geld fast wertlos ist. Dazu kommt noch der grosse Mangel an Kohlen und Papier. Sie können sich leicht denken, was eintritt, wenn wir nicht mehr drucken können. An einen warmen Ofen wird man im Winter 1917/1918 nicht mehr denken können. Hier wurden kürzlich 15 Patres für die Sanität eingezogen, darunter P. Rektor, die Präfecten, die Prokurator, P. Möchel und andere. Auch Uden und Teteringen sind dadurch in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden. Gebe Gott uns bald den Frieden.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.8.1917, f. 1 (225).

<sup>122</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 29.5.1918, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Teteringen bij Breda, 25.9.1918, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.11.1917, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 14.5.1918, f. 1.

the consequence of this was that the wonderful mission of Larantuka would be served only by 2 Fathers and a Brother. The three SVD missionaries had to attend to 14,000 Catholics and many folk schools, *standaardscholen* and *normaalcursussen* with 160 students in the boarding house. School matters really demanded all the strength and attention of a missionary. Certainly, the negligence and imprudence in dealing with schools would provoke the government officials to call for the cancellation of the school contract; something that would only be regretted for ever.<sup>123</sup>

This time he stated clearly in his letter that he and his confreres had reached an untenable state. Not only the good of the mission, but the health of the body and soul of the missionaries were – under certain circumstances – in great danger. The missionaries were overloaded with work in a three-fold way and could do only one-third of the most necessary work. He then suggested that some extraordinary efforts should be made quickly to redeem the situation. This time, he specifically asked from the SVD mission house of Uden a great sacrifice requesting the best personnel they had at that time. He asked them to send Fr. Johannes van Cleef the prefect of the seminary<sup>124</sup> and Fr. Johannes Bouma. In his opinion, even though Uden would suffer for a few years, the hardship and the call of duty from the Lesser Sundas mission was the greatest of all that required their willingness to sacrifice. Besides, he also asked for Gerhard van Velzen, a theology student in Teteringen and 3 other lay Brothers.<sup>125</sup>

He ended the letter as follows:

[...] There is no time for us to take some rest; it is simply impossible. So, if you wish us to stay healthy and not collapse at work, then send us the above-

<sup>123</sup> The three SVD missionaries were Fr. Simon Karsten, Fr. Wilhelm Baack and Br. Vincentius Meekes. Previously, on 2 September 1916, Noyen wrote that 2 Jesuit Brothers in Larantuka would soon be withdrawn because of old age issues. During the time of the Jesuits, Larantuka and the surrounding islands were served by at least 8 missionaries. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 2.9.1916, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 13.8.1918, ff. 1-2.

<sup>124</sup> During the period of 1913-1918, Fr. Johannes van Cleef was appointed three times as a consultor and the assistant rector of the Mission House of St. Willibrord in Uden. The rectors were successively Fr. Franz Ariaens and Fr. Matthias Geurts. In Blum's letter to Noyen written on 29 May 1919 he wrote about the possibility of appointing Fr. Franz Moritz, of German origin, to be a prefect in Uden, in order to set Fr. van Cleef free for the Lesser Sundas mission. In the news of his appointment in the Nuntius SVD 1919, Fr. Moritz was referred to as an «assistant» for Uden. From this information it could be concluded that what was meant by the task of being an «assistant» was actually being a prefect at the seminary. Thus, the appointment of Fr. Johannes van Cleef with the position as an assistant in Uden was none other than being a vice rector and concurrently serving as a prefect. Cf. *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 27 (1913), 152; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 38 (1916), 264; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 50 (1918), 338; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 56 (1919), 366.

<sup>125</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 13.8.1918, f. 2.

mentioned missionaries directly. It is only a drop for our so extraordinary distress. It is nearly 12 o'clock midnight and I conclude hoping that this letter will be regarded as a serious cry for direct help.<sup>126</sup>

The situation was so urgent that Petrus Noyen repeated the same request to his superior general by sending two consecutive postcards and a telegram in the same month in order to ensure that the information was received. The first postcard began with a statement almost as the title: an emergency crying for help.<sup>127</sup>

On 13 January 1919, Blum wrote a letter to Noyen. Based on the contents of this letter, Blum apparently had received the latest information from the postcards and the telegram from Noyen regarding the request for missionaries including the two important priests in Uden, Fr. Johannes Bouma and Fr. Johannes van Cleef. In this letter he mentioned the tragedy of the death in Larantuka, 21 and 22 December 1918 (this tragedy will be discussed in more detail as a separate point in this paper) and also responded to Noyen's request for missionaries. Regarding this request, as an initial help to lighten the situation a little, he said that there was already one *frater*, 3 Brothers and 3 Sisters who were ready to leave for the Dutch East Indies. They were waiting for a suitable time to depart. Commenting on the request for Uden to sacrifice their priests, he wrote that the situation in Uden and Teteringen was such that no one could get away. One was not suitable and the other was indispensable. He then continued, «[...] Uden and Teteringen are the foundation and if one undermines the foundation, the whole house collapses. [...]».<sup>128</sup>

After five months, Noyen's letter of 13 August 1918 finally arrived in Blum's hands on 18 January 1919. For him the content of the letter was not something new at all. In the first few lines of his letter he passed on

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<sup>126</sup> «[...] Von ruhe ist keine Rede, ist einfach unmöglich. Wünschen Sie also, dass wir gesund bleiben und nicht bei der Arbeit nieder sinken, dann schicken Sie uns direkt oben genannte Arbeit Kräfte. Es ist nur ein tropfen für unsere so außerordentliche Not. Es ist beinahe 12 Uhr Mitternacht und schließe in der Hoffnung, dass Man dieses Schreiben als einen ernststen Notschrei ansehe und direkt Hülfe schaffe.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 13.8.1918, f. 2.

<sup>127</sup> The information regarding the telegram is found in the second postcard saying that it was sent on 22 September. In those postcards again he mentioned the names but this time he asked for 4 Fathers (Fr. J. van Cleef and Fr. J. Bouma were included), Br. Bonifatius and Br. Joseph, G. van Velzen and a good Brother to become a treasurer. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, A Postcard from Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1918; A Postcard from Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 24.9.1918.

<sup>128</sup> «[...] Uden u. Teteringen sind doch das Fundament u. wenn man das Fundament untergräbt stürzt das ganze Haus ein. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 409.

the information that *Frater* G. van Velzen and friends<sup>129</sup> had left for the Dutch East Indies on 18 January 1919 with the «Insulinde».<sup>130</sup> The decision regarding the departure of Fr. Bouma had also been taken. Apparently, Blum could no longer maintain Bouma and van Cleef in Uden; a request that he had strongly opposed previously, was finally approved in the end. In fact, Blum wanted to send him on 11 November 1918, but the situation at that time did not permit it. The 105 students in Uden were only supervised by 3 priests, while in the Novitiate and Teteringen's Scholasticate, there was only Fr. Franz Ariaens alone. The situation of Fr. Matthias Geurts was also no better than that of Fr. Ariaens. Blum ensured Noyen that he did not fight alone in this great difficulty.<sup>131</sup> Regarding the decision taken to send Fr. Bouma<sup>132</sup>, Blum wrote, «[...] I have already written to you that we have done everything to support your mission. God did not want it. The appointment of Fr. Bouma has damaged Uden so much that I fear the ax has been put to the root. It is not just a matter of giving lectures; it's more a matter of upbringing. [...]».<sup>133</sup>

On 29 May 1919, more important news came from Blum. This time he passed on the information regarding the decision to send Fr. Johannes van Cleef as well to the Lesser Sundas mission. Blum wrote to Noyen,

[...] We have decided to send you Fr. van Cleef on 5 July 1919 if they can use a German prefect (Fr. Franz Moritz) in Uden. In our troubled and uncertain times, sometimes nationality goes beyond *Cura animarum*. In

<sup>129</sup> There were two students from Teteringen, Gerhard van Velzen and Simon Buis, who were taking government official courses to become teachers. Unfortunately, at that time, the one who successfully passed was G. van Velzen, while Simon Buis had not succeeded. Therefore, van Velzen was sent first to the Dutch East Indies together with 3 Brothers (Bonifatius, Joseph and Franciscus) and 3 SSpS Sisters (Sr. Seraphica Smits, Sr. Gonzagina van Lunssen and Sr. Jolenta Miltenburg). Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234); Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 2; AG-SVD, Blum Briefe Sechzehnte Serie [from now on = BL-16], Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 776.

<sup>130</sup> Actually they had to depart on 2 October 1918, but at that time there were no ships sailing. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 409; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 134.

<sup>131</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 430.

<sup>132</sup> According to Fritz Bornemann, after he learned about the death of 4 missionaries in Larantuka, Fr. Johannes Bouma, who was a teacher and a prefect for the SVD's juniorate at Uden, immediately applied for the Lesser Sundas mission. This decision resulted in another decision made by Nicolaus Blum and his Councilors as mentioned above. Cf. F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 1981 (Analecta SVD, 54), 345-346.

<sup>133</sup> «[...] Iterum atque iterum habe ich Ihnen schon geschrieben, daß wir alles getan haben, um Ihre Mission zu erschließen. Gott hat nicht gewollt. Durch die Bestimmung des P. Bouma ist Uden so sehr geschädigt, daß ich fürchte, die Axt ist an die Wurzel gelegt. Es handelt sich nicht bloß um Unterricht, sondern um die ganze Erziehung. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, ff. 1-2.

itself it is forbidden to send Fr. van Cleef. With only one priest the mission will not be served much but the Dutch province will suffer damage for years. I reserve to call Fr. v. Cleef back in 1921. [...].<sup>134</sup>

In Uden it turned out that Fr. Franz Moritz was indeed appointed prefect on 1 September 1919. It was planned that *Frater* Simon Buis and Father Johannes van Cleef would leave on 5 July 1919. On 17 June 1919, Blum wrote to Noyen that he could only give Fr. van Cleef for the Lesser Sundas mission until 1921 since in that year there would be the elections for a superior and Nicolaus Blum wanted van Cleef to return to Europe at that time.<sup>135</sup>

Regarding the war situation, Blum had a distinct position that the SVD and the SVDs could not be blamed for or felt guilty about before God and others<sup>136</sup> in the matter of *force majeure* in the form of a World War. Blum wrote to Noyen that there is no need to worry or regret about several villages, which because of this *force majeure*, were already Islamized by Muslims. He then reminded Noyen that the conversion of people from traditional religions' background must be carried out slowly and calmly. Then, he wrote a saying: «The Lord is not in the storm wind».<sup>137</sup>

Blum's suggestion to Noyen to be calm in difficult situations did not mean that he made no endeavor to answer the needs. On the contrary, he tried hard to fulfill every advice and request of Noyen. He tried to do everything possible to get the

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<sup>134</sup> «[...] Wir haben uns entschlossen Ihnen P. van Cleef am 5/7 19 zu schicken falls man in Uden einen deutschen Präfekten (P. Franz Moritz) gebrauchen kann. In unserer betrübten und unsicheren Zeit geht manchmal Nationalität über Cura animarum. An sich ist es unerlaubt P. v. Cleef zu schicken. Mit dem einen Pater wird der Mission nicht viel gedient aber der Holländisch Provinz Schaden auf Jahre zugefügt. Ich behalte mir vor P. v. Cleef 1921 zurück zu rufen. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 1.

<sup>135</sup> Fr. van Cleef was never called back by Nicolaus Blum to Europe as he had planned. Blum passed away on 29 October 1919, five months after he wrote his letter regarding the transfer of van Cleef to the Lesser Sundas. Joannes van Cleef passed away on 28 June 1927. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 896; B. VROKLAGE, *In Memoriam P. J. van Cleef, Provicaris der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 53/6 (1928), 117; *Ein immergrüner Lorbeerkrantz auf das Grab unsers heimgegangenen Vaters P. Nikolaus Blum*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 60 (1920), 387; *Todesfälle*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 77 (1928), 548.

<sup>136</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 430; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 749.

<sup>137</sup> «Der Herr ist nicht im Sturmwind.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234); Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 430; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-16, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 776; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, f. 1.

mission personnel requested.<sup>138</sup> After learning from Fr. Bouma that Fr. Bischof was unable to come to the Lesser Sundas mission, Noyen then sent a postcard to Nicolaus Blum asking to send Fr. Honderop and Fr. Wortel.<sup>139</sup>

Noyen also informed him that he had asked Fr. Gebhardus Bischof from China by telegram to come immediately to Flores. Regarding Fr. Kerkhoff he hoped that he was already on his way. If the German missionaries were allowed to leave for the mission, he requested that 25 Fathers be sent at once to the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>140</sup>

### 2.2.2. Noyen To Blum: «Exceptional Conditions Require Extraordinary Means»

There is one important letter which contains a brilliant thought of Petrus Noyen about how to deal with the difficulties of missionary personnel during the war. The letter is of 25 January 1918. He began with a sentence stating that the shortage of mission personnel was so demanding and in a state of emergency that he could not refrain from making some extraordinary suggestions to Nicolaus Blum. He wrote the letter after following various attempts by Nicolaus Blum to send German missionaries to the Dutch East Indies and he learned that Blum had not succeeded. After recounting some difficulties in eastern Flores, middle Flores and the Ende region, Noyen wrote,

What is to be done? If the war is over soon, then the thing will be alright. But we've waited so long that we cannot wait any longer. It is too uncertain. We have to act as soon as possible. Steyl cannot send German missionaries. That's for sure. Uden also says it's impossible to send someone. I believe that is true. But are we now relieved from our duty and responsibility? I don't think so. Exceptional conditions also require extraordinary means. [...].<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup> For example, related to Fr. Camillus Kerhoff who served in Brazil, he sent a dispatch there to ask him to leave for the Lesser Sundas mission. Unfortunately, in Brazil, all traffic was interrupted. He also wrote a letter to China asking for Fr. Gebhardus Bischof to leave for the Lesser Sundas, but the intended was already nominated apostolic administrator since Msgr. August Henninghaus was interned. He also tried to request that the missionaries held in the Philippines and China be rescued and allowed to go to the Lesser Sundas but it was unsuccessful. He tried to send the Zambesi Fathers through the Dutch government to the Lesser Sundas mission, but it was not allowed. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Teteringen bij Breda, 25.9.1918, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, 842.

<sup>139</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, A Postcard from Noyen to Blum, Ende, 25.5.1919.

<sup>140</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 30.1.1919, f. 3.

<sup>141</sup> «Was ist nu zu tun? Ist der krieg bald aus, dann kommt die Sache schon in Ordnung. Aber wir haben schon so lange gewartet, dass wir länger nicht mehr warten dürfen. Es ist zu unsicher. Wir müssen direkt handeln. Steyl kann keine Deutschen Missionäre schicken. Das steht fest. Uden sagt auch unmöglich jemand schicken zu können. Ich glaube es gern. Aber sind wir nun unserer Pflicht und Verantwortung enthoben? Ich meine nicht. Außergewöhnliche Zustände verlangen auch außergewöhnliche Mittel. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234).

Meanwhile, the shortage of missionaries was felt very much in eastern Flores after the Jesuits' departure. Even so, according to Noyen, if there were sufficient missionaries, there would still be much to be done. As a way out, he suggested that Nicolaus Blum try another method. He suggested that Blum approach the bishops and ask for their secular clergy to help with missionary work in the Lesser Sundas. He could also ask for help from other missionary and religious congregations for their regular clergy who were willing to give a helping hand. Noyen then wrote some practical steps that could be followed. According to him, if there were a few people who were willing to deal with this matter, they could be contracted for 5 years, with the SVD financing their trip to the Lesser Sundas and giving them an incentive of 1,000 guilders per year for their daily maintenance. With those suggestions, Noyen was aware that what he called «extraordinary means» was certainly not something easy either for Blum and for himself. But with faith in God's support and for the salvation of souls Noyen declared himself ready to accept this burden.<sup>142</sup>

It seemed like the Superior General Nicolaus Blum considered the suggestions of Petrus Noyen as reasonable. Therefore, on 4 June 1918 he forwarded the information regarding Noyen's «extraordinary means» to the rector of Teteringen and the rector of Uden. He started his letter by encouraging them to do everything possible to help Petrus Noyen and then closed it by saying, «[...] We want to recommend the whole matter to God. It is also His business and so we can trust that He also gives light and clarity.»<sup>143</sup>

### 2.2.3. Other Efforts Made in Search of Help

After receiving the letter of Fr. Prefect Petrus Noyen dated 25 January 1918, and after writing to the rectors of Teteringen and Uden on 4 June 1918, there were several other attempts made at that time. First, sending theology students or fratres to alleviate the situation there. On 25 January 1918, for the first time Petrus Noyen spoke about the sending of fratres as missionaries to the Dutch East Indies. From Teteringen he got the news that there were 2 fratres who were willing to leave and were prepared to accept the risk that their theological studies and ordinations would be a little delayed. They were Frater Gerhard van Velzen and Frater Simon Buis. Before leaving, they went for some courses and took state examinations to obtain certificates as teachers. Of course, a teacher's certificate was very much needed in the Lesser Sundas where the SVD was responsible

<sup>142</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, ff. 1-3 (232-234).

<sup>143</sup> «[...] Wir wollen dem lieben Gott die ganze Angelegenheit empfehlen. Es ist doch auch seine Sache und so können wir vertrauen, daß er auch Licht und Klarheit gibt.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, ff. 1-2; AG-SVD, BL-16, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 776.

for providing formal education for the natives. Father Noyen urgently asked for Frater van Velzen and Frater Buis, as well as another 2-3 Brothers to be sent to him. After speaking with Gerhard van Velzen he seemed to Blum as very excited for the task. Blum's reaction at first was a little hesitant, but seeing van Velzen's willingness, Blum and his council finally agreed to his determination to go to the mission; it was a decision that had never been made before. In his letter to the rectors, he said that this decision was taken with a heavy heart and hoped that it would not be repeated in the future.<sup>144</sup>

Regarding the sending of theology students, according to Blum, it was certainly not a good choice but in a great necessity it was acceptable. In his letter to the rectors of Teteringen and Uden, Blum expressed his opinion that the practice of sending fratres should not be repeated in the future. For Jesuits it was seen as a «scandal» in the missionary work as seen from a letter of Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ to his provincial commenting on that event. He regretted that the one sent was not a Father but a scholastic student (= *frater*).<sup>145</sup>

Secondly, a search could be undertaken for diocesan priests who were willing to be contracted for the mission in the Lesser Sundas. On 26 May 1918, Fr. Franz Ariaens, the rector of Teteringen at the time, wrote to Nicolaus Blum and stated that there were 3-4 possible diocesan priests who worked in several villages in Roermond and 's Hertogenbosch who could be asked to volunteer for the assignment. They might be willing to be contracted for a period of 4-5 years. He then suggested that Blum take the necessary steps for proceeding with this purpose. On 4 June 1918 Nicolaus Blum passed on the information to the rectors of Uden and Teteringen that he himself had met the bishop of Roermond, Msgr. Laurentius Josephus Antonius Hubertus Schrijnen (1914-1932), concerning this matter, but there was no positive result. On 20 January 1919, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Fr. Petrus Noyen that Fr. Matthias Geurts, the rector of Uden minor seminary, was striving for the delivery of 2 diocesan

<sup>144</sup> Blum wrote twice to Fr. Petrus Noyen asking him to place both fratres under the guidance of Fr. Johannes van Cleef. He also added that after a few years the fratres had to return to Europe to complete their theological studies. The new Canon Law (1917) required a prospective priest to complete his theological studies at an official institution and not merely to take private lectures outside the classroom. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234); Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 23.10.1919, ff. 1-2.

<sup>145</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 896; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Muller to Beuken, Maumere, 20.3.1919, ff. 1-2.

priests. It was hoped that they could leave for the Dutch East Indies together with Fr. Johannes Bouma. There was no further word on this matter.<sup>146</sup>

After the first letter mentioned above, Fr. Ariaens wrote his second letter on Monday 22 July 1918. This time the letter was addressed to the Vice Superior General of SVD, Fr. Johann Baptist Bodems because Father General Nicolaus Blum was away. He said that there was a diocesan priest from the Archdiocese of Utrecht, Fr. Gerhard Schoorlemmer, who had been a priest for two years and wanted to work for 4 years in the Lesser Sundas mission. Considering that he had sufficient priests in his diocese, Msgr. Hendrik van de Wetering (1895-1929) freely allowed his priest to leave for the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>147</sup>

After some correspondence with Bishop Wetering, finally all legal matters related to his status as a diocesan priest and a missionary were completed. On 6 November 1918 he underwent his novitiate at Teteringen and after that he received his appointment as a missionary for the Lesser Sundas mission. He left for Flores the following year (28 April 1919) and arrived there around 20 or 21 August 1919 and was commissioned by Father Prefect Petrus Noyen as the priest of Bajawa. He started the mission station as the first pastor and worked there until 1927.<sup>148</sup>

Thirdly, they were looking for help from the regular priests among the Trappist monks. On 4 June 1918 Nicolaus Blum wrote to Geurts and Ariaens that he had gone to some places such as to the Lazarists in Helden and the Trappists in Tegelen. Even though there was still no definitive answer from them, he asserted that from this effort it was possible to obtain 3-4 priests.<sup>149</sup> On 21 August 1918, Blum wrote two letters at once to the Abbot at the Trappist Monastery of Tilburg and to the Prior of the same monastery in Tegelen. To the Abbot he described the shortage of Dutch missionaries, the difficulties of the Lesser Sundas mission and

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<sup>146</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Ariaens to Blum, Teteringen, 26.5.1918, f. 1; Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 430.

<sup>147</sup> He had kept in his heart for years his desire to be a missionary. To make his dream come true, he himself had called Fr. Ariaens on Friday, 19 July 1918, stating firmly that he was ready to leave for the mission as soon as possible if it was needed. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Ariaens to Bodems, Teteringen, 22.7.1918, ff. 1-4.

<sup>148</sup> While in Flores, he was appointed as the regional admonitor for the Lesser Sundas mission together with Fr. Carl Stenzel as the regional and Fr. Hermann Hellinge as the Assistant Regional. He was well known as a priest who was very simple, cheerful and easy to get along with so that everyone liked him. He was called by Msgr. Verstraelen as a first-class missionary. He died on 18 August 1927 after 8 years of service in the Lesser Sundas mission. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Msgr. Wetering, Steyl, 25.7.1918, ff. 1-2 (244<sup>r-v</sup>); Msgr. Wetering to Blum, Utrecht, 30.7.1918, f. 1; B. VROKLAGE, *In Memoriam P. G. Schoorlemmer S.V.D.*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 53/5 (1928), 92-93, 95; *Ernenningen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 73 (1925), 495; *Todesfälle*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 77 (1928), 548.

<sup>149</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, ff. 1-2; AG-SVD, BL-16, Blum to Ariaens and Geurts, Steyl, 4.6.1918, f. 776.

the threat of Islam while asking for about 2-3 priests to help there for a certain period of time. Blum also stated that he would bear all the expenses related to this matter and would write to Rome if needed. To Father Prior v.d. Laan from Teteringen, he reminded him of their previous meeting on 3 June 1918 regarding the request for the help of priests for the Lesser Sundas mission. Blum also hoped that Prior Pius v.d. Laan had discussed this issue with his superior in Tilburg, the Abbot.<sup>150</sup>

The Abbot from Tilburg replied that with all regrets he could not fulfill Blum's request. The reason given was that five of their priests were also recruited to join in the battlefield and those who remained could not be asked for other needs. Meanwhile, Father Prior in Tegelen mentioned in his letter that he had discussed Blum's request with the Abbot and it turned out that they were very short of priests. There were also many of their monasteries that had suffered greatly from the war.<sup>151</sup>

Fourthly, regarding contacting priests from other congregations. There was a suggestion that Nicolaus Blum should consider a helping hand offered by the Sacred Heart Missionaries. Through their Superior General Fr. Leone Dehon, MSC they had expressed the willingness to Propaganda Fide to help in Flores under the jurisdiction of the Prefect Apostolic Petrus Noyen. This offer came after Blum wrote a letter to Propaganda Fide about the difficulties in sending German missionaries to the Dutch East Indies. Actually in that letter, Blum asked the Prefect of the Propaganda to intervene by means of a diplomatic approach. When receiving the news, Nicolaus Blum was not very happy with the offer. He even thought that many were using the Flores situation for their own interests. Instead of responding to that offer, Blum preferred to continue the work without their help.<sup>152</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Nearly Giving Up

Meanwhile there were also discussions among the Jesuits about the difficulties faced at that time. They suggested that the SVD ask for help from priests from other religious congregations, such as the Capuchin. This was conveyed by Fr. Petrus Muller to Fr. Wilhelm Baack. Fr. Muller also wrote to his provincial suggesting the

<sup>150</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to the Abbot of Tilburg, Steyl, 21.8.1918, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-16, Blum to the Abbot of Tilburg, Steyl, 21.8.1918, f. 978; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Pius v.d. Laan, Steyl, 21.8.1918, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-16, Blum to Pius v.d. Laan, Steyl, 21.8.1918, f. 979.

<sup>151</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, the Abbot of Tilburg to Blum, Tilburg, 22.8.1918, ff. 1-2; Pius v.d. Laan to Blum, Eulingsheide, 24.8.1918, f. 1.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to van Rossum, Steyl, 11.5.1919, ff. 1-2 (268<sup>va</sup>); van Rossum to Blum, Roma, 14.6.1919, ff. 1-2 (269-270); AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 6.9.1919, f. 4; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 23.10.1919, ff. 2-3.

same idea. Probably based on that letter, the Jesuit Provincial himself, Father E. Beuken, wrote a letter to Nicolaus Blum in the same vein in which he reminded Blum that there were still many religious congregations who had many missionaries ready to help. When he heard of the issue, Petrus Noyen reacted that he would not agree with the Jesuits. He still believed that there were other possibilities if this matter was discussed with the Minister of the Colonies at that time, A.W.F. Idenburg, and Cardinal van Rossum, concerning the possibility of bringing German missionaries to the Dutch East Indies.<sup>153</sup>

After the death of the three SVD missionaries and a Jesuit missionary in Larantuka in December 1918, the situation became more difficult. Petrus Noyen was asked by Nicolaus Blum about the possibility of dividing the working area in Flores with other congregations. He replied that working with missionaries from other congregations was not easy considering that an apostolic prefect did not always feel that he was working with his own people. Noyen in principle disagreed with Blum's suggestion. Rather than divide it, he preferred that the Lesser Sundas mission be left entirely to other congregations. But he still considered the impact of such a decision for Steyl, Uden and Teteringen. According to him, Steyl, the SVD's Mother House, would lose a very large part of its sympathy in Holland. It would encounter great difficulties in many of its affairs in Holland. It would be even worse for Uden and Teteringen, which would thereby lose their foundation. In the end, Petrus Noyen affirmed that the SVD was morally bound to keep the wonderful mission of the Lesser Sundas. But on the other hand, he still demanded that there must be missionaries for which Uden and Teteringen should be ready for greater sacrifices.<sup>154</sup>

On 13 February 1919, Nicolaus Blum wrote again to Petrus Noyen but this was not a reply to Noyen's letter dated 30 January. Probably, the letter arrived late in Blum's hands because of the war situation. In this letter Blum complained. He wrote that he had struggled to find priests from both the secular and the regular religious personnel, but all attempts failed. He struggled to free those who were prisoners of war in Mozambique<sup>155</sup> and the Philippines through the help of the Dutch government but the results were negative. He wrote with his own hand to Fr. Kerkhoff and Fr. Bischof hoping that the letter would arrive, but there was no certainty that the effort would help. He also mentioned that he tried to seek help from Cardinal Mercier from Propaganda Fide in Rome to find a way for

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<sup>153</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.11.1918, ff. 7-8; Muller to Beuken, Maumere, 20.3.1919, f. 1; Beuken to Blum, Oosterhout, 11.6.1919, f. 2.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 30.1.1919, ff. 1-2.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to the Consul General of the Netherlands in Pretoria-South Africa, Steyl, 10.11.1917, ff. 1-2.

German missionaries, but the answer obtained was: «[...] *reponas curas tuas in manus divinae providentiae* [...]»,<sup>156</sup> entrust your safety in Divine Providence. In the last line of his letter he wrote, «If the schools matter so much in Flores and Heaven does not release us from our chains soon, well, then we will have to give Flores back to Propaganda and limit ourselves only to Timor».<sup>157</sup>

Was this answer already the final stand of Blum? It was not. On 29 May 1919, he wrote again to Petrus Noyen. It seemed like this time he replied to Petrus Noyen's last letter sent in January 1919. He thanked Noyen for the very open discussion presented by him. He also encouraged him to do everything according to his determination but with love because that pleases God. He then wrote, «[...] One must not flee from the cross otherwise one usually gets a heavier one».<sup>158</sup>

### 2.2.5. The Tragedy of the Spanish Influenza

One of the effects of World War I reached Flores in the form of a disease known as the Spanish Influenza. This flu was spreading quickly to various parts of the world. It was likely be carried onboard ships by American war troops returning from postwar Europe. The transmission of this disease was increasingly widespread because post-war many people migrated everywhere, the shortage of food was very pronounced, and many people had weak physical conditions and were susceptible to diseases.<sup>159</sup>

Already in September and October 1918, disturbing messages from Java about the severe occurrence of the Spanish influenza were heard in Flores. The danger was approaching. On the island of Sumba, the neighboring island of Flores, it was said that as many as 10 % of the population died. In early November 1918 this disease reached Flores. Ende was first infected. From Ende the disease

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, f. 2.

<sup>157</sup> «Wenn es wirklich so schlimm steht in Flores um die Schulen u. der Himmel uns die Fesseln nicht bald abnimmt, gut, dann geben wir Flores der Propaganda zurück u. beschränken uns nur auf Timor.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, f. 2.

<sup>158</sup> «[...] Man darf nicht fliehen vor dem Kreuz sonst bekommt man meist noch ein schwereres.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 842.

<sup>159</sup> This pandemic was called so because when it hit Spain, the press reported it in detail. Since Spain was neutral in World War I and did not properly enforce press censorship, the reports finally gave the impression that the disease began there. Actually, where it came from is still unknown. It was estimated that  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the world's population at that time (= 500 million people) were infected with this disease, and 100 million of them died. This tragedy happened exactly in an era when many people were convinced that the progress of technology, science and medicine had built a better world than existed before. Cf. R. STACY, *Influenza Pandemic*, in: M.E. ACKERMANN (ed.), *Encyclopedia of World History. Crisis and Achievement 1900-1950*, vol. 5, New York, Facts On File, Inc., 2008, 169-171.

started spreading to all villages in all directions. When this disease was endemic in Ndona, the boarding school there with around 150 schoolboys had become a large hospital. Besides the schoolboys, all the teachers, workmen and the cook were also ill. There was nowhere to find help. All were in a sick-bed. Pastor Franz de Lange and Brother Lambertus themselves were also sick and suffering from fevers and coughs. Even so, they dragged themselves to give the sick schoolboys assistance and the needed medicines. In two days, only three schoolboys had died. They were Jacobus Bei, the successor of the *raja* from Bajawa, Aloysius Longga from Moni and Petrus Lo, a Muslim descent that was baptized a few hours before his death. The situation became even more tense because the only doctor in Ende also contracted the flu and died after arriving in Kupang for treatment. Fortunately, another doctor as the substitute arrived in Ende soon and treated the sick for some time. Some schoolboys in Ndona who were severely sick were taken to Ende. The hospital was full of sick people. All were cured by the extraordinary care that the nurse there showed for their benefit. Gradually the disease subsided and after a month everyone was healthy again.<sup>160</sup>

In early December 1918, Larantuka came under attack. The disease prevailed terribly in a nearby harbor town. Fear and panic filled all, all the more so since no doctor was stationed there. On 7 December, Fr. Simon Karsten left for that place to assist Christians living there. He worked there among the sick for two days. All day long in the sick barracks or in the houses or even under the trees on the street, he sought out the sick to provide for not only their souls but also their physical needs. The sick people were deprived of any help there. The contaminated air in those houses surrounded by the unhealthy environment had also transmitted the germ of the disease to Fr. Karsten. Without being able to enjoy the necessary rest and nursing, he became so dizzy a couple of times in those two days that he could not stand up anymore. He then returned to Larantuka with a motorboat, already carrying the germ of the disease. Noticing that the disease had already broken out in his parish, Waibalun, he did not hesitate for a moment but soon set out for it. Larantuka was also infected. On 12 December the first cases began, and on 13 December, a number of students from the *internaat* (= boarding school) became ill.<sup>161</sup>

Already in the previous days Father Prefect Petrus Noyen had warned Father Baack that as soon as the disease broke out the pupils should be sent

<sup>160</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke Dec. 1918, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, F. de Lange to Blum, Ndona, 21.12.1918, ff. 11-12; P. NOYEN, *Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke in December 1918*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 44/12 (1919), 136.

<sup>161</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke Dec. 1918, f. 2; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, F. de Lange to Blum, Ndona, 21.12.1918, f. 12.

home immediately. Father Baack also wanted to do this, but all the boys who were not yet sick came and begged Father Baack not to send them home. They preferred to stay and if they had to die, they preferred to die in the pastor's house (= the *internaat*). Father Baack could not get to the point of resisting such a request, anticipating that perhaps some of them could then die without being able to receive the Holy Sacraments of the dying.<sup>162</sup>

The illness increased so much in the boarding school that almost all were in bed, schoolboys as well as working boys. Brother Vincentius Meekes was in charge of serving the sick boys assisted by some boys who were not infected yet, Father Baack and van der Velden took care of the numerous ministries in the parish and its surroundings. Father Karsten, who, although not well himself, was still going to Waibalun to rescue others. But it was too much work. Father van der Velden also went to Tengah, an hour away from Larantuka, for ministry. He returned home sick and immediately had to be in bed. So, only in a few days, all pastors, Brother Vincentius, and almost all the schoolboys, teachers, and workmen were sick.<sup>163</sup>

On 19 December Father Karsten sent a boy to the nearby villages to look for more service personnel. Unfortunately, many were already sick and others were afraid of being infected. When the news reached Mother Superior Aloisia, a Fransiscan Sister from Heythuizen, she immediately decided to bring help by herself. Two Sisters with 12 girls immediately left for the pastor's residence and the *internaat* to serve the sick.<sup>164</sup>

After a few days laying in bed, the condition of Br. Vincentius Meekes was worsening. At dawn on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, after going through the anxiety of dying, Br. Vincentius returned his soul to God. This was the first precious life that God demanded from the SVDs in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>165</sup>

In his struggle against death, Fr. Simon Karsten spoke about the need to send more missionaries to the Lesser Sundas mission. It looked like he

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<sup>162</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 2-3; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 148.

<sup>163</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 3-4.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 4-5, 9, 15; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 149; P. NOYEN, *Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea in December 1918*, 137.

<sup>165</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, f. 9; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 153; P. NOYEN, *Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea in December 1918*, 139.

was not ready to die at such a young age. Even so, he surrendered himself to God and saw that his death was the fruit of his loyal oath to serve God in good times and bad times. After having kissed his mission cross for the last time, he returned to the eternal home of the Father. He died the same day, 21 December, as Br. Vincentius.<sup>166</sup>

While he himself was sick, Fr. Wilhelm Baack faithfully served his confreres who needed to be served holy communion and holy unction for the sick. In the last days of his life, he still really wanted to serve God as a missionary in the Lesser Sundas mission. How he longed to witness the advancement of education and the glory of the Lesser Sundas mission in the future as a Catholic region. He did not seem to accept that he must die at such a young age, when his presence was still so much needed by many people. Before he died he got the news that Br. Vincentius and Fr. Karsten had died. Not long after that, his power declined more and more. When he was conscious for a moment, he prayed fervently. Finally, in the evening, God called back his faithful and zealous servant to eternal life. The day was December 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>167</sup>

At that time, after the first two missionaries breathed their last, there was a telephone call that a doctor would come from Ende along with Fr. Franz de Lange, Fr. Berthold Friess and Br. Willibrordus. Fr. van der Velden was delighted with the news while waiting for their arrival. On December 23<sup>rd</sup>, he asked about the promised help from Ende. Fortunately, they arrived that very day. He was given absolution and the holy unction by Fr. de Lange, just an hour before he breathed his last.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 5-6, 10; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 153; P. NOYEN, *Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea in December 1918*, 137.

<sup>167</sup> Within two months of his transfer to Larantuka, Noyen wrote to Blum that it was better that Fr. Baack immediately be moved from Atapupu to Larantuka. If not, Atapupu would be his burial place. The opposite happened. It turned out that Larantuka had given him the grave. If he had not moved to Larantuka and remained in Atapupu, could his life have been saved? Only God knows. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 6-7, 10, 12-13; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, f. 2; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 156.

<sup>168</sup> In fact, already in the middle of August and again in November of that same year, there was a certainty that the mission superior of the Jesuits, Fr. Hoeberechts would soon retract Fr. van der Velden. He was actually just waiting for the time to return to Java. But apparently, he died in Larantuka. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918, ff. 11, 13-14; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, F. de Lange to Blum, Ndona, 21.12.1918, f. 14; Noyen to Blum, Ndona 13.8.1918, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.11.1918, f. 7; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 157.

After the death of these four missionaries, Larantuka was empty; there was not even a missionary. From the victims it snatched, Spanish influenza can be justified as the culmination of all the suffering of the Lesser Sundas Mission from the beginning until that time. The number of victims in Larantuka was 20 schoolboys, 3 indigenous teachers, 3 Fathers and a lay Brother. Meanwhile, the number of victims in various villages around Larantuka were 5 deaths by 21 December 1918. In Lela, there were 6 victims among school children. The SSps Sisters in middle Flores were not infected but Fr. Petrus Muller was, as well as Fr. Berthold Friess and the old Brother Vester, who recovered soon. In Ende itself there were about 440 deaths from a population of 4,500. A total of 180 were snatched in Nggela out of the 2,000. In Nangapanda there were 59 deaths out of a population of 300. In Ndona 3 schoolboys died and in the villages around Ndona one can count 10 % dead.<sup>169</sup>

In the midst of so many difficulties they had been experiencing up to that time, Noyen felt as though he had been hurt by God with this series of deaths. Petrus Noyen commented on this experience as follows, «[...] But by this terrible blow, my heart is wounded and I felt this wound would never be healed until we are united in heaven. [...]»<sup>170</sup> Even so, Petrus Noyen was fully convinced that the victims of Larantuka would be faithful advocates for the progress of the mission work in the Lesser Sundas mission before the Most High's Throne. News of these deaths was delivered to Steyl via two telegrams. Then, on 18 January 1919, Noyen wrote a letter to Blum announcing once again this sad event.<sup>171</sup>

On 30 January 1919, Noyen wrote again to Nicolaus Blum. The situation was untenable – as if the water was already rising up to Noyen's throat. This time he said that he did not write to explain the cause of their death but to ask for missionaries. For Noyen, the most important thing at that time was not to mourn but to bring new missionaries as soon as possible to rebuild the mission in the Lesser Sundas. Noyen urged that the first thing for Nicolaus Blum to do was to dispatch Fr. Johannes van Cleef immediately to Larantuka, Flores.

<sup>169</sup> The news regarding the death of three SVD missionaries was received by Petrus Noyen when he was in South Belu, Timor. He was there since 21 September to help with pastoral work. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke Dec. 1918, ff. 1, 6, 9, 14-15; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, F. de Lange to Blum, Ndona, 21.12.1918, ff. 1, 10, 12-14; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda Eilanden*, 201.

<sup>170</sup> «[...] Maar door dezen verschrikkelijken slag werd mijn hart gewond, en ik voel het deze wonde geneest niet meer, tot dat wij vereenigd zullen zijn in den hemel. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke Dec. 1918, f. 15; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 158.

<sup>171</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, A Telegram from Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 11.1.1919; A Telegram from Noyen to Blum, Kupang, 21.1.1919; Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 18.1.1919, f. 1 (226).

According to Petrus Noyen, he was the only right person to head the mission station there.<sup>172</sup>

About the tragedy of the deaths, Blum wrote as follows,

[...] You can easily imagine what deep and painful impression the message made on us. The Society, especially our dearest Flores, has suffered a great loss in the three brave young men. Receive our sincere condolences to you and all your confreres. Your suffering is our suffering, your sorrow our sorrow. I have worshiped & thanked the same Triune God for the new heavy blow. We have to leave everything to Him because He knows what is the best for us. That's why we want to praise and exalt Him also in this test. [...] We want to hope and pray. Certainly, light and joy will come again after this tribulation. Rain is followed by sunshine. Such are always the ways of the Lord.<sup>173</sup>

Concerning the death of three SVD missionaries, Nicolaus Blum valued it as a lesson given by God regarding on how to go about mission work. It was possible that through this misery, God wanted to show that in mission work the most important thing was not the number of missionaries but God Himself, prayer and the faith. He then invited Noyen to see the whole issue as part of God's plan for the mission. It seemed to Nicolaus Blum that the good Lord had brought about this great misery to test the mission, but above all to test Fr. Noyen, His servant. Staying firmly in faith to the Lord whatever the situation probably was the only suitable thing that should be done. According to Blum, if he kept the faith, after all this misery, great blessings would come to Flores & Timor.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> He hoped that he and *Frater* Simon Buis, who was in possession of a teaching certificate, would leave for Flores at the first opportunity after Easter. They departed on 5 July 1919, arrived in Ende on 20 October, and immediately proceeded to Larantuka that day. The following day, they landed at the port of Larantuka, welcomed by Fr. Johannes Bouma, Fr. Berthold Friess, and Br. Franciscus. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 30.1.1919, ff. 2-3; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Franz de Lange to Blum, Ndona, 28.10.1919, f. 1 (1452).

<sup>173</sup> «[...] Sie können sich leicht denken welchen tiefen u. schmerzhaften Eindruck die Nachricht auf uns gemacht hat. Die Gesellschaft hat in den drei wackeren jungen Männern einen großen Verlust erlitten ganz besonders aber unser teures Flores. Empfangen Sie u. alle Ihre Mitarbeiter unser herzlichstes Beileid. Ihr Leid ist unser Leid, Ihre Sorge unsere Sorge. Ich habe gleich den hl. Dreieinigem Gott angebetet u. ihm gedankt für den neuen schweren Schlag. Ihm müssen wir alles überlassen denn er weiß am besten was gut ist. Darum wollen wir ihn auch in dieser Prüfung loben u. preisen. [...] Wir wollen hoffen u. beten. Sicher kommt nach diesem Trübsal auch wieder Licht u. Freude. Auf Regen folgt Sonnenschein. So sind immer die Wege des Herrn.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, ff. 1-2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 409.

<sup>174</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919, f. 430.

### 2.2.6. Regarding the Sending of SVD German Missionaries to the Lesser Sunda Islands

David Jacobus Bosch stated that during the high peak of colonization era, it was considered as a general rule that British missionaries worked in the British colonies, those who were from France worked in the French colonies, and the German missionaries worked in the German colonies. This practice was then also applied to the Dutch colonial territories where only missionaries of Dutch origin were permitted to work in those territories. In the eyes of colonists, they were considered as the vanguard and rearguard of colonization.<sup>175</sup> From the relations as mentioned above, it was not customary for a colonial government to accept missionaries from other nationalities to work in its colonial territories. This was generally motivated by the assumption that foreigners were almost impossible to keep in line. For this reason, the colonial governments preferred to work with their own fellow countrymen. These facts helped to clarify the situation at the beginning of the SVD mission work in the Lesser Sunda islands. There was a demand that missionaries sent there must be of Dutch origin.<sup>176</sup>

Difficulties arose when the SVD superiors found that in their own mission congregation it turned out that there were not many Dutch people. Meanwhile, the demands of the situation and the need of the Catholic community in the Lesser Sundas mission for missionary personnel was very high. This was realized from the beginning and led to the emergence of the idea of sending German missionaries. Was that possible? This is the question that will be discussed in this section.

Long before Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD left for the Lesser Sundas mission, in 1912 there had been talk of the possibility of sending German SVD missionaries to the Dutch East Indies. It was acknowledged that it would be better if Dutch SVD missionaries were sent there, but because their numbers were still very small the solution taken was the sending of Germans. According to him, those who would be sent to the Lesser Sundas must first learn Dutch well. By doing this, they would elevate the name of the SVD's Mother House in Steyl in the eyes of the Dutch government.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Missionaries were well-known as those who lived close to the local people, spoke local languages and got to know their customs and culture well. For these reasons they were more easily accepted by the local people. This provision made the colonists welcome them as reliable partners in colonization. This could happen because the missionaries were considered to be their own people. Cf. D. JACOBUS BOSCH, *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 303-304;

<sup>176</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 136.

<sup>177</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum and general councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 8-9 (78-79); Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914, f. 2.

On one occasion, Petrus Noyen told Nicolaus Blum that German missionaries who wanted to go to the Dutch East Indies must be naturalized. They also needed to learn how to express themselves in Dutch. The same conditions had been made by a Protestant mission organization called the Rhenish Mission Society. According to the rule at that time, German missionaries who wanted to go to the Dutch East Indies must have lived for 5 years in the Netherlands. But this obligation could be bypassed by asking for a dispensation through the organization «*De Oost Indische Missievere-eniging*» (= The East Indies Mission Society). In one of their discussions with the Resident of Kupang, E.G.Th. Maijer, regarding the efforts to christianize Flores and Timor, the Resident hoped that the SVD would move quickly to stem the development of Islam. Petrus Noyen told the concerned Resident that indeed the SVD would send missionary personnel, but Germans. Hearing this, the Resident did not seem to mind the presence of German missionaries in the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>178</sup>

There was one question that persisted in Noyen's mind, whether German missionaries who did not yet have *radicaals* could get permission to enter the Dutch East Indies. Of course, he still remembered the «*radicaal* case» that had befallen him the first time he set foot in Batavia. He then wrote to Msgr. Luypen, who was considered to have more experience in this matter. Msgr. Luypen answered that this was possible, of course, with the permission of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies in accordance with the provisions of article 123. When the permission is granted, a German missionary could work in the Dutch East Indies. After a period of five years, the person concerned could apply for naturalization to obtain Dutch citizenship. Only a Dutch citizen could ask for *radicaal* from the Dutch government. With that *radicaal*, a Father could be submitted to get a salary from the government for the work he does. Msgr. Luypen also reminded him that during the first five years, the Father in question must take care of his own expenses because he does not get any salary or benefits from the colonial government.<sup>179</sup>

Before World War I began, the Dutch government was still able to allow it and gave *radicaals* to German missionaries who were sent from Steyl to the Lesser Sundas mission. When he was in the Hague in 1914 Nicolaus Blum

<sup>178</sup> «*De Oost Indische Missievere-eniging*» was headed by a member of parliament [= Second Chamber] namely Mr. Bogaardt. The secretary of this organization was Msgr. M.J.G. Claessens, from Sittard, the Netherlands. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, ff. 5-7; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913, f. 3 (115); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 4.12.1913, f. 4; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 50.

<sup>179</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 3 (122).

noticed that concerning the mission work the nationality of missionaries had been overlooked by the government.<sup>180</sup> But during the war, the Dutch government no longer issued *radicaals* for Germans. Moreover, the Germans were not given permission to travel abroad. This policy aggravated the condition of mission work in the Lesser Sundas. Even so, efforts to bring Dutch missionaries as well as German missionaries to that mission continued. Nicolaus Blum and Petrus Noyen did not simply give up only because of the war situation at that time. This was of course driven by the fervent missionary spirit and the concern for the salvation of the souls. Petrus Noyen seemed to have studied the composition of the Jesuit missionaries in the Dutch East Indies. He saw that there were also German missionaries among them. Therefore, the SVD could also do the same thing. In one of his letters to Petrus Noyen, Blum complained that it was very sad because German missionaries were not permitted to travel anywhere. If they were allowed, the Lesser Sundas mission would be well staffed with missionaries. He began to think about the possibility of asking for German missionaries from elsewhere, for example from Mozambique, to be sent to the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>181</sup>

Therefore, in November 1914, he wrote to the Apostolic Internuncio in The Hague begging for his help. In his letter, he requested that the Internuncio Msgr. Giovanni Tacci seek permission from the British embassy in the Netherlands for German missionaries to be sent to the Dutch East Indies. Without that permission, they would surely be arrested on the way by the British and French. The number of German missionaries to be sent ranged between 2 - 3 Fathers and Brothers and only those who were not subject to conscription in Germany during the war. It was planned that they would depart in January 1915.<sup>182</sup>

In his response, Msgr. Giovanni Tacci pointed out that during the war, the only missionaries who should be sent to the Dutch East Indies were Dutch subjects. This was in line with what the Jesuit provincial, Fr. E. Beuken, SJ, had told Nicolaus Blum previously. Missionaries from other nationalities should be prevented from going there as far as possible. Regarding the mission in Flores, he recommended that Father Nicolaus Blum himself write a letter of request to Msgr. Luypen, Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, begging him to keep his missionaries in Flores until the SVD had sufficient personnel to replace them. This step was considered as more reasonable. Regarding the request to speak to the English ambassador, he promised to do everything necessary concerning

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, f. 2 (150).

<sup>181</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Bodems to Claessens, Steyl, 4.3.1922, f. 1 (325); AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.2.1916, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 26.5.1916, f. 1 (186).

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Tacci, Steyl, 21.11.1914, ff. 1-2 (171-172).

that matter. Nevertheless, the war situation made him doubt that he would succeed.<sup>183</sup>

Meanwhile, news came from Fr. Franz Ariaens in Teteringen telling Blum that three Fathers had received *radicaal* that lasted for three years, but they were not permitted to leave for the Dutch East Indies. He asked Blum whether there was another possibility to seek the assistance of the internuncio so that the missionaries could leave. Alternatively, it was recommended that the Procurator General, Fr. Carl Friedrich in Rome did something to expedite this matter.<sup>184</sup>

The last letter was followed by a rather long pause without correspondence regarding German missionaries. Only on 14 December 1918, Blum wrote a letter to the East Indies Mission Society in Nijmegen asking about the possibility of sending German Fathers to Flores and Timor. The letter was not answered soon. After a month he wrote another letter. This time he passed on the sad news of the three SVD missionaries who died in Larantuka which made the mission work there even more difficult. He also asked whether there had been an answer to his previous letter.<sup>185</sup>

Actually in his previous letter of 14 December, Blum discussed two important questions. In his first question he asked whether the proof of admission for the ecclesiastical service in the Dutch East Indies, the so-called *radicaal*, could be granted to non-Dutch citizens. The answer was positive; it was possible to gain the *radicaal* on condition that a formal application be sent directly to the Minister of the Colonies for further consideration. From the official document, as had been published in the book «De R.K. Missie in N. O. Indië 1808-1908», as cited by Msgr. Claessens, it did not indicate that only Dutch people were meant by the regulation. The second question was whether there was an opportunity for the non-Dutch, i.e. Germans, to make a trip to the Dutch East Indies. The chief official at the Colonies Department thought that this could not happen before the realization of the establishment of peace between the warring countries. Thus, the problem did not change. German missionaries still could not be dispatched to the Dutch East Indies at that time.<sup>186</sup>

Nevertheless, efforts continued to be made. On 19 April 1919, another letter came from Blum. He wrote to Noyen, «[...] It will take us only months

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, Tacci to Blum, La Haye, 12.12.1914, ff. 1-3 (172<sup>v</sup>-173<sup>r</sup>); Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 1.6.1916, f. 1 (196).

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, Ariaens to Blum, Teteringen, 26.5.1918, ff. 1-2.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Claessens, Steyl, 15.1.1919, f. 1.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, Claessens to Blum, Sittard, 16.1.1919, ff. 1-2.

until Germans can travel. There are already twelve. So, be patient. [...]»<sup>187</sup> He added that regarding the exact time when they would depart only God knew. He also wrote that they had been to The Hague and Rome but it was not so easy there. Cardinal van Rossum did what he could but he could not do everything. The situation was such that Propaganda was not allowed to communicate directly with The Hague. Propaganda had to address herself first to the Secretary of State and through the Nuncio to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (= *De Minister voor Buitenlandsche Zaken*), so that the matter would arrive at the Minister of the Colonies. So, with such a complicated bureaucracy, one could imagine how trivial was the matter of mission work in the eyes of those gentlemen. Blum then wrote, «[...] Perhaps God has set a great crisis upon the world and then no missions are needed for the time being. [...]».<sup>188</sup>

Fr. Nicolaus Blum did not seem to give up on this since he always tried to find a way out of the difficulties of sending German missionaries. This time he crossed over to Protestant friends. The person contacted was Pastor J. Spiecker, the Director of *die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* (= the Rhenish Mission Society). According to the information that reached Nicolaus Blum, most of its missionaries sent there were Germans. He wanted to enquire about three things: first, the acquisition of Dutch citizenship for the missionaries, whether they needed to acquire it before leaving for the Dutch East Indies or if it could be done later when they arrived there; secondly, he asked about the way a German missionary can get a pass for the trip; thirdly, he wanted to know whether the missionaries of *die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* were also requesting the so-called «*radicaal*» after which they were entitled to possibly get a salary for their mission work from the colonial government.<sup>189</sup>

Pastor J. Spiecker replied that his missionaries continued to maintain their German citizenship, both before leaving for the Dutch East Indies and after arriving there. This happened because they were not placed there in the hope of getting a salary from the colonial government. Moreover, salaries

<sup>187</sup> «[...] Es handelt sich jetzt doch nur um Monate bis Deutsche reisen können. Es sind schon zwölf bestimmt. Also Geduld.[...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 749.

<sup>188</sup> «[...] Vielleicht hat der liebe Gott vor noch eine große Krisis über die Welt kommen zu lassen u. dann sind vorderhand [...] überhaupt keine Missionen mehr nötig. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 2; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919, f. 749.

<sup>189</sup> This organization was famous for its mission work among the Bataks in the Dutch East Indies. They founded the Batak Protestant Christian Church or the so-called *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* in Indonesian, which is the largest Protestant Church in Southeast Asia. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Spiecker, Steyl, 8.5.1919, ff. 1-2; T. VAN DEN END, *Batak Protestant Christian Church of Indonesia*, in: H.J. HILLERBRAND (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* [from now on: *EP*], vol. 1A-C, New York and London, Routledge, 2005, 337.

from the government could affect the independence of missionaries in their mission work. Therefore, they were very careful in considering the possibility of receiving salaries from the government. The missionaries of this mission organization did not need to take care of the so-called «*radicaal*» because it was only required for pastors who wanted to get a salary from the colonial government. He also argued that if there had been a peace agreement between the warring countries, the sending of German missionaries to the Dutch East Indies would proceed without significant obstacles.<sup>190</sup>

On 29 May 1919, Blum wrote again to Noyen assuring him that there were 12 to 15 German missionaries ready for the Lesser Sundas mission. Unfortunately, the permission to travel was missing. While waiting for their time to depart they were learning Dutch. Blum also wrote that he had turned to the state and church officials – he wrote to Cardinal van Rossum three times – but without success.<sup>191</sup>

With the input obtained, Nicolaus Blum wrote an official letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs (= *De Minister van Binnenlandsche Zaken*) on 27 June 1919 in which he revealed the terrible shortage of mission personnel in Flores and Timor. Blum requested that the minister fight for the needs of this mission so that German missionaries could be sent as soon as possible to the Dutch East Indies. He also stated that the main concern of the SVD at that time was procuring the need of missionaries for 50,000 Catholics. It seemed that Blum adopted the idea of Pastor J. Spiecker, the director of the Rhenish Mission Society (= *Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*) in Barmen, when he said that German missionaries only needed the pass for the trip to enter the Dutch East Indies. They were willing to sacrifice salaries from the government for their work there. By not getting a salary from the government, he intended to say that the missionaries were not required to get «*radicaal*» from the Dutch government.<sup>192</sup>

Sometime later, a letter of reply arrived from the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On behalf of the Minister of Internal Affairs, he forwarded the information that the shipping company the «Nederland» no longer had tickets. All places were fully booked. In addition, priority had to be given to many applicants of Dutch nationality, including many national travelers. The Directorate of the Steamship-Company «Rotterdamsche Lloyd» also could not immediately accommodate the German missionaries of Steyl

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, Spiecker to Blum, Barmen, 17.5.1919, ff. 1-2.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 1; AG-SVD, BL-17, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 842; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to van Rossum, Steyl, 11.5.1919, ff. 1-2 (268<sup>re</sup>).

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, De Superior Generaal der Congregatie van het Goddelijk Woord aan Zijne Excellentie den Minister van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Steyl, 27.6.1919, ff. 1-2.

and had to disappoint them this time. However, they promised to prepare first-class tickets for them for the next trip that would take place towards the end of the year 1919.<sup>193</sup>

On 30 July 1919, Fr. Nicolaus Blum wrote again to Father Prefect Petrus Noyen praying that God may immediately restore the war situation to peace so that everything could go on its normal path. This time he delivered the good news that there were already 7 other German Fathers applying for the Lesser Sundas mission. It was hoped that at the end of the year there would be dozens of missionaries sent to the Lesser Sundas. At the same time, he also forwarded the positive information from the Ministry of Internal Affairs that he received previously. On 6 September 1919, Blum delivered news of the departure of the first batch of missionaries after the war. He wrote that five Fathers had left for the Dutch East Indies on 9 August and the other 10 were still waiting to leave at the shipyard. The Lesser Sundas mission was waiting for Fr. Camillus Kerkhoff for a long time, and now he had set sail for the same destination. In the same month on 19 September 1919, Fr. Franz Ariaens wrote to Blum stating that Fr. Unkel and he were of the same opinion that the young missionaries from Togo etc. should go to Timor and Flores. Less than a week before he died, Blum still had another chance to write his last letter to Noyen; a letter that he himself might not have realized was the last one. In it he said that there were already 7 Fathers and a Brother (Br. Bernardus) on their way to the Lesser Sundas mission. The other 10 Fathers were still waiting for their turn to leave. The first opportunity for them would be at the end of December 1919 and then in March 1920.<sup>194</sup>

Regarding missionaries sent in small groups, Nicolaus Blum apparently kept a spiritual vision there. He thus wrote to Noyen, «[...] Perhaps this is also a wise coincidence of God. Too much at once is too much for you and since they are Germans, too much also for the [Dutch] public. [...]».<sup>195</sup> Beside the spiritual aspect, the material aspect of the situation at that time was also worth considering. After the war Steyl experienced a serious difficulty in financial matters. The German money (*Deutsche Mark*) had a low value. At that time, 10 Mark was valued as a guilder. The SVDs from Uden already had to pay debts because of the travel expenses. Meanwhile, Steyl also had to accommodate a

<sup>193</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, De Secretaris-Generaal van Binnenlandsche Zaken aan den Hoogerwaarden Heer Superior Generaal der Congregatie van het Goddelijk Woord Steyl, 's Gravenhage, 7.8.1919, f. 1.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, St. Rupert, 30.7.1919, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 6.9.1919, f. 1; Ariaens to Blum, Teteringen, 19.9.1919, f. 2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 23.10.1919, f. 1.

<sup>195</sup> «[...] Vielleicht ist das auch eine weise Fügung Gottes. Zu viel auf einmal ist zu viel für Sie und auch, da es Deutsche sind, zu viel für die Öffentlichkeit. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 23.10.1919, f. 1.

large number of missionaries who were repatriated from their mission posts that required a huge sum of money. A large number of missionaries also meant a demand for a lot of money.<sup>196</sup>

From whispering news between the internuncio in The Hague and Nicolaus Blum, it could be concluded that those missionaries left for the Dutch East Indies without *radicaals*. It was only demanded that they ask for travel permits. Blum wrote in his letter thus,

I have done everything to get the *radicaal*, but the [inter]nuncio who is responsible for the matter did not allow it. The cardinal has told me, I should have a little patience since the matter was basically already arranged for Germans. The ban on going to Protestant areas also falls. His Eminence has communicated the above *sub secreto*.<sup>197</sup>

It seemed that at that time there was a serious discussion about the phenomenon of the arrival of German Catholic missionaries in the Dutch East Indies. Following their arrival in the Lesser Sundas mission, the Supreme Council of the Indies issued a letter of reprimand to the SVD for sending German Fathers without *radicaals* who were commissioned to work as chaplains in the mission. Moreover, the colonial government also decided that the German Fathers were not allowed to work alone in certain places. They should be placed always together with a Dutch Father. After a discussion with the Minister of Colonies, the *radicaal* still had to be requested with the assistance of the Holy See's Internuncio in The Hague. The question was whether the same was true for the Protestants? From the correspondence that followed after that between the director of *De Oost Indische Missievereening* and the Minister of Colonies, it could be seen that the Dutch government was a little selective in matters of religion.<sup>198</sup> Protestants took

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<sup>196</sup> To send the 12 missionaries back to China would require around 156,000 Marks. Uden and Teteringen were in dire constraints because of the high food prices. The students in Uden owed 60,000 guilders, which they found difficult to pay due to the postwar situation. If it was realized it would help the need of the mission houses a little. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 23.10.1919, f. 3; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 6.9.1919, f. 3.

<sup>197</sup> «Ich habe alles für das Radikaal getan, aber der Nuntius, der die Sache macht, wollte nicht. Der Kardinal hat mir aber gesagt, ich sollte noch ein wenig Geduld haben, die Sache sei auch für Deutsche schon grundsätzlich geordnet. Auch das Verbot in protestantische Gebiete zu gehen, fällt. Eminenz hat Vorstehendes sub secreto mitgeteilt.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 6.9.1919, ff. 1-2.

<sup>198</sup> In 1923, the leader of «*De Oost-Indie Missie Vereeniging*», Dr. J.G.C. Vriens sent a letter of protest to the Minister of Colonies after learning that there was an inequality in the government's treatment towards the Catholic Mission and the Protestant Zending in the Dutch East Indies. The case raised was a matter of salaries for catechists. The number of Protestant's «catechists» paid by the government was far greater than the number of Catholic catechists. It was stated that until 1920, the government gave salaries to 340 Protestant «catechists», while for Catholics only 14 catechists. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Dr. J.G.C. Vriens to the Minister of Colonies, Sittard, 5.7.1923, f. 4 (343).

precedence over Catholics. This was known by the large number of subsidies that the colonial government poured out on the Protestants in the Dutch East Indies until that time<sup>199</sup>. So, whether the *radicaal* issue was a bureaucratic matter that served to maintain public order or a subtle form of oppression of the Catholic mission on the part of the colonial government, only the Dutch government had the complete answer to this question.<sup>200</sup>

There was little wonder that the departure of these missionaries was not reported in the «*Nuntius*» edition of 1919 and 1920, the official organ of the SVD generalate. Most likely this event coincided with another sad event, namely the death of Father Superior General Nicolaus Blum on 29 October 1919. Thus, all the attention was focused there. The most important thing was that after waiting for a long period, finally the Lesser Sundas mission got more missionary personnel. In the «*Schematismus SVD 1921*», the Lesser Sundas mission's missionaries were listed as follows: one Prefect Apostolic, 36 Fathers, two *fratres* and 15 religious lay Brothers. All together there were 54 missionaries.<sup>201</sup>

Fritz Bornemann wrote that in 1919 and 1920, 30 Fathers and seven Brothers arrived in the Lesser Sundas mission. By 1930 the missionaries already numbered 43 Fathers and 19 Brothers. After World War I, since the SVD was obliged to give up its mission in Togo and Mozambique, 19 Fathers and four Brothers volunteered for the mission in the Dutch East Indies. From

<sup>199</sup> Regarding the catechists in the Lesser Sunda Islands, there is an interesting piece of information from the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Wilhelmus Marinus Cardinal van Rossum (1918-1932). In one of his letter dated 14 January 1928 to Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, the Secretary of State (1914-1931) of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939), he attached another letter dated 13 January 1928 passing on information that in the Lesser Sunda Islands Protestants had more than 60 indigenous «catechists» subsidized by the colonial Government, while Catholics had more than 100 indigenous catechists, but no one received any government subsidy. This may have been a further impact of the application of the Dutch East Indies Regulation Article 177 in Timor and Flores. Cf. Segreteria di Stato, S.RR.SS., Archivio Storico, AA.EE.SS., Olanda, 1925-1937, Pos. 51 P.O., fasc. 9, ff. 24', 25'.

<sup>200</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Bodems to Claessens, Steyl, 4.3.1922, f. 1 (325); Claessens to Bodems, Sittard, 10.3.1922, f. 1 (326); The Minister of Colonies to the President of the East Indies Mission Society, 's Gravenhage, 6.5.1922, f. 1 (329); The President of the East Indies Mission Society to the Minister of Colonies, Sittard, 5.7.1923, ff. 1-4 (340-344); Segreteria di Stato, S.RR.SS., Archivio Storico, AA.EE.SS., Olanda, 1925-1937, Pos. 51 P.O., fasc. 8, f. 22'.

<sup>201</sup> From the «*Schematismus SVD 1920*» one can find new names on the list of the Lesser Sundas mission, such as Bernhard Glanemann, Camillus Kerkhoff, Ignaz Terheyden, Josef Ettel, Josef Schmitz, Josef Haarmann, August Suntrup-Schüte, Franz Meyer, Wilhelm Strieter, Josef Grotmann, Henrich Worstbrock, Lambert Flint, Josef Preissler, Johann Jakob Köberl, Leo Vogt, Gerhard van Velzen, Simon Buis, Johannes Bouma, and Johannes van Cleef. Cf. *Schematismus S.V.D. 1920*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1920, 46-47; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1921*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1921, 64-66.

1925 onwards, it was mostly Dutch missionaries who were assigned for the Lesser Sundas mission. They were the alumni of the SVD Teteringen Major Seminary near Breda, the Netherlands.<sup>202</sup>

### 3. Educational Matters in the Lesser Sunda Islands

#### 3.1. Mission Schools

##### 3.1.1. The State of Schools up to 1908

Regarding education and schools there were two different points of view between the missionaries and the colonists. For missionaries, schools were a means to spread Catholicism, while for the colonists, schools were used to spread European civilization to the natives. From this different point of view derived significant and diverse approaches. The impact could also be varied. For example, if people could read and write they could be recruited to expedite government administrative matters, but they could also serve as catechists for the propagation of Christianity. The hospitals built would of course bring benefits not only for the mission but also for the health interests of government officials in the colonial territories.<sup>203</sup>

The following is the state of the development of schools in the Dutch East Indies before the SVD accepted the Lesser Sundas mission from the Jesuits:<sup>204</sup>

The State of the Catholic Schools for the Indigenous in the Lesser Sunda Islands at the end of the year 1908				
Places	School Administrator	Students		School Personnel
		Boys	Girls	
<b>FLORES</b>				
Larantuka	Jesuit missionaries	135		5
	Franciscan Sisters		225	7
Koting	Jesuit missionaries	42	-	2
Lela	Jesuit missionaries	120		4
	Sisters of Charity		150	7
Maumere	Jesuit missionaries	30	-	1
<b>TIMOR</b>				
Lahurus	Jesuit missionaries	65	-	2

<sup>202</sup> F. BORNEMANN (ed.), *A History of Our Society*, 346.

<sup>203</sup> J. COMBY, *How to Understand the History of Christian Mission*, 136-137.

<sup>204</sup> *Losse Berichten*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 35/1 (1909), 20.

From the existing tables, up to 1908, throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands schools were only found in the above places. At that time, boys and girls frequented separate schools. The boys were taken care by the Fathers while the girls were taken care by the Sisters. Schools for girls at that time existed only in Larantuka and Lela. Thus, until the end of 1908, there were only seven Catholic elementary schools (*volksscholen*) in the entire Lesser Sunda Islands (5 for boys and 2 for girls) and all were provided with boarding. By 1911 there were also six government schools without boarding schools. These schools were for indigenous children. Schools for indigenous children outside Flores and Timor were only found in Sumatra (Tanjung Sakti), Java (Mendut and Muntilan) and in Celebes (Minahasa, Woloan and Tomohon). Apart from those places, there were no schools on other islands. Thus, the number of schools for native people in the entire Dutch East Indies until the end of 1908 was 13 schools. While other places were not yet familiar with schools, people in Flores and Timor were already among the «blessed» ones who were fortunate to have schools at an early time even before the ethical policy launched by the Dutch government in 1901.<sup>205</sup>

Meanwhile, schools for European children throughout the Indies were only found in Java and Sumatra. The first school in Batavia was opened in the year 1817. In Java alone there were 58 schools spread across Batavia, Weltevreden, Buitenzorg, Bandung, Semarang, Jogjakarta, Magelang, Malang and Surabaya. Meanwhile, in Sumatra, there were 6 schools for European children, all of which were found in Padang.<sup>206</sup>

### 3.1.2. Mission Schools without Government Support

According to Eduard Jebarus, the first school in the whole of the Lesser Sunda Islands was started in Posto, Larantuka, eastern Flores on 3 December 1862 by Fr. Caspar Johanes Fransiscus Franssen, a diocesan priest. He began with 24 boys and a girl, the daughter of the King of Larantuka. It was an exceptional case that a girl frequented a school for boys since there was no school for girls. They used the room near the entrance of the Posto's Church, which served as a classroom. After the first Jesuit priest arrived in Larantuka in 1863, he began to pay attention to the school by constructing its own building and getting permission from the Dutch colonial government to be recognized as a *volksschool*. Because of this, Kurt Piskaty noted in his book that it was only in 1865 that a real people's school (*volksschool*) began in Larantuka. According

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara (Südost-Indonesien) - ihre geschichtliche Entfaltung und ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsarbeit*, Kaldenkirchen, Steyler Verlag, 1964, 66-67.

<sup>206</sup> *Losse Berichten*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 35/1 (1909), 20; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores* [History of Schooling in Flores], Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2008, 15.

to him, the lessons learned by students from the 1862 school were only catechism. Therefore, he considered that the school was not yet established as a school in the real sense. It is quite difficult to imagine that in such a small room of 10m x 10m they could learn many subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic as stated by Eduard Jebarus.<sup>207</sup>

After the first school that generally was dedicated only for boys, in 1879 a school was opened for girl students in Larantuka that was taken care of by the Franciscan Sisters from Heythuizen. By that time, they had started working in Semarang, middle Java, since 1870. The lessons given at the girls' school were the same as those given at the boys' school. Then, after the Jesuits began their mission in middle Flores (Mauwere and surrounding areas), in 1874 the first school for male students was also started in Mauwere by Fr. Cornelius Henricus Antonius Ten Brink, SJ. This school then moved to Lela in 1897. The school for female students in Mauwere was opened in 1892, and then also moved to Lela in 1899. In Dutch-Timor, the Jesuits opened the first school for male students in the year of 1883 in Atapupu which later was transferred to Lahurus after the foundation of a mission station there.<sup>208</sup>

### 3.1.3. Mission Schools with Government Support

According to the Dutch East Indies colonial government, the primary school for all people should last for 5 years. This referred to the so-called *standaardsschool* (= *standaardsschool*). What was developed in the Lesser Sunda Islands was the folk school (= *volksschool*) or also commonly called the village school (= *sekolah desa*, in Indonesian), which lasted for three years<sup>209</sup>. This type of school was a simplification of the *standardschool* in order to allow many more children to get access to a formal education at school, and at least to learn how to read, write and count simple numbers. They also learned the Catholic Catechism. The *volksschool* graduates could proceed to VVS (= *vervolgschool*) for two years. This VVS with two classes was often referred to as the *standaardsschool* (= *standaardsschool*). Only those who passed the selection were allowed to continue their studies in the *standaardsschool*. A *vervolgschool* or *standaardsschool* was first opened in

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<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 64-65.

<sup>208</sup> E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 32, 35-37; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 64-65.

<sup>209</sup> In this paper one will find terms such as village school, people's school, *sekolah desa*, *volksschool*, all refer to the same thing that is the simplified elementary school that lasted for three years adopted for local communities in the Lesser Sundas, especially in Flores and Timor.

Larantuka<sup>210</sup> in 1911, and then in following years: Lela in 1914, Ndona in 1916, Ruteng in 1924 and then Mataloko. For *standaardsschool* and *volksschool* the language used was Malay. Then more schools of this type were established in government or mission centers. The *schakelschool* (school with Dutch language of instruction) that was developed later was pursued after the *volksschool*, and lasted for 4 years. This school was intended to prepare natives to keep up the level of their Dutch and therefore be able to continue their studies to a higher level.<sup>211</sup>

A more serious policy from the Dutch government regarding education for indigenous children began after the launching of the ethical policy in 1901. Before that, native children who were admitted to attend formal education were only children from influential social classes such as of *rajas*, aristocrats, head of villages and other influential people. In order to implement this ethical policy, in 1906, the government began to show seriousness in paying attention to Flores and Timor. On 23 August 1906, an important government official in the Dutch East Indies, namely Hendrik Colijn, was assigned by the Governor General Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz (1904-1909) to make a visit to Flores, especially to places such as Larantuka, Maumere and Lela. The purpose of this visit was to introduce the possibility of implementing the idea of a village school that was designed in 1907 by the above-mentioned governor general.<sup>212</sup> In fact, he wanted to implement a village school system that lasted only for 3 years using Malay for instruction with funding provided by the local community itself as far as possible. The main purpose of this education was to enable the native people to be able to write, read and count simple numbers. The cost could also be obtained through several methods such as collective labor, free building materials for schools provided by the local society, collecting special local taxes or using district public fund to support the schools. After this visit, H. Colijn made his report in 1907 with the affirmation that general basic education was needed by local communities, but for this purpose, local initiatives should be fostered.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>210</sup> At the Larantuka's *standaardsschool*, the subjects being taught were Catholic Religion, Dutch, Malay, Numeracy, Geography, Nature Geography, Physics, Agricultural science, Zoology, Botany, Pedagogy, Chemistry, Drawing, Geometry, History, and Singing. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Leerplan van de Standaardsschool op Larantoecka, ff. 1-2; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 89.

<sup>211</sup> E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 68; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 82, 84, 87-88, 91, 97; AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Franz Cornelissen, Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika, 9.

<sup>212</sup> E.J.M. SCHMUTZER, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931*, Leiden, Brill, 1977, 39.

<sup>213</sup> Since a special tax on schools created resistance to schools on the part of some local communities in Flores, this tax was finally abolished in 1917. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 96-99; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 202.

In 1909, this idea was rejected by the Director of Education and Worship, M.S. Koster. The ground of his refusal was his own assumption that the schools could be used by the mission as a means of Christianization. Despite this resistance, efforts continued for the realization of this idea. A year after A.W.F. Idenburg became the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies (1909-1916), he fought for the school system to be approved by the Minister of Colonies at that time, J.H. de Waal Malefijt. In principle, Idenburg planned to submit the implementation of basic education planned for Flores and Sumba to the Catholic mission and Protestant *zending*. His effort was approved in 1910. In the same year, the *gezaghebber* of Middle Timor, Captain Franssen Herderschee, paid a visit to Fr. Adrianus Mathijssen, SJ in Lahurus, as he was the only Catholic priest for the whole of Timor, to discuss the above-mentioned plan. During the discussion, they alluded to the plans to establish 10 village schools in Timor. Nevertheless, the construction of schools in Timor began a little later. The next step taken was discussing this plan more seriously. For this purpose, a high-level meeting was held at Lela, Flores, on 22 February 1911. This meeting produced an outline of an agreement signed by C. Lulofs and Fr. van der Velden SJ on 7 March 1911. One of the important contents of the agreement mentioned above was that besides Adonara, which was considered as a Muslim territory, the entire Flores and other small surrounding islands were considered as Catholic mission territories.<sup>214</sup>

The strategy adopted was building as many village schools as possible supported by some *standaardsscholen* that had been and would be built in Larantuka, Lela, Ndonga, Aimere and Reo. On 1 May 1911, the Organization of Catholic Schools in Flores was submitted to the government to be recognized as a public foundation. After that, the mission began with the establishment of village schools or also called *volksscholen*. In the middle of 1911, Ende's *gezaghebber*, van Suchtelen, submitted a request to open public schools in 11 villages in the Ende region.<sup>215</sup>

On 11 March 1913, the Governor General, A.W.F. Idenburg published a decision regarding school policies in Flores and Sumba. This decision came to be

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<sup>214</sup> Participants in the meeting held in Lela were Advisor for the Outer islands C. Lulofs, Resident of Timor and its dependencies, C.H. van Rietschoten, *Controleur* Anton Hens and Fr. Arnold van der Velden, SJ, who represented the Catholic mission in Flores. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 96-98.

<sup>215</sup> The actual number of all public schools throughout the Lesser Sundas mission according to Kurt Piskaty, until 1915 were only 32 schools. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 97-98; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 5; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 79.

known as the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*».<sup>216</sup> There were several important points in this decision: first, the administration of teaching indigenous people in Flores from the Timor residency and its dependencies, in the period of 1913 to 1922 and is handed over to the Catholic mission Congregation of the Jesuits. Secondly, the mission is required to build folk schools *volkscholen* and *standaardsscholen* in accordance with the government regulation. All these *standaardsscholen* were required to educate the future teachers who would be distributed to various village schools or the so-called *volkscholen*.<sup>217</sup> The right to appoint and dismiss teachers would lay with the mission. Thirdly, the scope of primary education would be determined by the mission according to the needs and capacity of the respective population. Fourthly, the Catholic religious education that is taught at the *standaardsscholen* would not be a requirement for the children whose parents do not allow them to attend the lesson. Fifthly, the language used in schools would be Malay. Sixthly, the parents of the children or even the entire village population should do «unpaid community service» in the form of regular work for public purposes, such as road construction, the construction of elementary schools, providing school furniture and building the houses for teachers if needed. Seventhly, local communities would have to pay special taxes for the benefit of the schools, especially to meet teachers' salaries. Eighthly, the subsidies granted by the Government are intended: 1) for elementary schools: a one-time payment not more than 300 guilders for the construction and first establishment of a school (in so far as the village population cannot afford it); a maximum of 100 guilders per year for the payment of teachers' salaries, school maintenance, etc.; 2) for the *standaardsscholen* and the *normaalcursussen*: one time for all the costs of constructing the buildings and the first facilities;  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the teachers' salaries and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the school maintenance, furniture renewal, etc. Ninthly, all schools would be subject to the supervision of the relevant government inspectors. The mission would be obliged to comply with the wishes and remarks of the officials, subject to appeal to the chief school inspector in Batavia, the *Directeur van Onderwijs en Eredienst* (the Director of Education and Worship).<sup>218</sup>

The conclusion of the 1913 school contract was followed by the 17 and 25 June 1913 elections in the Netherlands which replaced the old cabinet with a new one. The coalition cabinet of Theo Heemskerk (1908-1913) from the Anti-Revolutionary Party was replaced by the liberal cabinet of Pieter Cort van der Linden (1913-1918). The new liberal Minister of the Colonies,

<sup>216</sup> The Dutch text of «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*» can be found in the book of Karel Steenbrink. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 466-471.

<sup>217</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 98.

<sup>218</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 72-74; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 293-297.

Thomas Bastiaan Pleijte (1913-1918), immediately voiced his misgivings about the already published school contract for Flores and Sumba.<sup>219</sup>

The main problem raised by the Minister of Colonies, T.B. Pleijte was a problem that may be called an «unconstitutional» problem allegedly carried out by the Governor General A.W.F. Idenburg. This was discussed at the Dutch parliamentary session (*De Tweede Kamer*). According to the hearing, the authority granted to the Catholic Mission and the Protestant *Zending* was too large and potentially undermined the government's own authority in school matters.<sup>220</sup> The grounds for their objection was the opinion that such a permit closed the possibility for the government, in this case the Governor General, to open a state school in a place where it was needed the most by a local community. They considered that this permit was unconstitutional because it violated Dutch Colonial Government Regulation no. 128 which stated that the matter of opening a school for indigenous people was the business of a governor general and not other parties such as a mission or a *zending*. According to Pleijte, the government only wanted to ensure that the obligations given to him were not neglected when the mission was unable to establish schools needed by the community in certain places. The case raised was that of Ende, Flores, in which many Muslims lived so they needed a more neutral government school to meet their needs.<sup>221</sup>

In order to rectify this problem, a discussion took place between the Dutch Jesuit Provincial, R. van Oppenraaij, SJ and the Minister of Colonies, Thomas Bastiaan Pleijte. The discussion between the two parties was based on two documents compiled by the Minister of Colonies, T.B. Pleijte, namely the «*Concept Ordonnantie*» and «*Nota van Toelichting*». On the basis of these two documents, van Oppenraaij wrote his response in five important points.<sup>222</sup>

From the correspondence between the Provincial van Oppenraaij and Minister Pleijte there was actually no fundamental change from the previous rules regarding school subsidies. The agreed matters were: first, the mission and *zending* were given the task of building schools and administering education for indigenous people with subsidies from the government. In the future, if according to the results of government inspections it turns out that

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<sup>219</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 74.

<sup>220</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 10.

<sup>221</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Pleijte to van Oppenraaij, 's Gravenhage, 19.10.1914, f. 1; van Oppenraaij to Pleijte, den Haag, 25.10.1914, f. 1; Nota van Toelichting, f. 1; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 74-75; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 51-52.

<sup>222</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Concept-Ordonnantie, ff. 1-10; Nota van Toelichting, ff. 1-7.

the mission is unable to carry out the tasks required of it, then the government can reclaim the trust that has been given to the mission. If this happens, all schooling affairs will automatically be handled by the government.<sup>223</sup> This task should not be determined as a personal affair of a governor general. It should come as a decision made on behalf of the Queen of the Netherlands issued by a governor general.<sup>224</sup> Secondly, the schools that could be established by the mission and were subsidized by the government were folk schools, *standaardscholen*, *normaalcursussen* (= training to become teachers) and schools to become teachers, the so-called *kweekscholen*. The previous regulation mentioned only two types of schools, namely folk schools and *standaardsscholen*.<sup>225</sup> Thirdly, the regulation regarding students sent from Flores to Woloan in Celebes to be educated to become teachers at government expense would be regulated by a special regulation. This was made in order to avoid the impression of inequality by the government towards Protestants. This was an integral part of the regulation.<sup>226</sup> Fourthly, the new rules clearly stated the amount of school fees that each student must pay per month. A standard-school-student was charged a fee of 1 guilder per month; while a folk-school-student was to pay ½ guilders per month. It also regulated the amount of salary for a school inspector.<sup>227</sup> Fifthly, in the new contract it should be mentioned that the ecclesiastical contracting party is no longer the Jesuit Congregation, but the Missionary of the Society of the Divine Word from Steyl.<sup>228</sup>

Meanwhile, in the Dutch East Indies, C. Lulofs handled this problem by holding a meeting in Larantuka in the middle of June 1914. This meeting was attended by Fr. Prefect Petrus Noyen, SVD after conducting a regional survey in Ndona to determine the SVD mission center. In this meeting, instead of the Jesuits, Noyen was treated as an official representative of the Catholic mission in Flores, even though by that time the mission of Flores was still under negotiation and had not been officially handed over to the SVD.<sup>229</sup>

<sup>223</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 9-10; Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, ff. 1-2.

<sup>224</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Nota van Toelichting, f. 2; Concept-Ordonnantie, f. 1; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 293, 301.

<sup>225</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Nota van Toelichting, f. 2; Concept-Ordonnantie, f. 2.

<sup>226</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Nota van Toelichting, f. 7; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 296, 310-311.

<sup>227</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Generaalat 1914-1920, Concept-Ordonnantie, f. 5; Nota van Toelichting, f. 5; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 307-308.

<sup>228</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 75.

<sup>229</sup> E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 51; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 74.

On 28 October 1915, the document of the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1915*»<sup>230</sup> was signed by the Governor General Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg on behalf of the Queen of the Netherlands and published a day afterwards<sup>231</sup>. In principle, the contents of this new document were mostly the same as the previous one. Soon afterwards, Fr. Petrus Noyen managed to extend the scope of the contract to the island of Solor in eastern Flores, and again on 18 May 1916 to the area of the Catholic mission in Timor: Belu and Noord Middle Timor.<sup>232</sup> No one could deny that the mission was fortunate with this collaboration with the government in the schools' matter. The government unofficially informed the mission superiors in Flores that it had no plans to build schools or allow other people to build schools in the subsidiarized-areas concerned.<sup>233</sup>

Having successfully held the education in Flores and Timor, after its first contract period was completed in 1922, the next contract was extended without any significant difficulties. The contract actually remained effective until 1942. Moreover, the government considered that the school system implemented in Flores and Sumba had been proved successful. Therefore, in 1925 the regulations of the school system in Flores and Sumba were applied to all schools throughout the Dutch East Indies.<sup>234</sup>

Children who had completed a three-year folk school with good results were gathered in mission dormitories to be educated to become teachers or catechists, while continuing their school in *standaardscholen*. A real preparation to become teachers or catechists actually only happened after they finished the

<sup>230</sup> The translation into Indonesian of the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1915*» can be found in the book of Eduard Jebarus regarding the schools in Flores. Cf. E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 301-309.

<sup>231</sup> A. TIRON – A. VAN DE SANDE, *Il Belgio e i Paesi Bassi*, in: J. GADILLE – J.-M. MAYEUR (ed.), *Storia del Cristianesimo*, 501-502; T.D. WHITMORE, *Quanta Cura*, in: R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *The Harpercollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995, 1075; R.R. GAILLARDEZ, *Syllabus of Errors*, in: R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *The Harpercollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995, 1233.

<sup>232</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Prov. Theodor Kost, Steyl, 20.10.1916, f. 2 (212); Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 28.9.1916, f. 1; Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 3 (221:3); PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 97. The translation of text in to Indonesian of the School Subsidies Regulation for Belu and North Middle Timor can be found in the book of Herman Embuiru. Cf. H. EMBUIRU, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, vol. 3, 1301-1310.

<sup>233</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 9; F. CORNELISSEN, *Making Converts through Education*, in: «The Christian Family» 44 (1949), 334.

<sup>234</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 75-76, 79; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 52; H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, 31.

*standaardsschool*. For this reason, they were required to attend school or courses for 2 years in the *normaalcursussen* and *kweekscholen*.<sup>235</sup>

Regarding the conversion of school children to Catholicism, of course, the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1915*» guaranteed full religious freedom at school. The government was quite far from exercising religious pressure on the people. The parents from background of traditional religion at the beginning were also averse, even hostile, to this policy. Usually only after a few months, could the teacher teach the daily prayers and some parts of Catholic doctrines to their school children. Often the children attended the lessons against the will of their parents. If this resulted in a fight, the children usually remained the winners. In fact, most children left school after three years as Catholics.<sup>236</sup>

As is already known, the elementary schools during the Dutch colonial era lasted only for three years. Preparations for becoming a Christian in elementary schools were carried out as follows: the first 1 ½ years, students were prepared by schoolteachers for baptism. After baptism, the second 1 ½ years were used for preparation in order to receive the sacrament of confession and the eucharistic sacrament, commonly known as the first confession and the first holy communion. The same period of preparation also applied to children who took religious lessons in the villages under the guidance of religious teachers, prayer leaders and catechists. This group of people was formed of adults and children who were not allowed to go to school by their parents, especially the girls. They attended «religious education» every day in preparation for receiving baptism and first holy communion.<sup>237</sup>

Regarding the process of converting people from traditional religions to the Catholic Church, Petrus Noyen once wrote a letter to Cardinal Marinus van Rossum, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide at that time. In it he stated that students who returned home once a year became apostles to their families and relatives. Every time their parents visited them in the schools, at the same time they saw a call for their attention to the humility of Catholic missionaries, who were very friendly towards them. The missionaries talked to them in their mother tongue. In this regard, the schools were the best means of the

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<sup>235</sup> J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 202.

<sup>236</sup> H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, 31; F. CORNELISSEN, *Making Converts through Education*, 334-335; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 303; F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Katholiek Onderwijs op Flores*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën», 68/4 (1947), 57; AP-SVD Ende, *Generaalat 1914-1920*, Concept-Ordonnantie, f. 3.

<sup>237</sup> J. BOT, *The Harvest is Great*, in: «The Christian Family» 44 (1949), 331, 356; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 202.

propagation of the faith, the acceptance of faith for the first stage and a means for missionaries to connect themselves to the indigenous.<sup>238</sup>

At that time, there were many boarding houses around schools. This happened because of the geographical conditions and the availability of schools which was rather rare for everyone. The long distance of the villages from the schools demanded that the children be sheltered in order to guarantee their participation in attending school from day to day. In addition, in the dormitory children were trained in discipline, cooperation, living together with others, prayers, and various other activities that were considered very useful for them. In 1928, all the boarding schools received 627 boys and 407 girls, altogether there were 1,034 children. By 1932, the mission in *Nusa Tenggara* maintained 20 boarding schools. Even though the mission had to spend a large amount of money for the boarding houses each year, there was the conviction that it would not be possible to renounce the boarding schools if the mission wanted to reap success in the future.<sup>239</sup>

In order to maintain or to improve the quality of education school inspection was very necessary. The school inspection was usually carried out by the mission and the government at any time, and each appointed its own inspectors. From the start, mission inspectors were appointed to schools in Timor and Flores. Colonial government inspectors who were truly competent in their field were only appointed around 1930. The names of government inspectors in the Flores region were Josef B. Badilangoe, J. Pondaag and Philipus de Rosari.<sup>240</sup>

Schools in Timor in the early days were assisted by *kweekschool* graduate teachers from Woloan, north Celebes, thanks to the support and cooperation of Father A.P.F. van Velsen, SJ, the director of the school.<sup>241</sup> In Besikama there were two teachers, namely Andreas Fahik and Leo Daun. Stanislaus Berek and Dominikus Kaufaru were teachers who were famous for their willingness to sacrifice themselves indefinitely to teach Catholic doctrines, performed singing practice, prepare people before baptism, chrism,

<sup>238</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 4.11.1918, f. 4.

<sup>239</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 142, 145.

<sup>240</sup> The supervisors for schools in Flores were Fr. Wilhelm Baack (1916-1918), *Frater* Gerhard van Velzen (1919-1921), Fr. Nicolaus van der Windt (1921-1929), Fr. Johannes Bouma (1930-1933) and Fr. J. van Berkel (1933-1943). The supervisors for Timor were Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen (1916-1922) and Fr. Henricus Leven (1923-1932). Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 16.8.1917, f. 2; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 75-76; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diodos Agung Ende*, 148-149, 179.

<sup>241</sup> Some names of the pioneering teachers in Timor from north Celebes who can be named here include, Arnold Wanget, Yafet Tinangon, Aris Makalo, Albert Nangung, Yosef Weweng dan Z. Makalo. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 9.2.1917, ff. 2-3; A.I. VAN AERNSBERGEN (ed.), *Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jezuïeten in de Missie van N.O.-I.*, 417.

anointing the sick and marriage celebrations. It is said that the teachers were the spearheads of the spread of the Catholic Church in the villages in inland Timor. Fr. Herman Lalawar, a long time SVD-missionary of Timor, called this group the 72 apostolic disciples (see Lk:10) who preceded Jesus to the villages preparing for His coming. They were also the peace bearers who brought glad tidings that reconciled people to God.<sup>242</sup>

In Flores people knew the names of several pioneering teachers. They were teachers who were sent from Larantuka and Lela to educate people in the western part of Flores. The teachers at that time played important roles such as intellectuals, becoming pastors' «right hands» in pastoral matters in preparing people to receive sacraments properly. At the same time, they themselves had to have moral endurance and firmness of faith in dealing with problems at work. The problem that generally arose at that time was feeling like strangers in new places living in local communities that also felt strange with school matters. Eduard Jebarus referred to these teachers as «burning lamps» who had made a major contribution to the development of the Catholic Church and its communities in Flores, Timor and many other places in the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>243</sup>

After about twenty years of dealing with schools, there were various levels of the «*Inland Onderwijs*». Although there were several levels of schools in the Lesser Sundas, the special attention from the beginning prior to World War II (1939-1945) was building folk schools. The tendency of school expansion was more to make elementary education available to the broadest possible part of the population. This situation persisted until 1942 when World War II was raging everywhere. During the war, with only a few exceptions, all schools survived, even the total number of schools as well as the number of pupils increased constantly during the war. In the whole of Flores in August 1941 there were 220 folk schools with 31,109 pupils; in August 1946 after the war, there were already 249 schools with 37,745 pupils.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> H. LALAWAR, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Atambua dan Keuskupan Kupang*, 1294, 1300, 1303.

<sup>243</sup> They were Stanislaus Lela Tufan (Ile Ape), Andreas Sinu Beding (Kedang), Ignasius Diaz (Ende), Gregorius Parera (Ndona), Fransiskus Fernandez (Ndona), B. de Rosari (Ndona), Naidju Kainde, Menadonese (Ruteng), and many other names with surnames such as de Rosari, de Ornay, da Silva, Diaz and Fernandez. Cf. L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioces Agung Ende*, 147, 153; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 71-73.

<sup>244</sup> The school system in the Lesser Sundas began with folk schools, then *standaard-scholen*, *vervolgsscholen*, *schakelschool* in Ndao (1 July 1925), *normaalcursussen* or OVO (= *Opleidingschool voor Volks-Onderwijzer*) which was first opened in Larantuka in 1913 and *kweekscholen*, *ambachtschool* of St. Josef in Ende (21 June 1926), household schools, the Minor Seminary of Sikka (1926) that later transferred to Mataloko (1929) and the Major Seminary of Ledalero, Maumere (1937). Cf. K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 78, 81; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 88, 96-97, 101; F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Katholiek Onderwijs op Flores*, 56.

The following are tables regarding the state of schools in Flores up to 31 December 1922:<sup>245</sup>

Places	Folk Schools	Teachers	Students	
			Boys	Girls
Ende	31	37	2321	408
Maumere	27	53	2202	879
East.Flores & Solor Is.	12	20	1411	181
Adonara and Lembata	9	13		
Ngada	17	24	801	3
Manggarai	16	17	747	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>7482</b>	<b>1481</b>

Places	<i>Standaards-scholen</i>	Teachers	Students	
			Boys	Girls
Ndona	1	5	110	12
Lela	1	4	100	-
Larantuka	1	4	128	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>12</b>

Place	<i>Normaalcursussen</i>	Teachers	Students
Larantuka	1	2	39
Lela	1	1	16
Ndona	1	2	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>92</b>

Places	Religious Sisters	Female Schools	Teachers		Girls
			European	Natives	
Larantuka	Fransiscan	1	3	2	199
Lela	SSpS	1	3	3	108
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>307</b>

By 1922, the schools in Timor were developed in two different districts, Belu and North Middle Timor. The *standaardsschool* in Halilulik was opened in 1922 with 4 teachers, one girl and 108 boys. The following are tables regarding the state of folk schools in Timor<sup>246</sup>:

<sup>245</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, J. van Cleef to the Governor General, Ndona, 2.2.1923, ff. 1-2 (334-335).

<sup>246</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, J. van Cleef to the Governor General, Ndona, 2.2.1923, f. 1 (339).

Folk Schools in Belu	Teachers	Students	
		Boys	Girls
Atambua	2	93	10
Atapupu	2	74	2
Lahurus	2	86	53
Weluli	1	21	-
Asumanu	1	38	7
Halilulik	1	49	5
Tubaki	2	89	2
Besikama	1	63	-
Alas	1	52	-
Webora	1	35	-
Manulea	1	47	2
Kakaun	2	94	-
Bakiliurai	1	34	-
Builaran	1	18	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>793</b>	<b>81</b>

Folk Schools in North Middle Timor	Teachers	Students	
		Boys	Girls
Noeltoko	2	83	27
Aplal	1	95	15
Noemuti	1	64	3
Kefamenanu	1	87	9
Manamas	1	45	-
Oelolok	2	85	-
Maubesi	1	84	13
Fatoin	1	24	-
Sufa	1	39	-
Manumean	1	26	-
Manufui	1	40	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>672</b>	<b>67</b>

By 31 December 1923, the state of folk schools in the whole vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands is as follows:<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, Volkscholen op het Apostolisch Vicariaat der Kleine Soenda Eilanden op 31 December 1923, ff. 1-2.

Districts (=Onderafdeeling)	Folk Schools	Teachers	Students	
			Boys	Girls
Eastern Flores	26	48	1774	398
Maumere	33	65	2443	1080
Ende	31	52	2242	461
Ngada	26	34	1217	210
Manggarai	21	24	1070	21
Belu	15	19	712	73
North Middle Timor	11	13	558	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>10,016</b>	<b>2272</b>

Kurt Piskaty listed in his book *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, the development of the folk schools, teachers and students throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands from 1915 to 1942. The abbreviations shown on the table are: FS= Folk Schools; T= Teachers; St.= Students. The data is shown in the following table:<sup>248</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<b>FS</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>St.</b>	<i>Year</i>	<b>FS</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>St.</b>
<b>1915</b>	32	70	3,000	<b>1929</b>	250	429	23,793
<b>1916</b>	47	119	4,400	<b>1930</b>	271	466	25,384
<b>1917</b>	57	123	4,940	<b>1931</b>	287	477	26,688
<b>1918</b>	54	139	5,147	<b>1932</b>	298	523	27,500
<b>1919</b>	70	158	6,300	<b>1933</b>	282	497	26,337
<b>1920</b>	85	195	6,804	<b>1934</b>	275	470	28,140
<b>1921</b>	88	177	6,378	<b>1935</b>	277	471	28,505
<b>1922</b>	137	194	8,963	<b>1936</b>	244	420	27,490
<b>1923</b>	162	236	10,576	<b>1937</b>	249	461	29,419
<b>1924</b>	170	257	13,338	<b>1938</b>	255	537	31,899
<b>1925</b>	184	281	14,050	<b>1939</b>	254	562	33,050
<b>1926</b>	209	299	16,325	<b>1940</b>	263	565	33,000
<b>1927</b>	223	375	22,90	<b>1941</b>	270	570	33,177
<b>1928</b>	236	390	23,500	<b>1942</b>	277	575	33,600

## 3.2. School Competent Personnel

### 3.2.1. The Plans for the Schools and Missionary Personnel

Realizing that schools were such an important aspect for the development of the Church in the Lesser Sundas, Fr. Petrus Noyen was determined to carry out the task entrusted by the Dutch government as well as possible. There were many things that he thought about, one of which was to animate missionaries

<sup>248</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 79-80.

to learn Malay. Until then, this language had been used as a language of instruction in schools. He believed that all missionaries working in the Lesser Sundas should learn this language which was commonly used in society. In carrying out his duties in a certain sense a Father was considered also as the «inspector» of schools in his working area. Of course for this task, one needed to master the Malay language.<sup>249</sup>

For the smooth running of these school affairs, Petrus Noyen wrote a letter to Nicolaus Blum on 5 June 1914 to convey some of the real needs that must be met by the SVD. First, competent personnel were needed to handle schools. He hoped that Steyl would prepare several missionaries who had certificates as head teachers (= *hoofdonderwijzers*) or as ordinary teachers (= *onderwijzers*). Only those who had teacher certificates could be appointed as school inspectors. With such a certificate, disbursement of funds for boarding affairs would run smoothly, and it would also foster the government's trust towards the SVD as a competent congregation to deal with schools. Competent personnel would be respected by government inspectors. They would be cautious in their judgment as well as in their demands, if they knew that they dealt with professionals in educational matters. This was important to ward off skewed comments that schools in the Lesser Sundas were managed by village pastors who had no competencies in education. Secondly, after 5-6 years, schools to prepare students to become teachers, the so-called *kweekscholen*, must be established in some places. For this purpose, each *kweekschool* must be administered by at least 3 postgraduate teachers, one as head teacher and two as ordinary teachers. Thirdly, in accordance with the applicable subsidy regulations, a school inspector would get a high salary from the government.<sup>250</sup>

Responding to Petrus Noyen's request, Blum replied by acknowledging that school affairs were indeed a very important aspect of mission work. Nevertheless, he admitted that it was not easy to prepare such missionary-teachers. The exam that had to be done in order to get such a certificate was not an easy one. Blum recommended that some missionaries be encouraged to take oral examinations in the Dutch East Indies to obtain such a certificate. Noyen responded that for that matter, perhaps some capable students at Uden could be prepared for the task. Noyen's request was also intended as a preparation for the replacement of Fr. Petrus Muller SJ, a competent worker in the field of education who would leave Lela around 1919. A suitable substitute for him should be a certified-headteacher (= *hoofdonderwijzer*).<sup>251</sup>

<sup>249</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 9-11, 13; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, f. 1.

<sup>250</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 13-14.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 3 (157); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 3.11.1914, f. 5.

In fact, Noyen was also somewhat worried about the future policies of the new Minister of Colonies from the liberal circles, T.B. Pleijte, who might not benefit the mission. Since taking office he had shown a critical attitude towards the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*» that had been carried out. In Noyen's opinion, liberals who were famous for their critical attitude towards the Church did not need much evidence to cancel the contract with the mission in school affairs. One piece of evidence was considered sufficient for them to justify their assumption that the SVD was not up to administering schools for the indigenous. Of course, no one wanted that to happen because it would bring significant spiritual and material losses for the mission.<sup>252</sup>

In answering all Noyen's needs related to the school system, Nicolaus Blum wrote a letter to the East German Provincial at that time, Fr. Theodor Kost.<sup>253</sup> What is interesting about this four-page letter is that Blum only wrote five words, «*P. Noyen schreibt mir das Folgende: [...]*».<sup>254</sup> The rest of the letter was Petrus Noyen's own letter which Blum forwarded entirely to the mentioned provincial. It was not stated clearly when Petrus Noyen wrote his letter. In fact, in his letter he explained his need for teacher-certified missionaries, both certified head teachers and ordinary teachers. According to Noyen, there were two interesting things to be considered seriously: first, the economic benefits to be gained by the SVD if it employs a number of priests who were certified headteachers and ordinary teachers and who had also taken the Malay Language exam, as well as the «Land and ethnology» of the Dutch East Indies. He also stated that all of these economic benefits would certainly be useful for the benefit of the mission, such as the construction of churches, maintaining the life of priests, guaranteeing the lives of boys and girls in the boarding schools and procuring incentives for catechists and religious teachers. All this, of course, required no little cost. He also wrote that what was more important was the moral benefit in uplifting Steyl and the SVD's reputation in the eyes of the Dutch government.<sup>255</sup> Secondly, he suggested that some young SVD German missionaries be sent to attend *kweekschool* in the Netherlands to take the required certificates mentioned above. To support his suggestion, he presented evidence that German Sisters could obtain such a certificate from the Dutch government. «[...] If German missionary Sisters can achieve the

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Singaraja, 9.1.1915, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, ff. 2-3; Muller to Blum, Lela, 17.1.1917, f. 3.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 6.10.1916, ff. 1-4 (207-210); *Ernenningen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 34 (1914), 238.

<sup>254</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 6.10.1916, f. 1 (207).

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 6.10.1916, ff. 1, 3-4 (207, 209-210); E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 307.

“akte onderwyzeres,” why should not our young German Fathers be able to achieve it? [...],» questioned Petrus Noyen.<sup>256</sup>

It was not known what exactly was the response from Father Provincial Theodor Kost. What is clear is that on 24 November 1916 Nicolaus Blum mentioned in his letter that there was already a German Father who was willing to do the exam to get a teacher certificate and several others would follow. Along with that news, he also wrote that according to the SVDs in Uden, the government did not accept German missionaries for taking the exam. There were two *fratres*, Gerhard van Velzen and Simon Buis, who after taking examinations to get the required certificates, later arrived in the Lesser Sundas in 1919. Of course the presence of these two *fratres* had not met all the needs of the schools at that time. At least, there were two missionaries who were competent to deal with school matters.<sup>257</sup>

In connection with the school, Fr. Arnold Verstraelen who had been appointed as a school inspector in Timor, had his own plans. He saw that in Timor there were several Protestant teachers assigned there. Therefore, he wanted this not to be continued. For the first period, he planned to summon Catholic teachers from Menado, while preparing several children from Timor to become teachers in the future. As a realization of this plan, in 1916, two students from Timor took the examination of a teaching course at *normaalcursus* or OVO (= *Opleidingschool voor Volks-Orderwijzer*) in Larantuka to become teachers. In 1917 the exam was taken by four other students from Timor. Fr. Arnold Verstraelen believed that building a good school from the beginning would be very important for a better future. From these schools, the mission would develop faster since there would be plenty of helpers who expedited the mission work.<sup>258</sup>

### 3.2.2. Concerning the School Brothers from Maastricht

Apparently, Petrus Noyen spoke quite often with Friedrich Schwager, the SVD Mission Secretary at that time, and from the beginning they had seen schools as a very important aspect for the development of the mission in the Lesser Sundas. Noyen admitted that Schwager urged him repeatedly to think about the possibility of asking for Brothers who dealt with schools to

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<sup>256</sup> «[...] Wenn deutsche Missionsschwwestern „Akte onderwyzeres“ erreichen können, warum sollten das unsere jungen deutschen Patres nicht erreichen können? [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Theodor Kost, Steyl, 6.10.1916, f. 3 (209).

<sup>257</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.11.1916, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 3 (234); Blum to Noyen, Steyl bij Tegelen, 13.1.1919, f. 1; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 17.6.1919, f. 1.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915, ff. 1-2.

collaborate with the SVD in the mission. The main contribution that could be expected from the Brothers was to handle schools to educate prospective teachers and catechists. This school could accommodate students from *standaardsschool* graduates. The results of their upbringing would be recruited as teachers for the *volksscholen* and *standaardsscholen*, which since 1913 had been established in various places in Flores and Timor. They could also be recruited as catechists or religious teachers who work with pastors in pastoral work in the villages. For this reason, Petrus Noyen wrote to the Superior General of the School Brothers in Maastricht, on Brunnelsche Straat. He also had a private discussion with the Superior General in November 1912, a month prior to his departure for the Dutch East Indies. At the end of the discussion, they agreed that it was needed that Noyen write another letter upon his arrival in the mission to convey the real needs that must be met there. It was also agreed that within two years (= early 1914) the Brothers could be sent to the Lesser Sundas mission. Even so, the final decision would have to be made by Nicolaus Blum as the SVD Superior General in collaboration with the Brothers' Superior General. On 16 July 1913, Petrus Noyen wrote a letter to Blum requesting that the matter be resolved as quickly as possible.<sup>259</sup>

Along with his letter to Nicolaus Blum, Petrus Noyen also included another 10-page-letter which he wrote to the Superior General of the Brothers from Maastricht, Br. Bertholdus, in which he explained five important points related to the intended collaboration. The five points were the work that the Brothers would handle, the importance of the presence of the Brothers in the Lesser Sundas mission, the civilization of the local communities, financial assistance issues, and the state of health at the mission site. Regarding the work of the Brothers, it was namely handling schools to foster prospective teachers and catechists as mentioned above. Another interesting thing from Noyen's letter is the matter of a financial guarantee. According to him, in matters relating to schools for prospective teachers known as *kweekschool*, with the presence of the Brothers, the *standaardsschool* in Larantuka could be upgraded to a *kweekschool*. Noyen also stated that this matter would be fully supported with subsidies by the government. In addition, Petrus Noyen explained the government regulations as stated in the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*» regarding the financial benefits to be received by Brothers who have a headteacher certificate and an ordinary teacher certificate. Salaries for school-certified teacher inspectors would also be clearly arranged. In the early days, before the Brothers got a salary from the government, Noyen guaranteed to give salaries of 800 guilders per year to

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<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 16.7.1913, ff. 1-3 (123-125); Noyen to Bertholdus, Lahurus, 16.7.1913, ff. 1-10 (126-135).

every Brother. Later, if it would be considered to be insufficient that amount could be enlarged.<sup>260</sup>

On 5 August 1913, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Petrus Noyen about a couple of things. One of them was about the idea of Friedrich Schwager. It was not clearly stated what the actual idea was that he meant. Regarding the idea referred to, Blum commented that at first glance it was excellent both in terms of theory and principle, but not so with its practical dimension. Its application in the field would not be as easy as was imagined.<sup>261</sup> A few months later, Blum wrote once again to Noyen. This time he passed on the information that the issue had been discussed at the level of the Dutch parliament, *De Tweede Kamer*, and apparently, they did not agree with the mentioned idea. Their main reason was the matter of the cost of living of the Brothers, which would likely not be small. He then asked Noyen to reconsider this matter.<sup>262</sup>

Blum's letter was answered by Noyen on 5 June 1914. In his letter, Noyen wrote that during that time he also did not remain silent. He tried to ask for advice from various parties but almost all of them were not supportive of the idea. In accordance with what had been programmed by the government, within 5-6 years a *kweekschool* school would be opened in Larantuka. The Jesuit Mission Superior in the Dutch East Indies, Fr. Eduard Engbers, also disagreed with the idea of bringing in Brothers from other congregations. Further, he suggested that the SVDs should handle the schools by themselves. The objections to the realization of this idea included the demands of the Brothers themselves who wanted to form a community of 8-10 personnel. In terms of the living cost, certainly, this would be very expensive. In addition, Noyen recalled that working with people from other congregations was the same as dealing with strangers in one's own home. Discomfort at work could arise at any time if there were things that were not working properly. Such a situation would complicate the progress of the work of the two related congregations. Petrus Noyen then planned to write a letter to the Superior General of the Brothers with the intention of postponing the collaboration for the next few years.<sup>263</sup> Even so, he realized that the collaboration with the Brothers from Maastricht would bring its own benefit for the SVD's school in Uden. From the schools of the Brothers, the SVD could get some good candidates for the priesthood.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Bertholdus, Lahurus, 16.7.1913, ff. 8-9 (133-134).

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 5.8.1913, f. 1 (136).

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1914, f. 3 (151).

<sup>263</sup> K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 97, 191; E. JEBARUS, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores*, 90.

<sup>264</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, ff. 15-16; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 91.

On 28 July 1914, Blum wrote to Noyen, «It is good that the school Brothers are not coming. Do you care for the Sisters? They will help you a lot in the mission and school.».<sup>265</sup>

### 3.3. The Religious Sisters and Schools for Girls

#### 3.3.1. The Franciscan Sisters from Heythuizen

Male missionaries are generally aware that in missionary and pastoral work they cannot reach the world of women entirely. Those who can do that well are the Sisters. Efforts to convert women can also be done more effectively through the help of their fellow women: the religious Sisters. This was truly realized, both by the Jesuit and the SVD missionaries. For this reason, missionaries always tried to involve the religious Sisters in their mission work.

When the SVD accepted Flores as part of its mission area there were two female congregations working with the Jesuit missionaries in Flores, the Franciscan Sisters from Heythuizen (Province of Limburg) and the Sisters of the Divine Love (= the *van Liefde* Sisters) from Tilburg. All were from the Netherlands.

At that time, Franciscan Sisters from Heythuizen were working in Larantuka, eastern Flores. They arrived there in April 1879 and ran a school for female students which was opened in June of the same year. Together with the school, they handled also a dormitory for girls. The focus of this school was religious education and teaching household skills to girls. In other words, this school can be called a school for brides. At one time, precisely 8 years (1887) after the school was founded, the number of female students taught by the Sisters was more than those male students in the school handled by Jesuit missionaries. In the dormitory there lived 150 girls. The government was also very pleased with what they were doing. Their success in managing this school for females came from the help of many young Sisters sent there. In 1914, in his letter to Nicolaus Blum, Petrus Noyen mentioned that the Heythuizen Sisters in Larantuka handled 200 boarding children with financial assistance from the mission of around 2,000 guilders per year. Personally, Petrus Noyen was very positive towards the Sisters because they made some initial efforts to support the mission financially. In Noyen's opinion, they were more or less independent financially.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> «Es ist gut, dass die Schulbrüder nicht kommen. Für die Schwestern sorgen Sie ja? Dieselben werden Ihnen in der Mission und Schule sehr helfen.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, ff. 3-4 (157-158).

<sup>266</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor (Südost-Indonesien)*, Steyl, Steyler Verlag, 1974 (Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, 15), 39; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915, f. 3; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 139.

According to a contract agreed earlier, their work together with the Jesuit missionaries in Larantuka ended on 1 January 1916. However, after the SVDs took over Larantuka from the hands of the Jesuit missionaries 1 April 1917, when some Jesuit missionaries had also left the place, the Franciscan Sisters from Heythuisen still worked there. In difficult times, when all SVD missionaries in Larantuka and the children of the dormitory for boys were attacked by the so-called Spanish Influenza and did not know where to ask for help, the Sisters accompanied by 12 girls from their dormitory offered a helping hand to deal with the sick people. They seemed to ignore their own lives, which could be claimed at any time by the virus because the medicine needed to treat the disease did not exist. This influenza eventually claimed many victims, including the first three SVD missionaries working there. Thank God that the Sisters and the girls did not contract the disease so they were all safe. In 1925, their mission at Larantuka was declared over. They all left Larantuka, Flores, and left for Semarang in central Java. They were replaced by the SSps Sisters (SSps = *Servarum Spiritus Sancti*; the Servants of the Holy Spirit) from Steyl who had arrived in Lela, middle Flores, since 1917 and had also opened several communities in several other places.<sup>267</sup>

### 3.3.2. The Sisters of the Divine Love from Tilburg

The first group of the van Liefde Sisters or the Sisters of the Divine Love from Tilburg or also well known as the SCMM<sup>268</sup> Sisters, arrived in Maumere, the middle of Flores, in 1890. Because there were many malaria mosquitoes in the north coast region where they worked, three of their Sisters died from the disease. After that tragic event, in 1898, they thought of moving elsewhere. According to Father E.S. Luypen, SJ, the pastor of Maumere at that time, Lela would be a good choice, because it was located at a higher altitude and free of malaria. The move to Lela finally took place in 1899. Meanwhile, Fr. Luypen who worked as a priest in Maumere since 1891, on 21 May 1898 was appointed by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) to become the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>267</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Wijze van overgave der missie S.J. op het eiland Flores aan de Paters S.V.D. van Steyl, Muntlan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (170); AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlijden van de Missionarissen te Larantoeke Dec. 1918, ff. 4-5, 9; O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 39-40.

<sup>268</sup> SCMM is an abbreviation from the Latin phrase *Sororum Caritatis a Nostra Domina Matre Misericordiae* that means «The Beloved Sisters of Our Blessed Mother» or in Indonesian is *Suster-suster Cinta Kasih dari Bunda Berbelaskasih*.

<sup>269</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 40; G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 68-69; A. SYUKUR – Y. HONDRÖ (ed.), *120 Tahun Tarekat SCMM (12 Juli 1885 - 12 Juli 2005) di Bumi Nusantara - Indonesia* [120 Years of the SCMM Order (12 July 1885 - 12 July 2005) in Indonesia - Archipelago], Padang: Pimpinan Provinsi SCMM Indonesia, 2004, 22-23, 25-26.

In Lela, the Sisters handled a folk school and a dormitory for girls at a cost of about 6,000 guilders per year provided by the mission. Their school goals were more or less the same as the Heythuisen Sisters in Larantuka. For this school, they were willing to accommodate 20 girls every year from every parish in the middle Flores region. This information was also known to the parish priests. Even so, compared to the Sisters in Larantuka, the *van Liefde* nuns lacked young Sisters. It was noted that after 1900 only one young Sister was sent to Lela. When Flores was handed over to the SVD, 13 Sisters worked in Lela, and most of them were already advanced in age.<sup>270</sup>

On his way from Ende to Larantuka in May 1914 to attend a conference on the schools, the Prefect Petrus Noyen stopped briefly at Lela's presbytery. There he met with Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ, the pastor who handled the parish and the *standaardschool* for males in Lela. In their conversation, Fr. Muller briefly conveyed the information that the *van Liefde* Sisters would soon leave Lela. This was learned from the reply letter of the Mother General of the Congregation *van Liefde* in response to a letter of Fr. Muller who asked for a teaching-Sister for Lela's female's school. This request was made in response to the demands of the government at that time in accordance with the school contract that had been agreed on with the mission. Hearing this, Petrus Noyen himself argued that the *van Liefde* Sisters, not only had to send one Sister but more than that. In his diary, Noyen wrote, «[...] If the Sisters from Tilburg could not fulfill the request of one of the Sisters [the teaching-Sister], then that could be a reason to call our Sisters [the SSpS Sisters]. [...]».<sup>271</sup> These things were then conveyed to the Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters in Tilburg. He requested that besides handling the school, there should be at least 3 Sisters who could also pay attention to girls in other villages such as Nita, Koting and Nele where also the Jesuit Fathers worked. He mentioned this because there were so many Catholics, while not all girls could be accommodated in the school and nuns' dormitory. More than that, Noyen also requested that the Sisters teach household skills to girls, not just how to read, write and count. According to him, this was important in order to raise their self-confidence as women who would become housewives in the future.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> There were five parishes at that time: Maumere, Koting, Nita, Lela and Sikka. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, f. 4; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 103; O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 40.

<sup>271</sup> «[...] Doen dat de Zusters van Tilburg niet, dan zou dat eene aanleiding kunnen geven, om onze zusters te moeten roepen. [...]» Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 103; O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 41.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

According to Fr. Eduard Engbers, the Mission Superior of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies, the contract with the *van Liefde* Sisters would expire on 1 January 1919. However, according to the news that developed until then, they would leave Lela as soon as the SSpS Sisters arrived there. The decision had been taken without the knowledge of the Jesuit superiors.<sup>273</sup>

On 5 July 1916, Sr. M. Theresenia, the Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters wrote a letter to Fr. Nicolaus Blum, the Superior General of the SVD. In her letter she said that since the distance between Lela in Flores and Sumatra is too far, they would like to put the *van Liefde* Sisters in the nearby foundation of the same congregation in Sumatra. By doing so, the visitation trips of a visitor of the congregation would not take too much time. Therefore she begged Father Blum to send some SSpS Sisters that year in order to proceed quickly to the replacement in the same year (1916). She acknowledged that the buildings<sup>274</sup> belonged to the Jesuits but all the furniture belonged to them. All those things will be offered freely to their successors, the SSpS Sisters, so that they could begin their mission work in peace.<sup>275</sup>

In his reply to Mother Theresenia, 10 July 1916, Blum expressed his surprise at the news of the issue of the replacement. He admitted that according to the plan, on 3 November 1916 there would be 6 SSpS Sisters sent to the Dutch East Indies, but they would be stationed in Lahurus, Timor, not in Lela, Flores. If the *van Liefde* Sisters in Lela still wanted to stay there until the end of the contract, 1 January 1919, the SSpS Sisters would continue to Timor. If the opposite happened, in the sense that the Sisters could not be sustained there, Blum would ask Prefect Noyen to place the SSpS Sisters in Lela and not in Lahurus. Letters from Fr. Blum and Sr. Theresenia were all passed on to Petrus Noyen in Flores. In the General SVD archives in Rome, no reply was seen from Sr. Theresenia to Blum. It is possible that the letter was missing or indeed there was no reply at all sent to Blum.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Wijze van overgave der missie S.J. op het eiland Flores aan de Paters S.V.D. van Steyl, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (170).

<sup>274</sup> The buildings in Lela were a chapel, a dining room, and 3 bedrooms equipped with 6 cells. In addition, there was a kitchen, bathrooms, a dishwasher, a laundry facility, chicken coops and pig stables. For infectious diseases, they provided a house with a special storage area. There were also classrooms as well as rooms for learning catechism, sleeping rooms for school children and a kitchen with a storage room for goods. Cf. P. REHMANN, *Onze Missiezusters op Flores*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 43/4 (1918), 60.

<sup>275</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Sr. M. Theresenia to Blum, Tilburg, 5.7.1916, ff. 1-2.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Sr. M. Theresenia, Steyl, 10.7.1916, ff. 1-2.

What was delivered by Blum to Noyen was then passed on to Fr. Muller in Lela. When he heard about it, Fr. Muller himself was surprised as were the *van Liefde* Sisters in Lela. They did not accept that the Sisters had to leave Lela immediately, while their contract had not yet ended. Therefore, Fr. Muller urged his mission superior in Java, Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ to write to Mother General in Tilburg. Noyen himself requested that Nicolaus Blum also do the same thing, namely write a letter to Tilburg and also to the Jesuit's Father Provincial in the Netherlands to cancel the replacement. He also requested that the SSpS Sisters should not be sent to Lela station before a final word was received from Fr. Eduard Engbers in Java.<sup>277</sup>

After receiving Noyen's letter, on 14 September 1916, Blum wrote three letters successively to Mother General Theresenia, the Jesuit's Provincial Fr. E. Beuken in The Hague and Father Prefect Petrus Noyen. His letter to the Mother General was very impressive, as quoted below:

Rev. Mother Superior General! I have just received letters from Flores, in which it is very regrettable that your good Sisters should leave Lela. It had certainly been expected that the Sisters would remain as long as the Jesuits remained. Father Prefect Noyen, Father Superior Engbers, SJ and Father Muller SJ in Lela, urged me to do everything I can to undo the removal of the Sisters. Very Rev. Father Provincial Beuken in 's Gravenhage will also join with my request. The good Lord usually answers our requests when two or three come [to Him]. I come with four helpers and I hope that you will leave the Sisters in Lela until further notice. The Steyler Sisters who left on 3 November 1916 are so urgently needed in Timor, where everything is provided for them. Recently, the Assistant Resident Hens was here, and he was very much in favour of the 6 Sisters going to Timor. All that is now in your hands, Mother Superior General, and I hope confidently that I am not asking in vain.<sup>278</sup>

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.9.1916, ff. 3-4.

<sup>278</sup> «Hochwürdiger Mutter Generaloberin! Soeben erhalte ich Briefe aus Flores, worin man sehr bedauert, dass Ihre guten Schwestern Lela verlassen sollen. Man hatte sicher erwartet, dass die Schwestern blieben, solange die Patres Jesuiten blieben. P. Präfekt Noyen, P. Superior Engbers, S.J. und P. Müller S.J. in Lela bitten mich dringend, alles zu tun, die Abberufung der Schwestern rückgängig zu machen. Herr P. Provinzial Beuken in 's Gravenhage wird sich auch mit meiner Bitte vereinigen. Der liebe Gott erhört schon gewöhnlich unsere Bitten, wenn zwei oder drei kommen. Ich komme mit vier Helfen und hoffe zuversichtlich, dass Sie die Schwestern bis auf Weiteres in Lela lassen. Die am 3. November 1916 abgereisten Steyler Schwestern sind so dringend notwendig auf Timor, wo für sie alles bereitgestellt ist. Neulich war Herr Assistent Resident Hens hier und trat sehr dafür ein, dass die 6 Schwestern doch nach Timor gehen möchten. Alles das liegt nun in Ihrer Hand, Mutter Generaloberin, und ich hoffe zuversichtlich, dass ich nicht vergeblich bitte.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Sr. M. Theresenia, Steyl, 24.11.1916, ff. 1-2 (204<sup>v-v</sup>).

In his letter to Father Provincial E. Beuken, Nicolaus Blum hoped that he would also write to the Mother General in Tilburg to cancel the replacement of her Sisters in Lela. He also continued with the words of Petrus Noyen who mentioned in his letter that the replacement was not desired by Fr. Petrus Muller, SJ in Lela. Besides Fr. Muller, SJ, the superior of the SVD himself also did not agree with the process of the replacement that occurred without going through a good process.<sup>279</sup>

A month later, Blum received a letter from Beuken in The Hague. In it, he quoted the answer of the Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters, who basically said that the decision had already been made. Between the two Mother Generals (SSpS and *van Liefde*) there was an agreement that the six Sisters who were on their way to the Dutch East Indies would all be placed in Lela. It was also agreed that once the SSpS Sisters arrived in Lela, six of the *van Liefde* Sisters would leave Lela and immediately go to Tanjung Sakti in Sumatra. Meanwhile, the other six Sisters will stay with the newly arrived SSpS Sisters for some time to assist them in getting to know the work environment and matters relating to missionary work there. In fact, some time before the departure of the SSpS Sisters who were destined for Lahurus in Timor, the Mother General of the SSpS, Sr. Theresa, made an informal visit to Tilburg. There, they made the agreements as stated by Sr. Theresenia in her letter to Fr. Beuken. At the end of his letter, Beuken said that the Sister's answer was something that was already final so it was no longer relevant to negotiate for a cancellation. Actually, Tilburg's definitive decision for its Sisters in Lela had been finalized since the spring of 1916. This, as stated by Ortrud Stegmaier, is known from a telegram from the superior of the *van Liefde* Sisters in Lela to Sumatra. In the telegram, their plans were known to start a new station in Tanjung Sakti. In fact, there was one reason that was not explicitly mentioned, that the *van Liefde* Sisters understood what Noyen said about employing the Sisters in other villages as an overly demanding request.<sup>280</sup>

On 24 November 1916, Nicolaus Blum passed on the information to Noyen that on the previous 3 November, six SSpS Sisters had left for the Dutch East Indies. They finally arrived at Lela, Flores on 13 January 1917. In Lela everything happened as agreed by the two Mother-Generals of the two congregations concerned. The six *van Liefde* Sisters departed from Lela on 20 January 1917 along with Mother Isidoris, the envoy of the Superior of the *van Liefde* Sisters in Tilburg. The other six Sisters who were still in Lela were planning to leave in

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 24.11.1916, ff. 1-2 (205-206).

<sup>280</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 30.12.1916, f. 1; O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 43; A. SYUKUR – Y. HONDRÖ (ed.), *120 Tahun Tarekat SCMM (12 Juli 1885 - 12 Juli 2005) di Bumi Nusantara - Indonesia*, 28.

early 1918. However, their departure was advanced since they noticed that the SSpS Sisters could handle the entire mission with their own Sisters. Therefore, on 24 June 1917, the last *van Liefde* Sisters left Lela.<sup>281</sup>

More than a week after they arrived in Ende, Petrus Noyen wrote to Steyl about their arrival. In his second letter about the same topic, Petrus Noyen was blaming Nicolaus Blum for being unsuccessful in attempting to cancel the replacement of the *van Liefde* Sisters in Lela. In his report to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide at the end of 1917, Petrus Noyen once again mentioned the change of these Sisters. He wrote that the change occurred not at his will but at the wish of the Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters in Tilburg.<sup>282</sup>

The replacement had indeed taken place and the SSpS Sisters had been occupying Lela since 1917. But this matter still left questions unanswered. What actually happened so that this change of affairs seemed to not involve the superiors of the Society of Jesus and the SVD? There are two possible answers that can be drawn from the facts. First, the situation of World War I made it difficult for good communication between the superiors concerned. In relation to the replacement of the Jesuit missionaries by the SVDs, Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters received no news about it. The news arrived to her from other sources that were uncertain. Amazingly, she herself did not inquire of the Jesuit superiors in Rome or the Netherlands or in the Dutch East Indies. Probably she did ask but the letter did not arrive at the destination either. Another possibility was that the replacement plan prepared by the Jesuit's mission superior in the Dutch East Indies, Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ, dated 12 September 1914, was not shared with the Sisters, or if informed through correspondence, it could happen that the letter did not arrive at the destination. What might be the problem, as written in a book of Ortrud Stegmaier, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, the Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters stated that there was no agreement between the Jesuits and the *van Liefde* Sisters that they should stay in Lela until the Jesuit missionaries were completely replaced by the SVDs.

<sup>281</sup> The first SSpS Sisters to arrive were Sr. Willibrorda Boumans, Sr. Pulcheria Rehmann, Sr. Ludgarda Dingenouts, Sr. Ewaldine v.d. Biggelaar, Sr. Herminiana Dinissen, and Sr. Xaveriana v.d. Sluis. Meanwhile, the *van Liefde* Sisters who left Lela upon the arrival of the SSpS Sisters were Sr. Bernardine, Sr. Gonzague, Sr. Sophie, Sr. Maria Sophie, Sr. Alicia and Sr. Euphrasia. The last six *van Liefde* Sister to leave Lela were Sr. Michaelle, Sr. Eugenia, Sr. Theresinio, Sr. Acasia, Sr. Alfred and Sr. Basilia. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.11.1916, f. 1; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Larantuka 1914-1918: Missiewerk door de Jezuïeten en de S.V.D., 126; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara. 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 134; A. SYUKUR – Y. HONDRÖ (ed.), *120 Tahun Tarekat SCMM (12 Juli 1885 - 12 Juli 2005) di Bumi Nusantara - Indonesia*, 28-29.

<sup>282</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 14.2.1917, f. 1; Noyen to Serafini, Ndona, 29.12.1917, f. 1 (226).

Because of this, the Sisters did not feel obliged to wait until the completion of the replacement between the two male missionaries. It could happen that there was an effort from the parties concerned to seek an explanation of the replacement process. However, due to the war situation which aggravated the communication, anything could have happened outside the calculation of common sense. What happened was that each of them found his or her own way. The good intention of the *van Liefde* Sisters to make this clear was apparent from the sending of a special envoy, Sr. Isidoris, SCMM to the Dutch East Indies to explain this matter to the related superiors, Jesuits and the SVDs alike.<sup>283</sup>

Secondly, in the document namely «The way of surrendering the Jesuit Mission on the island of Flores to the SVDs» prepared by Eduard Engbers, SJ, it was stated clearly that the buildings occupied by the Sisters in Lela belonged to the Jesuits and that would be treated in the same way as with the other property of the Jesuits on Flores. That means that everything would pass to the SVDs. Mother General of the *van Liefde* Sisters also acknowledged this as she herself wrote in her letter to Nicolaus Blum on 5 July 1916. If this was the case, then according to common sense it meant that the buildings in Lela would definitely switch to the SVD together with the submission of mission stations to the SVDs. If the *van Liefde* Sisters really did not know about all this replacement process as mentioned above, it was understandable that after the surrender of the mission they would not have a home in Lela. So it was natural that they were looking for «another house» while the submission of the Jesuit mission in Flores was in process. If there was good communication between the Jesuit superiors, the superior of the *van Liefde* Sisters and the superior of the SVDs, then what had happened above, that is, the impression that the Sisters were doing their process of replacement alone would not have happened as it did.<sup>284</sup>

### 3.3.3. The Servants of the Holy Spirit from Steyl

The arrival of the Servants of the Holy Spirit (= the SSps Sisters) in the Dutch East Indies had actually been long-awaited by the Prefect Petrus Noyen. This was evident from his letter to the SSps Mother General in Steyl which he wrote in the first days of his arrival in Timor. This is known from Noyen's letter to Blum dated 14 July 1913. In it, he stated that he had sent a

<sup>283</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 42; A. SYUKUR – Y. HONDRÖ (ed.), *120 Tahun Tarekat SCMM (12 Juli 1885 - 12 Juli 2005) di Bumi Nusantara - Indonesia*, 28.

<sup>284</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Eduard Engbers: Wijze van overgave der missie S.J. op het eiland Flores aan de Paters S.V.D. van Steyl, Muntilan, 12.9.1914, f. 1 (170); Sr. M. Theresenia to Blum, Tilburg, 5.7.1916, f. 2.

long letter to the Mother General of the SSps requesting that four Sisters be sent to Timor. According to Ortrud Stegmaier, in 1915, Petrus Noyen wrote twice to Steyl with the same request. In his letters, he already had a hunch that there was a possibility that the *van Liefde* Sisters would leave their mission post in Lela on the grounds that the SVD had their own religious Sisters (the SSps), who could be asked to work together with them.<sup>285</sup>

Petrus Noyen's request above could only be fulfilled after three years of waiting. This happened because the SSps Sisters also lacked Dutch-Sisters, so they needed time to make the necessary preparations. When they arrived in Flores, they began by taking care of the Lela mission station left by the *van Liefde* Sisters from Tilburg.<sup>286</sup> Here they handled the girls' dormitories as well as the folk school for girls using Sikkanese. Because of financial difficulties, it was recommended that the female's folk school be upgraded to a female *standaardsschool* with a 5-year study period. Thus they could get a subsidy from the government. The next step made with the female schools was adding another year of study for the *standaardsschool* graduates. The sixth-year school was devoted to household skills education. The same thing happened with the folk school. Girls who did not live in dormitories were given the opportunity to continue their education for a year after graduating from school. The additional year was intended for training related to household skills. At the same time, the Sisters also taught religious education for the girls. Graduates from Sisters' schools seemed to be devoted to becoming prospective wives of teachers educated in the male schools administered by the Fathers. The more mission work extended to the western part of Flores, more and more girls arrived from various places to study in the Sisters' schools in Lela and Todabelu. The female students were grouped into three different groups: folk school children, *standaardsschool* children and children who were taking household skill courses.<sup>287</sup>

In Timor, as soon as the four SSps Sisters arrived in 1921, they began in Lahurus a three-year female school, using the former school building for boys. Since the *standaardsschool* in Halilulik run by SVD Fathers was only for boys,

<sup>285</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 3 (122); O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 42-43, 45.

<sup>286</sup> The SCMM Congregation returned to Flores, on 11 June 1989, invited by Msgr. Donatus Djagom, SVD (1968-1996), the Archbishop of Ende at that time. Their communities in Flores now exist in Talibura, Wairklau and Thomas Morus-Maumere. Cf. A. SYUKUR – Y. HONDRÖ (ed.), *120 Tahun Tarekat SCMM (12 Juli 1885 - 12 Juli 2005) di Bumi Nusantara - Indonesia*, 31-33.

<sup>287</sup> Besides these schools, they also began with kindergartens in Jopu and Ende. In 1921 the Sisters opened a female school in Ndona. In 1924 another female school was opened in Jopu and in 1930 that in Todabelu. Cf. O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 45-47; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 139-140.

practically, after graduating from a folk school that lasted 3 years, the girls had no place to continue their studies. Therefore, they were given additional lessons in household skills. The yearning of the female students for further education to a *standaardsschool* was finally fulfilled in 1936 when the Sisters opened that type of school in Atambua. For those who wanted to continue their studies after completing the *standaardsschool*, they could go to Flores or Celebes. There, they could attend education to become a teacher at *kweekschool* or just take a course to become a teacher at a school called *normaalcursus*.<sup>288</sup>

Apart from managing the school, the Sisters also ran a kind of small factory for food products such as bread and processed meat into canned food that could be stored longer before consumption. When they began in Todabelu in 1930, they also provided dairy products, meat products and canned goods. The output of the food production was usually distributed to the missionaries who worked at various mission stations. Thus, daily necessities that were always imported from other islands in the Dutch East Indies, especially from Java, Borneo, and Celebes, could be filled on the spot with the help of the Sisters. Thus, the price of daily necessities was much more affordable. The Sisters also prepared the hosts for five mission stations in the region. About 500 hosts were distributed a day during communion. Besides, the Sisters also paid attention to the missionaries cleaning affairs and the cleaning of the churches. In 1930, the Sisters were asked to take care of the kitchen of the minor seminary of Todabelu-Mataloko, the laundry of the seminarians and stitch the clothes they needed.<sup>289</sup>

The public health aspect also usually gets the attention of the Sisters in mission work in various places. In the first years of the SSPS Sisters in Flores and Timor, this aspect was not a priority for them. Nevertheless, they still provided smaller relief services to the nearby people who came to Lela – sometimes with severe injuries – for treatment.<sup>290</sup> This happened because at that time the Jesuit missionaries also were trained in this matter. They usually got medical assistance from the government and then distributed it to the community. Every time a pastoral visit was made, pastors usually brought medicines and provided health services to the community free of charge.<sup>291</sup>

After World War I the Sisters began to pay attention for this health aspect. The SSPS Sisters who previously worked in Togo were not permitted to return to their mission there. They suffered the same fate as their SVD Fathers. With

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<sup>288</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 173.

<sup>289</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 45-47; P. REHMANN, *Onze Missiezusters op Flores*, 60.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 47.

that, many former Togo SSps Sisters applied for the Dutch East Indies. Besides them, many Sisters who during the war were assigned to become health nurses in Germany, Austria and Hungary were also sent to the Dutch East Indies. With their presence, the Sisters could open health clinics and visit villages to provide health care to the community. The work of these Sisters received the attention of the colonial government. Therefore, the government entrusted its hospitals in Ende (1927) and Larantuka (1930) to the Sisters. On 5 May 1935, the Sisters opened their hospital in Lela.<sup>292</sup>

From their beginning until before World War II, the SSps Sisters opened several communities in Flores and Timor, namely in Lela, middle Flores (1917), Ndona, Ende (1920), Lahurus, Timor (1921), Jopu, Ende (1924), Larantuka (1925), Todabelu (1930) Atambua, Timor (1936).<sup>293</sup> These communities were always correlated with various types of female schools and boarding houses for girls.

## 4. Particular Issues

### 4.1. Issues Concerning Interreligious Rivalry in the Lesser Sunda Islands

#### 4.1.1. The Muslim and Protestant Presence in the Lesser Sunda Islands

In the Lesser Sundas mission, the first thing that worried the early SVD missionaries was the threat from Muslims and Protestants. There was fierce competition between these three major religions in the fight for people from traditional religions to be converted to their respective religions. The following will describe the extent of Islamic and Protestant power in the Lesser Sundas starting from 1900.

There were several sultanates in the Lesser Sundas region at that time. Just like in Sumbawa, there was the Sultanate of Bima which claimed to have originated from the Javanese-Hindu ruler of Majapahit. Nevertheless, this sultanate was closer culturally to Makassarrese and Buginese in south Celebes. What is interesting was that the control of the sultanate of Bima extended until the western part of Flores. Their most essential ports there were Labuan Bajo, Reo and Riung. Under this sultanate, many of the Manggarai people were sold as slaves to various places including Batavia. Usually after some time as slaves in Batavia they were released and generally they settled in an area called Manggarai. The political control of Bima over the western part of Flores

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*; W. STRIETER, *Wat Vele Zieken in het missieziekenhuis gezondheid naar ziel en lichaam mogen vinden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 61/5 (1936), 86.

<sup>293</sup> O. STEGMAIER, *Der Missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor*, 47; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 173.

was ended in 1929 by the Dutch government along with the dismissal of two of the representatives of the sultan of Bima in Flores as local chiefs, namely Sangaji in Labuan Bajo and Raja Bicara in Reo. The two regions were then united under the rule of *Raja* Alexander Baruk, a Catholic who was educated in the mission school in Ndona. He controlled 38 dalu in Manggarai at that time.<sup>294</sup>

Muslims also controlled the southern coast of Flores, the island of Ende and surrounding coastal areas. These Muslims were from Makassar origin, south Celebes. They took control of these areas after defeating the Portuguese and drove them from there between 1620 and 1630. The symbolization of the defeat of the Portuguese was the seizing of their stronghold on the island of Ende which was built in 1570. All Islamic power in Ende was finally weakened by the Dutch government with the appointment of a Catholic, Pius Rassi Wangge, as *raja* with the title *Raja Kunu Lima* in 1914 for the greater area of Lio and the western part of Ende.<sup>295</sup>

Other Muslim groups can be found on the island of Solor, near Larantuka. They considered themselves of Seram or Ternate origin in the Moluccan islands. They succeeded in controlling the territory there after defeating the Portuguese in 1636 who survived in the fortress of Henricus. According to Petrus Noyen, Solor was the «cradle» of Islam on the whole of eastern Flores. In addition to Solor, on the nearby islands Adonara and Trong also lived some Muslims with their own *raja* or local chief.<sup>296</sup>

The last occupation of the Buginese and Makassarese in Flores can be found in the eastern Maumere region, precisely in Geliting. This small area was once recognized by the colonial government as a separate municipality in 1902 under the name of Kangae that lasted until 1929. As a result of the centralization of political power in 1929, Kangae was finally united with Maumere under the rule of the *raja* Don Thomas da Silva from Sikka.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>294</sup> The place still exists in present-day Jakarta and is a historical witness to the practice of selling slaves transported from the western regions of Flores and Manggarai during the heyday of sultanate of Bima. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 85, 89, 114; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioses Agung Ende*, 147; S. BUIS, *De Kroning van Koning Baroek van Manggarai*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 56/6 (1931), 104.

<sup>295</sup> He himself was finally dismissed by the Dutch government as *raja* of Lio in 1941 and exiled to Kupang for 10 years. He was accused of being involved in several murder cases. He was also considered too authoritarian. On 14 April 1947, he was sentenced to death and executed in Kupang. Cf. K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 85-86, 90, 103, 107, 109; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 3 (183).

<sup>296</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 86; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 2 (221:2).

<sup>297</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 86, 91.

Around the XIX century, some Muslim traders arrived in Timor and Sumba. Their number was not great. For comparison, in 1905 they numbered around 303 Arab descendants. In 1930 their number throughout the Timor residency and its dependencies was around 2,688.<sup>298</sup>

At the end of his term as a resident in Kupang, G. Schultz (1923-1927) divided his territory into four categories based on the majority of religious adherents: first, Bima and Sumbawa as Muslim territories; secondly, Flores, the eastern part of the Dutch-Timor, and the western part of Sumba as Catholic regions; thirdly, West Timor as a Protestant territory served by the *Indische Kerk* or the old Dutch Reformed Church and Middle and Eastern Sumba as Protestant territories of the Reformed Church that was considered different from the *Indische Kerk*.<sup>299</sup>

The Protestants began to enter Timor after the VOC army successfully took over the Portuguese fort of «Concordia» in Kupang in 1613. To ensure the spiritual welfare of the VOC soldiers placed there, in 1914 they sent a priest there named M. van Broeck. The Protestant mission began to develop well during the Dutch administration after the bankruptcy of the VOC. The Dutch government established a national church known as the *Indische Kerk* in 1915. But the church itself lacked priests to ensure the stability and continuity of missionary work. Therefore, the responsibility of the mission was handed over by the government to *Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap* (NZG), the Netherlands Missionary Society, that was founded in 1797. In 1819 this mission organization sent its first pastor to Timor on behalf of R. Le Bruijn. Since then, the Protestant Church had continued to expand to other nearby islands such as Roti and Savu. The NZG only served there until 1854. Starting in 1854, Protestant missions in Timor and the surrounding islands were returned to *Indische Kerk*, which handled this mission until 1942.<sup>300</sup>

As in Timor, there was no competition from Muslims on this island either. Meanwhile, in 1903, there were unfortunately 3 Dutch Protestant missionaries working on Sumba. They opened schools in several places and gained the favor

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<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>300</sup> After World War II, the contextualization effort that had begun in 1937 bore fruit with the establishment of the GMTI (*Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor* in Indonesian, or the Evangelical Christian Church in Timor) on 31 October 1947 as an autonomous church under the umbrella of the organization of the Indonesian Protestant Church (GPI = *Gereja Protestan Indonesia* in Indonesian). Cf. F. DJARA WELLEM, *Evangelical Christian Church of Timor*, in: S.W. SUNQUIST – D. WU CHU SING – J. CHEW HIANG CHEA (ed.), *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity* [from now on: *DAC*], Michigan - Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001, 272-273.

of some tribal leaders. The government was in favor of the Protestant mission on Sumba.<sup>301</sup>

As already mentioned above, along with the Protestant work on Sumba, the same applies to a part of the Dutch area on the island of Timor and also of the islands of Roti and Savu and the group of the western islands. The small island of Roti was almost completely Protestant. In all these places the Catholic mission was not allowed to perform missionary work without permission from the Governor General under the restriction of Article 123<sup>302</sup>. On the other hand, the Protestants were not allowed to perform missionary work in the area entrusted to the Catholic missionaries, such as on the island of Flores and a part of Timor. On the island of Sumba, the Protestants had about 50 folk schools, a *standaardsschool* and a *normaalcursus* for training teachers. On Timor and the Western Islands all together there were 100 folk schools and 4 *standaardsscholen*.<sup>303</sup>

The population in the island of Sumbawa was almost entirely Islam, and there the mission would not have a bit of success unless at great expense and with a lot of staff. The population in the island of Bali followed almost entirely Hinduism, and on the island of Lombok two third of the population followed the Islamic religion and one third followed Hinduism. At Sumbawa, Bali and Lombok, neutral schooling was taught everywhere in the numerous schools, but the Muslims made use of this to propagate their religion.<sup>304</sup>

The anxiety regarding Islam in Flores was not for nothing. Karel Steenbrink can help us in understanding the real situation at that time, by showing us a statistic regarding the increasing number of pilgrims from the Lesser Sunda Islands to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, as follows,

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. 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.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 14.7.1913, f. 1 (120); Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, ff. 6-7 (76-77).

<sup>302</sup> E. SERVAAS DE KLERCK, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, vol. 2, Amsterdam, B.M. Israël NV, 1975, 514.

<sup>303</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen: Beantwoording der Vragen voor de Instructio S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, ff. 5-6 (258-259).

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>305</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 87.

Pilgrims who had just returned from Mecca, well-known as «*para haji*», usually become far more fanatical in spreading their religion. In his letter of 5 June 1914 to Nicolaus Blum, Noyen wrote that Muslims penetrate from all sides as traders but also as Islam propagators into the inlands. Karel Steenbrink stated clearly also that after the «wars of pacification», the Islam propaganda to the interior regions intensified drastically. In the 1900s, compared to the local community, Muslim people were superior economically. Trading practices, borrowing money and providing dowry for brides, were the ways they used to build relationships with residents in rural areas. Not infrequently, because of being caught in debt, people were offered a debt cancellation if they agreed to embrace Islam.<sup>306</sup>

In middle Flores, especially in Paga and Ili Catholics were very depressed by the threat of the Islamic propaganda which had succeeded in islamizing several people. Islamic propaganda in Ende was even worse. Almost every month one by one villages near Ndona fell into their hands. In 1918, they also succeeded in Islamizing several local chiefs or *rajas* and Mbaki Mbani from Ndona was one of those Islamized *rajas*. Regarding the *raja* of Ndona who eventually chose to become a Muslim, Noyen revealed his heart as follows, «[...] But what is the most terrible thing is that the *raja* of Ndona himself became a Muslim. Had I been beaten to death, I would rather have endured it than this blow. [...]»<sup>307</sup> So, Petrus Noyen had to swallow some bitter pills and accept the fact that Ndona, which was the centre of the SVD mission stations, must be in the midst of a mixed environment of Muslims and Catholics. Even so, according to Noyen, if there were sufficient missionaries, there would still be much to be saved.<sup>308</sup>

In 1923, Arnold Verstraelen as the Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sundas wrote to the SVD Vice Superior General in Rome that the threat of Islam in Flores was still very pronounced. In the same year, Verstraelen wrote again about the threat of Islam in Ruteng. At that time the western region of Flores was still under the control of the sultanate of Bima. He reported that out of a population of 110,000, there were about 1,000 Catholics, while there were 10,000 Muslims. Some residents on the coasts such as Labuan Bajo, Reo and Potta had embraced Islam. To become a Muslim, one did not need to learn anything about the religion. It was enough if one allowed oneself to

<sup>306</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 2 (182); P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 174; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 87.

<sup>307</sup> «[...] Was aber das Schrecklichste ist, ist dass der Radja von Ndona selbst Islam ist geworden. Hätte man mich totgeschlagen, ich hätte es lieber ertragen als diesen Schlag. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 2 (233).

<sup>308</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, ff. 1-2 (232-233).

be circumcised and to abstain from eating pork, that person could already be considered a Muslim. The development of Islam was slightly hampered only by the local people's habit of consuming pork. According to Verstraelen, Manggarai must immediately be served better with a greater number of missionaries. Even though there were already many Muslims, he did not want to give up; he asked to save what could still be saved. Since the threat was so great there, he moved Fr. Franz Eickman from Maumere to Ruteng.<sup>309</sup>

#### 4.1.2. The Favorable Condition and the Difficulties of the Catholic Mission

One thing that was certain was that between 1902 and 1942 the Dutch colonial government supported the development of Catholic and Protestant missions throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands. For this reason, the development of Islam was made difficult. This was more evident in the government's policy in the selection of *rajas* throughout the Flores region. The government was more supportive towards the *rajas* of the Catholics than those of Islam origin. Before quitting his duties as a resident of Timor and its related territories in 1913, Colonel (later General) C.H. van Rietschoten was not satisfied with the SVD. Due to the war situation and the lack of missionary personnel the SVD had not been able to make a serious effort to stem the development of Islam in Flores. But he still hoped that serious efforts could be made for this purpose in the near future. According to him, politically the presence of the Christian communities could provide a more solid foundation for colonial political interests compared to Muslim communities. Christians were seen as more loyal to the colonial government. Petrus Noyen himself was very confident in this opinion. This was seen in one of his letters to the SVD benefactors where he wrote that only Christianity can enrich the soul of the people and can lead to proper and sincere submission to the Crown which was the Queen who represented the Netherlands as a sovereign State.<sup>310</sup>

The successor of the Resident van Rietschoten, E.G.Th. Maijer, as quoted by Karel Steenbrink, on one occasion said that the government financial subsidies for West Timor were intended to facilitate the Protestant Church in Kupang in contact with people from traditional religions while at the same time accelerating the process of Christianization of the region. The same thing happened in Flores. In connection with the school system subsidy, according to the «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*», the government requested that the

<sup>309</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Assistant General, a.b. s.s. „Jan Pieterszoon Coen”, 31.3.1923, f. 3; Verstraelen to Assistant General, Atapupu, 6.10.1923, ff. 1-2 (345-346).

<sup>310</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Benefactors, Ndona, 13.11.1916, f. 3 (221:3); K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 89, 91.

Catholic mission build a *standaardsschool* in Ende in 1915. This request could also be seen as a covert attempt to obstruct the development of Islam. It was evident that children who attended the mission schools usually returned home after graduation as Catholics. Regarding the mission in Flores, E.G.Th. Maijer also realized that the Ende coastal regions were already occupied by Muslims. He suggested that the SVD immediately control the interior to stem Islam from spreading more widely. Noyen agreed with the suggestion by establishing a mission center for the entire Lesser Sunda Islands in the interior of Ndona, near Ende. On another occasion, he wrote to Nicolaus Blum that all government officials from the highest to the lowest level took pains even tried their best to support the success of the SVD missionary work.<sup>311</sup>

Besides Rietschoten and E.G.Th. Maijer, there was still other evidence of government support experienced by Petrus Noyen. From various contacts he had with several government officials, Noyen had a strong belief that the colonial government supported the development of Catholic missions in Flores and Timor. After arriving in Timor, Noyen wrote to Nicolaus Blum regarding the intended support. He said that the Resident of Kupang at that time, C.H. van Rietschoten, saw the Catholic mission as the spearhead in the struggle against Islam in Flores and Timor. He also reported that the Dutch government at that time was trying to block the progress of Islam which was seen as a destructive force by supporting the wider spread of the Christian faith among the local communities. When discussing the plan to replace the Jesuit missionaries in Flores, Noyen discussed this in the framework of blocking the pace of Islamic development in Flores. According to him, this plan was strongly supported by the Resident of Kupang, E.G.Th. Maijer, and the Assistant Resident of Ende, Anton M. Hens. These two people even argued that the Catholic Church was more suitable for the people of Flores than the Protestant faith.<sup>312</sup>

On another occasion, when the missionaries promised by Nicolaus Blum for the Flores mission had not yet arrived, Petrus Noyen wrote to remind him of his need for the missionaries. He wrote that the government was very protective of Flores against the increasingly intense spread of Islam and wanted to make Flores a Catholic territory. Their desire could not be fulfilled by the

<sup>311</sup> K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 93; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 50; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 18.6.1914, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 3 (183); N. VAN DER WINDT, *Ndona: 2 Februari 1916 - 2 Augustus 1928*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 53/12 (1928), 221.

<sup>312</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913, ff. 3-4; Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 7 (107); Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 21.1.1914, f. 2; PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 101.

Jesuits who did not have enough missionary personnel. How they hoped that the SVD, known as a congregation with many missionaries, could soon fulfill their desire.<sup>313</sup>

As explained in another part of this work, the situation of World War I at that time made it difficult to send missionary personnel to the Lesser Sundas mission. In this difficult situation, the SVD generalate only had the chance to send a few missionaries. Attempts to hinder the pace of the development of Islam seemed almost to fail. The period of 1917-1918 may be categorized as a period of great crisis in the SVD mission in Flores and Timor. The shortage of missionary personnel was greatly felt after the death of several Jesuit priests who were still helping in Flores, the return of two SVD missionaries to Europe due to personal problems and the death of three SVD missionaries at the end of 1918 due to contracting the Spanish influenza. Meanwhile, missionary personnel expected from Europe did not arrive.

In such situations, many people became impatient. A Jesuit priest in Lela, Fr. Petrus Muller, finally decided to write a letter to the SVD Superior General Nicolaus Blum. In his letter, he stated that the struggle against Islam in Flores haunted his mind. He saw the struggle as a very serious and existential one; a struggle that would determine the question of life or death, the existence or absence of the Catholic Church in Flores. In the same vein, Fr. Berthold Friess, SVD who had been in Flores for a year at that time also sent a letter to Nicolaus Blum.<sup>314</sup>

In 1918 Petrus Noyen reported that the greatest Islamic threat in Flores occurred in Ende and the surrounding areas and the middle Flores region, especially in Paga and Ili which were close to the Kangae as a Muslim municipality. The government officials seemed to have been unhappy with the slowness of the Catholic mission in dealing with the problem of the Islamic threat. They clearly saw that the mission did not have enough missionary personnel for the task. Because of this, it was only natural to hear opinions arguing to divert Flores into the hands of Protestant *zending* with a view to saving the island from the influence of Islam. Noyen wrote to Blum thus,

[...] A government official asked me the question whether I would prefer that people become Muslims or Protestants? You can understand how hard it has become for me to say that I prefer to see people as Protestants rather

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<sup>313</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 12.

<sup>314</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Muller to Blum, Lela, 17.1.1917, f. 2; Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, ff. 2-3.

than Muslims. Whether the government will take steps in this regard I do not know. [...]<sup>315</sup>

Nevertheless, efforts to fight Islam in Flores continued through schools. Catholic missions that dominated school affairs in Flores could win the struggle in converting the indigenous because many of their children were sent to the mission schools. However, a serious effort to make Flores a Catholic island took place after World War I. This was marked by the presence of many missionaries in the Lesser Sundas starting from 1920. But this effort was slightly stopped in 1942 with the onset of World War II at that time.

#### 4.1.3. The Cross of Merit «*Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*» for Anton M. Hens

One of the government officials who contributed greatly to the development of the Catholic Church in the Lesser Sundas in the early days of the SVD's mission work was the *Controleur* of Ende, Anton M. Hens (1910-1913) who was later appointed as the Assistant Resident for the same place from 1913 to 1916. As a devout Catholic, he contributed greatly to blocking the development of Islam on Flores and opened a wide path for the development of the Catholic Church on the island.

When the favorable education law for Flores or the famous «*Flores-Sumba Regeling 1913*» was not yet in force, he kept the Protestant teachers away from the Catholic schools. Some of those that had already been sent to the Catholic schools by the will of certain government officials, he had them replaced by Catholic teachers. He endeavored, wherever it was possible, to place Catholic staff in the schools. He also arranged an annual visit to the Sisters in Larantuka and Lela and supported their schools.<sup>316</sup>

On 30 April 1914, Petrus Noyen wrote in his diary thus,

Mr. Hens deserves to be promoted to get an award from the Pope. He has a lot of merit to Flores; he is already looking ahead by sending Catholic *gurus* to work in every folk school and sending boys of *rajas* and heads [of the villages] to the mission school in Lela. The son of the *raja* from the Ndona area, which had been at the government school in Kupang for 4 years and lived there with a Muslim, he managed to send him back to Lela.

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<sup>315</sup> «[...] Es wurde mir selbst von Offizieller Seite die Frage vorgelegt, was ich denn eigentlich lieber hätte, dass die Leute Mohammedan oder Protestant würden? Sie können sich begreifen wie schwer es mir geworden ist, sagen zu müssen, dass ich die Leute lieber Protestant als Islam sehe. Ob nun die Regierung in dieser Hinsicht Schritte tun wird weiß ich nicht. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 2 (233).

<sup>316</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 30.6.1916, ff. 1-2.

Everything of course without coercion, but he had the good idea to keep him and his small municipality away from the influence of Islam.<sup>317</sup>

In a letter dated 20 December 1915, Father Prefect Petrus Noyen told Nicolaus Blum that the mentioned son of the *raja* of Ndona had been baptized with the name Petrus Ngaji and had also received his first Holy Communion. Besides Petrus Ngaji, Hens also sent children of *rajas* and heads of villages from other places that were considered to be Muslims only in name, to be educated in the boarding houses and mission schools. He wanted that in the future, more Catholics would emerge as *rajas* throughout Flores. Another success to be reckoned with was the appointment of the devout Catholic Pius Rassi Wangge as *raja* of Lise with 240 villages under his control. On another occasion, Anton Hens learned that in the eastern area of the subdivision of Ende there were 5 small municipalities. Two of these municipalities were Muslims. In 1914, he was aware of a danger that two Muslims would become *rajas* in those two municipalities. To prevent this from happening, Anton M. Hens as the Assistant Resident united all five municipalities into one large municipality and made the Catholic *raja* of Lise, Pius Rassi Wangge, the great *raja* over it. So, even though in January 1918 the *raja* of Ndona, Mbaki Mbani became a Muslim, his son who once was a Catholic and had turned Muslim could not succeed him as *raja* since his municipality was already incorporated into the great municipality of *Raja* Pius.<sup>318</sup>

Petrus Noyen acknowledged that he personally experienced Anton M. Hens' help in many ways and on many occasions, and he was sure that Hens had been a great blessing for the mission in Flores. On 30 June 1916, Petrus Noyen wrote to Nicolaus Blum regarding this person. He asked Blum to submit a request to the Holy See for a kind of recognition of Hens' good work in Flores. He mentioned that the pontifical award «*pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*» would be suitable for him. Noyen confirmed his opinion by stating that Anton M. Hens certainly deserved more than many others in Europe who were honored with this award. At a confidential occasion, Hens once confessed to Noyen that such a tribute would make him very happy.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>317</sup> «[...] Mijnheer Hens zoude er veel prijs op stellen door Z. H. [= Zijn Heiligheid] de Paus gedekoreerd te worden. Hij heeft om Flores veel verdienste, zoekt door aanstelling van katholieke goeroes reeds vooruit te werken ook door jongens van radjas en hoofden naar Lela te sturen. De zoon van radja v. h. [= van het] Dona [Ndona] gebied, die op de gouvernements school te Koepang 4 jaar geweest was, en daar bij Islam woonde, had hij terug laten halen, en naar Lela laten gaan. Alles natuurlijk zonder dwang, maar hij had het in goede Idee hem en met hem het rijkje voor islam te bewaren» Cf. PA-SVD Teteringen, P18b 1054, Het Dagboek van Mgr. Petrus Noyen, 100-101.

<sup>318</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915, f. 3 (183); Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 30.6.1916, f. 2 (215); Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 25.1.1918, f. 2 (233); P. NOYEN, *Bij het Jaarverslag der Missie op de Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 174; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History*, 107.

<sup>319</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 30.6.1916, f. 2 (215).

Before Petrus Noyen's letter dated 30 June 1916 arrived in Blum's hands, Anton M. Hens had already sent a postcard to Blum on 2 October regarding his desire to visit Steyl. Blum and Hens agreed to meet on 19 October 1916 at Steyl. After the meeting, Blum wrote to Noyen that Anton M. Hens had visited Steyl and was well received. An award that was recommended to Anton M. Hens was booked in Rome. It was a pity that Noyen's letter arrived late in Blum's hands so that the meeting took place before the award of the Holy See had been requested. In fact, in the above-mentioned letter, Noyen hoped that Anton M. Hens's visit to Steyl would be combined with the awarding of the Holy See's Cross of Merit to him<sup>320</sup>.

On 17 January 1917, Nicolaus Blum wrote to Anton M. Hens to pass on the information regarding news from Rome. He stated that Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922), by a decree of the Secretary of State of 8 December 1916, had awarded the High Cross of Merit «*pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*» to Anton Hens in recognition of his great services to the Catholic Church in the missions. The diploma and the cross were in Blum's possession. At the end of his letter, while congratulating him, Blum asked him whether the award should be sent to him by post office or would he come with his family to honor Steyl with a visit<sup>321</sup>? The response from Anton M. Hens was,

[...] Yesterday I received Your letter of 10 January 17, by which I was informed that His Holiness Pope Benedict XV granted me the Cross of Merit, *pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*. As a faithful follower of our Mother the Holy Church, I value the favor granted to me at a very high price and I would like nothing more than to be given the opportunity to return to the best of my ability in the interests of Mission affairs in the Dutch East Indies. Highly grateful to you for your congratulations, it would also be most pleasant with your intervention to express my gratitude also in Rome where it is customary. Would you be so kind as to send the *insignia* to my present address as mentioned in this letter. [...]<sup>322</sup>.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, A Postcard of A.M. Hens to Blum, Nijmegen, 2.10.1916; Blum to Hens, Steyl, 5.10.1916, f. 1 (216); A Postcard of A.M. Hens to Blum, Nijmegen, 9.10.1916; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 24.11.1916, ff. 3-4.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Hens, Steyl, 17.1.1917, f. 1 (217); Hens to Blum, Den Haag, 19.1.1917, ff. 1-2 (218-219); Hens to Blum, Den Haag, 28.1.1917, f. 1 (220).

<sup>322</sup> «[...] Gisteren mocht ik Uw schrijven van 10 Januari 17 dezer ontvangen, waaruit ik mocht vernemen dat mij door Zijne Heiligheid Paus Benedictus XV het Kruis van Verdienste *pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* verleend werd. Als getrouw door onze Moeder de Heilige Kerk stel ik de mij verleende gunst op zeer hoge prijs en zou mij niets liever zijn, dan na terugkeer in Nederlands-Indië wederom in de gelegenheid te worden gesteld naar best vermogen werkzaam te kunnen zijn in het belang der Missiezaken. U Hoogeerwaarde hartelijk dankzeggend voor Uw gelukwensen zou het mij tevens hoogst aangenaam zijn, indien U met Uw tussenkomst zoudt willen verlenen ook te Rome ter plaatse waar zulks gebruikelijk is mijn dankbetuiging kenbaar te maken. Zoudt U zo vriendelijk willen zijn de insigniën te doen toekomen aan mijn tegenwoordig adres in hoofde van dit schrijven vermeld. [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Hens to Blum, Den Haag, 19.1.1917, ff. 1-2 (218-219).

In his reply, Blum conveyed the news that on 21 January 1917 the Holy See Cross of Merit was sent to the address of Anton M. Hens at the Hotel «De Zalm» Molenstraat 49, The Hague, Netherlands. On 28 January 1917, Anton M. Hens informed Blum that the Cross of Merit sent to him on 21 January was received. He once again hoped that Nicolaus Blum was willing to write a thank you letter to the Holy See on his behalf. This request was made because he admitted that he was not yet familiar with the style of an official letter to the Holy See.<sup>323</sup>

## **4.2. The Last Moments of Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD**

### **4.2.1. His Situation Prior to Returning to Europe**

After the transfer of the Jesuit mission in Larantuka to the SVDs, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1917, in the same month Fr. Petrus Noyen traveled from Ndona to Larantuka to accompany two SVD Brothers there: Lambertus and Vincentius. They were needed there because the Jesuit Brothers had been transferred to another mission. On that trip, they stopped at Lela and Riang Wulu. In Lela Fr. Berthold Friess, SVD observed that Father Prefect was suffering from ill health. In Riangwulu he started to have a fever and severe cough but kept continuing the journey to Larantuka. There he laid sick for two months<sup>324</sup>.

On the occasion of a farewell celebration with the Jesuit missionaries in Maumere in December 1919, he appeared to be suffering, tired, feverish and his appetite decreased. His health was getting worse. He wanted to return to the Netherlands for treatment. Even so, before going to Europe he went to Timor to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. In Timor, he had a high fever and a lack of appetite. He returned to Ndona in a weak state. After meeting a doctor in Ende, he was diagnosed with dysentery and was advised to immediately go to Europe for better treatment. At that time, aside from being a prefect, he was also the regional. Therefore, he did have to go to the Netherlands that year to attend the Fifth SVD General Chapter. On 16 June 1920, he left Ndona never to return again.<sup>325</sup>

### **4.2.2. The Treatment and His Departure for Eternity**

During the chapter, Msgr. Petrus Noyen continued to suffer from dysentery and the Indies Thrush. After the closing of the chapter in Steyl, he wanted to go to Utrecht to meet a specialist for treatment. On 7 December 1920, he was already in Utrecht and was under the care of doctor Boekelman. A week later

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to A.M. Hens, s.l., 21.1.1917, f. 2 (219); A.M. Hens to Blum, Den Haag, 28.1.1917, f. 1 (220).

<sup>324</sup> B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 163-164.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 162, 165-167.

he told Fr. Ariaens that his health did not change much: always diarrhea, no appetite, and he felt increasingly weak.<sup>326</sup>

Meanwhile, the matter of improving the status of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sundas to an Apostolic Vicariate were in process. According to information from Fr. Carl Friedrich, an official letter from the Holy See about it would be published in mid-January 1921 and the episcopal ordination of Msgr. Petrus Noyen would be held on 24 February, on the feast day of St. Matthew the Apostle. So, Noyen still had enough time to restore his health.<sup>327</sup>

On 6 January 1921 Msgr. Petrus Noyen celebrated his last holy Mass. Seeing the situation getting worse, doctor Boekelman recommended that Msgr. Noyen be taken to Steyl. The date set for the transfer was 27 January. Msgr. Noyen himself agreed with the suggestion believing that all matters relating to the mission could be dealt with better in Steyl. Due to some improvements in his health, Noyen did not return to Steyl on the date agreed upon above. Before 31 January, his health condition was worsening. He was finally transferred to Steyl on 1 February 1921. Here he was treated by Br. Heribertus.<sup>328</sup>

He requested that one telegram be sent to Fr. Franz de Lange in Ndona regarding the latest condition of his health. According to him, it needed to be made so that they prepared themselves for the day of his death. On 2 February, he realized that his death was approaching. After evening worship, Msgr. Petrus Noyen received the sacrament of the sick, administered by the SVD Superior General, Fr. Wilhelm Gier. All the community members participated in the ceremony. He felt happy to be in Steyl in the last moment of his presence in this world.<sup>329</sup>

On 16 February, Br. Heribertus conveyed the information that Noyen's health condition had not changed or had even declined. Doctor Wolters from Venlo who was asked by Dr. Boekelman to pay attention to Msgr. Noyen stated that humanly speaking there was not much hope.<sup>330</sup>

On 21 February, he gave one or two important notes about the Sumba and Bali missions to Fr. Ariaens. In the afternoon, he asked Fr. Ariaens whether the Superior General had taken care of all matters regarding the mission of the Lesser Sundas. Ariaens replied that everything had been arranged in Rome and

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<sup>326</sup> The Bishop of Utrecht, Msgr. H. van de Wetering visited him and brought a gift of a bishop's breast cross made of pure gold. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Franz Ariaens: Ter herinnering aan de ziekte en den dood van Mgr. P. Noyen, ff. 1-2.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 3.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 4-5, 10.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 5-10.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 8-9.

that the decree of his appointment as Vicar Apostolic was not published because he was seriously ill. Upon hearing that, Noyen said the words «*Deo gratias!*». <sup>331</sup>

On 22 February, he was visited by Frater Gerhard van Velzen who had just returned from Flores to continue his studies. On 23 February, Fr. Geurts and Fr. Ariaens accompanied Msgr. Noyen at his sick-bed. That night, he remained conscious and asked for communion and general absolution. He also continued to kiss his mission cross. Promptly at 4:45 AM on 24 February, Msgr. Petrus Noyen breathed his last and died peacefully. He died on the day planned for him to receive his episcopal ordination. <sup>332</sup>

Msgr. Petrus Noyen was not only a first-class missionary, someone who was willing to sacrifice himself to the utmost, a man of prayer with great trust in God, but also a good leader with a healthy view and with plans that were thought to be supported by a strong will. Everyone who knew him respected him. He was also loved and respected in government circles. <sup>333</sup>

A year after the death of Msgr. Petrus Noyen, in the Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands there were 63,835 Catholics out of a population of more than 3,000,000. The congregation was attended by 36 Fathers, 12 Brothers, 37 SSPS Sisters and 9 Franciscan Sisters from Heythuisen. The total number of folk schools handled by the mission were 137 schools, not counting *standardschools*, *normaalcursussen*, *kweekscholen*, *schakelschool* and vocational courses. A total of 194 teachers served a total of 8,963 pupils. <sup>334</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 10-11.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 12-14; *Bij den Dood van Mgr. Petrus Noyen*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 46/5 (1921), 68; B. VROKLAGE, *P. Petrus Noyen*, 186; L. LAME URAN, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Dioces Agung Ende*, 162.

<sup>333</sup> J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 204-205.

<sup>334</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to Gier, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1921/1922, f. 2 (333); K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 174; K. PISKATY, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 79.

## **Chapter IV**

### **The Development of the Mission Work of the SVDs: From One Apostolic Vicariate to Two Apostolic Vicariates (1922-1942)**

#### **1. Establishment of the Mission and Regional Leadership Structures**

##### **1.1. Elevation of the Prefecture to an Apostolic Vicariate: An Affirmation of a Firm Catholic Mission Leadership**

###### **1.1.1. Initial Steps for the Upgrading of the Prefecture to an Apostolic Vicariate**

The intention of elevating the status of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands to that of an apostolic vicariate had long existed in the heart of Fr. Prefect Petrus Noyen, SVD. The intention of elevating the status of the prefecture to that of a vicariate was hampered by World War I and also by the fear that the Dutch Government might create difficulties. The longer this goal was kept hidden, the more intensely the desire to express it grew. Petrus Noyen realized that while waiting for the the end of the war – which was not yet in sight – the delay would the necessary negotiation process with the Vatican be held up. Meanwhile, the missionaries in the Lesser Sundas mission, both the Jesuits and the SVDs, continued to urge Noyen to take the initiative and to start the negotiations.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, on 5 November 1918, Fr. Petrus Noyen wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Wilhelm Marinus van Rossum, C.SS.R, asking him to go ahead with the upgrading in status of his prefecture to that of a vicariate. Eventually, the reply of the Propaganda came but it was not addressed to Petrus Noyen but to the Superior General Nicolaus Blum. In the reply, it was stated that the time was not yet right to realize the proposal of the Prefect Petrus Noyen. As a preparatory step, the Propaganda asked Fr. Nicolaus Blum to increase the number of priests working in the area concerned. In principle, Fr. Blum did not object to the wishes of Fr. Petrus Noyen. Nevertheless, he saw Noyen's action of sending a letter directly to the Vatican, without asking the

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<sup>1</sup> ARCHIVIO GENERALE SOCIETATIS VERBI DIVINI [from now on: AG-SVD], 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 29.5.1918, f. 2; Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.11.1918, f. 2; Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, f. 1 (247).

SVD Generalate's opinion, as a rash and unwise move. He also stressed that such matters were not accomplished so easily. Proper procedures would have to be followed in order to succeed. Apparently from the point of view of the Vatican, one of the main reasons that delayed and hindered the process was the evident shortage of missionary personnel to serve the Catholics on the Lesser Sundas mission at that time.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1.2. The Motives and Grounds for the Upgrading

According to Petrus Noyen, many people were of the opinion that raising the status of the prefecture to that of a vicariate would be of great importance for the progress of the mission. It would also contribute much to the greater glory of God and to the salvation of souls. The fear mentioned earlier concerning the government's reaction seems to have vanished along with the election of Mr. Idenburg as the new Minister for the Colonies in the new Dutch government at that time. When holding the post of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, he had convinced Prefect Petrus Noyen that such a development was likely to be supported by the government. This opinion was expressed already in 1915. In order to take advantage of the development of this existing political situation, Petrus Noyen ventured to apply for the elevation of his prefecture to the next level. The desire to be equal in status to other missions was also an incentive for this request. The upgrading in the status of the neighboring mission of Borneo from a prefecture to a vicariate, whose number of Catholics was far less than those in the Lesser Sundas, could also have been another driving force that had encouraged Petrus Noyen to make such a request.<sup>3</sup>

Several basic considerations were adopted as reasons for submitting the application. The first consideration was the increasing number of Catholics from year to year. At the end of 1918, the number of Catholics throughout the Lesser Sundas reached 45,594. This was the highest number in all of the Dutch East Indies at the time. The episcopal dignity would undoubtedly allow both the clergy and the Christians to be directed with greater authority. For every order or regulation, coming from a bishop, would carry more weight. Besides, the visitation of a bishop would lift up the spirit of the Christians and strengthen the fainthearted.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919, ff. 1-2; Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Prospectus: Fructuum Spiritualium Praefecturae Apostolicae Insularum Sunda-Minorum anno Domini 1918, a 1 September 1917 usque ad 1 September 1918, f. 2 (264). There were 12 priests working in the prefecture, consisting of 7 SVD priests and 5 Jesuit priests. There were also 12 Brothers and 23 Sisters.

<sup>3</sup> The number of Catholics in Borneo at that time was no more than 3000. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, f. 1; Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, f. 1 (247).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, f. 1; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 25.9.1918, f. 1; Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, ff. 1, 3 (247, 249).

Secondly, consideration of local customs had to be taken into account. Since the year 1860, the Lesser Sundas were part of the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia. For this reason, Catholics in the islands of Flores and Timor over the course of many years were already visited by a bishop for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation. They were accustomed to the idea that the head of a mission should be a bishop. Over many years they were already accustomed to frequently receiving the bishop of Batavia with the greatest reverence, the greatest solemnity and the participation of numerous people. Due to the establishment of the Lesser Sundas as a Prefecture, Catholics had been deprived of such a consolation.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, there was an awareness of the value of the Catholic faith's attraction through its pomp and celebrations. The visitation of a bishop to a place was usually considered to be of great importance in regions where Muslim activity tried to attract the adherents of traditional religions by the use of their own exterior splendor and pomp. It was understood that the presence of a bishop would give the Catholic Church a considerable superiority over Islam and the traditional religion.<sup>6</sup>

Fourthly, there were the political considerations. Although the Dutch government generally treated the missionaries well, quite often the missionaries found themselves subjected to the opinions and actions of minor officials, whose Protestant or anti-Christian bias sometimes caused difficulties. The Dutch Government almost always went along with the opinions of its minor officials. If they had the idea that the Apostolic Prefect was only an ordinary pastor, then there was the risk that the head of the mission would not be taken seriously. This could have led to considerable inconvenience for the whole mission. On the other hand, however, there was already great respect for the dignity of a bishop. Therefore, the care of important matters would be better facilitated if the ecclesiastical superior was a bishop with the appropriate prestige and authority and who would stand out and gain more respect. For this reason, the bureaucrats would be more likely to behave towards him with more respect and understanding so that many difficulties could be avoided.<sup>7</sup>

After the letter of Prefect Petrus Noyen to the Propaganda Fide mentioned above, there was no other meaningful development leading to the improvement

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<sup>5</sup> For that reason, since being elected the Apostolic Prefect, Fr. Petrus Noyen has never dared to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation for old Catholics in the Larantuka and Maumere regions. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, ff. 1-2 (247-248); Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 25.9.1918, ff. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Friess to Blum, Sikka, 16.9.1918, f. 3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 25.9.1918, f. 2; Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, ff. 1-2 (247-248).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 25.9.1918, f. 2; Noyen to van Rossum, s.l., 5.11.1918, ff. 2-3 (248-249).

of the mission's status. Not long after that, the Lesser Sundas mission was dragged into a pandemic known as the Spanish Influenza. This influenza claimed the lives of 4 of the Lesser Sundas missionaries. After that, Petrus Noyen had to leave for Steyl to take part in the fifth SVD General Chapter.

Before leaving for Europe, Father Prefect Noyen briefly wrote again to the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Msgr. Marinus van Rossum. In his letter he said that there had been an increase in missionary personnel in the Lesser Sundas mission. Until the summer of 1920, there would be 28 priests serving Catholics in the Lesser Sundas mission area. Apparently with this letter he intended to convince Cardinal van Rossum that the Lesser Sundas mission was ready to become an independent vicariate in terms of personnel.<sup>8</sup>

Prefect Petrus Noyen saw his departure to Europe in a positive frame of mind. He already had a well-thought out plan for the trip. His departure in June 1920 was driven by three important considerations: to attend the fifth SVD General Chapter, to participate in the *ad limina* Visit to the Pope of all vicars and prefects apostolic from throughout Asia in the year 1920, and to attend to his health concerns. Besides, he also wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to have a personal colloquium with the Holy Father and to converse directly with the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide. He also wanted to have a meeting with Superior General of the SVD and his council concerning the matter of increasing the status of the Prefecture of the Lesser Sundas so that it could become an Apostolic Vicariate. He was sure that in a private meeting with them, all matters related to the situation of the Lesser Sundas' mission could be better presented and explained than would be the case in many letters. For the sake of these noble intentions, he convinced that everyone was hopeful that the vast Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands could be led by a bishop. He also emphasized once again that this increase in status would further delight the old Catholics in Larantuka and Maumere. For decades, numerous old Christians in these two districts had been accustomed to receiving and greeting their bishop every three years with the greatest joy.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.1.3. Obstacle on the Way and The Final Decision

After the exchange of much correspondence, and despite there being no official information from the Holy See, rumours about the impending appointment of Prefect Petrus Noyen as the bishop became quite widespread everywhere. However, this all came to a halt suddenly, when Prefect Petrus Noyen

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<sup>8</sup> They were supported by 9 SVD lay Brothers, 17 Franciscan Sisters from Heithuyzen, 12 SSps Sisters, and 2 theology students. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Noyen to van Rossum, Ndona, 19.2.1920, f. 1 (285).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to van Rossum, Ndona, 19.2.1920, f. 2 (286).

fell ill.<sup>10</sup> While he was laid up with his illness, he received notification from the SVD General Procurator, Fr. Carl Friedrich, regarding the development of the status of the Lesser Sunda Vicariate. In the notification, Fr. Carl stated that in the middle of January 1921, the Holy See would officially announce the news and that Prefect Petrus Noyen would be ordained on 24 February of the same year. However, sadly, it turned out that Prefect Noyen breathed his last on the day planned for him to be ordained a bishop.<sup>11</sup>

After the process of selecting names for the position of Apostolic Vicar in the previous year, the long-awaited news arrived. Before the news was officially announced by the Holy See, the under Secretary of Propaganda Fide, Msgr. Pietro Fumasoni Biondi on behalf of the Prefect Cardinal Marinus van Rossum, first wrote a letter to Fr. Wilhelm Gier, SVD to deliver the long-awaited good news. In essence, he said that on 12 March 1922 the Holy Father Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) had approved the vicariate status of the Lesser Sunda Islands and the appointment of Fr. Arnold Verstraelen, SVD, to be its first Apostolic Vicar with the authority of a bishop.<sup>12</sup> Based on that letter, Father General SVD sent a telegram to Ende with the brief information: «Verstraelen Bischof».<sup>13</sup>

On 12 March 1922, Pope Pius XI was pleased to officially upgrade the status of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands to that of an Apostolic Vicariate. This good news was published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (= AAS), the official organ of the Holy See. On 14 March 1922, Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen was appointed as the first Apostolic Vicar of the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>14</sup>

Msgr. Verstraelen was ordained bishop on 1 October 1922 in Steyl. Acting as the Consecrator was Msgr. L. Schrijnen, the bishop of Roermond,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to van Rossum, Ndona, 19.2.1920, f. 2 (286); van Rossum to Gier, Roma, 12.11.1920, f. 1 (294); Gier to Noyen, Steyl, 9.12.1920, f. 1 (295); Noyen to Friedrich, Utrecht, 18.12.1920, ff. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Franz Ariaens: Ter herinnering aan de ziekte en den dood van Mgr. P. Noyen, f. 3.

<sup>12</sup> In the selection process of Apostolic Vicar candidates, Arnoldus Verstraelen and Franz de Lange received the same vote of support. But in his statement to Carl Friedrich, Wilhelm Gier said that Franz de Lange did have a lot of good qualities and he was also a dedicated religious, but he lacked the necessary wisdom and deliberation and the sense for order and organization. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to F. de Lange, Steyl, 16.3.1921, ff. 1 (300); F. de Lange to Gier, Ndona, 30.3.1921, f. 1 (302); Gier to Friedrich, Steyl, 23.7.1921, ff. 1-2 (303-304); Biondi to Gier, Roma, 9.3.1922, f. 1 (316); AAS 14 (1922) 224; *Praefectura apostolica Insularum Sundae minorum in Indiis Hollandicis erigitur in Vicariatum apostolicum*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 67 (1922), 449.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, A Telegram from Rome to Ende, 11.3.1922.

<sup>14</sup> In another part of the same AAS volume, it was also stated that in the day before Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen had been appointed titular bishop of the Myriophyt Church in Turkey. Cf. AAS 14 (1922) 195, 234, 618; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gaspari to Verstraelen, Roma, 14.3.1922, ff. 1-2 (320<sup>v</sup>).

in whose diocese the home of the Bishop was located. Also present at the ordination ceremony that day was the bishop of Breda and s'Hertogenbosch. On 12 May 1923 the new bishop arrived back in Ende, Flores, the centre of his new diocese, where he was welcomed by thousands of Catholics. When Bishop Verstraelen began his pastoral work, the number of Catholics in the mission of the Lesser Sundas had reached 60,000, and was served by 32 Fathers, 13 Brothers, 38 Sisters, 70 catechists and 226 school teachers.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.2. The Establishment of the SVD Mission in the Lesser Sundas as a Region

The transformation of the SVD mission of the Lesser Sundas into one region was decided upon by Superior General Fr. Nicolaus Blum on 25 December 1913. The decision was carried out in conjunction with the establishment of the first 5 SVD provinces in the Society. This legal status was announced after obtaining approval from the Holy See.<sup>16</sup>

This clarity of the legal status was a clear sign that the SVDs who worked in the Lesser Sundas now had a local superior to take care of SVD affairs as a religious congregation. This leadership became increasingly necessary when the Lesser Sundas mission obtained an Apostolic Vicar. This necessity had been understood by Prefect Petrus Noyen when he was involved in the written negotiations prior to obtaining vicariate status for the Lesser Sundas prefecture. According to the *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini* 1922 number 23, a local Ordinary<sup>17</sup>, if he should be a member of the Society, while in office, would not be subjected by obedience to the Superior General. For this reason, in conjunction with the selection process for the apostolic vicar of the Region, an election was also held to choose a Regional for the SVDs in the region.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen was accompanied by two new SVD missionaries, Fr. Paul Arndt and Br. Colomanus. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Bodems to Verstraelen, Steyl, 27.5.1922, ff. 2 (323); Verstraelen to Bodems, Uden, 30.7.1922, f. 1; Verstraelen to Gier, Jopu, 5.6.1923, ff. 1-4; *Bisschopswijding van Mgr. Arnold Verstraelen S.V.D.*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 48/1 (1922), 15-16; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 50/3 (1925), 206.

<sup>16</sup> *Errichtung von fünf Provinzen in der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 31 (1914), 207.

<sup>17</sup> They are the residential Bishops where the hierarchy has been established, Apostolic Vicars and Apostolic Prefects where the hierarchy has not yet been erected, and likewise those who by law are their Vicars or Substitutes in general. Cf. AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922, f. 2.

<sup>18</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.11.1918, f. 3; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to F. de Lange, Steyl, 16.3.1921, f. 1 (300); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, F. de Lange to Bodems, Ndona, 22.2.1922, f. 2 (1499); AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922, f. 2. *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini* or in English «Statute for the Missions of the Society of the Divine Word» is a document that was discussed in a General Chapter and was determined based on the agreement of the Propaganda Fide. It was in effect for five years, after which it had to be renewed.

When Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen became the Apostolic Vicar of the Lesser Sundas, Fr. Bernhard Glanemann was the Regional of the Lesser Sundas Region.<sup>19</sup> In his letter to Fr. Glanemann conveying congratulations on the appointment, Fr. Johannes Bodems called for the new Regional to build a good working relationship with the apostolic vicar. According to him, the collaboration requested was expected not only to appear in words but also in a living testimony of appreciation, brotherly love, and obedience. He tried to convince Glanemann that all of this would certainly influence the attitude of the missionaries towards their apostolic vicar as head of the local Church, and would thereby inspire them to be more faithful in serving the Church in their daily ministry. He gave more or less the same advice to Msgr. Verstraelen when notifying him of the appointment of Glanemann as Regional. Specifically, he stated that the undisturbed harmony between the ecclesiastical and religious superiors was to be considered as an incomparable source of blessing for the inner and outer development of the mission.<sup>20</sup>

The appointment of Fr. Glanemann as the Regional signified the presence of two superiors in the Lesser Sundas something that had not been experienced in the past. It was not surprising that the tone of Fr. Bodems's letter to both implicitly implied a concern for the danger of disharmony between the two superiors.

### **1.3. The Sphere of Influence of the Apostolic Vicar and the Regional**

#### **1.3.1. Regulations for the Mutual Relationships between the Ecclesiastical Superior and the Religious Superior**

In the missions, there were two superiors, one for missionary matters, another for the religious life.<sup>21</sup> The first was called the ecclesiastical superior,

<sup>19</sup> On 22 March 1922, the SVD General Council led by Fr. Johannes Bodems as Acting Superior General, issued a decree concerning the appointment of Fr. Bernhard Glanemann for his three-year mandate as the Regional for the Lesser Sundas mission. Father Superior General Wilhelm Gier himself at that time was on Flores in his General visitation. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, The Official Letter of the Appointment of Fr. B. Glanemaan as Regional of the Lesser Sundas, Steyl, 19.3.1922, f. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Bodems to Glanemann, Steyl, 27.5.1922, ff. 1-2 (1504-1505); AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Bodems to Verstraelen, Steyl, 27.5.1922, f. 3 (324).

<sup>21</sup> The *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini* 1922 number 24, § 2 and 3 regulates that affairs of the mission are all those things which are necessary for the propagation of the faith among non-Catholics and the preservation of the faith among those converted; and therefore belong to the local Ordinary alone, e.g. the creation of ecclesiastical offices, the care of souls, the administration of the sacraments, visiting the sick, the direction of schools, the offerings made for the mission, the implementation of pious wills in favor of the mission, the compilation of parochial books. Affairs of the Society is everything that refers to the governance of the Society and the religious life according to the Constitutions; hence it is the right and duty of the religious Superior to determine the offices in the Society, to supervise the economic matters, to protect the internal discipline of the religious house and the observance of the vows even outside the house. Cf. AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922, f. 6.

the other the religious superior. The office of the one and of the other, in as much as they covered the whole mission, should not be united in one person. However, in missions where there were only a few priests of the Society, it was not forbidden that the same person be both the ecclesiastical and the religious Superior.<sup>22</sup>

This increasingly clear division of authority also naturally required clarity in many other matters, especially in relation to the area of the influence of each authority and the ownership of property matters. This was regulated in two important documents namely «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini 1922*» and the «*Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden*». These two documents were not contradictory but complementary to each other.<sup>23</sup>

The «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini 1922*» is divided into 2 important parts namely Persons and Temporal Goods. The mutual relations between an Apostolic Vicar and a Regional as well as their relationship to missionaries is regulated in the aforementioned-document numbers 23-43, while the section on the separation of property management between Mission and the Society is set out in numbers 44-70.<sup>24</sup>

The «*Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden*» was announced by Msgr. Verstraelen on 8 December 1929 and became effective and binding for the whole vicariate from 1 January 1930. He hoped that in the future these statutes could then be developed into one Pastoral Manual for the vicariate. This document was itself divided into 2 main sections namely «In Regard to Persons» for the regulation of matters related to clergy and the lay people, while the other «Regarding Pastoral Works» that regulated matters such as sacraments, fasting and abstinence, collections, education and boarding schools. Other important aspects expressed in these statutes concerning religious personnel included the relationship between a dean and the SVD's district superiors, also called rectors. There were also guidelines for the service of the Brothers and the care of the Sisters.

With regard to deans, the document regulates that the SVDs who were elected and appointed as rectors of SVD districts would automatically be

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<sup>22</sup> It is stated in the *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini 1922* number 4 and 5. Cf. AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922, f. 2.

<sup>23</sup> The document of *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini* consists of 83 statutes, while the document of *Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden* consists of 270 statutes.

<sup>24</sup> The word «Mission» is meant here as everything related to the affairs of the local Church under the leadership of an Apostolic Vicar, while the Society means everything related to the affairs of the SVD as a congregation.

determined by the Apostolic Vicar as deans. The areas of the deaneries were in accordance with the SVD district areas as once stated in a decree of Msgr. Verstraelen. Brothers who worked for the sake of the Mission were put under the guidance of a dean. A dean would ensure that their work did not prevent them from living their lives as members of a religious Society. The spiritual welfare of the Sisters also became part of the Deans' duties.<sup>25</sup>

In practice, however, in order to avoid unnecessary collisions and friction of interests, the management of property between the Mission and the Society was arranged together in the form of a contract signed by the parties concerned. The first contract ever made occurred on 18 October 1922 at Steyl. The contract was signed by Fr. Johannes Bodems as the Assistant Superior General and Msgr. Arnold Verstraelen. This contract was later renewed in 1924 and 1926.<sup>26</sup>

### 1.3.2. Learning from the Disputes between the Two Superiors

Although the relation between the Apostolic Vicar and the Regional had been well and clearly outlined in the «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini 1922*», this did not rule out the possibility of conflict between the two superiors. The disputes that occurred between Msgr. A. Verstraelen and Regional Bernhard Glanemann happened during the last 2 years of the mandate of Glanemann as religious superior. Actually, the essence of all these disputes revolved more around the theme of the distribution of authority between the two and the issue of who was the more powerful between. The Superior General, Wilhelm Gier, regarded their disputes as tragic controversial cases that happened.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> A dean had to ensure that the Sisters were taken care of in matters such as daily Mass services, exposition of the Most Sacred Sacrament, recollections, retreats, confessions and so on. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Decretum betreffende de canonicke oprichting van decanaten enz. in Ons Vicariaat, Ndona, 29.9.1929, ff. 1-2 (532-533); Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, ff. 1, 5-6 (545, 549-550); ARCHIVIO STORICO DI PROPAGANDA FIDE [from now on: ASPF], N.S. vol. 1068, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, cc. 891, 895-896.

<sup>26</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Protocol von Kontrakt, Steyl, 18.10.1922, f. 1 (331); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Kontrakt: Zwischen der Mission und der Gesellschaft bezüglich der Trennung der Güter, resp. der gegenseitig zu leisten den Zahlungen. Vorläufig gültig für 1924, ff. 1-3; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Contract: Zwischen der Mission und Region bezüglich der Trennung der Güter, Ndona, 3.3.1926, f. 1 (430); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Kontrakt zwischen Mission und Region betreffend Trennung der Güter, Ndona, 8.8.1926, f. 1; THE ARCHIVE OF PROVINCIAL OF SVD ENDE, INDONESIA [from now on: AP-SVD Ende], De S.V.D. Sup. Generaal Correspondentie van en met 1914-1930, Contract: Zwischen der Mission und Region bezüglich der Trennung der Güter, Ndona, 3.3.1926, f. 1. In the contract dated 8 August 1926 it was stated that the contract's validity period was three years.

<sup>27</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 26.9.1925, f. 4.

At the time, the two superiors lived in the same house in Ndona, but they usually only communicated through letters. Could they not have talked directly? What prevented them from speaking directly? What is even more interesting is that they communicated in two different languages: Dutch and German. It raises the question as to whether there was an issue of cultural arrogance between them? It could have been one of the causes since there was also a dispute regarding the issue of using Dutch in daily conversation. The next section will discuss the issues known as the «Nele Affair» and the «Anti-German Sentiment» which clearly illustrate the essence of the dispute between these two superiors.

a) The «Nele affair» brought other problems to the surface

The problem known as «Nele Affair» involved a Captain, a good friend of Fr. Johann Jakob Köberl. The Captain allegedly did not fulfil his obligations to the local community in relation to his affairs with girls. Because he was a good friend of the Captain, Fr. Köberl was allegedly accused of trying to save his friend from the accusations being made against him. The resident's accusation that Fr. Köberl was involved in this affair was evident in the words used by Msgr. Verstraelen namely that there was a lot of «personal contact» between Fr. Köberl and the Captain. For this reason, the Resident Schultz suggested that one way to get over the problem would be to ask that Fr. Köberl be transferred from Nele to another place. In January 1925, Verstraelen stated that the transfer had already been discussed with the Regional and also conveyed to the concerned person that he should immediately leave the Maumere area. He was supposed to move to Todabelu. However, Fr. Köberl disobeyed the request and stayed in Lela, in the Maumere area until August. He finally agreed to change his assignment only after the issue was discussed at a conference held at Ndona in August 1925.<sup>28</sup>

Msgr. Verstraelen disturbed by this act of disobedience. He suspected that Fr. Regional Glanemann did not support his decision and that was the reason that the transfer did not occur. Glanemann himself confessed later that he did not support the transfer because he saw no solid basis for it. He also stated that the transfer order was made by telephone and not through an official letter. He also explained that the transfer was made delayed because at the time the order was received, Fr. Köberl was sick with a fever. Apparently, Glanemann had made his own decision without adequate consultation with the bishop whose decision was based on unilateral accusations and was totally unfounded. He alleged that Fr. Köberl was sacrificed in order to please the wishes of the government.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Bodems, Ende, 3.8.1924, ff. 3-5; Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 11.2.1925, f. 1; Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 20.2.1925, f. 6; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.8.1925, f. 2.

According to Verstraelen, Glanemann himself read the letter from the Resident and the reply from Verstraelen to him. So, in this matter, nothing was kept secret by Msgr. Verstraelen as alleged by Fr. Glanemann. Unfortunately, Fr. Glanemann did not speak openly with Bishop Verstraelen when they met to discuss the matter privately.<sup>29</sup>

Why was it that Regional Glanemann didn't seem to support Msgr. Verstraelen's policy? Apparently, this happened because between the two of them there was not a harmonious relationship. Communications between them also did not work as they should have. So, the «Nele Affair» was the result of the longstanding conflict between the two of them. Problematic issues can be discerned in the correspondence between Verstraelen and Glanemann and in each of their correspondence with the Superior General Wilhelm Gier.

Some of the problems mentioned in the letter included 3 issues raised by Fr. Glanemann and several other problems mentioned by Monsignor himself in his letter of response. First, there was the issue of purchasing wine in Maumere. In the case of this wine, according to the previous agreement, the right to buy wine for the mission was possessed the Regional but in fact, Msgr. Verstraelen bought his own wine for his needs without the Regional's knowledge. Monsignor however, explained that he was doing so in order to be able to welcome the Resident whose official visit was soon to occur. Secondly, there was the concern about the work of Br. Florentinus as a driver. Brothers were under the Regional's authority. However, it appeared that in some ways, Msgr. Verstraelen did not understand that he should inform the regional if he wanted to ask the Brother to drive him somewhere. Monsignor pointed out to Fr. Glanemann that the Brother had been appointed as the official driver. This led the Bishop to understand that every time he was needed as a driver, he was expected to be always available. Msgr. Verstraelen was of the opinion that for this task, it should not be always necessary to seek permission from the Rector. It should be sufficient if he announced his travel plans in the dining room, which could be taken as the notification and to which the permission would be forthcoming. Thirdly, regarding the mission representation before the government. Glanemann felt offended because in official matters with the government, he was not involved in representing the missionaries. It was therefore customary for the government to negotiate only with the Apostolic Vicar or his substitute, the Pro-vicar. For the government, the Apostolic Vicar and, or, as his substitute, the Pro-vicar, represented the mission.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 20.2.1925, ff. 1-2; Glanemann to Verstraelen, Ndona, 13.2.1925, ff. 3-5; Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 20.2.1925, ff. 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Glanemann to Verstraelen, Ndona, 13.2.1925, ff. 3-5; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 20.2.1925, ff. 3-4.

There were several other issues that were also mentioned, including: the lack of respect that they had for each other; the question of who had the most right to allocate people for certain tasks; there was also the refusal to cooperate with what were considered unreasonable demands. In addition there was the anti-Germans sentiment; the use of Dutch in daily conversation. Furthermore, there was the emerging question of surrendering Bali and Lombok to other congregations. There was the assumption that the vicar apostolic was too reserved and that he only discussed important matters with his pro-vicar, and so on. In short, the personal relationship between Glanemann and Verstraelen was not as smooth as it ought to have been. In a relationship that was always tinged with tension like this, every time a new problem could arise, whether it was deliberately created or indeed a small problem that was exaggerated, such as the issue of «Anti-German Sentiment».<sup>31</sup>

b) «Anti-German sentiment» as a means of revenge

In a letter dated 18 January 1924, Msgr. Verstraelen poured out all of his feelings of unhappiness on the Superior General Wilhelm Gier. He started with the accusation directed at him that he was an anti-German bishop. He even heard the accusation himself from the mouth of a Regional Superior, he said. According to the Regional Glanemann, all the people in the Lesser Sundas mission had the impression that Msgr. Verstraelen was an anti-German. Therefore, the Regional planned to write a letter to the SVD Generalate in Steyl not to send German missionaries to the Lesser Sundas mission. Msgr. Verstraelen could not believe that such unsavoury accusations could arise amid the rapid development of missionary work at that time. From his visits to various places, he himself saw that all his missionaries were working well togetherness. Thus, this accusation felt like a cross that was very heavy to bear. The same accusation, he saw, was also destroying the reputation that he had earned during his 41-years of missionary work with his German confreres. Verstraelen claimed he was forced to write a letter like this just to fight for the interests of the mission and for a better Christian brotherhood among the missionaries.<sup>32</sup>

So what was going on? To answer this question, it is necessary to note how rude and irritable Regional Bernhard Glanemann was in his relationship towards Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen, and towards the two van Cleef-brothers (Fr. Johannes and Fr. Stephanus) and several other Dutch missionaries. From Msgr. Verstraelen's explanation it can be discovered that Bernhard Glanemann's

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 20.2.1925, ff. 3-5.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, ff. 3-4, 6, 14; Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 23.1.1924, f. 1.

strange attitude was caused for the following reasons. First, it could be that the problem originated during their conversation in Jopu about the necessity of using Dutch in daily conversations. Msgr. Verstraelen had once asked the Superior General Wilhelm Gier to write a letter to the missionaries appealing to them to use Dutch. It seems that this recommendation was not received either by Fr. Glanemann or his fellow German, Fr. Eduard Hundler. These two people were quite opposed to the request to use Dutch. Whereas according to Bishop Verstraelen, the suggestion was conveyed not with the intention of developing an anti-German spirit, but in the interest of the mission in fostering better cooperation with government officials in the Dutch East Indies. Communication with them was always conducted in Dutch. Msgr. Verstraelen seems to have over-insisted that the missionaries speak Dutch. Probably this had aroused an unsupportive reaction from some Germans who might not like the way he expressed his opinion on this matter. However, the most important thing to be considered here is not about how to convey it but what interests were to be achieved with such request. Verstraelen remained right when he placed the interests of the mission above the personal pleasure of learning or not learning Dutch. If government officials were not sympathetic to missionaries, they always had a way to complicate missionary work. Moreover, not all government officials were Catholic; in fact, most of them were Protestants who each time would report to the higher government against the interests of the Catholic mission.<sup>33</sup>

Secondly, there was the matter of claiming the position of the Pro-vicar of the Lesser Sundas mission. Regarding this issue, the process is very interesting. Before leaving for Europe to be ordained bishop, Msgr. Verstraelen had to decide on a missionary who would act in his name during his absence. According to himself, he went through a process that was not easy. At first, he actually wanted to appoint Fr. Johannes van Cleef as Pro-vicar but because he was afraid of hurting Fr. Bernhard Glanemann's feelings, he then appointed him (Glanemann) as Pro-vicar. Difficulties began to emerge when Fr. Glanemann had to communicate with government circles because Glanemann was not fluent in Dutch. This problem could only be overcome with the help of Fr. J. van Cleef. Upon discovering that Fr. Glanemann did not have the *radicaal*, the next problem arose. The Dutch Indies government issued a statement that missionaries who did not have the *radicaal* could not be appointed Pro-vicar. This was communicated to Glanemann and as a result of this Msgr. Verstraelen was obliged to appoint Fr. Johannes van Cleef to replace Glanemann as Pro-

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, f. 15; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 24.1.1926, f. 2 (415); Verstraelen to Bodems, Ende, 3.8.1924, ff. 2-3; Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 12.11.1924, f. 2.

vicar. Since then, the relationship between the three become unsettled. As a result of Glanemann's dismissal, problem after problem began to emerge one after another, starting with trivial matters and progressing to more serious things. Apparently Glanemann could not accept the decision that someone else was appointed Pro-vicar. Msgr. Verstraelen knew very well that Glanemann really wanted that position. He had even heard firsthand from Glanemann who threatened that the situation would not be conducive if others became Pro-vicar. All of this eventually led to the anti-German issues. On the basis of several reports and incidences, there could be no doubt that the issue was fueled by Fr. Glanemann himself as an act of revenge for his dismissal.<sup>34</sup>

Thirdly, it can be said now, with our modern understanding, that there was the problem of Fr. Glanemann's psychological immaturity. He seemed very temperamental and sensitive. He liked to patronize and dominate others. He seems to have lacked patience and lacked respect for others. He could scold people without the slightest provocation! It looks like he was someone who was only satisfied after hurting others. Such an attitude caused unbearable physical and spiritual suffering for Bishop Verstraelen, Fr. Johannes van Cleef, the missionaries in general, as well as for others around him. According to the testimony of one of his closest collaborators, Fr. Carl Stenzel, he was an introvert. According to him, if, from the beginning of any problem there had been an openness, surely those things could have been corrected from the start so that they would not develop into problems that aggravated the personal relationship between Glanemann and Verstraelen.<sup>35</sup>

The sad conclusion that can be drawn from this anti-German issue which had flared up in the Lesser Sundas is that it was not a problem of ethnic conflict but rather a personal problem that utilized ethnic issues as a means for revenge. In essence, Verstraelen concluded that the source of the problem was Fr. Glanemann himself<sup>36</sup>. To emphasize his position, Verstraelen wrote thus, «[...] I am a Catholic bishop and as such, it would be a big mistake for me to be an anti-German. [...] I strive to acquire true apostolic love and to become everything for everyone to win everyone for Jesus Christ.»<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, ff. 6-9; Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 23.1.1924, f. 1; Verstraelen to Gier, Ende, 25.7.1924, f. 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, ff. 8, 10-11, 13-14; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.8.1925, f. 3; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Gier, Surabaya, 12.5.1924, f. 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, f. 14.

<sup>37</sup> «[...] Ich bin ein kath[olik] Bischof und als solcher würde es mir als großen Fehler anrechnen anti-D[deutsch] zu sein. [...] ich strebe danach, die echte apostolische Liebe zu erwerben und allen alles zu werden, um alle zu gewinnen für Jesus Christus.» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, f. 16.

On the other hand, it could be noted that Msgr. Verstraelen tended to overreact to anti-German issues. He himself was too suspicious of Fr. Glanemann thinking that he had bad intentions towards himself. This was evident in his suspicion that Fr. Glanemann had conveyed poor information about him to the SVD Generalate in Steyl. He was so suspicious of Glanemann that he asked Fr. Wilhelm Gier to ask the opinion of other parties, such as the rectors and other missionaries, about who Glanemann was. All these suspicions turned out to be untrue after Fr. Wilhelm Gier confirmed that he had never written poorly about Bishop Verstraelen and the mission of the Lesser Sundas.<sup>38</sup>

It appears that there was really no good interpersonal relationship between them. All communication was done through other people or through official correspondence, even though they lived in the same house. This is something surprising. Glanemann was impressed to close himself to direct contact with Verstraelen. Sometimes to convey something to the bishop, he would send his assistant who would go and deliver his message. Did the problem lie in the nationalistic tendencies, i.e. the superiority of German over Dutch? Nobody can really give the right answer now. Only Glanemann and Verstraelen had the answers in their hearts.<sup>39</sup>

c) The solution and the counsel of the Superior General Wilhelm Gier

In the midst of a situation that was not producing a solution to the problems, attempts were still being made to find a way out. Both parties were already trying to find a way out. There were efforts being made by the regional to improve the situation, but his efforts did not produce the expected results. At one point, Monsignor conveyed to the vice regional, Fr. Carl Stenzel that he could no longer continue working with such a regional. Therefore, in order to avoid the possibility of the situation becoming increasingly toxic, Fr. Glanemann asked Superior General Fr. Wilhelm Gier to either transfer him from the mission in the Lesser Sundas or to call him back to Europe. He no longer felt comfortable working under the leadership of Msgr. Verstraelen. Surprisingly, Fr. Wilhelm Gier happened to have another view. According to him, the experiences gained by a person like Fr. Glanemann, should still be used in the mission to increase the glory of God. Besides, many missionaries who returned to Europe did not always find happiness when they did so. Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen himself, through a letter, offered an apology to Regional Glanemann. He realized that a better collaboration would only be created if there was a better communication between them.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Gier, Surabaya, 12.5.1924, f. 4; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, Steyl, 19.9.1924, f. 2; Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 12.11.1924, f. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Verstraelen to Bodems, Ende, 3.8.1924, ff. 1-2; Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924, f. 16.

<sup>40</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 6.8.1924, f. 8; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 4.8.1925, f. 1; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.8.1925, f. 2; Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 27.9.1925, f. 3.

Regarding the personal conflict between Msgr. Verstraelen and Fr. Glanemann, Fr. Wilhelm Gier said that he received conflicting reports from both parties about the unpleasant clashes. He wrote to Bishop Verstraelen and to Fr. Glanemann and asked them to pay attention to the norms contained in the document «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societas Verbi Divini*». The document which had been approved by the Holy See was expected to foster better co-operation between an Apostolic Vicar and a Regional in the missionary context.<sup>41</sup>

There were also some special counsels from Wilhelm Gier that are interesting to note. First, he stated that the leading personalities would be saved from narrow-mindedness through the vastness of their Catholic heart and through their caring love. They should always look at the whole picture and would be more and more inclined to benevolent generosity and collaboration than to petty criticisms which led to evil consequences.<sup>42</sup>

Secondly, according to him, the controversial cases that had occurred, were seen to be scandal. In the secular world of the time and in the Church various kinds of friction could hardly be avoided in the early days when different bodies interacted. The same thing was experienced in other SVD missions too, while the understanding and the relationship between the regional and the ecclesiastical superior evolved. In the first few years it was difficult but, later on the friction disappeared. With experience and in time, the two Offices clarified their rights and obligations, and so their work was carried out peacefully and in a friendly cooperation.<sup>43</sup>

Fr. Wilhelm Gier judged that the conflicts that had been experienced had in fact acted like an apprenticeship. The experiences though sad, contributed to a better future. With a newly appointed regional, he foresaw that the problem would be resolved, and the situation would improve. Regarding the use of the Dutch language, which was questioned among the missionaries, he saw that this problem was only temporary. The time would come when no more German Fathers would come to the Indies. Therefore, this language issue would also no longer cause any problems since the vocations of the Dutch Home Province would supply mission personnel in the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>44</sup>

Another suggestion which he proposed was to build a Regional residence separated from the Apostolic Vicar's residence. This desire had actually been around for a long time since Prefect Petrus Noyen planned to build his residence

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 27.9.1925, f. 2; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 26.9.1925, f. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 26.9.1925, ff. 3-4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 26.9.1925, f. 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 26.9.1925, f. 3; Gier to Verstraelen, Steyl, s.l., 12.11.1924, f. 3.

in Ndona in 1914. At that time Superior General Nicolaus Blum asked about the residence of a Regional who would become the local superior for the SVDs. Of course, what was in Blum's mind at that time was a separation between the superior of the Society and the ecclesiastical superior. This was later recalled by Fr. Johannes Bodems in 1922 when delivering news of the appointment of Fr. Bernhard Glanemann as a Regional. He clearly stated that it was not good if there were two superiors living in the same house. So, when Glanemann planned to build another residence in Ende, this was welcomed by Father Superior General Wilhelm Gier. The construction of houses in Ende was originally planned as a residence for Brothers and for the procurator who would handle the craft school. This house was eventually inaugurated on 4 November 1928 and was canonically erected as a Religious House by the Sacred Congregation for the Religious on 14 January 1932. In a later development, the house became the residence of the local superiors of the Society who in the early stages were called the Regional, then later again, Provincial.<sup>45</sup>

## 2. Milestones in the SVD Mission Work in the Lesser Sundas in the Period of 1922-1942

### 2.1. The Founding of a Minor Seminary

#### 2.1.1. At the very Beginning

In the March 1921 edition of «Nuntius», the official organ of the SVD, Fr. Johann Weig, SVD who headed the Missionary Commission for the Fifth SVD General Chapter, reported on the education of indigenous people as secular priests in our mission areas. It was stated in the report that in China it was still difficult to begin the formation of secular priests from indigenous people, while in other mission areas such as Japan and Togo it had already begun. Japan had begun with a minor seminary, while Togo already had sent a candidate to study at Propaganda Fide's school in Rome. It was also hoped that from the Philippines and Lesser Sundas there could be a better development in the future in this matter.<sup>46</sup>

Probably after reading the news in «Nuntius», in October 1921, Fr. Franz de Lange wrote to Superior General Wilhelm Gier. He said that there were around 12-15 very good students from the *normaalschool* in Ndona who

<sup>45</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 28.7.1914, f. 2 (156); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Bodems to Glanemann, Steyl, 27.5.1922, f. 2 (1505); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Bodems, Ende, 6.2.1924, f. 2; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Glanemann, Steyl, 17.9.1924, ff. 1-2; Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 14.11.1928, f. 1 (1528); AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, La Puma to Gier, Roma, 14.1.1932, f. 1 (1620).

<sup>46</sup> *Das Verhältnis unserer Patres und der einheimischen Weltklerus*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 63 (1921), 417-418.

had expressed their desire to become priests. Since then, these students who were preparing to become teachers, had begun to take Latin lessons for one hour every day. According to him, if these students continued to show seriousness with their intentions, then they would be separated from other children. With the term «separated» of course Franz de Lange had the idea of developing a formation like in a seminary. This could be assumed from his statement that the minor seminary in Muntilan, Java, which was the only minor seminary in the Dutch East Indies at that time, was very expensive to run. On the other hand, he did not dare to suggest sending his candidates to the Netherlands for their further formation. According to him, they should first be guided for a few years locally to see their sincerity. He finally suggested that the matter should be discussed in more in detail during the upcoming visitation of Wilhelm Gier, which was planned to take place in the coming months.<sup>47</sup>

In early 1922, there were already plans to start a minor seminary on 1 January 1923. According to Fr. Franz de Lange, they were only waiting for the final word from the Apostolic Prefect at that time. This plan was hindered however by the death of Prefect Petrus Noyen. To get a replacement, would likely be a long process. The Apostolic Vicar Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen finally arrived in Ende in May 1923.<sup>48</sup>

From Glanemann's letter to Carl Friedrich, 17 July 1924, it can be seen that the idea of beginning the formation of local indigenous priests was indeed discussed in a meeting with Superior General Wilhelm Gier during his visit to the Dutch East Indies in 1922. Important matters discussed during the joint meeting at that time came to be known as the Ndona Mission Conference held from 20-26 March 1922.<sup>49</sup>

But their conversation led to a different decision which was to start a catechetical school as a basis for starting a seminary in the future. The main reason given at that time was that from the beginning until then there were no competent catechists. The fact that the number of Catholics was increasing, the presence of competent catechists was needed. Indeed, many participants of the conference thought that a special school for the

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<sup>47</sup> AG-SVD, 806: 1919-1926, F. de Lange to Gier, Ndona, 6.10.1921, f. 1; J. BOUMA, *De Congregatie van Het Goddelijk Woord in de Missie der Kleine Soenda-Eilanden*, 203-204.

<sup>48</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, F. de Lange to Bodems, Ndona, 22.2.1922, ff. 1-2 (1498-1499).

<sup>49</sup> There was no special record about this mission conference. The contents of their conversation were known from the correspondence of the missionaries and other sources. Important themes discussed at that time were pastoral methods, carpentry schools and catechetical schools. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Friedrich, Ndona, 19.7.1924, f. 3.

formation of catechists was the more urgent need to be realized. They were of the opinion that the catechetical school would be the preliminary stage for the establishment a seminary in the future. However, not everyone agreed with this opinion. The Vicar Apostolic did not even think of a catechetical school, despite the missionaries' many pleas even after the conference. He seemed preferred to start immediately with a seminary rather than a catechetical school.<sup>50</sup>

In the years 1924-1925 there were two meetings of the Bishops of the Dutch East Indies. In some of the sessions, they discussed the education of the indigenous in a seminary and it was explicitly stated that there was a need for a minor seminary to be built in the Lesser Sunda Islands. This would be in addition to the two small seminaries that already existed in central Java at that time (Muntilan in 1913 and Jogjakarta in 1925). The intention was to accommodate candidates from throughout the Dutch East Indies. The discussions arguably gave enough impetus to Bishop Verstraelen to start a minor seminary in his vicariate.<sup>51</sup>

### 2.1.2. The Beginning of the Minor Seminary

Plans to start with a seminary had been discussed for a long time. Why was it only opened in 1926? At that time there was not a single secondary school in all of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Education that was completed until that time only reached the elementary school level. Up to this point, there were no staff trained to teach in a secondary school. A minor seminary was a school that was at the level of a secondary school. Seminary could not be started sooner because there was no appropriate personnel for the assignment. When Fr. Franz Cornelissen arrived in Flores November 1925, he was assigned to start the seminary, since he possessed the required diploma. In early November 1925, Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen «officially» assigned Fr. Franz Cornelissen as the director of the seminary and pastor of the Sikka parish in an oral conversation. Sikka, with a Catholic

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Friedrich to Glanemann, Roma, 11.12.1923, f. 1; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Friedrich, Ndona, 19.7.1924, ff. 1-3.

<sup>51</sup> The first meeting of the Bishops throughout the Dutch East Indies was held on 15-16 May 1924 and the second meeting on 1-8 September 1925 at the Jakarta Cathedral rectory. The point of their discussion about seminary was that it was determined that the two minor seminaries on Java be merged into one seminary and located in Jogjakarta. The second decision was that the length of education in a minor seminary would last for 6 years. Regarding further education in a Major Seminary was left to the superiors of the congregation where the candidates joined. The assembly also considered the possibility of starting a high school seminary for diocesan priest candidates in Jogjakarta. Cf. P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Setengah Abad Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia (MAWI)* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: Half a Century Indonesian Bishops's Supreme Council (MAWI)], vol. 3b, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1435, 1441-1442.

population of around 2,000, for Flores was not yet suitable for a permanent pastor because of the shortage of priests that was common everywhere. For this reason, Father Cornelissen was given a double assignment. His main concern however would continue to be the first director of the minor seminary in the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>52</sup>

There were quite a lot of comments when people first heard about the seminary. Some doubted that «black people» could become priests<sup>53</sup>. Nevertheless, this seminary finally began on 2 February 1926. The foundation was officially celebrated by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen, SVD with a festive Mass at Sikka which involved all the people there, both at Mass and at celebrations before and after the Mass. It was a liturgical feast day with many as well as some SVD missionaries in attendance.<sup>54</sup> The bishop even used the occasion to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to them. Special attention was also directed to the 5 seminarians (2 from Ndona would arrive later)<sup>55</sup>. The news that native people would be educated to be priests like Europeans was indeed a big news. This had never happened before; this was an event that was unimaginable for most people at that time.<sup>56</sup>

Twenty years after this seminary was founded, Fr. Franz Cornelissen, the founder and its first rector, recalled this important event with an article in the magazine «The Christian Family». He wrote thus,

The rectory served as the first seminary; it was a humble beginning. Four rooms, two facing the mountains and two facing the sea, with a modest dining room between them. The whole building was surrounded by a large balcony, the north and south sides of which were used for classes. [...] Our

<sup>52</sup> F. CORNELISSEN, *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, in: «The Christian Family» 44 (1949), 348; Id., *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali* [50 Years of Priest Education in Flores, Timor and Bali], Ende, Percetakan Offset Arnoldus, 1978, 11-12; K. STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia. A Documented History 1903-1942*, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) Press, 2007, 132.

<sup>53</sup> F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 18-20; Id., *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, 348; *10 Jaar Sint Petrus Liefdeverwerk op Flores*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 61/5 (1936), 88.

<sup>54</sup> The SVD priests present were Fr. Flint, Fr. Koning, Fr. Meijer and Fr. Stenzel. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Tagebuch: Chronik der Region 1 Januar 1924-31 Mai 1932*, typescript, 59 pp (1-59), Ende, 10.10.1968, 18.

<sup>55</sup> The seminarians that were present at the celebration were Alexander Corrua (Manadonese) and Marcellinus Seran from Timor, Johannes Marinjas from Larantuka, Nicolaus Meak and Lukas Lusi from Maumere. Markus Wasa and Markus Ndori from Lio arrived later. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, S.V.D. Vergissmeinnicht, September 1926; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 16.

<sup>56</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Weldoeners Ndona, 15.8.1926, f. 1 (433); Gier to Verstraelen, St. Wendel, 26.5.1926, f. 1; F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 52/9 (1927), 130, 132; Id., *12 ½ Jaar Seminarie-Geschiedenis*, in: «Pastoralia» 4 (1939), 31.

seminary wasn't exactly like seminaries in modern countries. It lay in the middle of the village without any fence around it, so that the pigs could wander in and out during the entire day to disturb us in their never-ending quest for food. Barking dogs raced about the classrooms as children of all sizes and shapes peeked through the shutters, curious to hear the sound of Latin declensions and conjugations and also to marvel at the diligence of the scholars. Such was the humble beginning of our seminary.<sup>57</sup>

Even though the seminary was started with such simplicity, Fr. Cornelissen was very optimistic from the beginning. His optimism was encouraged even more by Pope Pius XI's encyclical «*Rerum Ecclesiae*» which was issued in that same year when the minor seminary was founded. After a year of handling the seminary, he wrote, «By the way, recently His Holiness the Pope has stated in his encyclical the necessity of the forming a native clergy. And if the Pope orders it, then it should be possible».<sup>58</sup> Above all, he also began the seminary with a great faith in God. He believed that the gift and grace of the priesthood did not belong exclusively to certain races but belonged to all who heard the voice of His call and responded to it.<sup>59</sup>

Thus, the acceptance of the first batch of seminary students began. Those who were accepted were the best children who having passed various selections through *standaardscholen* during a school period of around 6-7 years. The criterion was that they should have a sufficient understanding of the Dutch language. Even though most of them were moderate in Dutch, Fr. Franz Cornelissen had a positive view that in previous education their reasoning power was sufficiently developed so as to be able to proceed to a Gymnasium like Dutch children in general.<sup>60</sup>

It is interesting that, at the outset, Fr. Cornelissen was given two papers to read. As the new seminary headmaster, he read the two articles with great

<sup>57</sup> Id., *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, 348.

<sup>58</sup> «Trouwens Z.H. de Paus heeft nog niet zo lang geleden in zijn encycliek op de noodzakelijkheid van de vorming van een inlandse clerus gewezen. En als de paus het beveelt, moet het toch mogelijk zijn». The encyclical «*Rerum Ecclesiae*» of Pius XI was issued on 26 February 1926. Cf. F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, 133.

<sup>59</sup> *0 Jaar Sint Petrus Liefdewerk op Flores*, 88.

<sup>60</sup> In the *standaardsschool*, the subjects taught were Religious Education, Reading, Arithmetic, Writing and Malay, Geography, Botany, Zoology and Drawing, only History and Physics were missing, and geography was limited only to the Dutch East Indies. It was almost the same things that were taught to the higher classes of the lower school in Holland. Cf. AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Franz Cornelissen, *Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika*, typescript, 20 pp, s.l., s.d., 7 (1599); AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, ff. 14-16 (558-560). Other matters concerning the seminary were regulated in vicariate statutes no. 140-152.

interest. His preferred paper was that concerning the formation of priests in China. From this paper he got ideas on how to run the minor seminary, including in planning subjects to be given at the seminary. Of course, he made one or two adaptations that needed to suit local conditions for the benefit of seminarians from Flores and Timor. Cornelissen claimed that the article was full of bright ideas to bring forward the minor seminary in Sikka.<sup>61</sup>

In the new seminary the study of Dutch, Religion and Latin were emphasized. Dutch was 9 hours per week, Religion and Latin were 6 hours per week. These were the main subjects. They were done with the intention of helping the seminarians to study well in higher education. In addition, it was also hoped that after being ordained priests, they would be able to speak Dutch fluently. Even so, Fr. Franz Cornelissen believed that a good education did not have to abandon one's mother tongue or the local language at all. Therefore, as the language of instruction in the seminary, he chose Malay, which was the main language of the people, with Dutch as a second language. Regarding Latin, he emphasized understanding ability rather than speaking ability. He saw no use in learning to speak Latin. Greek was not studied at all. According to Cornelissen, it was better for the seminarians to learn Latin very well without Greek than to learn neither of them. Regarding modern European languages, he recommended learning German and English. Of these two languages, he was more inclined to German on the grounds that many theology books were written in German also because the private library of the SVD priests was more in this language. He saw English as an important language but valid more for commerce. Nevertheless, he was still open to accepting other inputs in the future.<sup>62</sup>

After several months of observing the development of language studies of the first 7 students, Fr. Cornelissen said that he was quite satisfied with the results achieved, in fact, they were considered to be developing quicker than expected. After one year, he even dared to say that the progress of the Latin studies of the seminarians in Sikka was the same as those in the Netherlands. He was not baseless in praising them. According to him, the seminarians were not small children whose brainpower had not been honed. In terms of age, they were more mature than ordinary minor seminary students in the Netherlands. There were some of them who had already completed their education to

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<sup>61</sup> The paper, «*La formation du clergé Chinois*», was compiled by the Superior General of the Fathers from Scheut, Reverend Fr. Rutten. This paper was presented at a symposium on missions in Leuven, Belgium. Cf. AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Franz Cornelissen, *Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika*, 7, 9-10 (1599, 1601-1602).

<sup>62</sup> AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Franz Cornelissen, *Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika*, 11-16 (1603-1608); F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, 132.

become teachers and some had even become teachers before returning to studies again. From their teacher training studies, they had already brought a lot of prior knowledge. All these processes were certain to have matured their reasoning abilities. He was confident that they offered great promise for the future.<sup>63</sup>

Before long, it became evident that Florenese and Timorese students were capable and suitable for the indigenous priesthood formation and so the pessimists were proven to be wrong. In the first year, he began with 7 seminarians, then in the second year, there were 10 new students at Sikka. During the third year, the space in the seminary was already too small to accommodate the number of seminarians that had now reached 30 students. But to expand in Sikka was not possible because the area was so narrow.<sup>64</sup>

Fortunately, since 1926 Msgr. Verstraelen had already begun discussions about obtaining funds for the construction of a seminary with the «*Sint Petrus Liefdewerk*» [= *Opus Sancti Petri*] in the Netherlands. These discussions proved fruitful. With their help, the construction of a new and purpose-built minor seminary could begin. After much consultation, Todabelu in the Ngada area was chosen. The main reasons for this choice were the healthy location on an altitude of about 1000 M above sea level and the favorable and well-priced supply of food, as the farm of the mission cultivated the necessary land on the fertile soil. The choice of Todabelu was decided at the Ndona Conference which took place from 19 to 21 July 1927. At the conference the first thing discussed was the development of the minor seminary after 1 ½ years. During the discussions, the conference participants emphasized that the seminarians were accepted from those who successfully completed the *standaardsschool* and that their Latin and Dutch studies were highly commendable. Regarding Greek, participants supported Fr. Cornelissen's policy. On that occasion Msgr. Verstraelen also informed the conference about the receipt of funding assistance from *Sint Petrus Liefdewerk* for the construction of a new seminary complex in Todabelu. On 15 July 1928 Msgr. Verstraelen held the groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of the minor seminary in Todabelu. During the summer vacation of 1929, the whole seminary in Sikka was able to move to a new, wider location, even though the construction work was still in

<sup>63</sup> Among the first seven seminarians two were from Timor, two from Ende, two from Maumere and one from Larantuka. It is worth noting that six out of the seven had non-Catholic parents, five pagan, and one Protestant. Their ages ranged between 17 years for the youngest and 23 for the oldest. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Weldoeners Ndona, 15.8.1926, f. 1 (433); F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, 133; ID., *Het Seminarie van Sika: Bij het Begin van het Tweede Jaar*, 3.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 4; ID., *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, 348; ID., *12 ½ Jaar Seminarie-Geschiedenis*, 31; ID., *Die Entwicklung unserer Priesterschule in Flores*, in: «Steyler Missionsbote» (1932/1933), 259-260.

the process of being completed. Of course, with the help of a better seminary building, more and more students could be accepted. On 15 September 1929, the Minor Seminary of Todabelu was officially inaugurated by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen.<sup>65</sup>

In the Synod of Ndona which was held from 16-22 August 1935, the participants recognized that it was the responsibility of the mission to offer as many opportunities as possible to the indigenous people who wanted to become priests. In addition, the Synod also expected that formations in seminary had to be moderate in the sense that they were not too liberal but also not too rigid while maintaining a good formation quality. The Synod also urged all parties to strive for the growth of vocations from their respective regions, while being grateful for the progress that had already been achieved up to that year.<sup>66</sup>

In 1936, besides educating the sons of the Lesser Sundas, the seminary in Todabelu also educated candidates who came from other regions in the Dutch East Indies such as from Kei Islands, Celebes, Borneo and Sumatra. Thus, this seminary became the second minor seminary in the country, following that of Central Java, which was founded in 1913.<sup>67</sup>

The following chart displays data on the development in the number of seminarians from the beginning until 1941 and the result of the formation:<sup>68</sup>

Year	Entry	Ordained	%
1926	7	1	15.7
1927	10	2	20
1928	9	2	22
1929	12	1	8.3
1930	11	0	0

<sup>65</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Weldoeners Ndona, 15.8.1926, f. 1 (433); AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Franz Cornelissen, *Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika*, 1 (1593); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 10.6.1928, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Verslag van de Conferentie te Ndona, 19-21.7.1927, ff. 1-4 (461-454); AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Opening Plechtigheid van het Klein Seminarie te Toda Beloe Flores, Todabelu, 15.9.1929, f. 1 (534); F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, 133; *10 Jaar Sint Petrus Liefdewerk op Flores*, 88; H. LEVEN, *Plechtige opening van het nieuwe Seminarie der Floresmissie te Toda Beloe*, in: «De Katholieke Missien» 55/4 (1930), 67; *Seminarie Ketjil di Todabeloe*, in: «Bintang Timoer» 5/5 (1929), 74-75.

<sup>66</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, f. 13.

<sup>67</sup> F. CORNELISSEN, *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, 356; H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* [‘Indonesianization’: From the Catholic Church in Indonesia to the Indonesian Catholic Church], Jogjakarta, Kanisius, 2005, 113.

<sup>68</sup> A. VAN DEN ENDE, *De Verhouding Tusschen de Priesternood en de Seminarie-bevolking op Flores*, in: «Pastoralia» 3/1-2 (1958), 4; F. CORNELISSEN, *Die Entwicklung unserer Priesterschule in Flores*, 261-262.

1931	20	3	15
1932	25	2	8
1933	16	2	12
1934	19	3	15.7
1935	22	7	31.8
1936	25	6	24
1937	20	2	10
1938	31	8	25.8
1939	23	0	0
1940	30	4	13.3
1941	33	3	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>14.7</b>

## 2.2. St. Josef Craft School and Arnoldus Printing Press

### 2.2.1. Fr. Petrus Noyen Becomes the Precursor of the Craft School

While he was still in Uden, before leaving for the Dutch East Indies, Fr. Petrus Noyen had been thinking about a craft school for Timor. For this purpose, he had also planned for the needed Brother personnel. Apparently, he had learned that the carpentry workshop in Larantuka had helped in the construction of several buildings. He knew that such a school would be considered desirable by the Dutch East Indies government. The difficulty of getting good construction workers was a well-known complaint in the Timor region at that time. When he arrived in Lahurus, he saw a spring that flowed abundantly into the village. There, his initial idea about carpentry schools reappeared, but this time he linked the spring with the possibility of establishing an agricultural project which would provide a vegetable garden to meet the need of the mission.<sup>69</sup>

When Prefect Petrus Noyen moved to Ndona in 1915, his focus of attention shifted to Flores, and with it his interest in the craft school. He asked the SVD Generalate to provide Brothers who would be able to handle the carpentry workshops left by the Jesuits in Larantuka and Maumere. After some time in Flores, he wanted to open his own craft school as soon as World War I was over. He also saw the need for a printing press to print prayer books and church hymnbooks. Regarding the craft school in Timor, he mentioned it again in a letter to Fr. Nicolaus Blum in 1917. Fr. Petrus Noyen's plan to establish a craft school was also discussed with key government officials to get subsidies. In 1919 he presented his plan to Governor General van Limburg Stirum, Director of *Handel en Nijverheid*, Resident Spaan, and Assistant Resident at

<sup>69</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to the General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912, f. 5 (75); Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913, f. 3 (103).

Ende. This plan had not progressed too much when he had to leave for the Netherlands in 1920 and where he died one year later in Steyl. It was to be his successors who would then realized all his plans.<sup>70</sup>

### 2.2.2. Why was It Needed

According to Fr. Bernhard Glanemann, up until 1922, it could not yet be said that there was a craft school in Flores. There were only training places for those who wanted to know more about carpentry. Usually the trainees were treated more as employees than as students. Their learning period ranged from one to two years and there was no apprenticeship at all. The results were also not very encouraging. In order to improve the output of their planned school, he suggested that those who would be accepted into the school were those who were committed for 3 full years of apprenticeship. According to the circumstances at that time, there was an obvious need for a craft school. Various craftsmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and shoemakers were absolutely necessary for the progress of the mission work. The establishment of a craft school was seen as a very important endeavour to support the development of mission work in the Lesser Sundas.<sup>71</sup>

Many parties in the Lesser Sunda Islands, both from the government and the missionaries, were very supportive of the plan to establish this type of school. It was considered very important to train Timorese and Florenese youth in the field of carpentry. Besides, the mission and the government itself urgently needed skilled personnel in the carpentry field to expedite the plans for the construction of many Church and government buildings in the Lesser Sundas. The Brothers who had been dealing with construction matters really hoped that the training centre would be established soon.<sup>72</sup>

In the beginning, the discussion about a craft school and printing press seemed to be put together as if the printing press became an important part of the craft school. In later time, the printing press developed into one institution with its own administration and management. So, there were two important things that were requested by Fr. Glanemann at that time, namely opening a craft school and a printing press. These two requests were approved by the

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.3.1914, f. 5; AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.7.1914, ff. 2-3; Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.2.1915, f. 4; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 9.7.1915, ff. 1-2; Noyen to Blum, Ende, 22.1.1917, f. 2; Noyen to Blum, Ndona, 16.8.1917, f. 2; A. BEDING (ed.), *Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus* [Book of Memories: 50 Years of Carpentry of Saint Joseph and Arnoldus Printing Press], s.l., s.d., 8.

<sup>71</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Gier: Memorandum betreffend die Errichtung einer Handwerkerschule auf Flores, Ndona, 18.7.1922, ff. 1-3 (1510-1512).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 28.5.1927, ff. 5, 12; AP-SVD Ende, De S.V.D. Sup. Generaal Correspondentie van en met 1914-1930, Handwerkerschule, f. 3.

Generalate on 29 March 1924 after being preceded by the approval of the Regional Council of the SVD Region of the Lesser Sundas.<sup>73</sup>

### 2.2.3. Prior Discussions Regarding the Craft School

#### a) Ende as the suitable place for the craft school

According to the original plans, the craft school would consist of 8 subject areas namely: blacksmithing, joinery, shoemaking workshop, sewing workshop, paint workshop, dental polyclinic and a small printing press. Regarding the most appropriate place for the craft school, there were various suggestions. There were those who wanted it to be placed in Larantuka others suggested Maumere. There were also those who recommended that not all the workshops should be centred in one place. For example, they were suggesting that joinery should be built in Larantuka, blacksmithing in Maumere, while the sewing workshop and shoemaking workshop could be built in Ndona. There was also the opinion that every Brother should open his own workshop at each mission station where he could work to serve the needs of the local community.<sup>74</sup>

How to unite all these different opinions? In discussions on this important matter, carpentry in Lome and Yenchowfu run by the SVDs served as models for Ende's craft school. Fr. Glanemann recommended that it would be good if the various departments could be united in one place as a craft school, similar to what happened in Togo. Regarding the place, Fr. Glanemann again reminded his confreres about their agreement at a conference with Fr. Superior General Wilhelm Gier in 1922. At that time, Ende was chosen as the place for this planned school. Of course, Ende was chosen not without considerations. There were supporting factors that can only be found in Ende such as the mission had «nothing» in Ende up to that time. Therefore, Glanemann thought that the SVD should have to gain a firm foothold there, to fend off Muslim satirists who said that the Fathers were just hiding in the mountains and enjoying life there and doing nothing for the local people. Another reason was that Ende was the capital of the island of Flores and located right in the centre of the islands of the Lesser Sundas, and as such enjoyed the best connections with Java and the other islands as well.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Bodems, Ende, 6.2.1924, ff. 1-3; Glanemann to Bodems, Ndona, 31.5.1924, f. 1; Gier to Glanemann, Steyl, 29.3.1924, f. 1.

<sup>74</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Memorandum betreffend die Errichtung einer Handwerkerschule auf Flores, Ndona, 18.7.1922, f. 2 (1511); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Br. Clementinus to Gier, Maumere, 25.12.1925, ff. 3-4; Br. Florentinus to Gier, Maumere, 2.1.1926, f. 4; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 24.1.1926, f. 2 (415).

<sup>75</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Fisher: Erklärungen zu dem Briefe des ehrw. Br. Clementinus, vom 25 Dec. 1925; betreffend die Errichtung einer Handwerkerschule in Maumere, Steyl, 12.3.1926, ff. 1-3; Bodems-Fischer to Stenzel, Steyl, 18.3.1926, ff. 1-6; F. BORNEMANN, *P. Wilhelm Gier 1867-1951. Dritter Generalsuperior SVD 1920-1932*, Roma, Apud Collegium Verbi Divini, 1980 (Analecta SVD, 50), 243.

All of these discussions eventually led to the decision that all departments of the craft school would be centred in Ende. This was also agreed to by the Generalate. Just as what had happened in Lome and Yenchowfu, it was finally decided that a special building would be needed to house the Brothers who would work in the craft school. They formed a community of works under the guidance of a priest as a spiritual Father. On 26 June 1924, Fr. Glanemann already had a complete plot of land as well as the building plans to go with it. However, the construction was delayed until the funds arrived and until the negotiation process concerning the land were completed. The agreement concerning the location for the craft school was finally submitted to the Generalate on 30 May 1926 by Fr. Carl Stenzel with the information that Ende had been approved locally as the most suitable place for the school. The Superior General Fr. Wilhelm Gier gladly received this news while hoping that with the help of the new Pro-vicar, Fr. Henricus Leven, Msgr. Verstraelen would increasingly understand that this decision was the best for all.<sup>76</sup>

#### b) Regarding the ownership

When the discussions about carpentry schools began, there was an important question raised at the time: who would be the owner of the school, the vicar apostolic or the regional? This issue was raised because Msgr. Verstraelen and Pro-vicar Fr. J. van Cleef wanted the mission to be the owner of the school. Meanwhile, the regional Fr. B. Glanemann himself desperately wanted the school to belong to the region. Perhaps they were both thinking of the economic benefits that would flow from the school.<sup>77</sup>

Up to that point, it was almost certain that the owner of the craft school would be the Region and not the mission. Besides, it would also be impossible to share ownership rights. In other words, there could only be one single owner. Before the final decision regarding ownership was made, Msgr. Verstraelen had already purchased several planing machines. In February 1926, it was said that Msgr. Verstraelen ordered planing machines for Larantuka without the knowledge of Fr. J. van Cleef. Meanwhile, several other machines were ordered by the Regional for the intended craft school in Ende. Fr. Stenzel believed that this would hamper the development of the craft school in question. It was not good if there were other machines in other places and also there was no benefit in building two carpentry

<sup>76</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 24.1.1926, ff. 2-3; Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 26.6.1924, ff. 1-2; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 30.5.1926, f. 1; Gier to Stenzel, Steyl, 23.8.1927, f. 2.

<sup>77</sup> In a conference that took place in Ndona on 21 July 1926, Msgr. Verstraelen said that he wanted the craft school to be under the ownership of the mission. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Tagebuch: Chronik der Ambachtsschool St. Josef 1 Januar 1926-31 Mai 1932, typescript, 31 pp (60-91), Ende, 11.11.1968, 62; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Stenzel to Gier, Maumere, 29.11.1925, f. 2; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 28.5.1927, f. 12.

schools at once. There was an impression that the Bishop wanted to set up his own carpentry school. It seemed that Monsignor saw the SVD Region as a business competitor that was working against his interests.<sup>78</sup>

The Generalate finally had to intervene in order to solve the question. The issue was clarified by referring back to «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societas Verbi Divini*» and the contract signed jointly between the Lesser Sundas mission and the SVD on 18 October 1922 which in essence allowed the SVD to possess assets purchased with money provided by the Society. In one part of the contract it explicitly stated that Msgr. Verstraelen would provide land for the SVD to build buildings which were deemed useful for mission work. It was stated also that the authority of ownership of an apostolic vicar over mission properties does not preclude the Society of the Divine Word from being able to acquire necessary property for the Society. The Superior General W. Gier suggested that a contract regarding financial matters needed to be drawn up which would then be legally binding and carefully respected by both sides.<sup>79</sup>

In any case, the Generalate remained of the view that craft schools had to be owned by the Region. The reason raised was that the spiritual and physical well-being of the Brothers working there would be best be looked after. It was argued that the region had to take care of the spiritual life and regular discipline of the Brothers in a special way; but that would happen all the more freely and better if the regional also had the full rights of a superior in the workshops and residence where the Brothers were. It was also argued that if the regional did not have an authoritative influence over them, then he would lack courage to take action and the good spirit would suffer. In his letter to Msgr. Verstraelen, Fr. Wilhelm Gier tried to convince him that the craft school in Lome had worked extremely well, both in terms of the good spirit of the Brothers, as well as in terms of craftsmanship and apprenticeship training.<sup>80</sup>

The issue of ownership was then no longer reported through correspondence to the Generalate. On 7 March 1926, Fr. Regional Stenzel wrote that the Society was responsible for the spiritual and physical welfare of the Brothers. He also delivered the happy news that Msgr. Verstraelen was willing to give

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 3.12.1926, f. 1; Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 23.8.1926, ff. 1-2; Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 12.12.1926, f. 1; Hellinge to Gier, Todabelu, 15.1.1927, f. 2; AP-SVD Ende, De S.V.D. Sup. Generaal Correspondentie van en met 1914-1930, Handwerkerschule, f. 14.

<sup>79</sup> See the *Statutum pro Missionibus Societas Verbi Divini* number 49, § 5, number 57 and number 74a. Cf. AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, *Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini*, Steyl, 25.7.1922, ff. 12, 14; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Contract Flores Mission und S.V.D., Steyl, 18.10.1922, f. 1; Stenzel to Gier, Maumere, 29.11.1925, f. 1; Bodems-Fischer to Stenzel, Steyl, 18.3.1926, ff. 1-6; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier-Stenzel, s.l., 10.3.1927, ff. 1 (1').

<sup>80</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 24.1.1926, f. 2; AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 24.1.1926, f. 2 (415).

the Region a loan of 10,000 guilders without interest. Finally, on 30 May 1926, Fr. Carl Stenzel passed on information that the Bishop had acknowledged that the craft school belonged to the Region. This information was warmly welcomed by Superior General Fr. Wilhelm Gier.<sup>81</sup>

c) Regarding the leasing of land and buildings

After receiving the letter of Fr. Glanemann dated 11 November 1924, which explained in sufficient detail how to find funds to build a craft school, Fr. Theodor Kost on behalf of Father Superior General gave only one brief response. He asked about the status of the land where the craft school would be built. He also asked about getting the land from Msgr. Verstraelen and about the necessity of having a clear separation between the territory of the regional and the land of the mission within the given complex. He also reminded them that in Lome, Togo, the craft school with land and all buildings was owned by the SVD.<sup>82</sup>

In his reply, Fr. Glanemann explained that in the Dutch East Indies they did not recognize land ownership rights. People who need land had to ask for it from the government and then they could rent it for 75 years. In the meantime, Msgr. Verstraelen was negotiating with the local government in order to get the land needed for mission and the region. According to that plan, there would be a school, a church, a rectory, a craft school and a Brother's house. The plan also envisioned the separation of Brothers' house from the Priest's house like it was in Togo, but at the same time, everything would be relatively close together. Msgr. Verstraelen would then transfer the part of the property that would be needed for the craft school and the Brothers' house to the region.<sup>83</sup>

Clarity regarding the land tenure was finally settled by the issuance of a letter from the government land surveyor in Kupang dated 12 June 1924. The letter stated among other things that the land would be used by the Catholic mission for 75 years. Then, the local government also issued its approval on 30 November 1925 after obtaining approval from Resident G. Schultz in Kupang on 18 December of the same year. These letters were received at Ende on 11 January 1926.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.3.1926, f. 1; AG-SVD, 805: 1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 30.5.1926, f. 1; Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 17.8.1926, f. 1 (1<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>82</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 11.11.1924, ff. 1-4; Kost to Glanemann, Steyl, 24.10.1924, f. 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, Glanemann to Kost, Ndona, 8.1.1925, ff. 1-2.

<sup>84</sup> It was not easy to get the land in Ende. The Protestants also wanted this land. A government official, A.R. Tellings, said that the Catholic mission asked first for it, so they got it. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Besluiten van de f.d. Gouvernements Landmeter, Kupang, 12.6.1924, ff. 1-3 (417-419); Besluiten van het Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur te Ende, Ende, 30.11.1925, ff. 1-5 (420-424); AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Tagebuch: Chronik der Ambachtsschool, 60; A. BEDING (ed.), *Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus*, 10.

In the beginning, there was a slight dispute between Msgr. Verstraelen and Father Regional B. Glanemann concerning the land and the buildings. When the Regional was planning to build a craft school with its attached workshops and offices, Monsignor also planned to build a school, a dormitory, a church and a priest's residence in the same place, even though the location was not extensive enough to accommodate all the buildings needed. Meanwhile, Father Regional was not willing to build anywhere else. He only wanted to build in the existing location. After going through a negotiation facilitated by Fr. Stenzel and Fr. Hundler, Monsignor finally relented. They advocated the separation of church buildings and mission buildings. Monsignor finally bought a piece of land in the nearby place called Ndao. In that place there was built a school and a boarding school which, it seems, was later turned into a *schackelschool* by Fr. Gerhard van Velzen.<sup>85</sup>

The church referred to by Msgr. Verstraelen was a cathedral church. On 14 January 1930, Msgr. Verstraelen together with some SVDs determined the place for the cathedral. On 18 May 1930, the foundation stone of the cathedral was blessed and laid by the bishop.<sup>86</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Starting with the Buildings and the Inauguration Day

The matter of funding to start craft schools no longer depended upon government subsidies as it was managed by the SVD Regional himself. This had been discussed by Fr. B. Glanemann<sup>87</sup> and his council members as well as by the SVD Generalate from the start. After several discussions had passed, the way to get funds was opened wide with the approval of Msgr. Verstraelen to provide a loan of 10,000 guilders. This was a strong signal that the Mission would support the SVD in the management of the craft school.<sup>88</sup>

On 7 March 1926, Fr. Carl Stenzel proposed a plan to the SVD Generalate in order to start with the construction of the craft school. He even clearly

<sup>85</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 8.8.1924, ff. 1-3; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 18.4.1925, f. 1.

<sup>86</sup> They were Fr. Johannes Bouma, Br. Lambertus Br. Willibrordus and Fr. Carl Stenzel. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Tagebuch: Chronik der Ambachtsschool, 70, 72; *De eerste Steenlegging van de Kathedrale Kerk te Ende*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 55/11 (1930), 206-207.

<sup>87</sup> After Fr. Bernhard Glanemann completed his mandate as a Regional, the affairs of the craft school were continued by his successor Fr. Carl Stenzel who was appointed by the Generalate as the new Regional of the Lesser Sundas region on 28 July 1925 with Fr. Hermann Helling as his assistant and Fr. G. Schoorlemmer as the admonitor. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.8.1925, f. 1; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 73 (1925), 495.

<sup>88</sup> The loan was given without interest with a payback period of 8 years. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 11.11.1924, ff. 1-4; Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 18.4.1925, f. 1; The Agreement of Msgr. Verstraelen regarding Fund Borrowing from the Mission, Ndona, 4.3.1926, f. 1.

stated that they would start building the printing press and the carpentry shop in two months' time. The answer from the Generalate arrived faster than expected. On May 4 of that year, Fr. Hermann Fischer responded to the letter by expressing support for Fr. Stenzel's plan, after learning that funds already existed, to begin the work. Four months later, the Generalate itself agreed to provide any loans needed to realize the entire plan for the craft school and the printing press.<sup>89</sup>

Since February 1926, Fr. Carl Stenzel had been writing to the Generalate about beginning the building of the craft school. He planned to start first with a printing workshop. After written approval was received, on 21 May 1926, Fr. Carl Stenzel laid the first stone for the printing press. Br. Palmatius then laid down the foundations. On 27 November 1927, Fr. Stenzel was proud to announce that the craft school was already operating and received a lot of work. Carpentry and locksmithing were the first departments. Finally, on 19 March 1928, the craft school in Ende was inaugurated by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen.<sup>90</sup>

In the early pages of the book: *«Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus»*, Fr. Alex Beding, SVD, the editor, conveyed exactly the essence of the school known as the Craft school of St. Joseph. Another name that was also used a lot in the early days of its existence was the Dutch-language name *«Ambachtsschool»* [= the Craft school]. According to Fr. Alex, a name like this did not seem very appropriate. He did not like the fact the school was referred to as an institute of formal education. According to him, since the beginning of its history, there was no list of subjects that had been taught at the school as a formal school. It is more accurately described as a training ground on carpentry matters. What was done from the beginning was to train young people in good carpentry techniques, both in the fields

<sup>89</sup> The total funds needed at that time were 35,000 guilders. Because the Region had already received 10,000 guilders loan from Msgr. Verstraelen, the Generalate added 25,000 guilders of loan funds that would be returned with annual mass stipends and the profits derived from managing the craft school and printing press. As agreed, loan repayments would begin from 1927. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 7.3.1926, f. 3; Bodems-Fischer to Stenzel, Steyl, 18.3.1926, ff. 4-5; Fischer to Stenzel, s.l., 4.5.1926, f. 1; Anleihe für die Region in Flores, s.l., 23.10.1926, f. 1; The agreement of the Regional Council of the Lesser Sunda Islands to the loan granted for the region, Ende, 9.1.1927, f. 1.

<sup>90</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ndona, 22.2.1926, f. 2; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Tagebuch: Chronik der Ambachtsschool, 60, 64; AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Tagebuch: Chronik der Region, 30; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel, St. Wendel, 26.5.1926, f. 2 (1°); Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 27.11.1927, f. 1; Carl Stenzel: News about the Craft School in Ende, Ende, 1.4.1928, f. 1; *De Nieuwe Ambachtsschool op Flores*, in: *«De Katholieke Missiën»* 55/11 (1928), 212-213; H. NEUHAUS, *Arnoldus Druckerei und Nusa Indah-Verlag auf Flores*, in: *«Steyler Missions-Chronik»* (1971), 78. In the procession during the inauguration, the Cross and a statue of St. Joseph be brought to the new house, which bore the name of St. Joseph.

of masons, carpenters, welders, cobblers, tailors and so on. If one wants to keep pinning the title «school», it would be more honourable to be called an «informal school». This observation of Fr. Alex Beding was probably right. Even so, this does not mean that all these «school» services were immediately deemed non-existent. It is undeniable that this institution contributed a lot to the Church and the society through the buildings it carried out, whether they were ordinary houses, schools, churches or office buildings.<sup>91</sup>

### 2.2.5. The Printing Shop of Arnoldus

After setting foot for the first time in Flores in 1914, Prefect Petrus Noyen wrote to Steyl about the importance of a printing press in Ende, Flores, to provide necessary books for the mission in the Lesser Sundas. Such books should be printed in at least seven different languages. Here, Prefect Noyen, who was well-known as a visionary leader, again appeared to be the precursor of the printing business.<sup>92</sup>

When writing to Steyl on 6 February 1924, about the craft school, Fr. Glanemann also wrote about the need for a printing press which was considered an urgent need in Flores. A printing press would certainly be very useful for the printing of books that would support pastoral work. He also mentioned that a printing press was ready to be sent from Steyl to Ende as soon as the building would be ready. What was still uncertain was the Brother who had expertise in the field of printing. Unexpectedly, the awaited Brother finally arrived in Ende on 22 June 1925 from China, even though the machine awaited from Steyl had not yet arrived nor was the building ready. He was Br. Viator.<sup>93</sup>

The long-awaited printing press finally arrived in March 1926 and was installed in what was the old building called the «SVD first religious house in Ende», the famous old barrack, in Indonesian «*tangsi tua*». On 21 June 1926, the machine was used for the first time to print a prayer text entitled «*Sende aus ...*» which was translated into Malay «*Utuslah ...*». That day marked the first day of the SVD printing apostolate in the Dutch East Indies. The Malay-language monthly magazine managed by SVD Fathers «*Bintang Timoer*» [= the Eastern Star] previously printed in Jogjakarta, starting from 1928, was printed in Ende. After three years of use, the first printing press was replaced with a new one. This

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<sup>91</sup> A. BEDING (ed.), *Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus*, 6.

<sup>92</sup> Books intended by Prefect Petrus Noyen were prayer and catechism books. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.7.1914, f. 3.

<sup>93</sup> On 29 March 1924, Superior General Wilhelm Gier and his councillors approved the construction of a joint printing shop with a craft school. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Glanemann to Bodems, Ende, 6.2.1924, ff. 1-2; Gier to Glanemann, Steyl, 29.3.1924, f. 1; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Gier, Ndona, 12.6.1925, f. 1.

new machine was used for the first time on 15 June 1929 to print the fifth edition number 12 of «*Bintang Timoer*». A second monthly magazine followed in 1929 in Sikkane, «*Kristus Ratu Itang*» (= Christ our King).<sup>94</sup>

In order to support the rapid development of mission work, books useful in pastoral work such as church hymnbooks, prayer books and catechism that had been translated into several local languages needed to be printed. In 1933/1934, a dictionary of the Lio language (Lio-German) by Fr. Paul Arndt, SVD was printed. The same author published also some other books such as *Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse im Sikagebiet* and *Mythologic, Religion und Magic im Sikagebiet* (1933), *Grammar of the Solor Language* (1937) and *Dictionary of the Ngada Language* (1961). All these works were printed in Ende.<sup>95</sup>

Before World War II, textbooks for all Catholic schools in Flores were also printed and distributed from Ende. The rapid development of printing required a publisher and bookstore, both of whom used the same name, «*Nusa Indah*». The most famous achievement of the printing and publishing house in Ende was the printing of the translation of the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in Malay. This was done in 1956. This first text was later revised by Fr. Johannes Bouma and known by the name «*Injil Bouma*». The whole of the New Testament was finally printed and published in 1963/1964. This work was widely appreciated beyond the sphere of the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies. Other important books that were also printed in Ende were the Indonesian-language Roman Missal and the Breviary as well as the documents of the Second Vatican Council, the four volumes of the History of the Indonesian Catholic Church and many other important works.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> «*Sende aus...*» was essentially a prayer asking for success in spreading the Christian faith throughout the world. This text was read in the first Mass in the chapel of St. Joseph Ende when the printing press was named «The Printing Shop of Arnoldus». Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Tagebuch: Chronik Ambachtsschool*, 60-61, 64, 67; A. BEDING (ed.), *Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus*, 20; AG-SVD 805:1912-1947, Ende-Post, Februari 1929.

<sup>95</sup> The catechisms and prayer books in the different local languages such as Solor, Sikka, Lio, Ende, Keo, Ngada, Riung, Manggarai, Tetum, Dawan and Bali were the most important dialects in which books have been printed in addition to those in the Indonesian language. Cf. H. NEUHAUS, *Arnoldus Druckerei und Nusa Indah-Verlag auf Flores*, 78; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien (1913-1963)*, Kaldenkirchen, Steyler Verlag, 1963, 40.

<sup>96</sup> H. NEUHAUS, *Arnoldus Druckerei und Nusa Indah-Verlag auf Flores*, 79; A. BEDING (ed.), *Buku Kenangan: 50 Tahun Pertukangan Santo Yosef dan Percetakan Arnoldus*, 22.

## 2.3. Founding a Major Seminary

### 2.3.1. Preparation

When Msgr. Verstraelen asked Fr. Franz Cornelissen to start a minor seminary in Sikka, his initial intention was that it would be only for a trial period. This was not to suggest that its long time viability was limited but it simply acknowledged that since the existence of the church in places in the Lesser Sundas for less than 10 years, therefore he should keep his options open for other developments. Some people doubted that there would be many candidates applying. Happily, it turned out that the initial opinion was not true. In fact, many candidates applied to study there right from the beginning. This encouraged the superiors to establish a minor seminary in Todabelu.<sup>97</sup>

In 1932, the first batch from the minor seminary of Todabelu completed their high school studies. Questions that had to be answered at that time were: Where would they go for further studies? Were these candidates educated to be secular or regular priests? Were candidates from parents who were not yet Catholic and who were polygamous be accepted as seminarians? Fr. Wilhelm Gier, who was nearing the end of his term as a Superior General, was proposing further studies in Europe after the novitiate. But he left the decision to his successor who would soon be elected.<sup>98</sup>

These questions prompted the superiors to discuss the possibility of building a major seminary for Flores. The question of the major seminary became one of the themes for discussion at the first Regional Chapter at Ndona in 1932. The chapter decided that a novitiate should begin as quickly as possible. The chapter also briefly discussed suitable places to establish a novitiate and a major seminary. Some mentioned Nita and Riang Wulu, but both places were not approved. In the end, the chapter agreed that the right place was Todabelu on the grounds that the place was splendid, easy to reach and the climate was suitable for all. After getting a building plan and the estimated cost from Br. Fransiscus Bakker, on 28 May 1932, the Generalate approved the construction of the novitiate and

<sup>97</sup> F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 14.

<sup>98</sup> The first five students who graduated from the minor seminary of Todabelu in 1932 were Gabriel Manek, Lukas Lusi, Marcelinus Seran, Marcus Wasa and Nikolaus Meak. These were students who in 1932 undertook philosophical studies given by Fr. Cornelis Molenaar for a year before starting their novitiate the following year. Cf. *Chabar Tanah Air: Todabeloe* [Homeland News: Todabelu], in: «Bintang Timoer» 8/1 (1932), 13-14; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 15.3.1932, f. 1; S. HERYANTO NAHAK – FX.W. LABI HALLAN, *Menyusuri Jejak Sejarah: Tapak-tapak Bermakna* [Tracking the Historical Traces: Meaningful Sites], in: *70 Tahun Seminari Tinggi St. Paulus Ledalero. Setia Menggemakan Suara, Berkanjang Memantulkan Cahaya* [70 Years of St. Paul Major Seminary Ledalero. Faithful in Echoing Voice, Persevere in Reflecting Light], Maumere, Penerbit Ledalero, 2007, 14.

the scholasticate in Todabelu. On 30 September 1932, the foundation stone for the new novitiate and the major seminary was laid by Pro-vicar Henricus Leven. The overall plan was that the compound would house a novitiate, the major seminary for the higher studies and the regional house which would be used for various missionary needs such as annual retreats, meetings or for allowing the missionaries to take a break from work when needed.<sup>99</sup>

### 2.3.2. Decisive Discussions

#### a) Polygamy issues

The issue of polygamy surfaced when children of Polygamists wanted to enter the novitiate. This became a serious matter when it was discovered that among the first 7 candidates, 6 of them were from polygamous families or whose parents who had not been baptized into Catholicism. In regard to candidates from polygamous parents, what was worrying was the possibility that these novices could maintain the bad habits of their parents who wanted to have more than one wife and would therefore, be unable to live celibacy for their whole life as would be required from them as priests or religious. At that time, it was thought that someone who had more than one wife was led by an unusual sexual need.<sup>100</sup>

The SVD missionaries found out that in Flores and Timor, polygamy was an exception rather than the rule, and that it was not widely practised in the community. It only happened in certain families. The reasons were not so much found in evil desires but rather as in external causes, for example, the pressure of parents or following quarrels with the first woman so that the breakup was probably more the result of an unhappy marriage. Some cases occurred for economic reasons, for example, to bequeath assets such as land to a young man, who in a previous marriage had not obtained it. Another reason for Polygamy was discovered to be that when a woman could not produce male offspring who could inherit the family assets and so maintain harmony and continuity within the family. Polygamy often happened because of the insistence of others, such

<sup>99</sup> In his remarks during the laying of foundation stone, *Pro-vicar* Fr. H. Leven hoped that all of those who would occupy the house exceeded many others in terms of holiness and knowledge. He also said that the house to be built would be very big and high. Therefore, its residents had also to build a large and high spiritual house, the priesthood. The basis of that spiritual home should be humility. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Lambert to Grendel, Ende, 7.6.1933, f. 1; *Poelaur<sup>2</sup> Soenda Ketjil: Tödabeloe* [The Lesser Sunda Islands: Todabelu], in: «Bintang Timoer» 8/4 (1932), 62-63; *Poelaur<sup>2</sup> Soenda Ketjil: Tödabeloe* [The Lesser Sunda Islands: Todabelu], in: «Bintang Timoer» 8/6 (1932), 92-93; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Verslag van het Regionaal Kapittel van de Regio S.V.D. der Kleine Soenda Eilanden, Ende 13-18.6.1932, ff. 29-31; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Fischer to Stenzel, Roma, 28.5.1932, f. 1.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, G. van Velzen to Grendel, Ende, 25.6.1938, f. 1; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 42.

as parents or extended family members, not because of personal desires. Other reason for polygamy could be the incompatibility in the first marriage. So, the suspicion that the nature of polygamous parents could be passed on to their children could not be proven. There were missionaries who argued that the sins of parents should not be passed onto the shoulders of innocent children. More than that, there were also missionaries who saw that unbaptized people could live a commendable moral life. Fostering character must be given much importance along with the development of the intellectual aspects of the formation. Only through the fostering of a good character, could be negative characteristics inherited from cultural backgrounds could be eradicated. Meanwhile, the Society's assessment of polygamy was not so negative. It was acknowledged that there were factors which led to the practice of polygamy.<sup>101</sup>

In the process of accepting candidates from polygamous families, a clear distinction had to be made between simultaneous polygamy and successive polygamy. Successive polygamy could still be tolerated, meaning that the candidate could be accepted by asking for a church dispensation, despite the father or mother living in a polygamous relationship, which could not be tolerated. Candidates from the first marriage could be accepted if they were good order themselves.<sup>102</sup>

Msrgr. Henricus Leven, SVD himself recognized Divine Providence at work in the way that this issue had been resolved so young man from non-Catholic parents were not excluded from the priesthood. He wrote his opinion as follows:

I would strongly advise against setting limits for all possible cases that may arise. It should be remembered that almost all candidates were taken from the pagan environment at a very young age and grew up in a Christian atmosphere in the boarding schools as well as at the minor seminary. One should not neglect the element of heredity, nor should it be exaggerated. Despite all the rules and limits, we will experience disappointments, but they will come not only from the Pagan influences but will also be found among candidates from normal families too. *Spiritus Domini ubi vult spirat!*<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, J. Ettel to Grendel, Raja, 1.7.1938, f. 1; Dorn to Grendel, Ruteng, 1.8.1938, ff. 1-4; Eikmann to Grendel, Ruteng, 22.6.1938, ff. 1-2; Heinrich Schröder: Gutachten über die Zulassung zur S.V.D. (Priestertumskandidaten) auf Flores-Timor, Larantuka, 2.7.1938, f. 1; Leven to van Velzen, Ndona, 18.6.1938, f. 1.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, Van den Regionaal den Jezuïeten op Java, s.l., s.d., f. 1.

<sup>103</sup> «Ik zou ten eerste willen afraden, voor alle mogelijke gevallen, die zich kunnen voordoen, grenzen te stellen. Men moet niet vergeten, dat bijna alle kandidaten reeds op zeer jeugdigen leeftijd uit de heidense omgeving verwijderd zijn en in een christelijke sfeer in de internaten zowel als op het Klein Seminarie zijn opgegroeid. Mag men het element der afstamming (Vererbung) ook niet verwaarlozen, overdrijven mag men het evenmin. Wij zullen ondanks alle regelen en grenzen teleurstellingen beleven. Maar die zullen niet alleen komen van den kant der erfelijk belasten, maar ook van den kant van kandidaten, die uit normale families afstammen. *Spiritus Domini ubi vult spirat!*». Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Leven to van Velzen, Ndona, 18.6.1938, f. 1.

b) Opting to be a secular or a regular priest

Towards the end of the first-academic year of the minor seminary of Todabelu, the question arose as to whether these seminarians should be directed to choose the path of becoming a religious or secular priest? Of course, these two things were not fully understood by the candidates. In such a situation, the most responsible decision for the future of these students was that of Fr. Franz Cornelissen became like a «father» and educator for them. Fr. Cornelissen was aware of the similar situation which had taken place in other missions such as in China and the Philippines. After having been convinced by what had happened in them, he directed them in the matter of choosing and understanding the difference between the two vocations, between the regular and secular, and so the candidate could make his own's free choice. In the end, the candidates chose to join the SVD.<sup>104</sup>

The reason for Fr. Cornelissen's anxiety about this question at that time was due to the fact that the Church and the faith at that time was still only in its infancy. In many places the Catholics were still classified as those from the first generation and the number of priests who worked among them were usually regular priests who generally came from Europe. It would not have been easy if there had been two different types of priests. For the beginning, he preferred that the candidates be educated to become religious, with all that would entail. In this case, it would be the SVD. There were several considerations which strengthened the stand of Fr. Cornelissen. First, by joining the Society (SVD), the new indigenous priests would have closer relations with SVD priests who were Europeans. What strengthened the relationship would be the similarity in lifestyle and the lifetime commitment. So, the religious priesthood was seen as much more secure way of life in the beginning in the conditions there due to the manifold support and the multiple help of religious and community life. Secondly, it was understood that belonging to a religious community would prevent the new priests from becoming too tied down to their families. Thus, they would appear as priests for all and not only for their family or tribe. Thirdly, being a member of a religious community would ensure the continuity of a healthy priesthood after the first years. Many experiences had shown that the most difficult time in a new priest's life were likely to be the early years of a new priest's life. It was also known that by living and working with a senior priest, sharing a similar spirituality and rules of life, a young indigenous priest

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<sup>104</sup> AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 29.8.1937, f. 1 (1677); F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 41-42.

who had no experience about priestly life, could be supported during his early days.<sup>105</sup>

What was believed by Fr. Cornelissen finally had to be confronted with the spirit of two important mission encyclicals at that time, namely *Maximum illud* and *Rerum ecclesiae*. The question is: Was the stand of Fr. Cornelissen contrary to the spirit of the two encyclicals that advocated the education of priests from the native peoples? This question was to be the question of many apostolic vicars and missionaries at that time who were struggling with the same problem. What was still not too clear at that time was what was the difference between: the secular and the regular? There were a variety of different understandings among the missionaries at the time the two encyclicals were promulgated. Some understood that the encyclicals were giving the message that priestly candidates should be prepared to be secular priests from and for their local Diocese, but others were of the opinion that priests could be secular or could be regular.

The reasons for favouring the training of religious priests was due to the fact that no preference was indicated for either the secular or religious priesthood in the two encyclicals. Perhaps the Pope deliberately wanted to give freedom to the bishops and to other superiors, to act according to circumstances. The encyclicals promoted a priesthood that was not alien to local circumstances. There could not be opposition between the secular priesthood or the religious priesthood. In addition, it was understood that the presence of priests whether religious or secular was all about the work of the Holy Spirit. Both priestly forms had been equally important for the development of the life of the Church in Europe and around the world. Another consideration was that if limitations were imposed upon candidate's choice then there would have been a danger of the candidate's freedom being restrained and the voice of God's call being silenced. If something like this happened, the moral responsibility of candidates would have been reduced since they would not have had a choice. Thus, they might have ended up with disillusioned priests in the future.<sup>106</sup>

It could also be surmised that those who favoured the education of secular priests in the missions were influenced by the emergence of new independence movements throughout the world after World War I and which were encouraging independent local churches. Both encyclicals were trying to save

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<sup>105</sup> AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 29.8.1937, f. 1 (1677); Grendel to Cornelissen, s.l., 29.11.1937, f. 1 (1680).

<sup>106</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Msgr. Piter Jan Willekens, SJ: Praeadvies over het tot standbrengen van een inheemschen Clerus, typescript, 14 pp, s.l., s.d., ff. 6-8; AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 29.8.1937, f. 1 (1677); Grendel to Cornelissen, s.l., 29.11.1937, f. 1 (1680).

the Church from the dangers or errors of nationalism in the case of a war between nations. It was understood that priests who native to a place would most likely remain in his place if a war between nations should break out. It was also understood that those who were members of religious Societies were dependent upon their superior generals who might be living elsewhere and who would determine where they would be assigned to carry out their tasks. Thus, secular clergy could be seen as the more appropriate clergy to fulfil the papal guidelines. This was more or less, the view of the director of *Sint Petrus Liefdewerk* in the Netherlands at that time who was financially responsible for ensuring the survival of seminaries at various mission sites.<sup>107</sup>

In the end, there were some people who, because they had no choice, were forced to follow the stand of *Sint Petrus Liefdewerk* officers to ensure the survival of their seminaries. In the meeting of the Dutch East Indies bishops in 1939, it was also agreed that the formation of secular priests should be considered on the grounds that secular priests were more able to build a local Church than regular priests who depended on a leader from abroad i.e. the superior general.<sup>108</sup>

It seemed that this discussion had no conclusion, but it could also not be said that the stand of Fr. Franz Cornelissen violated the spirit of the two mission encyclicals. Actually, Fr. Cornelissen and a number of other groups did not deny the importance of formation for candidates to the secular priesthood. According to them, it could be done, but not in the initial phase; it would take several more years until people would be more familiar with how to guarantee the life of the secular priest in the Catholic Church. It was also noted that the local church was not yet in viable economic condition where the local people could contribute to the formation of their own secular priests. It was this situation in the Lesser Sundas at the time that made Fr. Cornelissen, with fatherly concern, chose to encourage his students to become SVD members. He acknowledged that the reasons that motivated him were not just for the sake of seeking the glory of the SVD but for practical reasons. All of this was intended to ensure that the people would have good priests both physically and mentally. They would also be enabled to continue growing spiritually by

<sup>107</sup> AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 29.8.1937, f. 1 (1677); AG-SVD 805:1912-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Todabelu, 3.12.1939, ff. 1-2; Msgr. Piter Jan Willekens, SJ: Praeadvies over het tot standbrengen van een inheemschen Clerus, 6-7.

<sup>108</sup> After the meeting, Msgr. Henricus Leven SVD was determined to start secular priestly formation in his vicariate. The first prospective diocesan priest was *Frater* Lukas Lusi. Cf. AG-SVD 805:1912-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Todabelu, 3.12.1939, ff. 1-2; Bouma to Grendel, Ende, 10.3.1940, f. 1; P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Setengah Abad Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia (MAWI)*, 1458-1459.

their continued association with the Gospel message that had been sought so far.<sup>109</sup>

Fr. Superior General Josef Grendel himself understood very well what was meant by Fr. Franz Cornelissen. This was revealed in the following words:

The question at stake is not about whether there should be a secular or religious clergy, but only what was the best way to start, in order to avoid later human setbacks as far as possible. How necessary was this care – from the point of view and also in relation to certain circles of missionaries – is very clear. So, the goal was definitely to give the local people a really efficient, zealous and reliable clergy among themselves. In the long run, there would be, of course, a secular and religious clergy working together. The only question at this time however, which one it should be in order to ensure a good long-term success.<sup>110</sup>

### 2.3.3. The Beginning of the SVD Novitiate

After accepting applications to be novices from the director of the minor seminary of Todabelu, the Regional Council of Ende at their meeting on 8 January 1932 stated that they would accept novices. However, the Superior General's approval was received after half a year of waiting. One of the reasons for this delay was that of the 7 names submitted, only one of them came from a Catholic family. That is why the Generalate took a cautious approach before making a decision regarding the novitiate. According to Father General Josef Grendel, taking this attitude did not mean that the Generalate was unhappy with the candidates, but on the contrary, was very happy to accept them. The Generalate only wanted to make sure that this initial step should be begun properly so as to avoid setbacks in the initial stages. Such setbacks in the beginning would have had a very unfavourable effect on the future development. After all matters were taken care of, on 9 July 1933 the Superior General Josef Grendel sent a telegram to Ende that the novitiate could be

<sup>109</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Msgr. Piter Jan Willekens, SJ: Praeadvies over het tot standbrengen van een inheemschen Clerus, 13-14; AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Grendel to Cornelissen, s.l., 29.11.1937, f. 1 (1680); F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 41.

<sup>110</sup> «Die Frage, um die es sich handelt, ist ja in keinem Sinne, ob überhaupt Welt = oder Ordensklerus, sondern nur, womit am besten zuerst angefangen wird, um, soweit es menschlich geht, spätere Rückschläge möglichst zu vermeiden. Wie notwendig diese Sorgfalt ist – von der Sache aus und auch in bezug auf gewisse Kreise von Missionaren – ist ganz offenkundig. Das Ziel ist also auf jeden Fall, dem Volke aus seiner eigenen Mitte einen wirklich tüchtigen, eifrigen und zuverlässigen Klerus zu geben. Auf die Dauer wird das dann von selber auch Welt = und Ordensklerus zugleich sein. Die Frage jetzt ist nur, ob man mit dem einen oder mit dem andern zuerst anfängt, um einen guten Erfolg möglichst zu sichern.». Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 19.4.1940, f. 1.

started. The seven novices whose names had been submitted to the Generalate were agreed upon and were accepted. The one who would become the novice master had also been determined, namely Fr. Jacobus Koemeester, who had previously been a novice master for Brother candidates in the Netherlands.<sup>111</sup>

The investiture ceremony that marked the acceptance of the candidates starting their novitiate was held on 16 October 1933 in Todabelu. However, the canonical period for the new novitiate commenced on 15 January 1934 and lasted for a year. Nevertheless, the Generalate required that the entire novitiate period should last for 2 years. The novices consisted of 2 batches from the Todabelu seminary, namely 5 people from the first batch and 2 others from the second batch who graduated in 1932 and 1933. On 2 January 1934, the novitiate in Todabelu was declared canonically established by *Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis*. The announcement of the establishment of the novitiate was promoted by Superior General Josef Grendel on 15 January 1934.<sup>112</sup>

#### 2.3.4. St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero

In 1922, the Jesuits opened the novitiate in Jogjakarta, but theological education was carried out by the candidates in the Netherlands. The first priest ordained from the seminary was Fr. F.X. Satiman, SJ in 1926. The Major Seminary in Java only opened in 1936 in Muntilan which was later transferred to Mertoyudan but was intended for the formation of candidates for secular priests only.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Free exemption from illegitimate status for candidate Gabriel Manek was obtained from *Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis* at the Vatican. Gabriel's father was a Catholic, but his mother was a Chinese descendant who was not yet baptized. At that time, she had died and did not get married as a Catholic. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Surabaya, 23.3.1933, ff. 1-2; Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 25.4.1933, f. 1; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 7.7.1933 (first letter), f. 1; Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 7.7.1933 (second letter), f. 1; AG-SVD, 12:1933-1938, Henricus Agostini to Josef Grendel, Roma, 19.7.1933, f. 13a; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Bouma to Gier, Surabaya, 31.7.1933, f. 1; *Poelau<sup>2</sup> Soenda Ketjil: Todabeloe* [The Lesser Sunda Islands: Todabelu], in: «Bintang Timoer» 9/2 (1933), 31; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 41-44.

<sup>112</sup> The first seven novices were: Gabriel Manek, Karel Kale, Lukas Lusi, Marcelinus Seran, Marcus Wasa, Nikolaus Meak and Stanislaus Paman. The canonical year started from 15 January 1934 to 15 January 1935. The time between these periods was not considered canonical. Cf. AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Lambert to Grendel, Ende, 26.10.1933, f. 1; Grendel to Lambert, s.l., 7.12.1933, f. 1; A.D. RUBER, *Novicen yang pertama di Kepoelauan Soenda Ketjil* [The first novices in the Lesser Sunda Islands], in: «Bintang Timoer» 9/6 (1933), 91-92; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 44-45; AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Koemeester to Grendel, Todabelu, 27.9.1935, f. 1; Grendel to Koemeester, s.l., 17.2.1936, ff. 1-2; AG-SVD, 811:1928-1948, Caiazza to Grendel, Roma, 2.1.1934, f. 1 (1686); AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero 1933-1948*, typescript, 147 pp, Ende, 9.12.1968, 3.

<sup>113</sup> H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 113-114.

Philosophical studies began in Flores in 1932 for the first batch a year before they began the novitiate for two full years. On 16 August 1935 the philosophy studies resumed. Theology studies was actually planned to begin on 17 August 1936, but the lecturers had not yet arrived. The expected lectures started on 6 October 1936 and were given by Fr. Anton Thijssen, SVD. The first subject of theology taught to prospective priests was moral theology.<sup>114</sup>

In the course of time, the SVD Regional of Ende and his Council saw that the novitiate was too close to the minor seminary of Todabelu. It was considered not to be ideal. Besides, Todabelu was no longer seen to be suitable because of the difficulty of accommodating the growing number of theology students or *fratres*. Furthermore, the regional house was always crowded with many guests and so the novitiate did not get the calm and serene atmosphere that it needed. Therefore, the SVD authorities decided to move the novitiate to another place. The initial plan was only for the novitiate to be transferred to Ledalero, but in the fullness of time it was finally agreed that the Major Seminary should also be transferred to the same place. After the new building was completed, they moved there between 7 and 10 July 1937. There, the first batch of the major seminary of Ledalero completed their theological studies and were ordained in 1941.<sup>115</sup>

In order to deal with the transfer, Father Superior General Josef Grendel briefly reminded Regional Father Johannes Bouma about the need to request a new permit from the Vatican. There were two licenses that had to be sought at that time, namely permission to establish Ledalero as a religious house and permission to move the novitiate from Todabelu to Ledalero. The first permission was obtained on 5 May 1937 while the second was obtained on 1 June of the same year.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero, 7, 12-13; S. HERYANTO NAHAK – F.X.W. LABI HALLAN, *Menyusuri Jejak Sejarah: Tapak-tapak Bermakna*, 14.

<sup>115</sup> On 7 July 1937 Fr. Koemeester with *Frater* Nico Meak and *Frater* Lukas Lusi left for Ledalero as the first group of Todabelu to move there. On 10 July 1937, Fr. C. Molenaar and 9 *fratres* arrived at Ledalero as the second group. The next day, the first mass was celebrated in Ledalero. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero, 16-19, 49; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 50-51; ID., *Die Priesterausbildung in Nusa Tenggara*, in: «Verbum SVD» 3/3 (1961), 263; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 44; S. HERYANTO NAHAK – F.X.W. LABI HALLAN, *Menyusuri Jejak Sejarah: Tapak-tapak Bermakna*, 16.

<sup>116</sup> Fr. Wilhelm Gier, SVD as the Vice Superior General at the time stated that based on the permission granted to him by the Holy See, he built a religious house in the village of Ledalero. His statement was issued in Rome on 20 May 1937. Something similar happened with the status of the novitiate in Ledalero. After obtaining an official letter of approval from the Holy See, on 3 June 1937, Fr. Wilhelm Gier stated that Todabelu's novitiate was moved to Ledalero. Cf. AG-SVD, 12:1933-1938, Constantini to Grendel, Roma, 5.5.1937; Passeto to Grendel, Roma, 1.6.1937; *Errichtung des Hauses für das Noviziat und Scholastikat in Ledalero, Flores*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/4 (1937), 418; *Verlegung des Noviziates von Todabeloe nach Ledalero, Flores*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/4 (1937), 419.

The Jesuits (SJs) and the Divine Word Missionaries (the SVDs) were the first two religious congregations to undertake the formation of prospective priests for the indigenous people of the Dutch East Indies. What distinguishes these two congregations in this regard was that right from the beginning the SVDs conducted all philosophical and theological studies in Flores, while the Jesuits began these several years later. From the beginning before starting with the major seminary, the SVD Region of Ende already had a clear outlook. The participants of the first Regional Chapter held from 13-18 June 1932, rejected the suggestion that candidates be sent abroad to attend theological studies before being ordained priests. Thus, all studies had to be carried out locally. For this reason, the major seminary of Ledalero was recorded in history as the first major seminary in the Dutch East Indies which carried out all of its philosophical and theological education in the country for prospective indigenous priests.<sup>117</sup>

### 2.3.5. The First Ordination of Native Priests in Flores

#### a) On the way to the priesthood

As mentioned earlier, the first candidates to start their novitiate in 1933 consisted of 7 candidates. After going through the formation and study process for several years, in the end, only two of the seminarians went up to the altar to be ordained priests in 1941. Their formation process was indeed unique. After about a year in the novitiate, one of them resigned. He was *Frater* Stanislaus Paman from Riang Kote, Larantuka. His colleagues were a little surprised that something like this could happen. He went on to live as a good lay Catholic afterwards. After his departure, his companions continued in the novitiate until 1935. From that year until 1940 they attended lectures on philosophy and theology.<sup>118</sup>

The spiritual formation continued with the profession of temporary vows for the first time on 17 January 1936. The vows were professed by 6 candidates. After almost a year, one of them withdrew from the seminary. He was *Frater* Marcus Wasa from Wololele A, Lio region. In the period between 1936-1938 *Frater* Niko Meak, from Nita, suffered from tuberculosis and several times he had to be taken to the hospital for treatment. He finally died on 30 November

<sup>117</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel, Roma, 11.11.1929, f. 4; Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 15.3.1932, f. 1; Verslag van het Regionaal Kapittel van de Regio S.V.D. der Kleine Soenda Eilanden, Ende 13-18.6.1932, f. 35; AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Ende, 17.7.1935, f. 1; Bouma to Grendel, Todabelu, 20.10.1935, f. 1; Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 3.1.1936, f. 1.

<sup>118</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero, 3, 5, 8.

1938. His companions had the impression that he was a friendly, helpful and persistent *frater*.<sup>119</sup>

The year 1939 began with something that greatly surprised many people. It turned out that before the renewal of their temporary vows for the fourth time, both *Frater* Lukas Lusi and *Frater* Marcellinus Seran left the SVD. Those who continued to renew their vows were *Frater* Gabriel Manek and *Frater* Karel Kale. On 16 January 1939, two of their friends who had resigned attended the mass and witnessed the renewal of the vows. A few days later, Marsel and Lukas left Ledalero.<sup>120</sup>

Thus, from the first batch, there were only two *fratres* left: Gabriel Manek from Lahurus and Karel Kale from Paga. The fulfilment of their journey to the altar was getting closer. On 15 August 1940, they professed their perpetual vows. Sub-deaconate and diaconate ordinations were received successively on 15 and 22 September the same year. After these ordinations, *Frater* Karel continued his studies to completion, while *Frater* Gabriel went to Nita parish for pastoral experience before the ordination day. At that time, they had completed the formation period for approximately 14.5 years. In the joint seminaries, there were 108 candidates preparing for the priesthood, 89 of them in the minor seminary and 19 in the major seminary.<sup>121</sup>

#### b) The ordination day

The first priests, born from the People of the Lesser Sunda Islands, were ordained on 28 January 1941. The two new priests, Fr. Gabriel Manek and Fr. Karl Kale, belonged to the Society of the Divine Word which was in charge of the

<sup>119</sup> He had been suffering from it since he was in the minor seminary in Sikka. Doctor Tietze, who was treating him, suggested that he be included in a move to the new minor seminary in Todabelu in the hope that in a cool place he might recover quickly. After completing the high school, even though it was known that he had tuberculosis, he was still accepted into the SVD. This happened because of his good personality, and also because he was one of the first batch to start a small seminary in Sikka. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero*, 8, 14, 25, 29, 35; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 54-55.

<sup>120</sup> On 21 January 1939 both left Ledalero. Regarding these two men Fr. Franz Cornelissen noted that the two eventually became priests too but a few years later. Lukas Lusi from Koting had lived outside the seminary for 4 years, after which he submitted an application to become a secular priest and his application was accepted by Msgr. H. Leven. On 6 June 1944, he was admitted to be the first secular priest of Flores. Meanwhile Marcellinus Seran from Timor was ordained a priest later, that was on 18 September 1971 when he was more or less 67 years old. He became a secular priest for the diocese of Atambua. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero*, 36; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 57-58.

<sup>121</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, *Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero*, 46-47; F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 60; AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Concerning Ledalero's first priesthood ordination day, s.l., s.d., f. 1 (1536).

Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Vicariate of Dutch-Timor. Both of them felt that it was a very big and difficult undertaking but thanks to the prayers and the support of the faithful and of their confreres as well as of all the Catholics of the Islands, they made the decisive step into the sanctuary. That was why the Most Reverend Msgr. Henrich Leven, SVD had called on all Catholics in the Vicariate to make the Sunday of 26 January a great Day of Prayer for the first prospective indigenous priests.<sup>122</sup>

The Ordination was in Nita, where Fr. Franz Mertens had built a large Church, close to the major seminary and accessible from all sides. The day of the Ordination turned out to be a real celebration of joy for all the faithful people of the islands. A tremendous crowd of believers turned up for the celebration. They had come from near and far with cars, on horseback and on foot. Even the Apostolic Vicar of Timor, Msgr. Jacobus Pessers, SVD was present. Over 50 missionaries attended the ceremony, as did many government officials, doctors, military personnel and distinguished laymen. Thousands of believers approached the Holy Table on that very special day.<sup>123</sup>

The ceremonies associated with the Ordination had made the deepest impression on everyone. When the bishop and the priests laid hands on the candidates for the ordination and the bishop then said the ordination prayers, the church was deeply calm and quiet. Many of the believers present wept with emotion. Even some of the priests who were present could not hold back their tears either. Here they could now clearly see both the greatest fruit of their hard work and at the same time they could see that the existence of Catholic Church in the future would be well. The following day, the two newly ordained priests celebrated their first Masses and gave their first solemn blessings to the people in the same Church.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Raats to Grendel: s.l., s.d., f. 1 (1533); Concerning Ledalero's first priesthood ordination day, f. 1 (1536); F. CORNELISSEN, *50 Tahun Pendidikan Imam di Flores, Timor dan Bali*, 60.

<sup>123</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero, 49; AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Raats to Grendel, f. 2 (1534); Concerning Ledalero's first priesthood ordination day, f. 1 (1536); F. CORNELISSEN, *Seminaries Flourish in Flores*, 356; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 55-56.

<sup>124</sup> For some priests, such as Fr. Franz Cornelisen, Fr. Molenaar and Fr. Jacobus Koemeester, this day was certainly one of their greatest days. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Petrus Laan, Kroniek van het Groot Seminarie Todabeloe-Ledalero, 50; AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Raats to Grendel, f. 3 (1535); Concerning Ledalero's first priesthood ordination day, f. 1 (1536).

## 2.4. Towards a More integrated Pastoral Work

### 2.4.1. New Time – New Approaches

In the period of 1922 to 1942, there were four important documents encouraging a more integrated pastoral approach to pastoral work in the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas. These are to be found in the Minutes of the Conference of Bishops in Muntilan (1929), the Statutes of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands (1930) and the Decision of the First Synod of the Lesser Sundas Mission (1935). All of these documents led to the issuing of the famous handbook «*Manuale Pastorale 1938*» which, in the view of many people, greatly helped the development of mission work in the Lesser Sundas. Even so, prior to all these documents, there had already been discussions about the need to pay serious attention to the integration of the methods in pastoral work. The first serious discussion on this theme was held at the Ndona Mission Conference from 20 to 26 March 1922 with the Superior General of the SVD, Fr. Wilhelm Gier.

It was noted that during Prefect Petrus Noyen's era, the SVDs were encouraged by Superior General Nicolaus Blum to work according to the mission methods of the SVD's predecessors. It was not meant that the SVDs should not be creative, but to be more receptive toward the Jesuits who worked side by side with the SVDs. Indeed, the Jesuit mission method at that time was arguably the method of scattering the «seeds» of faith wherever they went. When «the seeds» had grown, others had to take care of them, because the sowers were already gone. The method used could be said to be an «extension mission method» in the sense of baptizing as many people as possible for the Church. In this mission model, there was no special catechumenate before baptism. It was considered sufficient to be Catholic if one already knew daily prayers such as the Our Father, the Hail Mary and the Credo. After being baptized, there were no follow up activities to deepen the Christian's faith. As a result, many people did not attend Sunday Masses, even though their houses were very close to the Church. Those who were faithful in attending the Masses were often only the school children. But they too no longer come anymore to the Church after they finished their studies. It was common practice that people only came to Church to confess and to attend Mass during the principal Church celebrations such as Christmas and the Easter festivals.<sup>125</sup>

But according to Fr. Wilhelm Gier missionary work would have to be done differently after the departure of the Jesuits. Their old method could no longer be maintained. It did not necessary mean that what was done before

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<sup>125</sup> F. BORNEMANN, *P. Wilhelm Gier 1867-1951. Dritter Generalsuperior SVD*, 244.

was wrong, but it was becoming obvious that the new era would demand other more appropriate approaches. Therefore, a more intensive method needed to be applied for a more effective missionary outcome. The method could be called an «intensive mission method». The intensive method had to begin with the catechumenate before baptism, a suitable preparation for confession and First Holy Communion as well as providing formation for couples preparing for Christian marriage. These new courses of formation would have to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the faith taught in the Catechism. There would have to be an introduction to important figures in the Old and New Testaments, there would have to be training for encouraging the people to bring offerings for the church and to enable them to participate in making their Church's self-sufficient. Finally, it was noted that much would be done for the deepening the people's understanding of Christian morality in the practice of daily life and to improve the instructions in the faith for boarding children and so on. With the election of Msgr. Verstraelen as the Apostolic Vicar of the Lesser Sundas and with the support of many experienced missionaries from Togo, it was hoped that all of these ideas would lead to a more intensive method of missionary work.<sup>126</sup>

Two years after Ndona's mission conference, still nothing had happened and so complaints and dissatisfaction were still being heard about the neglect of the new integrated pastoral approach. Every missionary was working according to his own ideas. During the Muntilan Bishops' Conference in 1929 they also discussed the need for common regulation containing statutes that could be applied to all Catholics in the Dutch East Indies. The statutes were intended to be in the form of a handbook or a type of «*Manuale Sacerdotum*» for missionaries in carrying out their pastoral work. The discussion was eventually abandoned because it seemed difficult to make a general rule for all the peoples. Maybe this was what finally pushed Msgr. Verstraelen to compile statutes for his own vicariate. The Statutes of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas which came into force on the first day of 1930 could be seen as the first response to tackling the lack of an integrated pastoral plan up to that point.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka* [History of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Ende and the Diocese of Larantuka], in: P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah-wilayah Keuskupan dan Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* [History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia: The Dioceses and the Indonesian Bishops Conference], vol. 3, Jakarta, Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1974, 1133; F. BORNEMANN, *P. Wilhelm Gier 1867-1951. Dritter General Superior SVD*, 244.

<sup>127</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Glanemann to Friedrich, Ndona, 19.7.1924, ff. 3-4; ASPF, N.S. vol. 1068, Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929, cc. 193-194.

#### 2.4.2. Minutes of the Bishops' Conference in Muntilan

The Bishops conference was held from 4 to 22 June 1929 in Muntilan, central Java to talk about pastoral activities. Two of the most important themes discussed were: the validity of Catholic marriage in relation to the Dutch «Laws of Civil Marriage» and how to improve the quality of catechesis for children in the Catholic schools.

The discussion concerning civil marriage was necessary because the Dutch government wanted to make a civil law relating to Christian marriages. The essence of the regulation was that the government demanded that before a marriage could be established in a Church, it had to be preceded by a civil marriage in front of the government officials. Without that, the marriage was considered to be civilly invalid. The theme of marriage was discussed by the bishops three times, namely in their hearings in 1929, 1934 and 1939. The Church believed that the registration of the civil marriage was necessary for civil recognition by the state. It was not specifically about the validity of a marriage. The ecclesiastical marriage, by contrast, understood that it was a contract that lasted for life. Civil marriage on the other hand was unstable in the sense that it could be cancelled at any time.<sup>128</sup>

The agreement resulting from these sessions was to collaborate with the government to recognize Catholic marriage as legal and in accordance with the civil law. For this reason, some adjustments needed to be made, for example, local Ordinaries could allow parish priests to be appointed as Registrars in order to provide civil legality for marriages made before a parish priest. The marriage would then need to be registered in the government office. Concerning interfaith marriages, it was decided that for the sake of the validity of the contract of such a marriage, a statement from the non-catholic person was needed, which essentially would state that he had no difficulties with accepting the Catholic regulations. They also requested that the Government accept the customary marriage laws of the people be recognized in the civil law.<sup>129</sup>

Concerning the question concerning catechesis in schools, the participants agreed that religious instructions in primary and secondary schools should be given systematically and methodically under the supervision of a priest appointed by the bishop concerned. Every student should learn the catechism from their entry until they left the schools. In order to adapt the instruction to the capacity

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<sup>128</sup> P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Setengah Abad Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia (MAWI)*, 1450-1451.

<sup>129</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 1068, *Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929*, cc. 203-216.

of the students, one should distinguish three periods: the small child period or the first three classes in the primary school; the growing child period or the four last classes of the same school; and finally the developed child period or the classes of secondary education or medium education. The assembly also agreed that a catechism that had been written by Fr. Peter Canisius, SJ, would be summarized into important themes. These should be relevant and practical for the purpose of faith instruction in schools<sup>130</sup>. The conference also saw the importance of publishing apologetical articles in the existing periodicals such as in «*Bintang Timoer*», «*Geredja Katholik*», «*Soeara Katolik*» following what had done by the Javanese periodical «*Tamtana Dewi Maria*h».<sup>131</sup>

### 2.4.3. The Statutes of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands

The «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societas Verbi Divini*» prescribed an annual conference of senior priests together with the Bishop. This annual conference could be called by the Bishop in order to discuss pastoral issues that were considered more urgent with those senior priests. In the course of time, Msgr. Verstraelen succeeded in compiling statutes for his vicariate which became the main reference for all pastoral works in his region.<sup>132</sup>

Matters related to pastoral work in the Statutes of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas included the seven sacraments, the principal liturgical celebrations of the Church, fasting and abstinence, public collections, instruction in the faith in schools and boarding houses, and relations with the local government. The Statutes emphasized that the teaching of the faith in the Catholic schools would be an important contribution towards the formation of good character building in students. Article number 223 of the Statutes stated that the teaching of the faith in all Catholic schools was obligatory.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> The considered themes were an explanation of the religion, religious customs, arguments against the Catholic Church, the Saints, the faith, etc. Cf. ASPF, N.S. vol. 1068, Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929, c. 219.

<sup>131</sup> They should be given two lessons per week. Matter to be taught were Catechism, biblical history especially the New Testament, Church History, Liturgy, and for the medium schools, Church's social science. In the first period, the children should be trained to Christian life, not only intellectually but more for the heart. So, one should tell many stories. They were requested to learn by heart only a little. The teachers were those who gave this religious teaching. The second period was considered as a period of deepening the matter by the students themselves. Finally, in the third period, the priest was the one responsible for it. Cf. P.M. MARTINUS MUSKENS (ed.), *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Setengah Abad Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia (MAWI)*, 1447; ASPF, N.S. vol. 1068, Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929, cc. 191-192, 219.

<sup>132</sup> See statutes article no.15, §3. Cf. AG-SVD, 51:1923-1956, Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini, Steyl, 25.7.1922, f. 4.

<sup>133</sup> See the Statutes article number: 221-249. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 23 (567).

The Baptisms of adults could only be conferred after a person had gone through the catechumenate phase for a year. School children could be baptised at the beginning of their second school year. The baptism of children under the age of 7 required their parents' consent and their willingness to raise the child according to the Catholic prescription. Children coming from parents of other religions who wished to be baptized needed to include a written consent from the parents concerned. The recipient of the Sacrament of Confirmation had to undergo a general revision of all the truths of the Catholic faith<sup>134</sup>.

School children were given their First Holy Communion after going through various teachings of the Catholic catechism which was handled by the school teachers. Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it was arranged so that the daily and Sunday Masses were determined to make as easy as possible the participation of many people. Each mission Station was expected to have a fixed schedule for the exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. This would help Catholics to increase a good devotional spirit towards the Sacrament. People were also introduced to the need to offer stipends for priests who presided at the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>135</sup>

The catechumens were given training on how to confess correctly before they were baptized. The place for confession had to be visible to all and the priest who administered the sacrament was not expected to ask too many questions if they were not necessary. The Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick should be given to strengthen sick people's faith in God's mercy and care. For this reason, it was hoped that fellow Catholics would try to get the priest in time to administer the sacrament in the case of final illness. In addition, people were encouraged to bury the dead according to Catholic rites. For this purpose, too, a blest and consecrated public cemetery should be provided at every Parish Station with the cooperation of the local leaders.<sup>136</sup>

Regarding the Sacrament of Holy Orders, the Statutes outlined that all priests were responsible for fostering the priestly vocation in the place where they worked. In order to animate the seeds of native vocations, people should be given catechesis about the noble lifestyle of the priesthood and the importance

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<sup>134</sup> See the Statutes article number: 95, 96, 98, 105. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, ff. 10-11 (554-555).

<sup>135</sup> They made their First Holy Communion after being baptized for 7 or 8 months. The Statutes also prescribed that in every Sunday Mass, after the consecration, one Our Father and Hail Mary should be prayed for the vocation of native priests, the conversion of infidels and Muslims, as well as for benefactors. See the Statutes article number: 111, 113, 116, 118, 120. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, ff. 11-12 (555-556).

<sup>136</sup> See the Statutes article number: 127, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 13 (557).

of having holy priests for the salvation of souls. Support from the people in the form of prayers was highly expected so that the vocation to the priesthood could arise from among them.<sup>137</sup>

Regarding marriage, the benchmark for an age of marriage was pegged at 21 years. People who were married under that age required special permission from their parents. Customary affairs also received attention in marital affairs with a view to ensuring that a marriage would last. Important notice regarding marital affairs was stated in the Statutes article number 156 and 157. Both of these numbers concerned marriages with unbaptized persons while also encouraging Catholics to minimize marriage with unbaptized persons. But if such a marriage was forced to occur, the unbaptized person concerned had to declare a willingness to follow the catechumenate after the blessing of marriage. In relation to interfaith marriages, especially with Muslims, special dispensation should be obtained from the Vicar Apostolic. Information of marriage should be entered in the Book of Baptism with a view to making it easy for pastors to ensure the free status of someone if a second marriage should happen in the future.<sup>138</sup>

The obligatory days for fasting and abstinence for all Catholics in the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas were to be the vigil of Christmas, the seven Fridays during Lent, and the Easter night-vigil. Charitable donations were to be made four times during year with a view to supporting the work of the propagation of the faith, the formation of native priests, and for the missionary care of children throughout the world. All donations collected would be sent to the Holy See.<sup>139</sup>

The Statutes also regulated the importance of missionaries maintaining good relations with Dutch government officials, with local leaders and other religious leaders. Being humble, calm and wise in relationships with these people was seen as something that was very important for helping smooth the mission work. Any misunderstandings that should arise with these people would be the responsibility of the Apostolic Vicar or Dean (= the Vicar Forane) with the approval of the Apostolic Vicar.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> See the Statutes article number: 140-141. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 14 (558).

<sup>138</sup> See the Statutes article number: 153-154, 156-157, 167. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, ff. 16-17 (560-561).

<sup>139</sup> See the Statutes article number: 172-176. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 18 (562).

<sup>140</sup> See the Statutes article number: 250-264. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 26-28 (570-572).

It is clearly seen that the discussion of the Muntilan Conference in 1929 on civil marriage and the need for Parish Priests to be appointed as government employees were not regulated in the Statutes. Indeed, at the conference, Msgr. Verstraelen told the session participants that this problem did not exist in the Lesser Sundas mission. What was regulated in the Statutes was the education of faith in Catholic schools as an obligation.<sup>141</sup>

#### **2.4.4. The Synod of Ndona in 1935**

The first Synod of the Vicariate of Lesser Sunda Islands was held in Ndona from 16 to 22 of August 1935, after a preparatory stage of approximately 2 years, even though the themes discussed were not all new. Concerning the pastoral work, the Synod referred to the «Statutes of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands» which had been enacted since 1930 by Msgr. Verstraelen. Therefore, this synod actually had two objectives at the same time, namely to plan better pastoral methods and to revise the Statutes. From the Synod document, one may notice that there was an additional explanation given for Statute articles numbered 126 and 234. 12 articles from the Statutes were deleted.<sup>142</sup> The reason for the deletions was that the articles were considered to have been dealt with and so therefore they no longer applied. Besides, the Synod also discussed several important points that were not yet included in the 1930s Statutes.

Old themes that were discussed again the preparation for receiving the sacraments and discipline of members within the Church. New themes which were added as a result of the Synod included how to pay attention to the laity; the need to provide retreats for the communities; the need to visit villages and homes, while paying particular attention to children who had finished their education. The care of young people in Hostels or boarding school was also to be attended to. They also looked at the program of formation in the seminary. They reflected upon how they might adapt liturgical celebrations so that they better touched the lives and spirits of the people. They also wondered how they could provide guidance for people who wanted to be actively involved in politics

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<sup>141</sup> ASPF, N.S. vol. 1068, Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929, cc. 211-212.

<sup>142</sup> Additional explanations for Statutes article no. 126 essentially states that the absence of Sunday worship without a Mass led by a layman is considered a sin. To article 234 an explanation was added that the *Vicarius Foraneus* did not intervene directly but always through the boarding school director. The articles deleted were article numbers 95, 96, 98, 99, 119, 120, 121, 127, 153, 156, 158, 162. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, ff. 2-3, 5, 8; AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930, f. 12 (556).

and in efforts to develop the economic life of the community. All these themes undoubtedly showed the remarkable pastoral character of this synod<sup>143</sup>.

There were many interesting things that arose from this synod. Concerning the Sacrament of Baptism, the Synod explicitly explained that the child of a Catholic parent had to be baptized as soon as possible after being born. It was also stated that school children could only be accepted to participate in the catechumenate if there was confirmation that there were no parental objections from their parents or those responsible for them. In addition, the Synod also regulated the baptism of children from Protestants, Muslims, apostate Catholics or other Eastern foreigners. If they asked to be baptized, they had to present a written declaration from their parents that promised not to make any difficulties for these children which would prevent them from fulfilling their religious obligations in the future.<sup>144</sup>

This synod also established a new regulation regarding the Sacrament of Confirmation. This Synod approved the right of all priests in the vicariate with the appropriate faculties to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to a child or an adult who was in danger of death. Concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony, the Synod emphasized that while preparing for marriage, priests and catechists should also pay attention to the traditional marriage customs in order to ensure that marriage would last. The Synod participants believed that the opinions of elders in villages regarding whether or not a marriage was traditionally valid needed to be heard in the marriage preparations. This would greatly affect the life of the new family going forward. In addition, the Synod was also discussed about pre-marriage examination, *disparitas cultus* (disparity of worship) and «Pauline Privilege» in relation to marriage matters.<sup>145</sup>

Regarding the religious education of the school children, the Synod divided the program into three important stages for the *volksschool*, the *standardschool* and the post academic youths. At *volksschool*, students were taught religion through interesting biblical stories. Memorization of the contents of the catechism was not obligatory for them. It would be introduced to them when

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<sup>143</sup> P. LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Wilayah Keuskupan Agung Ende dan Keuskupan Larantuka*, 1134-1136; A. BEDING, *Mgr. Henricus Leven, SVD: Profil Seorang Uskup Misionaris* [Msgr. Henricus Leven, SVD: Profile of a Missionary Bishop], Ende, Sekretariat Provinsi SVD Ende, 1996, 51-52.

<sup>144</sup> The catechumenate period lasted for approximately 1 ½ years, both for school children and for adults or children who did not attend a school. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, ff. 1-2.

<sup>145</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, f. 2-3, 5-8.

they reached the *standaardsschool* level. Besides, after graduation, children would be collected at least once a year for a joint recollection or retreat. The Synod also paid attention to mentoring for children in boarding schools or *internaat*. For them, it was hoped that guidance would be supplied according to methods of Don Bosco.<sup>146</sup>

The Synod determined that Congregations for lay people<sup>147</sup> would be opened in various places. Therefore, it was highly recommended that pastors should visit villages and private homes with a view of paying attention to mission collaborators such as catechists and religious teachers, and also to the members of the Congregational groups. In addition, the Synod also appealed to pastors to offer public retreats to groups of people in the belief that the retreat was an effective means of deepening their faith.<sup>148</sup>

On the importance of public retreats, Ndona's synodal document affirmed this.

Therefore, in our mission here too, we must strive to introduce public retreats into every municipality as far as possible so as to deepen the truths of our Holy Faith more and more and to encourage the Christians to live a diligently pious life. It is so necessary because the short period of the catechumenate is hardly enough to convince people to be faithful Christians, and because after the catechumenate it is hardly possible to

<sup>146</sup> According to St. Giovanni Bosco (= Don Bosco) the preventive method consists in making known the rules and then supervising them in such a way that the students feel safe. The one responsible should speak to them as a loving guardian, helping them everywhere, pointing the way, not misguiding them, counselling and reprimanding them with love when it is necessary. For meekness, therefore, excluded all physical punishment, even lighter punishments should be avoided as far as possible. Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, ff. 10, 12-13; F. MERTENS, *Een Retraite van Duizend Schoolkinderen*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 59/12 (1934), 228.

<sup>147</sup> For further reading concerning Congregations: Cf. F. CORNELISSEN, *Het Klein-Seminarie der Floresmissie*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 52/9 (1927), 131-132; *Poelau<sup>2</sup> Soenda Ketjil: Ndona* [The Lesser Sunda Islands: Ndona], in: «Bintang Timoer» 11/1 (1935), 14; *Kongregasi «Santa Maria» telah tiga setengah abad lamanya berdiri* [Three and a Half Century the Congregation of «Santa Maria»], in: «Bintang Timoer» 11/6 (1935), 92-93; *Verslag Sidang Oemoem Perserikatan «Memento Mori»* [Report of the General Assembly of the «Memento Mori» Union], in: «Bintang Timoer» 12/3 (1936), 40-41; *Perserikatan «Ndooe-'Dato» beroesia doea tahoen* [The «Ndooe-'Dato» Union is two years old], in: «Bintang Timoer» 12/4 (1936), 64; *Kongregasi di Larantoka* [Congregation in Lantoka], in: «Bintang Timoer» 12/5 (1936), 79; *Perserikatan Pengasihani Katolik di Mataram (Lombok)* [Catholic Love Association in Mataram (Lombok)], in: «Bintang Timoer» 12/7 (1936), 109.

<sup>148</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, ff. 10-12; C. LORSCHIED, *Das Exerzitienwerk in der Mission auf Flores*, in: «Die Katholischen Missionen» 63/10 (1935), 291-294; *Retraitanten en Geen ... Huizen*, in: «De Katholieke Missiën» 59/10 (1932), 192.

gather the Christians together for a further deepening of the faith by means of religious instructions<sup>149</sup>.

The Synod did not only pay attention to the spiritual welfare of the people but also to the political and economic aspects of life in which the people lived as members of the society with people from different backgrounds. With regard to politics, the Synod was very supportive of indigenous people who legitimately wanted to involve themselves in political affairs. But the Synod proposed that first a small group of laymen be prepared who would be considered capable of the task. They would be expected to stand up for Catholic values in the broader political affairs. As a good forum for politics, the Synod recommended that Catholics should join in the PPKD Party (*Perkumpulan Politik Katolik di Djawa*; Catholic Political Society in Java) with its central office in Jogjakarta. In relation to socio-economic aspects, the Synod did not have practical plans but had the intention to pay more attention to this element in the future. The fulfilment of these goals would only be achieved decades later in what became known as the Flores-Timor Plan.<sup>150</sup>

Following this synod, Fr. Johannes Bouma, one of the important figures at the Synod wrote to the Superior General Josef Grendel that the Synod would have a lasting value on their missionary methods. It was anticipated that a better manual for pastoral work, would be developed based upon the decisions of the Synod and which would be available to all pastors working in the Lesser Sundas.<sup>151</sup>

#### 2.4.5. «*Manuale Pastorale* 1938»

What became known as the «*Manuale Pastorale*» was promulgated by Msgr. Henricus Leven on 12 June 1938. It was a handbook that was put together based on the Statutes of the Vicariate from 1930, the document of Ndona-Synod of 1935 and other several decrees which were issued later by Apostolic Vicars. The manual or handbook also included 8 important attachments. Thus,

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<sup>149</sup> «Daarom moet ook hier in onze missie het streven zijn om de retraites voor zoover mogelijk in alle gemeenten ingang te doen vinden, om zoo de waarheden van ons H. Geloof meer en meer te verdiepen en de christenen aan te sporen tot een ijverig vroom leven. Dat is hier daarom zoo noodzakelijk omdat en het catechumenaat in die korte tijd niet in staat is de menschen tot overtuigde en getrouwe christenen te vormen en omdat het na het catechumenaat nog maar nauwelijks mogelijk is de christenen samen te krijgen voor een verder verdiepend godsdienstonderricht.» Cf. AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, f. 11.

<sup>150</sup> AP-SVD Ende, Synode di Ndona 1935, Officiële mededeeling der besluiten, resoluties, conclusies der Synode, Ndona, 16-22.8.1935, f. 14.

<sup>151</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Ende, 4.9.1935, f. 1.

the yearning of Msgr. Verstraelen to have a handbook for pastoral work was finally fulfilled in 1938 by his successor. In general, the content of the handbook was almost the same as that of the Statutes of the Vicariate. Even so, there was no doubt that the handbook also brought something new. It had been enriched or updated with inputs from the Ndona-Synod. According to Msgr. Leven, since the Ndona-Synod had finished, he had had the determination to publish a manual for pastoral work in his vicariate. This manual, that was essentially a formulation of mission methods supported by tradition and the experiences of many pastors, was intended to establish a common or mutual understanding of pastoral procedures. Thus, a stable and lasting success in pastoral work could be assured.<sup>152</sup>

Many people acknowledged that after a dozen years of use, the «*Manuale Pastorale 1938*» had achieved most of its goals. Nevertheless, what was considered good previously, was once again seen to be in need of an update. Therefore, after the division of Flores into three vicariates on 8 March 1951<sup>153</sup>, a lengthy discussion began proposing the renewal of the first handbook. The new «*Manuale Pastorale*» that would apply to all vicariates in the Lesser Sundas was finally published in 1958. This time however, the influence of the new manual was no longer so popular everywhere as when it was first published. It was emerging that in the new extended areas of jurisdiction each vicariate was experiencing the fact that they were having their own particular pastoral issues to deal with. Probably because of that, it became more difficult to take care of everyone with just one handbook.<sup>154</sup>

## 2.5. The Division of the Vicariate into Two

### 2.5.1. Initial Ideas Concerning the Division

The first person to speak about dividing the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands was Fr. Franz Ariaens, SVD from Teteringen. As the Rector of the Teteringen Major Seminary, he responded to the issue of a shortage of missionaries in the Lesser Sundas mission. It was in September 1919. He recommended that all young German missionaries from Togo and Mozambique who were expelled from those countries because of the World war should be asked to apply for the Lesser Sundas instead. At the same time, he also foresaw that if the time came for the Prefecture of the Lesser Sundas to

<sup>152</sup> H. LEVEN, *Manuale van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden*, Ende, Arnoldus Drukkerij, 1938, 5-6; A. MÖHLMANN, *The New Manual for Our Missions in Indonesia*, in «*Verbum SVD*» 1/4 (1959), 345-346.

<sup>153</sup> AAS 43 (1951) 407, 452-453.

<sup>154</sup> A. MÖHLMANN, *The New Manual for Our Missions in Indonesia*, 336, 342.

be divided, then Timor should be the part to be separated. According to him, Timor was completely different from Flores in many ways. This idea also arose because there was a fear that there might be an invasion of Protestants into Flores. This fear was aroused by the Dutch parliamentary session at that time concerning the cancellation of the double mission or «*dubbele zending*» laws. It was felt that the more missionaries sent there, the more places would be Christianized. With such an expected enlargement of the Catholic population there would ensue the opportunities for the canonical division of the Lesser Sundas mission.<sup>155</sup>

This idea was dropped at first but later on it reappeared again following a discussion on the topic that revolved around the theme: the lack of missionary personnel. This time it was Fr. Franz de Lange, who had recently been transferred to the SVD Province of North America who brought up the issue. In a letter to the Assistant General, Fr. Johannes Bodems, Fr. de Lange wrote about the availability of priestly personnel that was not proportional to the growing number of Catholics in the Lesser Sundas. He hoped that the Generalate could pay more attention to this mission. Based on data comparisons, by the end of 1922, compared to other missions in the world, the Lesser Sundas had fewest priests. Furthermore, Fr. de Lange wrote that if the number of priests could not be increased, he strongly recommended that the mission of the Lesser Sundas be shared with other mission Congregations. According to him, it was better to see Flores become a Catholic island than a Muslim one just because the SVD was not unable to provide enough missionary personnel.<sup>156</sup>

This was the view of people who lived outside the Lesser Sundas but what were the opinions of the missionaries who worked there, especially in Flores and Timor? Generally, they were divided into two groups: those who supported the division and those who were against it. Of course, each group had their own reasons, both sincere and less sincere because some had other interests as well.

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<sup>155</sup> To convince the Superior General Nicolaus Blum, Fr. Ariaens involved Fr. Johannes Unkel, his colleague in Teteringen, as someone who supported his opinion. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Ariaens to Blum, Teteringen, 19.9.1919, f. 2; *Schematismus S.V.D. 1919*, Steyl, Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaellem, 1919, 32.

<sup>156</sup> Fr. Franz de Lange left for Techny on 3 July 1922. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Friedrich, Ende, 5.7.1922, f. 1; F. de Lange to Bodems, St. Norbert's College West Deeper, 21.10.1922, ff. 2-4. The Data exposed by Fr. de Lange to Fr. Bodems were missions in Shantung (10,000 Catholics; 94 Priests), Japan (500 Catholics; 18 Priests), Borneo (5,000 Catholics; 20 Priests), Kei Islands (17,000 Catholics; 22 Priests); The Lesser Sunda Islands (66,000 Catholics; 33 Priests).

### 2.5.2. Arguments in Favour of the Division

It had been the tradition of Church officials in Propaganda Fide to divide certain mission areas where the number of Catholics had reached one hundred thousand. Already in 1926, the number of Catholics in the Lesser Sundas had exceeded that number.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, sooner or later, the division would have to occur. Therefore, there were certain missionaries who thought that it would be better if the initiative for a division started with the SVDs. The SVDs still had the opportunity to submit suggestions for the benefit of the SVD that might still be considered by Propaganda Fide. The SVD's main interest was that the division would enable the SVD to have two missions close together. The advantage of this was that the neighbouring mission from the same Society could serve as a new workplace choice for missionaries who had conflicts in their current workplaces. Thus, any time there might be a missionary with a problem, it should not be necessary for the missionary to return to Europe. Whereas, if the initiative came from Propaganda Fide, then there was a possibility – this was something that worried some older missionaries the most – that Timor could be taken from the hands of the SVDs and handed over to some other mission Congregation.<sup>158</sup>

Father General Wilhelm Gier advanced the idea that creating a new ecclesiastical area would increase the Catholic faith in the region concerned, driven by the new responsibilities given on them. As well as that, in some respects the smaller the area the administration would become more manageable and more fruitful.<sup>159</sup>

According to the observations of Fr. Bernhard Glanemann, when Prefect Petrus Noyen moved the mission centre to Ndona in Flores, it seemed to him as though Timor had always been ranked second to Flores. If Timor was to be divided, he said, and made independent, it would be to its advantage. As the result, slowly but surely, Timor would be provided with facilities similar to those on Flores and the separation of the ecclesiastical administration would help Timor to be more independent in the future. Funds for the work of the missions would flow directly to Timor. These funds were mainly the annual subsidy funds from the Vatican which were managed by Propaganda Fide. If Flores and Timor

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<sup>157</sup> Until August 1926, the number of Catholics throughout the Lesser Sundas reached 100,790. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Gier: Statistiek der Werkzaamheden van het Apostolisch Vicariaat der Kleine Soenda-eilanden, van 1 September 1925 tot 1 Augustus 1926, f. 1 (448).

<sup>158</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 17.8.1926, f. 3 (2<sup>e</sup>); AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, B. Glanemann: Teilung des apostolischen Vikariates der «Kleine Sunda Inseln» speziell die Teilung von Flores und Timor, Steyl, 2.2.1927, ff. 1-3 (451-453).

<sup>159</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel, s.l., 17.8.1926, f. 2-3 (1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>e</sup>).

had remained connected, all funds would have continued to flow into the coffers of Flores and Timor would have seen little of it.<sup>160</sup>

### 2.5.3. Arguments Against the Division

Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen was one among those who disagreed with the division of his vicariate. His objection was triggered first by the fact that at that time the SVD had just rejected the offer to take on the mission of Bangka and Belitung in addition to Flores and Timor. He feared that it could be misunderstood by the Vatican that the SVDs were only interested in the easy options and Timor could be handed over to another religious Congregation. He did not want that to happen; he wanted Timor to remain one with Flores. In addition, he argued that if there were two vicariates then another Regional and infrastructure would be needed. In the end, this would mean that there would even be less personnel available for the missionary work of proclaiming the Gospel to the people from the traditional religious backgrounds. He was of the opinion that Timor could still be served from Flores, thanks to the transportation arrangements that existed there. So for him, the need to separate was not yet too urgent.<sup>161</sup>

Concerning the issue of the separation of Timor from Flores, Fr. Stenzel was of the opinion that for the time being it was not necessary. What was certain was that someday the territory of the Dutch-Timor would have to be separated from Flores into a separate vicariate. The reason that he mentioned was that until that time Msgr. Verstraelen was still able to carry out his duties properly. Another reason mentioned by him was related to financial issues. Fr. Stenzel knew that if Timor was going to be divided, it would require more funds more than the mission had, while at the same time it had yet attracted the assistance of benefactors for the new mission territory. This would all require time. These reasons however, despite how reasonable they were, were really just euphemistic. Their real reasons was revealed later when he wrote about the potential loss of stipends from Mass intentions which were distributed to the vicariate by Steyl or Rome. In fact, up to that time, they were still striving to repay the loans which they had received for the building of the Craft Schools in Ende and so they could ill afford to lose any of the income from the Mass stipends celebrated by the missionaries. For sure

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<sup>160</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, B. Glanemann: Teilung des apostolischen Vikariates der «Kleine Sunda Inseln» speziell die Teilung von Flores und Timor, Steyl, 2.2.1927, ff. 3-4 (453-454); Leven to Gier: Memorandum, Ndona, 14.2.1929, f. 2 (520).

<sup>161</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 7.2.1924, f. 3; AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Leven to Gier: Memorandum, Ndona, 14.2.1929, f. 5 (523).

there was the fear that the division of the vicariate territory would interfere with the flow of funds.<sup>162</sup>

The objection was also motivated by the Bishops understanding that the reputation and power of a bishop would be diminished by dividing his territory. It was expected that to be a big man, a person of authority, there should be no diminution of authority. This was how it was in Civil Society too. An Apostolic Vicar stood outwardly in the eyes of Europeans and natives, at least on the level of a resident (governor). If a division of a vicariate was made within a residency, the new apostolic vicars would become lower in the eyes of Europeans and natives. In the case of Timor and its surrounding islets, the Apostolic Vicar would not even have the area of an assistant resident for administration. Therefore, this division would be harmful for Timor itself and for the reputation of the Church. Accordingly, up to that time, the government encountered many difficulties in handling official matters with Church guardians (Vicar and Prefect Apostolics). For the sake of the smooth administration, the government had recommended that the area of an Apostolic Vicar be no less than the area of a resident in size. In short, it seems the principal reason for this unwillingness to divide the territory was in fact, political.<sup>163</sup>

From an economic perspective, it was doubtful that Timor could be self-sufficient and independent. As such, it was considered that the time had not arrived for them to have their own bishop. Timor was very poor, so that it could never be particularly prosperous. If this already had the effect that the taxes paid by the population to the tax authorities were very low, little or almost nothing could be raised for Church purposes. For this reason alone, the officials had often told the missionaries that no funds could be freed up for other purposes.<sup>164</sup>

Generally, those who rejected this separation were people around the circle of ecclesiastical power. According to them, what was most needed by the Lesser Sundas mission at that time was not the addition of more Apostolic Prefects or Vicars, but rather the addition of missionary personnel and greater

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<sup>162</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 29.11.1926, ff. 2-3; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1947, Gier to Glanemann, Steyl, 29.3.1924, f. 1; AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, B. Glanemann: Teilung des apostolischen Vikariates der «Kleine Sunda Inseln» speziell die Teilung von Flores und Timor, Steyl, 2.2.1927, f. 3 (453).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, Leven to Gier: Memorandum, Ndona, 14.2.1929, ff. 6-7 (524-525); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Schröder to Gier, Halilulik, 26.5.1932, f. 2; AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Biondi, Ndona, 31.7.1935, f. 1 (698).

<sup>164</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Leven to Gier: Memorandum, Ndona, 14.2.1929, ff. 7-8 (525-526); AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 29.11.1926, f. 1; Schröder to Grendel, Ndona, 27.6.1933, f. 1.

financial support. It seemed that they would still disagree with the division, for whatever reason and at any cost, even though the request would have to come from Propaganda Fide.<sup>165</sup>

#### 2.5.4. Challenges in the Middle of the Way

While the discussion was still in progress, there was a change of leadership at several levels that affected also the smooth running of the process. Changes of Superior were happening at the SVD Generalate level as well as at the SVD Region of the Lesser Sundas and the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands. On 28 September 1932, during the SVD Sixth General Chapter, Fr. Josef Grendel was elected the new Superior General, replacing Fr. Wilhelm Gier. One of the elected members of the General Councillors was Fr. Franz de Lange, a former Lesser Sundas missionary. Fr. Wilhelm Gier himself was elected as Vice Superior General.<sup>166</sup>

As well as those changes, on 16 March 1932, Msgr. Verstraelen, SVD died in a car accident on his way to Todabelu. The car he was travelling plunged into a ravine and he died instantly. Fr. Johannes Bouma who was driving the car fractured his hand. A year after his death, his Pro-vicar Fr. Henricus Leven, SVD was elected bishop on 25 April 1933 as his successor. He was ordained bishop in Uden on 12 November 1933.<sup>167</sup>

Before the unfortunate accident mentioned above, on 12 March 1932, the SVD Generalate in Rome had appointed the same Fr. Johannes Bouma to be the new Regional, succeeding Fr. Carl Stenzel. News of the appointment was only received in Ende around one month after the accident. In that difficult situation, he accepted the responsibility for carrying out the duties of Regional. As a result of the accident, he had to live with a broken left hand for the rest of his life. The first year of his leadership was very difficult for him. Under the trying circumstances, a few people suggested that he resign from his office,

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<sup>165</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Leven to Gier, Ndona, 17.8.1931, ff. 1-2 (605-606).

<sup>166</sup> *Amtliche Mitteilungen über das 6. Generalkapitel der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 82 (1933), 625-626.

<sup>167</sup> It was said that the accident happened because in the middle of the road they encountered someone riding a horse and the horse was disturbed by the sound of the car. Because of this, the rider and the horse fell into the nearby hole. At the same time, Father Bouma who was driving lost control of the car. Within seconds, they were already in the abyss. Cf. S. Buis, *Bij het Graf van een Beminden Bisschop. De Auto-catastrophe op Flores*, in: «De Katholieke Missien» 57/9 (1932), 169-170; AAS 25 (1933) 249-250, 453; *Ź.H. Exc. Mgr. Henricus Leven SVD: Nieuwbenoemd Apost. Vicaris der Kleine Soenda Eilanden (Flores-Missie)*, in: «De Katholieke Missien» 59/2 (1933), 27-28; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Ende, 25.7.1927, f. 1. Fr. Henricus Leven arrived in Ndona on 26 July 1927 for a position as *Pro-vicar* replacing Fr. J. van Cleef who passed away the previous month.

but that did not happen. Happily, Fr. Bouma succeeded in leading the SVD Region of the Lesser Sundas for three terms, both before and after World War II. One of his works that greatly supported the progress of the mission in the Lesser Sundas was the establishment of the Saint Paul Major Seminary at Ledalero, Flores.<sup>168</sup>

After all these good and bad events, the business of the dividing the Vicariate were to be continued by Msgr. Leven but not immediately. In the meantime, the new bishop and Fr. Regional J. Bouma seemed to be of the same opinion about not dividing Timor.

### 2.5.5. The Generalate Suddenly Steps in and the Reactions

In 1935, Superior General Josef Grendel wrote two letters to two different people: Msgr. Henricus Leven and Regional Father Johannes Bouma. The contents of these two letters were the same sharing the urgent news that Propaganda Fide was preparing to take the necessary steps for the division of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas. As originally planned, Dutch-Timor would be separated from Flores and thus would become an independent vicariate, while Flores itself would be divided into two Vicariates. According to Fr. Grendel, if the SVDs wanted to have any influence on the implementation of these plans, then the best way forward for them would be to actively take matters into their own hands by corresponding directly with Propaganda while making the proposal for the division. There was no time to be lost, he said, and so the proposal should be done immediately. There was no more time for discussion. It was urgent to act now! What should be stated and suggested was to propose how the division of the vicariate should be made. To convince his two superiors, Fr. Grendel wrote that he obtained the information from a very reliable body in the Propaganda Fide.<sup>169</sup>

In a short time, he received two letters of reply. Even though he was still doubtful about the division that had to be made, Msgr. Leven promised that he would write to Rome as soon as possible. Apparently, Msgr. Leven himself was given a signal in that direction by the Prefect of Propaganda Fide

<sup>168</sup> AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Gier to Stenzel: An die hochwürdigen Patres und ehrwürdigen Brüder der Region Holländisch-Indien, s.l., 15.3.1932, ff. 1-2; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 82 (1933), 630; AG-SVD, 805:1912-1933, Stenzel to Gier, Halilulik, 4.5.1932, f. 1; Bouma to Gier, Ndona, 25.5.1932, ff. 1-3; G. van Velzen to Grendel, Ende, 8.11.1933, f. 1; Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 19.11.1933, ff. 1-4; Grendel to Cornelissen, s.l., 19.12.1933, f. 1; Lambert to Grendel, Ende, 12.11.1933, ff. 1-2; Cornelissen to Grendel, Todabelu, 18.12.1933, f. 1; Bouma to Grendel, Todabelu, 20.12.1933, ff. 1-3; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/2 (1935), 237; *Ernennungen*, in: «Nuntius SVD» 2/5 (1938), 529.

<sup>169</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Grendel to Leven, s.l., 4.3.1935, ff. 1-2 (683-684); Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 2.4.1935, f. 1 (685).

himself. He objected to separating Timor. The main reason was the close unity and togetherness in every respect on the part of the mission that had been intensively worked on until that time. According to him, the more natural division<sup>170</sup> would have been between Bali and Lombok. These could also be more easily be handed over to other mission Societies as well, because the SVD did not yet do so much there. If forced to make the suggested division, he would propose the establishment of Dutch-Timor with the surrounding small islets as one, while Flores would be the other. Meanwhile, Father Regional Bouma in his reply said that in principle he saw that the time was not yet opportune to carry out the division as requested. Regarding the issue of handing over Bali and Lombok to other mission Societies, he disagreed with Msgr. Leven.<sup>171</sup>

In his reply, Superior General Grendel stated his agreement with the stand of Fr. Bouma concerning the issue of Bali and Lombok. He promised to prepare missionary personnel and the funds needed to carry out missionary work on the two islands. He also conveyed a confidential message to them saying that actually Propaganda wanted to divide Flores because of the significant number of Catholics there. In order to prevent that issue from happening, he suggested that it would be best if the request for the division of the Dutch-Timor was immediately submitted, excluding the division of Bali and Lombok.<sup>172</sup>

### 2.5.6. The Proposal and Final Decision

Very cautiously, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, His Eminence Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, conveyed his plan to Msgr. Henricus Leven to divide the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands. As quoted by Msgr. Leven in his letter to Superior General Josef Grendel, Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi wrote that he would be pleased if, according to Msgr. Leven's view the time would be opportune to do so, he could divide his vicariate as necessary.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>170</sup> What he meant by «natural» division was a division in accordance with the existing political areas. In the concept of Msgr. Leven, the Lesser Sundas region that consisted of 2 residencies (Timor and its islands and Bali-Lombok) could only have 2 Vicariates namely the Vicariate of Flores and the Vicariate of Bali-Lombok. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Biondi, Ndona, 31.7.1935, ff. 1-2 (698-699).

<sup>171</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Grendel, Ndona, 11.4.1935, ff. 1-3 (688-690); Bouma to Grendel, Ende, 24.4.1935, f. 1 (694); AG-SVD, 805:1934-1947, Bouma to Grendel, Todabelu, 22.10.1935, f. 1.

<sup>172</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Grendel to Leven, s.l., 24.5.1935, f. 2 (692).

<sup>173</sup> Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni Biondi wrote in Latin thus, «[...] "Floridus Missionis status, in qua laboribus vestris apostolicis tam copiosus fructus assecuti estis, me suadet ut a Te petam utrum maturum tempus advenisse censeas dividendi territorium Vicariatus. Rem, quaeso, attende considerare velis, et quid de ea senseris huic S. Congregationi significare." [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Grendel, Ndona, 11.4.1935, f. 1 (688).

After some discussions with the relevant superiors, on 31 July 1935, Msgr. Henricus Leven submitted a request to Propaganda Fide to divide his vicariate. In his letter, he acknowledged that the number Catholics in the Lesser Sundas had reached 265,303 and should now be divided into multiple Vicariates. He recommended that the Eastern part of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas should be established as a separate Vicariate. It would cover the territory consisting of the islands of Alor, Pantar, Dutch-Timor, Roti and Savu. This region had been designated in accordance with consideration of their political unity and quasi ethnological unity. The total population of the whole area was 533,672, of which 37,084 were Catholics, who were mostly found in Belu. In other parts of the region, Catholics were few. Most of this area was considered as part of the Protestant territory. Therefore, the work of preaching the gospel to areas other than Dutch-Timor needed permission from the government of the Dutch East Indies.<sup>174</sup>

The decision of the Holy See finally arrived. On 25 May 1936, Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) issued the edict of the establishment of the Apostolic Vicariate of Dutch-Timor with its Latin name «*Vicariatus Apostolicus De Timor Neerlandica*». The appointment of its first Apostolic Vicar was announced a year later. The reason for the delay in announcing the appointment of the first bishop of the new Vicariate was due to an official in the Vatican offices of Propaganda Fide not informing the Government according to established Protocols. In the meantime, the news had already been spread in the magazine «*Agenzia Fides*». After this problem was resolved, on 1 June 1937, the Holy See announced the appointment of Msgr. Jacobus Pessers as the titular bishop of Candyba, Turkey, and the Apostolic Vicar of Dutch-Timor. He was ordained bishop on 28 October 1937 in Tilburg. When Msgr. Pessers began his service as a bishop in his Diocese, there were already established 8 mission stations with 12 priests and 2 houses of SSPS Sisters with a total of 41,399 Catholics.<sup>175</sup>

After a decade of discussion about dividing the vicariate, Fr. Johannes Bot, SVD wrote in the magazine «*The Christian Family*», that the decision to divide the vicariate at that time was the right one. It was seen as an important decision which became another milestone in the development of mission history in the Lesser Sunda Islands.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>174</sup> In this region, there were 129,000 Protestants, 367,188 adherents of traditional religion and Muslims. Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Biondi, Ndona, 31.7.1935, ff. 2-3 (699-700).

<sup>175</sup> AAS 28 (1936) 459-460; AAS 29 (1937) 346, 456; K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 49-50; *Zilver over Timor (1913-1938)*, in: «*De Katholieke Missiën*» 64/1 (1938), 14; AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Biondi, Ndona, 31.7.1935, f. 3 (700).

<sup>176</sup> J. Bot, *The Harvest is Great*, in: «*The Christian Family*» 44 (1949), 331, 356.

### 3. Initial Mission Work in Some other Islands

Until the time that the Lesser Sundas Vicariate was divided into 2 Vicariates, the SVD working area was limited to 2 islands namely Flores and Timor. This happened as a result of the so-called Article 177 (formerly Article 123) of the Dutch East Indies government which did not allow the presence of two different Congregations on the same island. The Lesser Sunda Islands were divided according to the highest number of adherents of a certain religion. In fact, the so-called SVD territory at that time was limited to a small part of Timor, Flores and a small part of Sumba with about 789.327 inhabitants. The Alor, Pantar, South Middle Timor, Kupang, Savu, Roti and Sumba regions were considered Protestant territory. Therefore, the Catholic mission was not permitted to be there. Besides, the islands of Sumbawa and Lombok, which had more Muslims, were regarded as Islamic regions, while Bali was considered a Hindu territory. These divisions had limited the scope of work of the SVD missionaries.<sup>177</sup>

The struggle since the beginning of the SVD presence in the Lesser Sundas to begin mission work in Sumba was finally granted in 1929. The first SVD missionaries sent there were Fr. Heinrich Limbrok, Fr. Hermann Enninga and Br. Arnold Streng. They started a Mission Station in the village of Waikelo-Karuni, west Sumba in August of that year. Meanwhile, since 1914, the island of Lombok and Bali had been visited regularly every year by SVD missionaries but they were not permitted to stay. In May 1935, Fr. Johannes van der Heyden was the first SVD missionary to land at Sorong Jukung and he began the mission station there. He was only there until the end of 1940, when was transferred to Ndona. Permission to start a mission on the island of Bali had also been fought for from the beginning but had been strongly opposed by the «parliament» of the Dutch East Indies known as the *Volksraad*. This council believed that the presence of a Catholic mission there would disrupt Balinese culture. However, it was noted that the Protestants were apparently allowed to enter Bali since 1930 already and by 1932 they had already baptized 100 Balinese. For this reason, finally, the Catholic mission was also given permission to start there. On 12 September 1935, Fr. Johannes Kersten was the first SVD missionary to arrive in Denpasar and so he began the first mission station there.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1927-1934, Memorandum: Leven to Gier, Ndona, 14.2.1929, ff. 3-5 (521-523); AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, Leven to Biondi, Ndona, 31.7.1935, f. 3 (700).

<sup>178</sup> K. PISKATY – J. ANTONIUS RIBERU (ed.), *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien*, 39, 44-46; *Pelau2 Soenda Ketjil: Bali dalam Volksraad*, [Lesser Sunda Islands: Bali in the *Volksraad*] in: «Bintang Timoer» 9/5 (1933), 78; AG-SVD, 806:1935-1951, J. van der Heyden to Msgr. G. de Jonghe d'Ardoye, Roma, 4.6.1948, f. 1.

## CONCLUSION

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Society of Jesus was the only missionary congregation in the entire Dutch East Indies. Towards the beginning of the twentieth century the number of Catholics was increasing, and the Jesuits began to realize that they could not maintain the whole mission by themselves. They looked for other helpers. Eventually various parts of their mission were handed over to other religious congregations. In 1902 Dutch New Guinea was handed over to the Sacred Heart Missionaries; in 1905 Borneo was handed over to the Capuchins while in 1911 they were asked to care for Sumatra. In the following year, 1912, the Lesser Sunda Islands' mission was entrusted to the Divine Word Missionaries (the SVDs).<sup>1</sup>

Although there were various choices available, which included Sumatra, Celebes, and the Lesser Sunda Islands, right from the beginning the SVDs were interested in the Lesser Sunda Islands. The reason for this was because this was a region where there were still many adherents of traditional religions who, it was thought could be converted to Christianity. This consideration was influenced primarily by the SVDs charism as a missionary Congregation, to preach the Gospel in places where missionary work was still at its pioneering stage. At that time Sumatra had already many Protestants while Celebes was acknowledged as a Muslim island. Since each of the islands already had a «master», so to speak, the SVD did not want to work on those two islands when they were offered to them on the grounds that any mission work there would not be so successful.

Right from the beginning of the negotiations, the Jesuits and Msgr. Luypen persisted in their efforts to keep Flores for themselves. In their opinion, the Lesser Sunda Islands could be taken by another congregation, but Flores – which was situated in the middle of the islands – could not be ceded. It could be said that during that time the Jesuits were obsessed with Flores.

This insistence by the Jesuits slowed down the initial negotiations and even stalled them. When the negotiations became stagnant, Propaganda Fide intervened with the decree of 8 February 1912 in an attempt to help both congregations to resolve the impasse. Although some Jesuits did not really appreciate the decree, Bishop Luypen's reaction towards it was very clear. He did not hesitate to invite the SVDs to come and help him in his vicariate, as demonstrated in his letter to Fr. Blum (21 April 1912). The SVDs were then

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<sup>1</sup> G. ROMMERSKIRCHEN, *Indonesia: Evangelizzazione*, in: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 6, Città del Vaticano, Ente per l'Enciclopedia cattolica e per il libro cattolico, 1951, 1892.

admitted to Timor and Sumba in anticipation of the establishment of a new apostolic prefecture.

It was all rather sudden. No one expected that the new apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands would be established so soon. On 16 September 1913 the new apostolic prefecture was established. However, even with this second decree, the «Flores» obstacle remained. The Jesuits still wanted to keep Flores. Yet another decree was issued on 20 July 1914 after which the Jesuits finally realized that they did not have enough missionaries to any longer administer the island. For this reason, they eventually ceded Flores to the SVDs.

One could ask the question: why did the Jesuits not want to cede Flores? It is not an easy question to answer. The reasons why the Jesuits hung on so tenaciously to Flores were both tactical and psychological in nature. It was tactical in the sense that the Jesuits knew very well that Flores was the great hope of Catholicism in the Dutch East Indies at that time. On Flores there were old Christian communities which formed a solid foundation for missionary expansion, and Flores was (along with Bali, Timor and Sumba) the only larger island in the area into which Islam had not yet made great inroads. But with the lack of missionary personnel, Islam could easily rule the island.

The psychological reason for the tenacity of the Jesuits in preventing the transfer of Flores to the SVD was their recognition of the importance of Flores for their own mission. The Jesuits knew that by ceding Flores they would lose the prime part, «the flower», of their missionary work. Furthermore, the Jesuits had been working there since 1863. That meant that, when they started the negotiations about ceding the Lesser Sunda Islands (in 1909), they had already been working there for 46 years and so had established roots and traditions there. Fifteen of their missionaries were also buried on the island.<sup>2</sup> They had carried out and accomplished exhausting missionary labors, and just around this time they were beginning to reap the first great successes in the Larantuka and Maumere areas. It would be a heavy blow to the Jesuit missionaries to have to leave Flores just at that time. The Vicar Apostolic, who himself had worked seven years on Flores, could understand the Jesuits' spontaneous, emotional resistance to the plan.

In fact, already in 1910 Fr. Schwager had pointed out how valuable the old Christian communities could be for the training of catechists.<sup>3</sup> And since at least that time the SVD generalate had understood the importance of Flores. Right from the time of his arrival Noyen was aware of the importance of the

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<sup>2</sup> K. PISKATY, *Verhandlungen zur Übernahme Unserer Mission in Indonesien*, in: «Verbum SVD» 4/1 (1962), 74.

<sup>3</sup> AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Schwager to Blum, Hohenfeld, 14.6.1910, f. 3 (17).

island, through which all important travel connections ran. When Flores was excluded from the apostolic prefecture it seemed to Noyen that something was wrong. The Lesser Sunda Islands without Flores was a misshapened prefecture – and Flores simply would not go away.

Fr. Petrus Noyen had the courage of a pioneer and was decisive in making the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands (today: Nusa Tenggara) what it is today. Even before Fr. Petrus Noyen went to Timor, he prepared himself with various memos regarding the missionary situation there. He studied the culture and learnt about the geography. And when he was on the spot, he made some important decisions to help the mission grow. His most important decision was to put the centre of the whole mission of the Lesser Sundas, not in Larantuka as it was, but in Ndona (Ende), Flores. This helped to counteract the spread of Islam inland.

Based on historical facts, it can be clearly attested that the decision made by Fr. Petrus Noyen was taken after listening to the opinions of many parties. With his humble-hearted attitude, his openness to various opinions, both from the ecclesiastical community as well as from government officials and people in general, Noyen had made himself a reliable pioneering missionary. It is true that Fr. Noyen was a visionary leader, but his vision did not come out of nothing. In fact, he based his vision and decisions on rational considerations. In addition, he himself was also active in making private observations in the field. His decision to move the mission centre from Larantuka to Ndona, Ende, came after he returned from his first trip to Java in 1914. At his meeting with Msgr. Luyten and the Jesuit Mission Superior, Fr. Eduard Engbers, Petrus Noyen openly explained his plans to them. Noyen's initial plan of placing the mission centre in Ende was changed after he received important input from Fr. Engbers, SJ. He finally chose Ndona, situated in the mountainous area and in the countryside, as a centre for SVD missions throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands. In one of his letters to Steyl, Petrus Noyen said,

[...] Now that I've seen Flores for myself and have come to know the circumstances somewhat and having heard the views of the SJ's working there, I can see that there will have to be some change. No matter how necessary it might be, in the region of Lela and Larantuka, many forces would come to reap the ripe harvest, and so it would all the more necessary to occupy West Flores [...].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> «[...] Nachdem ich nun Flores selber gesehen und die Umstände näher habe kennen lernen und auch die Ansichten der dort arbeitenden Patres SJ gehört, wird darin eine Änderung kommen. So nötig es auch wäre, daß ins Gebiet von Lela und Laratoeka viele Kräfte kämen, um die reife Ernte einzuheimsen, so ist es doch notwendiger, erst West Flores zu besetzen [...]» Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1909-1919, Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914, f. 4.

Prefect Noyen wanted the missionary work to begin well, even though, his initial enthusiasm was hampered by the outbreak of World War I. In that sad situation, almost all matters became more complicated than before. The lack of mission personnel became the main problem. Prefect Petrus Noyen proved himself convincingly as a pioneering missionary in the difficult circumstances during World War I. This war had complicated the sending of missionaries to the Lesser Sundas. Nevertheless, he never lost his enthusiasm for recruiting missionaries for the Dutch East Indies. When the SVD could not acquire the necessary staff since so many were involved in the war, he succeeded in convincing Superior General Nicolaus Blum to ask for help from other congregations, including from among secular priests in the Netherlands. Some secular priests were then recruited and worked in Flores.

The difficulties associated with the shortage of the mission personnel was slightly alleviated after World War I with the arrival of some German missionaries who had been missionaries in Togo and Mozambique until their expulsion from those countries. But that did not mean that the problem had been completely resolved. Their presence was indeed important for the development of the missionary work in the Lesser Sundas mission, especially because of the rapid increase in the number of Catholics, which in turn, demanded more priests to nurture the «seeds of the faith» that were just beginning to grow in many hearts. Due to the great need for personnel, the SVD's Major Seminary in Teteringen (the Netherlands) appeared be present itself at an opportune time. This formation institute later became the main contributor of priestly personnel which would go on to ensure the continuity of the mission work in the Lesser Sundas thereafter.

One of the important factors in the success of the SVD in Christianizing Flores (and a part of Timor) and of enabling them to become a Catholic island (s) was due to the influence that it exerted in school and educational matters on those islands. In a certain sense this can be justified. It can be acknowledged that the Christianization process took place because of the provision of religious teaching for children in these schools. Usually, after finishing three years of schooling, almost all of them became Catholics. Since there was no longer any possibility for them to continue their education to a higher level, the children from the village schools who graduated returned to their hometowns. There, most of them volunteered as «catechists» who taught the Catholic catechism to the local community.

In fact, the number of school-going children was much less than the children who stayed at home in the villages. At that time, not all children had the opportunity to go to school, especially girls. Because of the catechetical

work of those «catechists» and «religious teachers» in their respective villages, more conversions took place in the villages rather than in the schools. Their presence in the community also made it easier for many adults who wanted to become Catholics. They were all taught the truth of the faith by their own people in their own language.

Therefore, the role of schools in the conversion process may be said to have occurred directly and indirectly. The direct conversion was experienced by children who attended schools, while indirect conversions occurred in villages as a result of the impact and influence of the schools graduates who volunteered to be «catechists». Those who were converted through this latter method then supported, explicitly or implicitly, the practice of conversion in schools.

Another significant factor in the expansion of the Church, besides that of the schools, and one that was no less important in supporting the success of SVD work was the support received from local government officials. According to Karel Steenbrink, in the period from 1902 to 1942, the Dutch colonial government supported the development of Catholicism and Protestantism in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Government supports were experienced in various ways, both morally and materially. The material support was experienced in the form of a monthly salary for pastors in the parishes and priests who were working as school inspectors. The most important support, of course, was the moral support seen in the government's efforts to counter the progress of Islam in Flores and Timor.

The concrete form of that support was the appointment of Flores' local leaders (in Indonesian: *para raja*) from among the Catholics who themselves would support the development of Catholic missionary work. This was evident in the Ende region with the appointment of Pius Rassi Wangge as the *raja* of expanded-Lio and the appointment of Alexander Baruk to be the *raja* for the whole Manggarai. Thus, the power of the Muslim *raja* Mbaki Mbani in Ndona was co-opted into the power of the Catholic *raja* Pius Rassi Wangge and the occupation of the kingdom of Bima over the western regions of Flores including Manggarai was terminated. One of the government officials who deserved to be mentioned in a special way was the Assistant Resident Anton M. Hens. For his services in supporting the development of the Catholic Church in Flores, he was awarded the Cross of Merit «*Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*» while he was on his holidays in the Netherlands in 1916.

On one occasion, a government official said to Msgr. Verstraelen concerning the mission work in Manggarai:

[...] The resident [= Mr. G. Schultz] told me a few weeks ago when he was visiting Ndonga that we should work more seriously in the Ruteng area. «Don't ask too much from the people, baptize them. Instructions can follow later. If the mission does not go ahead, the Mohammedans will pull in everything,» said the resident [...].<sup>5</sup>

This was another example of the moral support received by the Catholic mission from the Dutch government officials.

After World War I ended, the Lesser Sunda mission entered a new era, the era of real development of the missionary work. This began with an upgrade in the status of the Prefecture to that of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands. From year to year, the number of Catholics in this region continued to grow and became the mission with the most numerous Catholics in the Dutch East Indies.

As missionary work developed rapidly, the need of people for better accompaniment was also greater. Missionaries began to learn that people needed good catechists. They reasoned that good catechists would be gained through a good formal education. In a conference in 1922, it was agreed that it would be necessary to start with a catechetical school. In addition, this school could also be considered as the foundation on which the formation of prospective priests from the indigenous people could emerge in the future.

This discussion about a catechetical school did not immediately lead to its establishment. What was established instead was a minor seminary. Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen who attended the above-mentioned conference, and later became the bishop of the Lesser Sundas, was the person who best read the signs of times in connection with the formation of indigenous priestly candidates. The second person who is also worth mentioning was Fr. Franz Cornelissen. These two men became icons for the presence of seminaries in the Lesser Sunda Islands.

While everyone was talking about a catechetical school, Fr. Verstraelen was thinking about a minor seminary which he eventually went on to establish as soon as the opportunity arose. Certainly, in the beginning there were some missionaries who were disappointed with the decision because it was

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<sup>5</sup> The following words were quoted by Msgr. Verstraelen in his letter to Father Superior General Wilhelm Gier. Bishop Verstraelen wrote, «[...] Der Resident sagte mir vor einigen Wochen, als er zu Besuch in Ndonga war, wiederum, daß wir dort viel im Ruteng Gebiet arbeiten sollten. „Verlangen Sie nicht zu viel von den Leuten“, sagte der Resident, „taufen Sie dieselben. Später kann der Unterricht folgen. Wenn die Mission nicht voran macht, werden die Moham[meden] alles an sich ziehen.“ [...]». Cf. AG-SVD, 806:1919-1926, Verstraelen to Gier, Halilulik, 8.10.1923, f. 3 (351).

considered against the collective agreement. Meanwhile, the formation of the people themselves in their Catholic faith was still too underdeveloped. Most of them still belonged to the first-generation category of Catholics in their area. Even so, efforts were made to grow in understanding. After some time, it became more obvious that the decision to start with a seminary was a very wise move. More than that, this decision directly gave a response to the suggestions of the Popes in two important mission encyclicals at that time, «*Maximum illud*» and «*Rerum Ecclesiae*». In faith, one can say that the whisperings of the Holy Spirit through the two encyclicals had been well heard by Msgr. Verstraelen in the founding of a minor seminary.

If, at that time, they started first with a catechetical school, they would have produced only the «pastors' helpers». The two encyclicals were clearly calling attention to the need to foster not only helpers for the European missionaries but rather qualified priests from the indigenous population. Thus they could be prepared with the prospect of becoming local Church leaders. The decision to begin with a seminary was right because it laid a solid foundation for the development of the Lesser Sundas Church in the future. This seminary then educated priests who taught the Lesser Sundanese people in their own language and with their own cultural zeal. Concerning the seminary, the SVD was counted as the second Congregation after the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies which took this matter seriously.

The carpentry training school and the printing press were considered other important achievements which greatly helped the progress of pastoral work in the Lesser Sundas. With the growing number of Catholics, the need for good church buildings began to be felt in various places. Without enough expertise, building a permanent church was impossible. Therefore, the presence of a school which was actually more appropriate as a training centre for carpentry was indeed a great support for this task. This kind of work was not only intended to meet the Church's need but also the need of the community in building permanent houses. In addition, the presence of a printing press had also proven to be a great support for the further spreading of the faith by providing catechism books, Church hymnbooks, official Church prayer books such as the breviary and the Indonesian version of the «*Missale Romanum*» and so on. One of the Church hymnbooks that was famous throughout Indonesia then and remains so until now is «*Jubilate*». The printing press had also supported the progress of education in Flores and Timor by providing textbooks and books of general knowledge for all.

Another achievement that was also related to a better quality of mission work was the need for more directed and planned pastoral programs. This

was addressed beginning with the annual conferences of priests as prescribed in the document of the «*Statutum pro Missionibus Societas Verbi Divini*». This annual conference was intended as a means for discussing pastoral issues that were urgent and which needed to be considered more extensively together. In addition, the «*Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden*» document was also very meaningful as a guideline for better pastoral work. The content of this document was revised during the Synod of Ndona in 1935. In essence, these documents provided a clearer direction for the pastoral work and also instigated what were to be the important issues in the life of the people. All this culminated in the publication of the «*Manuale Pastorale 1938*».

The division of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas into two vicariates was seen as another important achievement in the history of the Lesser Sundas mission. This was the first time that the vicariate had experienced such a development within the same territory. When the issue of the division was discussed some of the missionaries agreed with its need and some of them disagreed with the idea. But the disagreement between them finally had to yield to the greater good in accordance with the prevailing tradition in Propaganda Fide. The tradition referred to was that the first division of a vicariate would be determined by the number of Catholics reaching one hundred thousand. They finally agreed or were «forced» by the situation to agree. Although the division was agreed upon half-heartedly at the beginning, the development of both vicariates a few years later could serve as proof that the division taken was really a right decision. Without such a division, the SVD district in Timor might never have learned to be more independent and to develop the mission there for the better.

The course of history during this period is inseparable from the influence of many figures, both important and less important, such as missionaries who worked in the field and particularly, the SVD Brothers. Important figures that can be mentioned such as Pope Benedict XV, Pope Pius XI, the Superior General of the Jesuits, Fr. F.X. Wernz, SJ and Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, SJ, Msgr. Edmundus S. Luyten SJ, the Bishop of Batavia, and the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits, Fr. Eduard Engbers and Fr. Josef Hoeberechts. They were very generous and helpful in the process of handing over of the Lesser Sundas mission in general and the handing over of Flores in particular to the SVDs. The SVD Superior Generals that can be mentioned are: Fr. Nicolaus Blum, who may be called by name as the Superior General in a difficult times during World War I; Fr. Wilhelm Gier who inspired the missionaries to find new mission methods for the mission work in the Lesser Sundas. It was he too who was the indirect founder of the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero.

Finally, there was Fr. Josef Grendel, SVD who also became as the «father» who sought for a solid foundation of the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero in Maumere, Flores.

The Lesser Sundas bishops also played important roles. The first of these, of course, was Prefect Petrus Noyen, who laid the foundations of the Lesser Sundas mission. The next was Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen as the one who developed the Lesser Sundas mission through better pastoral methods and at the same time confirmed the progress with the foundation of a minor seminary. Msgr. Henricus Leven was «a father» of regeneration for new apostolic vicars in the Lesser Sundas. During his term of office, the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas was divided three times: the Vicariate of the Dutch-Timor (1936), the Apostolic Prefecture of Denpasar (1950) and the establishment of three new vicariates in Flores in 1951 (Larantuka, Ende and Ruteng). The SVD Regionals who had contributed to developing mission work in Flores were Fr. B. Glanemann and Fr. Carl Stenzel as founders of the Craft School and Printing Press, Fr. Johannes Bouma who may be called the co-founder of the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero.

Moreover, it is important to note that the faithfulness of the Catholics to the Church in the entire Lesser Sunda Islands, particularly in Timor and Flores, was the main reason for the rapid development of the missionary work. The desire of the Christians in that region to deepen their faith and to be ministered to more faithfully had its part to play in all this story. In fact, many lay people played important roles in the mission. Most religious instructions in the villages were carried out by village «catechists». They were counted as important collaborators of the missionaries. In addition, lay people were also very open while listening to the guidance of their pastors. A clear sign of such an openness was to be seen in their participation in the various annual retreats which were offered to them. In addition, they also organized themselves into groups such as the Santa Maria congregation, the «*Memento Mori*» group, Catholic Action, and so on.

All SVD mission work in the 1915-1942 period was arguably centred on only two islands: Flores and Timor. Mission work on other islands from the Lesser Sundas region was limited to two to three annual visits. Early starts on Sumba began in 1929, while in Bali and Lombok they began in 1935.

This paper has attempted to trace a small path into the history of the mission in the Lesser Sundas. It has taken into account the preparatory stages for mission work in the Lesser Sundas (1902-1915), the early stages of the mission work (1915-1922) and the development of the mission work (1922-

1942). The period from 1922 to 1942 can be called the period of the real development of the mission work in that region. The culmination of all this progress was the first division of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas. That was the establishment of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Dutch-Timor in 1936.

The next research concerning the region of the Lesser Sunda Islands certainly should begin with the history of the early development of mission work in other islands besides Timor and Flores, until the founding of the Apostolic Prefecture of Denpasar in 1950 and the division of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sundas into three Vicariates in 1951 into the Vicariates of Larantuka, Ende<sup>6</sup> and Ruteng. The situation was, of course, different from the previous era. Politically, Indonesians proclaimed their independence as a nation in 1945. After the proclamation of Indonesians independence, the approach to mission work and how it was carried out was very different from the colonial era. In short, after World War II, a new era began in the history of mission work in Indonesia. The development of mission work in that era and the independence of Indonesia have helped to form the Indonesian Catholic Church hierarchy which was established in 1961 by Pope John XXIII.<sup>7</sup> At that time Ende was upgraded and established as an Archdiocese, one of six in Indonesia.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the SVD presence in the Lesser Sunda Islands, a missionary expressed his joy at seeing the result of the missionary work in Flores through an article written in the magazine the «*Steyler Missions-Bote*». According to him, the missions in Flores developed well due to a disposition which he called the «Christian nature» of the Florenese. He acknowledged that the Florenese people possessed a deep religiosity and high moral values which were not much different from that of Catholic teachings. Therefore, when the Catholic

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<sup>6</sup> The name «Endeh» (with the letter «h») was indeed the official name used when the Vicariate Apostolic was established in 1951 together with 2 other vicariates on Flores. The name was later changed on 14 May 1974 to «Ende» (without the letter «h»). So, the writer uses the name «Endeh» intentionally to remember the name that was used for the first time in 1951. Cf. *Annuario Pontificio. Per l'anno 2019*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2019, 231.

<sup>7</sup> H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* ['Indonesianization': From the Catholic Church in Indonesia to the Indonesian Catholic Church], Jogjakarta, Kanisius, 2005, 139.

<sup>8</sup> In 1961, the Indonesian Catholic Church was divided into six archdioceses. They were: Semarang (3 suffragans: Purwokerto, Surabaya, Malang), Jakarta (2 suffragans: Bandung and Bogor), Pontianak (4 suffragans: Banjarmasin, Samarinda, Ketapang, and Sintang), Makassar (2 suffragans: Manado and Amboina), Medan (4 suffragans: Palembang, Pangkal Pinang, Tanjung Karang, and Padang) and Ende (4 suffragans: Atambua, Larantuka, Ruteng, and Denpasar). Cf. H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 142-143.

faith was introduced to them, that faith flourished quickly like seeds sown on a fertile soil. Signs of the similarity with the Christian faith was to be seen in families which were small social units and which were well-maintained. Their existence was guaranteed by the whole community. Families were well established; divorce and polygamy were exception cases. Concerning their religiosity, almost all aspects of their lives depended on one «transcendental power». This can be seen from the practice of cultivating a garden that started with prayers and offering sacrifices to the «transcendental power» and ended with the same practice as well when the harvest season arrived. All of this had become a good «bridge» that guided the people of Flores and Timor towards the Christian era. The following words of Saint Thomas Aquinas, «*gratia supponit naturam*»<sup>9</sup> or in the context of this discussion can also be referred to as «*gratia supponit culturam*» are a fitting conclusion to this discussion of the history of the Church in the Lesser Sunda Islands. God's grace worked better in the midst of cultural conditions that were conducive for the further development of the grace.<sup>10</sup>

Nowadays, there are two archdioceses in Nusa Tenggara: Ende and Kupang. The Archdiocese of Ende has four suffragan dioceses (Larantuka, Maumere, Ruteng and Denpasar) and Kupang has two (Atambua and Weetebula). The number of Catholics in this region is 2,859,628.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> M. CATHERINE HILKERT, *Nature and Grace*, in: R. PETER MCBRIEN (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995, 909-910.

<sup>10</sup> The idea of the «Christian nature» of the Florenese will be more interesting if discussed in more detail in one anthropological study. Cf. H. WORSTBROCK, *Unsere Floresmission im Silberkranz*, in: «Steyler Missions-Bote» 67/2 (1939), 34; FRANCISCUS, *Esortazione Apostolica: Evangelii Gaudium*, Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 2013, 93 (no. 115).

<sup>11</sup> The number of Catholics according to the dioceses in Nusa Tenggara are: Ende (466,493), Larantuka (244,923), Maumere (291,555), Ruteng (862,080), Denpasar (45,809), Kupang (192,850), Atambua (551,820) and Weetebula (204,098). Cf. *Annuario Pontificio. Per l'anno 2019*, 60, 210, 231, 379, 389, 454, 619, 794.



The Harbour of Atapupu in Timor, the place where the first SVD missionaries arrived in 1913



*Sitting, from left to right: Fr. Petrus Noyen SVD, Fr. Adrianus Mathijssen SJ, Fr. Arnold Verstraelen SVD. Standing, from left to right: Br. Lucianus Mölken SVD and Br. Calixtus Oosterholt SVD*



The First SVD missionaries in Lahurus. *From left to right:* Br. Salesius van de Lith, Br. Lucianus Mölken, Br. Calixtus Oosterholt, Fr. Petrus Noyen, Fr. Wilhelm Baack, Fr. Arnold Verstraelen and Fr. Franz de Lange



Fr. Arnold Verstraelen, SVD standing in front of the parish house in Lahurus, Timor



The central mission station of the Lesser Sunda Islands in Ndona around 1920s



The central mission station of Timor in Halilulik around 1920s



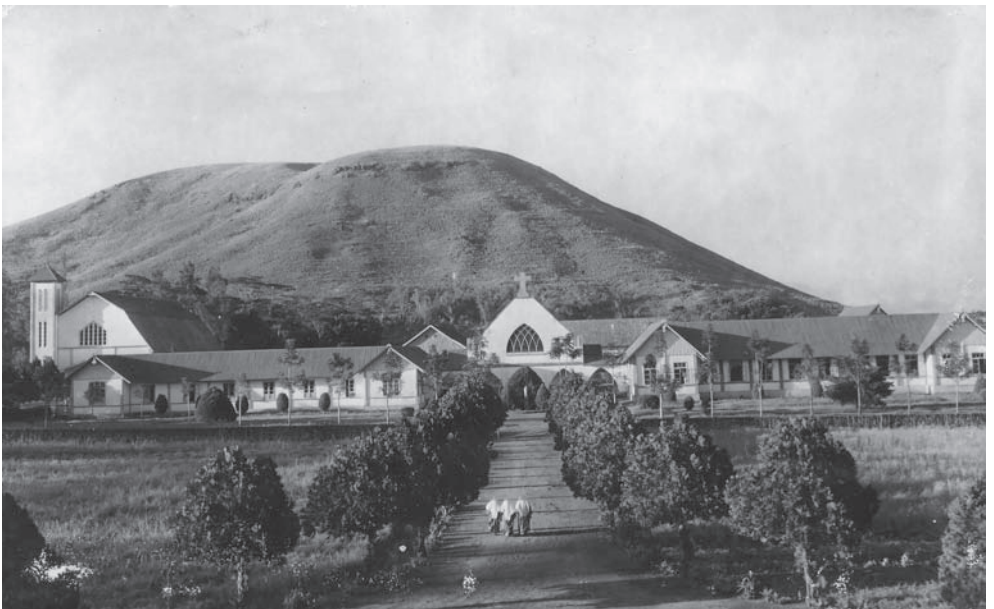
Msgr. Henricus Leven, SVD & *Raja* Pius Rassi Wangge



Mbaki Mbani, the former local chief of Ndona and his two sons



The groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of Minor Seminary in Todabelu  
by Msgr. Arnold Verstraelen, SVD



The main building of the minor seminary in Todabelu, Flores



Fr. Franz Cornelissen, SVD (*standing, third from right*), the founder of the minor seminary with some seminarians and teachers in Todabelu, Flores



Fr. Carl van Trier, SVD conducting a musical rehearsal with some seminarians in Todabelu, Flores



Fr. Wilhelm Baack, SVD giving catechetical lessons in Lahurus, Timor



A catechist teaching Catholic doctrine to people in Lahurus, Timor



A catechist namely Frans Pati with his catechumenate students in Bani-Bani, Timor



Fr. Johann Jakob Köberl, SVD in a course of a marriage preparation in Mataloko, Flores



**Participants of the Synod of Ndona held from 15 to 23 August 1935**

*Front row, seated, from left to right:* Fr. Christian Lorscheid (Rector of Maumere), Fr. Josef Lambert (Rector of Ndona), Fr. Johannes Bouma (Regional), Msgr. Henricus Leven (Apostolic Vicar), Fr. Gerhard van Velzen (Provicar), Fr. Heinrich Schröder (Vice Rector of Timor), Fr. Josef Ettel (Raja).

*Second row, from left to right:* Fr. Bernhard van Stokkom (Ndona), Fr. Johannes Smith (Oelolok), Fr. Wilhelm Daniels (Mauloo), Fr. Wilhelm Strieter (Bola), Fr. Paul Arndt (Larantuka), Fr. August-Suntrup Schütte (Jopu), Fr. Thomas Koning (Rector of Ruteng), Fr. Bernhard Bode (Lamalera), Fr. Heinrich Worstbrock (Rector of Larantuka), Fr. Franz Dorn (Ruteng), Fr. Heinrich Limbrock (Sumba), Fr. Johann Jakob Köberl (Todabelu), Fr. Franz Kluiters (Larantuka).

*Third row, from left to right:* Fr. Matthias Berschbach (Lahurus), Fr. Leo van Well (Bajawa), Franz Cornelissen (Rector of Todabelu), Fr. Franz Mertens (Nita), Fr. Franz Meyer (Ili), Fr. Franz Eickmann (Ruteng), Fr. Josef Grotmann (Nele), Fr. Johannes Smit-2 (Todabelu), Fr. Matthias Naus (Jopu), Fr. Johannes van der Heijden (Lombok).

## PREFECT AND APOSTOLIC VICARS



Msgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD



Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen, SVD



Msgr. Henricus Leven, SVD (left) and  
Msgr. Jacobus Pessers, SVD (right)



Msgr. Jacobus Pessers, SVD, the first  
Apostolic Vicar of Dutch Timor

REGIONALS



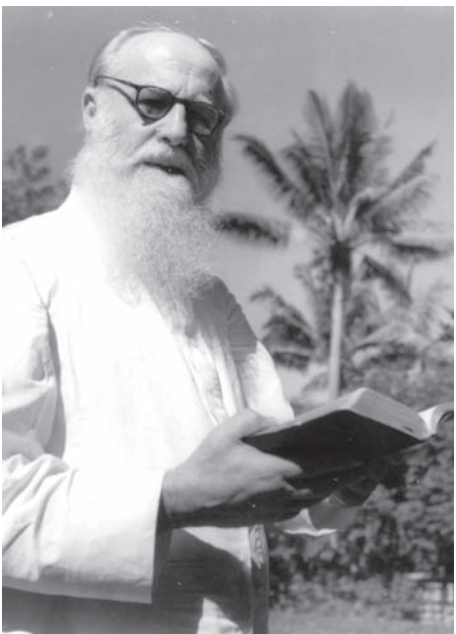
Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD (1913-1921)



Fr. Bernhard Glanemann, SVD  
(1922-1925)



Fr. Carl Stenzel, SVD (1925-1932)



Fr. Johannes Bouma, SVD (1932-1947)



First two female teachers from Flores:  
Guru Solo (left) and Guru Josefine (right)



First SSs Sisters in Lahurus, Timor. The sisters used to pay attention to the education of female students in the mission

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

26.03.1902	Fr. Arnold Janssen's first letter to Fr. Nicolaus Blum about a possible mission in the Dutch East Indies
14.01.1904	First contact with the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies
21.02.1904	Fr. Herman auf der Heide, on behalf of Fr. Arnold Janssen, writes the first letter to Msgr. E.S. Luypen, SJ in Batavia
30.03.1904	First letter of Msgr. Luypen to Fr. Arnold Janssen inviting the SVDs who passed through the Dutch East Indies to come and honour the Jesuits with a visit
27.02.1905	Fr. Arnold Janssen mentions Java in the Dutch East Indies in his letter to the SVD general councillors
08.07.1905	Fr. Arnold Janssen reports his conversation with Cardinal Gotti concerning the mission in the Dutch East Indies
15.01.1909	Fr. Arnold Janssen, the founder and Superior General of the SVD, passes away
21.04.1909	Fr. Constant van den Hemel writes a letter to Fr. Nicolaus Blum reporting the first conversations with the Jesuits about a possible mission for the SVD in the Dutch East Indies
24.06.1909	Fr. Nicolaus Blum, the Administrator General of the SVD, writes his first letter to Msgr. Luypen reporting the willingness of the SVD to have a mission in the Dutch East Indies
05.11.1909	Fr. Nicolaus Blum was elected Superior General of the SVD
06.09.1910	Msgr. Luypen visits Steyl, the generalate house of the SVD. The discussion revolves around the Lesser Sunda Islands and Celebes as a possible mission for the SVD
03.10.1910	Fr. Petrus Noyen opens a vocation house in Holland for the Dutch, using St. Gregory House in Steyl as the contact centre
19.11.1911	A proposal of Msgr. Luypen regarding the Lesser Sunda Islands is accepted by the Jesuit superiors

- 11.05.1911 Fr. Nicolaus Blum accepts the suggestion to begin a mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands which excludes Flores
- 08.09.1911 The inauguration of the new mission house in Uden by Father General Nicolaus Blum, who at the same time installs Fr. Petrus Noyen as its first rector
- 07.11.1911 The minor seminary of Uden begins with 11 seminarians
- 08.02.1912 Propaganda Fide issues the decree for the SVDs to work in the Lesser Sunda Islands mission. The SVDs work under the jurisdiction of Msgr. Luypen
- 17.05.1912 The first baptism ever celebrated in Reo, Manggarai territory by Fr. Hendrikus Looijmans, SJ
- 07.12.1912 Superior General Fr. Nicolaus Blum names Fr. Petrus Noyen as the mission superior of the SVDs in the Dutch East Indies
- 20.01.1913 Arrival of Fr. Petrus Noyen; he is the first SVD to arrive in Timor
- 18.02.1913 Br. Calixtus Oosterholt arrives in Timor
- 22.02.1913 Br. Moehle, SJ departs from Timor
- 01.03.1913 The day of the cession of Jesuit Mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands to the SVDs
- 14.05.1913 Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen and Br. Lucianus Mølken arrive in Atapupu, Timor
- 24.05.1913 The departure of Fr. Adrianus Mathijssen, SJ from Timor
- 03.07.1913 First day of application of the «Daily Order» for the mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 16.09.1913 Propaganda Fide establishes the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands (with the specific exclusion of Flores). The day of arrival of 4 SVD missionaries in Timor: Br. Salesius v.d. Lith, Fr. Johannes Kreiten, Fr. Franz de Lange, Fr. Willem Baack

- 08.10.1913 Propaganda Fide names the religious superior, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD, as the Prefect Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 12.11 - 03.12. 1913 Territorial Exploration of Timor Mission by Fr. Petrus Noyen and Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen
- 16.12.1913 Fr. Petrus Noyen, Fr. Johannes Kreiten and Br. Sales van de Lith reoccupy Atapupu as a mission station
- 25.12.1913 The establishment of the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands as an SVD Region
- 14.02.1914 Three SVD missionaries arrive in Timor: Fr. Constant van den Hemel and two first Brothers from Uden, Br. Lambertus Schoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers
- 22.02.1914 Fr. Franz de Lange begins the Tubaki Station in South Belu, Timor
- 17.04.1914 Fr. Johannes Kreiten leaves his mission post in Atapupu Timor and goes back to Europe
- 27.04 - 28.06. 1914 Territorial Exploration of Flores Mission by Fr. Petrus Noyen
- 04.05.1914 Fr. Petrus Noyen finds Ndona in Ende as the place for the main station for the whole mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 28.06.1914 World War I begins in Sarajevo
- 20.07.1914 The Flores mission is entrusted to the SVD
- 1915 A novitiate for Dutch SVDs started in Teteringen
- 16.05.1915 Fr. Petrus Noyen, Br. Lambertus Schoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers arrive in Ende to begin the mission station in Ndona
- 26.05.1915 Fr. Petrus Noyen, Br. Lambertus Schoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers go to Ndona for good
- 02.02.1916 The inauguration day of the *Standaardsschool* in Ndona
- 18.05.1916 North Midden Timor is assigned to be a territory of the SVD

13.01.1917	Fr. Berthold Friess (Switzerland), Fr. Simon Karsten (Holland), and Br. Vincentius Meekes (Holland) and the first six SSpS Sisters arrive in Flores
01.04.1917	The official cession of the Flores Mission to the SVD. It happens in Larantoea. Fr. Wilhem Baack, SVD becomes the superior of Larantuka
04.05.1917	Fr. Hoeberechts SJ and 2 Jesuit Brothers leave Larantuka
Jan. 1918	Mbaki Mbani, the local chief of Ndona, where the SVD main station located, adheres to Islamism
Sept. 1918	Fr. Constant van den Hemel leaves Timor mission and goes back to Europe
21.12.1918	Br. Vincentius Meekes, SVD and Fr. Simon Karsten, SVD die of Spanish Influenza
22.12.1918	Fr. Wilhem Back, SVD dies of Spanish Influenza
23.12.1918	Fr. Arnold van der Velden, SJ dies of Spanish Influenza
12.03.1919	<i>Frater</i> Gerhard van Velzen and Br. Fransiskus Bakker arrive in Larantuka, Flores
Sept. 1919	First priestly ordination in the Teteringen Major Seminary
06.09.1919	Five first batch of SVD German missionaries, expelled from Togo after World War I, leave for Flores
29.10.1919	Fr. Nicolaus Blum, SVD the second superior general of the Society of the Divine Word passes away in Steyl
1920	SVD build 7 New mission stations: 6 in Flores (Lamalera, Ili, Mauloo, Jopu, Todabelu, Bajawa, Ruteng) and 1 in Timor (Halilulik)
10.03.1920	Fr. Antonius Ijsseldijk, the last Jesuit in the apostolic prefecture, leaves Koting, Flores and goes to Bogor, Java
03.05.1920	Fr. Arnold Verstraelen moves the centre of Timor Mission from Lahurus to Halilulik. Halilulik as a mission station begin in this year. The <i>standaardsschool</i> in Lahurus also moves to Halilulik. SVD General Administrator Fr. Johannes Bodems appoints Fr. Petrus

- Noyen as the Regional, Fr. Franz de Lange as the Assistant Regional and Fr. Berthold Fries as the admonitor regional for the Region of the Lesser Sunda Islands.
- 28.09.1920 Fr. Wilhem Gier accepts his election as the third Superior General of the SVD
- 24.02.1921 Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen passes away in Steyl
- 21.05.1921 The Arrival of the first SSpS Sisters in Lahurus, Timor, and they begin the school for girls
- 03.11.1921 SVD General Administrator Fr. Johannes Bodems appoints Fr. Johannes Bouma as Rector of Uden Minor Seminary, in Netherlands
- 20.02 - 12.04 1922 General visitation of the SVD Superior General Fr. Wilhem Gier in the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 12.03.1922 Pope Pius XI elevates the Prefecture Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to a Vicariate Apostolic
- 14.03.1922 Pope Pius XI names Fr. Arnold Verstraelen as the Apostolic Vicar of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 19.03.1922 Fr. Bernhard Glanemann was appointed as the Regional of the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 20-26.03.1922 Mission Conference is held in Ndonga by Superior General Wilhelm Gier
- 02.06.1922 The Lesser Sunda Region was organized into six SVD districts. Superior General Wilhelm Gier nominates 6 Rectors of the Region of the Lesser Sunda Islands: Fr. Johannes van Cleef (Larantuka), Fr. Franz Mertens (Maumere), Fr. Carl Stenzel (Ndonga), Fr. Josef Ettel (Bajawa), Fr. Franz Dorn (Mangarai) and Fr. Henricus Leven (Timor).
- 01.10.1922 Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen was ordained Bishop
- 07.10.1922 Fr. Johannes Bodems appoints Fr. Carl Stenzel as the Assistant Regional and Fr. Edmund Hundler as the Admonitor Regional of the Lesser Sunda Islands

- 12.05.1923 Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen arrives in Ende as the new Vicar Apostolic for the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 15-16.05.1924 The first meeting of the Dutch East Indies Bishop Conference held in Jakarta
- 12.6.1924 The issuance of a letter from the government land surveyor in Kupang regarding the land tenure for the Craft School in Ende
- 01.07.1925 Beginning of the *schakelschool* in Ndao, Ende-Flores
- 28.07.1925 Fr. Carl Stenzel assumes office as the regional of the Region of the Lesser Sunda Islands. District-rectorate of Ende was created and its first rector was Fr. Eduard Hundler.
- 01-08.09.1925 The second meeting of the Dutch East Indies Bishop Conference held in Jakarta
- 02.02.1926 Beginning of the Minor Seminary in Sikka, Maumere
- 21.06.1926 The first day of the operation of the Arnoldus Printing Press of Ende, Flores
- 19-21.07.1927 A Conference was held in Ndona
- 26.07.1927 Fr. Henricus Leven arrived in Ndona to assume the position as a Provicar
- 06.10.1927 Inauguration of the trans-Flores road along 625 km, connecting Reo on the North coast and Larantuka
- 19.03.1928 Inauguration of the Craft School of St. Josef, Ende
- 29.06.1928 Fr. Johannes van Cleef, Provicar of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands passes away
- 15.07.1928 The ground-breaking ceremony held by. Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen for the construction of the minor seminary in Todabelu
- 04.11.1928 Inauguration of SVD St. Josef Residence in Ende
- 11.03.1929 Carl Stenzel assumes his second mandate as a regional
- 04-11.06.1929 The third meeting of the Dutch East Indies Bishop Conference held in Muntilan, central Java

August 1929	Weetebula, West Sumba becomes an SVD mission Station
15.09.1929	Inauguration day of the Minor Seminary of Todabelu
29.09.1929	The establishment of deaneries of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen
08.12.1929	The promulgation of the «Statutes of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands» by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen
01.01.1930	The «Statutes of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands» became effective and binding for the whole vicariate
18.05.1930	The foundation stone of the cathedral of Ende was blessed and laid by Msgr. Arnoldus Verstraelen, SVD
05.01.1932	Approval of the Holy See for the SVD House in Ende as a religious house
07.02.1932	The Consecration day of the Cathedral Church in Ende
16.03.1932	Msgr. Arnold Verstraelen passes away in a car accident
01.06.1932	Fr. Johannes Bouma assumes his first mandate in office as a Regional
13-16.06.1932	The first regional chapter in the Lesser Sunda Islands
August 1932	Beginning of philosophical studies for the first batch of the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero
28.09.1932	Fr. Joseph Grendel accepts his election as the fourth Superior General of the SVD
25.4.1933	Msgr. Henricus Leven was appointed as Apostolic Vicar of the Lesser Sunda Islands
16.10.1933	Investiture of the first SVD clerical novices in Todabelu
12.11.1933	Msgr. Henricus Leven was ordained bishop in Uden
18.12.1933	Opening of the SVD House « <i>Rumah Tinggi</i> » Mataloko
02.01.1934	The issuing letter from <i>Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis</i> for the canonical foundation of the Novitiate of Todabelu

- 15.01.1934 The commencement of the canonical period of the new SVD Novitiate in Todabelu
- 19-27.09.1934 The fourth meeting of the Dutch East Indies Bishop Conference held in Girisonta, central Java
- 1935 Mission work begins in Bali and Lombok
- 25.03.1935 Foundation of Local Sister Congregation *Congregatio Imitationis Jesu* (CIJ)
- 02.04.1935 Fr. Johannes Bouma assumes his second mandate as a regional
- 31.07.1935 Submission of an official letter to Propaganda Fide by Msgr. Henricus Leven asking for the first division of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda
- 16-22.08.1935 The First Synod of the Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 23-24.08.1935 The second regional chapter in the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 25.05.1936 The establishment of the Apostolic Vicariate of Dutch-Timor
- 06.10.1936 The first day of the theological studies for the students in St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero, Flores
- 05.05.1937 Propaganda Fide informs Superior General SVD regarding the agreement of Pope Pius XI for the foundation of Ledalero as a religious house
- 20.05.1937 The canonical foundation of Ledalero as a religious house by Vice General Fr. Wilhelm Gier, SVD
- 01.06.1937 The appointment of Msgr. Jacobus Pessers, SVD as the Apostolic Vicar of Dutch-Timor
- 03.06.1937 The day of canonical transfer of the novitiate from Todabelu to Ledalero
- 12.06.1938 The promulgation of «*Manuale Pastorale 1938*» by Msgr. Henricus Leven
- 07.07.1938 Johannes Bouma elected as the regional of the Lesser Sunda Islands for his third mandate. Two other districts were created: Sumba-Sumbawa and Bali

- 16-22.08.1939 The fifth meeting of the Dutch East Indies Bishop Conference held in Girisonta, central Java
- 01.09.1939 The start of World War II
- 15.08.1940 The First Profession of Perpetual Vows from the St. Paul Major Seminary of Ledalero done by *Frater* Gabriel Manek and *Frater* Karel Kale
- 15.09.1940 The sub-diaconate ordination of *Frater* Gabriel Manek and *Frater* Karel Kale
- 22.09.1940 The diaconate ordination of *Frater* Gabriel Manek and *Frater* Karel Kale
- 28.01.1941 The ordination day to the priesthood of Fr. Gabriel Manek, SVD and Fr. Karel Kale, SVD as the first priesthood ordination ever done in the Lesser Sunda Islands
- 04.11.1947 The establishment of Timor mission as an SVD Region and Fr. Josephus Duffels, SVD (1947-1954) elected as its first regional

# APPENDIX OF DOCUMENT

## Statutum pro Missionibus Societatis Verbi Divini

### LATIN

#### **Statutum pro missionibus Societatis Verbi Divni**

1. Hoc statutum in rigore juris valet solummodo in missionibus S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide subjectis.
2. Missiones, quae ab Episcopo dioecesano intra territorium jurisdictionis suae sodalibus Societatis nostrae delegantur, speciali contractu cum Episcopo indigent.
3. Obligatio huius Statuti incipit cum die primo m. Martii 1923 et durat per quinquennium.

#### **Pars prima: De personis**

##### **I. De Superioribus**

4. In missionibus duplex habetur Superior, unus pro re missionaria, alter pro vita religiosa. Prior vocatur Superior ecclesiasticus, alter Superior religiosus.
5. Officium unius et alterius, quatenus totam missionem amplectitur, non uniatur in una persona. Attamen in missionibus, in quibus pauci tantum sacerdotes Societatis versantur, non est prohibitum, quominus idem simul sit Superior ecclesiasticus et Superior religiosus.

### ENGLISH

#### **Statute for the Missions of the Society of the Divine Word.**

1. This Statute has strict juridical force only in missions that are subject to the S. Congregation of Propaganda Fide.
2. The missions which are entrusted to the members of our Society by a diocesan bishop in the territory subject to his jurisdiction require a special contract with the Bishop.
3. This Statute becomes obligatory with the first day of the month of March 1923 and has a duration of five years.

#### **First Part: Persons**

##### **I. Superiors**

4. In the missions there are two superiors, one for missionary matters, another one for the religious life. The first is called ecclesiastical superior, the other religious superior.
5. The office of the one and of the other, in as much as they cover the whole mission, should not be united in one person. However, in missions, in which there are only few priests of the Society, it is not forbidden that the same person be both ecclesiastical and religious Superior.

## 1. De Superioribus ecclesiasticis

6. Superiores ecclesiastici, qui tamquam Ordinarii loci missionem regunt, sunt: Episcopi residentiales, ubi hierarchia est instituta, Vicarii Apostolici et Praefecti Apostolici, ubi hierarchia nondum erecta est, itemque ii, qui de jure eorum Vicarii vel Substituti generales sunt.

7. Ad Praesules missionis ab Apostolica Sede nominandos Superior generalis tres candidatos Societatis nostrae hoc modo proponit:

1<sup>o</sup>. Exiguntur vota secreta illorum missionariorum, qui saltem per tres annos fuerunt in missione.

2<sup>o</sup>. Singuli illi missionarii in scheda scribunt tria nomina scilicet dignissimi, dignioris et digni, quos nempe in conscientia coram Deo judicaverint aptiores, qualitatesque candidatorum exponant.

3<sup>o</sup>. Superior generalis cum suo consilio decedit, quinam candidati S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide proponendi sint, suas consultorum-que rationes necnon vota missionariorum adjungens.

8. Idem modus servatur, si Ordinario loci ex permissione vel ex mandato Sedis Apostolicae coadjutor cum futura successione dari contigerit. Quo in casu Superior generalis nomina candidatorum Ordinario

## 1. Ecclesiastical Superiors

6. The ecclesiastical Superiors who govern the mission as local Ordinaries are: residential Bishops where the hierarchy has been established, Apostolic Vicars and Apostolic Prefects where the hierarchy has not yet been erected, and likewise those who by law are their Vicars or Substitutes in general.

7. For the appointment of the Prelates of a mission by the Apostolic See the Superior General proposes three candidates of our Society in this way:

1<sup>o</sup>. The secret votes of those missionaries who have been in the mission for at least three years are required.

2<sup>o</sup>. Each of these missionaries writes three names on the card/form, i.e. the worthiest (*dignissimus*), the worthier (*dignior*) and the worthy (*dignus*), namely those whom he in conscience before God judges to be more apt, and he describes the qualities of the candidates.

3<sup>o</sup>. The Superior General with his council decides which candidates are to be proposed to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide and adds his reasons and those of the councilors as well as the votes of the missionaries.

8. The same procedure is observed, if it happens that a local Ordinary, with permission or by order of the Apostolic See will be given a coadjutor who will succeed him in future. In this case the Superior

transmittit, ut tum Superiori generali tum S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide sententiam suam patefacere possit.

9. § 1. Si non constitutus fuerit coadjutor cum jure succedendi Vicarius et Praefectus Apostolicus debent statim assumpto munere inter missionarios Societatis nostrae illius territorii Provicarium vel Propraefectum sibi eligere, consilio inito cum Superiore religioso.

§ 2. Qui Provicarius vel Propraefectus nullam habet, vivente Vicario aut Praefecto, potestatem, nisi quae fuerit ab eodem ei commissa: sed deficiente Vicario aut Praefecto vel eorum jurisdictione impedita, totum debet regimen assumere et in hoc munere permanere, donec a Sancta Sede aliter fuerit provisum.

§ 3. Si Vicarius vel Praefectus Apostolicus velit sibi “Vicarium delegatum” constituere, cui concessa sit omnis jurisdictio spiritualis et temporalis, qua ex Cod. j. c. uti potest Vicarius generalis in dioecesi, simili ratione ac supra (§ 1.) de eligenda persona consilium ineat cum Superiore religioso.

10. Pari modo Provicarius aut Propraefectus, qui titulari successerit, statim deputet alium missionarium Societatis nostrae, qui sibi, ut supra, in munere succedat.

General sends the names of the candidates to the Ordinary so that he can make his opinion known both to the Superior General and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide

9. § 1. If a coadjutor with the right of succession has not been named the Apostolic Vicar and Prefect, after assuming their office, must at once choose a Provicar or Proprefect from among the missionaries of our Society in their territory after consulting the religious Superior.

§ 2. This Provicar or Proprefect has no power while the Vicar or Prefect is alive, except that which was given him by the Vicar or Prefect: but in the absence of the Vicar or Prefect or when these cannot exercise their jurisdiction he must assume the government and stay in this office until the Holy See provides otherwise.

§ 3. If the Apostolic Vicar or Prefect would want to appoint a “Vicar Delegate” to whom is given all the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction which a Vicar General can exercise in a diocese according to Canon Law, he should consult with the religious Superior in a similar way as indicated above (§ 1.) as regards the person to be chosen.

10. In the same way the Provicar or Proprefect who succeed the officeholder shall at once appoint another missionary of our Society who would, as stated above, succeed him in the office.

11. Si forte contingat, ut nemo sive a titulari sive a protitulari uti administrator fuerit designatus, tunc senior inter sodales Societatis nostrae in vicariatu vel praefectura, is nempe, qui sit praesens in territorio et suas destinationis litteras in eodem prius exhibuerit, censetur delegatus a Sancta Sede ut regimen assumat, et inter plures aequae seniores antiquior sacerdotio.

12. In dioecesis canonice erectis, sed sine capitulo cathedrali, regimen dioeceseos sede vacante transit ad consultores dioecesanos, qui intra octo dies ab accepta notitia vacationis Vicarium eligere debent.

13. Si ille, qui juxta regulas supradictas ad missionis regimen venerit, sit Superior religiosus, debet munus suum qua Superior religiosus, pro eo tempore substituto suo cedere. Solutus a regimine interimistico missionis sive per adventum novi Vicarii vel Praefecti sive per specialem Sedis Apostolicae dispositionem redit ad officium prius relictum.

14. § 1. Omnes ad quos missionis cura ad normam n. 9-12 devenerit debent quamprimum certiorum facere Apostolicam Sedem et Superiorem generalem.

11. If it should happen that no one was designated as administrator by either the office-holder or his substitute, then the most senior among the members of our Society in the Vicariate or the Prefecture, meaning he who is present in the territory and has previously shown his letters of appointment to that territory, is deemed to be delegated by the Holy See to assume the government; if there are several equally seniors it is the one oldest in the priesthood.

12. In canonically erected dioceses which do not have a cathedral chapter the government of the diocese in case if sede vacante goes to the diocesan consultors who must elect a Vicar within eight days after receiving the notice that the see is vacant.

13. If the one who, according to the rules indicated above, takes over the government of the mission, should be the religious Superior he must give his office as religious Superior temporarily to his substitute. Once relieved from governing of the mission ad interim either by the arrival of the new Vicar or Prefect or by a special arrangement of the Apostolic See he returns to the office he had temporarily relinquished.

14. § 1. All to who assume the care of the mission in line with norms n0s. 9-12 must as as possible inform the Apostolic See and the et Superiorem General.

§ 2. Interim uti possunt omnibus facultatibus sive ordinariis sive delegatis, quibus Ordinarius loci pollebat, nisi commissae fuerint ob industriam personae. Juribus vero honorificis ejus non gaudent.

15. Ordinarius in regimine missionis adjuvatur a consultoribus, qui libere ab ipso nominantur.

§ 1. Episcopus residentialis sine capitulo sex, vel si sacerdotes sint pauci quatuor saltem consultores ad triennium instituit, de triennio ad triennium confirmandi vel mutandi.

§ 2. Vicarius et Praefectus Apostolicus saltem tres consultores habeant. Integrum eis est, illos vel ad tempus indeterminatum vel ad tempus determinatum v. gr. ad triennium nominare.

§ 3. Quantum fieri potest, Ordinarius praecipuos saltem missionarios semel in anno convocabit, ut ex eorum experientia et consilio cognoscat, quae sint ordinanda perfectius.

## **2. De Superioribus religiosis**

16. Supremus Superior religiosus etiam pro missionibus est Superior generalis, qui cum consilio suo missionarios et fratres laicos in diversas missiones mittit, et cui omnes et singuli secundum Constitutiones oboedire tenentur.

17. § 1. In dependentia a Superiore generali sodales Societatis gubernantur a Superiore territoriali.

§ 2. Temporarily they can make use of all the faculties both ordinary and delegated ones which the local Ordinary possessed, except those given to him personally because of his capacity. They do not, however, enjoy his honorary rights.

15. In governing the mission the Ordinary is assisted by consultors who are freely appointed by him.

§ 1. A residential Bishop without a chapter appoints six, or if the priests are few at least four, consultors for a triennium (three-year term) who are to be re-appointed or changed after each triennium.

§ 2. The Apostolic Vicar and Prefect should have at least three consultors. It is up to them (Vicar, Prefect) to appoint those (consultors) either for an indeterminate time or for a definite time. e. g. for a triennium.

§ 3. In as much as possible, the Ordinary shall convoke at least the most important missionaries once a year so that he may come to know from their experience what should be done better

## **2. Religious Superiors**

16. The highest religious Superior for missionaries, too, is the Superior General who, with his council, sends the missionaries and the Brothers to the different missions and to whom all and each one owes obedience according to the Constitutions.

17. § 1. The members of the Society are governed by the territorial Superior in dependence on the Superior General.

§ 2. Missiones, si in Provincias non eriguntur, a concilio generali declarari possunt “Regiones”, de quibus ad triennium Superior regionalis constituitur mutandus vel confirmandus de triennio ad triennium.

18. Qui Superior regionalis gaudet juribus Provincialis, attamen exercet potestatem suam delegatione et nomine Superioris generalis; constituitur a Superiore generali cum suo consilio.

19. Ordinarius loci de jure nullam habet ingerentiam in nominationem Superioris regionalis et Superiorum localium Societatis. Ad reverentiam autem ei exhibendam Regionalis assumens munus suum, quamprimum commode potest, se praesentet Ordinario necnon nomina Superiorum localium cum eo communicabit.

20. Regionalis in regimine suo adjuvatur a duobus vel si missio supra quinquaginta sacerdotes habet, a quatuor consultoribus, qui a consilio generali ei dantur. Hujus consilii votum in omnibus negotiis majoris momenti expetendum consultativum vel decisivum est juxta normas pro consilio provinciali constitutas.

21. In domibus religiosis non formatis Regionalis cum consensu consilii sui instituit Superiores locales, mutandi vel confirmandi de

§ 2. Where missions are not erected as Provinces they can be declared “Regions” by the general council, for which a regional Superior is named for a triennium who is changed or confirmed after each triennium.

18. This regional Superior enjoys the rights of a Provincial; however, he exercises his power by delegation and in the name of the Superior General; he is appointed by the Superior General and his council.

19. The local Ordinary, by law, has no part whatsoever in the appointment of the regional Superior and the local Superiors of the Society. But to show him reverence the Regional, when assuming his office, should, as soon as he can conveniently do so, present himself to the Ordinary and communicate the names of the local superiors to him.

20. In his work of governance, the Regional is assisted by two or, if the mission has more than fifty priests, four councilors who are given him by the general council. In all matters of greater importance the consultative or decisive vote of this council is to be asked according to the norms set for provincial councils.

21. In religious houses which are not *domus formata* the Regional, with the consent of his council, appoints local Superiors who are to be changed or confirmed after each triennium; in

triennio ad triennium; in domibus formatis nominatio Superiorum incumbit consilio generali juxta Constitutiones.

22. Regionalis bene invigilet, ut missionarii spiritum pietatis et vitae regularis diligenter foveant ideoque peculiaria missionis adjuncta prudenter respiciens fidelem Constitutionum observantiam constanter promoveat.

### **3. De mutua habitudine Superioris ecclesiastici et Superioris religiosi**

23. Superior ecclesiasticus et Superior religiosus intra limites muneris sui sunt de jure ab invicem omnino independentes. Ordinarius loci, etiamsi sit sodalis Societatis, durante munere suo non subest obediendae Superioris generalis.

24. § 1. Ad Ordinarium loci spectant negotia missionis, ad Superiorem religiosum negotia Societatis.

§ 2. Negotia missionis sunt omnia illa, quae ad propagationem fidei inter acatholicos et ad conservandam fidem inter conversos necessaria sunt; porro ad Ordinarium loci exclusive pertinent v. gr. institutio officiorum ecclesiasticorum, cura animarum, sacramentorum administratio, visitatio aegrotorum, scholarum

houses which are *domus formata* the appointment of Superiors lies with the general council according to the Constitutions.

22. The Regional should watch well that the missionaries diligently foster the spirit of piety and the religious life and, while prudently considering the peculiar conditions of the mission, should therefore, constantly promote the faithful observance of the Constitutions.

### **3. The mutual relations between the ecclesiastical Superior and the religious Superior**

23. Within the sphere of their (respective) offices the ecclesiastical Superior and the religious Superior are by law completely independent of each other. The local Ordinary, although he is a member of the Society, while in office, is not subject to obedience to the Superior General.

24. § 1. The local Ordinary handles the affairs of the mission, - the religious Superior the affairs of the Society.

§ 2. Affairs of the mission are all those things which are necessary for the propagation of the faith among non-Catholics and the preservation of the faith among those converted; and therefore to the local Ordinary alone belong, e.g. the creation of ecclesiastical offices, the care of souls, the administration of the sacraments, visiting the sick, the direction of schools,

directio, oblationes intuitu missionis factae, implementum piarum voluntatum in favorem missionis, confectio librorum paroecialium; in his omnibus plena jurisdictio in foro interno et externo ei competit.

§ 3. Negotia Societatis sunt ea omnia, quae ad regimen Societatis et ad vitam regularem secundum Constitutiones spectant; hinc Superioris religiosi est, de officiis Societatis disponere, res oeconomicas ordinare, disciplinam internam domus religiosae et observantiam votorum etiam extra domum protegere; in quibus Ordinarius loci se ingerere nequit, nisi agatur de casu, in quo leges ecclesiasticae expresse jus ei concedunt.

§ 4. Scholae primariae seu populares in omnibus jurisdictioni et visitationi Ordinarii subsunt; cetera autem instituta vel collegia ad educandam juventutem, in quantum consentiente Ordinario pecuniis Societatis fundantur et sustentantur quoad gubernationem internam et externam necnon nominationem magistrorum aliorumque officialium exclusive Superiori religioso subjacent. Ast (?) manent Ordinario loci subjecta quoad instructionem religiosam et moralem necnon disciplinam ecclesiasticam, atque in his ab ipso visitantur.

the offerings made for the mission, the implementation of pious wills in favor of the mission, the compilation of parochial books; in all these things he possesses full jurisdiction in the internal and external forum.

§ 3. Affairs of the Society is everything that refers to the government of the Society and the religious life according to the Constitutions; hence it is the right and duty of the religious Superior to determine the offices in the Society, to supervise the economic matters, to protect the internal discipline of the religious house and the observance of the vows even outside the house; in these matters the local Ordinary cannot interfere, except in a case for which ecclesiastical laws explicitly allow this.

§ 4. Primary or elementary schools are in all respects subject to the "jurisdiction and visitation of the Ordinary; but other institutes or colleges for the education of the youth which, with the consent of the Ordinary, are founded and maintained at the expense of the Society are, as regards internal and external governance as well as the appointment of teachers and other officials exclusively subject to the religious Superior. But they remain subject to the local Ordinary as far as religious and moral instruction as well as ecclesiastical discipline are concerned and are visited by him in this regard.

§ 5. Fratres laici penes sacerdotes residentes in laboribus suis et in toto vitae genere exclusive dependent a Superiore religioso; si autem cum consensu Superioris religiosi tamquam coadjutores in ministerio sacerdotali v. gr. in instructione catechetica puerorum assumuntur vel speciale mandatum in favorem missionis exsequuntur, sub hoc respectu Ordinario subduntur.

25. In omnibus, in quibus missionarii Ordinario loci oboedire tenentur, possunt ab eodem etiam poenis coerceri; insuper Superior religiosus jus cumulativum punitionis cum Ordinario possidet, ita tamen, ut, si aliter a Superiore aliter ab Ordinario decerni contigerit, decretum Ordinarii praevalere debeat.

26. § 1. Dissidia in iis, quae juxta n. 24 § 2 ad negotia missionis pertinent, sive inter singulos missionarios sive inter diversas religiones sive inter missionarios et alios quoslibet exorta, componuntur ab Ordinario loci vel si opus est dirimuntur ab eo, integro tamen jure recursus ad Sedem Apostolicam, qui decreti executionem non suspendit.

§ 2. Cetera dissidia inter sodales Societatis, imprimis quae ex vita regulari oriuntur, componuntur vel dirimuntur a Superiore religioso secundum Constitutiones.

§ 5. Brothers who live with priests are in their work and in their whole life exclusively dependent on the religious Superior; but if, with the consent of the religious Superior, they are employed as cooperators in the ministry of priests, e.g. in catechetical instruction of children or carry out a special task for the mission they are in this respect subject to the Ordinary.

25. In all things in which the missionaries are bound to obey the local Ordinary they can also be coerced by him through penalties; in addition, the religious Superior has the cumulative right, together with the Ordinary, to impose penalties, but in such a way that if it should happen that the Superior and the Ordinary decide differently, the decision of the Ordinary must prevail.

26. § 1. Disagreements about things which according to no. 24 § 2 pertain to the affairs of the mission, whether between individual missionaries, or between different religious congregations, or between missionaries and any others, are settled by the local Ordinary or, if necessary, are decided by him. The right of recourse to the Apostolic See, however, remains intact.

§ 2. Other disagreements between the members of the Society, especially those that arise from religious life, are decided by the religious Superior according to the Constitutions.

27. § 1. Superiores religiosi ad aedificandam novam domum religiosam sive formatam sive non formatam indigent licentia Ordinarii in scriptis data, et insuper beneplacitum Sedis Apostolicae; in qua concessione salvo praescripto can. 1162 § 4 continetur licentia aedificandi ecclesiam vel oratorium publicum necnon peragendi opera, quae secundum Constitutiones Societati propria sunt, nisi Ordinarius ea\_expresse limitaverit. Ut aedificentur et aperiantur schola, hospitium vel similis rationis aedes separata a domo religiosa requiritur et sufficit Ordinarii scripta licentia.

§ 2. Ordinarius loci in erigendis institutis et stationibus non quidem dependet a Superiore religioso, attamen si nova onera hisce imponuntur missionariis religiosis, debet antea cum Superiore sive Regionali sive etiam Generali consilium inire; itaque Ordinarius cum Superiore religioso deliberabit:

1°. Si instituta majoris momenti erigere intendit, quae vel majorem missionariorum numerum vel missionarios specialiter quaelificatos exposcunt.

2°. si erecturus est novas stationes principales aut parochias a sodalibus Societatis administrandas, imprimis in dissitis et insalubribus regionibus.

27. § 1. To build a new religious house, whether canonically established (*domus formata*) or not (*domus non formata*) the religious Superiors need the written permission of the Ordinary and, in addition, the endorsement (*beneplacitum*) of the Apostolic See; such an endorsement – with the prescription of can. 1162, § 4 remaining in force – contains the permission to build a church or a public oratory and to carry out those activities which according to the Constitutions are proper to the Society, unless the Ordinary would have explicitly limited these.

§ 2. Although the local Ordinary does not depend on the religious Superior in establishing institutes and stations, nevertheless, if new burdens of work are thus imposed on the religious missionaries he must first consult the Superior, both the Regional or and the General; the Ordinary will therefore discuss this with the religious Superior:

1°. whether he intends to establish institutes of greater importance which require either a greater number of missionaries or missionaries with special qualifications.

2°. whether he wants to establish new main stations or parishes to be administered by members of the Society, particularly in remote and unhealthy areas

28. Si parochiae aut stationes (missiones, quasiparochiae) cum peculiari rectore ab Ordinario dividuntur, tum parochus aut rector tum Superior regionalis audiri debent, etiamsi novam parochiam aut stationem nollet sodalibus Societatis administrandam tradere: audito eorum consilio potest Ordinarius pro prudenti suo libitu agere salvo recurso ad S. Sedem in devoluto.

29. Firmis n. 9 § 1 et n. 15 Superioris regionalis est, omnes missionarios et fratres laicos Ordinario loci pro officiis ecclesiasticis aliisque muneribus praesentare; Ordinarii loci est, eos instituere et facultatibus munire. Praesentati recusari nequeunt ab Ordinario nisi ob gravem causam.

30. Si missionarius de uno munere transfertur ad aliud idem modus servatur, praesentatur pro novo officio a Superiore regionali et instituitur ab Ordinario.

31. § 1. Amotio a munere gravem ob causam tum ab Ordinario tum a Superiore religioso fieri potest; sufficit in hoc casu, ut alter alterum tempestive moneat, sed causam iudicii sui, multo minus probationem ejus non tenetur indicare. Manet parti forsitan

28. If parishes or stations (missions, quasi-parishes) with their own rector are divided by the Ordinary, both the parish priest or rector and the regional Superior must be heard, even if he does not want to entrust the administration of the new parish or station to the members of the Society: after having received their opinion the Ordinary can proceed according to his own prudent judgement, except if recourse *in devoluto* is made to the Holy See.

29. With no. 9 § 1 and no. 15 remaining in force, it is the right and duty of the regional Superior to present all missionaries and Brothers to the local Ordinary for ecclesiastical offices and other tasks; it is the right and duty of the local Ordinary to appoint them and give them the faculties. Those presented cannot be rejected by the Ordinary except for a grave reason.

30. When a missionary is transferred from one office to another the same procedure is used; he is presented for the new office by the regional Superior and appointed by the Ordinary.

31. § 1. The removal from office/task for a grave reason can be done both by the Ordinary and by the religious Superior: in this case it is sufficient that the one promptly informs the other, but he is not obliged to give the reason for his decision and, much less, the proofs. The offended

laesae recursus ad S. Sedem, qui vero executionem mandati non suspendit.

§ 2. Ordinario loci non licet, missionarium a territorio missionis expellere, nisi, audito consilio suo, in casu publici scandali et tunc praemonito quantum fieri potest, Superiore religioso et statim certiorata Sede Apostolica.

§ 3. Religiosus in cura animarum non occupatus a Superiore generali libere a missione revocatur nisi titulo missionarii Apostolici gaudeat; qui in officiis missionis occupati sunt, revocari possunt praemonito Ordinario et alio in ejus loco prasentato. Superior territorialis, excepto casu necessitatis, propria auctoritate aliquem missionarium vel fratrem laicum ex missione non dimittat, sed habeat licentiam Superioris generalis in scriptis datam.

32. § 1. Permissionem faciendi itinera, si sunt in favorem et cum expensis Societatis, dat Superior religiosus, si sunt in favorem et cum expensis missionis, dat Ordinarius: sed si agitur de longioribus itineribus missionarii, unus altero inconsulto non aget. Pro longiore tempore extra terram suae missionis nemo sine licentia Superioris

(aggrieved) party retains the right of recourse to the Holy See, but this does not suspend the execution of the order.

§ 2. The local Ordinary is not allowed to expel a missionary from the territory of the mission, except in case of public scandal after having heard his council and then informed, in as much as this can be done, the religious Superior and at once reporting it to the Apostolic See.

§ 3. A religious not engaged in the care of souls is freely recalled by the Superior General from the mission except when he possesses the title of Apostolic missionary; those who are working in offices of the mission, can be recalled if the Ordinary has been previously informed and another one to take his place has been presented. The territorial Superior, except in the case of necessity, shall not send away any missionary or Brother from the mission, by his own authority but should have the written permission of the Superior General.

32. § 1. Permission for travels if undertaken in favor and at the expense of the Society, is given by the religious Superior; if they are in favor of and at the expense the mission, permission is given by the Ordinary: but if it is a question of longer travels of a missionary, one should not act without consulting the other. No one should be sent outside the country of his mission for a longer time without the permission of the Superior General.

generalis mittatur. Qui in solis Societatis muneribus versantur, ab Ordinario sine expressa Superioris territorialis licentia mitti non possunt.

§ 2. Itinera ad expeditionem scientificam faciendam vel ad sanitatem recuperandam vel ob aliam causam personalem, solus Superior religiosus permittit, praemonito Ordinario loci, si agitur de missionario activo.

33. Omnes causae mixtae, quae scilicet bonum missionis tum bonum Societatis tangunt, communi deliberatione inter Ordinarium et Superiorem religiosum componantur; nominatim tam quam causae mixtae hic recensentur:

1<sup>o</sup>. Propositio ad S. Congregationem de Propaganda Fide faciendam de immutatione (divisione, dismembratione) missionis.

2<sup>o</sup>. Introductio alius familiae religiosae utriusque sexus in missionem, quae nostrae Societati demandata est.

In utroque casu res Superiori Generali proponatur.

34. Si inter mandatum in iis, quae spectant ad Ordinarium et mandatum in iis, quae sunt Superioris religiosi, conflictus oritur, prius mandatum praevallet, salvo jure recursus ad Sedem Apostolicam in devolutivo.

Those who are exclusively employed in tasks of the Society cannot be sent by the Ordinary without the express permission of the territorial Superior.

§ 2. Only the religious Superior gives permission for travels to undertake a scientific expedition or recuperate one's health or because of some other personal reason, but with prior information to the local Ordinary if it concerns an active missionary.

33. All "mixed questions", that is those which involve both the good of the mission and that of the Society, should be resolved by common deliberation between the Ordinary and the religious Superior; below some "mixed questions" are listed by name:

1<sup>o</sup>. A proposal to be presented to the S. Congregation of Propaganda Fide about changing the mission (division, dismemberment).

2<sup>o</sup>. The introduction of another religious family (Congregation), male or female, in a mission which has been entrusted to our Society by a mandate.

In both cases the matter should be presented to the Superior General.

34. If a conflict arises between an order in matters which are within the competence of the Ordinary and an order in things which are within the competence of the religious Superior, the first order prevails, but not excluding the right of recourse to the Apostolic See *in devolutivo*.

## II. De missionariis

35. Missionarii religiosi duplici auctoritati subjecti sunt scilicet Ordinario loci et Superiori religioso.

36. Ab Ordinario loci, quem reverentia qua par est prosequantur, pendent in iis, quae curam animarum ceteraque negotia missionis respiciunt; qua in re nullum eis competit privilegium exemptionis prae sacerdotibus saecularibus.

37. Missionarii primum terram missionis ingredienti suas litteras destinationis, a Superiore generali acceptas, per se vel alium Ordinario ostendant.

38. Licentia sacri ministerii exercendi necnon necessariae ad curam animarum facultates ab Ordinario petendae et obtinendae sunt.

39. Leges particulares ab Ordinario editae et praecepta singulis imposita religiose observanda sunt.

40. Licet missionarius ministerium sacrum exerceat in domo seu loco, ubi majores Superiores religiosi sedem ordinariam habeant, nihilominus subest immediate omnimodae jurisdictioni, visitationi atque correctioni Ordinarii loci, non secus ac quicumque alii missionarii, excepta semper regulari observantia.

## II. Missionaries

35. Religious missionaries are subject to a twofold authority, namely the local Ordinary and the religious Superior.

36. They are dependent on the local Ordinary whom they owe due reverence, in the matters which concern the care of souls and the other affairs of the mission; in this regard they enjoy no privilege of exemption in relation to secular (diocesan) priests.

37. Missionaries who arrive in a mission territory for the first time should show their letters of appointment received from the Superior General to the Ordinary, in person or through another.

38. Permission to exercise the priestly ministry as well as the faculties necessary for the care of souls are to be asked and obtained from the Ordinary.

39. Particular laws established by the Ordinary and the precepts imposed on individuals are to be religiously observed.

40. Although a missionary exercises the priestly ministry in the house or place where the major religious Superiors have their regular residence, nevertheless he is immediately subject to in every way to the jurisdiction, visitation and correction of the local Ordinary, just like all other missionaries, always excepting the observance of religious discipline.

41. Ubi stationes in quasi-parochias erectae sunt, primarii earum pastores funguntur munere quasiparochorum cum omnibus juribus et obligationibus sicut in Codice juris can. notatur; atque omnes amovibiles sunt ad normam can. 454.

42. § 1. Religiosus, quocunque mu-nere sub oboedientia Ordinarii auctus sit, manet adstrictus ad observantiam votorum et constitutionum, quatenus cum muneris sui officiis consistere potest,

§ 2. Quare subjjcitur sicut ceteri religiosi quoad disciplinam regularem oboedientiae Superioris religiosi, cujus proinde est, et quidem privative respectu Ordinarii loci, in ejus agendi rationem circa haec omnia inquirere eumque, si casus ferat, corrigere.

§ 3. Parochus vel rector stationis durante munere suo est simul in dependentia a Territoriali Superior religiosus eorum missionariorum et fratrum laicorum, qui parochiae vel stationi addicti sunt, nisi aliud expresse caveatur.

43. Quia salus animarum suprema lex est, si in casu particulari officium missionis et officium vitae regularis collidunt, prius dominare debet.

41. Where stations have been established as quasi-parishes the principal pastors (priests) exercise the office of quasi-parish priest with all the rights and duties as stated in the Code of Canon Law; and all are removable according to the norm of can. 454.

42. § 1. A religious to irrespective of the office to which he may have been appointed in oboedience to the Ordinary remains bound to the observance of the vows and the Constitutions in as much as this can be harmonized with the tasks of his office,

§ 2. Therefore, like the other religious he is subject, as regards religious discipline, to obedience to the religious Superior, who, consequently, has the task, even prescindng from the local Ordinary, to look into his behavior with regard to all these things and to correct him if necessary.

§ 3. During his term of office, the parish priest or rector of a station is at the same time, in dependence on the Regional, the religious Superior of those missionaries and Brothers who are assigned to the parish or station unless something else has been expressly stipulated.

43. Since the salvation of souls is the supreme law, if in a particular case the duty of the mission and the duty of the religious life are in conflict the prior duty must prevail.

## **Pars secunda: De bonis temporalibus**

### **I. De distinctione bonorum**

44. Bona ecclesiastica in missionibus nostrae Societati concreditur ad normam Constitutionis Pontificiae: "Romanos Pontifices" a. 1881 et Codicis juris canonici separantur in bona missionis et bona Societatis.

45. Quae bona sint missionis et quae sint Societatis, legitimis titulis probari debet. Praescriptio inter illas admittitur juxta legem civilem respectivae nationis, exceptis rebus immobilibus et mobilibus pretiosis, quae semper spatio triginta annorum praescribuntur.

46. Salvis specialibus contractibus possessor rei est etiam possessor totius fructus naturalis et civilis.

47. Quae donantur a benefactoribus spectant ad missionem vel ad Societatem juxta intentionem dantis. Ideo ad laborandum est, ut, quoad fieri potest, in actu doni accepti mens benefactoris determinetur.

48. Bona missionis in specie sunt:

1<sup>o</sup>. Pecuniae aliaeque res, quae expressis verbis missioni in genere vel speciali ejus operi hac vel simili dedicatione traduntur: "pro missionibus", "pro paganis", "ad fidem propagandam", "pro

## **Second Part: Temporal goods**

### **I. Distinction of goods**

44. The ecclesiastical goods in the missions entrusted to our Society, in accordance with the Pontifical Constitution "*Romanos Pontifices*" of 1881 and the Code of Canon Law are divided into goods of the mission and goods of the Society.

45. Which goods belong to the mission and which to the Society must be proven by legitimate titles. Prescription is admitted among these in accordance with the civil law of the respective nation, except for immovable and movable precious things for which a prescription period of thirty years is always applied.

46. With special contracts remaining in force the owner of the good is also the owner of all its natural and civil profits.

47. Donations made by benefactors belong to the mission or to the Society depending on the intention of the donor. Therefore, one has to see to it that, as much as possible, when accepting a donation the mind of the benefactor is made clear.

48. The goods of the mission in particular are:

1<sup>o</sup>. Moneys and other things which are explicitly given to the mission in general or to one of its particular works indicated in these or similar purposes: "for the missions", "for the

missionariis”, “ad ecclesiam aedificandam in N.”, “pro scholis”, “pro pauperibus”, “ad sustentandum seminarium”, “pro infantibus infidelium baptizandis” etc.

2<sup>o</sup>. Nisi habeant usum profanum mere personalem (cf. n. 49. 3<sup>o</sup> a) intelliguntur in favorem missionis data, etiamsi expresse non dicatur.

- a) quae missionarii ab unionibus seu associationibus missionariis obtinent;
- b) quae eis tamquam dona gratuita per redactiones ephemeridum, praecipue missioni inservientium transmittuntur;
- c) quae eis sive industria sua sive spontanee oblata obveniunt a benefactoribus quibuscunque, notis vel ignotis; quoad dona a parentibus et propinquis accepta servetur no. 49, 3<sup>o</sup> b.
- d) quae post conferentias vel conciones missionariorum colliguntur vel offeruntur, et quae a missionariis vel ab aliis eorum nomine de domo in domum deambulantes coaguntur;
- e) quae tribuuntur a christianis indigenis, in specie collectae ad Offertorium Missae factae.

3<sup>o</sup> Ecclesia, schola aliudve aedificium ex pecuniis, quae juxta numeros praedictos ad missionem pertinent, exstructum, est missionis; simili ratione quaecunque alia res sive immobilis sive mobilis, sive sacra sive profana sumptibus missionis acquisita, manet ei propria.

pagans”, “for the propagation of the faith”, “for missionaries”, “for building a church in N.”, “for schools”, “for the poor”, “for the support of the seminary”, “for baptizing pagan children”, etc.

2<sup>o</sup>. Unless they are for profane and merely personal use (cf. no. 49. 3<sup>o</sup> a) the following are considered as given in favor of the mission, even if this is not explicitly stated:

- a) what missionaries receive from missionary unions or associations;
- b) what is sent to them as a free gift by editorial staff of magazines which mainly serve the mission cause;
- c) what comes to them by their own efforts or is spontaneously offered by benefactors of whatever kind, known or unknown; as regards gift received from parents and acquaintances no. 49, 3<sup>o</sup> b should be observed.
- d) what is collected or offered after conferences or sermons of missionaries, and what is gathered by missionaries or by others in their name going from house to house;
- e) what is contributed by native (local) Christians, especially offerings given at Mass.

3<sup>o</sup> Church, school and any other building put up with money which according to the preceding numbers belongs to the mission are property of the mission; for the same reason any other immovable or movable thing, whether sacred or profane which was acquired with mission money remain property of the mission.

49. Bona Societatis sunt:

1<sup>o</sup>. Pecuniae aliaeque res, quae expresse Societati offeruntur hac vel simili dedicatione: “pro Societate”, “pro alumnis Societatis”;

2<sup>o</sup>. quae donantur Superiori domus religiosae, quae est propria Societati, sine speciali destinatione; vel dedicantur instituto, quod a Societate possidetur;

3<sup>o</sup>. bona, quae missionariis ratione personae obveniunt, scl.

a) quae missionariis a benefactoribus donantur et usum mere personalem habent, uti vestes, libri, horologium, vehicula minora, camera fotografica; nihil differt, utrum ipsa res an pecunia ad eam comparandam donetur; non vero ad hanc categoriam referenda sunt objecta liturgica, uti paramenta, calices, candelabra, quae nisi contrarium expresse a donatore dicatur, magis ecclesiae quam personae dedicata esse praesumuntur;

b) quae a parentibus et propinquis in signum intimi affectus mittuntur;

c) taxae, quae secundum ius canonicum sacerdoti sacra administranti in personale emolumentum competunt: stipendia Missarum et jura stolae;

4<sup>o</sup>. emolumenta ex laboribus scientificis vel ex alia industria personali, quae vitam missionariam transcendit;

5<sup>o</sup>. omnes res sive immobiles sive mobiles sumptibus Societatis comparatae.

49. The goods of the Society are:

1<sup>o</sup>. Moneys and other things which are explicitly offered to the Society with this or a similar purpose: “for the Society”, “for the students of the Society”;

2<sup>o</sup>. What is given as donation to the Superior of religious house that is property of the Society, without any particular purpose; or that which is destined for an institute owned by the Society;

3<sup>o</sup>. Goods which come to missionaries as personal gifts, namely.

a) what is donated to missionaries by benefactors and has a purely personal use, like clothing, books, watch, lesser vehicles, photo camera; it makes no difference whether the object itself or money for buying it is given; however not to be included in this category are liturgical objects, like vestments, chalices, candle stands, which are presumed to be meant for the church rather than for the person, unless the contrary has been expressly stated by the donor;

b) what is sent by parents and relatives as sign of warm affection;

c) fees which according to Canon Law are due to the priest who performs a sacred rite as personal remuneration: Mass stipends and stole fees;

4<sup>o</sup>. Remunerations for scientific work or for other personal efforts which beyond the missionary life;

5<sup>o</sup>. All things whether immovable or movable bought at the expense of the Society.

50. In omnibus casibus dubiis Societas ex parte sua renuntiat in favorem missionis, si sodales, qui bona acceperunt, in missionibus degunt vel saltem certae missioni addicti sunt.

51. § 1. Quae comparantur partim ex bonis missionis et partim ex bonis Societatis, de jure ad utramque pro rata parte spectant; de his igitur inter Superiorem ecclesiasticum et Superiorem religiosum speciale pactum ineatur.

§ 2. Missionarii vero propria auctoritate nunquam misceant bona missionis et bona Societatis.

52. § 1. Bona propria (bona privata) missionariorum sunt, quae ante emissionem votorum jam possidebant et quae ipsis post professionem ex testamento vel legato obveniunt.

§ 2. Sciant missionarii, cetera omnia bona non nisi per grandem abusum vocari bonum privatum vel pecuniam privatam, quia huiusmodi denominatio speciem usurpationis praesefert.

## **II. De subjecto possessionis bonorum**

53. Vicariatus et Praefectura ipso erectionis actu personae juridicae constituuntur et qua tales jus habent sua bona possidendi; possident autem omnia bona:

1<sup>o</sup>. quae universo Vicariatui respective Praefecturae inserviunt;

50. In case of doubt the Society for its part renounces in favor of the mission if the members who accepted the goods live in the missions or are at least assigned to a certain mission.

51. § 1. What is bought partly with resources of the mission, partly with resources of the Society belong by law to both according to the respective share; about this, a special agreement between the ecclesiastical Superior and the religious Superior should, therefore, be entered into.

§ 2. But missionaries, by their own authority, should never mix the goods of the mission and the goods of the Society.

52. § 1. The missionaries' own property (private property) are those things which they already possessed before the profession of vows and those which came to them after profession by way of a testament or a legacy.

§ 2. Missionaries should know that it would be a serious abuse to call any other goods private goods or private money because such a designation implies some sort of usurpation.

## **II. The subject (owner) of the possession of goods**

53. The Vicariate and the Prefecture are constituted juridical persons by the very act of erection and, as such, have the right to possess (own) its goods therefore they own all the goods:

1<sup>o</sup>. Which serve the whole Vicariate respectively Prefecture;

2<sup>o</sup>. quae officio Vicarii et Praefecti dedicata sunt;

3<sup>o</sup>. quae a benefactoribus missioni sine ulla specificatione donantur.

54. Parochiae omnes et deficientibus parochiis stationes stabiles, quae a Praesule missionis in personas juridicas eriguntur, possident bona immobilia et mobilia, quae ipsis inserviunt.

55. Praesul missionis gravi de causa bona temporalia ab una statione vel instituto ad alterum stationem vel institutum sui territorii transferre potest, auditis prius omnibus quorum interest et salvis piorum fundatorum vel oblatorum voluntatibus specialiter declaratis, atque obtenta licentia Apostolicae Sedis, si valor rei transferendae transcendit 30 000 frcs.

56. Ipsis missionariis nullum jus translationis bonorum de una statione ad alteram vel de uno instituto ad aliud competit; ideo missionarius etiam in casu, quo ab Ordinario de una statione ad alteram mutatur, de bonis missionis sine expressa Ordinarii licentia nihil potest secumferre, ne illud quidem, quod ipse ex donis benefactorum stationi procuravit. Pecuniam vero a benefactoribus immediate acceptatam, et nondum erogatam, nisi data sit ad specialem finem prioris stationis v. gr. ad ecclesiam aedificandam, ad orphanotrophium

2<sup>o</sup>. Which are destined for the office of the Vicar and the Prefect;

3<sup>o</sup>. Which are given as donation by benefactors of the mission without any specification.

54. All parishes and, where there are no parishes, permanent stations which are established by the head of the mission as juridical persons possess (own) the immovable and movable goods which serve their purposes.

55. For a grave reason the head of the mission can transfer temporal goods from one station or institution to another station or institution of his territory, after having previously consulted all concerned and respecting the expressly declared will of pious founders or donors, as well as having obtained the permission of the Apostolic See if the value of the property to be transferred exceeds 30 000 francs.

56. Missionaries themselves have no right to transfer goods from one station to another or from one institute to another; the missionary, therefore, even in case he is moved by the Ordinary from one station to another, as regards the goods of the mission cannot take along anything without the explicit permission of the Ordinary not even that which he himself acquired with the gifts of benefactors for the station. However, money received directly from benefactors and not yet spent, unless given for a specific purpose of the first station, e. g. for building

sustentandum, potest ad novam stationem transferre ibique prudenti consilio erogare. Absolute interdictum est quominus missionarius translatus res mobiles vel immobiles prioris stationis vendat, ut pecuniam ex venditione acceptam secumferat; qua machinatione incurrit periculum incidendi in excommunicationem Sedi Apostolicae reservatam.

57. Bona Societatis in terris missionum distinguuntur in bona propria Regionis et bona propria singularum domuum.

58. Cura habeatur, ut possessio missionis et Societatis etiam coram lege civili in tuto ponatur.

59. Si gubernium civile missionem et Societatem uti personas juridicas non agnoscit, bona sacerdotibus vel aliis personis fidelibus adscribantur, ut ipsi tamquam possessores eos proprietatis actus, qui a legibus praescribuntur, peragant; in quo casu graviter onerata eorum conscientia postulatur, ut testamento vel alio legali documento, prout spectatis locorum adjunctis melius videtur, securitati bonorum ecclesiasticorum consulant.

60. § 1. Hospitalia, orphanotrophia aliaque similia instituta ad opera religionis vel caritatis sive spiritualis sive temporalis destinata possunt

a church, for maintaining an orphanage, he can take along to the new station and spend there according to his prudent judgement. A missionary who is being transferred is absolutely forbidden to sell movable or immovable property of the previous station in order to take along the money obtained by the sale; by such a manipulation he exposes himself to the danger of incurring an excommunication reserved to the Apostolic See.

57. The goods of the Society in mission countries are divided into good owned by the Region and goods owned by individual houses.

58. Care should be taken that the properties of the mission and of the Society are also secured in terms of civil law.

59. If the civil government does not recognize the mission and the Society as juridical persons, the goods should be assigned to priests or other trustworthy persons, so that these, acting as owners, will carry out those proprietary acts which are prescribed by the laws; in such a case, under grave obligation of conscience, it is required that they ensure the safety of the ecclesiastical goods by making a testament or another legal document as seems best suited in view of the local conditions.

60. § 1. Hospitals, orphanages and other similar institutes destined for religious or charitable activities of a spiritual or temporal kind can be

per Ordinarii decretum in foro ecclesiastico persona juridica constitui et ita sua bona ut proprium subjectum possidere. § 2. Horum institutorum administrare bona sui cujusque rectoris est, secundum normas tabulae foundationis; hic vero iisdem obligationibus tenetur, iisdem juribus fruitur, quibus administratores aliorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum.

61. § 1. Foundationes piae sunt propria persona juridica.

§ 2. Acceptari non possunt sine Ordinarii consensu in scriptis dato.

§ 3. Si in quadam ecclesia vel instituto Societatis fundatio pia acceptanda est, requiritur insuper consensus consilii generalis ad normam Constitutionis 445, 20<sup>o</sup>.

### **III. De administratione bonorum**

62. Omnes qui de bonis ecclesiasticis occupati sunt, semper prae oculis habeant, se nonnisi administratores esse et ideo de his bonis minime juxta liberam voluntatem, sed solummodo secundum intentionem offerentium et normas juris canonici disponere posse, rationem reddituri Deo.

63. Praesul missionis advigilat administrationi omnium bonorum, quae ad missionem spectant et pro opportunitate peculiaribus instructionibus providet.

constituted as juridical persons in the ecclesiastical forum by a decree of the Ordinary and thus possess their goods as real owner.

§ 2. It is the task of the rector (director) of each of these institutes to administer its goods according to the norms of the charter of foundation; but he is bound by the same obligations and enjoys the same right as the administrators of other ecclesiastical goods.

61. § 1. Pious Foundations are juridical persons in their own right.

§ 2. They cannot be accepted without the consent of the Ordinary given in writing.

§ 3. If a pious foundation is to be accepted in some church or institute of the Society this also requires the agreement of the general council according to Constitution 445, 20<sup>o</sup>.

### **III. The administration of goods**

62. All who are in charge of ecclesiastical goods should always keep in mind, that they are only administrators and therefore can in no way dispose of these goods according to their own free will, but only according to the intention of the donor and the norms of Canon Law and shall render account to God.

63. The head of the mission watches over the administration of all goods which belong to the mission and on occasion issues particular instructions.

64. Ad hoc munus rite obeundum Ordinarius consilium ex duobus vel pluribus viris sibi constituat, quos in omnibus actibus majoris momenti audiat; hujus consilii votum est consultativum tantum, nisi jure communi in casibus specialiter expressis vel ex tabulis foundationis eorum consensus requiratur.

65. In dependentia ab Ordinario parochi vel rectores stationum administrant bona parochiis vel stationibus adscripta.

66. § 1. Licitum est missionariis, eleemosynas, quas obtinent pro scholis vel pio opere acceptare, administrare et secundum

offerentium voluntatem pro prudenti suo arbitrio erogare servata Ordinarii vigilantia.

§ 2. Jus est Ordinario loci, administrationem eleemosynarum pro ecclesia paroeciali vel quasiparoeciali construenda, conservanda, exornanda sibi riservare. Ideo attendantur hac in re specialia Ordinarii praecepta.

§ 3. Quae ex eleemosynis missionum ad personales indigentias et necessitudines impenduntur insuper subjacent vigilantiae Superioris religiosi.

67. Praevia Ordinarii licentia relate ad bona missionis omnino postulatur:

64. In order to properly fulfill this task the Ordinary should constitute a council of two or more men whom he should consult in all acts of major importance; the vote of this council is only consultative unless by common law in cases specially mentioned or by the charter of foundation their consent is required.

65. In dependence on the Ordinary, parish priests or rectors of stations administer the goods that belong to parishes or stations.

66. § 1. Missionaries are permitted to accept the alms which they obtain for schools or pious works, to administer them and to spend them

according to the will of the donors and their own prudent judgement subject to the vigilance of the Ordinary.

§ 2. It is the right of the local Ordinary to reserve to himself the administration of alms given for the construction, maintenance, embellishment of a parochial or quasi-parochial church. In this matter, attention should therefore be paid to the special orders of the Ordinary.

§ 3. Money from the alms of the mission which are used for personal requirements and needs, in addition, are subject to the vigilance of the religious Superior.

67. The prior permission of the Ordinary in relation to goods of the mission is absolutely required:

1<sup>o</sup>. pro pecuniae collocatione sive in titulis publicis sive in mensis nummulariis sive quocunque alio publico vel privato modo; idem valet pro qualibet ejus mutatione;

2<sup>o</sup>. si missionarius aedes novas excitare vel nova forma induere vel extraordinarias reparationes perficere vel veteres aedes earumve partes diruere intendit;

3<sup>o</sup>. si res immobiles vel res mobiles pretiosas v. gr. organum, campanaen voluminosas emere vult, etiamsi pecuniam a benefactoribus pro eo fine datam habeat;

4<sup>o</sup>. pro alienatione bonorum ecclesiasticorum, quae natura sua servari possunt, non excepto casu, quo alienatio fit in favorem parochiae vel stationis vel pii instituti; itemque pro eorum oppignoratione et locatione, si locatio est ultra novennium vel valor ultra 1000 libellas seu francos; quid sub hoc respectu missionarii forsitan ex generali Ordinarii licentia valeant, videant in suis statutis peculiaribus.

68. § 1. Qui administrant bona missionis tenentur accuratum et distinctum inventarium rerum immobilium et mobilium cum descriptione et aestimatione earundem conficere.

§ 2. Hujus inventarii alterum exemplar conservetur in tabulario

1<sup>o</sup>. For investing money, whether in *titulis publicis* or in *mensis nummulariis* or in any other public or private form; the same applies to any kind of *mutatione*;

2<sup>o</sup>. if a missionary intends to put up new buildings or remodel them or carry out extraordinary repairs or tear down old buildings or parts of these;

3<sup>o</sup>. if he wants to buy immovable or movable precious things, e. g. organ, big bells, even if he may have the money given by benefactors for this purpose;

4<sup>o</sup>. for alienating ecclesiastical goods which by their nature can be preserved, not excepting the case where the alienation is done in favour of a parish or a station or a pious institute; likewise for using them as collateral (*oppignoratione*) or for leasing (*locatione*) them, if its beyond nine years or its value beyond 1000 pounds or francs; what in this respect missionaries can perhaps do in virtue of a general permission of the Ordinary they should consult their particular statutes.

68. § 1. Those who administer the goods of the mission are bound to compile an accurate and itemized inventory of the immovable and movable things together with a description and their estimated value.

§ 2. One copy of this inventory should be kept in the archive of the

administratoris, alterum in archivo Ordinarii.

§ 3. Sub finem cuiusque anni adnotetur et referatur ad Ordinarium de rebus interim amissis aut acquisitis.

§ 4. Ordinarius sive per se sive per consilium, de quo supra n. 64 invigilet his inventariis.

69. Missionarii ad rationem Ordinario reddendam non solum de administratione bonorum, quae ad dominium permanens missionis pertinent, obligantur, sed etiam de pecuniis aliisque rebus, quae ipsis a benefactoribus vel ab indigenis intuitu missionis ad manus obveniunt. Quare habeant suos libros accepti et expensi bene ordinatos.

70. § 1. Bona Societatis administrantur ad normam Constitutionum.

§ 2. Bona Regionis directe administrantur a Superiore regionali, bona singularum domuum vel institutorum a Superioribus localibus sub vigilantia Regionalis.

§ 3. De inventariis conficiendis etiam respectu bonorum Societatis observentur mutatis mutandis regulae in n. 69. descriptae.

administrator, another one in the archive of the Ordinary.

§ 3. At the end of each year an annotated report about things lost or acquired in the meantime should be submitted to the Ordinary.

§ 4. The Ordinary, either by himself or through the council mentioned above in no. 64 should check on these inventories.

69. Missionaries are obliged to render account to the Ordinary not only about the administration of goods which pertain to the *dominium permanens* of the mission, but also about money and other things which are handed to them by benefactors or local people in view of the mission. Therefore, they should have their books of income and expenses in good order.

70. § 1. The goods of the Society are administered according to the norms given in the Constitutions.

§ 2. The goods of the Region are directly administered by the regional Superior, the goods of the individual houses or institutes by the local Superiors under the supervision of the Regional.

§ 3. As regards the compilation of inventories even for the goods of the Society the rules described in no. 69 should be observed with necessary adaptations.

#### **IV. De sustentatione missionariorum**

71. Sustentatio omnium missionariorum quoad victum, vestitum, habitationem solvi debet ex missionis patrimonio. Conventus vero canonice erecti, qui partem missionis non constituunt, et in genere omnia Instituta, quorum proprietas est penes Societatem, a Societate quoque sustentantur tum quoad aedificia tum quoad personas illic commorantes. In particulari vero haec regulae servandae sunt:

72. Praesul missionis tamquam administrator patrimonii statutis temporibus Superiori regulari assignabit summam pecuniae ex utriusque auctoritatis consensu determinatam pro missionariorum sustentatione.

73. Superioris regularis erit, hanc summam singulis missionariis aut etiam stationibus distribuere simulque invigilare, ne missionarii expendant pecuniam modo inutili vel pro cujuslibet proprio libitu contrario voto paupertatis.

74. Societas Ordinarium in sustentandis missionariis libenter et pro posse adjuvabit, praesertim si patrimonium missionis non sufficit. Auxilium autem praestabit eo quod:

#### **IV. Support for missionaries**

71. The support for all missionaries as regards food, clothing, dwelling must be paid from the patrimony of the mission. However, canonically erected convents which are not part of the mission and generally all institutes which are property of the Society are also maintained by the Society in regard to both the buildings and the persons residing there. In particular, however, the following rules are to be observed:

72. The head of the mission as administrator of its patrimony shall, at fixed times, put at the disposal of the religious Superior an amount of money, fixed by agreement of both authorities for the maintenance of the missionaries.

73. It shall be the task of the religious Superior to distribute this amount among the individual missionaries or even stations, and, at the same time, to watch that missionaries do not spend money uselessly or for whatever they want contrary to the vow of poverty.

74. The Society will willingly and according to its possibilities help the Ordinary in maintaining the missionaries, especially if the patrimony of the mission is insufficient. But it will provide help in the following way:

- a) ordinarie proventus, quos in missione habet, non extra missionem sed in operibus missionis impendet juxta conventionem inter Superiorem regionalem et generalem faciendam;
- b) mediante procura missionis pro viribus in acquirendis eleemosynis missioni succurat.

## **V. De expensis itinerum**

75. Itinerum expensas necnon requisita pro novis missionariis tam sacerdotibus quam laicis suppeditabit Praesul missionis, qui missionarios petierit.
76. Expensae eorum, qui ad aliud territorum transferuntur incumbunt territorio, in cujus servitium transferuntur; expensae eorum, quos quacumque ex causa domum redire contingit, solvit territorium vel missio, cui servierunt; expensae pro itinere eorum, qui ad munus aliquod obeundum mittuntur vel vocantur, ab eis solvuntur, cujus bono iter suscipitur; expensae pro itinere ad capitulum generale solvit quaevis regio pro suis delegatis.
77. Ad expensas extraordinarias faciendas Missionarii indigent licentia respectivi Superioris ecclesiastici vel religiosi.

- a) it will ordinarily spend the earnings which it makes in the mission not outside it but in works of that mission in accordance with an agreement to be made between the regional Superior and the Superior General;
- b) it will, to the best of its abilities assist the mission in raising funds through the mission procure.

## **V. Travel expenses**

75. The head of the mission who asked for missionaries will shoulder the expenses for travel and equipment of the new missionaries both priests and Brothers.
76. The expenses of those who are transferred to another territory are charged to the territory to the service of which they are transferred; the expenses of those who for whatever reason happen to return to their home country, are paid for by the territory or the mission where they served; the travel expenses of those who are sent or called to assume some task are paid by those for whose benefit they undertake the travel; the travel expenses for a general chapter are shouldered by the respective region for its delegates.
77. For incurring extraordinary expenses missionaries need the permission of the respective ecclesiastical or religious Superior.

## VI. De procura missionis

78. Penes Curiam generalitiam et etiam penes curiam provincialem si cui Provinciae missio concredita est, nominari potest procurator missionis mutandus vel confirmandus de triennio ad triennium. Constituitur a consilio generali.

79. Officium ejus erit:

- a) bona et in genere res pretio aestimabiles pro missionibus colligere, collectas administrare, juxta donantium intentiones applicare et missionibus assignare;
- b) executioni demandare ordinationes materiales Praesulum et Superiorum regionalium, non vero Ordinationes Missionariorum nisi licentia Superiorum in scriptis munitae sint;
- c) demum procurare missionibus tamquam villicus prudens media ad evangelizandum regnum Dei necessaria.

80. In procurandis hujusmodi bonis, zelo et perseverentia et etiam discretione procedat, ne arcam aggravet debitis. Interdicitur ei, quominus sine consensu eorum, quorum interest debita contrahat in favorem missionum vel regionum.

81. Praesules improvise non mittent mensae nummulariae obligationes (Wechsel), nisi sciunt arcam pecunia sufficiente munitam esse, exceptis

## VI. The mission procure

78. At the *Curia generalitia* (Generalate) and also at the provincialate if a mission has been entrusted to the province a mission procurator can be appointed who is to be changed or confirmed after each triennium. He is appointed by the general council.

79. His task shall be:

- a) to gather funds and, in general, *res pretio aestimabiles* for the missions, to administer what was collected, to apply and assign them to the missions them according to the intentions of the donors;
- b) to procure the material ordered by heads (of missions) and regional Superiors, but not orders of missionaries unless accompanied by the written permission of Superiors;
- c) finally, like a prudent administrator, to procure for the missions the means necessary for the proclamation of the kingdom of God.

80. In procuring these means, he should proceed with zeal and perseverance and also with discretion in order not to burden the treasury with debts. He is forbidden, without the consent of those concerned, to incur debts in favor of the missions or regions.

81. The heads should not, without prior notice, send *mensae nummulariae obligationes*, unless they know that the treasury has

casibus extraordinariae necessitatis, si agitur v. gr. de vita Sodalium conservanda vel de gravi damno evitando.

82. In distribuendis pecuniis pro missionibus Procurator missionis hac regitur norma:

a) Pecunias et bona pro certa missione ab ipsis fidelibus destinata Procurator uti simplex executor mandati mittet missioni;

b) dona vero procurae missa sub generali rubrica: "pro missionibus", quin donatores territori et intentiones determinaverint, non assignabit vel distribuet certae missioni nisi post obtentum consensum consilii generalis, si agitur de Procuratore missionis generali, vel consilii provincialis, si agitur de Procuratore missionis provinciali;

c) si Superiores provinciales ex bonis provinciae Missiones adiuvere velint, indicant fixam pecuniae summam Superiori generali, qui cum suo consilio, consideratis singularum missionum exigentiis, bona distribuet, ne quaedam missiones bonis abundant, alterae vero penuriam et egestatem subire cogantur.

83. Procurator tenetur Superiori provinciali resp. generali rationem reddere, qua patent redditus et expensae suae administrationis;

sufficient funds, except in cases of extraordinary necessity, if it is a question e.g. of saving the life of a member or avoiding grave damage.

82. In distributing money for the missions the Mission Procurator abides by this norm:

a) The Procurator shall send money and goods destined for a certain mission by the faithful themselves to that mission as a simple executor of the mandate;

b) As regards goods, however, sent to the procure under the general heading "for the missions", without the donors having specified any territory or intention, he shall not assign or distribute these to a certain mission unless he has first obtained the consent of the general council in case of the Mission Procurator at the Generalate or of the provincial council in case of the Mission Procurator at the Provinciate.

c) If provincial Superiors would want to help the missions with funds of the province, they indicate a fixed amount to the Superior General who together with his council will distribute these funds, taking into consideration the needs of the individual missions in order to avoid that some missions have an abundance of means while others are forced to experience shortage and needs.

83. The Procurator is bound to render account to the provincial respectively the General Superior, which shows the income and

statuto tempore etiam rationem mittet Superioribus illarum missionum, pro quibus constitutus est.

Hoc statutum, inhaerendo canonibus Codicis j. c. et decretis Sedis Apostolicae pro missionibus latis necnon consideratis votis Praesulum missionum S.V.D. elaboratum, cum missionariis in capitulo generali a 1920 de jure praesentibus discussum, tandem ex voluntate Reverendissimi Cardinalis Praefecti S. C. de Prop. Fide ab Officiali hujus S. C. revisum, hisce ex parte Societatis Verbi Divini a consilio generali ratum approbatumque habetur ad experimentum faciendum per quinque annos.

Steyl, ex domo generalitia die 25. m. Julii 1922.

Joh. Bodems, Assist. gen.

Theod. Grentrup, Cons. gen.

expenses of his administration; at set times he shall also send a report to the Superiors of those missions for whom he is in charge.

This Statute is based on the canons of the Code of Canon Law and on the decrees issued by the Apostolic See for the missions; it was elaborated taking into consideration the views of the heads of the S.V.D. missions and discussed with the missionaries who were by law present at the General Chapter of 1920, Finally, by the will of the Most Reverend Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, it was reviewed by an Official of this Sacred Congregation. On the part of the Society of the Divine Word it is approved by the general council *ad experimentum* for five years.

Steyl, from the generalate, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month of July 1922.

Joh. Bodems, Assist. gen.

Theod. Grentrup, Cons. gen.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i> (since 1909); Official organ of the Holy See
AA.EE.SS.	<i>Archivio Storico Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari</i>
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> (another way of saying Current Era)
AdF-SVD	<i>Archivio del Fondatore Societatis Verbi Divini</i>
AG-SVD	<i>Archivio Generale Societatis Verbi Divini</i>
AM	<i>Ante Meridiem</i> (before noon)
Analecta SVD	Internal series of books on the Society of the Divine Word
AP-SVD Ende	The Archive of the Provincial of SVD Ende, Indonesia
ARSI	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>
ASPF	<i>Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide</i>
BL	<i>Blum Briefe</i> are folders containing letters of Nicholas Blum. There are seventeen series of them
BL-2	<i>Blum Briefe Zweite Serie</i>
BL-4	<i>Blum Briefe Vierte Serie</i>
BL-16	<i>Blum Briefe Sechzehnte Serie</i>
BL-17	<i>Blum Briefe Siebzehnte Serie</i>
Br.	(Lay) Religious Brother
c., cc.	<i>charta/ae</i> (= a Latin word used to indicate a paper or papers, documents, manuscripts or writing found in an archive)
Cf.	Confer
DAC	<i>A Dictionary of Asian Christianity</i>
EP	<i>The Encyclopedia of Protestantism</i>
fasc.	<i>Fascicolo</i> (fascicle)
Fr.	Father [= a Catholic priest]
KM	Kilometre
Lk	The Gospel of Luke

Mat	The Gospel of Matthew
MSC	<i>Missionari del Sacro Cuore di Gesù</i> (Sacred Heart Missionaries)
Msrgr.	Monsignor, a title for a clergyman, and made up of two French words: <i>mon</i> (= mine) and <i>seigneur</i> (= Lord)
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia
N.S.	<i>Nuova Serie</i> (= New Series)
NEB	The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Macropaedia Knowledge in Depth, Chicago 1973-1974
Nuntius SVD	Nuntius Societatis Verbi Divini. Official organ of the SVD general administration, 1896 ff
ODCC	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
OP	<i>Ordo Predicatorum</i> (= Order of Preachers, well-known as Dominicans)
PA-SVD	Teteringen Provincial Archive Societas Verbi Divini Teteringen, the Netherlands
PKI	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (= Indonesian Communist Party)
PM	<i>Post Meridiem</i> (= after noon)
Pos.	Position
PPKD	<i>Perkempalan Politik Katolik Djawi</i> (= Political Association of Javanese Catholics)
S.RR.SS	<i>Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati</i> [= Secretariat of State, Section for Relation with States]
sic	A Latin affirmative particle which means «so» and is usually written in brackets (often with an exclamation mark) following the transcription of a wrong or incomprehensible word, of an unusual or apparently absurd phrase, to confirm the reader that the word, or the phrase, should be read just like that, that it is not an oversight or an error of who transcribes
SJ/SI	<i>Societatis Iesu</i> (Jesuits)
s.d.	<i>sine data</i> (= a Latin phrase used for explaining any printed material that does not mention the date of its publication)
s.l.	<i>sine loco</i> (= a Latin phrase used for explaining any printed material that does not mention the place of its publication)
Sr.	Sister [= a religious nun]

SSpS	<i>Servarum Spiritus Sancti</i> (= Sister Servants of the Holy Spirit or also known as the Missionary Sisters, Servants of the Holy Spirit from Steyl, in the Netherlands)
St.	Saint
SVD	<i>Societas Verbi Divini</i> (= The Society of the Divine Word)
The SVD	Refer to the term «The Society of the Divine Word»
The SVDs	Refer to the personnel of the SVD congregation
transl.	translator
USA	United States of America
Verbum SVD	It started in 1959 as «Verbum» and served for internal use of the SVDs. In 1970 it was officially made a missiological review of the Divine Word Missionaries. From that time «Verbum SVD» is used
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie</i> (= the Dutch East Indies Company)
Vol.	Volume

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- Luypen to Blum, Den Haag, 19.11.1910
- Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 12.4.1911
- Blum to Luypen, s.l., 11.5.1911
- Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 15.5.1911
- Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 29.5.1911
- Blum to Schmeits, Steyl, 8.6.1911
- Vogels to Blum, Oudenbosch, 23.9.1911
- Friedrich to Bodems, s.l., 15.11.1911
- Luypen to Blum, Batavia, 7.12.1911
- Tacci to Luypen, Bruxelles, 17.12.1911
- Blum to Friedrich, s.l., 21.1.1912
- Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 25.1.1912
- Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 27.1.1912
- Noyen to Blum, Cöln, 31.1.1912
- Ledòchowski to Friedrich, Roma, 1.2.1912
- Luypen to Blum, Medan, 5.2.1912
- Friedrich to Blum, Roma, 6.2.1912
- A Copy of Decretum, Gotti to Blum, Roma, 8.2.1912
- Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 15.2.1912
- Vogels to Blum, Oudenbosch, 17.2.1912
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- Noyen to Blum and General Councillors, Uden, 17.10.1912
- Engbers to Noyen, s.l., 9.12.1912
- Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 28.1.1913
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- Minister of Colonies to P.C. Noyen and A.J.H.V. Verstraelen, 's Gravenhage, 12.3.1913
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- Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 22.3.1913

- Noyen to Blum, Lahurus, 17.5.1913
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- Engbers to Noyen, Muntilan, 26.7.1913
- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 5.8.1913
- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 7.8.1913
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- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 30.10.1913 (second letter)
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- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 16.3.1914
- Verstraelen to Blum, Atapupu, 14.4.1914
- Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 19.4.1914
- Noyen to Blum, Ende, 2.5.1914
- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.6.1914
- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 18.6.1914
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- Blum to Luypen, Steyl, 8.9.1915
- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 8.9.1915
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- Noyen to Blum, Ende, 28.10.1915
- Verstraelen to Blum, Lahurus, 25.11.1915
- Noyen to Blum, Ende, 14.12.1915
- Noyen to Blum, Ende, 20.12.1915
- Noyen to Blum, Atapupu, 5.2.1916
- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 2.3.1916
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- Serafini to Blum, Roma, 31.3.1916
- Blum to Ledóchowski, Steyl, 15.4.1916
- Blum to the Jesuits' Provincial, Steyl, 15.4.1916

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- Blum to the Abbot of Tilburg, Steyl, 21.8.1918
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- Noyen to Blum: Schrijven uit het Leven van den Missionaren op Timor, sl., s.d.
- F. de Lange to Blum, Ndonga, 21.12.1918
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- A Telegram from Noyen to Blum, Surabaya, 11.1.1919
- Blum to Claessens, Steyl, 15.1.1919
- Claessens to Blum, Sittard, 16.1.1919
- Noyen to Blum, Larantuka, 18.1.1919
- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919
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- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 13.2.1919
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- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919
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- Beuken to Blum, 's Gravenhage, 25.4.1919
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- Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919
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- Blum to Beuken, Steyl, 14.6.1919
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- Leerplan van de Standaardsschool op Larantoea

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- The Apostolic Prefect Petrus Noyen: Ter Herinnering aan het Overlyden van de Missionarissen te Larantoea Dec. 1918
- Blum to Noyen, St. Rupert, 30.7.1919
- De Secretaris-Generaal van Binnenlandsche Zaken aan den Hoogeerwaarden Heer Superior Generaal der Congregatie van het Goddelijk Woord Steil, 's Gravenhage, 7.8.1919 Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 6.9.1919
- Ariaens to Blum, Teteringen, 19.9.1919
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- Gier to F. de Lange, Steyl, 16.3.1921
- F. de Lange to Gier, Ndona, 30.3.1921
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- Protocol von Kontrakt, Steyl, 18.10.1922
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- J. van Cleef to the Governor General, Ndona, 2.2.1923
- Verstraelen to Assistant General, a.b.s.s., „Jan Pieterszoon Coen”, 31.3.1923
- Verstraelen to Gier, Jopu, 5.6.1923
- The President of the East Indies Mission Society to the Minister of Colonies, Sittard, 5.7.1923 to the Minister of Colonies, Sittard, 5.7.1923
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- Volksscholen op het Apostolisch Vicariaat der Kleine Soenda Eilanden op 31 December 1923
- Verstraelen to Gier, Ndona, 18.1.1924
- Vestraelen to Gier, Ndona, 23.1.1924
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- Verstraelen to Gier, Ende, 25.7.1924
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- Gier to Verstraelen, Steyl, 19.9.1924
- Gier to Verstraelen, s.l., 12.11.1924
- Verstraelen to Glanemann, Ndona, 11.2.1925
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- Leven to Gier: Memorandum, Ndona, 14.2.1929
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- Decretum betreffende de canonieke oprichting van decanaten enz. in Ons Vicariaat, Ndona, 29.9.1929
- Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930
- Leven to Gier, Ndona, 17.8.1931

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- Grendel to Leven, s.l., 4.3.1935
- Grendel to Bouma, s.l., 2.4.1935
- Leven to Grendel, Ndona, 11.4.1935
- Bouma to Grendel, Ende, 24.4.1935
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- La Puma to Gier, Roma, 14.1.1932
- Franz Cornelissen, Het Klein Seminarie van de Kleine Soenda-eilanden te Sika, typescript, 20 pp, s.l., s.d.
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11) Folder Blum Briefe Zweite Serie (= BL-2):

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- Blum to Schwager, s.l., 22.6.1910
  - Blum to Schwager, s.l., 30.6.1910
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- 13) Folder Blum Briefe Fünfte Serie:
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- 15) Folder Blum Briefe Zehnte Serie:
- Blum to G. Tacci, Steyl, 18.11.1913
- 16) Folder Blum Briefe Vierzehnte Serie:
- Blum to the Jesuits Provincial, Steyl, 15.4.1916
- 17) Folder Blum Briefe Sechzehnte Serie (BL-16):
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  - Blum to the Abbot of Tilburg, Steyl, 21.8.1918
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  - Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 20.1.1919
  - Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 19.4.1919
  - Blum to Noyen, Steyl, 29.5.1919
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- 19) Tagebuch Nicolaus Blum, Steyl, 6.9.1910

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- Arnold Janssen to Blum, St. Gabriel, 26.3.1902
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- Arnold Janssen to Limbrock, Steyl, 24.4.1904
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- Arnold Janssen to the General Counsilors, St. Gabriel, 27.2.1905
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- Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 22.6.1911
- Tacci to Gotti, L'Aia, 7.8.1911
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- Friedrich to Gotti, Roma, 25.1.1912
- Gotti to Blum, Roma, 8.2.1912
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- Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 11.9.1913
- Decretum. Insularum Sundae Minorum Praefectura Apostolica Erigitur, Roma, 16.9.1913
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- Gotti to Blum, Roma, 20.9.1913
- Gotti to Tacci, Roma, 25.9.1913
- Gotti to Merry del Val, Roma, 26.9.1913
- Tacci to Gotti, Bruxelles, 27.9.1913
- Merry del Val to Gotti, Vaticano, 29.9.1913
- Gotti to Luypen, Roma, 29.9.1913
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- Wernz to Gotti, Roma, 29.5.1914
- Gotti to Lorenzelli, Relazione circa la Modifica dei Confini della Prefettura Apostolica delle Isole della Piccola Sonda, Roma, luglio 1914
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- Memorandum of Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 1.6.1910
- Gotti to Merry del Val, Roma, 25.7.1910
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- Additional Articles for Convention 1847
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- Compte rendu de la Conference de Moentilan, Muntilan, 4-12.6.1929
- Statuten van het Apostolisch Vicariaat van de Kleine Soenda Eilanden, 1.1.1930

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- Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 27.4.1912
- Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 30.3.1913
- Engbers to Wernz, Muntilan, 7.12.1913
- Luypen to Gotti, Batavia, 24.4.1914
- Engbers to Wernz, Surabaya, 16.6.1914Vogels to Wernz, 's Gravenhage, 28.6.1914
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## **7. Statistics**

*The Statistic Office of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)*, Rome, 16 February 2018.

## **8. Interview**

An interview with Fr. Alex Beding, SVD (born in Larantuka, 13 January 1924), a historian, writer and an eyewitness to the SVD mission work in Indonesia. The interview was done in Saint Arnold SVD Mission House of Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia, 5 August 2013, private archive of the author.

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