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**The Process of Handing Over
a Part of the Jesuit Mission in Indonesia
to the Society of the Divine Word
and the Erection of the Apostolic Prefecture
of the Lesser Sunda Islands
(1902-1914)**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i> (since 1909).
AGSVD	Archivum Generale Societatis Verbi Divini.
AJ	Arnold Janssen.
Analecta SVD	Internal series of books on the Society of the Divine Word.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.
ARSI-1	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 1001 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1920, Ind. Neerl.
ARSI-2	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 1002 M. Bataviae. Indonesiana 1869-1922, Prov. Ind. Neerl.
ARSI-3	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Assist. Germ. 1901-1918, Missiones III.
ARSI-4	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Neerlandica IV 1905-1921, Epistolae. Praepositi Generalis ad Provinciam Neerlandicam. A die 3 Ianuarii 1906 ad diem 5 Maii 1922.
MSC	Missionari del Sacro Cuore di Gesù (Sacred Heart Missionaries).
NEB II/IX/XIX	<i>The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Macropaedia Knowledge in Depth</i> , II/IX/XIX, Chicago 1973-1974.

Nuntius SVD	<i>Nuntius Societatis Verbi Divini</i> . Official organ of the SVD general administration, 1896 ff.
PF-1	Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Rubrica n°.125/1915, N.S. Vol. 560.
PF-2	Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Rubrica n°.125/1913, N.S. Vol. 532.
SJ/SI	Societatis Iesu.
SVD	Societas Verbi Divini.
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.

INTRODUCTION

When the so-called *Kulturkampf*¹ 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 Prince 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 priests and religious, while many bishops were imprisoned. As a result, dioceses were without bishops and 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 papal authority. More particularly, the pope's authority over the Catholic Church – one which demands the loyalty of all Catholics all over the world – was seen by Bismarck as a kind of intrusion which harmed the unity of the state. In the end Bismarck did not succeed in attaining all his goals, but he was successful in weakening the existence and influence of the Catholic Church in Germany.

In this chaotic situation Arnold Janssen² discovered that God was calling him to undertake a difficult task. He proposed that some of the expelled

¹ The *Kulturkampf*, which means «culture struggle», was a Church-state dispute in Germany during the 1870s. It erupted in 1874, when anti-Church liberals in the Prussian parliament attacked the influence of the Catholic Church. The German chancellor Otto von Bismarck joined in the attack. German Catholics rallied around their bishops and priests, forcing Bismarck to seek ways to reconcile the Church with the state after the death of Pope Pius IX in 1878. Richard P. MCBRIEN, ed., *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York 1995, 385; Cf. Hubert JEDIN and John DOLAN, *History of the Church*, London 1981, 26.

² Arnold Janssen (1837-1909) is the founder of three religious congregations: the

priests go to the foreign missions or at least help in the preparation of missionaries. Many people said that he was not the right man for the job, or that the time was not right for such a project. Arnold's answer was, «We live in a time when much is collapsing and new things must be established in their place.»³ Slowly but surely, and with a little prodding from the Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong, Msgr. Giovanni Timoleone Raimondi (1827-1894), the Society of the Divine Word (SVD)⁴ was finally founded on 8 September 1875.

At present SVDs work in 72 countries and are divided into 59 provinces, regions, and missions. The 6096 members of this congregation both priests and religious brothers, come from 70 different countries⁵.

Significance of the study

The SVD in Indonesia will soon celebrate one hundred years of missionary presence (2013). So it is appropriate to see how it all started. We can say that the SVD mission in Indonesia is a great blessing to the whole Society by the mere fact that at present the largest number of SVD missionaries comes from Indonesia. In fact, Indonesian Divine Word Missionaries now rank first in the Society's over-all membership, with a total of about 1,515 Indonesians. They are working in 69 countries around the world⁶.

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). Before founding the congregations, he served as a diocesan priest of the diocese of Muenster, Germany. He was canonized by Pope John Paul II on 5 October 2003. Cf. Josef ALT, *Journey in Faith: The Missionary Life of Arnold Janssen*, Analecta SVD 85, Roma 2002, 1036.

³ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴ The name Society of the Divine Word is a translation from Latin, *Societas Verbi Divini*, which is shorten to SVD. In this paper, the writer will use «SVD» as the substitute for the term «The Society of the Divine Word».

⁵ To this date the SVD counts 5,429 deceased members and 6,096 living members. This means that from the beginning about 11,525 individuals have been involved in the mission of the SVD. Cf. *Catalogus SVD*, Romae 2007, 451-464.

⁶ Indonesian membership is 1/5 of the entire Society; it means that for every 5 SVDs 1 is from Indonesia. There are 875 in perpetual vows, 434 are in temporary vows and 206 novices. Cf. Statistics Office of the Society of Divine Word, Rome, 7 December 2006.

In view of the up coming centennial celebration of the Society of the Divine Word in Indonesia, this study attempts to shed light on beginnings of the SVD mission there and on the cultural and religious situation in Indonesia at that time. Since Indonesian members form such a large part of our Society, it is beneficial to have a good understanding about the mission there. So this work is a contribution to the history of the SVD in particular as well as to the local and universal ecclesiastical history.

Objectives of the study

This paper will study the origins of the mission of the SVD in Indonesia. The examination of various documents reveals the reciprocal process of negotiations among various persons such as the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, the Superior General of the SVD, the Superior of the Jesuits, the Cardinal Prefect of the *Propaganda Fide*⁷, the Apostolic Internuncio to the Low Countries, and others. Hopefully this work will help readers to understand and appreciate the handing over a part of the Jesuit mission in Indonesia to the SVD and erecting the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

Problem of the study

The main question of this paper concerns the reasons for the transfer of the mission. Why did the Jesuits want to hand over some parts of their mission in Indonesia to other congregations? Were there other behind-the-scenes forces pushing for the transfer (e.g., the Propaganda Fide or the Apostolic Internuncio to the Low Countries)? As for the SVDs beginning a mission in Indonesia, it may be interesting to know whether the takeover of a part of the Jesuit mission was done smoothly and without difficulties.

This study will investigate the following questions:

1. What was the cultural, political and ecclesiastical situations in Indonesia?
2. Who was the precursor of the negotiations to hand over a part of the Jesuit mission to the SVDs?
3. What was the process of the negotiations?

⁷ The «Propaganda Fide» is a Latin term for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, an office of Roman Curia. In this paper, the writer will use the «Propaganda Fide» instead of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

4. How and in what circumstances did the SVD start its mission in Indonesia?

Methodology and Organization of the Study

This historical study is based mainly on the documents of and the correspondence between the SVD and the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, the SVD and the Propaganda Fide, and the SVDs and Jesuits and others involved in this process. All these documents can be found in the SVD Generalate Archives (*Archivum Generale Societatis Verbi Divini*), the Archives of the Propaganda Fide (*Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide*), and the Jesuit Archives (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*). All of which are in Rome. Besides, some other sources have been taken into account in order to help the writer to present this theme comprehensively. It is also worth mentioning that this study takes into account the socio-political, ecclesiastical, and other factors that contributed to the decisions made by the Propaganda Fide to hand over a mission in Indonesia to the SVD.

Almost all these documents are unpublished and handwritten. They first needed to be transcribed into readable texts. All the letters and other unpublished manuscripts quoted in this work also had to be translated into English. Since most of the sources were written in German, Dutch, Latin and Italian, the writer will cite the original texts in the footnotes. In order to help the reader follow the presentation more easily, the English translation will normally be cited in this paper. The excerpts from the documents will be cited verbatim without altering the mistakes to present the events as close to the original as possible.

The writer relies on the documentary evidence to furnish a picture of the conditions of the Jesuits missionary work, the political situation, and the possibility of the SVD working in Indonesia. The paper depicts the general situation of Indonesia and the local Church where the SVDs worked.

After the Introduction, the first chapter of this paper provides a historical context of the Indonesia situation and of the mission at that time in order to help the reader have a sufficient understanding of the context. It also attempts to discuss the relevant problems and difficulties which afflicted the Church during this period. The second chapter deals with the process of handing over a part of the Jesuit Mission in Indonesia to the SVD. It gives a survey of the negotiations and the difficulties involved in this process. Finally, the erection of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands

will be discussed as the last chapter. The handing over of the mission to the SVDs and the erection of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands will be described together. This is because in that era when a mission was given to a certain religious congregation, at the same time the Church established its presence by erecting apostolic prefectures.

Scope and Limits of the Study

This research limits itself to the study of the origins of the SVD mission in Indonesia from 1902 (i.e., the period of initial contacts and negotiations) to 1920 (when the last Jesuits left Flores). The year 1920 is significant because it determined the final configuration of the Prefecture which was given to the care of the SVD.

This study limits itself to the negotiations which led to the handing over of the mission to the SVD and the erection of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The period of 1902-1920 will be divided into two parts: 1) 1902-1909, covers the initial contacts; 2) 1909-1920, the formal negotiations and the takeover. The title of this study is: «**The Process of Handing Over a Part of the Jesuit Mission in Indonesia to the Society of the Divine Word and the Erection of the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands**».

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1. Indonesia

1.1. Indonesia in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

1.1.1. Islands, Population and Cultural influences

The East Indies¹ are characterized by its vastness in area and variety of people, languages and culture. According to K.S. Latourette, its islands stretch across, from east to west, more than 3,000 miles, and from north to south, they extend over approximately 1,500 miles – dimensions which are comparable to that of the North American continent². The islands can be divided into four main groups. The first group covers Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, which are called the Greater Sunda Islands. The Lesser Sunda Islands, the second group, lie east of Java and extend from Bali to Timor. The third group is the Moluccas archipelago, which lies between Sulawesi 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

¹ The region of today's Indonesia was known to Europeans in the 16th century as the East Indies or the Malay Archipelago. Later, when Dutch power became stronger there in the 17th century, it was known also as the Dutch East Indies. In this paper, any of these three names refers to the same region.

² Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE, *The Expansion of Christianity. The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, V, London 1943, 275.

smaller archipelagos³. The East Indies, the world's largest archipelago, comprises over 13,667 islands, of which 7,600 are unnamed and almost 12,700 are uninhabited⁴.

Until 1914 the population of the East Indies was predominantly Malay. They have a medium height, brown skin, dark hair and a scarce beard. Probably they belong to the yellow race and came from India and China. The second dominant people were Papuan. Malay and Papuan stocks were divided into many tribes and peoples. Among them there were also Indians, Chinese, Europeans⁵ and Arabs⁶.

According to legend Indians had come to the East Indies in the beginning of the first century, the Arabs in the 7th century and the Chinese in the 8th century. Many of the Chinese were merchants, miners and plantation workers. They were well-known as a hard-working people skilled at trading⁷. By the end of 1914 the population was more than 40,000,000. About three-fourths of these were in Java and Madura, the neighboring island⁸. In 1930 there were about 1,233,000 Chinese in the whole of the East Indies, 582,000 of whom were in Java and 651,000 in other regions. Europeans, who arrived in the 16th century, were a smaller but more influential group economically and politically. They were never more than 240,200, and about 90 percent of them were Dutch⁹. Arabs were about 71,000. When talking about Arabs it is almost automatic that at the same time we talk about Muslims. To be precise, however, the Muslims in the East Indies came from two different places: Arabia and India. The majority of Arabs came from the Hadhramaut¹⁰. Indian muslims came from Gujarat, Coromandel, the Malabar coasts, Punjab and Sind¹¹.

³ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Macropaedia Knowledge in Depth (NEB)*, IX, Chicago 1973-1974, 459.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 457.

⁵ It should be said that the term «European» has a juridical meaning instead of a pure ethnic meaning. Cf. Charles ROBEQUAIN, *Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines*, London 1959, 81.

⁶ Johannes THAUREN, *Die Missionen der Gesellschaft der Göttlichen Wortes: die Mission in Holländisch Indien*, Steyl 1931, 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ LATOURETTE, *The Great Century*, 275.

⁹ ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 73. 81.

¹⁰ Hadhramaut, Hadhramout or Hadramawt is a historical region of the south Arabian Peninsula along the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea, extending eastwards from Yemen to the Dhofar region of Oman. The name of the region is currently retained in

The East Indies embrace a wide variety of people who represent successive waves of culture, notably from Asia and Europe¹². The influence of Indian Hinduism is evident from important monuments, especially in Java and Bali. Chinese culture influenced the development of technology. For example, the Chinese taught the natives how to manufacture and use firearms. They were also the first to prospect for mineral wealth – even before the Europeans. European civilization diffused into Asia through inter-marriage¹³.

1.1.2. The Administration of the Islands

During the first half of 20th century the East Indies were a colony of Holland. The highest authority was the Governor General, who was bound to the regulations established for the Dutch East Indies. Europeans were treated according to Dutch law, whereas the native people were judged according to their own customs and by their own judges. Coins, measures and weight were the same as in the Netherlands. Order was kept by 32,000 colonial troops, of whom 10,000 were Europeans¹⁴.

The Dutch East Indies were divided into many *Residenties*, each headed by a «Resident». This *residentie* in its turn was divided into regions called *Afdeelingen* and further subdivided into districts. This unit (*Afdeelingen*) was headed by an Assistant Resident or *Kontroleur* (controller). All these offices were filled only by Europeans. Further administrative units were administered by native aristocrats, and the colonial government exercised only a certain legal control over them¹⁵.

1.1.3. Organized Nationalism

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 cause of this

the small Hadhramaut province of the Republic of Yemen. The people of Hadhramaut are called *Hadhramis*. All the indigenous population are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī school of law. Cf. *NEB XIX*, 1081.

¹¹ ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 71.

¹² LATOURETTE, *The Great Century*, 275.

¹³ ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 72.81.

¹⁴ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

movement can be specified globally and locally. Globally, it was the product of a new imperialism¹⁶ which created wide currents of unrest affecting many parts of Africa and Asia. Locally, 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. Another cause was the emergence of a new Indonesian elite who were educated but lacked adequate employment opportunities to match their education¹⁷.

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 nationhood manifested itself in a general awareness to embrace the ethnic diversity of the archipelago¹⁸. 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 need 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 nationalism¹⁹.

Budi Utomo was an elitist association that was not popular with many people. It could not fulfil the needs of the independence movement. So some wanted to change *Budi Utomo* to a political party. This desire produced an internal controversy. As a result, some prominent political figures such as Cipto Mangunkusumo quit *Budi Utomo* and joined the *Indische Partij* (Indies Party) – an Eurasian²⁰ party²¹ founded in 1911 by E.F.E. Douwes Dekker. This party was banned by the East Indies

¹⁶ During the 19th century new economic forces, the product of industrial capitalism, burst upon the Indies. It was known as a new wave of European capitalism. Cf. *NEB IX*, 484.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ M.P.M. MUSKENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, IV, Jakarta 1973, 211.

²⁰ Eurasian refers to the descendants of the mixed-race marriages between Europeans and the local people in Asia such as in Indonesia. Cf. ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 81.

²¹ MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 211.

government a year later and was succeeded by another Eurasian party, *Insulinde*. In 1913 the noble members of *Budi Utomo* created a special group within it, the so-called *Regentenbond*, in order to maintain their nobility according to traditional patterns of authority. 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*²² (People's Council) created by the government. The first youth organization within *Budi Utomo*, *Trikoro Dharmo*, in 1918 became *Jong Java*²³.

The *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Association) was founded in 1912 by Omar Said Tjokroaminoto. In 1914 Hendricus Sneevliet founded the *Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging* (ISDV; Indies Social Democratic Association), which in 1920 became the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI²⁴: *Partai Komunis Indonesia*)²⁵.

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

²² In order to fulfil its promise to associate the Indonesian community politically, in 1916 the government of the East Indies in collaboration with Holland created the so-called *Volksraad* (People's Council). According to the official definition, members of the *Volksraad* were composed of three racial divisions: the Dutch, Indonesians, and foreign Asians. 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. *NEB IX*, 488; MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 231; G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20*, II, Jakarta 1972, 87.

²³ MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 211-212.

²⁴ The Indonesian Communist Party or PKI became well-known in Indonesian history because the so-called 30 September (1965) coup was blamed on them. In this coup six army generals were kidnapped and murdered, while a seventh, Nasution, escaped. The army leadership then insisted that it was part of a PKI plot to seize power, while the PKI maintained that it was an internal affair of the army. Many hundreds of thousands of communist members and innocent people were slaughtered. Until now, the *casus belli* behind the scene is not clear yet. This is the darkest page in Indonesian political history. Cf. *NEB IX*, 491.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 487. By 1919 the organization of *Sarekat Islam* claimed a membership of 2,500,000. Although later research suggests that the real figure was likely to have been no more than 400,000, it was numerically the most important association of its time. Cf. *Ibid.*

appeared in *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*. Muslim youth were gathered in the *Jong Islamieten Bond*, which was founded in 1925²⁶.

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 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 party²⁷.

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 Djawi* (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 Indonesia²⁸.

1.2. Indonesia as an Independent Nation (1945)

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. Indonesia is now the fourth most populous country in the world with a population exceeding 225 million.

²⁶ MUSKENS, *Pengintegrasian di Alam Indonesia*, 214-216. 219-221.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 227.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 230. 243-244.

The official motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), reflects a nation of some 350 languages and over 30 major cultural groups²⁹.

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. The first group is *santri*. They consider themselves to be Muslims, but in reality they do not follow the full ritual of fasting and prayer. The second group, called *priyayi*, consists of those who are somewhat Hinduized – including a majority of white-collar workers. Those who are known as *abangan*, the third group, are strongly influenced by popular religion and devotion to ancestral spirits. This group is largely comprised of peasants³⁰.

*Pancasila*³¹, 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 Buddhism³².

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.

²⁹ John M. PRIOR, «The Catholic Church in Indonesia», in Thomas CARSON and Joann CERRITO, ed., *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, Farmington Hills 2003, 428.

³⁰ *NEB IX*, 467.

³¹ Pancasila is originally a combination of two Sanskrit words: *Panca*, means five and *Sila*, means principle. There are five principles of Pancasila: *Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa* (belief in the One and only God); *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* (just and civilized humanity); *Persatuan Indonesia* (the unity of Indonesia); *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan / perwakilan* (democracy guided by inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives); and *Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia). Cf. H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, Yogyakarta 2005, 27. 29-30.

³² *NEB IX*, 466.

2. The Lesser Sunda Islands in the Period of 1900-1930

2.1. Name and Location

The Lesser Sunda Islands³³ is the English term for the Indonesian «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. The Lesser Sunda Islands lie east of Java and south of Sulawesi and the Moluccas. They include the islands of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa in the west; Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lembata, and Sumba in the middle; Alor, Savu, Rote, and Timor in the eastern part of the archipelago. There are some small uninhabited islands as well. The archipelago extends from 11 to 22 degrees north latitude and from 95 to 132 degrees east longitude³⁴.

2.2. People and Languages

The Papuan type is very common in the population which lives east of Lombok. This human type is marked by some specific physical characteristics: tall stature, a dark complexion, and some noticeable facial features. A prominent nose is also typically papuan, and in some cases it seems aquiline³⁵.

The Malay language is the main language for the whole archipelago. Actually, the Malay is a mixed language. In schools Malay was used instead of Dutch. There are many words from Sanskrit, Arabian and Portuguese. Later words came also from Dutch and Chinese. In Timor there are four main languages. They are Tettum, Marai, Kemak and Dawan. Dawan is spoken by about 46,000 people, Tettum (Belu area) by about 45,000, Marai by 5,700, and Kemak by 2000³⁶.

On Flores there are more than ten different languages, each of which is 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

³³ In this paper the writer decided to discuss the Lesser Sunda Islands separately because this is the main focus of this study.

³⁴ Kurt PISKATY, «The Work of the Divine Word Missionaries in Indonesia», in *Verbum SVD* 27 (1986), 270.

³⁵ ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 248. Cf. THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 9; LATOURETTE, *The Great Century*, 275.

³⁶ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 12.

not so much in their structure as in their pronunciation. In the Ende area, namely in the territory of the Rajah 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 bear³⁷. 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 villages³⁸.

2.3. *The Religious World of the Native Peoples*

According to J. Thaurén, by 1930 in Timor there were about 672,121 pagans³⁹, 274,000 Muslims⁴⁰, 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 pagans in Lombok numbered 428,000. These figures show that on the Lesser Sunda Islands at that time

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

³⁸ ROBEQUAIN, *op.cit.*, 245.248.

³⁹ 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 *milites 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-Christian», which is a theological expression, instead of «pagan». In this paper the writer uses it intentionally in order to be faithful to the situation of the era the writer is dealing with. Cf. Edmondo COCCIA and Paolo GIGLIONI, *Lessico di Missiologia. Storia-Teologia-Etnologia*, Città del Vaticano 2000, 481-482.

⁴⁰ There are two terms regarding the adherents of Islam in this paper, and they are used interchangeable: Muslims and Mohammedans. These two terms refer to the same thing.

pagans were eight times and Muslims three times more numerous than Christians – Catholics and Protestants combined⁴¹.

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 in this lovely small island⁴².

Sumbawa was the stronghold of Islam in this region. Since the 13th century Islam worked with intense energy at making the island an Islamic world. The Dutch government, actually promoted Islam by an excessive considerateness⁴³ 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 neighboring missions of Indonesia.

Animism⁴⁴ was dominant among the pagan 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 Dewa* (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

⁴¹ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁴³ *Ibid.* The motive was actually economic and not political. At that time the East Indies were financially profitable to Holland. The government did not want to arouse Muslim opposition and so jeopardize Dutch income. Cf. LATOURETTE, *The Great Century*, 277.

⁴⁴ Animistic beliefs and practices are diverse in form and expression. Those most often acknowledged and most generally respected have to do with the sun, moon, planets, and stars as well as the forgotten ghosts of the dead. The passage from one phase of life to another has to be accompanied by appropriate rituals to keep malicious spirits away from one's life. These kinds of practices can also be found in agricultural rituals. Cf. Eric J. SHARPE, «Animism», in S.W. SUNQUIST, W.C. SING, J.C.H. CHEA, ed., *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, Cambridge 2001, 34-35.

the universal flood. There is a general belief that good deeds are rewarded and bad deeds are punished⁴⁵.

2.4. *The Political History of the Region*

The Lesser Sunda islands were first noticed by Europeans in the so-called period of discovery or exploration. But even before Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) found the 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 islands⁴⁶.

Toward the end of the 18th 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 possession⁴⁷.

2.5. *The Administration of the Islands under the Dutch Colonial Regime*

The Lesser Sunda Islands consisted of two residencies: Bali-Lombok and Timor and its *Onderhoorigheden* (Dependencies). The *residentie* Timor, with its capital at Kupang, 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 central Timor, north central Timor, Belu, and Roti-Savu. Flores' subunits were Manggarai, Ngada, Ende, Maumere, Larantuka, East Flores, Solor inland and Alor. Sumba's subunits were West Sumba and East Sumba. Sumbawa had its capital at Bima⁴⁸.

These districts in the future would be promoted to church deaneries. The relationship between the Dutch government and the Catholic mission was

⁴⁵ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 15-16.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

favorable. Especially in the field of education the mission enjoyed extensive support⁴⁹. On the other hand, the authority of Christianity was not promoted because of the tolerance shown by the government towards Islam⁵⁰.

3. A Brief History of the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies until 1919

3.1. The Beginnings

A Christian community, which was under the Diocese of East Suriah, existed at Baros in the 7th century on the west coast of northern Sumatra⁵¹. There is also evidence of small Christian communities in southeastern Sumatra and eastern Java from the 9th to the 13th centuries⁵². However, these small communities died out, and present-day Catholic churches date back to the Catholic mission of the 16th and 17th centuries – or, more particularly, to the mission outreach of the 19th and 20th centuries.

3.2. The Difficulties and Decline

The sixteenth-century Catholic mission in Indonesia was begun by the Portuguese. It started soon after their take-over of Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese sailed to Indonesia seeking spices from the Moluccas and sandalwood from Timor. Their missionary activity, carried out by lay Catholics 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 were performed by Gonzalo Veloso, a lay

⁴⁹ On 31 March 1913 the Jesuits on Flores signed a contract with the government regarding the schools, a contract which Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD was later able to adopt for Timor and was later on able to develop it even more for Flores. The support was gained from the government for this reason. Cf. Kurt PISKATY, «Verhandlungen zur Übernahme Unserer Mission in Indonesien», in *Verbum* 4 (1962), 74.

⁵⁰ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 19-20.

⁵¹ Knowledge about the existence of the Catholic Church in Indonesia in the 7th century is recorded in the book of a famous historian, Shaykh Abu Salih al-Armini, entitled, «*Tadhakkur fiha Akhbar min al-Kana'is wa'l-Adyar min Nawahin Misri w'al Iqtha'aihu*» («List of News about Churches and Hermit's Abodes from the Provinces of Egypt and Outside Egypt»). Cf. M.P.M. MUSKENS, ed., *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia. Umat Katolik Perintis*, I, Jakarta 1974, 25.27.29. 35-36.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 25.

Portuguese trader, in Mamua, Halmahera. Catholic communities were eventually established in the Moluccas, Amboina and Ternate. In order to strengthen the faith of the new Catholics there, Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary, spent 14 months (1546-1547) visiting North Sulawesi and Ternate Island. Other Jesuits then continued the work of Xavier in the Moluccas and in Sulawesi until the Dutch expelled them in 1605⁵³. The result 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 fruitless⁵⁴.

In 1605 the Dutch East Indies Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*; VOC⁵⁵) 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 18th century. During this period a fascinating symbiosis developed between the local culture and popular Catholicism. Annual Holy Week processions were organised by the *Confreria Reinha Rosario*, a group of powerful laymen in Larantuka (Flores) who placed themselves under the protection of *Reinha Rosari* (the Queen of the Rosary). These traditions maintained a Catholic identity until a Dutch Catholic priest arrived in 1860⁵⁶.

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

⁵³ Giovanni ROMMERSKIRCHEN, «Indonesia: Evangelizzazione», in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, VI, Firenze 1951, 1888.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1889.

⁵⁵ The Dutch East Indies Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC in Dutch old spelling, literally «United East Indies Company») was established in 1602, when the Estates-General of the Netherlands granted it a 21-year monopoly to carry out colonial activities in Asia. It was the first multinational corporation in the world and the first company to issue stock. It remained an important trading concern for almost two centuries, paying an 18 per cent annual dividend for almost 200 years, until it became bankrupt and was formally dissolved in 1800, its possessions and the debt being taken over by the government of the Batavian Republic. Cf. *NEB IX*, 483-484.

⁵⁶ PRIOR, *op.cit.*, 429. Cf. BOELAARS, *op.cit.*, 463.

expatriates, Eurasians and later the urban Chinese-Indonesians. In 1841 the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia was erected for the whole archipelago. This happened as a result of the religious freedom granted by Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, in 1806⁵⁷. Dutch Jesuits arrived in 1858, and they were gradually entrusted with the care of Catholics throughout the colony⁵⁸.

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 himself⁵⁹.

In the 20th century the Jesuits were complemented by other religious congregations – the Capuchins in Kalimantan (1905) and Sumatra (1911), the Society of the Divine Word in the Lesser Sunda Islands (1913), and the Sacred Heart Missionaries in northern Sulawesi (1919). The Jesuits remained in central Java (from Yogyakarta to Semarang) and Batavia (present-day Jakarta)⁶⁰.

4. Mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands prior to the SVD

Christianity was first brought to the Lesser Sunda Islands in the 16th century. In 1556 Antonio Taveira (a Dominican) baptized 5,000 persons in Timor and many others in Flores⁶¹. Before this a Portuguese layman, João

⁵⁷ Louis Bonaparte (1778-1846), King of Holland (1806-1810), was a brother of Napoleon Bonaparte. Cf. Valeria CAMASCHELLA, *Encyclopedia della Storia*, Novara 2005, 250; *NEB II*, 138; José Maria C. FRANCISCO, «Roman Catholic Church: Indonesia», in S.W. SUNQUIST, W.C. SING, J.C.H. CHEA, ed., *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, Cambridge 2001, 712. Religious freedom was granted only after the suppression of the VOC and at the end of the French Revolution. Cf. BOELAARS, *op.cit.*, 463.

⁵⁸ FRANCISCO, *loc.cit.*

⁵⁹ PRIOR, *op.cit.*, 429. 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. Cf. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 429.

⁶¹ F.D. WELLEM, «East Nusa Tenggara», in S.W. SUNQUIST, W.C. SING, J.C.H. CHEA, ed., *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, Cambridge 2001, 611.

Soares, formed the first community in 1550⁶². Twelve years later (1562) the Dominicans from Malacca settled in Solor, which they used as their base, and administered the territory. They built a church and a centre for the Portuguese. Later on they spread out to Adonara, East Flores and Ende. They also built a college and a seminary to teach seminarians, teachers, and village and country chiefs who helped in the mission work. In a few years they had built 27 mission stations with 50,000 Christians⁶³.

However, this fruit of patient missionary work was destroyed when civil war broke out in 1598⁶⁴. In 1613 a Dutch fleet, led by Apollonius Scotte, besieged the fort of Solor and took control of it on 20 April. The Dominicans moved from Solor to Larantuka in eastern Flores, while the Portuguese traders and garrison retreated to Timor. Only in 1618 did the Dutch abandon Flores and the missionaries could return to their former post, where they found only 25,000 adherents. This misfortune did not occur in Timor, since there was less disturbance there. The work went on with much progress⁶⁵.

Almost three decades later Dutch activity increased, and the attacks by Muslims became fiercer. The Dutch took over Sawu, Roti and Kupang. Resistance at Lohayong and Ende also ended. In the peace treaty of 1642 the Portuguese ceded Bali and Lombok to the Dutch, while Larantuka and Sikka remained under Portuguese control. The Portuguese then retreated to the northern part of Timor (Lifau-Oecusi ca.1650) and finally to Dili, on

⁶² PRIOR, *op.cit.*, 429.

⁶³ At that time Solor, a small island situated between Flores, Alor and Timor, was the hub of the sandalwood trade. The first Dominicans were Fr. Antonio da Cruz, OP, Fr. Simaõ das Chagas, OP and Brother Alexio. Cf. WELLEM, *op.cit.*, 611; John BOT, «Mission History Sketch of Lesser Sunda Islands», in *Mission Buletin*, Hongkong (1955), 573-574.

⁶⁴ It started in eastern Flores between two powerful families – the Padjis and the Demon – and spread to Adonara and Solor. The Demon faction called on the Portuguese for assistance and the Padjis asked the Muslims. A Christian stronghold on eastern Solor (Lamakera) was conquered by the Muslims, while Lohayong remained in the hands of Christians. In 1602 the Muslims launched another unsuccessful attack against Lohayong, Paga and Ende. In an attack by Javanese pirates, which took place in 1606, the Christians in Ende were seized and forced to accept Islam. They murdered the priests and many inhabitants. Cf. BOT, *op.cit.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 575.

the coast of East Timor (ca. 1771). In this period Larantuka and Sikka were administered by missionaries from Timor⁶⁶.

As a result of the trade war between the Catholic Portuguese and the Protestant Dutch as well as many other difficulties, 27 Dominicans were killed. Numerous Indonesian Catholics were martyred as well. There were at least two different motives for martyrdom: the defence of the Catholic faith and commercial and political motives. The Dutch were supported by Muslim sultanates such as that of Macassar. This collaboration often forced the Dominicans to lead battles in Flores and Timor in order to defend themselves against the encroaching Dutch and Macassarese⁶⁷.

By the treaty between Portuguese and Dutch in 1859 the responsibility for the mission was also taken over by the Dutch. In the following year a diocesan priest arrived in Flores, but he was replaced by the Jesuits in 1864⁶⁸. In 1879 the first Jesuits started work in Timor and Sumba. The last station was given up by the Jesuits for lack of priests. In 1900 there were just 20,000 Catholics in eastern and central Flores. By 1914 Larantuka and Sikka counted some 30,000 adherents⁶⁹.

5. Some Obstacles for the Mission and for the Catholic Church at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

In order to have a better understanding of mission in Indonesia one should become acquainted with the political, cultural, and religious situation there during the 19th century. There are some aspects worth considering which regard the diffusion and organization of Catholicism in Indonesia, a country with many tribes, races, religions, languages, customs and cultures.

5.1. Government Regulations for the Mission in the Dutch East Indies

There were some regulations regarding the Mission. These regulations were concerned with two main aspects: religious freedom and the financial support. In 1617 the government released a declaration accepting the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 576; PRIOR, *op.cit.*, 428.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ P.G. Metz was the first Jesuit who came to Larantuka in 1864. His arrival constituted the founding of the Jesuits' work in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Cf. Bruno HAGSPIEL, *Along the Mission Trail*, II, Techny 1925, 71.

⁶⁹ BOT, *loc.cit.*, 576; Cf. PRIOR, *op.cit.*, 428.429.

spread of the Christian faith. In 1650 there was a clarification of this declaration, for it concerned only the «new religion» (Calvinism), while other religions were prohibited. This regulation was renewed in 1763⁷⁰.

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 journeys⁷¹.

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. Thus Flores became Catholic and northern Sumatra and Sumba became Protestant. As a result, even today denominational allegiance largely follows ethnic and territorial lines. 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 Sulawesi, nor indeed among the Hindus of Bali (where missionaries first entered in the 1930s)⁷².

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. 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 1921⁷³.

⁷⁰ THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 17-18. Catholics who met together in private or in public were strictly punished (confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and exile). 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. Cf. *Ibid.*

⁷¹ VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 70.215.

⁷² PRIOR, *loc.cit.*, 429.

⁷³ VRIENS, *op.cit.*

Government Regulation for Dutch East Indies Art. 177 I.S⁷⁴. (*Indische Staatsregeling*) states that Catholic missionaries, priests, and preachers must obtain special permission, 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 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 clergy⁷⁵.

5.2. *The Colonial Mentality of the Traders, Planters and Dutch Officials*

Dutch traders, planters and officials were interested in Indonesia not to build up mutual relationships but to exploit the products of this rich country. They looked on Indonesia as a producer of spices. The Indonesian population could provide cheap labor to produce goods, especially those spices which produced a magnificent income on the international market⁷⁶.

5.3. *Islam*

Islam spread irregularly in the Indonesian archipelago. Dealing with Islam, one needs to distinguish between Administrative Islam and Religious Islam. The first one intends to islamize people juridically in their

⁷⁴ Government Regulation for Dutch East Indies Art. 177 I.S. had the same content as that of the so-called *Regerings-Reglement 1854 Art. 123*, which 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. He could do whatever he wanted. 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. In fact, the Dutch officials did not support the Catholic Mission. Cf. *Ibid.*, 216-217.

⁷⁵ Edoardo PECORAIO, «Indonesia: Condizione Giuridica della Chiesa», in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, VI, Firenze 1951, 1892-1894; Cf. THAUREN, *op.cit.*, 18.

⁷⁶ PECORAIO, *op.cit.*, 1893.

whole existence right from the beginning, i.e., birth, marriage, death. It also insists that civil life be organized according to the Islamic calendar and that every law be made in conformity with the Koran⁷⁷. Religious Islam can be known from its fanatic character⁷⁸. It can be found especially in Aceh, western Sumatra, western Java, southeastern Kalimantan and some parts of the Lesser Sunda Islands⁷⁹.

5.4. Protestantism

Protestantism penetrated into this archipelago at the beginning of the 17th century with the coming of the Dutch to Indonesia. Before the Dutch arrived came the Portuguese and Spanish, who are from Catholic countries. Since the Netherlands is a Calvinist country, from the beginning Protestantism could easily spread in Indonesia. Dutch Protestants harassed Catholic churches and organizations and even compelled Catholic missionaries to abandon the country. It was the VOC which supported the Calvinist missionaries and their penetration into all parts of the country. Every candidate for baptism in the Protestant mission could obtain two florin from the company⁸⁰. Conforming to Calvinist principles, civil authorities issued regulations in religious matters. Subsidies were paid by the government for running schools and hospitals and for sustaining Protestant ministers. Later, Catholic organizations such as schools and hospitals could also benefit from this subsidy⁸¹, but they were not accorded the same treatment as the Protestants.

⁷⁷ The Koran is «the sacred book of the Mohammedans, contains the collected revelations of Muhammad in definitive written form.» (H.A.R. GIBB and J.H. KRAMERS, *Shorter Encyclopædia of Islam*, Leiden 1974, 273). The Koran contains the twenty-two years of revelations (610-632) to the prophet Muhammad, which were collected and ordered into a book some time after Muhammad's death. Muslims appreciate the Koran as the very words of God himself and see it as the centre of religious life and practice. Cf. C.J. ADAMS, «Qur'an. The Text and Its History», in M. ELIADE, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, XII, New York 1987, 156.

⁷⁸ PECORAIO, *loc.cit.*

⁷⁹ *NEB IX*, 467.

⁸⁰ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Three Centuries of Advance A.D. 1500-A.D. 1800*, III, London 1939, 303. Cf. THAUREN, *loc.cit.*

⁸¹ PECORAIO, *loc.cit.*

5.5. «Animism»

Animists believe that every power active in the world has its attendant spirit or spirits. Animism – or what is sometimes called «popular religion» – creates a ladder between heaven and earth, a chain of command, authority, and power passing downward from God, by way of lesser gods and goddesses, to the guardian spirits of wells and trees, hearths and homes – and lower still to the imps who simply make mischief. Pre-Christian Indonesia always acknowledged this power, and belief in it has remained unchanged over the centuries – often even after an acceptance of Christianity⁸².

These five aspects were considered as general obstacles by the early missionaries in Indonesia.

⁸² SHARPE, *op.cit.*, 34-35.

CHAPTER II

THE HANDING OVER OF THE MISSION TO THE DIVINE WORD MISSIONARIES

1. Events prior to the Handing over of the Mission

1.1. Steyl: «Eyes on the Dutch East Indies»

From 20 May to 4 July 1905 Arnold 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. Gotti¹. At that time Arnold Janssen's chief concern was providing a good foundation for the young congregation. This was his ninth visit to Rome².

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 pagan missions. Although the result of this conversation was unsatisfactory, since there was no mission available at that time for new

¹ Girolamo Maria Cardinal Gotti, O.C.D. (1834-1916), was the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide from 29 July 1902 until 19 March 1916.

² Josef ALT, *The History of the Foundation of Divine Word Missionaries in Rome*, Analecta SVD 87, Roma 2004, 300-304. Arnold Janssen visited Rome 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. *Ibid.*, 276-305 (Altnih).

congregations, there was the possibility of taking over some part 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]³ to get something from the Dutch East Indies or Japan. He seemed to take note of this.»⁴.

In February of the same year⁵, before Arnold visited Rome, the Generalate had discussed the possibility of gaining more pagan and tropical missions. In his letter to the general councillors of 27 February 1905, Arnold 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 pagans. He welcomed the idea as a chance to enhance the popularity of the SVD in Holland. Intensely interested in knowing more about this area, he requested a thorough examination of the communication between the islands, the weather, the population and any possible obstacles⁶.

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 Friedrich Schwager⁷, who first wrote a memo to Superior General Arnold Janssen about this area. Janssen's first reaction was rather reserved. He needed more time to understand the will of God and to think before he could make a final decision. In his letter of 26 March 1902 to Nicholas Blum⁸ he expressed the following opinion regarding

³ 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.

⁴ «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."» (AJ to the general councillors of the SVD on 8 July 1905, AdF-SVD).

⁵ Josef ALT, *Journey in Faith: The Missionary Life of Arnold Janssen* translated by Frank MANSFIELD and Jacqueline MULBERGE, Analecta SVD 85, Roma 2002, 699.

⁶ Cf. AJ to the SVD general councillors, 27 February 1905, AGSVD, 8.322,13.

⁷ Friedrich Schwager (1876-1929). After his profession of perpetual vows and ordination in 1898 he was a teacher in Steyl (1899-1908), where he proposed the idea of a possible mission in the Dutch East Indies. From 1900 to 1909 he was the editor of the magazine *Steyler-Missionsbote*. From 1919 to 1923 he was the secretary general of the conference of superiors; and in 1923 he went to the USA. On 24 January 1925 he joined the German Congregationalists, and in 1925 he married and joined the staff of Redfield College. Cf. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1042.

⁸ Nicholas Blum, SVD (1857-1919) assumed many responsibilities in SVD administration: teacher, treasurer, procurator, vice-rector of Steyl, treasurer general, general councillor, administrator general (after Arnold Janssen's death, 1909-1911) and

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 can not. But in the future we can think about it and then first gather more exact information»⁹.

Blum's response seemed to welcome the idea much more positively than Arnold Janssen. 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, a colony of Holland at that time. In this letter Blum passed on a report to Arnold Janssen about the Catholic and Protestant missions in the Dutch East Indies which was compiled by Schwager himself¹⁰. Arnold Janssen's letter of 27 February 1905 (cited above) seems to have developed the idea of Blum.

This discussion culminated in a plan to begin a mission house in Holland in order to prepare missionaries for the Dutch East Indies.

1.2. A Mission House for Holland

During the Fourth General Chapter of the SVD, held in 1909 after the death of Arnold Janssen, there were three capitulars of Dutch origin. 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. Arnold Janssen himself had initiated the first step, but the realization came to being only after Nicholas 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 centre. The inauguration of the new mission house in

the second Superior General of the SVD (1909-1919). In 1902 he was one of the general councillors. Cf. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1032.

⁹ «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.» (AJ to Blum, 26 March 1902, AGSVD, TR XX).

¹⁰ Cf. Blum to AJ, 24 February 1902, AGSVD, 8325.

Uden took place on 8 September 1911 by Father General Blum himself, who at the same time installed Fr. Petrus Noyen as its first rector¹¹.

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 novitiate¹².

After receiving permission from the Bishop of Breda, the novitiate for Dutch SVDs – under the patronage of St. Francis Xavier – started in 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 Indies¹³.

1.3. *Initial Contacts with the Jesuits*

On 14 January 1904 Constant van den Hemel¹⁴, an SVD missionary from New Guinea, left for Batavia from Alexishafen¹⁵. There he went to the Jesuits for accommodation. A week later (21 January 1904) he wrote to Arnold 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

¹¹ ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1008. Cf. Kurt PISKATY, «Verhandlungen zur Übernahme Unserer Mission in Indonesien», in *Verbum* 4 (1962), 60-61.

¹² *75 Jahre im Dienste des Göttlichen Wortes*, 45.

¹³ *Katholieke Missiën* 38, Juni (1913), 185. «In regno hollandico novam missionis domum inauguravimus cum expresso scopo et quasi sub titulo, ut missionarii postea in Indiis hollandicis operae evangelisationis navarent [...]» (Friedrich to Gotti, 25 January 1912, PF-1, 652).

¹⁴ Constant van den Hemel was born in 1873 (St. Kruis, Breda). In 1894 he entered the SVD, and he was ordained a priest in 1903. After his ordination to the priesthood he was sent to New Guinea. After the takeover of the Lesser Sunda Islands from the Jesuits, he was transferred to this new mission in 1914. He left the Dutch East Indies in 1918. He then left the Society in 1919. Cf. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1035.

¹⁵ Constant van den Hemel went to Batavia to buy some things for their needs in New Guinea. He bought six cartons of plants and seeds. He also brought along ten cows and three horses. Cf. Van den Hemel to AJ, 21 January 1904, AGSVD, 65.445; AJ to van den Hemel, 1 July 1904, AGSVD, 65.447 Ms/K.

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 Jesuits¹⁶. This letter was laid 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 suggestion¹⁷.

In his response to van den Hemel Arnold Janssen expressed his joy and stated that he was very happy that everything went so well in Java and that van den Hemel managed, through good connections with the Jesuit Fathers, to be of good use to the Society and the mission. Arnold even sent a special letter (24 February 1904)¹⁸ to the Most Rev. Vicar Apostolic of Batavia to thank him for the friendly reception which he and his missionaries accorded to van den Hemel¹⁹. The response from Msgr. Edmund Sybrand Luypen²⁰ (1855-1923) came on 30 March 1904 gave a very friendly impression. He 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 joy²¹.

¹⁶ Cf. Van den Hemel to AJ, 21 January 1904, AGSVD, 65.445.

¹⁷ P.S. LAAN, «Steyls Frühes Interesse an Indonesien», *Verbum SVD* 5 (1963), 438. Cf. Josef ALT, *Arnold Janssen SVD. Letters to New Guinea and Australia*, *Analecta SVD* 79, Romae 2001, 230.

¹⁸ This letter was written by Fr. Herman auf der Heide (1865-1930). He was Arnold Janssen's secretary (1892-1899), than 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 Breidenbach. He was re-elected at the IV General Chapter (1909/1910) and served as a general councillor until 1920. Cf. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1035.

¹⁹ Cf. AJ to van den Hemel, 1 July 1904, AGSVD Ms/K.

²⁰ Msgr. Edmund Sybrand Luypen, SJ was the fifth Vicar Apostolic of Batavia (1898-1923). He was ordained a priest in 1879 for the Diocese of Breda-Holland. Four years later (1883) he entered the Jesuits. In 1889 he arrived in Batavia. He worked in Maumere-Flores from 1891 until he was appointed the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia by Pope Leo XIII on 21 May 1898. During his term of office the division of the huge Vicariate Apostolic of Batavia into 5 Apostolic Prefectures took place. The new apostolic prefectures were of Dutch New Guinea (1902), Dutch Borneo (1905), Sumatra (1911), the Lesser Sunda Islands (1913), and Celebes (1919). Cf. G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur – Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20*, II, Jakarta 1972, 68.69.74.77.78; PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 55.

²¹ Cf. Luypen to Auf der Heide, 30 March 1904, AGSVD, 65.446.

When Arnold Janssen heard about the Jesuits' warm welcome for Constant van den Hemel, he began 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 SVD²². Furthermore, he expressed his contentment to the Prefect Apostolic of New Guinea, Fr. Eberhard Limbrock²³, congratulating him for the friendly reception van den Hemel received in Java. Then Arnold suggested to the Prefect to express his personal gratitude to the Jesuits for their friendly welcome and to maintain a friendly relationship with them. To have good relations with the Jesuits seemed to be of great importance to Janssen²⁴.

In his first letter to Msgr. Luypen²⁵, the Administrator General Nicholas 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 place²⁶.

1.4. First Conversations: Three Possible Missions for the SVD²⁷

In April 1909 Fr. Constant van den Hemel, SVD was commissioned by the Prefect Apostolic of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, Fr. Limbrock, to learn how to lay out rice paddies²⁸. For this reason he had to leave for Saigon, Bangkok and Batavia. Unfortunately he did not stay long in Saigon and

²² Cf. AJ to the general councillors, 27 February 1905, AGSVD 8.322, 13; ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 700.

²³ Fr. Eberhard Limbrock (1859-1931) went to China in 1883 as a deacon; in 1886 was ordained as a priest in Tsinanfu, China. In 1886 he was the rector of the seminary in Puoli. Ten years later (1896) he was transferred to New Guinea as the first SVD superior and the Prefect Apostolic of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. In 1914 he resigned as prefect apostolic. The resignation was accepted by the Propaganda on 9 September 1914. In 1930 he went to Australia because of sickness, and he died there in 1931. Cf. ALT, *Journey in Faith*, 1039.

²⁴ Cf. AJ to Limbrock, 24 April 1904, AGSVD, 34.333f.

²⁵ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 24 June 1909, AGSVD BL-2, 727.

²⁶ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 8 December 1909, AGSVD 806, 14.

²⁷ Cf. Van den Hemel to Blum, 21 April 1909, AGSVD.

²⁸ 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 a lack of experience. This was the reason behind the journey of Fr. Constant van den Hemel to Saigon, Bangkok and Batavia. Cf. PISKATY, *loc.cit.*

Bangkok, since it was 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 (in the middle of Java) to visit his brother, whom he had last seen in Batavia five and one-half years previously. During the course of the trip he came to Bandoeng, where the Jesuits had a mission station. There they spoke about the need for missionary work, and the Jesuits very much underlined 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 Moentilan, where the conversation revolved around the very same topic. Fr. van den Hemel answered just as he had done in Bandoeng. It appears that Fr. Mertens 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 Engbers²⁹.

Shortly after responses came from two different places: Surabaya and Batavia. Fr. Engbers presented a lengthy response to Fr. Mertens. He 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)³⁰. These divisions had already created some difficulties because of which the Vicar Apostolic had to negotiate with the Dutch East Indies government. 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 go about things. Further, Engbers mentioned that the Jesuits were certainly ready to

²⁹ Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ was the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies. He assumed his office in the period of 1904-1918. Cf. Pr. Neerlandiae 1504, Litt. Annuae 1909 - 1930, ARSI, 531.

³⁰ Cf. Gotti to Lorenzelli, No. 20, July 1914, PF-1, 677-678.

enter into negotiations but that the Vicar Apostolic was the one competent to deal with such issues. 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, Rome was putting pressure on the Dutch government to change the law³¹. But this could only happen after new elections, where there was hope that it would be easier to pass certain propositions. It should also be pointed out that in the Dutch colonies only certain priests were officially recognized as «pastors» and, as such, drew a good salary³².

From Batavia Msgr. Luypen told Fr. Timmers that it was possible to cede Sumatra to the Divine Word Missionaries. Regarding Msgr. Luypen's response, van den Hemel cited it in his letter as follows:

The takeover of Sumatra will most likely be able to go ahead; 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 even have enough personnel to staff Sumatra as well. We are waiting for an answer from the provincial of the Capuchins in 's-Hertogenbosch. But since the present provincial is rather against this idea and their Dutch province is still young, it might just be possible that the Capuchins will turn down the offer to take over Sumatra. If that should prove the case, Monsignor (the Vicar Apostolic) would probably be more ready to enter into negotiations with Steyl.³³

In his letter Fr. van den Hemel told Fr. Blum that, if Steyl was really set on getting Sumatra, the quickest way to achieve that end might very well be a prompt discussion with the Capuchins in order to convince them to

³¹ Fr. Engbers referred to the Convention between the Vatican and the Dutch government in 1847 which affirmed that Batavia was the only Vicariate Apostolic in the whole Dutch East Indies. Cf. VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 70.

³² Engbers was talking about the government regulation of 1855 on the salary of pastors in the Dutch East Indies. Cf. VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 215.

³³ «"Die Uebernahme von Sumatra wird wahrscheinlich geschehen können; denn der P. Pacificus, Superior der Capuziner auf Borneo, welcher Genossenschaft es ebenfalls angeboten war auch Sumatra zu übernehmen, hat Beschwerde erhoben da er kein genügendes Personal hat um Sumatra auch noch zu besetzen. Vom Pro[vi]nzial der Capuziner in 's-Hertogenbosch wird jetzt noch eine Antwort erwartet. Da aber der hiesige Oberer sich ablehnend verhält, und die holl. Provinz auch noch jung ist, so ist es leicht möglich dass die Capuziner die Uebernahme ablehnen. Alsdann wäre Monseigneur wohl bereit mit Steyl in Unterhandlung zu treten."» (Van den Hemel to Blum, 21 April 1909, AGSVD). The English translation is by Fr. David Streit, SVD.

step back. He also mentioned that the Jesuits wanted to keep only Java for themselves, and so it seemed that the beautiful mission on Flores might also be handed over to someone else. The mission on Timor had been abandoned as being too unhealthy and offering too little chance of success. According to van den Hemel there were, then, three possible missions for the SVD: Sumatra, Flores and Timor.

From the beginning Blum was not very interested in Sumatra because of the large number of Protestants and Muslims there. According to him, we could 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 islands³⁴.

2. The Process of Handing over the Mission to the SVD

2.1. *The SVD and Msgr. Luypen: A Presupposition for the Negotiation with the Roman Curia*

2.1.1. Blum to Luypen: «*Ecce adsumus!*»³⁵

The letter of van den Hemel to Blum on 21 April 1909 quickly had an effect. Blum, the Administrator General of the SVD after the death of Arnold 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: firstly, to thank him for their (his and the Jesuits') hospitality shown to 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; and fourthly, to inform him which mission the SVDs preferred to take over and also to ensure the bishop that the SVDs could work without having their own territory.

Besides the letter of van den Hemel, there was the encouragement and support of a diocesan priest who once worked as a missionary in the Dutch East Indies. This priest was Msgr. M.Y.D. Claessens (1852-1934)³⁶. In the

³⁴ Cf. Blum to van den Hemel, 22 May 1909, AGSVD 806.

³⁵ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 24 June 1909, AGSVD BL-2, 727-729.

³⁶ Msgr. M.Y.D. Claessens was a nephew of Msgr. A.C. Claessens (1818-1895), the third Vicar Apostolic of Batavia from 1874 until 1893. He (Msgr. M.Y.D. Claessens)

letter cited above (24 June 1909), Blum mentioned the visit of Msgr. Claessens to Steyl. During this visit, they talked about a possible cooperation of the SVD in the mission of the Dutch East Indies. This visit could be seen as another motivation for Blum to send a letter to Batavia.

From the letter of van den Hemel (21 April 1909) 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]»³⁷.

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 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 (the SVDs and the Jesuits) 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 SVD 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 in his letter to van den Hemel on 22 May 1909.

was a Pastor in Batavia (1876-1885), then in Bogor (1885-1907). In Bogor he erected an orphanage house (1886) and a church (1905), the present Cathedral of Bogor. He left for Holland in 1907 and continued to support the mission in Dutch East Indies by establishing a foundation (*Indische Missie Vereniging*). It seems that Msgr. Claessens visited Steyl after his return to Europe. Cf. VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 53.89.

³⁷ «[...] 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!*"». (Blum to Luypen, 24 June 1909, AGSVD BL-2, 728). The English translation is by Fr. Wim Wijtten, SVD. All the Dutch documents used in this paper were translated by this person.

2.1.2. A promise from Luypen for a Future Division

Surprisingly, the letter of Blum to Luypen written on 24 June 1909 did not get a quick response. It took at least five and one-half months (8 December 1909)³⁸ for Luypen to respond to Blum's letter. Was there a problem with Blum's letter? It seems more likely that Msgr. Luypen had a problem. In his response Luypen explained:

I still owe Your Reverence an answer to your letter of last 24 June; the circumstances of the past few months (on 29 June I started my journey to the outlying areas, I was sick one month in Surabaya and returned only on the 4th of this month to Batavia) are mainly responsible for this delay; I hope that this can serve as my excuse.³⁹

In his letter Luypen acknowledged the lack of manpower for his mission. He gave as an example the mission in Timor, a beautiful mission which was almost abandoned because of this lack of personnel. However, Luypen did not answer the main question of Blum about the possibility of SVDs working under his jurisdiction. In Luypen's opinion, it was too soon to proceed to the next division of his vicariate or to invite new missionaries. He had also previously told van den Hemel about this issue. The difficulties between the Church and the government caused by the divisions in 1902 and 1905 seemingly still remained on his mind, and he did not want to experience them so soon again. This appears to be the main reason why Luypen did not respond to Blum's suggestions⁴⁰.

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

³⁸ During this time the Fourth General Chapter (1 November 1909 – 1 January 1910) of the SVD was held in Steyl and Fr. Nikolas Blum was elected on 05 November 1909 as the second Superior General for the Society. Cf. Kurt PISKATY and Joanes RIBERU, *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien (1913-1963)*, Steyler Verlag 1963, 14.

³⁹ «Nog steeds ben ik UHE [= *Uwe Hoogwaardige Excellentie*]. antwoord schuldig op Uw schrijven van 24 Juni ll.; de omstandigheden waarin ik de laatste maanden verkeerde (29 Juni ging ik op reis naar de Buitenbezittingen, lag een maand ziek te Soerabaia en keerde pas 4 deze te Batavia terug), zijn hoofzakelijk oorzaak van dese vertraging; ik hoop dat dit ter mijne veronschuldigung moge dienen.» (Luypen to Blum, 8 December 1909, AGSVD 806, 13).

⁴⁰ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 8 December 1909, AGSVD 806, 14.

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.»⁴¹.

2.1.3. A Long Awaited Visit

Luypen's response in the letter of 8 December 1909 restrained the negotiations. However, Blum, a determined Superior as he was, did not lose hope. The uncertainty came to an end when on 22 May 1910 – after almost five and one-half months – Msgr. Luypen wrote him again. This time Luypen promised to visit Steyl during his summer vocation in Holland. Luypen wrote: «[...] Back in the Netherlands, I hope to visit soon Limburg, and it will be my pleasure to pay a visit to You, probably at the end of June or later. Hoping to meet You then personally, [...]»⁴².

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. On 14 June 1910 Schwager presented Blum with an overall description of the mission. According to Schwager, there were some good possibilities. He mentioned Sumatra, especially the region of Toba Lake, which was still waiting for a response from the Capuchins. He also described the situation in Java, Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands. It was clear that the Jesuits wanted to keep Java for themselves. According to Schwager, Java was a good choice, since it was very important politically and economically for the whole East Indies. He suggested that Blum could suggest to Luypen the takeover of one part of Java, Celebes or the Lesser Sunda Islands. On 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 a long term. Concerning Flores and Celebes, Schwager supposed that Luypen would be more

⁴¹ «[...] 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.» (Luypen to Blum, 8 December 1909, AGSVD 806, 14).

⁴² «[...] Terug in 't land D.d., hoop ik weldra Limburg te bezoeken, en zal het mij zeer vereerend zijn ook een bezoek ten Uwent te mogen brengen; dat zal denkelijk wel einde Juni of later worden. In de hoop UHE. dan persoonlijk te kunnen ontmoeten, [...]» (Luypen to Blum, 22 May 1910, AGSVD 806, 15).

favourable to ceding Celebes than Flores and that the SVD ought to satisfy with this choice⁴³.

Four days later Schwager sent another letter to Blum, this time presenting further ideas on Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands. He stated that the SVD could ask Luypen about obtaining Celebes or the western part of the Lesser Sunda Islands, especially the islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and Sumba. Flores would have to remain with the Jesuits. In this way the SVD would inherit a small group of Christians from Minahasa-Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands. Schwager also mentioned the composition of the population in these two regions. Celebes had one and one-half million people, the majority of whom was Muslim, while the Lesser Sunda Islands were largely pagan. There was also a sea connection between Bali and Celebes which was helpful for the mission⁴⁴.

From then on Blum had some concrete suggestions for 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 Steyl⁴⁵. One week later (30 June 1910) Blum told Schwager that Msgr. Luypen was in Italy and that he would come to Steyl only after his return to Holland⁴⁶. On 6 July (1910) Blum noted that there was no more news from Luypen, and he wanted to find out if he had returned from Rome to Holland. As of 22 August (1910) there was no visit and no news from Msgr. Luypen⁴⁷. Finally Blum learned the address of Msgr. Luypen from Fr. Th. C. Ibelsloot, SJ, the Rector of Katwijk bij Leiden (Holland)⁴⁸. Blum then sent letter to Msgr. Luypen inviting the bishop to Steyl⁴⁹. The bishop

⁴³ Cf. Schwager to Blum, 14 June 1910, AGSVD 806, 16-17.

⁴⁴ Cf. Schwager to Blum, 18 June 1910, AGSVD 806, 18-19. Schwager thought that the bishop would offer Sumatra to the SVD. According to him, the willingness to accept Sumatra needed to be asserted as soon as possible. Then the Society could ask for another small area, where were already a few thousand Christians. Schwager was suspicious that someone sought to persuade Msgr. Luypen against the SVD. He insisted that the negotiations had to be done as soon as possible if the SVD wanted to gain better results. Cf. *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Cf. Blum to Schwager, 22 June 1910. AGSVD BL-4, 199.

⁴⁶ Cf. Blum to Schwager, 30 June 1910. AGSVD BL-4, 236.

⁴⁷ Cf. Blum to Schwager, 22 August 1910. AGSVD BL-4, 601-602.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ibelsloot to Blum, 1 August 1910, AGSVD 806, 20. The address of Luypen was van Vollenhovenstraat n^o. 1 Rotterdam, Holland . Cf. *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 28 August 1910, AGSVD BL-4, 553.

then notified Blum that he would be visiting Steyl on 6 September (1910)⁵⁰. The long awaited visit finally took place on that day.

2.1.4. Msgr. Luypen at Steyl

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.»⁵¹.

We know the results of the meeting between Blum and Luypen in Steyl, the Generalate House of the SVD, from the letter which Blum himself wrote to Schwager on the same day. Blum told Schwager that there was no more hope to obtain 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 talk to his councillors as well⁵².

During the conversation they also happened to talk about the possibility of taking over Celebes. However, Blum's plans concentrated on the Lesser Sunda Islands, about which he continued the negotiations. A letter to Luypen dated 15 September (1910) offered an exact enumeration of the islands and a sketched map which included the islands of Timor, Roti, Savu, Soemba, Soembawa, Lombok and Bali, etc.⁵³. Msgr. Luypen answered from 's-Gravenhage on 20 September (1910) that he had written to the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies (Fr. Eduard Engbers, SJ) about what had been discussed at Steyl. Luypen then stated that the continuation of the negotiations would depend on

⁵⁰ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 3 September 1910, AGSVD 806, 21.

⁵¹ «[...] 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...» (Tagebuch Blum, 6 September 1910, AGSVD, 291).

⁵² Cf. Blum to Schwager, 6 September 1910, AGSVD, BL 4, 601-602; Tagebuch Blum, 6 September 1910, AGSVD, 291.

⁵³ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 15 September 1910, AGSVD BL-4, 654-655.

Engbers' decision. Regarding the sketched map, Luypen noticed that there was a mistake, since Blum included some islands that belonged to other *residentie* (district), such as Madoera and Celebes. Actually, the Jesuits wanted to hand over only the islands which belonged to the Timor *residentie* and its dependencies and the islands that belonged to Bali-Lombok *residentie* and its dependencies⁵⁴.

Meanwhile, 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, the island of Flores etc, where the Jesuits have beautiful communities to request. Sumatra is a beautiful, big field, but difficult and does not give the best hope.⁵⁵

2.1.5. «The 19 November Proposal»: An Issue of Territory

On 19 Nov 1910, still in Holland, Msgr. Luypen reported joyful news to Blum after receiving a letter from Fr. Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies. In this letter Luypen discussed three important points. Firstly, there was the agreement of the Jesuits' Reverend Fathers' Council to the ceding of the mission territory which had been indicated by Luypen to Blum during his visit in Steyl (6 September 1910). It meant that the Jesuit mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands (all the islands to the east of Java, west of 125° 30' and south of 8°

⁵⁴ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 20 September 1910, AGSVD 806, 25-26. Fr. Johann Bodems, Blum's vice superior general, was asked to present a sketched map to 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 Luypen, Blum promised to present an accurate map to Luypen for his approval.

⁵⁵ «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.» (Noyen to Blum, 6 September 1910, AGSVD 806, 23-24). If there is no indication about the translator of the cited-text it means that the translation is by the writer himself.

southern latitude) was to be ceded to the SVD – except Flores⁵⁶. Secondly, the Jesuits would gladly hand over to the SVD one third-class salary which a Jesuit Father working in Timor was receiving. Thirdly, regarding the fixed property of the Jesuits in Timor, Luypen would refer this to the Very Rev. Father General of Jesuits and his councillors to decide. Luypen was convinced that there would not be many difficulties in that regard. At the end of his letter Luypen added that he was awaiting the response of Father Blum. Only after receiving the response would Luypen write to the Very Rev. Fr. General to gain a final decision about this matter⁵⁷.

Blum's response seems to have had nothing to do with the question of Luypen about the islands in his last letter⁵⁸. Blum only stated that those agreements could be a base for a good understanding. Furthermore, Blum asked Luypen for a brief overview of the islands – especially about Timor – particularly information about the climate, the land, the people on the islands, the population figures, etc. He also wanted to know more about the Muslims, the means of communication by sea between Timor and Soemba, how many Christians there were, and how many priests were ministering to them⁵⁹.

In his letter of 12 December 1910 Luypen wrote to Blum that upon his arrival in the Dutch East Indies he would talk personally with the Jesuit Provincial and the *Superior Regularis Missionis* about everything he had written to Blum in the previous days. He hoped that by doing this

⁵⁶ It maybe interesting to examine the religious situation of the region of the Lesser Sunda Islands at that time. The islands of Timor, Roti, Savu and Soemba were in the hands of the Protestants. Bali was an island of Hinduism and Lombok belonged to the Muslims (cf. Noyen to Blum, 6 September 1910, AGSVD 806, 23-24). There were 2000 Christians in Timor with two priests, while in Sumba there were only 500 Christian and no priest. On the other islands there was no Christian presence (cf. Blum to Schwager, 6 September 1910, AGSVD BL-4, 601). 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 2500 Christians in this region. The SVDs would have to start from the beginning. Flores had 17,000 Christians at that time (cf. Schwager to Blum, 14 June 1910, AGSVD 806, 17).

⁵⁷ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 19 November 1910, AGSVD 806, 27-28.

⁵⁸ Actually at the time of his letter of 19 November 1910 Luypen just passed on information regarding the territory which would be ceded to the SVD. The final decision was on the hands of the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits. Legally, the SVD had to obtain a letter from him, not from Luypen. Cf. Luypen to Blum, 20 September 1910, AGSVD 806, 26.

⁵⁹ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 22 November 1910, AGSVD, BL-5, 33.

everything about the division of territory would be cleared up and that the superiors would have a good impression and finally arrive at a favourable decision⁶⁰.

Msgr. Luypen arrived in Batavia from his «annoying holiday» on 20 March 1911. 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, a city located in Sumatra. The result of these meetings 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 this. Again, before ending his letter, Luypen asked for Blum's assent to this good news. Luypen expected the final decision to come from Blum, so that he accordingly could present a proposal to the Propaganda Fide in Rome⁶¹.

Blum's response came on 11 May 1911. In it he thanked Luypen and noted that his last letter was a friendly letter, and so he extended his heartfelt gratitude for that. He assured Luypen that he agreed with Luypen's proposal of 19 November 1910 and was ready to take over the mission. Blum then asked Msgr. Luypen to proceed to the further necessary steps which he referred to in his last letter⁶².

2.2. *Tripartite Negotiations*⁶³

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

Father Superior General Blum judged that it was time for the Procurator General of the SVD in Rome, Fr. Carl Friedrich⁶⁴, to try a first careful

⁶⁰ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 12 December 1910, AGSVD 806, 31-32. Luypen was still in Holland when he wrote this letter. At that moment the Provincial, Fr. Isidorus Vogels, SJ (1860-1929) was still doing his visitation in the Dutch East Indies (cf. *Ibid.*). Fr. Vogels was the provincial of the Netherlands from 1908-1914. He was well known as person of high integrity and honesty (cf. *Prov. Neerlandica. Summaria Vita. 1703, ARSI, 301*).

⁶¹ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 12 April 1911, AGSVD 806, 37.

⁶² Cf. Blum to Luypen, 11 May 1911, AGSVD 806, 38.

⁶³ By the term «tripartite negotiation» the writer intends to present the negotiations among two religious congregations (the SVD and the Jesuits), the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, and the Propaganda Fide.

⁶⁴ Carl Friedrich (1874-1958) entered the SVD in Steyl on 8 October 1895. He was

contact with the Propaganda Fide regarding the possible mission in the Dutch East Indies. On 11 May 1911 Friedrich reported on 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 was better to wait until he took the first step. In Friedrich's opinion, it was possible that a letter from the SVD would only restrain the negotiations rather than accelerate them. Friedrich responded in this way because at the same time the question about an SVD mission in Japan⁶⁵ was also in progress. He felt that it was better to wait until the Japanese question was decided by Propaganda Fide⁶⁶.

2.2.2. Holland Needs to Know

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. Friedrich reported:

Today I was in the Propaganda and spoke also with the Secretary, Msgr. Laurenti, over the Dutch East Indies. Up to now nothing arrived from Msgr. Luypen. The Secretary expressed the desire to be quite careful because of the government. According to Laurenti, there was no government that is so suspicious, so «ombroso», and fearful like the Dutch one. It could happen that the government would say No to it [the territory division]. Therefore it will probably be good if one of us informs the government previously and the communication does not come through the Propaganda. I suggest that You yourself make known the information in Holland, or if you believe that it should happen here, I myself will talk to Msgr. Brom, a friend of the Dutch ambassador, to begin the first step.⁶⁷

ordained a priest in Austria on 24 February 1905. From 1910 to 1931/1932 he was the Procurator General of the SVD. Cf. Statistics Office of the Society of Divine Word, Rome, 7 December 2006.

⁶⁵ Simultaneously the negotiations concerning the erection 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. Fritz BORNEMANN, *History of Our Society*, Analecta SVD 54, Rome 1981, 321.

⁶⁶ Cf. Friedrich to Blum, 11 May 1911, AGSVD 806, 38.

⁶⁷ «Ich war heute in der Propaganda und habe auch mit dem Untersekretär Msgr. Laurenti wegen Holländisch-Indien gesprochen. Bis jetzt ist von Msgr. Luypen nichts angekommen. Der Untersekretär drückte den Wunsch aus, ja recht vorsichtig zu sein wegen der Regierung. Es gäbe keine Regierung, die so «ombroso», so argwöhnisch und

After receiving Friedrich's letter of 29 May 1911 Blum decided to undertake a first attempt in Holland. Looking for the best way to do this, Blum turned to the vice provincial of the Jesuits, Fr. Schmeits, to ask for his advice. Since the Jesuits had already succeeded in dividing their mission, Blum wanted Schmeits to share his experience. Blum especially wanted to ask him to indicate the ways and means by which the negotiations with the Dutch government should be accomplished⁶⁸.

No one knows exactly what occurred afterward except the Jesuits. Blum's request was followed by a long pause of more than three months. The Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Vogels, finally broke this silence by sending the following laconic answer:

I have received a letter, which you sent to my assistant provincial, Rev. Fr. Schmeits, regarding the transition of a part of our mission in the Dutch East Indies. I also regret that this is not yet settled. However, it has also something good; because in such a way it will become clear that it is likely to be God's will. I hope that the affair will come to a good conclusion, and about that we do not doubt. Let's pray together for it.⁶⁹

2.2.3. Too Few Christians?

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

scheu sei wie die holländische. Vielleicht könnte es geschehen, dass sie ihr Neinwort gäbe... Darum wird es wohl sicher gut sein, wenn man vorher die Regierung verständigt und die Mitteilung nicht durch die Propaganda machen lässt. Seien Sie also so gut und machen Sie selbst die Mitteilung in Holland, oder wenn Sie glauben, dass es hier geschehen soll, werde ich mich an Msgr. Brom, einen Freund des holländischen Gesandten, wenden, damit er den ersten Schritt tut.» (Friedrich to Blum, 29 May 1911, AGSVD 806, 45).

⁶⁸ Cf. Blum to Schmeits, 8 June 1911, AGSVD 806, 46.

⁶⁹ «Ich erhalte hier den Brief, welchen Ew. Hochwürden meinem Stellvertreter, dem hochw. P. Schmeits, sandten über die Sache des Überganges eines Teiles unserer Mission in Indien. Ich bedaure auch, dass dieses noch nicht erledigt ist. Auf der anderen Seite hat es doch auch etwas Gutes; denn so wird es klar, dass es so Gottes Wille ist. Hier hoffe auch ich, dass die Sache einen guten Ausgang findet, und wir zweifeln nicht daran. Beten wir gemeinsam dafür.» (Vogels to Blum, 23 September 1911, AGSVD 806, 48).

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 to lead this matter to a happy conclusion.⁷⁰

Msgr. Luypen's answer (7 December 1911) seemed to demonstrate 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 Sunda Islands, Luypen presented a good comparison to the Christians in the Kei islands and Borneo. In Luypen's opinion, the Christians in the Lesser Sunda Islands 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 negotiations⁷¹.

Meanwhile, in October 1911 Father General Blum began his visitation to Togo, which kept him away from the generalate at Steyl until January 1912⁷². In November⁷³ Fr. Carl Friedrich sent a new report about the situation at Propaganda to Assistant General Fr. Johann Bodems at Steyl. He told Bodems that a discussion occurred recently on the mission in Batavia. According to Msgr Laurenti, the Cardinal Secretary of the

⁷⁰ «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.» (Blum to Luypen, 13 September 1911, AGSVD BL-7, 185).

⁷¹ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 7 December 1911, AGSVD 806, 49.

⁷² Cf. *Nuntius SVD* Vol. I no. 24, September 1911, 136; PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 67.

⁷³ Cf. Friedrich to Bodems, 15 November 1911, AGSVD 806, 47.

Propaganda Fide, in the meantime, the SVD should take «the usual way». By this he meant that 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.

2.2.4. 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 (in the middle of January 1912) 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 1911⁷⁴.

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, 1) a decree that SVD Missionaries could start working in the Dutch East Indies; and 2) an acknowledgement of the mission house in Holland as an institute that prepared missionaries for mission in the Dutch East Indies⁷⁵.

2.2.5. Ledòchowski to Friedrich: «How about Timor and Celebes?»⁷⁶

Fr. Ledòchowski⁷⁷, the Jesuit Assistant Superior General, read to Fr. Carl Friedrich a letter from the Jesuit superior residing in Java⁷⁸ 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

⁷⁴ Cf. Blum to Friedrich, 21 January 1912, AGSVD 806, 50.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Cf. Friedrich to Blum, 27 January 1912, AGSVD 806, 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 a paper.

⁷⁷ Włodzimierz Ledòchowski was the assistant general of the Jesuits. Later he succeeded F.X. Wernz as the 26th superior general from 11 February 1915 to 13 December 1942. Cf. William. V. BANGERT, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù*, Mario COLPO, ed., Genova 1990, 553.

⁷⁸ Fr. Eduard Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis* of the Jesuits. Cf. PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 68.

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 that Propaganda would probably never approve it.

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. As 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.

2.2.6. Noyen about Celebes⁷⁹

Steyl was rather astonished about the transfer of Celebes, as was Fr. 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 and insisted that he did not want to give up Flores.

[...] In my opinion, if we take over Celebes, then we frame Flores completely and it cannot be offered so easily to any other Congregation. [...] True, it is difficult to convert Celebes. There are only 8,000 Catholics besides 180,000 Protestants, who enjoy the support of the government; the remaining part is Muslim [...].⁸⁰

2.2.7. Development 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 erection

⁷⁹ Cf. Noyen to Blum, 31 January 1912, AGSVD 806, 53-55.

⁸⁰ «[...] Ich meine aber, wir sollten Celebes nur dazu nehmen, dann haben wir Flores ganz umrahmt und kann es so leicht keiner anderen Kongregation angeboten werden [...] Wohl ist die Missionierung von Celebes schwierig. Viele 180000 Protestanten neben 8000 Katholiken, dazu sind es Regierungschristen, der übrige Teil ist mohammedanisch [...].» (Noyen to Blum, 31 January 1912, AGSVD 806, 53-55).

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 Jesuits⁸¹.

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 to taking over the Jesuits' mission in western Timor – under the condition that the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia was in agreement with this⁸².

3. The Decree⁸³ and Its Impact

3.1. *The Decree*

A decree of Propaganda that clarified the situation was issued under the date of 8 February 1912. It is 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 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.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 5 February 1912, AGSVD 806, 56. The letter of the Apostolic Nuncio was dated 17 December 1911. Cf. AGSVD 806, 57.

⁸² Cf. Friedrich to Blum, 6 February 1912, AGSVD 806, 58-59.

⁸³ According to the HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism, a «decree» is «one of any number of types of official proclamations issued by a competent authority, most often by papal or episcopal authority. The decree of an ecumenical council is its most solemn form.» (Richard P. MCBRIEN, ed., *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, New York 1995, 401).

⁸⁴ «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

By this decree, the Lesser Sunda Islands 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. It means these islands were technically still in the hands of the Jesuits.

3.2. *An Unexpected 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. Firstly, Propaganda did not take into consideration the recent negotiations between the Jesuits and the SVD. 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 Jesuits⁸⁵.

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 talking⁸⁶. Although

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.» (Gotti to Blum, 8 February 1912, PF-1, 654; Cf. AGSVD 806, 60-61; AAS, Romae 1913, 433). The English translation is by Fr. David Streit, SVD and Fr. Herbert Scholz, SVD.

⁸⁵ Cf. PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 71.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*

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 (22 June 1911) asking for the division of his vicariate⁸⁷.

3.3. 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 Batavia⁸⁸.

Fr. Isidorus Vogels, the provincial of the Jesuits in Holland, confirmed the reception of a copy of Propaganda's decree with a formal letter⁸⁹. The answer from Batavia was very clearly in accord with the Roman decision. Msgr. Luypen invited the Steyler missionaries (the SVDs) to replace the Jesuit missionaries on the islands of Timor and Sumba. The remaining islands could be attended to later so that Rome could finally proceed to the establishment of a new prefecture⁹⁰.

The Catholic daily newspaper *De Tijd* on 29 March (1912) reported that the Fathers of Steyl would take over the Lesser Sunda Islands from the Jesuits. In the *Steyler Missionsbote* (Steyler Mission's Messenger) 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.»⁹¹.

⁸⁷ Cf. Luypen to Gotti, 22 June 1911, PF-1, 646-647.

⁸⁸ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 15 February 1912, AGSVD 806, 62-63.

⁸⁹ Cf. Vogels to Blum, 17 February 1912, AGSVD 806, 64.

⁹⁰ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 21 April 1912, AGSVD 806, 68-70.

⁹¹ «Das Mutterhaus Steyl freut sich, endlich gelegenheit zu haben, die Dankespflicht der Gastfreundschaft Hollands, die es so lange genossen, abtragen zu können durch die Übernahme einer Mission in Holländisch-Indien.» (*Steyler Missionsbote* 32, 1912/13, 39).

3.4. *The Arrival of the First SVDs in Timor (1913)*

Fr. Petrus Noyen followed every step of the negotiations concerning the mission in the Dutch East Indies. He had prepared himself for the mission by learning Melayu (the language of the Dutch East Indies), by familiarizing himself with the situation, and by introducing the new mission in some places in Holland. Even before his appointment as the superior of the new mission⁹² he had made some plans for it. For example, regarding personnel, he requested of the generalate three priests and two religious Brothers for Timor and two priests and one Brother for Sumba⁹³. The generalate then called Fr. Franz de Lange from the USA, Fr. Arnold Vestraelen from Togo, and Fr. Constant van den Hemel and Br. Calixtus Osterholt from New Guinea. From Holland they appointed two priests (Johann Kreiten and Wilhem Baak) and four brothers (Lucianus Molken, Salesius van de Lith, Lambertus Schoren and Willibrordus Donkers) to the new mission⁹⁴.

Fr. Noyen planned to leave for the Dutch East Indies in December 1912, right after Christmas. 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. van den Putten, SJ (in Timor) was sick. This news arrived through an uncle of Father Putten in Holland, and it changed Noyen's plan of departure⁹⁵.

The ship Tambora, which was leaving Marseille (southern France) for Batavia on 28 November 1912, was already full. So Noyen postponed his departure to 12 December on the next ship, the Kawi. On 9 December he

⁹² Father Petrus Noyen was appointed the «Superior of the Dutch Indies» by the Generalate on 7 December 1912. Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 16.

⁹³ Noyen to Blum, 17 October 1912, AGSVD 806, 71-81. Cf. John Dami MUKESE and Eduard JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka. Telusur Jejak para Misionaris Belanda*. Ende 2004, 3.

⁹⁴ Cf. PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 72.

⁹⁵ Cf. MUKESE and JEBARUS, *op.cit.*, 4. Father 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. This news changed the plans which Noyen had previously made. Cf. Petrus LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, II, translated by Herman Embuiru, Ende -, 802-803.

left for Paris on an express train. From Paris he left for Marseille on the eve of 11 December, again on an express train. On 12 December he sailed to Batavia, where he arrived safely on 4 January 1913. On the same day Noyen met the Vicar Apostolic, Msgr. Luypen, and they discussed the so-called «radical», the faculty for priests, the Sumba mission and the handing over of Flores⁹⁶. He also had chance to talk with Fr. Engbers, the *superior regularis missionis* of the Jesuits⁹⁷. Accompanied by Fr. Engbers, he left for Timor on board the *Duijmaar van Twist* on 12 January 1913. He arrived at Atapupu harbour, Timor, early in the morning, on Monday, 20 January 1913, where he was welcomed by Fr. Mathijsen, Fr. van den Putten and Br. Moehle. Some students were also present to welcome Fr. Petrus Noyen, the first SVD missionary to arrive in Timor⁹⁸.

One and one-half months after the arrival of Noyen, on 18 February 1913, Br. Calixtus Oosterholt reached Timor as the second SVDs to arrive there. Fr. Arnoldus Verstraelen and Br. Lucianus Mólken then arrived in Timor on 14 May. Msgr. Luypen's first visit to Timor after the arrival of the SVDs took place on 16 September 1913. He came to Timor «accompanied» by four new SVD missionaries. They were Br. Salesius van de Lith, Fr. Frans de Lange, Fr. Wilhem Baak, and Fr. Johann Kreiten⁹⁹. This last arrival brought to completion the number of missionaries assigned by the SVD generalate in its first appointment to the mission in Timor¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 4-5; LAAN, *op.cit.*, 804-805. The «radical» was a sort of presentation letter by which the Dutch government issued permission for someone to stay in the Dutch East Indies. Without this permission, no one could be appointed a parish priest who received a salary from the government. Noyen's permission to stay in the Dutch East Indies was prepared by Sir Wayenberg, a Catholic who served as secretary of the immigration committee in Batavia. Cf. *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Cf. MUKESE and JEBARUS, *op.cit.*, 5. The discussion with Fr. Engbers revolved around the mission in Timor and Sumba and also the takeover of Flores. Noyen and Engbers came to an agreement regarding the stay of the Jesuits in Timor. From that time until 1 March (1913) Noyen would be considered as a guest of pastor Mathijsen. But from 1 March Mathijsen would be Noyen's guest. Fr. Mathijsen himself left Timor for ever on Saturday, 24 May 1913, the last Jesuit to leave the Timor mission. Regarding the takeover of Flores, Engbers said that it would take place when the SVDs had enough personnel. Cf. LAAN, *op.cit.*, 806-807. 836.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 6.7.9; LAAN, *op.cit.*, 887.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. PISKATY, *op.cit.*, 72.

CHAPTER III

THE ERECTION OF THE APOSTOLIC PREFECTURE OF THE LESSER SUNDA ISLANDS AND SOME PARTICULAR PROBLEMS

1. The Erection of the Apostolic Prefecture

1.1. On the way to the Erection

1.1.1. 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 (6 September 1910) and to the letter of Blum of 11 May 1911, Luypen stated clearly that it would be a great pleasure for the SVD if any part of his vicariate would be given to this congregation. Father Nicholas 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 erect the new Apostolic Prefecture of "the Lesser Sunda Islands", which will be entrusted to the Reverend Fathers of the Divine Word mentioned above»¹.

Tacci enclosed this letter when he wrote to Cardinal Gotti on 7 August 1911 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 erect another new apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. This new prefecture would be entrusted to the 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 favourably².

1.1.2. Awaiting an Opportune Time³

Gotti's response came on 18 November 1911. The response can be summarized in three main points. Firstly, 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 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 right 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.

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

¹ «Supplex itaque rogo Eminentiam Vestram, ut ulteriore facta Vicariatus nostri Bataviae dismembratione, nova erigatur Praefectura Ap̄ca. "Insul. Soendae Minorum", eaque assignetur RR. Patribus Verbi Divini supra memoratis.» (Luypen to Gotti, 22 June 1911, PF-1, 646-647).

² Cf. Tacci to Gotti, 7 August 1911, PF-1, 648.

³ Cf. Gotti to Tacci, 18 November 1911, PF-1, 650-651.

he would try to inform Superior General Blum in Steyl about the affair as soon as possible⁴.

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 soon⁵.

1.1.3. 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 Batavia⁶. He seemed to agree with Propaganda's stand. However, the situation changed only two weeks afterwards. 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 erecting a new apostolic prefecture 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 erection, as a letter of 18 November 1911 demonstrated. Tacci then asked del Val to insist that Propaganda Fide proceed quickly to the erection – even using an antedate if it was necessary⁷. It seems most likely that the antedate was meant to assure the government that the erection 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 so well-disposed towards Catholics in the Dutch East Indies. So it was urgent and necessary to make use of the moment, since the present Colonial Minister

⁴ Cf. Tacci to Gotti, 13 March 1912, PF-1, 655-656.

⁵ Cf. Del Val to Gotti, 31 August 1913, PF-2, 484-485.

⁶ Cf. Tacci to Gotti, 13 March 1912, 655-656.

⁷ Cf. Tacci to del Val, 7 September 1913, PF-1, 657-658.

who had already been told about the future apostolic prefecture (the Lesser Sunda Islands) was still in office⁸.

1.1.4. 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 Sunda Islands mission to an apostolic prefecture. The Divine Word Missionaries (the SVD) would be assigned to take care of this new prefecture⁹.

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 Sunda Islands mission to an apostolic prefecture. His Holiness then commanded that a decree should be issued by Propaganda Fide in order to fulfil this objective¹⁰.

1.1.5. An Antedated 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 erection.

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 its proper date. In

⁸ In his letter to Cardinal Merry del Val on 7 September 1913 Tacci wrote: «[...] La ragione che mi spinge a far viva premura per ottenere tale erezione è il cambiamento del Ministero. Avendo saputo che nel nuovo Gabinetto il Ministero delle Colonie non era tanto ben disposto verso i cattolici mi sono arbitrato, pochi giorni prima che apparisse la nomina dei nuovi Ministri, di avvisare l'antico Ministro delle Colonie al quale, secondo quanto scrivevo nel detto mio Rapporto N° 128; avevo già accennato che l'erezione della Prefettura delle Saonde Minori era in trattative presso l'autorità ecclesiastica, [...]» (Cf. Tacci to del Val, 7 September 1913, PF-1, 657-658).

⁹ Cf. Del Val to Gotti, 11 September 1913, PF-1, 659.

¹⁰ Cf. Del Val to Gotti, 17 September 1913, PF-1, 660.

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.»¹¹ In his response¹² 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.»¹³.

1.2. *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 erected 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, this 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 and decided to establish in them a new Apostolic Prefecture. But now, 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 S. Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, on the 16th of September in the year 1913.¹⁴

¹¹ «[...] 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.» (Gotti to Tacci, 25 September 1913, PF-1, 663).

¹² Cf. Tacci to Gotti, 27 September 1913, PF-1, 668.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.* «[...] Quanto alla data del Decreto credo anch'io che nel modo con cui è redatto possa esso passare senza dar luogo ad inconvenienti.» (*ibid.*).

¹⁴ «Ut in insulis Sundae Minoribus, quae ad Vicariatum Apostolicum Bataviensem iam pertinebant, nova promoverentur christianae fidei incrementa, haec S. Congregatio

On 20 September 1913 Gotti informed Blum about the decree of the erection of the apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Gotti did not enclose copy of the decree. He told Blum that the internuncio for the Low Countries, Msgr. Giovanni Tacci, would send the decree to him¹⁵. The Secretary of State was informed by Gotti on 26 September (1913). Gotti wrote:

The undersigned Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, bound by his duty to send to Your Eminence Cardinal Secretary of the State a copy of the decree, with which the same Sacred Congregation, in paying homage to the orders of the Holy Father, transmitted from the Secretary of State through a note dated 17 September, no. 66560 erects a new Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands.¹⁶

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 erection to an apostolic prefecture the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands¹⁷. On the same day (29 September 1913) Gotti passed on the information regarding the decree to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia. In his letter Gotti recalled that Luypen himself had asked for the erection of this apostolic prefecture¹⁸. So Gotti expressed his gratitude to Luypen that his

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.» (Decree, 16 September 1913, PF-1, 662; Cf. AAS vol. V no. 15, Romae 1913, 433). The English translation is by Fr. Herbert Scholz, SVD.

¹⁵ Cf. Gotti to Blum, 20 September 1913, PF-1, 666.

¹⁶ «Il sottoscritto Cardinale Prefetto della S. Congregazione di Propaganda, compie il dovere di inviare all'Emo. Signor Cardinale Segretario di Stato l'unito decreto, con il quale la medesima S. Congregazione, in ossequio agli ordini del S. Padre, trasmetti dalla Segretaria di Stato con biglietto del 17 corrente, no. 66560 erige una nuova Prefettura Apostolica nelle Isole della Piccola Sonda.» (Gotti to del Val, 26 September 1913, PF-1, 664).

¹⁷ Cf. Del Val to Gotti, 29 September 1913, PF-1, 670.

¹⁸ Cf. Luypen to Gotti, 22 June 1911, PF-1, 646-647.

request was granted in this decree, and he asked the bishop for his approval¹⁹.

1.3. The Prefect Apostolic

Since the decree of the prefecture was already in Tacci's hands, another question emerged: who was capable to fill this position as prefect? When Tacci wrote to Merry del Val on 7 September (1913), he also mentioned Fr. Petrus Noyen as the only candidate for that position. In the second place was mentioned Arnold Vestraelen, but he was too young for the charge²⁰. 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 in this matter²¹. Gotti responded that he was still in waiting for a response from the superior general of the SVD, Fr. Nicholas 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 Islands²².

On 4 October (1913) Carl Friedrich, the procurator general of the SVD, passed on the answer of Blum to Gotti. Friedrich wrote that Blum was very pleased with Noyen as the first prefect apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands²³. 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.²⁴

¹⁹ Cf. Gotti to Luypen, 29 September 1913, PF-1, 665.

²⁰ Cf. Tacci to del Val, 7 September 1913, PF-1, 657-658. He was only 31 years old. Cf. *Ibid.*

²¹ Cf. Tacci to Gotti, 27 September 1913, PF-1, 667-668.

²² Cf. Gotti to Tacci, 2 October 1913, PF-1, 669; Gotti to Blum, 20 September 1913, PF-1, 666.

²³ Cf. Friedrich to Gotti, 4 October 1913, PF-1, 672.

²⁴ «Rev. P. Noyen, anno 1870 natus, sacerdotio initiatus est 1893. Post acceptam ordinationem in Schantung meridionali sacro munere Missionarii magno cum successu

Finally, on 8 October 1913, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD was appointed as the Prefect Apostolic of the the Lesser Sunda Islands²⁵. The news about the erection of the new prefecture apostolic and its first prefect reached Timor on 26 November 1913²⁶.

2. Some Particular Problems

2.1. Civil Acknowledgement

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 in 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 as unconstitutional, they could persecute the Church severely. In order to work in the Dutch East Indies one had to receive civil recognition from the government.

The most important government regulation to be followed 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 the Vicariate of Batavia at the beginning of the twentieth century caused anxiety and even trouble for Msgr. Luypen and the Jesuits' superior. Luypen had to negotiate with the government when the apostolic prefecture of Borneo (1905) and the apostolic prefecture of Dutch New Guinea were

est functus. Vir regularis disciplinae, pius, sagax est et in deliberationibus et agendi ratione ita prudentià excelluit, ut jure merito ad dignitatem Praefecti Apostolici promoveri possit.» (Friedrich to Gotti, 4 October 1913, PF-1, 672).

²⁵ Cf. AAS Vol. V No. 15, Romae 1913, 518.

²⁶ Cf. John Dami MUKESE and Eduard JEBARUS, *Indahnya Kaki Mereka. Telusur Jejak para Misionaris Belanda*. Ende 2004, 9-10. Noyen himself received the news via telegram when he was in Tubaki (Betun, Timor). He was on his first long journey to observe the area of mission in Timor, especially the Dawan region and southern Belu. He set out from Lahurus on 12 November 1913 and took the following route: Lahurus – Sadi – Wehor – Atapupu – Atambua – Naitimu – Sufa – Maubesi – Bitaoni – Oelolok – Besikama – Tubaki – Sukabi Hanawa – Alas Weolain – Fatu Malaka – Dafala – Lahurus. Cf. *Ibid.*

erected – and it seemed that his efforts were not crowned with success²⁷. These negotiations seemed to have had a negative influence on Luypen, for when the SVD asked for another division, Luypen's response was not very enthusiastic²⁸. Luypen then reported this problem to Propaganda Fide in 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 future²⁹. On 25 July 1910 Cardinal Gotti wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State about this problem and asked the Cardinal to end this uncertainty³⁰.

The definitive solution of this problem was achieved on 12 August 1913 with an agreement between the Apostolic Internuncio and the Dutch government. On this day they agreed to add two articles to the Convention of 1847, which later were recognized as the *Nadere Regeling* (Additional Agreements)³¹.

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 Colonial Minister about every development in the Church, especially about the new apostolic prefectures³². 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 order³³. The text of these articles was attached to a letter sent by Cardinal Merry del Val to Cardinal Gotti dated 31 August 1913.

²⁷ Cf. Van den Hemel to Blum, 21 April 1909, AGSVD.

²⁸ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 8 December 1909, AGSVD 806, 14.

²⁹ Cf. Luypen to Gotti, 1 June 1910, PF-2, 479-480.

³⁰ Cf. Gotti to Merry del Val, 25 July 1910, PF-2, 481.

³¹ G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia: Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Apostolik, Abad 19 dan Abad 20*, II, Jakarta 1972, 74.

³² Cf. Del Val to Gotti, 31 August 1913, PF-2, 482-483.

³³ Cf. *Ibid.*; VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 216.

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 Countries³⁴.

2.2. *Property³⁵ and Salary*

2.2.1. Questions from Timor

Right from the beginning of the negotiations, the issue of property attracted the attention of both Msgr. Luypen and SVD Superior General Fr. Nicholas 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's property. It seems 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's property³⁶.

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 Wernz³⁷). Luypen was convinced that there would not be many difficulties in regarding property³⁸. Blum hoped that the Jesuit superior general would not

³⁴ Cf. Gotti to Merry del Val, 6 September 1913, PF-2, 487.

³⁵ According to Fr. Engbers the Jesuits' property in Flores had a value of about 200,000 florins. Wernz cited this number when he wrote to Father Provincial Vogels on 29 December 1913 (Cf. Wernz to Vogels, 29 December 1913, ARSI-4, 261-262). According to Vogels the Jesuits' property in Timor had a value of no more than about 25,000 florins (Cf. Vogels to Wernz, 30 March 1913, ARSI-2, 4-I, 50).

³⁶ Cf. Friedrich to Blum, 11 May 1911, AGSVD, 806, 38. 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. Josef ALT, *Journey in Faith: The Missionary Life of Arnold Janssen*, translated by Frank MANSFIELD and Jacqueline MULBERGE, Analecta SVD 85, Roma 2002, 1032.

³⁷ Franz-Xaver Wernz (1842-1914) was the twenty-fifth Superior General of the Jesuits. He was in office from 8 September 1906 to 19 August 1914. Cf. William. V. BANGERT, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù*, Mario COLPO, ed., Genova 1990, 553.

³⁸ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 19 November 1910, AGSVD 806, 27-28.

overburden the SVD with the land, houses and furniture³⁹.

After the decree of 8 February 1912 Father Provincial Isidore Vogels 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 ownership of the Jesuits' property in Timor. There were two stations in Timor, each with its own property. In Atapupu there was a wooden and 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 dormitory, a new church, and a joinery. 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 SVD⁴⁰.

2.2.2. Questions from Flores

2.2.2.1. Concerning Property

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 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 1914⁴¹.

2.2.2.2. Concerning Salaries

When it was decided to cede 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 received second-class salaries⁴². The government did not care who served

³⁹ Cf. Blum to Luypen, 22 November 1910, AGSVD, BL-5, 33.

⁴⁰ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 19 November 1910, AGSVD 806, 28.

⁴¹ Cf. Engbers to Wernz: 16 Juni 1914, ARSI-2.

⁴² During first half of the twentieth century the Dutch Government granted second-

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 on 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 (of Flores)⁴³.

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 salary⁴⁴. According to Engbers and his consultants, since no European Catholics lived on Flores, they could not grant any second-class salary 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 leave with Jesuits when they left Flores. Further, 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 plan⁴⁵.

2.2.3. Some Directives that Earned Sincere Gratitude⁴⁶

class salaries only to missionaries who ministered to Europeans and third-class salaries to those who worked among the indigenous. A bishop received a first-class salary (Cf. VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 215). 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 2000 florins each month (Cf. Vogels to Wernz, 28 June 1914, ARSI-2, 2-I, 29).

⁴³ Cf. Engbers to Wernz, 16 Juni 1914, ARSI-2.

⁴⁴ Cf. Vogels to Wernz, 28 June 1914, ARSI-2, 2-I, 29.

⁴⁵ Cf. Vogels to Wernz 28 June 1914, ARSI-2, 2-I, 29.

⁴⁶ All questions regarding property and salary were answered by Superior General Fr. F.X. Wernz in his letter to Father Provincial Vogels dated 29 December 1913. Cf. Wernz to Vogels, 29 December 1913, ARSI-4, 261-262.

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 them away at their departure. As for 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 if this regarded other types of goods⁴⁷.

Concerning government salaries, Wernz answered that those seemed to come into consideration only as long as the Jesuits remained on Flores. Afterwards they were to be considered as goods given for the use of the region (Flores), and so they must be given up⁴⁸.

On 15 April 1916 Fr. Blum wrote a thank-you letter to Father Włodzimierz Ledóchowski⁴⁹ concerning the Jesuits' property in Flores and Timor. This letter was written after he received the news from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide that the Netherlands Province of Congregation of the Jesuits transferred gratis to the SVD all properties in Flores, just as they had previously done in Timor. Blum wrote: «[...] 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.»⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ Cf. Wernz to Vogels, 29 December 1913, ARSI-4, 261-262.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Włodzimierz Ledóchowski was the 26th Superior General of the Jesuits. He succeeded F.X. Wernz from 11 February 1915 to 13 December 1942. Cf. BANGERT, *loc.cit.*

⁵⁰ «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.» (Blum to Ledóchowski, 15 April 1916, ARSI-2, 2-I, 33). The English translation is by Fr. Guido Tisera, SVD. When the Capuchin Fathers took over the island of Sumatra the Jesuits also transferred the movable property to those Fathers (cf. Engbers-Werns 9 December 1911, ARSI-2, 2-I, 23). 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

2.3. *The Flores Question and Its Resolution*

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 centre 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?

2.3.1. Discussions among the Jesuits

2.3.1.1. Flores Should Not Be Divided

The discussion about Flores had already 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 giving up 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 the discussion about the SVD taking over Celebes⁵¹.

their churches, houses and other property. For the sake of the mission all were given for free (cf. VRIENS, *op.cit.*, 73).

⁵¹ Engbers to Wernz, 9 December 1911, ARSI-2, 23.

2.3.1.2. A Warning from Father Provincial

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 erection 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 Fathers⁵².

At that time the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia had already agreed to accept some SVDs on the islands of Timor and Sumba⁵³ with the provision that after the erection of the new prefecture other islands could also be ceded to these same missionaries. Regarding the efforts to accelerate the process of erecting 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 can not 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 pagans. 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.⁵⁴

⁵² «[...] 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.» (Engbers to Wernz, 27 April 1912, ARSI-2, 24). This text was first translated into Italian by Fr. Luigi Pertoldi, SVD and then into English by Fr. Timothy Lenchak, SVD.

⁵³ Cf. Luypen to Blum, 21 April 1912, AGSVD 806, 68-70.

⁵⁴ «[...] 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,

2.3.1.3. Wernz: «No Harm from the SVDs»⁵⁵

Regarding the coming of the SVDs to Timor, on 31 May 1912 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 no harm would come to the Jesuits from that⁵⁶. 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 Mozambique⁵⁷ – 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

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.» (Engbers to Wernz, 27 April 1912, ARSI-2, 24). English translation is by Fr. Timothy Lenchak, SVD.

⁵⁵ Cf. Wernz to Engbers, 31 Mei 1912, ARSI-3, 329-330.

⁵⁶ Wernz once said to Vogels that from his side there was nothing opposed to the union of the island of Flores with the new Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. And he said further that the Jesuits could remain there for the time being until they were re-claimed by the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia. Cf. Wernz to Vogels, 29 December 1913, ARSI-4, 261-262.

⁵⁷ In 1910 the Portugese 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 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. *Nuntius SVD*, Vol. I, no. 24, September 1911, 133; Fritz BORNEMANN, *Geschichte unserer Gesellschaft*, translated into English by Dermot Walsh, *Analecta SVD* 54, Rome 1981, 203-204.

meantime they would not be able to send more men to the East Indies mission.

2.3.2. Lack of Personnel

It became even clearer to the Jesuits that over the long run they simply could not send enough priests 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 Sunda Islands 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 problems⁵⁸.

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 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 regions⁵⁹.

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 missionaries⁶⁰.

2.3.3. Ceding Flores: the Jesuits under Noyen

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. Engbers, who once insisted on keeping Flores, wrote to Fr. Noyen:

From our side [Jesuits] there should not be any more resistance to the idea of withdrawing from Flores. Our Fathers who are currently working in Flores

⁵⁸ Cf. Engbers to Wernz, 7 December 1913, ARSI-2.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Cf. Luypen to Gotti, 24 April 1914, PF-1, 673.

could continue to work in the prefecture for the time being. I will gladly obtain the necessary permissions for this.⁶¹

Fr. Noyen, who for years had experienced a special love for Flores, soon came to the conviction that the annexation of Flores into the prefecture was unavoidable, especially in light of the decidedly modest number of Jesuit missionaries and the looming danger of Islam.

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 territory⁶².

In fact, before writing to Propaganda Fide, Luypen had written to the internuncio with the same intention and the same request. Fr. Engbers passed on this information to Fr. Wernz in his letter of 7 December 1913. Engbers also realized that even if the SVDs accepted Flores, at the beginning they would not have sufficient missionaries. They could not at the same time take care of the stations and of the schools. Therefore the Jesuits should remain with the SVDs for a while after the takeover of Flores⁶³.

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 (Wernz-Vogels-Engbers). 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 SVD⁶⁴.

It seems like Msgr. Luypen and Fr. Wernz were in agreement about the presence of the Jesuit missionaries in Flores if the island were ceded. Both

⁶¹ «Von unserer Seite soll gegen eine Abtretung von Flores kein Widerstand mehr erhoben werden. Unsere Patres, die jetzt auf Flores wirken, könnten vorläufig noch in Ihrer Präfektur an der Arbeit bleiben. Gerne will ich die dazu nötigen Erlaubnisse einholen.» English translation is by Fr. David Streit, SVD. 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. Noyen to Blum, 28 January 1913, AGSVD, 806, 82-84.

⁶² Cf. Luypen to Gotti, 24 April 1914, PF-1, 673.

⁶³ Cf. Engbers to Wernz, 7 December 1913, ARSI-2.

⁶⁴ Cf. Wernz to Gotti, 29 May 1914, PF-1, 675-676.

of them made the same request to Propaganda that the Jesuits who were already working in Flores would remain there under direction of Prefect Petrus Noyen until the number of the SVDs was sufficient to administer the whole island⁶⁵.

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.⁶⁶

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 SVDs⁶⁷. This report paved the way to a new decree on the island of Flores.

2.3.4. The Decree

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:

Last year this S. Congregation, by order of His Holiness Pius X, by divine

⁶⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*; Luypen to Gotti, 24 April 1914, PF-1, 674.

⁶⁶ «Frustra exspectamus 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 [...]» (Engbers to Wernz, 16 June 1914, ARSI-2). English translation is by Fr. Timothy Lenchak, SVD.

⁶⁷ Gotti to Lorenzelli No. 20, July 1914, PF-1, 677-678.

providence pope, took care to establish the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands. In the session held on the 13th of the current month the Most Eminent Fathers of the same Sacred Council of the Propaganda Fide decreed to enlarge 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 1914.⁶⁸

Four days after the decree was issued, Gotti wrote to Msgr. Luypen in Batavia and Fr. Blum in Steyl and passed on the decree⁶⁹. 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.

2.3.5. A Blessing in Disguise

The Jesuit Fathers gradually handed over the stations in Timor and Flores. On 1 March 1913 two Jesuit stations in Timor (Lahurus and Atapupu) were handed over to the SVDs. Fr. Petrus Noyen began the mission in these two stations. In 1914 Fr. Franz de Lange and Br. Sales van de Lith founded and ministered a new station in Tubaki - Timor (recently

⁶⁸ «Insularum Sundaе Minorum Apostolicam Praefecturam, quam superiori anno S. haec Congregatio de mandato Ssmi. Domini Nostri Pii divina providentia PP. X. erigendam curavit, 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 relatam, 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.» (Decree, 20 July 1914, PF-1, 681). English translation is by Fr. Herbert Scholz, SVD.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gotti to Blum, 24 July 1914, PF-1, 679; Gotti to Luypen, 24 July 1914, PF-1, 680.

Betun, southern Belu). After the transfer of Flores to the SVDs, Noyen left Timor on 13 May 1915 for Ende⁷⁰ together with two Brothers (Lambertus Schoren and Willibrordus Donkers⁷¹). He began the first SVD station in Ndonga (Flores) to serve the needs of the local people. In the same year, Larantuka station in eastern Flores was acquired from the Jesuits⁷². Fr. Wilhelm Baak, Fr. Simon Karsten and Br. Vincentius Meekes were sent to this station. They worked together with the Jesuits until 1917 when the last two Jesuits (Br. Wilhem Busch and Br. Herman Moehle) left for Maumere, middle Flores⁷³.

After the arrival of 3 missionaries in 1916 (Fr. Berthold Fries, Fr. Simon Karsten, and Br. Vincentius Meekes), no new missionaries came to Timor. The handing over of other five stations in Flores (Maumere, Koting, Nita Lela, and Sikka) was not possible for two reasons. Firstly, World War I began slowly but surely to draw many SVD priests and Brothers onto the battle field⁷⁴. Secondly, a setback came with the death of two SVD priests

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that before Flores was handed over to the SVD, Noyen himself had visited the island (first visit: 3 - 18 May 1914) and had even made a survey looking for a suitable place for the main station of the SVD mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands. After the Jesuits ceded Flores to the SVD, he decided to begin in Ndonga (Ende) for several reasons: firstly, Ende was geographically in the centre of Flores and of the Lesser Sunda Islands; secondly, he wanted to counteract the spread of Islam inland; thirdly, Ende was the seat of the vice resident in Flores – who was a Catholic; and fourthly, there was an agreement with the government that the Catholic Mission would build a standard school in Ende. He founded the main station and the prefect's residence in the centre of Flores, in Ndonga (Ende), which today is the see of the archbishop of Ende. Cf. MUKESE and JEBARUS, *op.cit.*, 12-14; BORNEMANN, *op.cit.*, 346.

⁷¹ Cf. Petrus LAAN, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Timor*, III, translated by Herman Embuiru, Ende -, 1152.

⁷² The takeover of Larantuka had already been planned, as can be seen from the letter of Engbers to his Superior General: «[...] If the Roman response arrives, at the end of this year four SVD Fathers will be sent to the island of Flores, of whom two will set up a new station among the pagans, while two will live with our men at the station of Larantuka, so that at the end of 1915, with the arrival of new SVD missionaries, the whole mission of Larantuka can be left to the same Fathers. Then every year some SVD Fathers will be sent to the southern mission of Flores so that by 1920 our Fathers will be able to withdraw from that mission.» (Cf. Engbers to Wernz, 16 June 1914, ARSI-2).

⁷³ Cf. Kurt PISKATY and Joanes RIBERU, *Nusa Tenggara: 50 Jahre Steyler Missionare in Indonesien (1913-1963)*, Steyler Verlag 1963, 21.22.27.

⁷⁴ Blum reported that in 1916 there were almost 400 SVDs serving in the military, of whom 146 were from Steyl and 172 from St. Gabriel, Austria (9 of whom had died and

and one Brother in 1918 of Spanish flu (Fr. Wilhem Back, Fr. Simon Karsten and Br. Vincentius Meekes)⁷⁵.

Like a blessing in disguise, World War I bequeathed a great gift to the mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands, especially to Timor and Flores. In 1919 and 1920 twenty-three SVD missionaries (4 Brothers and 19 priests) volunteered for Indonesia, since they were obliged to give up the missions in Togo and Mozambique⁷⁶. Their arrival in 1919 marked the new blooming of the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The process of handing over the stations could be started again. In this year SVDs took over the stations of Maumere, Nita, Koting and Lela⁷⁷. In 1920 SVDs began to open new stations in Flores and Timor⁷⁸. Fr. Antonius Ijsseldijk⁷⁹, the last Jesuit on Flores, left the island on 10 March 1920⁸⁰.

another 9 were wounded). This situation created difficulties for the mission during that time (cf. LAAN, *op.cit.*, 1153). «Unfortunately we were impeded by the war, to provide Flores with missionaries, as it should be. The German priests are not able to travel and we lack the Dutch. I have informed Father Provincial at Haag and Bishop Luypen about the situation, and I have looked for some understanding. As you can see from the enclosed statistics, the war put us into a very difficult and miserable situation. May the Lord soon give us peace. Our priests, Brothers and Sisters in Zambesi are also now in a very distressful situation.» (Cf. Blum to Ledòchowski, 15 April 1916, ARSI-2, 33). English translation by Fr. Guido Tisera, SVD.

⁷⁵ Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 122; BORNEMANN, *op.cit.*, 345.

⁷⁶ Cf. BORNEMANN, *op.cit.*, 346.

⁷⁷ Fr. Franz Meyer and Fr. Johannes Köberl were sent to Lela; Fr. Leo Vogt and Fr. Franz Mertens to Koting; Fr. Berthold Fries, Fr. Josef Grotmann and Fr. Josef Haarmann to Maumere and Nita. Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 31.

⁷⁸ The new stations were: Jopu, Wolowaru-Lio district (Fr. August Suntrup-Schütte and Fr. Josef Preissler), Ili, Maumere district (Fr. Josef Haarmann and Josef Grotmann), Mauloö, Maumere district (Fr. Lambert Flint), Todabelu-Mataloko, Ngada district (Fr. Josef Ettl, Fr. Hermann Hellinge and Br. Josef Segerink), Lamalerà, Lomblen district (Fr. Bernhard Bode), Ruteng, Manggarai district in west Flores (Fr. Bernhard Glanemann, Fr. Wilhelm Janssen, Fr. Franz Dorn and Fr. Franz Eickmann) and Halilulik, Belu district in Timor (Fr. Arnold Vestraelen, Fr. Heinrich Leven, Fr. Johannes Smith and Br. Luzian Mülken). Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 17.32.

⁷⁹ Fr. Antonius Ijsseldijk was born in Twello, Holland, on 28 January 1848. On 26 September 1872 he entered the Society of Jesus. He worked as a missionary in Koting (Flores) from 1885 to 1920 (35 years). From Flores he left for Java, and there (in Semarang) he died on 12 August 1936. He was known as a man of great faith, generous and a hard worker (cf. Prov. Neerlandica, Summaria Vita. 1703, ARSI, 3).

⁸⁰ Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 17.

2.3.6. «How Beautiful Their Feet!»

Below is a list of the Divine Word Missionaries who were assigned to the Lesser Sunda Islands between 1913 and 1920⁸¹.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Arrival</i>	<i>Death</i>
<i>Petrus Noyen</i>	<i>03.09.1870</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>24.02.1921</i>
<i>Arnold Vestraelen</i>	<i>19.07.1882</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>16.03.1932</i>
<i>Franz de Lange</i>	<i>16.01.1871</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>30.08.1938</i>
<i>Johannes Kreiten</i>	<i>1877</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>Exit</i>
<i>Wilhem Baak</i>	<i>14.11.1886</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>22.12.1918</i>
<i>Calixtus Oosterholt (Br.⁸²)</i>	<i>12.07.1867</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>16.02.1942</i>
<i>Lucianus Mølken (Br.)</i>	<i>19.11.1870</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>14.01.1936</i>
<i>Salesius v. d. Lith (Br.)</i>	<i>22.12.1875</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>27.12.1938</i>
<i>Constant van den Hemel</i>	<i>1873</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>Exit</i>
<i>Lambertus Schoren (Br.)</i>	<i>22.11.1888</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>29.11.1948</i>
<i>Willibrordus Donkers (Br.)</i>	<i>28.10.1890</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>01.07.1966</i>
<i>Berthold Fries</i>	<i>05.09.1889</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>03.09.1981</i>
<i>Simon Karsten</i>	<i>09.10.1885</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>21.12.1918</i>
<i>Vincentius Meekes (Br.)</i>	<i>10.04.1885</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>21.12.1918</i>
<i>Bernhard Glanemann</i>	<i>25.02.1881</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>06.12.1929</i>
<i>Kamillus Kerckhoff</i>	<i>30.05.1873</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>28.12.1939</i>
<i>Ignaz Terheyden</i>	<i>20.03.1877</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>04.12.1937</i>
<i>Johannes van Cleef</i>	<i>20.02.1885</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>28.06.1927</i>
<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Arrival</i>	<i>Death</i>
<i>Johannes Bouma</i>	<i>27.05.1885</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>14.05.1970</i>
<i>Josef Ettel</i>	<i>14.08.1887</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>13.04.1971</i>
<i>Josef Schmitz</i>	<i>01.05.1873</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>03.01.1948</i>
<i>Josef Haarmann</i>	<i>13.03.1882</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>27.12.1936</i>
<i>Franz Meyer</i>	<i>21.12.1886</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>19.01.1942</i>
<i>August Suntrup-Schütte</i>	<i>19.08.1899</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>04.07.1966</i>

⁸¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 122-123; *Index Defunctorum Societatis Verbi Divini 1875-2005*, Roma 2006, 126-229.

⁸² «Br.» stands for a lay Brother.

<i>Josef Grotmann</i>	<i>16.11.1888</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>29.03.1968</i>
<i>Wilhelm Strieter</i>	<i>26.08.1889</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>19.01.1942</i>
<i>Lambert Flint</i>	<i>13.04.1891</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>11.01.1950</i>
<i>Heinrich Worstbrock</i>	<i>27.12.1891</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>19.01.1942</i>
<i>Johann Jakob Köberl</i>	<i>17.07.1890</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>07.12.1988</i>
<i>Josef Preissler</i>	<i>09.03.1890</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>01.11.1971</i>
<i>Leo Vogt</i>	<i>03.09.1893</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>19.01.1942</i>
<i>Gerhard van Velsen</i>	<i>05.02.1892</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>04.05.1978</i>
<i>Simon Buis</i>	<i>12.11.1892</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>25.08.1960</i>
<i>Bonifatius Klerx (Br.)</i>	<i>1893</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>Exit</i>
<i>Josephus Segerink (Br.)</i>	<i>1895</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>Exit</i>
<i>Franciscus Bakker (Br.)</i>	<i>19.07.1895</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>18.01.1968</i>
<i>Bernardus Laan (Br.)</i>	<i>18.09.1891</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>29.03.1965</i>
<i>Franz Mertens</i>	<i>16.11.1874</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>14.03.1948</i>
<i>Hermann Hellinge</i>	<i>21.12.1878</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>01.11.1930</i>
<i>Eduard Hundler</i>	<i>19.12.1881</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>13.10.1951</i>
<i>Heinrich Leven</i>	<i>13.06.1883</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>30.01.1953</i>
<i>Bernhard Bode</i>	<i>20.08.1885</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>20.08.1978</i>
<i>Karl Stenzel</i>	<i>06.08.1886</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>23.12.1962</i>
<i>Gerhard Schoorlemmer</i>	<i>13.06.1891</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>18.08.1927</i>
<i>Stefan van Cleef</i>	<i>23.07.1887</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>24.04.1946</i>
<i>Wilhelm Janssen</i>	<i>19.02.1893</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>19.10.1960</i>
<i>Nikolaus v.d. Windt</i>	<i>1893</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>Exit</i>
<i>Florentinus Breucker (Br.)</i>	<i>24.09.1883</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>22.04.1963</i>
<i>Gallus v. d. Lith (Br.)</i>	<i>06.06.1878</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>14.04.1973</i>
<i>Theophorus Kleemann (Br.)</i>	<i>04.07.1883</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>12.09.1931</i>

When the last Jesuits left Flores in 1920 there were already 50 SVDs working in Flores and Timor, 5 of whom quit the SVD and 3 of whom died of Spanish flu. Sumba had already been allotted to the SVD, but it was not until 1929 that they were finally able to open a permanent mission station there⁸³. The island had been promised to the Protestants, although several

⁸³ Cf. PISKATY and RIBERU, *op.cit.*, 40.

hundred Catholics lived there since the days of a Jesuit mission effort that lasted only a short time⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 20. The Jesuits ministered Sumba from 1888 until 1898. The SVDs re-established the mission there after thirty-one years without a priest.

CONCLUSION

In the second half of the 19th century the Society of Jesus was the only missionary congregation in the entire Dutch East Indies. Towards the beginning of the 20th 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, Borneo to the Capuchins in 1905, and also Sumatra in 1911 to the same missionaries¹. In the following year the Lesser Sunda Islands' mission was handed over to the Divine Word Missionaries (the SVD)² after a long process of negotiation with the Jesuits and with the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrand Luypen, SJ.

It is interesting to follow the process of handing over the Lesser Sunda Islands to the SVD. The whole story can be compared to a difficult love story with a happy ending. It started when Constant van den Hemel went to Batavia in order to learn how to lay out rice paddies. What he obtained there was not knowledge about rice paddies but a possible mission for the

¹ Giovanni ROMMERSKIRCHEN, «Indonesia: Evangelizzazione», in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, VI, Firenze 1951, 1892.

² The handing over of the mission to the Divine Word Missionaries could be traced to the issuing of the decree of Propaganda Fide of 8 February 1912, when the SVDs were admitted to work in the territory of the Vicariate of Batavia. However, this handing over occurred *de facto* only on 1 March 1913, when Fr. Adrianus Mathijsen, SJ ceded the mission in Lahurus to Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD. This marked the beginning of the SVD mission in the Dutch East Indies.

SVD³. His letter of 21 April 1909 to Blum marked the beginning of the long but fruitful negotiations between the SVD and the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia on the one hand, and between the SVD and the Jesuits on the other, about a possible mission for the SVD.

Although the possible choices included Sumatra, Celebes, and the Lesser Sunda Islands, right from the start the SVD was interested in the Lesser Sunda Islands. The letter of Fr. Blum to Msgr. Luypen dated 24 June 1909 demonstrates this. This desire was defended by Blum in further discussions, especially during the visit of Msgr. Luypen to Steyl on 6 September 1910. This visit strengthened the proposal of the SVDs to take over some parts of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Unfortunately, there was one island among them that the Jesuits wanted to retain: Flores. 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 of the Jesuits slowed down the negotiations and even stalled them. When the negotiations became stagnant, Propaganda Fide intervened with the decree of 8 February 1912 to help both congregations get over 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). SVDs were then admitted to Timor and Sumba in anticipation of the erection 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 erected so soon – including the SVDs. A second decree of Propaganda Fide was issued only one year after the first. On 16 September 1913 the new apostolic prefecture was erected. This time the situation changed. The SVDs who came to help the Jesuits now were being helped by the Jesuits in order to maintain this new apostolic prefecture. Some Jesuits would remain in the prefecture until they could be substituted by SVDs. The political situation in Holland also accelerated the erection of the prefecture. However, even with this second decree, the obstacle remained: the Jesuits still wanted to keep Flores. Yet

³ Cf. Van den Hemel to Blum, 21 April 1909, AGSVD.

another decree was issued on 20 July 1914 after a year of negotiations. This decree put to an end to the Jesuits' desire to retain Flores. They themselves finally realized that they did not have enough missionaries to administer the island. For this reason, they finally 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 during that time. On Flores there were old Christian communities which formed a solid foundation for missionary expansion, and Flores was (next to Bali, Timor and Sumba) the only larger island in the area upon which Islam had not yet made great inroads.

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 mission work. Furthermore, the Jesuits had been working there since 1864⁴. That means that, when they started the negotiations to cede the Lesser Sunda Islands (in 1909), they had already been working there for 45 years. Fifteen of their missionaries lay buried on the island⁵. They had accomplished exhausting missionary labors, and just around this time they were the beginning to reap the first great successes in the Larantuka and Maumere areas. It would be a heavy blow to the Jesuit missionaries to leave Flores just at this time. The Vicar Apostolic, who himself had worked seven years on Flores, could understand the Jesuits' spontaneous, emotional resistance to the plan.

In spite of the difficulties, several prominent figures both SVDs and Jesuits, helped to push forward the negotiations to their final decision. Among the Jesuits who played an active role in the process of handing over the mission (especially Flores) was Fr. Engbers, the *Superior Regularis Missionis*. Although at first he did not want to cede Flores, eventually he insisted that Flores be given to the SVDs. His decision was based on his concern for sufficient missionaries. In other words, he put the interests of

⁴ Cf. Bruno HAGSPIEL, *Along the Mission Trail*, II, Techny 1925, 71.

⁵ Cf. Kurt PISKATY, «Verhandlungen zur Übernahme Unserer Mission in Indonesien», in *Verbum* 4 (1962), 74.

the mission before those of the Jesuits; that is, the mission was more important than the Jesuits.

Another prominent figure was Fr. Franz-Xaver Wernz, the superior general of the Jesuits. He was a great leader who brought light to the obscurity of the negotiations. When the Jesuits were uncertain in their decision about the islands, especially about Flores, he was the one who showed the way. When certain Jesuits saw the SVDs as «harmful», he insisted that no harm would come from them. He even said that he was glad that the SVDs wanted to take over Flores. As a superior general, he knew well the strength and the weaknesses of his society. He also took into consideration the lack of personnel on their side. When the Jesuits hesitated to give up their property and salaries, he directed them as a wise leader to overcome their hesitation. He convinced them to leave all their property in Timor and Flores to their ecclesiastical successors, that is, the SVDs. Regarding salaries, he stated clearly that the Jesuits should leave them behind when they left Flores. In short, he was both generous and decisive during this difficult time of negotiations.

Msgr. Luypen, the Vicar Apostolic and a member of the Jesuits, was a «renovator» of the mission. During his time as the Vicar Apostolic of Batavia the vast mission of the Jesuits in the Dutch East Indies was divided and shared with other congregations. He welcomed the petition of the SVD to have a mission in the Dutch East Indies, although he was quite cautious in every step of the negotiations. His willingness to visit Steyl, to send a letter to Propaganda Fide, to ask Fr. Wernz to cede Flores, and to invite the SVDs to come to Timor and Sumba all demonstrated his good will toward the SVD. The Society of the Divine Word will remember Msgr. Luypen with the highest esteem: a man who despite strong personal ties to Flores was able to entrust the island to the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD).

The tenacity of Fr. Nicholas Blum, the superior general of the SVD, in bringing forward the negotiations is really admirable. How many difficulties he faced along the way! In spite of all these difficulties, Blume led the negotiations with unshakeable faithfulness for four long years. There is no word better suited to describe his personality in this process than the word «motor». He was like a motor, the spirit which pushed the negotiations forward. When Msgr. Luypen did not give a quick response to his first letter of 24 June 1909, he did not lose hope. When the same Luypen did not come to Steyl as he promised, he sought the apostolic vicar's address and wrote to him to come and honour Steyl with a visit.

When Propaganda Fide hesitated in making a decision because of the territory, he wrote to them assuring that the territory would not hamper the SVDs in serving the Church's mission. The SVDs could work as Jesuits' helpers in their vast mission.

Fr. Petrus Noyen was also a great religious missionary. He can be described as the arrow in the hands of Fr. Blum. He was the initiator and founder of the SVD mission in the Dutch East Indies. Even before he went to Timor, he prepared himself with various memos regarding the mission there. He studied the culture and learnt the geography. He set off for the mission earlier than planned. And on the scene he made some important decisions to help the mission grow.

Fr. Noyen's most important decision was to start the main station of the SVD in Ndonga (Ende), Flores. This helped to counteract the spread of Islam inland. Ndonga as the centre of Flores and of the prefecture played an important role in the progress of the mission. Its importance was not only because of its geographical location but much more because of the faithfulness to the Catholic Church of the old Christians there. In fact, already in 1910 Fr. Schwager had pointed out how valuable the old Christian communities could be for the training of catechists⁶. And since at least that time the SVD generalate had understood the importance of Flores. Right from his arrival Noyen was aware of the importance of the 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 misshapen 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.

Although the mission of the Lesser Sunda Islands was finally handed over to the SVDs, it should not be said that the SVD was the «winner» of these long negotiations. Neither should the Jesuits be seen as those who lost their mission in this «competition». The real winner of these negotiations was the Catholic Church, which promoted mission to all nations through these religious congregations. The handing over of the mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands to the SVD increased the Catholic Church's potential to proclaim the good news to this region.

⁶ Cf. Schwager to Blum, 14 June 1910, AGSVD 806, 17.

Moreover, it is important to notice 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 handing over of the mission. The desire of the Christians in that region to be ministered to more faithfully had its part to play in this process of «forcing» Msgr. Luypen to call for help from other congregations, especially the SVD. In fact, many lay people played an important role in the mission. Most religious instructions in the villages were carried out by village catechists. They were important co-workers of the missionaries. John Mansford Prior calls these village catechists the unsung heroes of the mass conversion of Flores from 1920 to 1950⁷. Today, 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 2,402,993⁸.

This paper has attempted to pave a small path to the history of the mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands. It has taken into account the mission in this region under the SVDs. The next step of research certainly should describe the upgrading of the apostolic prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands to an apostolic vicariate. Further, this vicariate itself was divided into several apostolic vicariates. The Indonesian Catholic Church hierarchy was finally established in 1961 by Pope John XXIII⁹. At that time Ende was upgraded to an archdiocese, one of six in Indonesia¹⁰.

⁷ John Mansford Prior noted that in 1950 some 60 per cent of Catholics in Indonesia lived in Nusa Tenggara (= the Lesser Sunda Islands). Recently, over 30 per cent still live in this region. Cf. John Mansford PRIOR, «The Catholic Church in Indonesia», in T. CARSON and J. CERRITO, ed., *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, Farmington Hills 2003, 429.

⁸ Cf. *Anuario Pontificio* 2007, Città del Vaticano 2007, 66.217.238.385.397.462.628. The number of Catholics according to the dioceses in Nusa Tenggara are: Ende (416,000), Larantuka (249,361), Maumere (259,598), Ruteng (706,418), Denpasar (32,083), Kupang (134,551), Atambua (478,508) and Weetebula (126,474). Cf. *Ibid.*

⁹ Cf. H.J.W.M. BOELAARS, *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, Yogyakarta 2005, 139.

¹⁰ 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. BOELAARS, *op.cit.*, 142-143.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 26.03.1902 Arnold Janssen's first letter 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 Arnold Janssen, writes the first letter to Mgr. Luypen.
- 30.03.1904 First letter of Mgr. Luypen to Arnold Janssen inviting the SVDs who passed through the Dutch East Indies to come and honour the Jesuits with a visit.
- 27.02.1905 Arnold Janssen mentions Java in the Dutch East Indies in his letter to the SVD general councillors.
- 08.07.1905 Arnold Janssen reports his conversation with Cardinal Gotti concerning the mission in the Dutch East Indies.
- 15.01.1909 Death of Arnold Janssen, the founder and superior general of the SVD.
- 21.04.1909 Constant van den Hemel writes a letter to Nicholas Blum reporting the first conversations with the Jesuits about a possible mission for the SVD in the Dutch East Indies.
- 24.06.1909 Nicholas Blum, the Administrator General of the SVD, writes his first letter to Mgr. Luypen reporting the willingness of the SVD to have a mission in the Dutch East Indies.

- 05.11.1909 Nicholas Blum 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 possible missions for the SVD.
- 03.10.1910 Noyen opens a vocation house in Holland for the Dutch, using St. Gregory House in Steyl as the contact centre.
- 19.11.1910 A proposal of Msgr. Luypen regarding the Lesser Sunda Islands is accepted by the Jesuit superiors.
- 11.05.1911 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 Nicholas 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 The handing over of the Lesser Sunda Islands mission to the SVD. The SVDs work under the jurisdiction of Msgr. Luypen.
- 07.12.1912 Superior General Fr. Nicholas 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, the first SVD in Timor. Weeks later five other SVD missionaries arrive: Fr. Johannes Kreiten, Fr. Wilhem Baak, Br. Calixtus Oosterholt, Br. Lucianus Mólken, and Br. Salesius v. d. Lith.
- 16.09.1913 Propaganda Fide creates the Apostolic Prefecture of the Lesser Sunda Islands (with the specific exclusion of Flores).
- 08.10.1913 Propaganda Fide names the religious superior, Fr. Petrus Noyen, SVD, as the first Prefect Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

- 20.07.1914 The Flores mission is entrusted to the SVD. In the same year, three SVD missionaries arrived in Timor: Fr. Constant van den Hemel, Br. Lambertus Schoren and Br. Willibrordus Donkers.
- 1915 A novitiate for Dutch SVDs started in Teteringen. Fr. Noyen, the Apostolic Prefect of the Lesser Sunda Islands, leaves Timor and founds the main station and prefect's residence in the centre of Flores (in Ndonga- Ende).
- 1916 Fr. Berthold Fries (Switzerland), Fr. Simon Karsten (Holland), and Br. Vincentius Meekes (Holland) leave for Flores.
- 1918 Br. Vincentius Meekes and Fr. Simon Karsten (21.12.1918), Fr. Wilhem Back (22.12.1918) die of Spanish flu.
- 1919 Twenty-three SVD missionaries, expelled from Togo during the World War I, arrive in Flores.
- 10.03.1920 Fr. Anton Ijsseldijk, the last Jesuit in the apostolic prefecture, leaves Flores.

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Van den Hemel to Janssen 21 January 1904
Luypen to auf der Heide 30 March 1904
Janssen to Limbrock 24 April 1904
Janssen to van den Hemel 1 July 1904
Janssen to General Councillors 27 February 1905
Blum to Janssen 4 March 1905
Janssen to General Councillors 8 July 1905
Janssen to van den Hemel 1 January 1906
van den Hemel to Blum 21 April 1909
Blum to van den Hemel 22 May 1909
Blum to Luypen 24 June 1909
Luypen to Blum 8 December 1909
Luypen to Blum 22 May 1910

Schwager to Blum 14 June 1910
Schwager to Blum 18 June 1910
Blum to Schwager 22 June 1910
Blum to Schwager 30 June 1910
Ibelsloot to Blum 1 August 1910
Luypen to Blum 3 September 1910
Blum to Schwager 6 September 1910
Noyen to Blum 6 September 1910
Blum to Schwager 22 August 1910
Blum to Luypen 28 August 1910
Luypen to Blum 3 September 1910
Tagebuch to Blum 6 September 1910
Blum to Luypen 15 September 1910
Luypen to Blum 20 September 1910
Luypen to Blum 19 November 1910
Blum to Luypen 22 November 1910
Luypen to Blum 12 April 1911
Blum to Luypen 11 May 1911
Friedrich to Blum 11 May 1911
Friedrich to Blum 15 May 1911
Schmeits to Blum 26 May 1911
Friedrich to Blum 29 May 1911
Blum to Schmeits 8 June 1911
Schmeits to Blum 18 June 1911
Blum to Luypen 13 September 1911
Vogels to Blum 23 September 1911
Friedrich to Bodems 15 November 1911
Luypen to Blum 7 December 1911
Blum to Friedrich 21 January 1912
Friedrich to Blum 25 January 1912
Friedrich to Blum 27 January 1912
Noyen to Blum 31 January 1912
Luypen to Blum 5 February 1912
Friedrich to Blum 6 February 1912
Blum to Luypen 15 February 1912
Vogels to Blum 17 February 1912
Luypen to Blum 21 April 1912
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Gotti to Tacci 18 November 1911
Friedrich to Gotti 25 January 1912
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Tacci to Gotti 13 March 1912
Del Val to Gotti 31 August 1913
Tacci to del Val 6 September 1913
Tacci to del Val 7 September 1913
Del Val to Gotti 11 September 1913
Del Val to Gotti 17 September 1913
Gotti to Blum 20 September 1913
Gotti to Tacci 25 September 1913
Gotti to del Val 26 September 1913
Tacci to Gotti 27 September 1913
Gotti to Luypen 29 September 1913
Del Val to Gotti 29 September 1913
Gotti to Tacci 3 October 1913
Friedrich to Gotti 4 October 1913
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Wernz to Gotti 29 May 1914
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