

FATHER FRANCISCUS VAN LITH, S.J. (1863-1926):  
TURNING POINT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S APPROACH  
IN THE PLURALISTIC INDONESIAN SOCIETY

Auctore  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAJAK	- Archives of the Archdiocese of Jakarta
AHSI	- Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu
AMS	- Algemene Middelbare School
ANPJ	- Archief Nederlandse Provincie Jezuiten
APF	- Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
ARSI	- Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BBH	- Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem
BKI	- Bibliotheek van het Koninklijk Instituut
c.	- circa
Doc. Mac.	- The Jesuit Makasar Documents 1615-1682
Doc. Mal.	- Documenta Malucensia
EvNI	- Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsche Oost-Indië
fasc.	- fascicle, fascicule, fasciculus
HB	- Haarlemsche Bijdragen
HBS	- Hoogere Burgerschool
JAIP	- Jesuit Archives of the Indonesian Province
KITLV	- Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistic and Anthropology)
M.U.L.O.	- Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs
no., nn.	- number, numbers
NTM	- Nieuw Tijdschrift voor Missiewetenschap
NZM	- Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft
p., pp.	- page, pages
STOVIA	- de School tot opleiding van Indische artsen
vol., voll.	- volume, volumes

## INTRODUCTION

In the last years of the XIX century the influence of the Christian parties in the Netherlands grew stronger. They demanded the application of Christian values in politics. Their role in introducing the *Ethical Policy* in Indonesia was decisive. The *Ethical Policy* was important because it emphasized the role of the indigenous inhabitants in government. According to this idea, the colonial land should be governed for the sake of the indigenous, and not for the motherland: a government of the Indies for the Indies.

In general the ideas of the *Ethical Policy* created a political atmosphere which favoured the early works of the Javanese mission, that is, the initiatives of Fathers Hoevenaars and Frans van Lith. The great role of Father van Lith, which is the center of the study, could not be excluded from this political shift. It should be emphasized, however, that the thesis is not a biography but rather an attempt to describe the main ideas of Father van Lith's missionary work which contributed so much to shaping the identity of the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Anyhow, a brief description of Father van Lith's life is necessary to place his missionary ideas in the proper context of his time.

Franciscus Georgius Josephus van Lith was born on May 17, 1863 at Oirschot, Brabant, the Netherlands. On September 18, 1881 Frans van Lith entered the novitiate of the Dutch Jesuits at Mariëndaal. He then did his three years of philosophy at Stonyhurst, England. After three years of theology at Maastricht, he was ordained to the priesthood on September 8, 1894. A year later, he was sent to Drongen, Belgium, to begin the last step of his Jesuit formation, the tertianship. In October, 1896 he was already in the island of Java to carry out missionary work among the Javanese.

The most important and influential contribution among Father van Lith's missionary initiatives was the foundation of the Xavier College at Muntilan, in Central Java, where he worked for twenty

four years, from 1897 to 1921. Besides his direct activities for the Catholic Church, he was also involved in educational, cultural, and political affairs for the good of the native people, especially the Javanese. His precarious health forced him to return briefly to the Netherlands for medical treatment in 1921.

With the consent of the Jesuit General, in 1924 Father van Lith returned to Indonesia regardless of the opposition of many Jesuits in the mission because of his progressive position on political and theological issues. At the beginning of 1926 Father van Lith's health began to deteriorate. On January 9, 1926 he died at Semarang and was buried in the Catholic cemetery of Muntilan.

When the Dutch Jesuits came to Indonesia in 1859, practically the whole present Indonesian archipelago was their mission field. Thousands of islands with different languages, cultures, and customs made it impossible for the Jesuits alone to accomplish their missionary work. At the end of the XIX century the Jesuit Superiors decided to hand over some mission fields to other religious Congregations. Time has proved that this decision and then the arrival of Father van Lith in Indonesia became the turning point for the Catholic Church. With Father van Lith, the Catholic Church of Indonesia emerged into a new and definitive era.

To describe more or less completely the missionary vision and approach of Father van Lith, I consulted the unpublished sources, namely the letters of Father van Lith to Mgr. Edmundus Luypen (the Vicar of Batavia, 1897-1923), to the Dutch Provincials (1896-1924), to the *Superiores Missionis* (1897-1923), to the Jesuit Generals (1911-1923), to A. F. van Idenburg (Governor General, 1909-1916), and to fellow Jesuits (1896-1924). The letters are conserved in the *Archives of the Archdiocese of Jakarta* (Jakarta), the *Archives of the Jesuit Province of Indonesia* (Semarang, Central Java), the *Archives of the Jesuit Province of the Netherlands* (Nijmegen), and *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (Rome). Besides the considerable number of letters, Father van Lith also left hundreds of pages of manuscripts and many articles which were published in diverse periodicals.

The other unpublished documents which were consulted for this study are: the letters of the Jesuits in the mission to the Dutch Provincials, to the Jesuit Generals, to the Vicars of Batavia, and to the *Superiores Missionis* in the period of 1859-1926; the letters of Rome (from the General Curia of the Jesuits and the *Propaganda Fide*); the reports of the consult meetings of the Jesuits in the Netherlands in the period of 1847-1926; the collections and comments of the governmental decrees in the period of 1808-1920.

The thesis consists of two parts divided into seven chapters. Part One deals with the period before the missionary work among the Javanese was initiated. The first chapter gives a very general idea of Indonesia from geographical, historical, and cultural points of view. The second chapter treats the first phase of the Jesuit mission in the eastern part of Indonesia, the Moluccas (1546-1677). The third chapter describes the return of the Catholic missionaries to Indonesia after being banished by the Dutch Company. The fourth chapter deals with the arrival of the Dutch Jesuits and the efforts to open the missionary work among the natives.

Part Two deals exclusively with the Javanese mission and is divided into three chapters. The fifth chapter describes how the missionary work among the Javanese were initiated and gives some reasons for the tardiness of the work. The sixth chapter emphasizes the turning point of the missionary approach introduced by Father van Lith. The last chapter (Chapter VII) concentrates on the ideas of Father van Lith and their realization in more detail and more specifics.

I chose the Chapter VII for the publication of the excerpt because it describes more or less completely the discussion which remains actual for the Catholic Church in our time, that is, how to bring Christ's message without offending the cultural sense of the local people. Then, it shows the most important contribution and role of Father van Lith in building the identity of the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Finally, practically the whole Chapter VII narrates very clearly the turning point of the Catholic Church's approach in the missionary work.

## THE IDEAS OF FATHER VAN LITH AND THEIR REALIZATION

When the first two Dutch Jesuits came to Indonesia in July, 1859, the colonial policy of *Cultuurstelsel*<sup>1</sup> was still in vigour. The letters of Father J. Palinckx to the Dutch Provincials showed that the hateful attitude of the Javanese towards the "white skin" was caused by this policy<sup>2</sup>. The *Cultuurstelsel* was an application of conservative colonial policy which justified the right of the mother country (the Netherlands) to obtain economic benefits from the colonial possessions (Indonesia)<sup>3</sup>. The policy brought abundant welfare for the Netherlands, but caused a miserable condition in the colonial land, particularly for the inhabitants in Java.

With the victory of the Liberal Party in the Netherlands, the practice of the *Cultuurstelsel* in the colonial land was gradually abolished. Then the liberal ideas replaced the conservative policy. Private enterprise grew rapidly in Java and Sumatra. The growth of free enterprise required the improvement of public service. About 1870, throughout the island of Java and in the northern part of Sumatra the government installed the telephone and telegraph; railroads were constructed to connect the towns which had economic resources; inter-insular shipping lines also became more regular and frequent.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the influence of the Christian parties grew stronger. They demanded the application of Christian values in politics. Their role in introducing the *Ethical Policy* in Indonesia was decisive. The introduction of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Instead of paying to the colonial government a certain proportion of their crops, the indigenous inhabitants were to put at its disposal a certain proportion of their land and labor time."

<sup>2</sup> J. Palinckx (1859-1900) to the Dutch Provincials. *Archief Nederlandse Provincie Jezuieten (ANPJ)*, Dossier 324.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. D.W. van Welderen-Rengers, *The Failure of a Liberal Colonial Policy Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1830*, The Hague, 1947, p. 13.



*Ethical Policy* was an important shift for Indonesia because it emphasized the role of the indigenous inhabitants in the government. According to this idea, the colonial land should be governed for the sake of the indigenous inhabitants, and not for the motherland: a government of the Indies for the Indies.

The *Throne Speech* of Queen Wilhelmina on September 17, 1901, marked the triumph of the Christian parties in promoting the ideas of the *Ethical Policy* in Indonesia. Queen Wilhelmina specifically mentioned the moral duty of the Dutch to promote civilization in Indonesia and tolerance among the diverse races<sup>4</sup>. However, the government always argued that the task of providing education and health care for the Indies was beyond the resources of the government. In these spheres, mission schools and hospitals, subsidized by government funds, could relieve some of the government's responsibility.

In the early twentieth century, the practice of subsidizing the mission activities by the government became more and more common; a fact that later was regarded by the missionaries as a mixed blessing<sup>5</sup>. The Catholic missionaries were suspected to be the collaborators of the Dutch colonists. For the future of the Catholics in Indonesia, it was necessary that the missionaries put the question in the right place:

*"The mission is not, and will never be, a Dutch influential post which for that reason enjoys the protection of the Dutch government. The Dutch government in Indonesia supports the mission schools because the government had proposed to bring the Javanese people to further progress and to have independence. It is in the mission schools that the government discovers the*

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<sup>4</sup> Cfr. W.H. van Helsdingen, "De staatkundige ontwikkeling," in H. Baudet and I.J. Brugmans (eds.), *Balans van Beleid*, Assen, 1961, p. 188; Horst Lademacher, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, Utrecht, 1993, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. E.J.M. Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931*, Leiden, 1977, pp. 236-237; Rita Smith Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission*, Michigan, 1995, p. 31.

*powerful means to reach that goal*"<sup>6</sup>.

In general the ideas of the *Ethical Policy* created a political atmosphere which favoured the early work of the Javanese mission, the initiatives of Fathers Hoevenaars and van Lith. The Dutch government in Indonesia, however, interpreted the idea of the *Ethical Policy* from the colonial point of view. In a certain sense, the method of Father Hoevenaars towards the Javanese was also in this direction. The government, for example, proposed some programmes for the improvement of the indigenous education, health care, etc. Unfortunately, only the government could take the initiative and decisions. Participation by the indigenous was practically excluded. It is understandable if the policy was judged to be too paternalistic.

Father van Lith did not criticize the *Ethical Policy* because the idea in itself was praiseworthy. He did not criticize the method of the government either. Instead of creating unnecessary conflict with the government, he preferred to take advantage of the favorable policy for the interest of the indigenous through his own method. Co-operating with anyone and any institution as long as it was for the good of the indigenous was the common pattern of Father van Lith's policy<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Cfr. H. Bastiaanse, "Nationalisme en Missie op Java," in *Koloniaal Missietijdschrift*, 15 (1932), p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> The letters, the programmes and other writings of Father van Lith showed his sincere efforts to deal with the Dutch and Javanese officials. His sincere attitude and his broad relations would favour his work, and free him from any suspicion. See P.G.H. Schreurs, *Terug in het erfgoed van Franciscus Xaverius; het herstel van de katholieke missie in Maluku 1886-1960*, Tilburg, 1992, pp. 156-163.

## 1. THE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION: XAVIER COLLEGE AT MUNTILAN

Choosing education as a means of missionary work was not new for the Jesuits in Indonesia. The appointment of Father van den Elzen, who had been a rector of the Jesuit College at Sittard, to be one of the first Jesuit missionaries in Indonesia reflected the strategy of the missionary work. The Provincial, Father van Gulick, had expressed his great desire to begin the missionary work in Indonesia by building a college<sup>8</sup>. Although his desire was judged to be unrealistic, the choice of Father van den Elzen showed that the idea of the Dutch Provincial to have a Jesuit college in the mission never ceased<sup>9</sup>.

Two years after his arrival, Father van den Elzen wrote that to form a generation of solid Catholics in Indonesia, Catholic schools were the first priority<sup>10</sup>. And since he could not leave his priestly ministries, he invited the Brothers of Oudenbosch (OSA), and the Ursuline Sisters (OSU) to come to Surabaya. The Brothers came in 1862, and worked for the boys school. The Sisters, who came one year later, taught in the school for girls. In the following years, the Jesuits opened mission schools in other places, such as Larantuka (Flores), Minahasa (Celebes), Fialaran (Timor), Sejiram (Borneo), etc. The reason was more or less similar: to implant the Catholic life in the new generation or to build contact with the local natives<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> "Consultationes." Den Haag, April 30, 1855. *ANPJ*, 1a, no. 11a.

<sup>9</sup> J. Escherich to Father Provincial [van Gulick]. Krijtberg, April 13, 1855. *Ibidem*, Dossier 313-I-2b.

<sup>10</sup> M. van den Elzen to the Provincial [van Gulick]. Surabaya, March 27, 1861; February 27, 1862. *Ibidem*, Map 160, fasc. IV, nn. 26 and 40.

<sup>11</sup> A.G. Terwindt to Mgr. Vrancken. Surabaya, May 29, 1871. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang; J. de Vries to Father Provincial [F. Heynen]. Semarang, February 8, 1886. *ANPJ*, Map 162, fasc. IVF, no. 150; G. Hellings to Mgr. Luypen. Yogyakarta, March 14, 1904. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang.

The letters and writings of Father van Lith showed that his ideas about the school at Muntilan and the indigenous education in general came to maturity through his previous experiences. The "disastrous experience" of his early years in Java taught him that before starting the missionary work, learning the language and local culture were an indispensable obligation for missionaries:

*"If the missionaries want to bring the non-Christian people to Christ, they have to find the starting point for the evangelization. The heart of these people was their religion.*

*If they are ignorant, they will lose also the starting point to promote the good news in their hearts.*

*In the island of Java, in particular, where the most civilized people among the whole archipelago lived, learning Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and the Javanese culture is an indispensable obligation for missionaries. These religions had flourished, but the animism was never uprooted from the heart of the people"<sup>12</sup>.*

On the other hand the experience of Kyahi Sadrach, a Javanese Protestant preacher or "guru," impressed him very much. Again and again he invited the missionaries to appreciate the local culture and to place themselves on the same level with the Javanese, and not above them. In his article (which was never published), he encouraged his fellow missionaries to place themselves as the fellow citizens with the Javanese:

*"If we, the Dutchmen, wish to remain in Java and live in peace and enjoy the beauty and the riches of this beloved island, then there is a requirement, that we have to learn to treat the Javanese as our brothers. In the midst of the Javanese we don't have to act as rulers, or as masters, or as commanders, but as citizens among fellow citizens.*

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<sup>12</sup> F. van Lith, "Het gebed van Ardjoena tot Çiwa," in *Studiën*, 56/101 (1924), p. 373; se also "De Java-missie," pp. [25-27], [94-97]; "Kjahi Sadrach," pp. [262-264], [275-279]; J. Palinckx to Father Provincial [Aug. Henriët]. Yogyakarta, October 26, 1862. *ANPJ*, Map 162, fasc. V, no. 22; F. Heynen to Father Provincial [van Gulick]. Den Haag, January 3, 1875. *Ibidem*, Map 166, fasc. II, no. 6;

We have to learn to adapt ourselves, to learn to know the language of the people and their custom; only by so doing we can make friendship with them"<sup>13</sup>.

The success of Kyahi Sadrach's preaching among the Javanese people convinced Father van Lith that educating the indigenous people had multiple advantages<sup>14</sup>.

In July, 1902 Father van Lith, at the request of the Superior Missionis, wrote his "Program and method of the Javanese mission." In his programmes of twenty pages he described his ideas and his position on the questions and problems concerning the Catholic Church in dealing with the Javanese<sup>15</sup>. About the idea of the indigenous education at Muntilan he wrote:

"To attain a solid school for the boys we will be obliged to intern -as many as possible- the sons of the village chiefs. We do not have to provide the clothes for them; we have only to give them food...

The education, which we will give to these boys must be solid and to the greatest extent. To attain this ambitious aim there is no other way than to set up a small college: priest as the headmaster, two scholastics, and some indigenous teachers. Aside from teaching they have to take part also in the games with the boys, so that in the long run the spirit and hearts of the boys will be under the influence of the Christian spirit which was animated by the hearts of their teachers.

For a limited number of boys the teaching will be at such a level that their knowledge will not be inferior to the alumni of the governmental schools. The formation of their character should be excellent so that

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<sup>13</sup> "Over Javaansche Bedienden en Doerians", [p. 5]. The article was sent to St. Claverbond. However, its content was judged to be too personal and could offend the other missionaries. Therefore, it remained unpublished and was conserved in Archief Claverbond, Dossier 2, bundel 9, "Willen wij Nederlanders op Java blijven en daar in vrede wonen en genieten van de schoonheid en den rijkdom van dit uitverkoren eiland, dan is het een gebiedende eisch, dat wij leeren ons met de Javanen te verbroederen. Niet als overheerschers, niet als meesters, niet als commandanten moeten wij leven te midden der Javanen; maar als burgers onder medeburgers. Wij moeten ons zelve leeren aanpassen, de taal des volks en hun gewoonten leeren kennen en er naar streven ons met hen te bevrienden". See also "Kjahi Sadrach," pp. [60-65]; [90-103]; [185-198].

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. "Kjahi Sadrach," pp. [122-147]; [203-213]; [255-264].

<sup>15</sup> "Plan en werkwijze der Java-missie," was sent to Father G. Hellings, the Superior Missionis.

they can work in the governmental elementary schools, or become governmental officials, or continue their education in the Javanese medical school [Stovia: School tot opleiding van Inlandsche artsen]. Those who cannot pursue these requirements will return to their villages to take their fathers' place, to reform their villages into a Christian village [...]"<sup>16</sup>.

### 1.1. THE INITIAL YEARS, 1900-1912

In February, 1900 two students from Muntilan received a governmental diploma as assistant-teachers. They were among the first students of the old school at Semarang which was founded by Father Hebrans in 1896<sup>17</sup>, a school for the future catechists. At the beginning of 1900 Father van Lith changed the status of the old school to the Kweekschool-A, school for the assistant-teacher with the local language as medium of instruction.

The original reason of this change was cultural. Father van Lith was convinced that to teach religion to the Javanese someone should have reached a certain age, over forty years. Therefore he proposed their students to teach at school, and later at the age of pension to teach religion<sup>18</sup>. The financial shortage and lack of support did not discourage Father van Lith. He transported the material of the old school at Semarang, which had been closed down and moved to Mendut, to the new school at Muntilan<sup>19</sup>.

Father van Lith started his ambitious idea for the indigenous education with simple buildings, and in a hidden place a bit far from the main road. His optimum relation with the governmental officials and the local people, however, favoured his initiatives.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem.*, pp. [6-8].

<sup>17</sup> "Joesak Sastradwidja," pp. [4-8].

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Frans van Lith, "Hoe kan het onderwijs de Missie dienen?" in A. Hermus and A. de Wit (eds.), Eerste Internationaal Missiecongres, Utrecht, 1923, p. 94.

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. "Joesak Sastradwidja," p. [8]; "Diarium missionis", June 20, 1900.

In 1904, the *Kweekschool-A* at Muntilan received subsidy from the government<sup>20</sup>. Although the administration of the school occupied his time, Father van Lith did not leave his previous activities: tirelessly he went to the villages to encourage people to send their children to the elementary mission schools. By 1905, in addition to Muntilan, Father van Lith had opened six other elementary mission schools in the villages around Muntilan. The students of his *Kweekschool-A* taught in these schools<sup>21</sup>.

In July, 1904 Father Mertens came to Muntilan from Kei-islands which had been handed over to the missionaries of MSC. He replaced Father D.J. Opdenkamp as the superior for the Javanese mission. Time would tell that the arrival of Father Mertens at Muntilan became another decisive factor for the realization of the ideas of Father van Lith, particularly for the indigenous education<sup>22</sup>. Now Father van Lith could leave Muntilan more freely to promote his school because he could entrust the administration of the school to his co-educator, Father Mertens.

From time to time the number of students of the *Kweekschool-A* at Muntilan continuously increased and they showed excellent results in the exams. They could have a job in the governmental schools or office with no problem. Those who taught in the schools, however, were paid less than their colleagues who graduated from the governmental schools<sup>23</sup>. In the meantime, the request to embrace Catholicism came from many villages while Father van Lith remained the only missionary who knew the language<sup>24</sup>. In the midst of his promoting education and teaching catechism Father van Lith did not lose his original ideas.

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<sup>20</sup> "Diarium missionis," February 15, 1904.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. "Joesak Sastradwidja," p. [19].

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, December 26, 1903. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. "Joesak Sastradwidja," pp. [19-20].

<sup>24</sup> J. Mertens to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, July 2, 1906. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

The excellent results of the *Kweekschool-A*, the increasing number of converts, and the unreserved support of the *Superior Missionis* encouraged Father van Lith to take a further step<sup>25</sup>. He planned to open a *Kweekschool-B*, teacher-school with the Dutch language as medium of instruction. In 1903 he had proposed to have scholastics, Jesuit brothers and some sisters for Muntilan, but Mgr. Luypen and Father G. Hellings did not approve it<sup>26</sup>. Now with the support of Father Mertens, he repeated his urgent request and sent it also to Father Provincial and Father General<sup>27</sup>.

At the beginning Father van Lith had a slow start with the *Kweekschool-B*. The adjective "Catholic" applied to his school sounded strange. Moreover, the simple buildings at Muntilan did not show any difference from the buildings of the common people. The description of one of the first students could help to understand the situation:

*"Father van Lith himself visited the governmental schools and spoke with the headmasters to promote and to seek students for his new school. Unfortunately, his tireless efforts seemed in vain because the children were still afraid of that strange name, "Catholic". And some said: what is that poor Dutchman going to do? Opening Kweekschool-B? Impossible!*

*This kind of judgement towards Father van Lith and his schools was common because his house and his schools were very simple; they were of bamboo and not of brick"*<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 25, and March 2, 1905; June 14, 1905 and November 1, 1906. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; J. Mertens to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 30, 1905. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Magelang, September 2, 1905. *Ibidem*, Map Semarang.

<sup>26</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, December 26, 1903; February 22, 1904; March 6, 19, and 30, 1904. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; Mgr. Luypen to F. van Lith. Batavia [Jakarta], March 12 and 26, 1904. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>27</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 22, 1904. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan. See also: E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Surabaya, December 12, 1905. *Ibidem*, Map Semarang.

<sup>28</sup> "Joesak Sastradwidja," pp. [21-22], "Kadjawi pawitan moerid cursus, rama v. Lith naroehoek dhateng pamoelangan-pamoelangan Goepermen; paring kabar dhateng Mantri goeroe, anggènipoen badhé jasa kweekschool, sarta moendhoet toeloeng kaoeroenana moerid. Sampoèn dipoen réntjangi tharoehoekkan, babasan wirang isin, soesah pajah dipoen lampahi; éwa samanten awis laré ingkang poeroen



The small number of students for the *Kweekschool-B* did not disturb Father van Lith because the government had given permission and promised subsidy.

With the arrival of four Franciscan sisters at Mendut in 1908, the idea of Father van Lith to open a boarding school for the indigenous girls was nearly realized. In the mind of Father van Lith, the aim of the education for the girls was simple and practical: the preparation for solid Christian families. The presence of the Sisters, therefore, was necessary:

*"We come to another point, that is, the Sisters. They will teach some handworks and take care of the education for the girls: to prepare their roles for a small nucleus of the future solid Christian families so that the Christian spirit penetrates the whole region"*<sup>29</sup>.

In short time this boarding school for the indigenous girls became very famous, and was popularly known as *School of Mendut*. In 1911 the school had fifty girls, and increased to two hundred and fifty in 1919, and five hundred in 1939. Though the administration of *Mendut* was entrusted to the Franciscan sisters, the original idea of Father van Lith was maintained alive thanks to the foundation of "Association of the R.C. *Kweekschool* at Muntilan" in 1906<sup>30</sup>. This association managed the external administration for the schools at Muntilan, Mendut, and later on at Ambarawa. The

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dados moerid, déning adjrih dateng agami krsiten [...] Wanija moengel sapengad-jengan, bokmanawi makaten temboengipoen: "landa ora pakra ngono wé, arep gawé kweekschool, masa didiija ora". Dipoen ina makaten poenika inggih mëmper, awit dalemipoen rama v. Lith inggih dèrèng saé, poenapa poenapanipoen inggih dèrèng saé, ngalèr ngidoel namoeng gedhèg; boten kados sapoenika (1926)"; see also I.J. Kasimo, "Lain dulu lain sekarang," in *Hidup Katolik*, XVII/19, 12 May 1963, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> "Plan en werkwijze der Java-missie", p. [6]; F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 6, 1904. AAJAK, Map Muntilan, "Daardoor bereiken wij dan tevens een ander oogmerk, namelijk zusters, die handwerken leeren en een zeker aantal meisjes opvoeden, die het vrouwelijk element moeten verstrekken voor eene kleine kern van echt Christelijke families, wiens Christelijke geest langzamerhand als een zuurdeesem de geheele streek moet doordringen".

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. Frans van Lith, "Hoe kan het onderwijs de Missie dienen?" in A. Hermus and A. de Wit (eds.), op. cit., pp. 98-100.

alumnae of *Mendut* enjoyed a good image and position in society, and they played a great role in promoting solid Catholic families. It is not an exaggeration to say that they were the pillars of the first Catholic generation<sup>31</sup>.

The progress of the mission schools at Muntilan was not less encouraging than the sister-school at Mendut. The final aim of Father van Lith, however, was not only to have subsidy from the government. He wanted the mission schools at Muntilan to be recognized by the government, that is, their diplomas to be recognized as equal to those of the governmental schools. For this very ambitious objective Father van Lith had to be able to show to the government that he had a group of qualified teachers. The students had shown the good results in the final exams which were organized by the government. The number of qualified teachers at Muntilan, however, was far from sufficient. To maintain the good achievement Father van Lith, Mertens and van Velzen had to work very hard. Moreover, Father van Lith and Mertens had to give catechism too<sup>32</sup>.

Father van Lith had reported the shortage of teachers at Muntilan to the Jesuit General and Provincial. Father Mertens, in his capacity as the superior for the Javanese mission, described the promising works among the Javanese. Then he earnestly urged the Provincial to send more missionaries for the Javanese mission<sup>33</sup>. Thanks to the constant information about progress from Muntilan, the long desire of Father van Lith to have some scholastics for his schools finally came to realization. In 1907 Father General Franz

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<sup>31</sup> The history of the *Mendut* and the role of the alumnae of this school were well documented in a historical novel. It was composed by the alumnae of *Mendut* and was edited by Mangunwijaya. See Y.B. Mangunwijaya, *Balada Dara-dara Mendut* (Ballad of Mendut's Girls), Kanisius-Yogyakarta, 1993; A. Fisscher, "Aankomst der Zusters," in *St. Claverbond*, 1908, pp. 97-102; M. Timmers, "Toestanden en moeilijkheden te Mendoet," in *Ibidem*, 1913, pp. 1-7; F. v. Amstel, "Meisjes van Mendoet," in *Ibidem*, 1921, pp. 102-106.

<sup>32</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial, Father I. Vogels. Muntilan, December 13, 1908. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.

Wernz already wrote to Muntilan that he would encourage the Dutch Provincial to send some scholastics to the mission<sup>34</sup>. In 1909, after five months of discussion, the Provincial decided to send three scholastics to make their pastoral years at Muntilan, Indonesia<sup>35</sup>.

The presence of the scholastics<sup>36</sup> was a great contribution for the future of schools at Muntilan and also for the Javanese mission in general. According to the idea of Father van Lith, besides teaching at the schools they had to learn the Javanese language and culture. Since they were still young, wrote Father van Lith, they could do more and better than the previous missionaries<sup>37</sup>. The experience showed, however, that the work in the schools hindered them from learning the language for lack of time. Father General himself warned the scholastics on this point<sup>38</sup>.

From September 30, 1910 to March 18, 1911 Father Isidorus Vogels, the Dutch Provincial, made an official visit to Indonesia; it was the first visit of a Dutch Provincial since the mission of Indonesia was entrusted to the Dutch Jesuits. He came to Indonesia with two priests and three new scholastics for Muntilan. When he visited Muntilan and saw the real situation, he proposed that the work at Muntilan should be the main ministry of the Jesuits in

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<sup>34</sup> Father General F. Wernz to J. Mertens. Rome, June 14, 1907. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 1.

<sup>35</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [Vogels]. Muntilan, December 13, 1908. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 1; "Consultationes". Katwijk, February 4; Amsterdam, March 9; Den Haag, May 11, June 8, and July 7, 1909. *Ibidem*, 1c, nn. 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 (under subtitle of P. Isidorus Vogels); E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Surabaya, August 23, 1910. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang.

<sup>36</sup> The names of the first three Dutch Jesuit scholastics are Adrianus van Kalken, Leopoldus van Rijckevorsel, and Bartolomeus Hagdorn.

<sup>37</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 9, and [at the beginning of March], 1902; and March 6, 1904. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; "Consultationes". Oudenbosch, April 18, 1904; Den Haag, January 15, 1906. *ANPJ*, 1c, nn. 19 and 42 (under subtitle G. Swart); Katwijk, February 4, 1909. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 4 (under subtitle I. Vogels).

<sup>38</sup> E. Engbers to Father Provincial [van Oppenraaij]. Surabaya, October 18, 1914. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 34; J. Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [C. Raaymakers]. Yogyakarta, June 13, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 19.

Indonesia<sup>39</sup>. While the Dutch Provincial was still in Indonesia, on December 2, 1910 Father General Franz Wernz elevated the *Kweekschool* at Muntilan to become Xavier College. Father Mertens was appointed as the first rector<sup>40</sup>.

With the faculty of five priests, six scholastics, one brother and some indigenous teachers, Father van Lith sent a request of the recognition for his *Kweekschool-B*. The request was made possible by the new regulation declared by the Minister of Colony: once the private school received the governmental subsidy, it was also entitled to have official recognition<sup>41</sup>. For this reason, Father van Lith had to go to Bogor many times to meet the Governor General A. F. van Idenburg (1909-1916) in person<sup>42</sup>. His tireless effort was not in vain. On October 16, 1911 the *Kweekschool-B* at Muntilan received an official visit of the Governor General. A month later, in November, the first four students of the *Kweekschool-B* had their final exams, and all passed with brilliant results. And on June 25, 1912 the *Kweekschool-B* at Muntilan got the official recognition, effectus civilis<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Malang, September 1, 1909. *AAJAK*, Map Muntilan; See also: the *Diarium*, the *Relatio*, and the letters of Father Isidorus Vogels concerning with his official visit to Indonesia. *ANPJ*, Map 174, fasc. I, nn. 1-10.

<sup>40</sup> In the Jesuit *Catalogus Provinciae Neerlandicae* was written "Collegium inchoatum", the beginning college. Only in 1920 did it become "Collegium Xaverianum."

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. The promise of the Minister of Colony, De Waal Malefijt regarding the *Kweekschool*. The session of the *Eerste Kamer* (the Upper Chamber): Friday, December 30, 1910.

<sup>42</sup> Good relation between the two can be observed from the personal letters of the Governor General to Father van Lith. *Jesuit Archives of the Indonesian Province (JAIP)*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>43</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [Isidorus Vogels]. Muntilan, November 2, 1911 and April 30, 1912. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. I, nn. 10 and 11.

## 1.2. THE PROGRESS AND DIFFICULTIES

Some political events at the first decades of the twentieth century influenced, in a certain sense, the destiny of the schools at Muntilan. The victory of the Japanese army over the Russians in 1905 had influence beyond the boundaries of the countries. The spirit of political emancipation became a new phenomenon in the Asian countries, which were mostly still under the colonization. In Indonesia, the natives asked for more schools and better education; and better education meant a western education, that is, the Dutch language as medium of instruction<sup>44</sup>.

Then A.F. van Idenburg, the former Minister of Colony, became the new Governor General (1909-1916). His positive position towards the private schools was well known even when he was still in his office as the Minister of Colony. According to him, in the matter of education the role of the government was supplementary<sup>45</sup>. In the meanwhile, with the growing extension of the Dutch authority in Indonesia, the need of native administrators with a western education also increased. Therefore, the possibility of being the governmental officials, which before was exclusively a hereditary question, now was based on the achievement in education<sup>46</sup>. All natives had the same opportunity, and good education was the means to find a place in the governmental office. The native education, however, was limited to the elite; only the families which had enough money were able to send their children to the schools:

*"After one hundred and thirty years of education, we are still faced with the same problems: education should promote economic development, it should enable people to improve their way of life, it should help them to find*

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<sup>44</sup> Cfr. I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's-Gravenhage, 1938, p.290; Robert van Neil, *The emergence of the modern Indonesian elite*, Dordrecht-Holland, 1984, p. 72.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. S.L. van der Wal, *Education Policy in the Netherlands-Indies 1900-1940*, Groningen, 1963, pp. 161-179.

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. Robert van Niel, op. cit., p. 75.

a better job, and to reach a higher level of social integration, etc"<sup>47</sup>.

The schools of Father van Lith at Muntilan and Mendut were practically the only private schools which corresponded with the requirement of the time. The fact that they were Catholic schools was beyond consideration; the personality of Father van Lith and his sincere love for the Javanese overcame all barriers. The youth from neighbouring towns such as Solo, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Magelang, etc. came to Muntilan with one desire: to have a good education and then a better job.

In 1912 Father Mertens registered that there were 350 external and 150 internal students at Muntilan<sup>48</sup>. Two years before, the Dutch Provincial, Father I. Vogels, who visited Muntilan in October 1910, described the situation of the schools from another point of view. He appreciated the missionaries at Muntilan not only for the number of converts but also for their efforts to maintain the contacts of the students with their own people and culture:

*"This year the school will be complete with six classes, and the number of boys about 115. If all classrooms are ready the school can have 140 boys [...]*

*Last Friday there were 53 boys who did the entrance exams, but the school could only take 28 of them because the number of students cannot be over 115. Up to now these boys came as Moslems and almost all of them became Catholics. Also most of the 28 newcomers are still Moslems.*

*An interesting thing which I found in this school is that the missionaries here left the boys free to preserve what they will and they can. They give the boys freedom. First of all the boys are not educated as Europeans, but as indigenous in every aspect. Sometimes they go to the market to buy fruits or local food, so*

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<sup>47</sup> H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country. A history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia*, Assen-The Netherlands, 1974, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [Is. Vogels]. Muntilan, April 12, 1912. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 11.

that they keep the contact with their people [...]"<sup>49</sup>.

In the meantime, the governmental policy on the indigenous education was again discussed. The Director of the Department of Education in Indonesia, G.A.J. Hazeu, suspected the Christian missions of using education for religious propaganda<sup>50</sup>. Then the Minister of Colony, Pleitje, requested the Royal approval to make religion as an optional subject in the subsidized private schools. Briefly speaking, the Dutch government in Indonesia would subsidize the private schools only as long as they were "neutral," that is, "non-confessional."

For Father van Lith, the revision of the governmental subsidy was the question of "to be or not to be". Immediately he discussed the issue with Governor General van Idenburg. The Governor General told Father van Lith that the question would determine the future of Christian schools in Indonesia<sup>51</sup>. He himself was against the revision, but his position hindered him to interfere on the idea of G.A.J. Hazeu, and therefore he recommended Father van Lith to go to the Netherlands. Then the Governor General wrote to Father van Lith that all parliament members of the Christian parties should unite and oppose to the idea of G.A.J. Hazeu which was against the

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<sup>49</sup> Isidorus Vogels to the Jesuit Fathers at Oudenbosch. Muntilan, October 24, 1910. *Ibidem.*, Map 174, fasc. I, no. 3, "Verleden Vrijdag was er vergelijkend examen van 53, die zich aangemeld hadden, van welke er slechts 28 konden opgenomen worden, omdat men tot het getal 115 gestegen was. Deze jongens kwamen tot nu toe als Mahomedanen hier en bekeerden bijna allen. Die 28 nieuwen, die aangenomen werden, zijn ook allen, misschien een enkele uitgezonderd, nog Mahomedaan.

Wat gebruiken en gewoonten hier op de school betreft, nu daar nog een enkel woord over te zeggen: men laat, wat dit punt betreft, de jongens behouden, wat zij gaarne willen en kunnen behouden. Vooreerst worden zij volstrekt niet opgevoed als Europeanen, maar als inlanders, in allerlei opzicht. Wat zeer te prijzen is. Zoo zijn er op 't oogenblik velen naar passer of markt om 't een en ander te koop van de dertig cent, die elk per maand te verteeren krijgt. Ze koop van eigenaardige Indische eetwaren of vruchten voor, of snoepgoed of na een tijdje sparen een mooi baaitje, enz."

<sup>50</sup> Governor General A.F. van Idenburg to F. van Lith. Buitenzorg [Bogor], October 2, 1913. *JAIP*, Map van Lith.

<sup>51</sup> Governor General A.F. van Idenburg to F. van Lith. Buitenzorg [Bogor], October 18, 1913. *Ibidem*, Map van Lith.

Christian schools among the natives. In the meanwhile, the Governor General promised that he would negotiate with the leaders of the Christian parties in the Netherlands<sup>52</sup>.

The importance of the issue impelled the *Superior Missionis* to convoke the mission consult. The consult agreed that Father van Lith should go to the Netherlands to provide information for the members of parliament<sup>53</sup>. While the *Superior Missionis* informed the Dutch Provincial about the question and the proposals suggested by the Governor General and waited for the answer, he asked Father van Lith to prepare the outlines of the issue<sup>54</sup>. The question ended happily. Father van Lith did not go to the Netherlands, and his presence was important for the schools at Muntilan during this uncertain situation. In 1917, the Dutch government decided to continue the subsidy for public and private schools<sup>55</sup>.

While Father van Lith and the *Superior Missionis* were busy with the question of subsidy, in fact, the *Kweekschool-B* at Muntilan had another problem. Having enough qualified members of faculty was the corollary of the subsidy which the school had received. At this point Father van Lith and Father E. Engbers were disappointed with the quality of the scholastics. They did not have teacher diplomas. Then twice they had exams for a diploma, but always failed<sup>56</sup>. In the meantime, the only scholastic who already possessed the diploma had to return to the Netherlands to pursue

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<sup>52</sup> G.G. van Idenburg to F. van Lith. Cipanas, January 28, 1914. *Ibidem*, Map van Lith.

<sup>53</sup> F. van Lith to Father E. Engbers. Muntilan, November 12, 1914. *Ibidem*, Map van Lith; F. van Lith to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, March 18, 1916. *ANPJ*, Dossier 324 (van Lith); E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, December 5, 1914; Yogyakarta, January 9, 1915. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang.

<sup>54</sup> E. Engbers (including the outlines of the issue written by Father van Lith) to Father Provincial [van Oppenraaij]. Surabaya, December 7, 1914. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 35.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. Horst Lademacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-341.

<sup>56</sup> E. Engbers to Father Provincial [Is. Vogels]. Semarang, May 25, 1913; Surabaya, October 18, 1914 and Malang, November 14, 1915. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. I, nn. 7, 34 and 40; F. van Lith to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, March 18, 1916. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith).



his study of theology. For the future of the schools at Muntilan, Father van Lith proposed to the Provincial to send scholastics with teacher diploma<sup>57</sup>. Momentarily the problem was solved with the return of Father A. van Kalken to Muntilan in 1917; he was one of the first scholastics who came to Indonesia in 1909<sup>58</sup>.

The other questions came from the Jesuit missionaries. The first question was about the tension between the work in schools and the direct contact with the Javanese. The increasing number of boys who wanted to enter Muntilan, the growing number of the graduated, and the massive converts demanded the presence of more missionaries. In 1910 the Dutch Provincial proposed that the schools at Muntilan should remain the priority for the Jesuits in Indonesia. In the course of time, however, the missionaries at Muntilan were accused of having neglected the direct contact with the people. They justified their less contact with the people outside of schools by the fact that they were already overburdened with the work for schools<sup>59</sup>.

The question revived the previous idea of Father van Lith: to reinforce the members of the faculty with the indigenous laymen. For the future of the Catholic schools, in 1900 he had suggested to Mgr. Luypen to send a Catholic layman to the Netherlands<sup>60</sup>. Now his proposal was much broader. He proposed to the Dutch Jesuits to open an *Apostolic School* in the Netherlands for the needs of Indonesia. The *Apostolic School* would prepare personnel who wanted to work in

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<sup>57</sup> E. Engbers to Father Provincial [van Oppenraaij]. Surabaya, October 18, 1914. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 34; "Consultationes". Den Haag, September 29, 1915. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 6 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

<sup>58</sup> E. Engbers to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Surabaya, July 19 and 27, 1915. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, nn. 39 and 40.

<sup>59</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, July 24, 1915. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 3; E. Engbers to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Surabaya, July 19, 1915; Muntilan, March 17, 1916. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, nn. 39 and 48; Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beuker]. Yogyakarta, March 21, 1920. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 15; G. Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaymakers]. Muntilan December 31, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 2.

<sup>60</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February, 1900. *AAJAK*, Map Muntilan.

Indonesia and would give space also for the Indonesians<sup>61</sup>. Since there were more and more new Dutch Orders/ Congregations who worked in Indonesia, Father van Lith maintained that the proposal was feasible. For the problems of finance and personnel, however, the Jesuit General did not agree to the proposal<sup>62</sup>.

About the less participation of the Jesuits at Muntilan in the direct contact with the Javanese, Father van Lith placed it in the context of a broader question. He regretted the fact that very few Jesuits learnt the Javanese language. Those who learnt the language well were usually also those who were involved in education. While the Protestants intensified their missionary work, many priests limited their works only among the European community<sup>63</sup>. For the future of the mission, this fact was deplorable. He did not deny that some missionaries at Muntilan, Father Mertens for example, never visited the villages. However, although Father van Lith wrote that he did not want to provoke another discussion, he deplored the accusation "*all go to Muntilan*"<sup>64</sup>. The schools at Muntilan were not the cause of the conflict of priority.

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<sup>61</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, September 28, 1914 and Nijmegen, December 29, 1914. *ANPJ*, 1c, nn. 2 and 5 (under subtitle van Oppenraaij).

<sup>62</sup> "Consultationes". Katwijk, May 18, 1915. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 2 (under subtitle Everardus Beukers); F. van Lith to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, March 18, 1916. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith).

<sup>63</sup> F. van Lith [to Father van Oppenraaij, at Rome]. Muntilan, August 8, 1915. *ARSJ*, Ind. Neerl., 2 I 30.

<sup>64</sup> F. van Lith to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, March 18, 1916 and to Father van Oppenraaij. Muntilan, August 8, 1915. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith): "Al onze scholastieken zijn zwak behalve Diderich; ook de priesters zijn als leerkrachten zwak en zelfs zoo is Moentilan de schrik van de geheele missie, die roept: "Alles gaat naar Moentilan." Het ziet er met de krachten onzer missie treurig uit."

### 1.3. OTHER ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OF MUNTILAN

The good achievement of the mission schools at Muntilan and Mendut could not be separated from the role of Father van Lith. His understanding of the question of the native education and his great interest in the Javanese language and culture were well known. The government in its attempts to raise the standard of native education considered him to be an authoritative source in the matter. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the congresses on native education or language which were organized by the government his preliminary advices frequently appeared<sup>65</sup>.

In 1916, in his capacity as a member of the *Commission of the Native Education* he was sent to Manila in the Philippines to make a comparative study<sup>66</sup>. Then the Christian members of parliament in the Netherlands invited him to attend the *Colonial Education Congress* in August, 1916 at Den Haag. Although the Dutch Provincial and the *Superior Missionis* knew well the significance of his presence, the condition at Muntilan prevented his leaving<sup>67</sup>. Then they asked that, at least, Father van Lith would send his opinions on two issues which the congress would discuss<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Some of the important congresses were (1) at Batavia, 1917: congress of the education; (2) at Solo, July 5-7, 1918: congress of the development of the Javanese culture; (3) at Solo, December 26, 1919 - January 13, 1920: the first congress of the Javanese linguistic and anthropology; (4) at Solo, October 7-9, 1924: congress of the Javanese language; (5) at Yogyakarta, December 24-27, 1924: congress of the Java Institute.

<sup>66</sup> Cfr. Frans van Lith, "Mijn Manila-reis," in *Mededeelingen van de Nederlandse Provincie*, 1922, pp. 30-34, 71-75, and 107-110.

<sup>67</sup> Father Provincial to the *Superior Missionis* [E. Engbers]. Den Haag, January 20, 1916; E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Surabaya, March 11 and May 8; Muntilan, March 20, 1916. AAJAK, Map Semarang.

<sup>68</sup> The first issue consisted of two questions: (1) which are the guiding principles of the education regarding the Christian mission for the benefit of the non-European inhabitants? (2) how is the relation between the Government and Mission regarding the education? The second issue consisted of three questions: (1) To the teachers who belong to the non-European inhabitants, is it necessary to be granted the education in the Dutch language? (2) Is it necessary for them to pursue their study in the Netherlands? (3) How to manage it?

His active presence was momentarily interrupted when he had to return to the Netherlands for medical treatment (1921-1924). His unpublished manuscripts, his participations in some meetings and debates on the native education and the native affairs permitted us to trace back his ideas and position on these issues<sup>69</sup>. It should be remembered that in the midst of his busy times at Muntilan and the congresses, he had another activity which was not less important for the future of the Catholic Church: the "pastoral" visit to the alumni of Muntilan.

### 1.3.1. *The Pastoral Visit to the Alumni*

The contacts of Father van Lith with his students were not limited to their stay at Muntilan. The contacts still continued through letters or personal visits. In the frame of his mission programmes, visiting the alumni was necessary. Practically all of the alumni of Muntilan were new converts. For them the departure from Muntilan meant leaving the Catholic surroundings, and entering into the "real" circumstances where the Catholic religion was still extraneous. The Javanese did not have any idea of Christianity. At the beginning, for instance, the Catholics were suspected to be cannibals because "they drank blood and ate human flesh during the religious service (the Eucharist)." After their death, therefore, the Catholics would become wild boars as was described by Joesak Sastradwidja, one of the first students:

*"In the course of time the works of Father van Lith continued to grow. Although he was busy with his schools, he continued to give catechism in the villages.*

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<sup>69</sup> Most of his manuscripts were without indication of date or place. They were: (1) "Het doel van het Katholieke Bijzonder Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië"; (2) "Opgaven omtrent de R.K. Kweekschool te Moentilan"; (3) "Het Indische Kind Opvoeding"; (4) "Maleisch uit de school"; (5) "Algemeene denkbeelden over Indisch Onderwijs en speciaal Maleisch tegenover de Landstaal"; (6) "De Herziening der Lager Onderwijs"; (7) "De Muloschool in haar betrekking tot de verschillende volksgroepen in Nederlandsch Indië"; (8) "Wat kan gedaan worden om de opvoedkundige waarde van het Onderwijs voor het Indische kind te verhoogen".

Now he had new concerns: his alumni. The alumni were spread out in the remote and isolated places as if they lived in the foreign country. Why? For their religion. For the Javanese, the Catholic religion was still so extraneous: the Catholics would become wild boars when they died, separated from their relatives"<sup>70</sup>.

In many remote villages these "odd" ideas about the Catholic religion are still alive up to the present time. The visit of Father van Lith in this kind of circumstances, therefore, had pastoral meaning: to encourage them to persevere in their faith in the midst of the non-Christian society. These new converts still needed to learn to answer many difficult questions concerning their new religion. Although Father van Lith had only little time and the alumni lived in remote places, he immediately visited them if he thought that his presence would bring more benefit:

*"For his great love towards his children, he left his school work in order to be close to those in need. And when he heard that one of them was in great difficulty, without counting the distance of the place, he would visit him immediately"*<sup>71</sup>.

For the Catholic Church in Java, the pastoral visits of Father van Lith to his alumni brought another advantage. Father van Lith could have direct contacts with more people in the villages where the alumni lived. His knowledge of the language, his sincere love

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<sup>70</sup> "Joesak Sastradwidja," p. [24], "Wiwit kala samanten pakarjanipoen rama v. Lith, saja mindhak kathah, kadjawi tindak dhateng doesoan, moelang wonnten ing dalem. Poetra poeroehitanipoen sampoen wiwit soemebar dhateng sanès panggènan, poenika inggih taksih dados panggalianipoen rama; awit poetra ingkang soemebar wae, kados laré kapentjil. Laré ingkang soemebar wae, gesangipoen prasasat soemlempit wonten satengahing bangsa sanès. Saking poenapa? Boten lija saking agamanipoen, tijang djawi taksih tjemeri-tjeri sanget dhateng bangsa kristen. Saking sangeting sengit, jèn raraosan dhateng kantjanipoen, makaten: "Bangsa kristen ikoe jèn mati dadi tjëlèng. Ora bisa awor karo sanak sadoeloeré"; see also I.J. Kasimo, "Lain dulu lain sekarang. Sedjenak mengenang perdjoangan almarhum Rama F. van Lith," in *Hidup Katolik*, XVII (19), 12 Mei 1963, p. 225.

<sup>71</sup> "Joesak Sastradwidja", [p. 25], "Saking genging sih tresna dhateng poetra, sanadijan pakarjanipoen katah, éwa déné meksa njelak-njelakaken tindak noewèni dhateng poetra ingkang soemebar wae. Langkoeng-langkoeng bilih dipoen atoeri poetra ingkang batihipoen sakit sanget, tebiha, tjelaka, temtoe dipoen perlokaken rawoeh".

for the Javanese, his high respect for people impressed those he met. At the time of colonization, the attitude of Father van Lith - a Dutchman - towards the natives was extraordinary<sup>72</sup>. Therefore, when the *Superior Missionis* suggested that he should recover his health in the Netherlands in 1921, some natives interpreted the decision of the *Superior Missionis* as a punishment for his kindness towards the Javanese:

"Mister van Lith could not be a Dutchman. Only his appearance was like a Dutchman, but he was wholly Javanese. If he was Dutchman he must have behaved differently; looked for his own interest or for his nation. Mister van Lith was not so. He was always in favour of the Javanese. His kindness towards the natives has been judged to be too much and therefore he was punished, returning to the Netherlands"<sup>73</sup>.

Then, to persevere the contacts among the alumni the Easter and Christmas feasts were the occasion of reunion at Muntilan. For some alumni those feast days were the only opportunity to receive the sacraments. To meet the "founding Fathers" of the Xavier College, Fathers van Lith and Mertens, was the main motive of these spontaneous reunions<sup>74</sup>. Therefore, after the death of Father J. Mertens on April 17, 1922 and then Father van Lith on January 9, 1926, these spontaneous reunions also faded away.

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<sup>72</sup> Cfr. NN, "In memoriam Pastoor van Lith," in *DJAWA*, VI (1926), p. 57. Three of the first Indonesian Jesuits confirmed his praiseworthy attitude. Petrus Darmasepoetra described him as a Jesuit who had the spirit of the Good Shepherd, Frans Satiman called him as the Father of the Javanese Catholics, and Albertus Soegijapranata, then the first Indonesian Bishop emphasized his extraordinary personality.

<sup>73</sup> "Joesak Dwidjasastra", p. [31], "Toewan v. Lith ikoe sadjatiné doedoe walanda, woedjoedé baé walanda, satemené djawa djekèk; jèn ora, mangsa mangkonoa tindaké sing loemrah, wong ikoe makolèhaké awaké dhéwé lan bangsané; mangka toewan v. Lith ora mangkono. Tradjangé moeng ngarah soepaja bangsa djawa madjoe, lan moenggah dradjadé. Awit saking kebangeten anggoné ngréwangi bangsa djawa, nganti dioelihaké menjang nagara walanda satahoen, perloe nampani paoekoeman".

<sup>74</sup> Cfr. Albertus Soegijapranata, "Onze Emancipator als Opvoeder," manuscript which was written in memory of the death of Father van Lith. Oudenbosch, February, 1926, [p. 5].

### 1.3.2. *Defending the Private Schools*

Since the foundation of the Prefecture of Batavia in 1808, the Freemasonry continued to obstruct the influence of the Catholic Church. The first letter of the Jesuit missionaries in Indonesia which clearly mentioned their presence was the letter of Father A.P. Smit. In 1873 he told Father Provincial van Gulick that the Freemasons had opened a school at Padang, West Sumatra<sup>75</sup>. Some years later, the letters from Padang showed that the situation did not change much. The letter of Father A.P. Smit in 1890, for example, described that the Freemasons tried to defame the Sisters who had opened the school at Padang in 1885. At the beginning, their efforts seemed to be successful. A few months later, however, they had to close their own school because the people preferred to send their children to the school of the Sisters<sup>76</sup>.

On the question of the indigenous education, the Freemasons strongly opposed the confessional schools. Once they proposed to the government to give subsidy only to the public schools and not the private. Their argumentation was that the government had to be neutral and, therefore, on the question of native education should support only the neutral school. The preliminary advice of Father van Lith at the congresses of the native education showed clearly his vision and position in these issues, as will be clear below.

To those who opposed the confessional schools Father van Lith responded that the government could not claim the native education to be its own duty. If the government wanted to elevate the native education, the multiplication of the public schools was not the only solution. The government had to count on the participation of

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<sup>75</sup> A.P. Smit to Father Provincial [van Gulick]. Padang, August 23, 1873. *Ibidem*, Dossier 335, I, no. 38a.

<sup>76</sup> A.P. Smit to Father Provincial [Heynen]. Padang, January 20, 1890. *Ibidem*, Dossier 335, I, no. 38a; Mgr. Claessens to F. Heynen. Batavia, November 24, 1887. *AAJAK*, L 6; A.P. Smit, "De zusterschool te Padang," in *St. Claverbond*, 1892/I, pp. 14-15.

the private schools. Through their schools, the Catholics wanted to take part also in the progress and the education of the Javanese people<sup>77</sup>.

Father van Lith opposed the idea that the public schools had to be absolutely neutral. He was convinced that the neutrality of the public schools was a great lie because, he said, the absolute neutrality in the education did not exist<sup>78</sup>. It was the propaganda of the non-Christian world view, the ideology of the Left, and more precisely the idea of the Freemasons. The Freemasons always accused the private schools of having used the education for religious propaganda; in fact they wanted to cancel the religious instruction from the public schools. Father van Lith, on the other hand, was convinced that it was impossible to educate children without the principles of a certain religion or philosophy. Therefore, the public schools, where the students from any religion met, were the most favourable place for the children to learn tolerance and to appreciate the other religions. Then Father van Lith emphasized that it was the duty of all religions to advance truth, wisdom, and light leaving behind stupidity and darkness, and not with other weapons<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>77</sup> Cfr. "Het Doel van het Katholieke Bijzonder Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië"; E. Engbers (with the supplementary letter of Father van Lith to him) to Father Provincial [van Oppenraaij]. Surabaya, December 7, 1914. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 35.

<sup>78</sup> Cfr. "Het Doel van het Katholieke Bijzonder Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië,"; "Opgaven omtrent de R.K. Kweekschool te Moentilan".

<sup>79</sup> Cfr. "Het Indische Kind Opvoeding": "Wanneer dan ook gezegd wordt, dat zedelijke opvoeding niet mogelijk is zonder een bepaalden godsdienstigen of wijsgeerigen grondslag dan wordt daarmee bedoeld, dat op den langen duur en bij een volk of groote menschengroep een zedelijke vorming, die geen vasten bodem onder zich heeft van zelf te niet moet gaan en in den modden wegzinken. Uit het bovenstaande vollen dan te trekken twee gewichtige besluiten. Het eerste is, dat wij bij de groote verdeeldheid omtrent de wereldorde waarin wij leven, en nu streven moeten de kinderen van een bepaalde godsdienstige of wijsgeerige richting op een zelfde school bijeen te brengen, maar dan tevens zorg te dragen, dat zij leeren waarderend en verdraagzaam samen te leven met andersdenkenden. Het tweede is, dat allen beseffen leeven den grooten plicht van het geheele menschelijk geslacht om te komen tot de juiste en ware kennis der bestaande wereldorde, waarin wij allen leven. De lengen de domheid en de duisternis moeten bestreden worden door de waarheid, de wijsheid en het licht en door geen ander wapen."



Father van Lith persistently opposed the absolute neutrality of the education. Following the practice of the Catholic schools, however, Father van Lith agreed with the neutral character of education in the sense that the schools admitted the students from any religion. According to Father van Lith, the natives and the Javanese in particular -because of their natural religious sense- preferred this kind of school<sup>80</sup>. The religious character of the private schools, he said, guaranteed the moral education of their students. In practice, for example, the Catholic schools in Java gave the religious instruction to their non-Catholic students as long as their parents permitted it.

### 1.3.2. *Defending the Javanese Language*

Another question which Father van Lith tried to defend with all his efforts was the preservation of the Javanese language. He knew that the young generation had little interest in the Javanese language. And now the government had a new proposal: to introduce the Malay language, the *lingua franca* at the coasts of Indonesia and Malaysia, in schools. Father van Lith fiercely criticized the proposal because in his eyes Malay language was a menace for the Javanese culture; once the Malay was taught in schools the Javanese language would vanish<sup>81</sup>. His criticism was not towards Malay in itself, but rather for its practical application. It was difficult for the students to learn three languages contemporary: Javanese, Dutch, and Malay.

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<sup>80</sup> E. Engbers (with the supplementary letter of Father van Lith to him) to Father Provincial (van Oppenraaij). Surabaya, December 7, 1914. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Cfr. Frans van Lith, "De Inlandsche Normaalschool. Het Bolwerk der Inlandsche Taalcultuur," in *Katholiek Schoolblad*, July 30, 1918; *Ibidem*, "De nationale spraakkunst," in the *Congres van het Java-Instituut*. Yogyakarta, December 24-27, 1924; "Het Indische kind opvoeding": "Nu is het ook het Nederlandsch onder één opzicht van de nationale taalkunst een ramp, maar een ramp, die als bindmiddel met de cultuur van het Westen tegelijk is een zegen. Het Maleisch evenwel als derde taal op de school is de dood van de Javaansche cultuur en daarom zelf ter doode opgeschreven."

In the meanwhile, Malay became a more and more important weapon to maintain the national identity among the Indonesian movements. It was the common and the only possible medium of communication in the meetings. Not all of them were Javanese and therefore not all of them knew the Javanese language. Most of them knew the Dutch language but they did not want to use it in their meetings. On the other hand, Father van Lith was convinced that Malay would never develop in Indonesia. The Dutch language would replace Malay. In the congresses of the Javanese language he provocatively reminded the Javanese to defend their identity and their future by cancelling Malay from the schools. Then he added that "a nation which does not have their own literature will remain the nation of the second class"<sup>82</sup>.

Instead of introducing Malay in schools Father van Lith preferred to promote the knowledge of the Dutch language among the students. He said that the Dutch language enabled the students to have more contacts with the other worlds: culturally, politically, and scientifically. For the native students, the Dutch language was "the language of development." If the Javanese language vanished, it was not because of the policy of the government, he emphasized, but rather because the Javanese themselves did not know how to appreciate their own literature<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Cfr. "Maleisch uit de school,"; "Algemeene denkbeelden over Indisch Onderwijs en speciaal Maleisch tegenover de Landstaal"; "Het Indische Kind Opvoeding,"; "Welnu, zoo is het, mijn heeren, als er geen ontwikkelde Inlanders meer zijn, die hun eigen nationale taalkunst op de hoogte houden door kan gestadig omhoog te heffen, dan is die kunst ten doode opgeschreven en met die eerste alles kunsten, geen vele ander ten grave. Een volk, dat geen eigen taalkunst heeft, zooals de Vlamingen, wordt doordan in elk opzichten een tweede klas volk."

<sup>83</sup> Cfr. Frans van Lith, "De Inlandsche Normaalschool. Het Bolwerk der Inlandsche Taalcultuur," in *Katholiek Schoolblad*, July 30, 1918: "De Ilerlingen der H.I.S. hebben hun toekomst liggen in het Nederlandsch. Hoe beter Nederlandsch zij kennen, hoe meer zij groeien in ontwikkeling, hoe betere positie zij zullen bekleeden in de maatshappij."

#### 1.4. THE XAVIER COLLEGE AT MUNTILAN: SHOULD IT BE ABANDONED?

On February 24, 1918, Father Jos Hoeberechts succeeded Father M. Engbers as the *Superior Missionis* (1918-1927). During these nine years some decisive events occurred in the mission of Indonesia. In 1922 the Jesuits opened the novitiate at Yogyakarta<sup>84</sup>. Then, after abandoning completely the works outside of Java (1919), the Jesuits also confined their missionary works to some parts of Central Java and Jakarta thanks to the arrival of the other Congregations such as Lazarists (CM), Carmelites (OCarm), MSC, and OSC. In 1925 the Minor Seminary was opened at Yogyakarta. It was under the authority of the Vicar of Batavia and replaced the seminary which had been started by the Jesuits at Muntilan in 1911. Finally on August 15, 1926 the first Indonesian Jesuit, Franciscus Xaverius Satiman, was ordained to the priesthood at Maastricht.

Unhappy events were not lacking. Two Jesuits who were known as the founders of the Javanese mission died, Father Mertens on April 17, 1922 and Father van Lith on January 9, 1926. While the missionary work among the Javanese flourished, the conflict with the Jesuits who worked for the Europeans became more bitter. Then Father Jos Hoeberechts himself was responsible for another annoying debate which was long and fierce. As the *Superior Missionis*, without any precedent, he proposed to hand over the Xavier College at Muntilan to the *Broeders van Maastricht* (Fratres Immacolatae Conceptionis, FIC), the new religious congregation who were dedicated to work in education.

The initial period of Father Jos Hoeberechts as the *Superior Missionis* was marked by an increasing number of converts among the Javanese. In many places the people asked for instruction in the catechism. The community of Muntilan which in 1920 consisted of eleven priests, four scholastics, and two brothers -ironically- showed another direction. Contacts with the people in the villages

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<sup>84</sup> This topic will be treated in the next part, The Formation of the Indigenous Clergy.

nearly faded away<sup>85</sup>. In his capacity as the *Superior Missionis* Father Hoeberechts saw that the main cause was the rector, Father Mertens; he had been too long in his place. In his letter to the Provincial, Father Hoeberechts wrote that replacing the rector seemed to be the best solution:

*"In my recent letter to Father General I suggested three names as the candidates for new rector [of Muntilan]. After my visit I became more convinced that a new rector is needed, the sooner the better"*<sup>86</sup>.

Father Hoeberechts knew that in 1910 Father I. Vogels, who was then the Dutch Provincial, proposed to keep the schools at Muntilan as the main missionary work of the Jesuits in Indonesia. Ten years later, Father Hoeberechts wrote that the changing situation in the mission also required the schools at Muntilan to adapt themselves. At least the Jesuits should not neglect the new demands:

*"Now, the location of our college is in the heart of the Javanese mission. According to me our college has to be the most influential center for the whole region, the core of the Christian communities. Unfortunately, nothing happens there"*<sup>87</sup>.

From his annual visit, Father Hoeberechts realized that there was a tension of priority between the school works and going out to the villages. Father van Lith who was very busy with many works, however, still found time to give catechism in the villages. Therefore Father Hoeberechts presumed that the problem was not the

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<sup>85</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, March 16, 1920. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 14.

<sup>86</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, March 21, 1920. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 15, "In mijn laatste brief gaf ik drie namen opdat ARPG[eneraal] een keuze zou doen voor een nieuwe Rector. Na mijn visite ben ik nog meer versterkt in de meening dat er een nieuwe rector moet worden aangesteld hoe eer hoe beter".

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, "Nu ligt ons college midden in het hart der Javamissie. Mij dunkt van dat college een kracht uitgaan die de heele omgeving beïnvloedt; daar moet de kern zijn van Christen gemeente. Maar daar is niets van te bespeuren".

shortage of time but rather the lack of missionary spirit among the Jesuits:

*"In the priests' meeting there was complaint that the Fathers in the college did not want to work outside the college anymore. They should be reminded that they are not only teachers but also priests, and therefore they should do the missionary works also.*

*When they heard this complaint, they answered that they had been overburdened. It is a deplorable situation, and in this case I attribute the main responsibility to Father Mertens. He had been a long time in the college but he himself did not give the example, never went out to the villages"<sup>88</sup>.*

In the meantime, the situation in the Javanese mission changed very much. Besides the schools at Muntilan, according to the report of Father van Lith to the Dutch Provincial, there were about twenty other mission schools in Central Java<sup>89</sup>. The number of Jesuits who knew Javanese, however, did not match the increasing number of requests. Without underestimating the significant role of the schools at Muntilan, the *Superior Missionis* proposed to the Dutch Provincial to revise the direction of Muntilan; and, he confirmed his previous letter, the real change would be possible only by appointing a new rector:

*"At this moment the people in Holland only think to bring the Javanese to Christianity. But, what happened here? We have our big college at Muntilan. It cannot be denied that the college gives an excellent education for the young generation; that the alumni of Muntilan spread all over Java as Catholic teachers.*

*For the sake of the Java mission, Muntilan should renew its direction and, therefore, it is necessary to*

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, "In de conferentia sacerdotum heb ik er op aangedrongen dat de priesters meer naar buiten moesten werken, dat men niet alleen onderwijzers maar ook priesters, missionarissen moest zijn.

Nu weet ik wel dat al de paters en fraters van dat college met werk overstelpt zijn. Het is een allertreurigste toestand en ik geef de schuld daarvan voor een groot gedeelte aan P. Mertens, die wel opgaat in het college-werk, maar zelf nooit in de dessa's komt".

<sup>89</sup> F. van Lith to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Amsterdam, May 23, 1921. ANPJ, Dossier 324 (van Lith).

have a new rector. However, it is not my intention to undervalue the role of Muntilan, only to show you the truth"<sup>90</sup>.

It should be remembered that at the same time Father Hoeberechts had to face some other issues: the foundation of a Catholic H.B.S. at Bandung, the opening of the Jesuit novitiate at Yogyakarta, and he himself was appointed by Father General to visit the Jesuits in China.

#### 1.4.1. *The Question of the Catholic Hoogere Burgerschool (H.B.S)*

In 1919, Father J. Muller proposed to Father Jos Hoeberechts, the *Superior Missionis*, to open a *Catholic Hoogere Burgerschool* (H.B.S.), a sort of highschool which prepared the students for university, at Bandung (West Java). A similar proposal had been sent to Rome on the occasion of the visit of Father I. Vogels in 1911. The proposal was not approved by Father General F. Wernz because he did not see its urgency, and was afraid that the foundation of the H.B.S. would only create another difficulty for the Xavier College at Muntilan which was recently founded<sup>91</sup>. It should be remembered that in those years Father van Lith and the *Superior Missionis*, Father E. Engbers, insisted that the Dutch Provincial strengthen the Xavier College with more qualified personnel.

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<sup>90</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogya, March 21, 1920. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 15, "In Holland is men op het oogenblik geducht aan het werk om Java tot het Christendom te brengen. Maar wat gebeurt hier in Indië? Wij hebben ons groot college van Moentilan. Daar wordt uitstekend gezorgd voor de opvoeding der jeugd, het valt niet te ontkennen. De leerlingen van dat colleie gaan later als onderwijzers heel Java over [...]. Wil de Javamissie ooit iets uithalen dan moet Moentilan eenigzins van taktiek veranderen en daarom is noodig een nieuwe rector. Ik schrijf dit niet om den roep die er over Moentilan uitgaat te verkleinen, maar opdat UHEerw. de waarheid zou kennen".

<sup>91</sup> E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Surabaya, October 1, 1911. AAJAK, Map Semarang.

The proposal in 1919 to open the H.B.S. at Bandung created a problem for the *Superior Missionis*, Father Hoeberechts, because very soon the discussion changed to a fierce conflict between two sides: those who worked for the Europeans and those who worked for the natives. Father P. Muller, who represented the position of those who worked for the Europeans, began his arguments by showing that there existed already four H.B.S. for girls, but none for the boys. Then he added that in Java there were also European and Indo-European Catholics, and not only Javanese. The Europeans and Indo-Europeans also had the right to be ministered to, and not always to be considered as the step-children. Moreover, Father P. Muller maintained, the influence of the Europeans was not small and would remain greater than that of the natives:

*"Here in Java there exist not only Javanese, but also Europeans and Indo-Europeans whose influence over the destiny of the natives is prominent and probably will remain powerful. I noted, however, that the mission was more concerned about the Javanese than about the Europeans and Indo-Europeans. We do not have to neglect our own children and of the houses to help the foreigners. We have to do one thing without ignoring another [...]"*

*For the natives we have some normaalscholen, one kweek-school, and next year one muloschool. For the European and Indo-European boys we do not have any secondary school. Our priests and scholastics were available only for the education of the natives"<sup>92</sup>.*

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<sup>92</sup> P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Bandung, July 26, 1922. ANPJ, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 8, "Hier op Java zijn niet alleen Inlanders, maar ook Europeanen en Indo-Europeanen, wier invloed op het lot der Inlanders groot is en hoogst waarschijnlijk ook groot zal blijven. Welnu ik constateer dat, naar verhouding van het aantal katholieken, veel meer en zelfs zeer veel meer werkkrachten der Missie gebezigd worden voor den Javaan dan voor de Europeanen en Indo-Europeanen. Wij hebben niet het recht de kinderen des huizes te verwaarloozen om de vreemdelingen te helpen. Men moet het eene doen en het andere niet laten [...]"

Voor de inlander bestaan normaalscholen, een kweekschool en zal het volgende jaar een Muloschool verrijzen; voor de Europese of Indo-Europese jongens hebben wij geen middelbaar onderwijs. Alleen voor het onderwijs van inlanders hebben wij Priesters en scholastieken beschikbaar gesteld"; see also February 27, 1923 and October 19, 1925. ANPJ, Map 168, fasc. II, nn. 10 and 12.

Father van Lith, who by then was under medical treatment in the Netherlands since 1921, sent his opinions. He supported the position of the *Superior Missionis* that for the moment the H.B.S. was not yet urgent for the Javanese mission. Having more Catholic elementary schools was much more meaningful for the mission and the natives. Only afterwards, he wrote, could the mission think about the secondary schools<sup>93</sup>. Father van Lith added that the question of opening the H.B.S. was not a question of race: European and Native, but rather a question concerning the future of the students. The H.B.S., he wrote, was a school for those who would return to the Netherlands and not for those who would remain in Indonesia:

*"The line which till now distinguishes the European (including Indo-European) blood from the native has to be cancelled. Now the real difference is between those who will return to the Netherlands and those who will remain in Netherland East Indies, between Foreigners and East Indians.*

*After the Catholic elementary schools grow well, only then is it time to think of the secondary schools"*<sup>94</sup>.

At the beginning of 1925, the mission consult did not approve the foundation of the H.B.S. at Bandung. Without neglecting the importance of the youth formation, the consultants of the mission considered that the mission was not ready to have a Catholic H.B.S. for some reasons: (1) the shortage of Jesuits in the Netherlands and in the Javanese mission; (2) to entrust the school to the lay

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<sup>93</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Yogyakarta, November 22, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 30; F. van Lith to Father Schmedding [the Rector of Muntilan]. Katwijk, April 4, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 17; P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, July 26, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 8; Schmedding to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, August 15, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 15.

<sup>94</sup> P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Bandung, July 26, 1922 and November 22, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, nn. 8 and 12, "De streep, die tot nu toe werd getrokken tusschen Europeanen (bastaards inbegrepen) en Inlandsch bloed moet noodzakelijk verdwijnen. Zij moet vallen tusschen de Blijvers en de Trekkers, tusschen Indiërs en Uitheemschen [...]. Wanneer het Katholiek lager onderwijs volgroeid is, dan is het tijd voor de middelbaar scholen".



teachers would be too costly<sup>95</sup>. As a matter of fact there was another reason which accelerated the decision. During those years, the *Superior Missionis* was in negotiations with Rome to hand over some parts of West Java, including Bandung, to the Order of the Holy Cross (*Ordo Sanctae Crucis*, OSC)<sup>96</sup>.

After hearing the opinions of the mission consultors and obtaining some more information from the Department of Education, the *Superior Missionis* decided that the Jesuits would not open the H.B.S. in the mission. The reasons were: (1) the H.B.S. was for the students who would return to the Netherlands; (2) the Jesuits had to prepare the students who would remain in the East-Indies, either Europeans or natives; and therefore (3) instead of the H.B.S. the Jesuits would open a *Catholic A.M.S. (Algemeene Middelbare School)*, a school which also prepared the students for university. According to the government, besides the *MULO (Meer Uitgebreid Lagere Onderwijs)*, the A.M.S. was also a school for the Indies, Europeans and natives<sup>97</sup>.

#### 1.4.2. The Question of the Xavier College

In 1922 the Jesuits opened the novitiate at Yogyakarta. At the same year the Jesuits opened a *Catholic Normalschool* for boys at Ambarawa (Central Java). Then about the same year, the new Vicar of Batavia, Mgr. Antonius van Velsen (1924-1933) also proposed to the *Superior Missionis* to open the Minor Seminary and to entrust it to the Jesuits. As mentioned above, during these times the Jesuits in the mission were occupied with the question of the Catholic H.B.S. at Bandung.

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<sup>95</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, January 5, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 31.

<sup>96</sup> P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, October 19, 1925; Semarang, January, 1926. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, nn. 12 and 13.

<sup>97</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, December 4, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 51.

In the meantime when Father Hoeberechts was in the Netherlands in 1924, he also visited the General Superior of the Brothers of Maastricht, the Dutch religious congregation who had already opened some schools in the mission. He told the General Superior about his idea -purely his own idea in the sense that he had not discussed it yet with the mission consultants- to hand over the Xavier College to the Brothers. He also communicated this idea to the Provincial, Father Ev. Beukers<sup>98</sup>.

When he returned to Indonesia, however, he realized that most of the Jesuits, including the mission consultants and those who worked for the Europeans, opposed the proposal<sup>99</sup>. Neither did Father General W. Ledóchowski approve the transfer. For Father General, the *Superior Missionis* did not give him sufficient and clear reasons for handing over the Xavier College<sup>100</sup>. After the question of the H.B.S. at Bandung was solved, now the *Superior Missionis* had to face another problem: the transfer of the Xavier College.

The reasons of those who opposed the proposal of the *Superior Missionis* were<sup>101</sup>: (1) the formation of the lay teachers was still the most important ministry of the Jesuits in the mission; (2) the lack of priests was not a sufficient reason to hand over the school because the Xavier College needed only two priests, the same number which would be required if the transfer were concluded; (3) the Xavier College was also an ideal ambience for the vocations of the

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<sup>98</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, January 17 and February 14, 1924. *Ibidem*, 1c, nn. 1 and 2 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers); Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, June 3, 1924. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 46.

<sup>99</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, February 19 and September 17, 1925. *Ibidem*, 1c, nn. 13 and 19 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

<sup>100</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogya, February 20, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 47.

<sup>101</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, January 5 and April 20, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, nn. 31 and 32; P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, April 28, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 11; A. van Hoof to Father Provincial. Muntilan, October 4, 1925. *Ibidem*, fasc. III, no. 4.

future native priests.

The reasons of the *Superior Missionis* and those who favoured his idea were: (1) the Jesuits should promote a further step in their ministry, that is, leaving the elementary education to the Brothers and initiate the secondary schools; (2) in the long run, Indonesia would have self-government, and the secondary schools could prepare the future leaders, including the Javanese; (3) the vocations could come also from the schools of the Brothers and the Minor Seminary; (4) since the Jesuits already had the novitiate at Yogyakarta and the *Normaalschool* at Ambarawa, Muntilan was no longer the only place for the Jesuit missionaries to learn the Javanese language<sup>102</sup>.

In his letter of December 12, 1925 to the Provincial, Father Jos Hoeberechts wrote his decisions on some important questions regarding the mission. First, he decided to open the Minor Seminary at Yogyakarta although the permission from the *Propaganda Fide* had not yet arrived. The idea itself came from the Vicar of Batavia who wanted to make the Minor Seminary the center for the whole archipelago:

*"You are pleased to be informed about the opening of the Central Seminary. Rome has not yet decided, but we have started already here at Yogyakarta. Now we have to build a new house because in July it will become too small. Therefore, send us money. But I won't have to manage it because in a short time I won't be the Superior Missionis anymore. My successor will see to it"*<sup>103</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, April 24, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 48; P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, April 28 and October 19, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 11 and 12.

<sup>103</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, December 12, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 52, "Met vreugde vernam UHEerw. de oprichting van een Centraal Seminarie. In dat punt heeft Rome nog niet beslist. Maar wij hebben toch reeds een Seminarie hier te Djokja geopend in een huurhuis. Wij moeten bouwen want in Juli is dat huis te klein. Stuur ons derhalve geld, want het is er in Holland. Ik zal die zaak niet meer hoeven in orde te maken, want tegen die tijd ben ik zeker niet meer aan 't bestuur, maar dat zit mijn opvolger er mee te kijken".

The decision to open the Minor Seminary at Yogyakarta had a practical consequence. The seminarians, who since 1912 lived and were under the guidance of the Jesuits at Muntilan, had to move to Yogyakarta. The *Superior Missionis* also emphasized that the new Minor Seminary was under the authority of the Vicar of Batavia and not the Jesuit mission<sup>104</sup>.

The decision to open the new Minor Seminary at Yogyakarta met practically no objection from the Jesuits in the mission. The second decision, on the question of the handing over the Xavier College, however, the *Superior Missionis* stood alone. Though Father General disapproved the transfer, Father Hoeberechts remained firm in his proposal because he considered the disapproval to be merely misinterpretation<sup>105</sup>. He underestimated the opposition of many Jesuits in the mission. He considered the proposal of transferring the Xavier College to be his own business and excluded the judgement of his Superiors:

*"I asked the rector of Muntilan to write the result of his consult. To the others I won't talk about it [the handing over] because more heads more opinions. You already knew my position on this issue.*

*I hope that the decision on this issue will come soon. Whatever it will be, I am indifferent. This problem is mine and I submit without any reserve the judgement of my Superiors"*<sup>106</sup>.

When he wrote his decision, Father Hoeberechts thought that the problem was over. Then he added, however, that the realization of his decision was still far off and could be unpleasant because

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<sup>104</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, May 15, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 49.

<sup>105</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, February 20, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 47.

<sup>106</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, April 24, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 48, "Aan de rector van Moentilan heb ik verder opgedragen zijn consultoren tot schrijven aan te zetten. Anderen zal ik er maar niet over spreken want zooveel hoofden zooveel zinnen; het is UHEerw genoeg bekend hoe ik over die zaak denk. Ik hoop dat er maar spoedig een beslissing volge. Hoe die beslissing uitvalt is mij onverschillig; ik heb het mijne gedaan en onderwerp mij in deze zonder eenig voorbehoud aan de uitspraak van mijn Superioren".

he also knew that in the mission, the resistance to his proposal was stronger than in the Netherlands:

"On the question of Muntilan I already took a decision, and now for me the case is over. My successor only has to think when the cession will begin. The arrangement of cession would still be a hell for me and probably would be unpleasant. In so far I am glad with the decision taken in the Netherlands"<sup>107</sup>.

The prevision of Father Jos Hoeberechts -that the realization would be unpleasant- was right. The mission consultors proposed that the Dutch Provincial prolong the function of Father Hoeberechts as the *Superior Missionis*. The consultors wrote that the replacement would only create more confusion. At that very moment, only Father Hoeberechts knew in more detail about the questions of the Xavier College and the negotiations of the handing over of the region of West Java to the OSC. The Dutch Provincial approved the proposal of the mission consultors and gave about eighteen months to the *Superior Missionis* to conclude the negotiations<sup>108</sup>.

In 1927 the *Propaganda Fide* erected the Apostolic Prefecture of Bandung and entrusted it to the OSC. Another question -the handing over of the Xavier College to the Brothers of Maastricht- however, was realized only twenty years later. The opposition of the Jesuits in the mission was too strong to be underestimated. The opinion of Father Sträter, the novice master and the President of the Minor Seminary at Yogyakarta, described well the opinion, the reason, and the surprise of the missionaries towards the idea of Father Jos Hoeberechts. Father Sträter who -together with his novices- worked directly among the Javanese added that the decision of the *Superior Missionis* could harm the mission:

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<sup>107</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, December 12, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 52, "Omtrent Moentilan is de beslissing gevallen, en nu is de zaak voor mij uit. Mijn opvolgers moeten dan maar zien wanneer het tijdstip der overgave zal zijn aangebroken. De regeling der overgave zou mij nog hell wat werk en mogelijk onaangenaamheden bezorgd hebben, en in zoover vind ik de beslissing in Holland genomen al heel gelukkig".

<sup>108</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, January 14, 1926. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 22 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

"Now I would like to mention the issue of the handing over the Muntilan schools to the Brothers. I myself did not have any direct business there, nevertheless I would like to share my opinion. I myself, and even I can say all of us who know something about the Javanese mission, cannot understand why Father Superior is so determined to hand over Muntilan. If we abandon Muntilan, we will lose the most part of our contacts with the lay teachers, who played an important role in the mission. After the Seminary, the Kweekschool and Normaalschool are the primary support for the growth and spread of our religion. Therefore, it is the opinion of most of us that by abandoning Muntilan the mission will not be able to regain the great loss at any price. Only someone who has no vision about the importance of the mission would decide to abandon Muntilan. We have to keep Muntilan; it is impossible for the Brothers to replace us"<sup>109</sup>.

It is surprising that during the debate on this crucial issue, the opinion of Father van Lith -one of the founding fathers of the Xavier College- never came to the surface. The reason of his silence could not be traced back because neither documents, notes, nor letters which referred to him or his opinions were found. It is still more surprising because even during his medical treatment in the Netherlands, he never stopped writing or thinking about "his Javanese mission," and especially on "his Muntilan"<sup>110</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> F. Straeter to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, January 21, 1927. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, no. 5, "Dan wilde ik hier ook even aanraken de kwestie van het overgeven van "Moentilan" aan de Broeders. Ik heb daar wel niet direct iets mede te maken, maar ik zou toch gaarne aan U mijn gevoelen mededeelen. Ik voor mij, en de meeste, ja ik kan bijna zeggen allen die iets af weten van de Javamissie, kunnen niet begrijpen hoe P. Superior er zoo vóór is, om Moentilan over te doen. Als wij Moentilan afgeven verliezen wij voor een zeer groot deel ons contact met de onderwijzers, die zulk een gewichtige rol in de Missie spelen. Na het Seminarie is de Kweek- en Normaalschool de voornaamste steun voor de bloei en de uitbreiding der Missie. En daarom is het 't gevoelen van de meesten, die zich daarover hebben uitgelaten dat Moentilan voor geen prijs mag afgestaan worden. Men zou geneigd zijn te zeggen, dat het van weinig inzicht in Missiebelangen getuigt, als men dit niet inziet. Moentilan moeten wij houden: de Broeders kunnen ons daar onmogelijk vervangen".

<sup>110</sup> F. van Lith to Father Provincial. Amsterdam, May 23, 1921 and Katwijk, March 2, 1922. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith); F. van Lith to Father Superior *Missionis*. Katwijk, September 15, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 27; F. van Lith to Father Schmedding [the Rector of Muntilan]. Katwijk, April 4, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 11.

## 2. THE FORMATION OF THE INDIGENOUS CLERGY

The formation of the indigenous clergy had been long proposed and desired by the Jesuit missionaries who worked in Indonesia. The letters of the Jesuits in the Moluccas (1546-1677), for example, had already mentioned the proposal of Father Ferrari, the superior of the Jesuits in the Moluccas. His proposal to Father General was to train intellectually and spiritually the local children, and then to send the best ones to Malacca (Malaysia) or Goa (India) to pursue their study for priesthood. The necessity of priests who knew the local languages was the main motive of the proposal:

*"Besides this, for the spiritual necessity of the people in Ambon, Bacciano, Moro, and Celebes the children between twelve and fifteen years old should be taught to read and to write. They will live with us and under our care, and they should be made familiar with the liturgical life. Every year we will select the best ones among them and then we send them to Malacca or Goa to learn Latin and other sciences which are necessary for the priesthood. Surely they will be a great help for these people because they speak their own language"*<sup>111</sup>.

Until the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Moluccas by the Dutch Company in 1677, however, there was no letter which described the realization of this very progressive proposal.

About two hundred years later the desire to have indigenous clergy inspired Mgr. Vrancken, the Vicar of Batavia (1847-1874). Since his departure from the Netherlands Mgr. Vrancken had a great desire to promote the Catholic faith among the Indonesian natives. The number of missionaries, however, was too small even to take the spiritual care of the Europeans. To solve the difficulty, in 1850, he sent a proposal to Mgr. Scholten, the former Apostolic Prefect

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<sup>111</sup> Bernardino Ferrari [Superior of the Moluccas] to Father General Everard Mercurian. Ambon, May 12, 1581 in Hubert Jacobs, *Documenta Malucensia II (1557-1606)*, D. 30, nn. 13-14; See also Report of Father Alessandro Valignano, Visitor. Shimo (Japan), August, 1580. *Ibidem*, D. 23, nn. 14-15; Report of Visitation of Father Antonio Marta, Visitor of the Moluccas, to Father Provincial in Goa. [Tidore, April], 1588. *Ibidem*, D. 73, no. 89.

of Batavia (1830-1842), to open a sort of seminary for the formation of the indigenous priests:

*"I have a plan to found an institute of small scale for young Chinese and other natives in this region. Then we can guide those who have good talents to the priesthood; otherwise the situation will never be better. We have to form the indigenous priests and, I hope, we will do it"<sup>112</sup>.*

The proposal of Mgr. Vrancken was judged to be utopian because at the time the letter was written there were no converts among the natives. In other places in Asia, however, some missionaries had a similar proposal. In China and Japan, for example, the missionaries proposed the formation of the indigenous clergy for political reasons. The hatred of the natives towards the attitude of the Europeans in some countries became the real obstacles for the missionaries. Their nationalities and skins were inevitably identified with the interest of their fellow Europeans. Therefore the necessity of the indigenous clergy in these countries was to prepare the future of the Church leaders in case they had to leave the mission for political reasons<sup>113</sup>.

The realization of the formation of the indigenous clergy in the mission of Indonesia, the Javanese mission in particular, had a different history. The Javanese mission was initiated in 1894. Then the difficulty of language inspired the first Javanese missionaries to open a school for the future catechists. The Jesuits wanted to entrust the Javanese mission to these indigenous catechists. When the school was transferred from Semarang to Muntilan, Father van Lith practically became the director of this

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<sup>112</sup> Mgr. Vrancken to Mgr. Scholten [at Nijmegen, the Netherlands]. Batavia, June 22, 1850. A. van der Velden, *De Roomsche-Katholieke Missie in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, 1808-1908*, Nijmegen, 1908, p. 143, "Mijn gedachten zijn geheel ingenomen met het plan tot het oprichten van een instituut op kleine schaal, om jonge Chinezen en andere Inlanders dezer gewesten, die eenige goede talenten hebben, later tot den Priesterlijken stand op te leiden; anders toch voorzie ik, dat het sukkelen blijven zal. Wij moeten Inlandsche Priesters hebben en die, hoop ik, zullen we ook krijgen".

<sup>113</sup> Cfr. Alexandre Brou, "Le 'péché' des missionnaires," in *Etudes*, 111(1907), pp. 737-773; 112(1907), pp. 161-187 and 490-522.



school. From his intense contacts with the Javanese, Father van Lith learnt that in the Javanese culture seniority played an important role in giving religious instruction. Other solutions, therefore, had to be found.

### 2.1. THE FIRST CANDIDATES AND THE MINOR SEMINARY

The efforts of Father van Lith to make the schools at Muntilan a center or Catholic nucleus have been described in the previous chapter. The fact that in the course of time, Muntilan also became the formation place of the native priests, however, was beyond the original programme of Father van Lith. The manuscripts of Petrus S. Darmasepoetra, one of the first Indonesian Jesuits, showed that Father van Lith never talked about the vocation to the priesthood to the students. *"If I did not come to tell the proposal of my future to Father van Lith,"* he wrote, *"becoming a priest would never have come to my mind either"*<sup>114</sup>.

The description of FX Satiman, another first Javanese Jesuit, showed that though Father van Lith never talked about the vocation to the priesthood to the students, deep down in his heart he had a great desire to have native priests. FX Satiman described this from his own experience as a student at Muntilan. The students of the schools at Muntilan, he wrote, considered the presence of Fathers van Lith and Mertens to be "providential" for the Javanese mission. Father van Lith was a person who was able to bring the students to have "idealism." Father Mertens, on the other side, was a man who was able "to touch and to read" the day-to-day problems of the students. For the students, these two supplied for the absence of fatherhood (in the person of Father van Lith) and motherhood (in

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<sup>114</sup> P.J. Darmasepoetra, "Over P. van Lith," manuscript which was written in remembrance of the death of Father van Lith. Maastricht, January, 1926, [p. 3]: "P. van Lith en P. Mertens hadden nooit over roeping gesproken. Als ik niet met dat voorstel bij P. van Lith gekomen was, dan was ik gewoon mensch geworden."

the person of Father Mertens) in their lives<sup>115</sup>.

Because of his knowledge on the Javanese language, Father van Lith gave more frequent homilies than Father Mertens. As a matter of fact, the students preferred Father Mertens's homily because it was more simple and -properly- touched their life. Though contrary to the Javanese custom, some senior students suggested to Father van Lith that he give more opportunities for giving the homily to Father Mertens. To this request of his students Father van Lith answered: *"Well boys, you know that we, the Dutch priests, always have found difficulties in giving a homily in your language. Therefore, there must be Javanese priests"*<sup>116</sup>. In other words, the original vision of Father van Lith on the Javanese mission remained: *not the Dutch missionaries but the Catholic Javanese should become the leaven for the Javanese people*<sup>117</sup>. According to the writings of FX Satiman himself, this answer was the seed of his decision to become a priest.

At the end of 1911, P.J. Darmasepoetra and FX Satiman, two of the first four recent graduates of the Xavier College met Father van Lith and confirmed their desire to become priests. However great his joy was, he did not have authority to give the official answer. Father van Lith reported the request of his students to the *Superior Missionis* and meanwhile he asked both to stay and teach Malay in the Xavier College<sup>118</sup>. The Dutch Provincial, Father I. Vogels, who visited Indonesia in 1910-1911, already heard about this request. In his letter to Father General at Rome, Father I. Vogels described the discussion of the consultors both in the

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<sup>115</sup> Cfr. FX Satiman, "Pastoor van Lith volgens een Javaansche leerling en vereerder," manuscript which was written in memory of the death of Father van Lith. Maastricht, January, 1926, [pp. 8-9].

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, [p. 10]: "Jongens, sprak hij, wij, Hoolandsche Pastoors, kunnen moeilijk in 't Javaansch preeken. Daarom moesten de Javaansche priesters zijn."

<sup>117</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 6, 1904. AAJAK, Map Muntilan; "Plan en werkwijze der Java-missie," pp. [6-8]; *Het Binnenhof*, "Katholieke Javaan moest zuurdeeg van Indonesisch leven worden", September 1, 1949, p. 3.

<sup>118</sup> Cfr. P.J. Darmasepoetra, op. cit., [p. 5].

mission and in the Netherlands on this matter<sup>119</sup>.

The unexpected request of two young Javanese to become priests stirred different reactions not only among the Jesuits in the mission but also in the Netherlands. The consultors in the mission and in the Netherlands discussed the request, and also sent the question to the General of the Jesuits at Rome<sup>120</sup>. Mgr. Luypen, the Vicar of Batavia, judged the request of the two young Javanese who were the first generation of Catholics- to be too early. Therefore he suggested waiting until the third generation<sup>121</sup>.

Fathers van Lith and Mertens who knew their students very well favoured their desire. Father Mertens, however, was more cautious than Father van Lith. When the students insisted on an answer to their request, for example, Father J. Mertens simply told them the reasons for the disapproval of Mgr. E. Luypen, that is, they had to wait for up to the third generation. The reply of P. Darmasepoetra about the reasons of Mgr. Luypen was not less reasonable. He said that if God gave His grace everything would be possible, just what happened upon the Apostles:

*"It is true that we belong to the first generation though we were baptized eleven years ago (1900). But the Apostles were also of the first generation, and why could we not be like them if Our Lord gives His grace? If we may not begin and later the third generation won't begin, who will begin then?"*<sup>122</sup>.

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<sup>119</sup> I. Vogels, the Dutch Provincial, to Father General Franz Wernz. Den Haag, August 16, 1911. ANPJ, Map 174, fasc. I, no. 10; "Consultboek Muntilan," February 17, 1911. Jesuit Archives of the Indonesian Province (JAIP).

<sup>120</sup> Cfr. I. Vogels to Father General [Franz Wernz]. Den Haag, August 20, 1911. ARSI, Ind. Neerl., 2-1-22. "Consultationes". Den Haag, June 27 and October 3, 1911. ANPJ, 1b, nn. 36 and 39 (under subtitle I. Vogels).

<sup>121</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, October 3, 1911. *Ibidem*, 1b, no. 39 (under subtitle I. Vogels).

<sup>122</sup> P.J. Darmasepoetra, op. cit. [p. 5], "Hoewel ik toen reeds 11 jaar gedoopt was (door Pater P. Hoevenaars in 1900 te Mendoet) behoorde ik tot de eerste generatie. Ik zei tot P. Mertens: De Apostelen waren ook van de eerste generatie, waarom zou ik niet kunnen zoals zij, als Onze-Lieve-Heer mij maar zijn genade geeft. Als wij niet mogen beginnen, en later de derde generatie niet begint, wie zal dan beginnen?"

Father van Lith, on the other hand, immediately started giving them a course in Latin and Greek grammar. In the letter on May 31, 1912 to Father Engbers, the Jesuit General, Franz Wernz, approved the opening of the seminary at Muntilan<sup>123</sup>. Mgr. Luypen remained to disapprove the formation of the diocesans. He did not oppose, however, if the Jesuits wanted to guide the candidates to join the Jesuits<sup>124</sup>. Therefore the seminary was under the responsibility of the Jesuits. Afterwards every year some Javanese students -then also from other islands- added to the number of the candidates to the priesthood. The seminary remained under Jesuit administration and at Muntilan until the new Vicar of Batavia, Mgr. A. van Velsen, took Mgr. Luypen's place and wanted to open the Minor Seminary.

With his plan to open a Minor Seminary for the whole of Indonesia Mgr. A. van Velsen showed how his position was different from his predecessor towards the formation of the native clergy. The *Superior Missionis*, Father Hoeberechts, favoured the Vicar's plan<sup>125</sup>. In 1925 the Minor Seminary was opened at Yogyakarta. Fr. Sträter, the Jesuit novice master and the Vice Rector of the Ignatius College at Yogyakarta, was appointed to be the President of the Minor Seminary.

While the seminary at Muntilan only admitted the students of Kweekschool, Normaalschool, and MULO (the secondary schools), the new Minor Seminary -as its name has already described it- also admitted the students of the Lagerschool, the elementary schools. Very soon the seminary also registered the presence of the natives from other islands and some Europeans. Some years later, two other Minor Seminaries were opened in Flores (1929) and Celebes (1931).

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<sup>123</sup> Cfr. E. Engbers to Father General [F. Wernz]. Surabaya, April 27, 1912. ARSI, Ind. Neerl., 2-I-24; Franz Wernz to E. Engbers. Rome, May 31, 1912. *Ibidem*, Registrum PP. Generalium, Missio Ass. Germaniae.

<sup>124</sup> "Consultenboek Muntilan," April 1, 1912. JAIP.

<sup>125</sup> When Father van Lith was in the Netherlands (1921-1924), he wrote a commentary on the missionary work in Java. It seemed that the paper was prepared for the *Propaganda Fide* but was never sent. It is interesting to note that the plan of Mgr. A. van Velsen on the Minor Seminary was quite similar to Father van Lith's in this paper. See ANPJ, Archief St. Claverbond, doos 2, bundel 9.

The list below shows the increasing number of the students, from 1912/1925 (Muntilan) up to 1935 (Yogyakarta)<sup>126</sup>:

I. Atuntilan (1912-1925):

<u>Years:</u>	<u>Students:</u>	<u>Years:</u>	<u>Students:</u>
1912	2	1919	11
1913	3	1920	10
1914	4	1921	18 (2) <sup>a)</sup>
1915	5	1922	13
1916	4	1923	11
1917	6	1924	17 (2)
1918	11	1925	17 (3)

II. At Yogyakarta (1925-1935):

1925	29 (5) <sup>a)</sup>	1930	70 (16)
1926	37 (9)	1931	66 (20)
1927	69 (15)	1932	72 (22)
1928	62 (14)	1933	80 (21)
1929	69 (15)	1934	90 (22)
		1935	101 (23)

**Note:**

<sup>a)</sup> in the parenthesis is the number of non-Javanese students: European, Chinese, Manadonese, Ambonese, Batak, etc.

<sup>126</sup> Cfr. L. Weve (President of the Minor Seminary, 1934-1943), "Statistische overzichten," in *St. Claverbond*, 47 (1936), pp. 18-21.

## 2.2. THE PROCEEDING FORMATION OF THE FIRST CANDIDATES

As was mentioned above, in 1912 Father Franz Wernz, the Jesuit General, approved the opening of the seminary at Muntilan. The following questions which the Jesuit missionaries faced were: "How and where do they pursue their study?". Regarding the formation of the native clergy, certainly the Jesuits in Indonesia referred to the Apostolic Letters Ad extremas and then Maximum Illud which respectively were issued by Pope Leo XIII on June 24, 1893 and by Pope Benedict XV on November 30, 1919. Maximum Illud was considered to be the *Magna Charta* in the history of the mission<sup>127</sup>.

Besides the theological reason, both Apostolic Letters also emphasized the necessity of the native clergy for some practical motives: (1) the native clergy had common character with the local community such as the language, culture, custom, and mentality<sup>128</sup>; (2) under certain circumstances, the political situation could create many uncertainties for the missionaries -merely- because of their nationalities<sup>129</sup>. Then Ad Extremas and Maximum Illud also insisted that the formation of the native clergy should be "perfect and complete", that is, it should follow the Roman directives<sup>130</sup>. The "perfect and complete" character was important because of the universal character of the Catholic Church, and because the native clergymen were expected to become the future leaders of the local Church. The formation of the native clergy was the consequence of the Incarnation of Christ and the sign that the Church was well established<sup>131</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> Cfr. André Rétif, *Les Papes Contemporains et la Mission*, Paris, 1967, p. 40.

<sup>128</sup> *Ad extremas*, nn. 4-5; *Maximum Illud*, Chapter I, no. 2b.

<sup>129</sup> *Ad extremas*, no. 6; *Maximum Illud*, Chapter II, no. 1.

<sup>130</sup> *Ad extremas*, nn. 8-9; *Maximum Illud*, Chapter I, no. 2b.

<sup>131</sup> *Ad extremas*, no. 4; *Maximum Illud*, Chapter I, no. 2b.

In the Javanese mission, the discussion on the formation of the native clergy was strongly connected with the current events in some parts of Indonesia. Since 1910 there was a massive conversion to the Catholic faith in three major towns in Central Java: Magelang, Yogyakarta, and Surakarta as vividly described by Father Jos Hoeberechts, the *Superior Missionis*:

*"At Yogyakarta Father van Driessche gives catechism to about 500 Javanese. Everyday their number is increasing. If the situation continues like this, then the second priest for the Javanese has to come soon. Also in Surakarta I have to place one priest for the Javanese. Father Stiphout has to leave the town but I haven't found anyone to replace him"*<sup>132</sup>.

Some years later the growing number of converts seemed to be continuing. However encouraging the situation was, some minor difficulties accompanied this abrupt event. The following letter showed that the Javanese Catholics, for instance, were still separated from the Europeans. Each had their own Church building:

*"As you might have heard, the number of Javanese at Yogyakarta who join catechumens continues to increase. On Sundays more than 1.500 Javanese of all ages come to (their) Church. I say their Church. It was a big sport hall of the military, then became Fröbelschool for the Freemason's children, and they sold it to us; at least on Sundays we can find a shelter for these Javanese. Now our difficulties are: (1) it is not a Church but a shelter; (2) soon it will become too small; (3) the Franciscan Sisters also needed it for the Javanese school, and (4) it is too near to the Church for Europeans ..."*<sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, December 22, 1919. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 12, "En dan onze Javamissie. Te Djokja geeft P. van Driessche elke week aan ± 500 Javanen catechismus. Elke dag komen nieuwe catechumenen bij. Als dat zoo blijft doorgaan dan moet er hier spoedig een tweede priester voor de Javanen komen. In Solo moet ik ook zoo spoedig mogelijk een priester voor de Javanen. P. Stiphout moest eigenlijk weg uit Solo, maar wie er voor in de plaats stellen?"; see also Jos Hoeberechts to Mgr. Luypen. Yogyakarta, November 30, 1920. AAJAK, Map Semarang.

<sup>133</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Yogyakarta, April 3, 1922. ANPJ, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 14, "En nu R.P. Provinciaal iets anders. Zooals MHEerw. weet neemt het aantal Christenen en catechumenen hier te Djokja onder de Javanen voortdurend toe. Zondags komen er meer dan 1.500 Javaantjes van allen leeftijd en komen in de (hun) kerk. Ik zeg in hun kerk. 't Is een groote

The increasing number of converts among the Javanese seemed to influence also the European communities. The Jesuits who worked for the Europeans reported that the participation and activities of the Europeans in the life of the Church grew considerably. Therefore, they also needed not only more priests for the parochial works but also for Catholic schools:

*"The parish work becomes heavier. This year we have four new congregations [of Our Lady]. On Sundays we gave a homily five times. At the occasion of Adoration on the first Fridays we also had to give a homily. This time we give religious lessons to about 2.000 children, etc. The devotion to the Sacred Heart is spread out..."<sup>134</sup>.*

The difficulties of space could be solved without too many problems. The lack of personnel, however, remained a real thorn for the Javanese mission. Father van Lith and some other Jesuits were very disappointed because after twenty years of initiating the Javanese mission, the Jesuits who seriously learnt the Javanese language remained very few:

*"The missionary work in Central Java goes on very well. We cannot ignore, however, that most of the new converts are still young, student boys. The great difficulty remains, that is, we have very few priests who speak Javanese"<sup>135</sup>.*

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gymnastieklood van de militairen geweest, daarna Fröbelschool van vrijmetse-laarskinderen en doo ons verkocht, om de menschen Zondags ten minste onder dak te kunnen krijgen. Maar er zijn groote moeilijkheden 1°. 't Is geen kerk, maar meer een schuur, 2°. zal ze spoedig te klein zijn, 3°. is het terrein noodig voor Javaansche school der ZZ Franciscanessen en 4°. zij ligt zoo dicht bij de Europeanen kerk, dat ze elkaar hinderen door preken en zangen..."

<sup>134</sup> A. van Hoof to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Weltevreden [in Batavia], February 10, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. III, no. 3, "Het parochiewerk wordt hoe langer hoe zwaarder: dit jaar zijn 4 congregaties opgezicht - Zondags wordt er 5 keer gepreikt - op 1ste vrijdag 's avonds is het Lof ook preek - wij hebben op onze catechismuslessen bijna 2000 katholieke kinderen, enz., enz. De devotie tot het H. Hart wordt met ijver en zorg onder de menschen verbreid..."; Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Muntilan, January 2, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 24.

<sup>135</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Muntilan, January 2, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 24, "De missie op midden-Java gaat goed. Toch mogen wij niet uit het oog verliezen dat de meeste bekeerlingen nog jong zijn, studeerende mannelijke jeugd. We moeten nog zien hoe zij zich later zullen houden. Een groote moeilijkheid blijft, dat wij zoo weinig priesters hebben die gemak-



The massive conversion among the Javanese did not correspond to the number of the missionaries. And from the Netherlands, Father van Lith heard about the lack of priests who knew the Javanese language. Then he wrote two urgent proposals for the mission: the importance of learning Javanese for all missionaries and the necessity of native priests. The knowledge of the local language was very important, he stated, because the missionaries should teach the Catholic faith according to the ideas and terms of the Javanese. Moreover, the desire of the nationalist movements for independence could cause a hateful attitude towards the Dutch government and any foreigners. If the missionaries spoke Javanese sufficiently, surely the Javanese would appreciate them and regard them in a different way. Nevertheless the presence of the native priests, he added, remained the most desired solution<sup>136</sup>.

In the face of two contrast events -the massive conversion of the Javanese and the lack of personnel- the request of two Javanese to become priests was certainly a great blessing for the mission. Therefore for the future of the Catholics in Java their formation was discussed with enthusiasm. The limited number of Jesuits in the mission, however, made it impossible to guarantee their formation to be "perfect and complete" as had been emphasized by the *Apostolic Letters*. Sending them to Europe seemed to be the feasible

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kelijk Javaansche spreken".

See also Schmedding to Father Provincial. Muntilan, December 31, 1921; March 10 and 21, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, nn. 2, 3 and 4; F. van Lith to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Muntilan, March 18, 1916. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith); "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," pp. 7-8, 18.

<sup>136</sup> Cfr. "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," pp. 9-11; see also F. van Lith to [Father van Oppenraaij, at Rome]. Muntilan, August 8, 1915. *ARSJ. Ind. Neerl*, 2: 10; "Toelichting op het Missiewerk op Java," [p. 9]: "De kandidaten voor het priesterschap vormen op die wijze eene uitgelezen schaar verkregen door vierwondige selectie. Zij leven op Java in eene omgeving, waar alle voortbrengselen der moderne beschaving in overvloed te zien zijn, waar alle aanlokselen tot het materiele zongenot aanwezig zijn en waar alle goddelooze wijsheid voor niets wordt aangeboden. Roepingen in zulke omstandigheden geboren en getogen kunnen niet anders dan dagelijks zijn [...] Op Java immers is de behoefte aan de vorming van een Inlandsch clerus het grootste. De opleiding is daar reeds tot een begin van uitvoering gekomen en de omstandigheden zijn daar het gunstigste voor de vorming der leerlingen."

and the best solution<sup>137</sup>.

In 1914 the first two candidates, P.J. Darmasepoetra and FX Satiman, were sent to Turnhout (Belgium), and then to Nijmegen (the Netherlands)<sup>138</sup>. From the beginning both candidates wanted to join the Jesuits. This is easily understandable because the Jesuits were the only form of religious life with which they were acquainted. On July 16, 1915 they entered the Jesuit novitiate at Mariëndaal<sup>139</sup>. Then, in the subsequent years other Javanese candidates followed the same steps of formation until the opening of the Jesuit novitiate at Yogyakarta in 1922.

### 2.2.1. The Jesuit Novitiate at Yogyakarta

In 1916 another four Javanese candidates left the seminary at Muntilan for the Netherlands, but two of them died successively in 1918 and 1920<sup>140</sup>. The main cause of their death seemed to be the cold climate of the Netherlands. The number of the Catholics in

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<sup>137</sup> E. Engbers to Father Provincial [I. Vogels]. Muntilan, October 5 and December 22, 1913. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, nn. 17 and 21: "Wij ontvingen van P. Mertens het bericht dat onze seminaristen kunnen worden opgenomen op de Apostolisch School van Turnhout. Piet en Xaveer, de twee oudste zijn bij den Dokter geweest om dienst oordeel te vernemen of ze zonder gevaar voor het Europeesch klimaat reeds in Febr. a.s. zouden kunnen vertrekken..."; see also J. Mertens to Father Provincial [Beukers]. Magelang, July 24, 1915. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 3.

<sup>138</sup> E. Engbers to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, December 24, 1913. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang; E. Engbers to Father Provincial. Muntilan, January 12, 1914. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 22.

<sup>139</sup> "Consultationes". Nijmegen, December 29, 1914. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 5 (under subtitle R. van Oppenraaij) and Katwijk, May 18, 1915. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 2 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers); E. Engbers to Father Provincial. Surabaya, August 24, 1915. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. I, no. 42: "Met vreugde is hier natuurlijk het bericht vernomen dat de beide Javaantjes in de Societeit zijn aangenomen. Te Moentilan zou men met P. Jansen en Fr. Lucas de daar studeerende kandidaten (vier) wel hebben willen mee laten gaan naar Holland."

<sup>140</sup> The names of them were: Adrianus Djajasepoetra, Aloysius Prawirapratama, Linus Sardal, and Athanasius Djajëngutama. The last two died and were buried in the cemetery of the Jesuit novitiate at Mariëndaal. Later Adr. Djajasepoetra would become the Archbishop of Jakarta (1953-1970), replacing his former novice master, Petrus Willekens who came to Indonesia in 1934, having been appointed the Vicar of Batavia (1934-1952). See Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [Ev. Beukers]. Yogyakarta, July 30, 1918. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 4.

Java was still very few. Therefore the death of the Javanese students always caused great sadness because the missionaries believed that the future of the Church was in the hand of these young Javanese<sup>141</sup>. To avoid the worse situation, the possibility of opening a Jesuit novitiate in Java entered into the discussion of the Province consultors and the *Superior Missionis*<sup>142</sup>.

On February 9, 1921 in the consultors' meeting at Den Haag, the Vice Provincial, C. Raaijmakers, read the letter of approval of Father General for opening the novitiate in Java<sup>143</sup>. After Rome gave its permission, the discussion concerned the place and the future novice master. In his letter to the Provincial on October 11, 1921 the *Superior Missionis* wrote that he had proposed to Father General at Rome the names of Fathers Sträter and Mertens respectively as the novice master and the rector of the novitiate, and the place was at Yogyakarta<sup>144</sup>.

Father van Lith, who just arrived in the Netherlands when the discussion about the possibility of opening the novitiate in Java was initiated, contributed a decisive opinion for the future novitiate. Since he heard of the death of two young Javanese in the Netherlands, Father van Lith was firm that no Javanese should be sent to the Netherlands again<sup>145</sup>. Therefore he favoured opening

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<sup>141</sup> J. Mertens to Father Provincial [I. Vogels]. Muntilan, June 27, 1914. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. I, no. 2: "Gisteren telegrafisch bereikt uit Buitenzorg dat een onzer jongens, die verleden jaar naar de veeartsenij school in Miltenzorg vertrok, aldaar aan typhus is overleden... Van de negen jongen die verleden jaar na verkregen diploma van hier zijn vertrokken, zijn er nu reeds drie aan typhus overleden. O.L.H. schijnt een kolonie van Moentilaners in den hemel te willen hebben."

<sup>142</sup> "Consultationes". Nijmegen, August 7, 1920 and Rotterdam, October 7, 1920. *Ibidem*, 1c, nn. 56 and 59 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

<sup>143</sup> "Consultationes". Den Haag, February 9, 1921. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 63 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

<sup>144</sup> Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Yogyakarta, August 10, September 24, and October 11, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, nn. 23, 25, and 28

<sup>145</sup> Frans van Lith, "Toelichting op het Missiewerk op Java". *Ibidem*, Archief H. Claverbond, doos 2, bundel 9 [p. 4]: "Van de 10 dienaar Nederland vertrokken, kwamen er twee te overlijden en twee kwamen wegens ziekte uit Nederland terug."

the Jesuit novitiate in Java. Then Father van Lith sent his proposal to the *Superior Missionis* and to the Jesuit General at Rome. For the better future of the Javanese mission, he proposed that some Dutch novices be sent to make their novitiate in Java:

"Very soon we will open our novitiate in Java. I think that the Dutch novices can be sent to Java to experience their early formation together with their future co-workers in the mission. There is no great opposition here. If you agree with this proposal, I am sure that we can realize it soon"<sup>146</sup>.

On September 7, 1922 the novitiate was officially opened at Yogyakarta with eight novices: two Indonesian novices of the first year and six novices of the second year who had done their first year at Mariëndaal, four Indonesian and two Dutch. The presence of some Dutch novices at Yogyakarta showed that the proposal of Father van Lith was accepted and realized. Since the novitiate building was not yet ready, for a while they had to stay in a hired house. In 1925, they finally moved to the new building. The new building was a complex which consisted of the Minor Seminary (Canisius College), the Jesuit novitiate and juniorate (Ignatius College), and later also a philosophate<sup>147</sup>.

At the beginning the small number of new novices discouraged Father Sträter, the novice master, and Father Schmedding, the acting *Superior Missionis*. Both proposed to the Dutch Provincial to return to the old system, that is, to concentrate the formation in

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Om die reden werd het beter geacht de Javanen niet meer naar Nederland te zenden, maar de gymnasiale opleiding geheel op Java te doen plaats hebben."

<sup>146</sup> F. van Lith to the *Superior Missionis* [Jos Hoeberechts]. Katwijk, September 15, 1921. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 27 (was enfolded in Jos Hoeberechts to the Dutch Provincial); (the draft of) F. van Lith to Father General Wlodimir Ledóchowski. Katwijk, March 2, 1922. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith), "... Naar ik meen heb ik U reeds geschreven over uitzenden van Nederlandsche novicen naar het Javaansche noviciaat om te komen tot gezamenlijke opvoeding en rechtstreeksche aanneming voor de missie in Nederland. Hier is de tegenstand niet groot. Als U met het idee accoord gaat, krijgen wij het er zeker door".

<sup>147</sup> F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, October 7, 1922; February 16, 1923 and May 26, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, nn. 1, 2, and 3.

the Netherlands<sup>148</sup>. A year later, however, the opinion of Father Sträter was completely changed. The number of new novices remained small, but the presence and spirit of the novices had inspired him to try new methods in the novitiate.

To implant the missionary spirit, Father Sträter sent the novices to teach catechism<sup>149</sup>. Twice a week they were sent to teach the children in the mission schools, and once a week to teach the adults in the villages around Yogyakarta. The presence of novices, "Dutch and Javanese young missionaries," multiplied the number of converts to the Catholic faith. The new converts were not confined to the town of Yogyakarta thanks to the foundation of Catholic elementary schools in the remote villages, the presence of the alumni of Muntilan in governmental and mission schools, and now the more frequent contacts with the "young missionaries"<sup>150</sup>.

Many activities outside of the novitiate for the novices, and the novice master who was busy with many responsibilities aroused concern among some Jesuits in the mission<sup>151</sup>. In the meantime

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<sup>148</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]: Muntilan, December 31, 1921 and January 2, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, nn. 2 and 24; F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, September/October, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, no. 1; Father General W. Ledóchowski to C. Raaijmakers. Rome, May 11, 1923. ARSI, Registrum PP. Generalium, Prov. Neerl.; Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, March 21, 1923. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 43.

<sup>149</sup> F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, September/October, 1922 and February 16, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, nn. 1-2: "Volgens mijn geweten kan ik mij verantwoord zien de groote nood aan gestelijke krachten. Ook de andere Paters kunnen zich zeer verdienstelijk bezig houden ook met andere zaken, zoodat het verlies van arbeidskrachten reunischool...., namelijk vorming van den missionarisgeest in onze Novicen en toekomstige priesters."

<sup>150</sup> F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, February 16, 1923 and May 19/26, 1925. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, nn. 2-3: "Sinds eenige maanden zijn de fraters ook begonnen om gedurende hun gewone wandeling tweemaal in de week waar de omliggende dessa's te gaan [...] Zoo komen de menschen in den omtrek van Djokja langzamerhand in kontakt met onzen godsdienst: en het zal niet lang meer duren of we krijgen bekeeringen en misschien veel bekeeringen."

<sup>151</sup> A. van Hoof to Father Provincial. Bandung, January 27, 1926. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 54: "In paar punten van ondergeschikt belang wilde ik toch dan in aandacht aanbevelen: (1) Heeft de Magister Novitiorum niet te veel ander werk op zich genoemen, zoodat hij te veel uit huis is en de novicen niet altijd gelegenheid hebben om hem te spreken?" (2)..."; F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, January 21, 1927 and July 17, 1928. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. V, nn. 5 and 6: "Dan meen ik het geestelijk welzijn van den aan mijn zorgen toevertrouwde scholastieken niet weinig te bevorderen door er goed voorbeeld van werkzaamheid

great enthusiasm among the novices and the abundant result of the missionary work encouraged Father Sträter to a further step. He sent to the Dutch Provincial new proposals for the further formation of the young Jesuits in the mission. To maintain and not to interrupt the direct contacts with the Javanese people, he suggested that the juniorate<sup>152</sup> and philosophy years should be done also at Yogyakarta. For that reason he asked the Dutch Provincial to send a philosophy teacher, and asked the *Superior Missionis* to transfer some Jesuits in the mission to give some courses of philosophy at Yogyakarta<sup>153</sup>.

### 2.2.2. Ignatius College: Novitiate, Juniorate, Philosophate

In 1924 Father van Lith returned to the mission from his medical treatment in the Netherlands. He did not return to Muntilan but the *Superior Missionis* asked him to lead the Javanese community at Semarang. Some days in the week he also taught the Old Javanese (Kawi) language in the novitiate and juniorate at Yogyakarta. Since his return from the Netherlands, however, Father van Lith limited his activities to the Javanese language and culture. In missionary activities, his name did not appear.

When the Provincial approved the opening of the juniorate in 1924 and the philosophy course in 1926, for example, the opinion of Father van Lith did not appear. The programmes and methods of

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en zielenijver te geven "Woorden wekken, doch voorbeelden trekken," geldt m.i. ook van de Onzen [...] Dikwijl kwam de gedachte bij mij op: "Is dat nu het ideaal van een Jezuiet, die geheel voor God moet leven?" om nu niet eenzelfde verwijt bij anderen te ontlakken, meen ik goed te doen, zooveel het niet mijn ambt vereenigbaar is, naar buiten te werken, opdat de Jongere zien hoe men Gods help, verschillende werkzaamheden met elkaar kan vereenigen."

<sup>152</sup> The juniorate year is a step of the Jesuit formation after the novitiate and before beginning the philosophy years. Usually in this period the young Jesuits learn the classical languages (Latin, Greek, Sanskrit) and literature which will prepare them for pursuing their study in philosophy and theology.

<sup>153</sup> F. Sträter to Father Provincial. Yogyakarta, January 16, 1923; May 19/26, 1925 and January, 1926. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. V, nn. 2, 3, and 4.

mission which he introduced some years before, however, began to show abundant results. Practically all of the first candidates to the priesthood came from the schools at Muntilan. The alumni who now taught in the schools prepared the fertile soil for the preaching of the Catholic faith. Their families realized the vision of Father van Lith, that is, to become the leaven and nucleus for the Javanese people:

*"They married the Catholic women and initiated the nucleus of Catholic families; they attracted the others so that they really began to sow the seeds, small but spread everywhere"<sup>154</sup>.*

When Father van Lith died on January 9, 1926, he had laid the solid foundation for the future of the Catholic Church in Central Java. When he died, the Jesuits in the mission of Indonesia already had their own novitiate, juniorate, and philosophate. The Catholic schools had reached remote places where even the governmental schools were not yet present. Besides hundreds of lay people who actively helped the missionary work, the first Indonesian Jesuits and priests of the other congregations also referred their vocation to the exemplary dedication and life of Father van Lith.

The following list of the Jesuit novices both at Mariëndaal and at Yogyakarta from 1915 to 1930 can help to understand the influence of Father van Lith in the mission<sup>155</sup>. Practically all of the Indonesian novices were the alumni of the schools at Muntilan; and the presence of the Dutch novices at Yogyakarta was partly the realization of the proposal of Father van Lith. The list begins in 1915 because that was the year when the first Indonesian novices entered the novitiate at Mariëndaal; it ends in 1930 because in the following year the novitiate was transferred to the present place: Girisonta, Semarang.

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<sup>154</sup> *Het Binnenhof*, "Katholieke Javaan moest zuurdeeg van Indonesisch leven worden", September 1, 1949, p. 3

<sup>155</sup> Cfr. Th. Hendriks, *Serikat Yesus di Indonesia 1860-1987*, Kanisius-Yogyakarta, 1987.

Years1st Year2nd YearAt Mariëndaal:

1915	FX Satiman P. Darmasepoetra	-
1916	-	FX Satiman P. Darmasepoetra
1917	-	-
1918	-	-
1919	Al. Prawirapratama Adr. Djajasepoetra	-
1920	Alb. Soegijapranata	Al. Prawirapratama Adr. Djajasepoetra
1921	D. Hardjasoewonda M. Reksaatmadja B. Soemarna C. Tjiptakoesoema H. Caminada G. Vriens	Alb. Soegijapranata

At Yogyakarta:

1922	C. Poespadihardja C. Soeryasoetedja	D. Hardjasoewonda M. Reksaatmadja B. Soemarna C. Tjiptakoesoema H. Caminada G. Vriens
1923	R. Jasawihardja	C. Poespadihardja H. Bastiaanse R. van Thiel
1924	-	R. Jasawihardja L. Koersen B. Sondaal
1925	C. Martawerdaja T. Poespasoeparta	G. Schoonhoff



1926	A. Adikarjana M. Mariatmadja	C. Martawerdaja T. Poespasoeparta A. de Kort W. Vendel
1927	A. Darmawijata P. Hardjawinata W. Krause van Eeden	A. Adikarjana M. Mariatmadja J. Penn J. van Schuylenburch
1928	O. Verdier	A. Darmawijata P. Hardjawinata W. Krause van Eeden J. Smits van Oyen
1929	R. Soekarta	O. Verdier J. van Leengoed T. van Peperstraten
1930	-	R. Soekarta W. van der Meulen H. Vroom

**According to the number and nationalities:**

**At Mariëndaal:**

1915	2	-
1916	-	2
1917	-	-
1918	-	-
1919	2	-
1920	1	2
1921	4 <sup>a)</sup> + 2 <sup>b)</sup>	1

**At Yogyakarta:**

1922	2	4 <sup>a)</sup> + 2 <sup>b)</sup>
1923	1	1 + 2
1924	-	1 + 2
1925	2	0 + 1
1926	2	2 + 2
1927	2 + 1	2 + 2
1928	0 + 1	2 + 2
1929	1	0 + 3
1930	-	1 + 2

**Note:**

<sup>a)</sup>.: Indonesian nationality

<sup>b)</sup>.: Dutch nationality, including those two who entered directly at Yogyakarta in 1927 and 1928.

At the end of 1923, six Jesuit novices took the vows. At the proposal of Father Sträter, they remained at the Ignatius College to begin their juniorate years. The Dutch Provincial also approved the opening of the philosophy course at Yogyakarta. In 1926 with three teachers, the Jesuits in Indonesia marked another important step of the formation of the native clergy: the philosophy course. A year later another Jesuit, Father L. van Rijckevorsel, joined the faculty. Now the complex consisted of the novitiate, juniorate, philosophate (Ignatius College), and the Minor Seminary (Canisius College).

Up to 1926, all students who wanted to become priests joined the Jesuits. The arrival of other religious congregations which worked in the mission of Indonesia made other choices possible: Carmelite, Capuchin, Passionist, Lazarist, etc. The Jesuits already anticipated the formation of the diocesan priests<sup>156</sup>. In 1936, Mgr. Willekens accepted the request of five students who wanted to become diocesan priests for the vicariate of Batavia. The formation of these diocesans, and the Jesuits post-novitiate is beyond the period of the thesis, that is, the life and the direct influence of Father van Lith.

It should be remembered that Franciscus Xaverius Satiman, the first native priest, was ordained on August 15, 1926 at Maastricht, the Netherlands. The other Jesuit scholastic, P.J. Darmasepoetra, was not ordained because of poor health; the news was acceptable but remained disappointing for the Jesuit missionaries in Java as described by Father Schmedding:

*"We heard that Darmasepoetra probably won't be ordained because of his sickly condition. It will surely cause great disappointment here. I am not surprised anyhow."*

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<sup>156</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Muntilan, March 10, 1922. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 3: "Er zullen mettertijd ook Javanen komen, die wel priester maar geen Jezuiet willen worden. Dat zaakje moet nog heelemaal worden opgezet. Waar de man van deugd, wetenschap en kennis van den Javaan en den Javaanschen toestand te vinden, die dat werk goed kan voltooien. P. van Lith? Hoe hoog ik hem ook acht, mijns inziens moet hij wel om raad gevraagd, maar niet de oprichter zijn krachtiger missionering."

Looking at the other missions it becomes clear that in forming the native clergy the Lord guides us through difficulties and crosses. Compared to the other places, however, our mission carried lighter crosses"<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial. Muntilan, May 15, 1926. *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 37, "Wij hooren hier, dat Fr. Darmasepoetra waarschijnlijk niet kan gewijd worden wegens ziekte. Dat zal hier nogal teleurstelling veroorzaken. Toch verwondert het mij niet, ook uit andere missies blijkt zoo duidelijk hoe de vorming van Inlandsche Geestelijkheid door Onze-Lieve-Heer wordt geleid langs vele kruisjes en moeilijkheden. Vergeleken met andere missies heeft onze missie nog slechts weinige kruisjes gehad". See also "Consultationes". Amsterdam, February 18, 1926. *Ibidem*, 1c, no. 23 (under subtitle Ev. Beukers).

### 3. THE POLITICAL VISION

As was mentioned above, Father van Lith arrived in the mission of Java in 1896. By that time most political parties in the Netherlands emphasized the importance of revising the colonial policy. All agreed that the Netherlands had a moral duty regarding the development of the colonial land, that is, the Indonesian archipelago<sup>158</sup>. The new colonial policy was known then as the *Ethical Policy*: active efforts to bring progress to the country and people of the Indonesian archipel, under the Dutch authority and according to the western model<sup>159</sup>.

The programmes of Father van Lith for the native education, his appreciation of the Javanese language and culture were parallel to the general policy of the government. The Governor Generals, A.F. van Idenburg (1909-1916) and J.P. van Limburg Stirum (1916-1921), also represented the good will of the Dutch government for the progress of Indonesia. Thanks to the *Ethical Policy* the number of public schools multiplied, hospitals and services to maintain public health improved.

The *Ethical Policy* also awakened the political awareness among the Indonesians. Some political associations were founded, such as Boedi Oetomo (1908), Sarekat Islam (1912), Indische Partij (1912). In the beginning the character of these political associations was co-operative. The liberal-progressive position of Governor General Limburg Stirum was open to the requirements of these nationalist movements. On December 16, 1916 he announced the creation of the *Volksraad*, a sort of People's Council for Indonesia. Very soon, however, the members of this People's Council were dissatisfied because the role of the *Volksraad* was merely consultative; it was

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<sup>158</sup> Cfr. *Algemeene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Bussum, 1979, XIV, p. 379; Martien Kuitenbrouwer, *Nederland en de opkomst van het moderne imperialisme*, Amsterdam, 1985, p. 101.

<sup>159</sup> Cfr. E. Locher Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten. Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel*, Utrecht, 1981, pp. 121 and 176.

therefore powerless<sup>160</sup>.

To fulfil the requirements of the members of the *Volksraad*, in 1918 Governor General Limburg Stirum appointed some representatives to be the members of the *Commission for the Revision of the basic laws of the Netherlands Indies*<sup>161</sup>. Father van Lith was appointed to be the member of the *Commission* to represent the Catholic Church. In the meantime the Governor General J.P. Limburg Stirum was replaced by D. Fock (1921-1926). The conservative and reactionary position of the new Governor General only caused the nationalists to become non co-operative, more radical and to oppose the Dutch-colonial government. It was in his role as a member of the *Commission for the Revision* and under this kind of political situation that Father van Lith described his political position<sup>162</sup>.

### 3.1. LEARNING FROM THE PHILIPPINES

It is interesting to explore the impulse and experience which influenced the political position of Father van Lith. Up to 1915 he had not made any political allusions in his letters or programmes. He concentrated his missionary works on the native education. He even came to the conclusion that the future of the Catholic Church in Indonesia would be determined by her contribution to the native education: "Any missionary works among the natives which do not begin with or which do not have root in the education will

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<sup>160</sup> Cfr. Eduard J.M. Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia, 1920-1933*, Leiden, 1977, p. 74.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>162</sup> On the political issue, the main writings which he wrote in the Netherlands between 1921 and 1924 were: "De politiek van Nederland ten opzichte van Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Studiën* 98 (1922), pp. 281-297 and 323-346; "Leeren uit de Filippijnen," "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," and "Aan Zyne Eminentis Kardinaal van Rossum". All these three are in *ANPJ*, Dossier 324 (van Lith); "Toelichting op het Missiewerk op Java". *Ibidem*, Archief St. Claverbond, doos 2, bundel 9.

fail"<sup>163</sup>. The future priests in Indonesia, he stated, could not be other than priest-educators<sup>164</sup>. In 1915 he sent his renewed mission programmes to Rome. Besides the importance of the native education and the necessity of the native priests, the only novelty in the programmes was the recruitment of the Dutch Jesuits for the Javanese mission during their early formation<sup>165</sup>. He did not yet mention any political position.

In 1916 Father van Lith and another member of the *Commission for the Native Education*, Dr. G.J. Nieuwhuis, were sent to the Philippines to make a comparative study<sup>166</sup>. It should be remembered that since 1898 the Philippines were under the authority of the United States of America. The Dutch government in Indonesia thought that the American-educational methods in the Philippines might be helpful for the native education in Indonesia. For Father van Lith, the "comparative study" in the Philippines had another effect; the experience of the journey had transformed his political vision. This political vision did not appear immediately after his return from the Philippines. Some years later through his direct involvement in the political questions (1918-1924), the "Philippine experience" would become the repeated reference in the political position of Father van Lith<sup>167</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 8.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 7-9, 14-18.

<sup>165</sup> F. van Lith to [Father C. van Oppenraaij, at Rome]. Muntilan, August 8, 1915. *ARSJ. Ind. Neerl.*, 2 I 30.

<sup>166</sup> Frans van Lith, "Mijn Manila-reis," in *Mededeelingen van de Nederlandsche Provincie*, 1922, pp. 30-34, 71-76 and 107-111.

<sup>167</sup> "Leeren uit de Filippijnen," pp. 25-40; "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 4.

### 3.1.1. Decentralization or Self-government for Indonesia

The idea of decentralization for Indonesia was not completely new. In 1904 a Jesuit missionary, L. Hebrans, had already written the proposal<sup>168</sup>. He merely launched the idea without suggesting any practical solution. The reason behind his proposal, however, would remain valid: the Dutch government in Indonesia knew the real situation much better than that in the Netherlands<sup>169</sup>. If the Dutch government in the Netherlands delegated some decisions to the government in Indonesia, then some important issues could be solved faster and better, and some other misunderstandings could be avoided; in other words Father L. Hebrans proposed the system of decentralization<sup>170</sup>.

When Father van Lith began his activity in the *Commission for the Revision* in 1918 a similar question reappeared. Certainly the political situation had changed. Some political associations which represented both Indonesian and Dutch groups had been founded. They required a more important role in the government and regarded the consultative role of the *Volksraad* to be insufficient. As a member of the *Commission* Father van Lith reported that all representatives were agreed about self-government in Indonesia. He himself supported this proposal. The great distance between the Netherlands and Indonesia evidently caused many problems and misunderstandings merely because the Dutch government in the Netherlands did not know well the real situation<sup>171</sup>. The main question was: to whom the government should be entrusted, to the Dutch or Indonesian representatives?<sup>172</sup>.

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<sup>168</sup> L. Hebrans, "Decentralisatie in Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Studiën*, 37/63 (1904), pp. 63-81.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 69-71.

<sup>171</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 296; "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 3; L. Hebrans, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>172</sup> Cfr. "De politiek . . .," pp. 281-282.

In the Commission, Father van Lith opposed the election rules which would "predictably" lead the Dutch representatives to be the majority. It was not that he thought the Indonesians were already ready for government or for independence. He confirmed his support for self-government in Indonesia, provided that the Dutch representatives also gave space to the native representatives in the government<sup>173</sup>.

The Indonesians had suffered too long under the Dutch government. After a hundred year (1800-1900), the Dutch government in Indonesia in practice continued the policy of the Dutch Company: the mercantile policy. The Dutch government treated the Indonesians merely as objects of merchandise. And for three hundred years (1600-1900), the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians remained unchanged: employers - employees; oppressors - oppressed; foreigners - natives<sup>174</sup>. It was this kind of slavish relation which caused Father van Lith not to entrust the self-government in Indonesia to the Dutch representatives only.

Father van Lith knew well the native sentiment. As a Catholic missionary he knew that the arrogance of the Dutch in Indonesia did tremendous harm to the image of the Catholic Church. Among the natives, he wrote, there was a general idea that Dutchman meant Christian<sup>175</sup>. Then through his writings Father van Lith called the attention of the Catholics in the Netherlands to the problem because by that time the Catholic Party had a great influence in the government. Father van Lith asked their contributions for the Indonesian issue. He did not refer to the Catholics in Indonesia, the *Indische Katholieke Partij* (IKP) because their number was very small, the party was exclusively for the Dutch nationality, and

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<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 289.

<sup>174</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", pp. 289-290, 329-330; "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 4.

<sup>175</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 284: "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," [p. 43].



also was only recently founded<sup>176</sup>.

Through his writings Father van Lith advised the Catholics in the Netherlands that it was a favourable occasion for them to change the wrong image of the Dutch people and Christianity among the Indonesians. The Catholic politicians in the Netherlands, he stated, should strive to show that the interest of the Catholic Church was in the full development and progress of the Indonesian and not to dominate or to seek money<sup>177</sup>. Co-operation and living side by side was still possible, but the relation could not remain the relation between slaves to the masters or between employees towards employers; the relation should be based on the friendship between two brothers<sup>178</sup>.

### 3.1.2. *The System of Government*

As was mentioned above, Father van Lith considered that having only Dutch representatives in the government would be incompatible with the interest of the nationalist movements. However he also thought that the Indonesians were not yet ready to govern themselves. Therefore to avoid any kind of more radical movements, Father van Lith saw that compromise and evolution towards self-government would be the only feasible solution.

According to Father van Lith the political situation still permitted the colonial government and the nationalist movements to co-operate<sup>179</sup>. But if the Dutch authority were unwilling to give more space to the aspiration of the nationalists, he remarked, the situation could change drastically and the remedy would be too

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<sup>176</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 287.

<sup>177</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 284; "Over het regeeringsvoorstel herziening," [48-49].

<sup>178</sup> Cfr. "Over Javaansche Bedienden en Doerians," in ANPJ, Archief (Claverbond, Dossier 2, bundel 9: "De politiek...", p. 328; "Over het regeeringsvoorstel herziening," [p. 48]; "De Java-Post," XVIII, 1920, p. 295.

<sup>179</sup> "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 4.

late. The system of government which he proposed was the creation of two Houses of Representatives where each House had the same authority<sup>180</sup>. If the Dutch representatives had a majority in the first House, then the natives were to have it in the second one or vice versa.

Father van Lith defended his proposal which was judged by some Dutch members to be racist and would only sharpen the racial differences. For Father van Lith that judgement only reflected a reluctant attitude towards the political emancipation<sup>181</sup>. It was true that his proposal arose from the real situation: the existence of different races in Indonesia. His proposal, however, tried to show that the racial differences were not necessarily leading to racism or enmity. Politics, he remarked, should be able to overcome the racial differences because to pursue the common development and progress the co-operation and support of others were needed:

*"As a matter of fact in any contradictory interest there exists one principle; to pursue the common interest we are interdependent, one depends on the other. I learnt this formulation from the social principle of the Dutch Catholics: solidarity. The basis of my proposal is not other than Christian love. It is the same vocation also for every missionary. It manifested the heart of the Catholic Party in the Netherlands"<sup>182</sup>.*

Father van Lith considered the governmental system of two Houses of Representatives to be the ideal solution. In one House (he called it the *Belangenkamer*) the Dutch majority was needed. The Dutch representatives could show how to live in the democratic system which was new for the Indonesians. In a certain sense the Indonesians would learn that in the new system they had to abandon

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<sup>180</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", pp. 323-327; "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," [pp. 3-8].

<sup>181</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 328; "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," [p. 41].

<sup>182</sup> "De politiek...", p. 296.

the feudalistic and despotic tradition<sup>183</sup>. Then the Indonesian representatives should have the majority in another House (he called it *Volkskamer*). The Indonesians had authority to control the policies which had been decided by the *First House*, the Dutch representatives. Then to assure co-operation, both representatives had to abandon some parts of their own interests in order to reach common policies. The proposal, confirmed Father van Lith, would guarantee the co-operation and at the same time would prepare the Indonesians for self-government<sup>184</sup>.

Then Father van Lith reminded the Catholic politicians in the Netherlands that the situation in Indonesia had very much changed. The progress of the native education, he wrote, changed also the mentality of the natives. The Dutch politicians in the Netherlands had to consider this significant change or otherwise the Indonesians would throw the foreigners out. He described the change of the mentality among the natives as follows:

*"On the occasion of the wedding ceremony of Prince Mangkunegara from Surakarta, I joined the other guests sitting down in the main hall of the palace. The children of the Javanese schools, wearing the uniforms, defiled in front of the palace... a scene which was never seen by old generation. What a great influence of the education on the Javanese mentality! When I saw these thousands of children in defile, suddenly an idea came to my mind: the present Javanese leaders do not frighten us, but in front of me there are thousands of soldiers who will throw us into the sea.*

*Many people in the Netherlands do not know the real situation in Indië. They think that nothing will change, and they are wrong. What now is, will not remain so. What is weak now, will become strong; what is strong, will become weak. A new era and new world are coming, and the wise will prepare themselves"*<sup>185</sup>.

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<sup>183</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 342; "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," (pp. 45-47).

<sup>184</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", pp. 341-343; "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," [pp. 5-8].

<sup>185</sup> "De politiek...", pp. 327-328.

### 3.1.3. *The Position of the Missionaries*<sup>186</sup>

Father van Lith was well aware that his proposal was an ideal, and therefore it could be judged as being too much for the Dutch government. But if the government remained firm in its own interest while the Catholic politicians in the Netherlands did not take any steps, the break-out of tumult was inevitable. As a matter of fact, maintained Father van Lith, the Javanese had a peaceful nature. Once they knew that their rights were guaranteed and their complaints were solved, then their movements would remain co-operative. Therefore he insisted on the contribution of the Catholic politicians so that the Dutch government (1) gave to the natives fair election rules; (2) assured them with the presence of their representatives in the government<sup>187</sup>.

Because of his political position Father van Lith was accused of being *socialist* and a *red priest* by some other Dutchmen in the *Commission*<sup>188</sup>. The appellation as a red priest became more common especially after the publication of his article and the reactions which were provoked by the article. He merely responded that if his political position was judged to be *red*, then the whole Catholic policy was *red*. As a matter of fact it was the call of the Catholic Party, he stated, to be the mediator; the mediator in the midst of conflictual interests<sup>189</sup>.

As Catholic missionary, however, the role as mediator could not be neutral. If the relation between the Dutch government and the Indonesians fell to pieces, the missionaries should take a

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<sup>186</sup> The word "missionaries" has to be well understood. After the publication of the article of Father van Lith, in fact, some Jesuit missionaries in Indonesia -through the magazine *De Java-Post*- explained that Father van Lith described his own position, and not that of all missionaries. This explanation then aroused another discussion as will be clear in the following pages of this subtitle.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 329-333.

<sup>188</sup> Cfr. "*De politiek...*," pp. 334, 338-339.

<sup>189</sup> Cfr. "*De politiek...*," p. 339; "*Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening*," [pp. 43-44]; "*De Java-Post*," XVIII, 1920, p. 295.

position<sup>190</sup>. The missionaries have long lived with the natives, spoke their language, and shared their suffering. From direct contact, the missionaries were aware of the burden and pressure of the natives. They could well understand if the natives claimed their rights which had been denied<sup>191</sup>. Then Father van Lith concluded that in case of tumult or revolution, the missionaries would be on the side of the natives.

Father van Lith confirmed that "on the side of the natives" did not necessarily mean that their fellow Dutchmen were their enemies. Then he added that the position of the missionaries was against avarice and arrogance; it was the last reminder that since the situation in Indonesia had changed, the attitude of the Dutch government should also be changed:

*"The domination of the era of the white race is over. It is not forever that one white man will survive in front of 100.000 Asians. It is an arrogant attitude to dominate the Javanese merely because they are Javanese. Admit the rights of the natives if you want your own rights to be recognized. In the Church of Christ there exist no Jews or Romans or Greeks; therefore there exist no Dutchmen or Javanese. What inside the Church from the beginning has been the law, now applies also outside the Church: from now on Dutchmen, Indos and Javanese should live together and side by side as brothers, otherwise in a short time they will totally split"*<sup>192</sup>.

Father van Lith was also aware that not all missionaries came to Indonesia with the same vision. Those who always worked among the Europeans certainly would have different experiences and concerns from those who worked for the natives. The actual Apostolic Vicar (Mgr. E. Luypen) and the Superior Missionis (Jos Hoeberechts), he cited as examples, have never worked among the Javanese. Therefore it was difficult for them to understand the

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<sup>190</sup> Cfr. "Leeren uit de Filippijnen," pp. 30-32.

<sup>191</sup> Cfr. "De politiek...", p. 287; "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 9; "Leeren uit de Filippijnen," pp. 18-24.

<sup>192</sup> "De politiek...", p. 341; "Over het regeringsvoorstel herziening," [p. 48].

demands of the nationalist movements<sup>193</sup>. If the tumult arose, concluded Father van Lith, the position of the missionaries inevitably would split into two camps. Nevertheless, he added, it was not contrary to the priestly vocation because on both sides "we served Christ and not because we are agreed with the war or revolution"<sup>194</sup>.

Certainly none of the missionaries in Indonesia expected that very terrible possibility. Therefore Father van Lith invited each missionary to be very cautious in his choice, the choice "between our fathers and our children, between the Dutchmen and the Natives"<sup>195</sup>. He reminded them not to repeat the errors of the Spanish missionaries in the Philippines:

*"I have been in the Philippines, and I learnt a lot there. I also heard what had caused the great disaster for the Catholic Church in the Philippines. For a very long time the missionaries have placed themselves on the side of the Spaniards. When a revolutionary movement arose, then the Philipinos confiscated the properties of the missionaries: lands, monasteries, schools. This had been the error of the Spaniards in the Philippines; the error of the government and the error of the clergy. Certainly I hope that the same event will not happen to us here in Java in case the revolution takes place"<sup>196</sup>.*

Father van Lith agreed that the Indonesian nationalists were not ready for self government and that their claims were not always logical. But he regretted the writings of some Jesuit missionaries in the newspapers and magazines which underestimated and ridiculed

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<sup>193</sup> Cfr. "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," pp. 3-4.

<sup>194</sup> "Leeren uit de Filipijnen," p. 34.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 29.

<sup>196</sup> "Leeren uit de Filipijnen," p. 16; "Aan Kardinaal van Rossum," p. 4, "Nu ben ik zelf pas van de Filipijnen teruggekomen en heb daar geleerd, dat in die kolonie de groote ellende voor de Katholieke Kerk daaruit is voortgesproten, dat de missionarissen veel te veel en veel te lang op het Spaansche standpunt zyn blyven staan, zoolang tot ze tydens den opstand door de Philipino's zyn gemarteld en daarna met scheepladingen het land zyn uitgezet. Dit is de fout der Spanjaarden geweest op de Filipijnen, de fout van de Regering en de fout der Geestelijkheid."

their programmes. Those writings, he stated, only made the impressions that "we are in opposition to the nationalist movements toward liberty"<sup>197</sup>.

Instead of criticizing the interest of the natives, Father van Lith urged the missionaries to join them wholeheartedly and give them sympathy. Because for each missionary the native community was his bride. In Christ he should cultivate the natives to be his spiritual children, and then he himself became their father:

*"The missionary left his native land, his family and relatives to become one with the Christian community to whom he gives his love. To her his heart belongs. He has to be loyal to his love, and therefore his heart should be for his community and his children"*<sup>198</sup>.

## 9.2. THE REACTIONS TOWARDS FATHER VAN LITH'S POSITION

The article of Father van Lith in the Jesuit magazine of the Dutch Province, the *Studiën*<sup>199</sup>, provoked strong reactions among the missionaries, politicians, and journalists in Indonesia. The main issue which created irritation was his political position towards the natives. By that time he was in the Netherlands and waiting for the official permission to return to Indonesia. Partly because of his article those who had strongly disapproved his return to the mission now obtained another reason to strengthen their opposition. On the other hand, thanks to the article of Father van Lith the Javanese Catholics found a stimulus to organize themselves and to take part more actively in the political life.

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<sup>197</sup> "Leeren uit de Filippijnen," p. 30.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31, "De missionaris gaat heen uit zijn geboorteland en verlaat zijn familie en zijn stamvolk om een te worden met de Christenheid, aan wie hij zijne liefde schenkt, of die hij ten leven wekt. Aan hen behoort zijn hart. De missionaris moet zijn hart schenken aan de Inlandsche gemeente, die zijn bruid is en aan de geestelijke kinderen, die bij in Christus teelt en van wie hij vader wordt."

<sup>199</sup> Frans van Lith, "De Politiek van Nederland ten opzichte van Nederlandsch-Indië," in *Studiën*, 98 (1922), pp. 280-297, 323-346.

### 3.2.1. The Vicar of Batavia, Mgr. Antonius van Velsen, S.J.

The most severe reaction to the article of Father van Lith came from the new Vicar of Batavia, Mgr. van Velsen (1924-1933). He received the appointment on February 17, 1924, that is, about one year after the publication of Father van Lith's article<sup>200</sup>. As was clear from his letter, the reaction of the Vicar towards Father van Lith's political position was the culmination of his personal and long irritation. The increasing sympathy towards the position of Father van Lith, however, could be another reason for the fierce tone of his reaction:

*"Father van Lith came to Indonesia only one year before me. With all respect for his work and acknowledgement of his talents, however, during these many years he has created an annoyance for me in many cases. In some points of the educational issues he is my opponent"*<sup>201</sup>.

The "controversial" article of Father van Lith had divided the missionaries into two opposing groups<sup>202</sup>. It was in the midst of this unhappy situation that Mgr. A. van Velsen heard that Father General W. Ledóchowski had permitted Father van Lith to return to the mission. He had always strongly opposed his return. Without denying the sincere reasons of Father General's decision, he sent a letter to Father C. Raaijmakers, the former Dutch Provincial, now at Rome. The Vicar asked Father Raaijmakers for the postponement of Father van Lith's return to the mission because, he stated, the consultors in the mission opposed it and politically it was not opportune:

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<sup>200</sup> "De Java-Post," February 22, 1924.

<sup>201</sup> Mgr. van Velsen to Father R. van Oppenraaij [at Rome]. [Jakarta], April 21, [1924]. ANPJ, Dossier 324 (van Lith), "P. van Lith is slechts een jaar voor mij in Indië gekomen, doch met allen eerbied voor zijn arbeid, en erkenning van zijne groote talenten, is hij mij vele zaken in die lange jaren voortdurend een ergernis geweest, in onderwijszaken in een of ander hoofdpunt is hij mijn tegenstander".

<sup>202</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 24, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 15.



"Let me now explain the reasons of my request. With full respect to the decision of Father General, I am entirely ready to follow his opinion.

Without consultation of the government in the Netherlands, the government in Indonesia will not be very happy to learn of the return of Father van Lith. The government asked the opinion of the Holy See about Father van Lith's article. His political expressions were such that the communist newspapers had enough for a long time to present them to their readers; Moreover: his perilous political tendency unmistakably influences the indigenous with their more and more manifest nationalism which is pushing towards extremism.

Perhaps he is in continual correspondence with the leaders of the Javanese Catholics. I don't dare affirm this with certainty, but we have a lot of difficulties with the Catholic Political Javanese Association which strives for the independence of Java.

Allow me to say that Father van Lith is a dangerous man who always knows how to find reasons to defend even the most risky position. Now, where will he bring us with his politics when he returns here among us?"<sup>203</sup>.

Mgr. van Velsen admitted that the absence of Father van Lith was a great loss for the education in general. The government and the natives were used to look for his advice. On the other hand, the Vicar also regarded his absence as a grace because it would enable the mission, the natives, and the young missionaries to be more independent. Since the decision of his return had already been taken, he then described his policy to keep Father van Lith from

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<sup>203</sup> Mgr. van Velsen to Father R. van Oppenraaij [at Rome]. [Jakarta], April 21, [1924]. *Ibidem*, Dossier 324 (van Lith), "Laat ik nu de redenen uiteenzetten, die mij noopte het verzoek te doen. Vol eerbied echter voor de redenen, die ARP Generaal tot zijn besluit leidden, ben ik geheel bereid mij naar diens inzichten te richten.

Ik meen, dat, tenzij de regeering in Holland gepolst is, het de hooge regeering hier niet zeer aangenaam zal zijn, indien hier terugkeert iemand om wiens bekende brochure de Regeering zelf de aandacht van den H. Stoel op hem gevestigd heeft, lemand wiens uitingen van dien aard waren, dat de communistische bladen hier langen tijd hunne lezers daarop vergastten, die bovendien met zijne bedenkelijke politieke neigingen een niet te miskennen invloed heeft op de Inlanders met hun immer meer en meer tot uiting komend en tot het uiterste voortstuwend nationalisme. Nu reeds, misschien door de voortdurende correspondentie van P. van Lith met de meest hoogstaande katholieke Javanen, ofschoon ik dit niet ten stelligste durf beweren, moeten we alles in het werk stellen om o.a. den Kath. politieken Bond der Javanen in zijn streven naar zelfstandigheid van Java [...] P. van Lith is naar mijn bescheiden meening sit venia verbo een zeer gevaarlijk man, die altijd redenen weet te vinden om zelfs de meest gewaagde stellingen te verdedigen. Waarheen zal hij ons brengen met zijn politiek, als hij hier terugkeert?"

making disturbing movements:

"I can forgive many people. I can easily understand also those who have good will but when they tend to realize in everything their own will.

Towards Father van Lith, however, I will not be flexible like my predecessor, Mgr. E. Luypen, and Father Mertens. I can't believe that Fr. van Lith in the years he was in the Netherlands would be changed so much, that he would not return to his former tendencies. This is a risk which I cannot take.

Then I will ask him to do missionary work under obedience. If Father General permitted him to return, it means that Father van Lith will offer the useful work for the mission. I am convinced that Most Rev. Father General can judge better than I in this case. Be so good to give to Most Rev. Father General my assurance that I will make it according to his insight"<sup>204</sup>.

### 3.2.2. Among the Jesuit Missionaries

Before the publication of his article, Father van Lith had already mentioned his political activity in his letter to Father Schmedding, his superior at Muntilan. Father van Lith informed his superior that he had suggested to the Javanese Catholics that they found a Catholic Party which was independent from the *Indische Katholieke Partij*<sup>205</sup>. Father Schmedding himself judged that the political programmes of Father van Lith were still vague. He

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<sup>204</sup> Ibidem, "Ik kan veel vergeven en ben geneigd den goeden wil te redden, wanneer men echter er op uit is om in alles eigen wil door te zetten [...] Ik zal tegenover P.v. Lith niet het soepele hebben, dat Mgr. Luypen en P. Mertens voor hem toonden. Ik voel dat en ik wil dit tevoren ook zeggen. Dat P.v. Lith in die jaren, dat hij in Holland was, zoo sterk veranderd zou zijn, dat hij tot zijne vroegere strevingen niet meer zou terugkeeren, ik durf het er niet op wagen. Vraag ik dus, dat P.v. Lith hier niet terugkeert, dan doe wat ik voor Onze-Lieve-Heer een plicht acht. Meent ARP Generaal bij zijn besluit te moeten blijven, dan onderwerp ik mij gaarne daaraan en wil mijnerzijds ook gaarne medewerken om P.v. Lith binnen de grenzen der gehoorzaamheid te houden, en zoo mogelijk nog nuttig werk te doen verrichten voor de Missie. Ik ben innig overtuigd, dat ARP Generaal beter de zaak kan beoordeelen dan ik. Gelief HEP. ARP Generaal de verzekering geven dat ik mij gaarne naar zijne inzichten zal schikken".

<sup>205</sup> Cfr. F. van Lith to Father Schmedding. Katwijk, April 4, 1922. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 11 (supplement).

reported them to the Provincial just because he could not yet judge whether those programmes would be dangerous or not:

"I enclose here the letter of Father van Lith which was sent to me in the capacity of the rector at Muntilan. I send it to you because it contains his programmes; and among them is his plan to establish a Catholic Party, independent from the Dutch one. His programmes are vague, might be very good or might be not without danger. He used to follow his own way and therefore I inform you of them"<sup>206</sup>.

Before the article of Father van Lith provoked many reactions, Father J. van Rijckevorsel had written a letter to Father van Lith and to Father Provincial, C. Raaijmakers. Father van Rijckevorsel was a Jesuit missionary who since his arrival in 1909 always worked in Jakarta. He was the assistant of the Apostolic Vicar and led the social activities among the Dutch Catholics. It seemed that he was also the adviser of the *Indische Katholieke Partij*<sup>207</sup>. Therefore the political issues were not extraneous for him.

In his letter to Father van Lith<sup>208</sup>, Father van Rijckevorsel simply listed the immediate reactions caused by his article. First of all he wrote that the article had caused difficulties among the European Catholics. The Catholic members of the Volksraad, he cited as an example, were obliged to prepare a clarification regarding the article. Then some Catholics who worked for the good of the

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<sup>206</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Bandung, May 25, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 11, "Hierbij ingesloten vindt U een brief van R.P. van Lith aan mij als rector van Moentilan geschreven. Ik stuur U dien brief om U op de hoogte te houden van zijn plannen, vooral van zijn plan te werken om de Katholieke partij te brengen tot een politiek los van Fock, en van zijn plan voor een vakschool. Die plannen zijn vaag, misschien zijn zij zeer goed, maar misschien zijn zij niet zoo ongevaarlijk. Gegeven de persoonlijkheid van R.P. van Lith, weet men niet voor welke verrassingen hij ons plaatst. Hij gaat te veel zijn eigen gang. Daarom houd ik U op de hoogte." See also Schmedding to Father Provincial. Muntilan, December 31, 1921 and March 21, 1922. *Ibidem*, nn. 2 and 4.

<sup>207</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. [Beukers]. Weltevreden, July 21, 1917. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 8.

<sup>208</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father van Lith. Weltevreden, February 3, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 10.

natives felt offended and asked to know if the article reflected the position of the missionaries. Most of the missionaries simply stated that they were extraneous from the political issues.

In his letter on February 3, 1923, Father van Rijckevorsel asked the Provincial to warn Father van Lith. He wrote that it would be much wiser if Father van Lith did not further the argument<sup>209</sup>. His opinions were very radical, none discussed them and would not be helpful. And if Father van Lith wanted to make corrections in what he had written, then Father van Rijckevorsel recommended that he should write it cautiously in order not to estrange the missionaries<sup>210</sup>.

The successive letters of Father van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial described the whole discussion which was provoked by the article. In the midst of diverse reactions, the Jesuit magazine in Indonesia, *De Java-Post*, did not admit the position of Father van Lith. Father van Aernsbergen, the editor of the magazine wrote that Father van Lith expressed his own personal position which was not that of the missionaries. His "we" in his article, he stated, was not other than *pluralis modestiae*<sup>211</sup>.

The statement of *De Java-Post* provoked other reactions. The missionaries at Muntilan and a number of the Javanese Catholics demanded that the *De Java-Post* retract the statement. Some natives even considered the denial of *De Java-Post* to accept the position of Father van Lith as a stupidity<sup>212</sup>. Then Father van Rijckevorsel explained to the Provincial that -in fact- the situation was very complicated. The reactions of the missionaries, he wrote, could be divided into three groups: (1) those who worked outside Java still

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<sup>209</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial (with a supplement for Father van Lith). Weltevreden, February 3, 1923. *Ibidem*.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>211</sup> "De Java-Post," February 2, 1923; "De Nieuwe Soerabaja Courant," cited it word for word in its edition on February 6, 1923.

<sup>212</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 10, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 11.

had great respect for the Dutch government; (2) those who worked among the Javanese understood easily the position both of the natives and Father van Lith; (3) those who worked exclusively among the Europeans and did not have any contacts with the natives fiercely opposed the position of Father van Lith and tended to underestimate the natives<sup>213</sup>. Father van Rijckevorsel also described how in the midst of this complicacy, Father Schmedding (the acting *Superior Missionis*) and Father van Hoof (the secretary of the Vicar) tried to maintain calm among the Catholics<sup>214</sup>.

The letter of Father Jos Hoeberechts, the *Superior Missionis* who was on a journey in the Netherlands, gave relief to those who favoured the position of Father van Lith. In his letter the *Superior Missionis* solicited all missionaries to respect liberty, to be open to the future, and to be more moderate in their judgement<sup>215</sup>. Then Father van Rijckevorsel cited what Father Hoeberechts wrote to him: "The distrust towards the article of Father van Lith reflected something else. The irritation towards Father van Lith had already existed before, the article only awakened it"<sup>216</sup>. Then Father van Rijckevorsel added that - presumably- the different positions among the missionaries could be overcome through sincere, honest, and open discussion<sup>217</sup>.

Father van Rijckevorsel was concerned that there was no sincere talk among the missionaries. Because in the course of time it became clear how their opinions placed them in two camps, and it was not only a difference of opinion: those who were on the side of Father van Lith, and therefore on the side of the natives (Frs. Jos

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>214</sup> Cfr. A. van Hoof to Father Aernsbergen [editor of the *Java-Post*]. Weltevreden, February 7, 1923. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 11 (supplement).

<sup>215</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 17, 1923. *Ibidem*, no. 12.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibidem*., "wantrouwen echter aan de brochure zelf en weer anderen zeggen: Het bestond al voor de brochure kwam, p.v. Lith had het toen al opgewekt".

<sup>217</sup> *Ibidem*.

Hoeberechts, Schmedding, Hellings) and those who were on the side of the "Europeans" (Mgr. van Velsen, Frs. A. van Hoof, Aernsbergen, Sondaal)<sup>218</sup>. Father van Rijckevorsel became more concerned about the situation because he saw that the governmental officials had played their role in the division<sup>219</sup>.

Then Father van Rijckevorsel described to Father Provincial how Cardinal van Rossum, the Prefect of the *Propaganda Fide* and - incidentally- Dutch, had answered the complaint of the government about the involvement of Father van Lith in the political question: "The right hand of the Governor General, Ch. Welter, told me that Cardinal van Rossum judged Father van Lith as *an overzealous and imprudent man whose statement only offended the others*". Then A.B. ten Berge, a Catholic and a member of the *Volksraad* added that Cardinal van Rossum -in the colonial situation of Indonesia- would prefer to avoid any kind of conflict with the government<sup>220</sup>.

After observing and reflecting upon the direction of the discussion, Father van Rijckevorsel concluded that whoever opposed the political position of Father van Lith would only lose contacts with the natives and their support. For the Catholic missionaries, he confirmed, it meant that they alienated themselves from the Javanese Catholics. That was the position which the *Superior Missionis* and Father Schmedding tried to avoid<sup>221</sup>.

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<sup>218</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 10 and 17, March 3, 9 and 24, 1923. *Ibidem*, nn. 11-15.

<sup>219</sup> Cfr. J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, March 19, 1923. *Ibidem*, no. 14.

<sup>220</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, March 19 and 24, 1923. *Ibidem*, nn. 14 and 15.

<sup>221</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, March 19, 1923. *Ibidem*, no. 14.

### 3.2.3. The Other Reactions

As was mentioned above, the weekly magazine of the Jesuits in Indonesia, *De Java-Post*, did not share the political position of Father van Lith. In the meantime, the other publications exalted Father van Lith as the most sincere and honest speaker on behalf of the oppressed, that is, the natives. But not rarely these publications altered the original message of Father van Lith to justify their own interests<sup>222</sup>. The publications which supported enthusiastically Father van Lith's political position were mostly the liberal and socialist press. And for some missionaries, it did more harm for the Catholic Church because they were regarded to have *red ideology*; it would only worsen the relations with the government<sup>223</sup>.

Another effect of the article of Father van Lith was the increasing solidarity among the Indonesian associations, both Catholic and non-Catholic<sup>224</sup>. Among the Catholics, the alumni of the schools at Muntilan played a significant role. And among the alumni, the most important figure was Ignatius Joseph Kasimo. He would be the leader and the founder of the *Indonesische Katholieke Partij*. Later he became a member of the Ministers' Cabinet after independence<sup>225</sup>.

In the beginning, to take part in the political activity some of the Javanese Catholics joined *Boedi Oetomo*, the only native party with national principles. In the course of time, however,

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<sup>222</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 3 and 17, 1923. *ANPJ*, Map 168, fasc. VI, nn. 10 and 12; P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, February 27, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 10.

<sup>223</sup> P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, February 27, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 10.

<sup>224</sup> J. van Rijckevorsel to Father Provincial. Weltevreden, February 3, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. VI, no. 10.

<sup>225</sup> For further information about the life and the political vision of I.J. Kasimo, see Y. Adisubrata (ed.), *I.J. Kasimo. Hidup dan Perjuangannya*, Gramedia-Jakarta, 1980.

they found themselves suspected merely because of their Catholicity:

*"Is not Christianity the religion of the Dutch? How can the Catholics have unity of mind and heart with us? Is it possible for them to be Catholic and nationalist or true patriot as well? Surely they belong to "kaum sana" (Dutch side) and not "kaum sini" (Indonesian side)"<sup>226</sup>.*

In the midst of this situation the article of Father van Lith was considered by I.J. Kasimo and the Javanese Catholics to be a "holy book," the frame of reference for their movement<sup>227</sup>. The last part of the article awaked their awareness and encouraged them to respond to the invitation of Father van Lith:

*"If your consent can strengthen my voice -which is weak- then I am sure that this voice will be able to awaken the whole Netherlands and will bring what you yourselves had planned: the island of Java grows and becomes the Netherlands Indies and the whole archipelago regains its glorious era, and will be reborn to occupy a place of honour among the other nations"<sup>228</sup>.*

In fact, Father van Lith referred the article to the Catholics in the Netherlands, that is, the *Rooms Katholieke Staatspartij*. For I.J. Kasimo and the Catholics in Java, however, the invitation was also directed to them and was interpreted as an encouragement: "Don't be afraid. I referred this invitation to you, to stand up behind me ..."<sup>229</sup>.

At the beginning of August 1923, as a response to "Father van Lith's invitation", the Javanese Catholics decided to form a Catholic association for the Javanese: *Pakempalan Politik Katolik*

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<sup>226</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>227</sup> Y. Adisubrata, *op. cit.*, p. 25; "Het Binnenhof," September 1-3, 1949, pp. 3, 3 and 7.

<sup>228</sup> "De politiek...", p. 346.

<sup>229</sup> Y. Adisubrata, *op. cit.*, p. 26.



Djawi (PPKD), Political Association for the Javanese Catholics. I.J. Kasimo was appointed to be the Secretary of this PPKD. In 1930 this Javanese Catholic Association was opened to the whole archipelago and changed its name to: *Persatuan Politik Katolik Indonesia (PPKI)*, then *Partai Katolik Indonesia*<sup>230</sup>. Through this political association the Indonesian Catholics showed other nationalists that their Catholicity was not in opposition with their nationality<sup>231</sup>.

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<sup>230</sup> Cfr. "Swara Tama," August 13, 1923; "De Java-Post," August 22, 1923; Y. Adisubrata, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>231</sup> Cfr. Y. Adisubrata, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-101.

#### 4. THE JAVANESE CUSTOMS

The progress of the Javanese mission was inseparable from the role of Father van Lith. Admittedly, however, almost all methods which he tried to introduce always aroused discussions, at least in the beginning. Then the reasons of some missionaries for opposing the return of Father van Lith to Indonesia showed that there were contrasts of opinion among the Jesuit missionaries themselves. The letter of Father Schmedding to Father Provincial on March 21, 1922, for instance, clearly listed the restrictions which Father van Lith had to keep in his mind if he wanted to return to the mission:

*"Now, concerning [the return of] Father van Lith. I understand your difficulty. I remain firm that he should not return to Indonesia. Or if he returns he will not defend again his opinions on the question of the moral theology, especially about the matrimony of the Javanese Catholics and indissolubility. He has also to be more loyal to the canonical regulation and Church authority, and to limit his political activity"<sup>232</sup>.*

Father van Lith's political position, and the reactions which followed, have been treated in the previous chapter. His position in theology and his interpretation of the canonical regulations were closely connected with his acknowledgment of the Javanese customs, such as marriage, circumcision, and some other usages. It should be remembered also that the questions about matrimony and other usages had already arisen in the early years of the Javanese mission, 1900-1904. At about the same time, the question of the liturgical prayer, the *Our Father* was also being debated.

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<sup>232</sup> Schmedding to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Muntilan, March 31, 1922. ANPJ, Map 169, fasc. III, no. 4, "Wat het geval van R.P. van Lith betreft. Ik begrijp Uwe moeilijkheid. Maar bij mij blijft de overtuiging dat ZE niet in Indië mag terugkeeren of zij moeten zekerheid hebben, dat hij zijne opvattingen omtrent moraal-theologische kwesties, vooral omtrent het huwelijk van Javaansche christenen en zijne onontbindbaarheid, niet meer zal volgen. Ook is noodig trouwer volgen van kerkelijke wetten, meer onderwerping aan kerkelijke overheid, meer terughouding in politieke zaken. Maar hoe zal iemand van zijn jaren zich nog veranderen?" See also Muntilan, December 31, 1921; Yogyakarta, July 3 and August 15, 1922. *Ibidem*, nn. 2, 13 and 15.

Just as about the question of the *Our Father*, the *Superior Missionis* asked Father van Lith to do some personal studies and give his observations to understand the issues better. His letters and the results of his observations<sup>233</sup> can be divided into two great themes: (1) the question of the matrimony of the Javanese Catholics, (2) the circumcision and the other Javanese usages.

#### 4.1. THE MATRIMONY OF THE JAVANESE CATHOLICS

In the beginning of the Javanese mission, the missionaries concentrated their work on the education of the young boys. When these new converts reached the age of marriage, they faced some difficulties: (1) they did not meet any Javanese Catholic girls; (2) there was a great difference of ideas between the Catholic and Javanese matrimony; (3) the only available institution which regulated the matrimony in the island of Java was penghulu. The penghulu was any Javanese Moslem who was appointed by the Dutch government to legalize the Javanese matrimony. Automatically, all Javanese who wanted to legalize their matrimony had to do it under the Moslem regulation. On the other hand, there was no choice for the Javanese Catholics<sup>234</sup>.

At Minahasa and Manado (in the North Celebes), in Flores, and in the Moluccas, the government entrusted the regulation of Christian matrimony to the Protestant ministers and Catholic priests. This was possible thanks to the good relations between the priests and the local government. Moreover, in those places the

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<sup>233</sup> During his medical treatment in the Netherlands (1921-1924) Father van Lith finally had time to write what he had done and the kind of visions which he had behind his methods. On the question of the Javanese marriage and customs he wrote five articles which were unpublished and were conserved in the Archive of the Jesuit Curia at Rome: (1) *Het geheim van den Javaan*; (2) *De besnijdenis*; (3) *De besnijdenis op Java*; (4) "*Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis*"; (5) "*De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk*".

<sup>234</sup> Cfr. "*De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk*," p. 1; "*Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis*," p. 1; F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

Christian religion was not extraneous. The same regulation could not be applied in Java because the government did not want to stir up reactions among the Moslems<sup>235</sup>.

In the early years of his work at Muntilan (1897-1900), Father van Lith tried to solve the problem of mixed-marriage according to canonical regulations<sup>236</sup>. Since all marriages were practically mixed-matrimonies, he had to ask for a dispensation from the Vicar for every request. Very soon he realized that it was impossible to maintain the same procedure. To receive the dispensation, he cited as an example, he had to wait for months while the Javanese family had decided the date of marriage. For the Javanese, he stated, the date of marriage was not only a question of practical choice, it was the result of long, very complicated and -for Father van Lith- inexplicable method<sup>237</sup>. There was a long tradition and local usage behind this choice.

In his letter to the Vicar at the beginning of March, 1902, Father van Lith, who had good relations with the Dutch and native officials, proposed a simple and not-expensive solution. It was simple because it would save much time and correspondence; not-expensive because it would not mean extra expenses for him and for the Javanese. The question of the matrimony of the Javanese Catholics, he wrote, would be solved if the Vicar permitted him to

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<sup>235</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6] and March 7, 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>236</sup> The term "mixed-marriage" here is my own translation from Father van Lith's term of the "*gemengde huwelijk*": "*Voor nu en nog voor langen tijd zullen op Java onder de inlanders de gemengde huwelijken niet te vermijden zijn. Zijn de gemengde huwelijken van inlanders op Java, huwelijken tusschen katholiek en heiden of tusschen katholiek en mahomedaan? Beide gevallen zullen zich voordoen.*" ("*Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met de besnijdenis*"). The term itself should be understood in the context of its time, that is, around 1900. Therefore, I did not distinguish between the "disparity of cult" (*disparitas cultus*): between a Catholic and a non-Christian, and the "mixed-marriage" (*matrimonium mixtum*) as found in CIC 1983, cc. 1124-1129. As Father van Lith meant, the "mixed-marriage" was used for any marriage between a Catholic and a non-Christian: "*tusschen katholiek en heiden of tusschen katholiek and mahomedaan*", that is, "between a Catholic and pagan or between a Catholic and Moslem."

<sup>237</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 25, 1901. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

become an official registrar of matrimony just as the *penghulu* was. Then he described some pastoral advantages which he would have if he had that function because the Javanese idea about matrimony, in a certain sense, was incompatible with the Catholic<sup>238</sup>.

Mgr. Luypen and Father Hoevenaars saw an incompatibility between the tasks of a registrar and the function of a priest. For, according to them, to record the divorces was included among the tasks of the registrar; a practice which was essentially contrary with the indissoluble and monogamous character of the Catholic matrimony<sup>239</sup>. Father van Lith's starting point was different. In his letters, he repeatedly emphasized that he did not start his works from the sacramental or theological question, but rather from practical or pastoral solution.

In order to clarify the proposal, the *Superior Missionis*, Father G. Hellings recommended that Father van Lith describe it more clearly and more in detail<sup>240</sup>. On March 5/6, 1902 Father van Lith sent to the Vicar the results of his personal observations<sup>241</sup>. The letter consisted of sixteen pages and explained each point of the issues, such as (a) the idea of the Javanese matrimony; (b) the role of the registrar of matrimony; (c) the practical solution.

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<sup>238</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 1/2], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>239</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>240</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 25, 1901. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>241</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

#### 4.1.1. The Javanese Matrimony

Through his personal observation and direct contacts with the people in the villages, Father van Lith formulated the idea of the matrimony practice among the Javanese as a contract of trading, the act of "buying" the bride from the part of the bridegroom's family or parents<sup>242</sup>. After legalizing the matrimony in front of the *penghulu* the woman belonged to the man as his wife. And in the Javanese society the husband, the head of family, was the boss. He was the one who decided everything<sup>243</sup>.

Father van Lith also wrote that the Javanese matrimony was the affair of the parents. It was the parents who decided the future wife of their son, or the future husband of their daughter. The son might know his future wife, and therefore he had time to observe her. The girl, on the other hand, did not know her future husband until the time when her future husband was ready to take her. She did not have time to know her future husband and she did not have right to refuse the decision of her parents.

According to the observation of Father van Lith, the Javanese matrimony did not have a sacred significance<sup>244</sup>. The Moslem Law did not prescribe that the Javanese matrimony be legalized in front of the *penghulu*. Then Father van Lith confirmed that the practice was introduced by the Dutch government merely for civil administration. Since the idea of Javanese matrimony was contract of trading, then the *penghulu* who legalized the matrimony was

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<sup>242</sup> Cfr. "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 1; "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," p. 3; "Het geheim van den Javaan," p. 8: "volgens de Javaansche en ook volgens de Mahomedaansche opvatting het huwelijk een koopcontract is. De ouders der twee partijen bedisselen het huwelijk, niet de partijen onderling".

<sup>243</sup> Cfr. "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 2; "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," p. 3: "De man is immers de baas in huis, rechtens althans, en de vrouw telt in rechten heelemaal niet mee".

<sup>244</sup> "Het geheim van den Javaan," p. 9, "Een huwelijk niet voorgeschreven door den mahomedaansche godsdienst, maar op bevel van een christen regeering te voltrekken door een pengoeloe om een soort burgerlijke stand te hebben. Het huwelijk in de missigit is van regeeringswege algemeen gemaakt om de burgerlijken stand te ordenen. Blijft de sahadat weg, dan vervalt het godsdienstig karakter".

regarded as the guarantee of the trading<sup>245</sup>. As a matter of fact the *penghulu* was merely a registrar and testimony of their matrimony.

Father van Lith judged that the role of the *penghulu* was not more than as the governmental official. Practically the *penghulu* did not involve himself in the events before or after the matrimony itself. The period of preparation for the future couple was not the affair of the *penghulu*. It was not rare, therefore, that a few days after the matrimony the man asked for divorce. The reason of divorce could vary because with the matrimony the social status of the man had changed<sup>246</sup>. After the matrimony he became a husband and the head of the family, therefore he could decide for himself. He could take a new wife according to his own choice and divorce the first wife whom his parents had chosen for him. The woman did not have that right. This condition, observed Father van Lith, caused the cases of divorce among the Javanese to be something acceptable. The divorce was not regarded as failure but merely that "they cannot go together"<sup>247</sup>. However, Father van Lith added, "it did not mean that all matrimones ended with divorce".

On the other hand, indissolubility and monogamy were considered to be essential characteristics of Catholic matrimony. Thus the idea of contract in the Catholic matrimony also presumed the freedom of the future couple. It is not exaggerating therefore if Father van Lith judged that "the idea of Catholic matrimony is

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<sup>245</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>246</sup> "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 6; F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen: Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>247</sup> "Het geheim van den Javaan," p. 11, "Het huwelijk is niet gelukt, die twee hoorden niet bij elkaar. Bij ons had het meisje schreiend aan haar ouders moeten zeggen, dat zij niet kon gehoorzamen en niet wilde maar hoezeer het haar ook speet, zij moest weigeren. Bij hen mocht het meisje haar vader het leed niet aandoen van hem ronduit te weigeren, maar zij moest haar doel bereiken door zich lijdend te verzetten". See also "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 6; F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

still too high for the Javanese"<sup>248</sup>. It was this condition which had urged him not to demand the radical change of the Javanese in a very short time. And Father van Lith saw that the registrar of matrimony could be the best means to bridge the incompatible ideas of matrimony. The role as registrar could help to prepare them to discover the values of the Catholic matrimony<sup>249</sup>.

#### 4.1.2. *The Registrar of Matrimony*

As was mentioned above, the Javanese matrimony was the affair of the parents and did not have sacred significance. Now, for the civil administration all matrimonies had to be legalized in front of the official registrar of matrimony. The Dutch government in Indonesia had an idea that "all Javanese were Moslems." In order not to offend them for the administrative change, they appointed the *penghulu* to be the only official registrar. Since the *penghulu* was Moslem, all Javanese matrimonies had a Moslem character. As a consequence, a number of catechumens left Father van Lith because after their matrimonies "they belonged to the Moslem flock"<sup>250</sup>.

Father van Lith wrote that as a matter of fact many Javanese were Moslems in name only. Therefore, thanks to his good relations with the governmental officials, he was allowed to register the matrimony of "his community," that is, groups of catechumens and sympathizers of the Catholic religion who had not yet decided to be catechumens<sup>251</sup>. By registering their matrimonies, he would be able

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<sup>248</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>249</sup> Cfr. F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 9; [March 1/2], [March 5/6], March 7 and 21, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 1.

<sup>250</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6] and 7, 1902. AAJAK, Map Muntilan.

<sup>251</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 7 and 21, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.



to keep the new non-Catholic couples in his community. Moreover the requirements of the Catholic matrimony were still too high for the Javanese<sup>252</sup>. They needed to learn step by step about the Catholic religion and, he added, the missionaries were not to require them to change radically:

*"Just as the steps to become firm Catholics are long, also to understand the idea of Catholic matrimony, the Javanese need some years of education. And they are not yet full Catholics. We cannot demand something too radical from them, natura non facit saltus"<sup>253</sup>.*

Now Father van Lith asked the permission of the Vicar to be the official registrar of matrimony, and not merely because he had gained the personal favour of the governmental officials. The permission of the Vicar was necessary in case the *penghulu* accused him of having worked illegally. Then Father van Lith stated that, as the official registrar, the matrimones which he registered were not automatically considered to be a sacrament because not all the participants were Catholics.

Sometimes he had to register some cases of divorce. If they were not Catholics, they were not bound by the indissoluble character of the sacrament, and for the Javanese divorce was not something scandalous. He had to do it not because he approved of divorce but because it had a civil effect. And if they were Catholics he also recorded their divorce, not to annul the sacrament, but, again, merely for administrative reasons. Father van Lith stated that what he did was canonically permitted, and he cited the practice in France as an example<sup>254</sup>. To confirm his

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<sup>252</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>253</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 9, 1902 and [March 5/6], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan, "Langzaam moeten die harten voorbereid worden. Wij moeten hen dus als eene kudde om ons heen roepen, niet als eene kudde van volmaakte Christenen, maar als eene kudde van verderfelijke Javanen, die mij of ons erkennen als hunne godsdienstleeraar. *Natura non facit saltus*".

<sup>254</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

proposal, he urged the Vicar to consider also the real condition of the mission:

"There is no theological problem in my request to be the official registrar. It is not either a question of may or may not, but it is the question of opportune or not-opportune. Now we have a problem of matrimony for the Javanese Catholics, while we are in the midst of a non-Christian society. What can a priest do with these unbaptized inhabitants [Father van Lith called them 'the members of our community'] without violating the policy of the government"<sup>255</sup>.

The clear and profound explanation of Father van Lith, which he wrote to clarify his practice and proposal, had its results. Some of the mission consultants went to Muntilan and personally talked with Father van Lith for more information. Then on April 9, 1902 Father Hellings, in his capacity as the *Superior Missionis*, sent a letter to Mgr. Luypen informing him about the opinions of some consultants concerning the request of Father van Lith:

"I enclosed here the opinions of two consultants on the question of the practice of Father van Lith concerning the marriages at Muntilan. I want to add also that no one in the mission has more an objective and impartial judgement than Father van Lith. Moreover his spiritual zeal is great and without selfishness"<sup>256</sup>.

In May, 1902 the consultants of the mission decided that Father van Lith could continue his practice as a registrar of matrimony. They also approved his method in handling the problem of matrimony

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<sup>255</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6] and 7, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan, "Ik bedoel, dat in deze zaak de theologische kwestie niet veel om het lijf heeft en alleen draait om de kwestie of het opportuun is dat een pastoor het doet. Dit nu is eene zaak met praktische gevolgen, die niet te overzien zijn. Wij hebben hier dus de kwestie van het huwelijk in eene niet Christelijke maatschappij en de kwestie wat mag een pastoor doen met ongedoopten van goevernementswijze". See also "Het geheim van den Javaan," p. 10.

<sup>256</sup> G. Hellings to Mgr. Luypen. Surabaya, April 9, 1902. *AAJAK*, Map Semarang, "Hierbij ingesloten de sententie van twee PP. Consultoren in de huwelijksquestie van Moentilan. Ik voeg erbij dat geen mensch in de Missie werkzaam met meer objectief onpartijdig oordeel handelt dan P. van Lith; het anderen zoeken af te winnen is hem totaal vreemd en zijn zielenijver is zeer groot zonder eenige zelf-zucht". See also E. Engbers to the *Superior Missionis*. Surabaya, March 30, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; G. van den Heuvel to the *Superior Missionis*. [Magelang], April 15, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

among the Javanese, and the Javanese Catholics in particular. Mgr. Luypen, however, remained opposed to the decision of the mission consult. The Vicar judged that the role as registrar and the method of Father van Lith concerning matrimony was pernicious:

*"The consult at Magelang last May decided to approve the practice of Father van Lith. I cannot share the decision of the consultors. I was and remain against the method of Father van Lith. After reflecting upon the method of Father van Lith (concerning the question of matrimony) I find it pernicious"*<sup>257</sup>.

#### 4.1.3. The Practical Solution

In the question of the *Our Father*, Father van Lith had problems with Father Hoevenaars, his own co-worker in the Javanese mission, while Mgr. Luypen and the *Superior Missionis* did not take either side, but remained neutral. In the question of the Javanese matrimony, however, the situation was totally different, though both questions arose in the same period. His practice and method in handling the question of the Javanese marriage were approved by the *Superior Missionis* and the consultors, but the Vicar and Father Hoevenaars were opposed. It is understandable if Father van Lith himself considered his situation in those years as casus conscientiae<sup>258</sup>.

Twenty years later, 1921-1923, some missionaries questioned again the practice of Father van Lith concerning the Javanese

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<sup>257</sup> The note was written and signed by Mgr. Luypen. The note, however, was without date and addressee. Since it was enclosed in the letter which he received from the *Superior Missionis*, most probably it was sent to the *Superior Missionis* to express his position towards the decision of the consultors. *Ibidem*, Map Semarang, "In het consult te Magelang (Mei 1902) werd besloten dat P. van Lith kan doorgaan. Persoonlijk kon ik mij niet vereenigen met het gevoelen der Consultoren (was en blijf tegen die handelwijze van P. van Lith). Na echter nogmaals herhaald te hebben dat ik de wijze van werken van P. van Lith (met betrekking tot de huwelijkszaken) verderfelijk vind".

<sup>258</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *AAJAK*, Map Muntilan.

matrimony and custom<sup>259</sup>. It should be remembered, however, that these missionaries were not the then-consultors or those who took part in the discussion in 1900-1902; only the Vicar remained the same, Mgr. E. Luypen. Their judgement that Father van Lith had underestimated the canonical regulations concerning matrimony, Church authority, and moral theology became indication that Father van Lith continued his method in handling Javanese marriage regardless of the disapproval of Mgr. Luypen -but with the approval of the consultors and the *Superior Missionis*-<sup>260</sup>.

Father van Lith was convinced that his role as the registrar of matrimony was pastorally necessary and canonically permitted. He was aware that theologically it could be discussed but, he asserted, after learning the Javanese culture, his position could be tolerated also from the theological point of view<sup>261</sup>. Then, in those years Mgr. Luypen himself used to consult Father van Lith in theological and canonical matters. The disapproval of Mgr. Luypen towards the practice of Father van Lith, therefore, was not for theological or canonical reasons but rather in its practical applications. The writings of Father van Lith in 1921-1923 seemed to be an effort to explain the reasons for his firm position.

To simplify the problem of mixed-marriages, for example, Mgr. Luypen suggested to Father van Lith that he baptize the future bride. For the Vicar it seemed to be the easiest and best solution. By baptizing her, the letter of dispensation was not necessary and therefore they could celebrate their matrimony on the date which

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<sup>259</sup> Cfr. Jos Hoeberechts to Father Provincial [C. Raaijmakers]. Yogyakarta, November 22, 1921 in *ANPJ*, Map 169, fasc. II, no. 30; Schmedding to Father Provincial. Muntilan, December 31, 1901; Muntilan, March 21, 1922; Bandung, May 25, 1922; Yogyakarta, July 3 and August 15, 1922. *Ibidem*, Map 169, fasc. III, nn. 2, 4, 11, 13 and 15 and P.J.W. Muller to Father Provincial. Bandung, February 27, 1923. *Ibidem*, Map 168, fasc. II, no. 10.

<sup>260</sup> In 1900-1902 the consultors were Frs. G. van den Heuvel, D. Opdenkamp, C. Wenneker, E. Engbers; the *Superior Missionis* was Father G. Hellings. In 1921-1923, those who questioned the practice of Father van Lith were Frs. Schmedding, P.J.W. Mulder. The Vicar remained the same: Mgr. E. Luypen.

<sup>261</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, [March 5/6], 1902. *AAJAK*, Map Muntilan; "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijck," p. 6.

they had chosen. However, this was contrary to Father van Lith's principle. He never accepted the idea of baptizing people without enough preparation<sup>262</sup>. Moreover experience showed that in practice after the matrimony the wife would become Catholic because it was the religion of her husband. In other words, there were different applications of the canonical regulations. Mgr. Luypen's proposal was for the sake of the regulation itself while Father van Lith's application was for the sake of pastoral education<sup>263</sup>. Father van Lith applied what Mgr. Luypen proposed only after due preparation.

Since Father van Lith persisted in his practice of handling the mixed-matrimony, Mgr. Luypen required him to do it according to the canonical requirements such as the letter of dispensation, and the written promise which obliged the non-baptized wife to educate the children according to Catholic principles<sup>264</sup>. As was mentioned above, in the beginning Father van Lith tried to do it. Then he left off the procedure because he judged it impossible and unnecessary. It was impossible because most of the girls were illiterate. It was unnecessary because it was the husband who decided everything. Therefore the wife could not be obliged to do something beyond her (traditional) right<sup>265</sup>. In other words, the obligation was already included in her role as the wife.

The general policy of Father van Lith became more complicated when the number of Catholic and educated girls increased, thanks to the school of Mendut, the Catholic school for the girls run by the Franciscan Sisters. Usually the Javanese parents would not impede

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<sup>262</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, June 27, 1900; May 14, 1901; February 9, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan; L. Hebrans to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, February 6, 1900. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>263</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 7 and 21, 1902. *Ibidem*, Map Muntilan.

<sup>264</sup> Cfr. "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," pp. 2-5; "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," pp. 6-8.

<sup>265</sup> "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," p. 4;

their daughters from becoming Catholics<sup>266</sup>. About marriage, however, the parents continued to consider it as their affair. In some cases, the man (in this case is the non-baptized and future husband of the Catholic girl) had declared to become Catholic even before the matrimony. It is understandable partly because having an educated wife was still very rare and partly because the alumnae of Mendut were strongly attached to "their Catholic education"<sup>267</sup>. In this case there was no problem. The problem could arise when the choice of the parents's girl, that is, the man (non-baptized and the future husband of the Catholic girl) did not express his position clearly.

In the later case, when the bridegroom was Moslem while the bride was Catholic, Mgr. Luypen demanded the non-baptized to make a written promise that the children would be baptized and educated Catholic, that the wife could exercise freely her religion, and that the non-baptized respected the indissoluble and monogamous characters of the matrimony. For pastoral reasons again, Father van Lith limited the demands of the Vicar to the oral promise. His reason was that the Javanese did not have the same idea of a promise as the Westerners had. According to Father van Lith, in the Javanese usage a condition or a promise could be easily interpreted as a sign of rejection<sup>268</sup>. Then he insisted that to win the sympathy of the Javanese, the Catholic Church should respect their feelings:

*"If the husband permits his children to be baptized, it is because for the Javanese all religions are good. It could be that one day the husband himself wants to become a Catholic. It is not because the Catholic religion is better than his past religion but because the Catholic religion is also good. In Java, the Catholics are the smallest part of the society. We, the Catholics, can win the sympathy of the Javanese to our*

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<sup>266</sup> Cfr. "Het geheim van den Javaan," pp. 2-3.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 1.

<sup>268</sup> "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," p. 5; "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," pp. 4, 7-8; "Het geheim van den Javaan," pp. 2-3, 5-6.

*religion only if we avoid disturbing their religious feelings, that is, by not imposing, as far as possible, any kind of written obligation or promise on them*"<sup>269</sup>.

Father van Lith was the only missionary who knew profoundly the Javanese customs. Certainly, his repeated references to the Javanese customs for not following the canonical requirements could annoy the other missionaries. As regards the Javanese usages in general, the question about matrimony seemed to be the main concern of the missionaries<sup>270</sup>. The other usages, such as circumcision and "slametan or kendurèn", however, could not be ignored because they, especially the "slametan or kendurèn," were significant usages in the social life of the Javanese.

#### 4.2. THE CIRCUMCISION AND THE OTHER USAGES IN JAVA

In the pastoral practice, the question of circumcision was closely connected with the marriage of the Javanese Catholics. In the mixed-marriage, for example, the non-baptized was obliged to make a written declaration which obliged her/him to follow some directions of the Catholic Church. One of the obligations was not to circumcise their future son(s) because circumcision with the religious meaning was considered to be contrary with the Catholic tradition. As was described in the previous pages, Father van Lith did not apply these canonical regulations -in a certain degree- to

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<sup>269</sup> "Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis," p. 6, "Als zij [mannen] toelaten dat de kinderen christen worden, dan gaan zij uit van de rede-  
neering, dat alle godsdiensten goed zijn. Misschien zouden zij zelf nog wel eens  
christen worden; doch dan niet omdat de christen goed is en de hunne niet, maar  
omdat de christen godsdienst toch ook goed is.

Wij katholieken zijn op Java is zwakste partij en wij kunnen de Javanen alleen  
winnen voor onzen godsdienst door ze zoo min mogelijk te stooten in hunne gods-  
dienstige gevoeligheden. De Javanen zijn van natuur zeer meegaande en zeer  
bevreesd anderen te grieven of te stooten. Zij zien in vele onzer uitdrukkelijke  
stipulaties en eischen van soliede waarborgen evenveel bewijzen van achterdocht  
en onverdraagzaamheid". See also "De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk," p. 5 and  
"Het geheim van den Javaan," p. 8.

<sup>270</sup> F. van Lith to Mgr. Luypen. Muntilan, March 21, 1902. *AAJAK*, Map  
Muntilan.

avoid offending the cultural and religious sentiment of the Javanese<sup>271</sup>.

The Catholic Church regarded the Jewish, Moslem, or any other religious and tribal circumcision as a visible sign of membership. On the other hand, according to the Catholic teaching "the physical circumcision" has been fulfilled and made perfect in Jesus, that is, through baptism. Therefore baptism was the only visible sign of Catholic membership. The restriction of the circumcision in the Catholic Church, according to Father van Lith, was based on the interpretation of St. Paul's letter to the Galatians: "*Listen! I, Paul, am telling you that if you let yourselves be circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you*" (Gal. 5, 2)<sup>272</sup>.

Among the Catholic missionaries in Indonesia, especially in Java, the question of circumcision was real. In order not to repeat the error of the Protestant *zending* among the Javanese, Father van Lith did a personal study on the matter. He was convinced that the correct understanding of the missionaries and Church authority on the issue would lead also to a just treatment<sup>273</sup>. According to his observations, the restrictions which were based on prejudice would be more harmful than helpful for those who sincerely wanted to embrace the Catholic faith<sup>274</sup>.

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<sup>271</sup> Cfr. "*Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis*," p. 4; "*De besnijdenis op Java*," p. 6; "*Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java*," pp. 144-156.

<sup>272</sup> Cfr. "*De besnijdenis op Java*," p. 6; "*Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java*," pp. 158-160.

<sup>273</sup> Cfr. "*De besnijdenis*," p. 2.

<sup>274</sup> Ibidem, p. 1. "Een verkeerde opvatting der besnijdenis leidt tot verkeerde handelingen, die niet toegelaten moesten worden, of anders tot verkeerde bepalingen, die niet vastgesteld, of beslissingen, die niet genomen moesten worden, en voor den missionaris een blok aan 't been zijn, voor het volk een ergernis en voor de verspreiding van het evangelie een hinderpaal".



#### 4.2.1. The Practice of Circumcision in Java

The results of Father van Lith's personal observations showed that circumcision was a common practice in most continents. It was not only the subject of study by the anthropologists, but also by theologians, historians, and physicians. According to Father van Lith there were two different practices of circumcision in the Indonesian archipelago: Polynesian, and Arabic or Moslem. He stated that the practice of circumcision in Indonesia had already existed before the arrival of Islam<sup>275</sup>. The awareness of these different practices was necessarily emphasized so as not to identify easily the practice of circumcision with the Moslem religion.

Then Father van Lith tried to describe the difference between the practice in the Polynesian and Arabic/Moslem backgrounds. Just as in the Jewish tradition, so in the Moslem tradition the circumcision was done in the early years. In the Polynesian and other traditions the circumcision was done at the age of puberty. According to the tradition of these regions, the circumcision was celebrated as the rite of initiation to adulthood. It was the second birth in which the boy was considered to be ready to become a full member of the community, to carry out his rights and obligations in the tribal life. With the circumcision, the boy was liberated from a certain taboo and had the right to begin a new family life<sup>276</sup>.

The arrival of Islam in Java also influenced the practice of circumcision. In the beginning, Islam was the religion of the kings in the north coastland of Java while the hinterlanders maintained their Budhistic or Hindu tradition. When the Moslem influence increased, then the practice of circumcision was also added with the Arabic prayer. For the Javanese it did not signify much as long

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<sup>275</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis," p. 2; "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 1; "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," p. 162.

<sup>276</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis," p. 6; "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," p. 160.

as the tradition itself continued. In the course of time, however, in some parts of Indonesia the circumcision was considered to be a religious obligation, an islamization. The circumcision was a visible sign of conversion to Islam<sup>277</sup>.

#### 4.2.2. The General Policy of Father van Lith

Father van Lith emphasized that the question of circumcision in Java had to be confronted proportionally. First of all it could not be treated as seriously as the other questions, such as the issues of cannibalism or headhunting. It was not a question of dogmatic theology or principle but rather a question of strategy and policy<sup>278</sup>. Moreover, he asserted, Java had a tropical climate. Therefore the hygienic point of view should be considered before any decision on the circumcision was taken<sup>279</sup>.

Secondly, Father van Lith referred his position to the policy of Francis Xavier and the other missionaries in the Moluccas before the arrival of the Dutch Company in 1600<sup>280</sup>, and the practice of the Dutch missionaries in Flores at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The missionaries did not ban the practice of circumcision partly because the Moslem influence in those regions was not yet so strong and partly because the missionaries realized that circumcision had lost its sacred and religious meaning<sup>281</sup>. About

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<sup>277</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 2; "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," p. 162.

<sup>278</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 5, "De kwestie der besnijdenis is niet een kwestie van dogma of principie, maar van takt en van beleid. Een algemeen kerkelijk verbod tegen dat soort besnijdenis zou geen reden van bestaan hebben en zeer schadelijk kunnen zijn in zijn gevolgen". See also "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," [p. 158].

<sup>279</sup> "De besnijdenis," p. 6; "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 4.

<sup>280</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis op Java," pp. 3-4.

<sup>281</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis," pp. 5-6; "De besnijdenis op Java," pp. 3 and 6: "Immers, ook aan de maleische besnijdenis ligt een godsdienstig ritueel ten grondslag. Dit is waar. Maar, wat oorspronkelijk zoo was, is als zoodanig verbasterd en vergeten. De uiterlijke gebruiken blijven bestaan, de innerlijke

the strategy of the Catholic Church in Java, Father van Lith only recommended a cautious attitude.

Then Father van Lith described the cause of the irreparable rupture between the Dutch and the Javanese Protestants some years before he initiated his work at Muntilan<sup>282</sup>. The Dutch Protestant authority -without doing enough study or observation- judged that circumcision was a pagan practice and therefore had to be abandoned and abolished. In the meantime Sadrach, the guru of the Javanese Protestants, kept the practice and permitted the Javanese to maintain it. Father van Lith himself judged the attitude of the Protestant authority as follows:

*"... arrogance and a tactless attitude have blinded their eyes and led to misunderstanding. The incorrect understanding led to a fatal decision. The foolish decision caused the loss of trust among the natives"*<sup>283</sup>

After describing the traditional position of the Church on the question of circumcision, its backgrounds and practices in Java, Father van Lith exposed his position. Principally he did not oppose the practice of circumcision among the Catholics in Java because it no longer had a religious meaning. He opposed, however, the addition of the Arabic prayer in the circumcision or circumcision itself if it was regarded as the sign of conversion to Moslem. It could be that the prayer was only a formality. However, he asserted, for the pastoral education of the new Catholic converts the firm refusal to pronounce the Arabic prayer certainly would

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reden van het gebruik gaat verloren".

<sup>282</sup> Cfr. C. Guillot, *Kiai Sadrach. Riwat Kristenisasi di Jawa*, Jakarta, 1985, pp. 84-164; "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische zending van Midden-Java," pp. 247-296.

<sup>283</sup> "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 8, "Nu wil ik gaarne aanemen, dat het optreden der medezendingen van Wilhelm niet aan niyd moet worden toegeschreven. Zeer natuurlijk zou het nochtans zijn, dat hun rassenwaan en het gevolg hiervan het ontaktisch optreden, het missen van het vertrouwen der inlanders hun de oogen heeft verblind en tot een noodlottig misverstand en een dwaas besluit geleid heeft".

bring a great benefit for their living faith<sup>284</sup>.

The policy of Father van Lith concerning the circumcision in Java was then applied also for the other traditional usages in Java such as *slametan*, *kendurèn*. Father van Lith was well aware that the Javanese were very much attached to their adat, the traditional custom or usages of the Javanese<sup>285</sup>. Adat, according to Father van Lith, played an important role in the social life of the Javanese people<sup>286</sup>. Therefore, he strongly and repeatedly emphasized that becoming Catholics did not mean leaving their Javanese identity. Admittedly some usages could be abused, but they could be also purified and elevated to higher meaning:

*"The Javanese are very tolerable people because for them all religions are good; and in this case they are very different from us. This always becomes my policy: to go along with them first, only then speaking; by so doing I can speak frankly with a thought in my mind, that is, I must not be stubborn."*

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<sup>284</sup> Cfr. "De besnijdenis op Java," p. 2 and 6, "Het prevelen van Javaanscche gebeden bij de besnijdenis is van islammitisch standpunt beschouwd niet geheel waardeloos, maar van groote betekenis is het niet.

Laten wij niet onnoodig streng zijn tegenover de besnijdenis als maleisch gebruik en hygiënisch voordeel. Laten wij van den anderen kant met alle macht ons verzetten tegen de arabische gebeden, die aan de besnijdenis zijn toegevoegd. Al zijn zij in het oog der Javanen slechts ledige formaliteiten, toch is het voor ons een krachtige belijdenis van levend geloof in de reinigende wateren van het doopsel in Christus, dat de pas bekeerde Javaan openlijk weigert de mahome-daansche gebeden toe te laten".

See also "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," pp. 151-156.

<sup>285</sup> "Adat" is traditional behaviour or custom or usages of the (Javanese) people, folk-ways. Slametan is a practice of offering food to a transcendental entity asking for protection/fortune, or liberation from difficulties, or it can be an expression of gratitude. Kendurèn is a Javanese custom in which the neighbours are invited to have a meal and to pray together for a certain intention.

<sup>286</sup> "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," pp. 144, "Het is U bekend, dat, als een Javaan het Christendom aaneemt, zijn landgenooten, zoowel de mindere man als de voorname, hem verwijten, dat hij heeft opgehouden Javaan te zijn, omdat hij met de Javaansch adat heeft gebroken. Dat verwijt doet den Javaanschen Christen niet slechts zeer onaangenaam aan, maar wondt hem in het diepst zijner ziel, want er is voor den Javaan haast niets zoo heilig, zoo eerbiedwaardig, dan de adat, de voorouderlijke gewoonte". The letters and other writings of Father van Lith confirmed what he described in this opinion.

What about the Javanese adat such as slametan, kendurèn? I always recommend the Javanese Catholics to join as a part of social life, but with the Catholic prayer. We must not oppose it. The problem is not may or may not, have to or have not to; it is a question of strategy.

And the Javanese puppet-show ("wayang") and dance? They can be abused. But we have to try our best to purify them, and to elevate them to a nobler meaning; and not merely abolish and throw them away. The people need good entertainment, because good entertainment strengthens and makes better the moral life of people"<sup>287</sup>.

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<sup>287</sup> "Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische Zending van Midden-Java," pp. 153-156:

"Een Javaan is zoo meegaande en verschilt daarin zooveel van ons. Alle godsdiensten zijn goed, is een woord, dat hem op de lippen ligt bestorven. Mijn taktiek is steeds geweest eerst mee te gaan en daarna te praten en dan mag je heel wat zeggen; maar altijd, mits je zelf meegaande zijt.

Een heel andere vraag is deze. Mag de missionaris een Christen Javaan toelaten een slametan te geven. Neen dat niet, als alles onveranderd blijft, maar zeker wel, als de dorpsgod verandert in den schutspatroon ... en verder de Arabische gebeden vervangen door Christen gebeden. Het is geen kwestie van mogen en niet-mogen, moeten en niet-moeten. Het is op de eerste plaats een kwestie van taktiek. Wij hebben reeds gezien, dat aan den feestmaaltijd eenig verbonden is het poppentoneel of de wajang en wij kunnen er nu nog bijvoegen ook het tajoeban of dansfeest. Nochtans deze dans kan misbruikt worden en wordt misbruikt voor onzedige bedoelingen. Hetzelfde kan gezegd worden voor het poppenspel. Ook dit is in zich zelf niet slecht, maar het kan slecht gemaakt worden. Wij Katholieken zullen er daarom naar streven beide te zuiveren en te verheffen, niet ze eenvoudig weg te bannen of geheel te dooden. Het volk heeft behoefte aan gepaste uitspanning en gepaste uitspanning verbetert en behoudt de goede zeden".

## SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The sources for this study are divided into three parts together with the abbreviated forms cited: A. Manuscript Sources B. Printed Sources; C. Bibliography.

### A. Manuscript Sources

#### INDONESIA:

- I. Archives of the Archdiocese of Jakarta (AAJAK), at Jakarta:
  - *Map Mendut* = letters and documents concerning the problem of Mendut and Father Petrus Hoevenaars (1896-1905)
  - *Map Muntilan* = letters and documents concerning the problem of Muntilan and Father van Lith (1894-1926)
  - *Map Semarang* = letters which were written by the *Superiores Missionis* before they had a permanent residence at Semarang (1859-1926)
  - *KDC* = supporting documents, copies, and notes relating to the documents in the above sections
  
- II. Jesuit Archives of the Indonesian Province (JAIP), at Semarang (Central Java):
  - "Joesak Sastradwidja" = manuscript written by one of first students of Father van Lith (in Javanese)
  - "Diarium missionis" = the diary of Fr. P. Hoevenaars from 1897 to 1904 (in Latin)
  - Lijst eerste christenen leerlingen te Muntilan
  - Missie-methode: van Lith, van Driessche, Sträter, Teppema, Soegija, J. ten Berge, J. Versteegh, Djajasepoetra, Spekle, Ludovicus van Rijckevorsel, Mgr. Willekens (1940), Joannes van Rijckevorsel (1945), Ruding (1945), G. de Quay (1946)
  - Personal letters of A.F. van Idenburg, the Governor General (1909-1916) to Fr. van Lith
  - Fr. van Lith's manuscripts:
    - (1) Over het regeringsvoorstel tot herziening bestuurwijze van Indië
    - (2) Opvoeding tot autonomie
    - (3) Raden Larang en Raden Sumana
    - (4) Opgaven omtrent de R.K. Kweekschool te Moentilan
    - (5) De Muloschool in haar betrekking tot de verschillende volksgroepen in Ned. Indië

- (6) Aantwoord op vragen van het Koloniaal Onderwijs-Congres in Nederland 1916
- (7) Het Indische Kind Opvoeding
- (8) De Herziening der Lager Onderwijs
- (9) Het Doel van het Katholieke Bijzonder Inlandsch Onderwijs
- (10) "Onze Vader"

#### THE NETHERLANDS :

- III. Archief Nederlandse Provincie Jezuiten (ANPJ), at Nijmegen:
- Doos 313 = about Mgr. J. Grooff
  - Doos 315 = official letters/documents (1832-1903)
  - Doos 321 = negotiations for the Jesuit arrival
  - Doos 324 = separated collections of the documents and letters which Father van Lith wrote during his medical treatment in 1921-1924; other letters concerning the Javanese mission, particularly about Father van Lith
  - Doos 326 = the writings of Father G.D.A. Jonckbloet, SJ
  - Doos 330 = the writings of Father Verbraak, SJ
  - Doos 333 = collection of letters (1882-1918)
  - Doos 334 = reports of Father Heijnen's visit to the mission (January 31, 1874 - January 18, 1875)
  - Doos 335 = collection of letters (1859-1896)
  - Doos 336 = collection of letters (1872-1896)
  - Map 1a : reports of the consult meetings which were held in the Netherlands (May 14, 1847 - July 26, 1883)
  - Map 1b (consult meeting of Febr. 16, 1884 - August 6, 1902)
  - Map 1c (consult meetings of October 29, 1902 - May 4, 1926)
  - Map 160, fasc. IV = the letters of Fr. M. van den Elzen
  - Map 162, fasc. IVB = the letters of Fr. M. van den Elzen
  - Map 162, fasc. IVD = the letters of Fr. M. van den Elzen
  - Map 162, fasc. IVF = the letters of Fr. J. de Vries
  - Map 162, fasc. V = the letters of Fr. Joannes Palinckx
  - Map 163, fasc. III = various letters to the Provincial
  - Map 163, fasc. IV = the letters of Mgr. Claessens
  - Map 166, fasc. II = the letters of Fr. Heijnen during his visit in the mission
  - Map 168, fasc. I = the letters of Fr. J. Mertens
  - Map 168, fasc. II = the letters of Fr. J.M.W. Muller
  - Map 168, fasc. III = various letters to the Provincial
  - Map 168, fasc. V = the letters of Fr. FX Sträter
  - Map 168, fasc. VI = the letters of Fr. J. van Rijckevorsel
  - Map 169, fasc. I = the letters of Fr. E. Engbers
  - Map 169, fasc. II = the letters of Fr. Jos Hoeberechts
  - Map 169, fasc. III = the letters of Fr. Gerardus Schmedding
  - Map 174, fasc. I = letters, reports, and diarium of Father Isidorus Vogels, the Dutch Provincial, during his canonical visit to the mission (1910-1911)
  - Map 174, fasc. IV = Mgr. E. Luypen and Mgr. A. van Velsen

- Map 174, fasc. VI = non-Jesuits' letters, about the division of the mission field in Indonesia (1914-1923)
- The manuscripts of Father van Lith:
  - (1) De Geschiedenis der Katholieke Java-missie
  - (2) Kjahi Sadrach. Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantische zending van Midden-Java
  - (3) Over Javaansche Bedienden en Doerians
  - (4) Aan Zyne Eminentie Kardinaal van Rossum
  - (5) Toelichting op het missiewerk op Java
  - (6) Leeren uit de Filippijnen
  - (7) De casus van het Javaansche huwelijk
  - (8) Het Javaansche huwelijk in verband met besnijdenis
- Three manuscripts which were written by the first Indonesian Jesuits on Father van Lith (1926):
  - (1) P. Darmasepoetra, "Over P. van Lith"
  - (2) FX Satiman, "Pastoor van Lith volgens een Javaansche leerling en vereerder"
  - (3) Alb. Soegija, "Onze Emancipator als Opvoeder"

- IV. Katholiek Documentatie Centrum (KDC), at the Catholic Univ. of Nijmegen, at Nijmegen:
- archives of the Archbishopric of Batavia/Jakarta, 1807-1949 in microfiche

#### ITALY:

- V. Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide (APF), at Rome:
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  - Acta vol. 219 (1856)
  - Acta vol. 263 (1903)
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  - Lettere vol. 307 (1826)
  - Lettere vol. 312 (1831)
  - Lettere vol. 346 (1865)
  - Lettere vol. 376 (1895)
- VI. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), at Rome:
- Indica Neerlandia
  - Manuscripts of Father van Lith on the Javanese customs:
    - (1) Het geheim van den Javaan
    - (2) De besnijdenis op Java
    - (3) De besnijdenis
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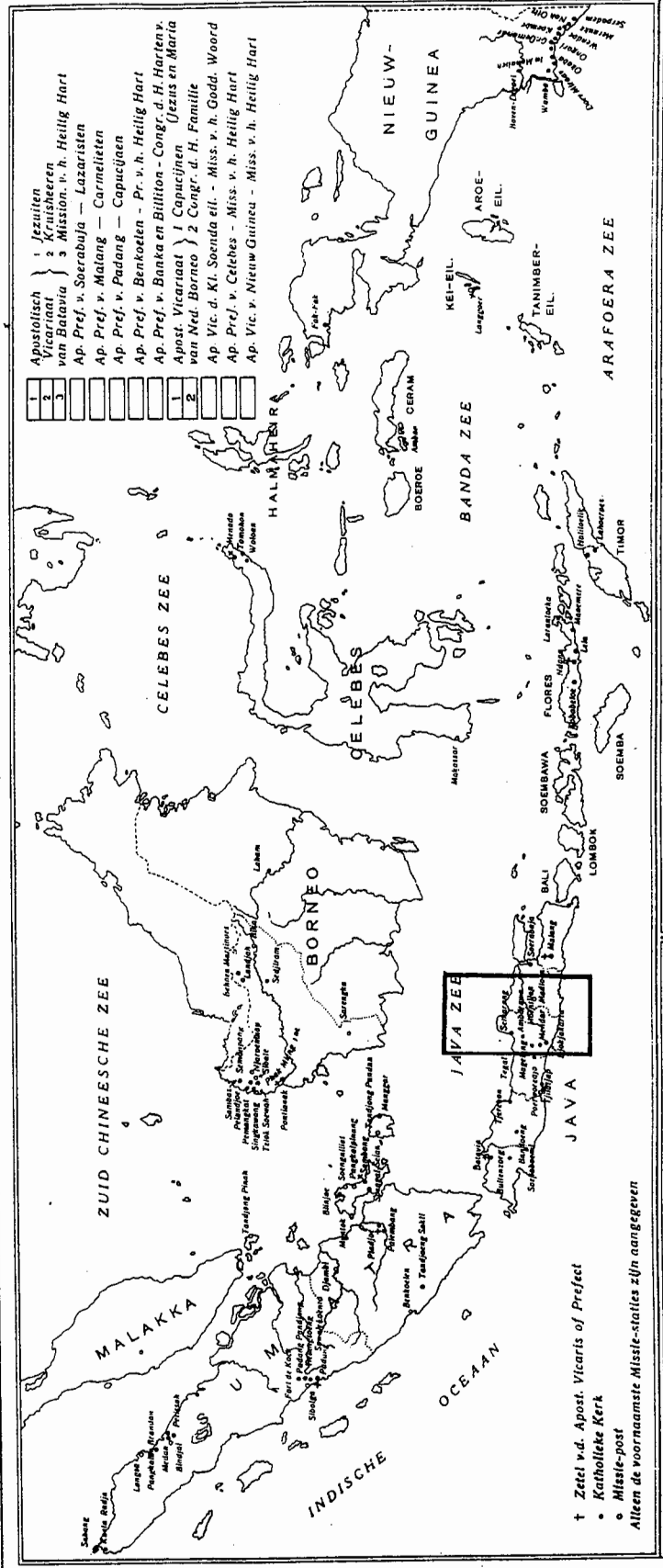


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# MISSION-MAP OF INDONESIA IN 1928

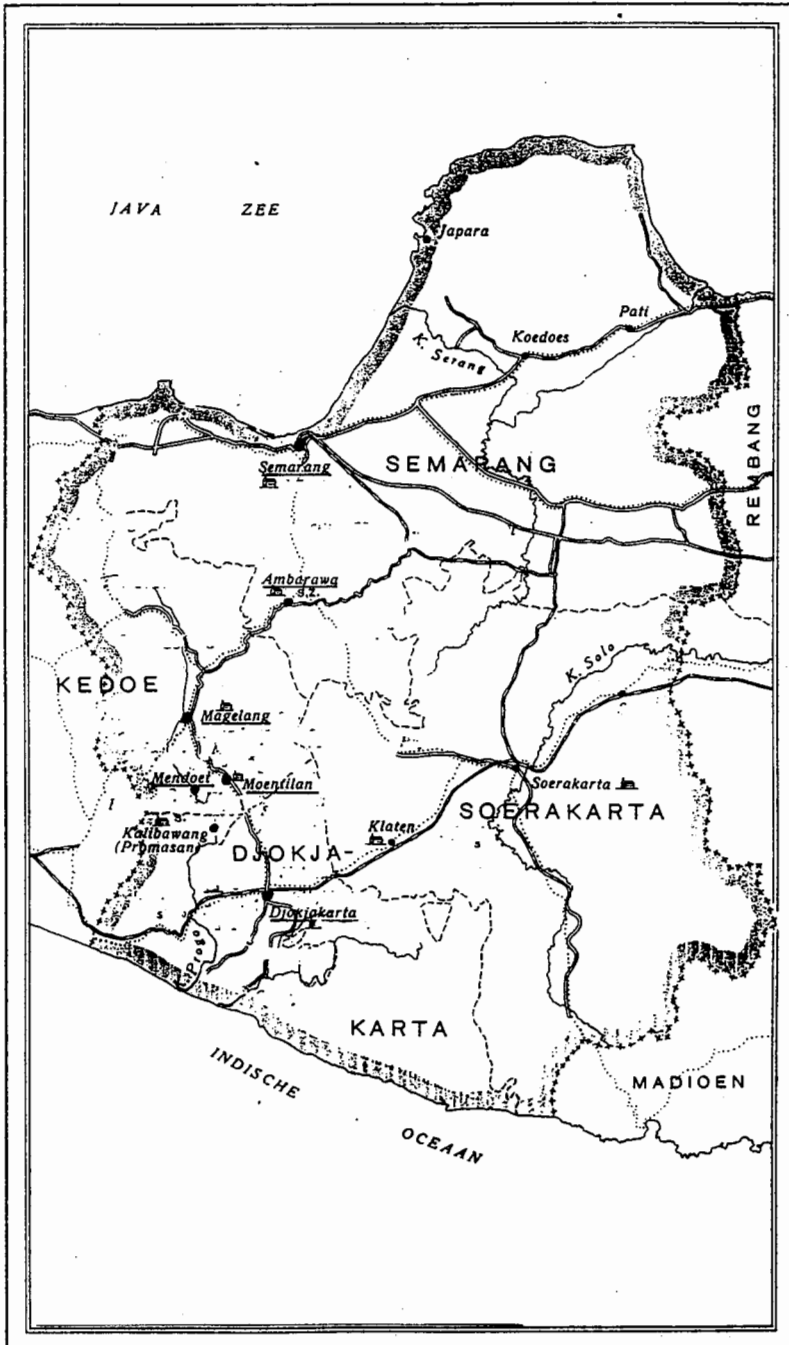


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- 1 Jezuiten
  - 2 Kruisheeren
  - 3 Mission: v. h. Heilig Hart
  - 4 Ap. Pref. v. Soerabaja — Lazaristen
  - 5 Ap. Pref. v. Malang — Carmelieten
  - 6 Ap. Pref. v. Padang — Capucijnen
  - 7 Ap. Pref. v. Benkoelen — Pr. v. h. Heilig Hart
  - 8 Ap. Pref. v. Banka en Billiton — Congr. d. H. Harten v. Jezus en Maria
  - 9 Apost. Vicariaat } 1 Capucijnen
  - 10 van Ned. Borneo } 2 Congr. d. H. Familie
  - 11 Ap. Vic. d. Ki. Soenda eil. — Miss. v. h. Godd. Woord
  - 12 Ap. Pref. v. Celebes — Miss. v. h. Heilig Hart
  - 13 Ap. Vic. v. Nieuw Guinea — Miss. v. h. Heilig Hart

† Zetel v.d. Apost. Vicaris of Prefect  
 • Katholieke Kerk  
 ○ Missie-post  
 Alleen de voornaamste Missie-staties zijn aangegeven

J. Kleijntjens, Atlas der R.K. Missie in Nederlandsch Oost- en West-Indië, Maastricht, 1928

**APOSTOLIC VICARIATE OF BATAVIA**  
**THE FUTURE APOSTOLIC VICARIATE OF SEMARANG**  
Jesuits



**Ap. Prefects/Vicars of Batavia/Archbishops of Jakarta (3/1/1961):**

01.	1807-1817	: Mgr. Y. Nelissen, Pr
02.	1817-1830	: Mgr. L. Prinsen, Pr
03.	1830-1842	: Mgr. Y.H. Scholten, Pr
04.	1842-1846	: Mgr. Y. Grooff, Pr
05.	1847-1874	: Mgr. P.M. Vrancken, Pr
06.	1874-1893	: Mgr. A.C. Claessens, Pr
07.	1893-1897	: Mgr. Walterus Staal, SJ
08.	1898-1923	: Mgr. Edmundus Luypen, SJ
09.	1923-1933	: Mgr. Antonius van Velsen, SJ
10.	1934-1952	: Mgr. Petrus Willekens
11.	1953-1970	: Mgr. Adrianus Djajasepoetra, SJ
12.	1970-1995	: Mgr. Leo Soekoto, SJ
13.	1996-	: Mgr. Cardinal Julius Darmaatmadja, SJ

**The Vicar/Archbishops of Semarang (3/1/1961):**

01.	1940-1964	: Mgr. Albertus Soegijapranata, SJ
02.	1966-1980	: Mgr. Justinus Cardinal Darmajuwana, Pr
03.	1983-1996	: Mgr. Cardinal Julius Darmaatmadja, SJ
04.	1997-	: Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo, Pr

**THE JESUIT GENERALS:**

1829-1853: Jan Roothaan

1853-1887: Pieter Beckx

1887-1892: Anton Anderledy

1892-1906: Luis Martin

1906-1914: Franz Wernz

1915-1942: W. Ledóchowski

1946-1964: J.B. Janssens

1965-1981: Pedro Arrupe

1983- : Peter Hans Kolvenbach

**THE DUTCH PROVINCIALS:**

1849-1850: A. van der Leeuw

1850-1854: A. Consen

1854-1859: L. van Gulick

1859-1866: Aug. Henriet

1866-1874: L. van Gulick

1874-1881: P. Jacobs

1881-1884: G. van Heyst

1884-1890: F. Heynen

1890-1897: H. van den Boogaard

1897-1902: P. Duffels

1902-1908: G. Swart

1908-1914: I. Vogels

1914-1915: R. van Oppenraaij

1915-1921: Ev. Beukers

1921-1924: C. Raaijmakers

1924-1927: Ev. Beukers

1927-1934: H. Keysera

1934-1940: V. Esser

**THE MISSION SUPERIORS OF INDONESIA:**

1859-1866: M. van den Elzen

1866-1866: J.F. van der Hagen

1869 : J. de Vries

1870-1882: A.G. Terwindt

1883-1887: J. de Vries

1894-1894: P.J. van Santen

1894-1896: J.P. Keijzer

1897-1904: G. Hellings

1904-1916: E. Engbers

1917-1927: J. Hoeberechts

1928-1934: A. van Kalken

1935-1945: J. van Baal

1946-1952: G. de Quay

1953-1962: G. Kester

1963-1966: C. Orie

1967-1974: A. Soenarja

1974-1980: P. Suradibrata

1980-1983: J. Darmaatmadja

1983-1989: J. Dazminta

1989-1990: FX Danuwinata

1990-1996: CB Putranta

1996- : P. Wiryono Priyotamtama

**THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH  
AND THE JESUITS/FATHER VAN LITH IN INDONESIA**

**THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**

1546-1677:

Francis Xavier and the Jesuit missionaries work in the Moluccas

November 9, 1677:

The treaty of peace between the King of Siau and the VOC banishes the presence of the Catholic Church in the Archipelago. The last two Jesuits are expelled

May 8, 1807:

Pope Pius VII erects the Apostolic Prefecture of the Netherlands Indies, "Missio Belgica"

1842: Pope Pius IX elevates the mission of Indonesia to the Apost. Vicariate of Batavia

1846/7: "Grooff's Affair" / "Nota der punten"

July 9, 1859:

Two first Dutch Jesuits arrive at Jakarta

1893-1897:

Fr. Walterus Staal, SJ is appointed to be the first Jesuit as the Vicar of Batavia

1897-1923:

Fr. Edmundus Luypen, SJ is appointed to be the Vicar of Batavia

1902:

The foundation the Apostolic Prefecture of the Netherlands New Guinea, entrusted to the M.S.C. (1920: Apost. Vicariate)

**FATHER VAN LITH - THE JESUITS**

July 9, 1859:

Frs. M. van den Elzen and J. Palinckx arrive in Indonesia

1863:

May 17: Fr. van Lith borns at Oirschot, a small town between Tilburg and Eindhoven

1881-1896: Fr. van Lith's formation

- September 18, 1881 Fr. van Lith enters the novitiate at Mariëndaal
- The philosophy years at Stonyhurst, England
- The regency at the Jesuit College at Katwijk, teaching mathematics and English litterature
- The theology years at Maastricht
- September 8, 1894: the ordination to the priesthood at Maastricht
- The tertianship at Drongen, Belgium in 1895-1896

1894:

Father J. Keijzer initiates the missionary work among the Javanese

1896:

Frs. van Lith and Hoevenaars arrive in Java

1897:

- Fr. van Lith is appointed to lead the Javanese station at Muntilan
- the question of the prayer "Our Father", the Javanese marriage and customs
  - the opening of the training-teacher school

1904:

- Fr. Mertens joins the staff at Muntilan
- The massive conversion at Kalibawang

1905:

The Apostolic Prefecture of the Netherlands  
Borneo (OFMCap, 1918: Apost. Vicariate)

1911:

The Apostolic Prefecture of Sumatra (OFMCap,  
1932: Apost. Vicariate)

1913:

The Apostolic Prefecture of Celebes (MSC,  
1934: Apost. Vicariate)

1923:

- 1). The Apostolic Prefecture of Bengkulu (SCJ)
- 2). The Apostolic Prefecture of Bangka and  
Belitung (SSCC)

1927:

The Apostolic Prefecture of Malang (OCarm)

1928:

The Apostolic Prefecture of Surabaya (CM)

1932:

- 1). The Apost. Prefecture of Bandung (OSC)
- 2). The Apost. Prefecture of Purwokerto (MSC)

1905:

Fr. Hoevenaars leaves the Javanese mission,  
"Mendut's Affair"

1906:

The opening of *Kweekschool-B* at Muntilan

1909:

Three Jesuit scholastics arrive at Muntilan

1912:

- The opening of the Seminary at Muntilan with  
two Javanese students
- The *Kweekschool* at Muntilan receives the  
*effectus civilis*

1915:

Two Javanese are admitted to enter the Jesuit  
novitiate at Mariëndaal, the Netherlands

1916:

Fr. van Lith is appointed to be the member of  
Commission for the Native Education, and does  
comparative study in the Philippines.

1920:

Fr. van Lith is appointed to be the member of  
the *Herziening Commissie*, entering into the  
political activity

1921-1924:

Fr. van Lith returns to the Netherlands for  
medical treatment. In these years, besides  
writing the numerous reflections, he attends  
the mission congress at Maastricht and Utrecht

1922:

- publication of Father van Lith's article on  
the political issues in Indonesia
- the opening of the Jesuit novitiate at Yogya
- the popular mission at Yogyakarta and in the  
neighborhood; the massive conversion

1925:

- the opening of the Minor Seminary at Yogya
- the opening of the juniorate and then the  
philosophate in the same complex of the  
Minor Seminary at Yogyakarta

1926:

- January 9: Father van Lith dies at Semarang  
and is buried at Muntilan
- August 15: FX Satiman is ordained to the  
priesthood at Maastricht; the first native-  
Indonesian priest

1930:

- the Jesuit novitiate moves to Giri Sonta
- the first three Javanese who want to become  
the Jesuit brother enter the novitiate



1940:

The foundation of the Apostolic Vicariate of Semarang.

As the first Vicar is appointed Mgr. Albertus Soegijapranata, SJ.

He becomes the first Indonesian Bishop.

March 22, 1952:

The Jesuit mission of Indonesia is elevated its status to the Independent Region

1961:

With the Apostolic Letter of "Quod Christus Adorandus," Pope John XXIII consents the mission of Indonesia to have their own Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

September 6, 1971:

The Jesuit Region of Indonesia becomes the Jesuit Province. Father Antonius Soenarja, a Javanese, is appointed to be the First Jesuit Provincial of Indonesia

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