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Memoria Passionis of the Vincentian Missionaries during the Japanese Invasion: A Glimpse of the 100 Years of the Lazarists' Mission in Indonesia¹

Memoria passionis *misijonarjev iz vrst lazaristov med japonsko invazijo: utrinek iz stoletnega misijona lazaristov v Indoneziji*

Abstract: This historical study of the mission addresses the memoria passionis (memory of suffering) of the Vincentian Missionaries during the Japanese invasion (1941–1945). The first Dutch Lazarists (Vincentians) arrived in Indonesia in 1923 and began to work to establish the Diocese of Surabaya as mandated by the Propaganda Fide. In the next twenty years (1923–1943) Surabaya was erected as a prefecture (1928) then vicariate (1941) with an increasing number of the Catholics. But all the missionary efforts of evangelization seemed to be halted by the bloody Japanese invasion. From the very beginning of the invasion, the Kempetai (the Japanese Military Police Corps) arrested the Dutch or other Europeans and interned them in camps and confiscated the Catholic buildings. This is a dark moment for the missionaries and the mission in Indonesia. The title of this study borrows a theological expression from JB Metz, memoria passionis (Metz 2007), and demonstrates it in action with accounts of the Lazarists' mission under the Japanese occupation in Indonesia. The study utilizes the methodology of listening to the narratives of suffering from the excerpts of manuscripts discovered in the archives. From this study, we found that the Vincentians were persevering, test resistant and diligently continued along with the lay people to restore the mission in the vicariate. Their sufferings did not only put them in the way of martyria but also inspired people to participate more actively to rebuild the mission and eventually render a theological impact to form the Catholic Church of Surabaya to have strong participation by the laity.

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104

Keywords: Memoria Passionis, Internment, Narrative, Vincentian Missionaries, Vicariate of Surabaya

Povzetek: Zgodovinska študija o misijonih obravnava memoria passionis (spomin na trpljenje) misijonarjev iz vrst lazaristov med japonsko invazijo (1941–1945). Prvi nizozemski lazaristi (vincencijanci) so prišli v Indonezijo leta 1923 in si po naročilu kongregacije za širjenje vere (De propaganda fide) začeli prizadevati za vzpostavitev Surabajske škofije. V naslednjih dvajsetih letih (1923–1943) je bila Surabaja povzdignjena v prefekturo (1928), z naraščajočim številom katoliških vernikov pa v vikariat (1941). Toda zdelo se je, kot da je ves misijonarski trud za evangelizacijo ustavila krvava japonska invazija. Že ob začetku invazije je kempetai (japonska vojaška policija) aretiral Nizozemce in druge Evropejce, jih interniral v taborišča in zasegel katoliške stavbe. To je bil za misijonarje in misijone v Indoneziji mračen trenutek. Naslov prispevka prevzema teološki izraz J. B. Metza (2007) memoria passionis in ga uporablja v analizi poročil o misijonih lazaristov pod japonsko zasedbo v Indoneziji. Prispevek uporablja metodologijo poslušanja pripovedi o trpljenju, ki izhaja iz odlomkov rokopisov, odkritih v arhivih. Ugotavljamo, da so bili lazaristi vztrajni, odporni na preizkušnje: vestno so nadaljevali delo z laiki za obnovitev misijonov v vikariatu. Trpljenje jih ni zgolj vodilo na pot mučeništva, temveč je druge navdihnilo k dejavni obnovi misijonov – kar je naposled pomenilo teološki prispevek k oblikovanju katoliške Cerkve v Surabaji z močnim sodelovanjem laikov.

Ključne besede: Memoria passionis, internacija, pripoved, misijonarji iz vrst lazaristov, Surabajski vikariat

1. Introduction

By dealing with the *memoria passionis* we mean the experience of human suffering related to Christ. Johann Baptist Metz reflects suffering as the "divine" part of Christ's salvation. In the sufferings, God the Son reveals Himself as the redeemer. Suffering itself often consists of humiliation and powerlessness, but theologically it implies a "mystery" in which God often speaks to us (Metz 1998, 122–127). Listening to the suffering narrated requires an awareness of God's powerful love which is hidden in human powerlessness. In human suffering, God suffers too. Sufferings always have salvific significance as Christ suffered on the cross.

The Church has always been defined as the suffering Church from the time of the Apostles until now. When there are political and social upheavals in society, the Church could not stand on any other side but the suffering one. Persecution and martyrdom seem to be the genuine characteristic of the pilgrim Church. The Dutch-Indonesian Lazarists experienced the same *passions* particularly during the Japanese invasion. So, it would be beneficial to study what and how of the passions they remembered and narrated in their writings.

The focus of this study is primarily on the narrative by the Vincentian Missionaries who survived the Second World War. This study is based on the archival

research in several houses of the Congregation of the Mission, i.e., Panningen and Santa Agata, the Netherlands; Generalate Curia, Rome; *Maison Mère*, Paris and the Provincialate of the province of Indonesia in Surabaya. The purpose of this study is to offer a glimpse for the celebration of the one hundred years of the first Dutch Vincentians' arrival in Indonesia (1923) by picking up one of the crucial periods of their evangelization. Thus, the study makes a specific contribution of the history of the Vincentian mission on the one hand and of the vicariate of Surabaya on the other.

This study addresses two questions: (1) How did the Lazarists remember and narrate the sufferings during the Japanese internment? (2) How did they propose hopes² among them to be able to restore the destroyed missionary works in the vicariate of Surabaya? The methodology utilized here is particularly at first by *listening to* their historical narratives as is also currently promoted by Pope Francis in the Synodal Church (2021–2023). By "listening" we mean that we attentively hear the stories in the belief that God speaks to us through them. In their stories we do not only see how they walked through the dark moments of the mission, but we are also empowered by them in the journey of *martyria* as a model of being the Catholic Church in the today context (Pope Francis 2021). In order to listen to them well, we offer the context of the contemporary conflicts happening in Indonesia. Then, we conclude the discussion by linking their narratives and missionary impact on the Church. We believe that the current development of the Catholic Church in Surabaya is also historically and theologically rooted in the heroic witnesses of their pioneers (Rybolt 2009, 301–312).

1.1 Context of the "Memoria Passionis"

The Second World War occurred in 1941–1945. In Indonesia, the war continued and took place with the so-called "Aggressions" until 1949 (Bank 1999, 461–80). At the end of 1941, the Japanese troops landed in Surabaya. After fighting for some time, the Netherlands surrendered to Japan. The Japanese *Kempetai* either exterminated all the Dutch or Europeans or sent them to the concentration camps, which was called "internment." On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied troops led by the USA, and this effectively marked the end of the Second World War. When Japan surrendered, the Netherlands tried to restore its rule over Indonesia again as before (de Jong 2002). However, at the same time the people's army of Indonesia sporadically revolted and fought for its independence. On August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Hatta (the first President and Vice-President) proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. There was resistance by the people's army against the Dutch troops to defend the proclamation

In the interview with Elie Wiesel, the survivor of the Holocaust, Ekkehard Schuster finds that narratives are closely linked with hope. As Wiesel mentions in this interview, when one narrates his or her sufferings, he or she proposes sort of hope even if the language of narrative itself does not explicitly suggest the term "hope" to the listener (Schuster and Boschert-Kimmig 1999, 63–68). This brings to light that when dealing with suffering, one should also associate it with hope.

of independence. The war was in a guerrilla mode and one of the epicenters of this battle was Surabaya (Haest 1956; Oostindie 2019; Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980) where the Vincentian Missionaries have worked. The bloody conflict was thus inevitable. After dealing with Japan, the Netherlands now came face to face with the people's army until 1949 when the Dutch-Indonesia Round Table Conference in the Hague effectively halted the Aggressions (Oostindie 2019; de Jong 2002).

1.2 Japanese Internment

The Japanese internment camps were intended for the Dutch or Europeans during the occupation in Indonesia. In the camps there was everything but comfort. Bekkering recorded that 300,000 people returned to the Netherlands from Indonesia after the war. One hundred thousand of them had been interned in different camps of which the largest ones were particularly in Cimahi and Bandung (Western Java) and Semarang (Central Java) (Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980).

Men, women, and children were separated. Families were often separated in different camps and different cities. Among men a distinction was made between the "healthy and young" and the "weak and old." The first were often gathered together to be taken and transported by the Japanese trucks to "unknown" places from which they would never return (Wolters 1946). We know from historical accounts of the survivors that they were taken to enslavement and forced labor in Burma or other places where only a few of them survived the war (Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980; Krancher 1996).

The camp situation was often inhuman. It consisted of sudden interrogation, isolation, punishment, humiliation, hunger, and enslavement (Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980; Oostindie 2019; Krancher 1996; Archer 2004; Emery 2010). Religious services for Christians were allowed at the beginning but eventually not possible at all (Wolters 1946; Boonekamp 1974; Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980). The people in the camp lived in bad conditions with poor nutrition and the same *ordo diei* (the same daily schedule). They were confined to stay in barracks which accommodated smaller numbers. Shortages surely occurred easily in terms of medicines needed. This led to many deaths in the camps. There was also enormous uncertainty over the news on when the war would end. It struck psychologically and mentally the internees who had been there for a long period and particularly the sick (Oostindie 2019; Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980; Siong 1998; Krancher 1996; van Oort 2008; Bonga 1996; Emery 2010; Kowner 2010).

2. Damna ex Bello Orta (Losses caused by War)

How much loss did the missionaries in the vicariate of Surabaya suffer during the war? Surabaya was the epicenter of one of the fiercest battles that took place in Southeast Asia. On October 30, 1945, an Allied leader, Brigadier General Aubertin Walter Sothern Mallaby from the United Kingdom was killed in an ambush. This assassination of the British military officer sparked the anger of the Allied forces who came to free Indonesia from the Japanese grip. And, on October 10, 1945, the Allied air forces bombarded Surabaya following this chaotic situation. On October 12, 1945, the large and historical Church building of the Nativity of Mary in Surabaya was burned down and destroyed by paramilitary groups who ransacked the Surabaya area, which had been seen by the peoples' army as a stronghold of the Dutch and Allied troops (Boonekamp 1974, 980). The Catholic Church was sandwiched between "two strongholds" that were fighting each other, the Dutch-Allied army, and the paramilitary group of "Arek-arek Surabaya" (The Young people of Surabaya) who wanted the immediate expulsion of Dutch rule from Indonesia (Oostindie 2019; de Jong 2002).

Joseph Lansu, the Provincial of the Dutch Province, sent an official report to the Vincentian superior general in Paris, June 20, 1947, about the damna ex bello orta (the losses caused by war) of the mission in the vicariate of Surabaya as follows. Death: In the vicariate of Surabaya a Vincentian missionary (Gerard Ravestein) who was chaplain of the Royal Dutch Navy drowned with his battleship in the Java Sea due to a Japanese torpedo. Extermination: all the missionaries (the bishop himself and twenty-six Lazarists), were brought to the Cimahi internment camps; and after their release from Cimahi they were then imprisoned by the peoples' army in Blitar, Kediri, and Bubutan-Surabaya (Eastern Java) by the people's army of Indonesia. After the Cimahi Internment, 11 confreres returned to the Netherlands for medical treatment. Destruction: 5 buildings and 3 churches. Heavy damage: 83 buildings; 12 churches, 60 schools, 5 orphanages, 1 hospital, and 5 other buildings. Total damage to the vicariate in estimated US dollars: immovable property, approximately US\$300,000; movable property approximately US\$ 260,000; Total: US\$ 560,000 (Nijmegen, 20 June 1947) (Lansu 1947). This amount could be currently equal to US\$ 8,771,299 in 2022 (with annual inflation calculated at 3.75 percent). If converted to the current value of Indonesian Rupiah, the amount reaches 126 trillion Rupiah (almost twice the annual budget of the capital city, Jakarta). The magnitude of the cost of the damage indicates how the missionary work was almost totally destroyed. From the Vincentian provincial's report, what was not calculated is the cost of medical treatment and the rehabilitation of the missionaries. They not only experienced emotional trauma, but many did not fully recover their physical health. In addition, the Vincentian mission in Indonesia lost hundreds of properties that had been purchased at the mission stations in the villages for church buildings and schools for the Indigenous people of Java. Above all, their great sadness is related to the fact that the mission works they developed in the previous twenty years were destroyed (Archieve

Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General 1946; Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General of the CM 4 June 1953; Wolters 1946).

3. Historical Description of the "Dark Moment"

How do the old historians of the Church describe the period of war? We can easily read it in the Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia [History of the Catholic Church of Indonesia], Volume 3a-b. In that book, three historians (Blomesath, O. Carm., from the diocese of Malang, Piet Boonekamp, C.M., from Surabaya, Y. Wittjens, S.J., from the archdiocese of Semarang) wrote about the missionaries detained in the internment camps. How did they figure out the immense struggle of missionaries during the Japanese occupation? We take excerpts from their descriptions, because they seem to have almost the same language, namely that the horrific experience of war does not need to be depicted at length. It is interesting indeed that the three of them seemed to want to "miss" that dark moment of the mission in Indonesia (Muskens 1974a, 842-900; 949-1090). Blomesath writes briefly: "It is out of place here to describe the shock and fear, which began to spread to missionaries over the announcement of war [in 1941]; but everyone would easily understand, that this is dangerous for the mission, even more dangerous than anyone thought. Every building we have in Malang was confiscated by the Japanese troops for the sake of war. This is how we started to suffer during the Japanese occupation in Java." (Blomesath 1974, 1040) Boonekamp depicts briefly: "Everyone who has experienced the events of the first days, weeks, and months after the landing of the Japanese troops, and lived during the Japanese occupation, can certainly tell a lot about what they have experienced and suffered. The experience of our confreres in Surabaya is generally very bitter, poignant and deserves to be written about. But if we did that here, it would take a lot of pages." (Boonekamp 1974, 960) Weitjens describes the period succinctly: "We do not need to describe the Japanese atrocities at length; hundreds, thousands of people died in the internment camps or prisons, but priests, brothers and sisters were not spared. The Japanese occupation also indeed requested a lot of sacrifices among the Javanese Catholics." (1974, 872) In other words, there is no need to detail the suffering of the missionaries during the internment camps.

Sjef van Mensvoort, C.M., who was interned in Cimahi by the *Kempetai* and then imprisoned in Blitar by the people's army briefly narrated the confreres' experiences in his short *memoire*, *Missi Kedar* (Mission of Kediri and Blitar):

"We were transported by train in a completely covered wagon and the windows were very small. The train locomotive moved very slowly. Up to Cimahi, our feet were all swollen [distance from Kediri to Cimahi, more or less one thousand km]. Due to the bad condition of the internment camp, Bishop Verhoeks's health declined, and he then suffered from asthma thro-

ugh the rest of his life. Fr. van Megen almost died from malnutrition. He was 'rescued' by mice meat for his additional protein. Fr Piet van Goethem was very emaciated when released from the internment. Fr. van Goethem was 'unlucky;' he experienced severe tortures from the *Kempetai*, then was detained in a stuffy and bad cell, since during the search by the *Kempetai*, *Hinomaru*'s flag was found in his storeroom [it should be in the living room!]. Fr. Gerard Boonekamp was beaten, stripped naked, and sentenced to death, but it was changed to fifteen years of forced labor, for which Father Gerard's health deteriorated throughout his life. Father Schilder suffered such serious damage that he was unable to continue his mission and remained disabled. Several other Missionaries experienced traumatic conditions. But, above all, our great suffering is the destruction of the missionary work that we have loved and accomplished since 1923." (van Mensvoort 2003, 23)

One of the reasons for this brief description is probably the spirit of humility at that time in a way that they need not to exaggerate their sufferings while others also experienced the same. Moreover, missionaries are generally strong individuals who are able to walk through the darkest paths of their life. Our belief is that our missionaries went through that dark period with courage and heroic sacrifices in a way that they thought no need to narrate the dark moments in long stories (Wolters 1946; van Mensvoort 2003; Oostindie 2019; Krancher 1996; Bonga 1996; Emery 2010; Archer 2004). However, listening to their stories of suffering narrated in their own language is important for us in order to learn from their courage and persistence in their missionary works.

4. Memoria Passionis

The greatest suffering of the Vincentian Missionaries is depicted in a tearful lamentation of Anton Bastiaensen, C.M., in front of the tomb of Mgr. Theophile de Backere, C.M., who started the mission in Surabaya (1923) and died in Panningen (1941), Netherlands: "Monseigneur, I pray before you here. We are now in a great trial, devastated by the destruction of the mission you have worked so hard to build, a mission that was also a part of your life. We have almost given up. You, who so loved the mission in Java, there you prayed, suffered, struggled, and worked harder than we do now, so please be the intercessor of our prayers

Anton Bastiaensen was the first director of the Novitiate in Blitar after the war. He came to Indonesia in 1925, died in Kediri in 1962. He was well known as one of the missionaries whose diligence inspired young confreres. He studied and spoke well the Javanese language well. He was one of the confreres who founded many the Catholic mission stations of villages in Blitar. What he meant by "destroyed mission" were the stations in Blitar, Wlingi, Kediri where he and the other missionaries had difficulties in restoring them after the war. Those stations of Blitar were the villages of Ngeni, Gunung Gedhe, Kaligrenjeng, Sumberboto, Rotorejo, Gandusari, Pikatan, Gemblongan, Gayam, and elsewhere. The health of the Vincentian missionaries had deteriorated because of detention and internment in such a way that they could not reach them any longer.

to the merciful God." (Bastiaensen 1948, 2) De Backere was the pioneer of many works in the diocese of Surabaya and loved the Javanese and Chinese people very much (Bastiaensen 1948).

4.1 The letter of Bishop Verhoeks, C.M., to the Pope

The Apostolic Vicar of Surabaya, Michael Verhoeks⁴, on March 8, 1947 after being released from Japanese internment in Bandung (Western Java) and from the prison of Bubutan, Surabaya, wrote a letter to Pope Pius XII in Rome, briefly reporting on the condition of the vicariate of Surabaya and missionaries as Boonekamp writes in *History of the Diocese of Surabaya* (Boonekamp 1974, 980–81):

"Holy Father, during the first months of the Japanese occupation the Church was generally not disturbed [the Japanese entered Surabaya around the end of 1941]. But schools and orphanages were forced to close immediately [because the buildings were confiscated and occupied for the military use]. On 4 September 1943 along with all other Dutch priests and religious I was arrested and detained in Surabaya for up to five months. We suffered a lot but were still free to celebrate the Eucharist. At the end of January 1944, we were all transported to concentration camps in Bandung [other missionaries to Cimahi, Western Java]. Almost all of the missionaries from Java Island were interned in Bandung and detained in various prisons. At the beginning we were still allowed to say Mass, but eventually our freedom was completely removed, even religious service was prohibited. But priests can still take turns offering Mass [in secret], followed by fellow prisoners, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Many people were converted again because of listening to the sermons. I myself could give the sacrament of reconciliation several times to new converts. None of our priests died, although many were seriously ill during the internment. When Japan surrendered in August 1945, in early September 1945 I was released and returned to Surabaya. And, by the end of September [1945] all of our Missionaries were freed. Each one of them returned to his for-

Bishop Michael Verhoeks, C.M., arrived in 1938 as the Apostolic Prefect of Surabaya succeeding Mgr. de Backere. Since he arrived as a bishop, he could not speak the Javanese language. Every time he visited a parish, his sermon in Dutch was translated into the Javanese. When he was ordained as the Apostolic Vicar of Surabaya in 1942 by Bishop Soegijopranoto, S.J. (the Apostolic Vicar of Semarang), the Japanese troops landed in Surabaya. As narrated by Jan Wolters (1946), during his installation as vicar there was no choir. People were not allowed to sing aloud. Bishop Verhoeks biked alone from Ketabang parish, where he stayed, to the Santa Maria Church, Kepanjen Surabaya (about seven km). There were no guests of honor, except the Bishops who ordained him. Having not yet carried out the task, Bishop Verhoeks and the Dutch missionaries were all escorted by Japanese troops to the internment in Bandung. Bishop Verhoeks was deprived of food, and his health deteriorated sharply due to being malnourished. After the war he worked diligently until 1952. He served three years as Apostolic Prefect and ten years as Apostolic Vicar of Surabaya. However, those years were very difficult and full of suffering because of the war. His greatest concern was not the danger he faced, but the future of his missionary work for the people he loved so much. Verhoeks was known as a humble and peaceful bishop who endured suffering. His ordination motto as Vicar Apostolic was: "Ut omnes unum sint" (that they may all be one), a motto of unity, togetherness, and hope of true peace (Wolters 1946).



Figure 1: The Church of Nativity of Mary, Surabaya in 1900. (Source: Archives of the Provincialate of the Congregation of the Mission, Surabaya, Indonesia).





Figure 2: The ruin of the same Church building in 1945 (Source: Archives of the Provincialate of the Congregation of the Mission, Surabaya, Indonesia).

mer parish just as before the war. They started working again although many of them desperately needed rest, since they were very weak and tired. But not long after that, many of us were jailed again, now in prisons by the revolutionary people's army, due to the outbreak of the revolution: four Missionaries in Surabaya, three in Madiun, three in Blitar, three in Kediri and one missionary in Mojokerto. Among them – the first mentioned – we were detained for only a month, while the others were released only after a year of detention. The large church built in 1900, the Church of the Nativity of Mary, burned down on November 12, 1945. The other mission buildings were mostly damaged. Some were heavily damaged, some were in not bad condition." (Boonekamp 1974, 980)

Bishop Verhoeks might have left nothing but an example of perseverance and patience as a Church leader in the most difficult times. One of his messages at the time of *Vastenbrief 1947* (Letter of the Lenten season), two years after the war, was "I hope that you are like a tree that is firm and bears constant fruit; the harder and longer the winter hits and prevents it from growing, the deeper the tree takes root and the more fruit it produces. In all cases we have to conform to God's rules and only wish His will to be done. Our duty is to follow His will regardless of troublesome or unpleasant situation; it demands that we are not attached to anything except His love." (Verhoeks 1947)

4.2 The Confreres as Narrated by J. Wolters⁵

The book Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia (History of the Indonesian Catholic Church, Volume 3a-b) edited by H. Muskens 1973 does not mention the narratives of war related to the suffering of the missionaries. Usually, personal stories have not been welcomed as the main menu for a history of the Church. We are fortunate to have a narrative from Father Jan Wolters about his confreres' experience. The title of his work, De Lazaristen Missie tijdens de Japanse Bezetting, or "The Mission of the Lazarists in Java during the Japanese occupation" is published in the Missionary journal of the Vincentian Fathers of the Dutch Province, Missiefront (1946). The following stories are summarized from Wolters' historical account in that journal.

4.2.1 Situation of the Missionary Works before the War

Religious life in the twenty years (1923-1945) and the mission at the vicariate of Surabaya has grown up rapidly. This is also mentioned by Karl Steenbrink in his book concerning the increasing number of the converts in Indonesia during this period (Steenbrink 2006). There is already a hospital 'St. Vincentius a Paulo,' an orphanage of Don Bosco, Dutch-language Catholic schools for boys and girls, and Indigenous schools, there are fifteen mission churches built in the villages of Blitar. All of these efforts are clear evidence of the expansion of the Kingdom of God. Unfortunately, in Europe the war broke out, consequently it also hit the homeland, Indonesia. "The dispatch of manpower and other activities for our mission was halted; now the future of mission is bleak and austerity is an urgent imperative." (Wolters 1946)

4.2.2 The Beginning of the War

On December 8, 1941, the Dutch became involved in a war with Japan and at the end of February 1942 the battle began. In just a few days all of Java was occupied by the Japanese troops. In the naval battle several of the Vincentian Missionaries were also involved as naval chaplains. Pastor Jac Bruno, as chief pastor of the Navy, Gerard Van Ravesteijn, Kees Schoenmakers, and Herman Wessels as assistant pastors of the Navy. In the thrilling battle of the Java Sea, where most of the Dutch fleet fought to the death, there was Pastor G. van Ravesteijn who until the last second bravely remained at his post until his death. "How proud St. Vincent de Paul, former priest of the French galley prisoners, watched from above his brave son, slain by the invaders! Here, it is natural for us, as citizens of the country to pay respects and prayers as missionary friends to our hero." (Wolters 1946)

Jan Wolters, C.M., was one of the first five Vincentians who arrived in Indonesia 1923. It was he who had the idea to build the monumental *Pohsarang Church*, an inculturative church of Javanese culture, with a famous engineer at the time, Henri Maclain Pont in 1936. He was one of the founders of many Catholic mission stations in Blitar and Kediri. Known as a priest who is young at heart, Jan Wolters was full of enthusiasm, humor, and missionary zeal in the vicariate of Surabaya. Having experienced the suffering of the Japanese internment and the Indonesian people's army's imprisonment, he died of illness in 1954 in Panningen, the Netherlands.

The invasion by the Japanese army caused all European schools and missions to be closed immediately and all religious activities to be suspended. Sudden searches by *Kempetai* happened daily. In early 1943 the Vincentian Missionaries were expelled from the presbytery in Kediri, also its church was closed as well as the church in Madiun and in other places. At the end of August 1943 in Blitar the *Kempetai* arrested three priests and nine brothers and kidnapped them with their hands bound and taken away. Two days later all the Missionaries from Kediri, Pare, and Madiun were arrested. "On September 4, confreres from Surabaya and Mojokerto had their turn. We start living in prisons and detention camps." (Wolters 1946)

4.2.3 The Concentration Camps

In general, life in concentration camps was not miserable at first, but over time the Japanese made drastic changes. Jan Wolters recalled:

"Often in camp life we were surprised by the sudden arrival of the Japanese polices. Those who are called and taken away by them, hardly could return home. Every time a certain vehicle stopped at our barracks, a kind of fear enveloped our barracks. Many of us have experienced the torture of Kempetai. I myself have personally experienced the 'treatment' of torture. When I visited Blitar I saw a Japanese army truck in the yard. The missionaries and brothers were ordered to assemble immediately. Without knowing what happened, they were tied two by two. With a speed of sixty km per hour, they were transported to Kediri. We were detained in a school camp. In school's yard, we had to sit in rows. A Kempetai took a rubber club in preparation for interrogation and occasionally hit us from behind on the right cheek. As a result, our faces were swollen and bleeding was coming out. If a Kempetai is tired, he is immediately replaced by another. So, there were continuous blows to the head, back, kicked, strangled, burned with cigarettes. To a brother who seemed to die, having remained lying in a stupor, I gave absolution from afar. Several buckets of water were splashed by the Japanese on his head, he got up and this inhumane 'treatment' continued again. The missionaries were also forced to beat each other with long sticks and when this did not go well, according to their wishes of them, they took over the task and as an example they showed them how it should be done. After hours, this terrible game was stopped." (Wolters 1946)

Jan Wolters remembered that the missionaries Herman Kock, Kees Schoenmakers, Sjef van Mensvoort, and nine lay brothers were again loaded into the truck and thrown into prison; and he himself was detained in the school classroom. Behind bars there were already several victims waiting for their fate. "After more than six months apart and not hearing from each other, we saw them again on the train that would take us all to Cimahi. Our hearts are all overjoyed to see that we are all still alive." (Wolters 1946) Unfortunately, the pastor of Blitar, Herman

Kock, was not in the ceremony that morning; apparently, he got a new false accusation and would certainly be "treated" again.

"When I reminded them of the extremely inhumane treatment on the first day, I got the answer: 'What you are seeing is only the beginning.' After that we still got tortured four times and even more than that. Some were even unrecognizable and they could not lie down, let alone stand. When Pastor Kock arrived in Cimahi a few months later, under guard, we heard more gruesome stories but I will not write them here." (Wolters 1946)

Piet van Goethem, pastor of Madiun, was unlucky, because he had been in the Ngawi camp for only a few days with his confreres, and suddenly the *Kempetai* brought him back to Madiun. After being first tortured then detained, he was put alone into a stuffy cell, where he languished for four months until he remained became emaciated. When he had to be brought to Cimahi, he had to be transported and arrived on a stretcher ambulance because he was not able to walk; upon arrival in Cimahi he was immediately sent to the hospital. A few months later he was able to recover. "The 'crime' he committed was disrespect for the Japanese flag, which during a search by Kempetai was found lying in a warehouse (supposed to be in the living room)." (Wolters 1946)

Meanwhile, the worst experience belonged to our missionary, Gerard Boonekamp, from the mission in Blitar. Half a year earlier he had been to the mountains to meet a young man with an injured leg. Even though the young man was of aristocratic descent [from Australia], it turned out that he served in the Allied army. Gerard Boonekamp showed him the way to the hospital and helped him to be treated there. The case came to light, the patient was arrested, and Gerard Boonekamp was seized in the village where he was teaching the catechumens. During the examination he stated frankly that he, as a priest, would also help a wounded Japanese. Indeed, he was beaten many times, but after a few weeks Father Boonekamp was able to return to the parish house and do his work. Unfortunately, it lasted only a short time. This case was brought up again and even tried in the military court in Batavia. Here the young man was found guilty and in April 1943 he was shot dead. "Meanwhile our missionary, Gerard Boonekamp was sentenced to death too, but was later commuted to a forced labor sentence of fifteen years. The health of this strong missionary gradually deteriorated after many tortures, even after his release he had to be hospitalized and his health was a concern for a long time." (Wolters 1946)

4.2.4 Cimahi, western Java

In January 1944 all-male internment camps from East Java were concentrated in Cimahi. The cramped and closed train journey with a slow locomotive from Kediri to Cimahi (about a thousand kilometers) which lasted from Sunday afternoon to Tuesday morning, caused indescribable exhaustion to each one of us. In Cimahi we were put in barracks that were formerly used by battalions four and nine of the Dutch military.

The barracks were turned into internment camps, each containing a thousand prisoners. Travelling to the central camps in Bandung and Cimahi was truly a torture. The transfer of prisoners lasted for one week. At that time in Bandung there were about nine thousand and in Cimahi about ten thousand internees. As for accommodation and food for this huge number of internees, it was bad of course. Malnutrition, hunger, and dysentery immediately claimed their victims (Wolters 1946).

"The relentless torture for just a small mistake often destroys our thinking." A sudden search often frightened us. Bishop Verhoeks in Bandung turned out to have been a victim of such thing by Kempetai, when a small amount of money was found on him. Any explanation is useless, the symbolic clothing of the apostolic vicar was stripped from our bishop, his tongue was stretched out and hard slaps given to him." (Wolters 1946)

In early 1945 about four hundred old and infirm people among the camp's inhabitants were taken to a place called a "resort". Then, it turned out that the place mentioned was Ambarawa. By the time, the war was over, only fifteen of these people were still alive (Wolters 1946; Oostindie 2019; Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980; Emery 2010).

4.2.5 Freedom

Suddenly everything changed. The Japanese Kempetai no longer held regular surveillance. The guard outside was suddenly stopped. Then the planes appeared in the air and this time they were no longer Japanese. "What we had hoped for so long finally came true, finally there is a victory. On the emaciated faces of us camp dwellers, tears of joy flowed, even more so when for the first time our national anthem, Wilhelmus, was heard again. The Thanksgiving ceremony was held with a sermon in an open field, something never permitted before. Unfortunately, there are still many who died at the door at time of release, because their illness and infirmity were too severe." (Wolters 1946)

4.2.6 The Lay People Courageously Defended Their Church in Blitar

When the Missionaries were taken to prison and the concentration camps, what happened to the Catholics? According to a lay person (Soenardja 1976), they were like sheep without a shepherd. But, in many places the "sheep" were not docile. The destruction of the mission work due to the Japanese occupation was enormous. Yet, there are stories of heroic actions done by Catholics. The following story is narrated by Robertus Joseph Soenardja, the headmaster of an elementary school founded by the Vincentian Missionaries in Blitar, Eastern Java, one of the cities where our first Missionaries announced the Gospel to the Indigenous people of Java. The title of his story, "God does not forsake His people," testifies to the unyielding action and bravery of the Catholics to defend their church's building from seizure by the Kempetai. This article was published in the Buku Peringatan 50 Th Paroki Blitar (Book of the 50th Anniversary of the Blitar Parish) (Soenardja 1976).

After the Japanese seized Blitar in March-April 1942, Dutch citizens were removed from their homes. Their houses were sealed. The Catholic priests and brothers were also detained and transported away from their residence, except for the pastor (Herman Kock), who was not in the parish at the time of his arrest. Realizing that he too would be arrested by the Japanese, he summoned a parishioner, Mrs. Hardjosoedalso, to be entrusted with keeping the church keys and salvaging all the equipment for Mass as soon as possible, since Kock had heard of the Japanese intention to use the church building as a meeting place for courses for the benefit of the Japanese military.

With courage inspired by the Catholic faith, Mrs. Hardjosoedalso secretly saved sacred items from the church to be stored in her home. Meanwhile, to Robertus Soenardja, Father Kock suggested that he continue to maintain good communication with the Catholics and to teach catechism on Christian life to the catechumens. "A few days after that, the parishioners saw him standing on a truck escorted by the Japanese police, *Kempetai*. No one dared to approach him. With a smile Herman Kock greeted his parishioners waving his hands, to which we responded with the same manner but accompanied by tears and heartache. We knew something terrible yet to happen to our beloved priest." (Soenardja 1976)

With the arrest of the clergy (priests and brothers), the service and formation of the Catholics could not be carried out by our Missionaries. This had to be entrusted to the lay people. They were Wirjoatmodjo, Gunawan Wibisono, Brotosoedirdjo and Ismail Harjono. All of them were teachers in the Catholic schools. At that critical moment, a touching event occurred that would not be forgotten by the parishioners of Blitar who witnessed it. This incident involved the couple, namely Mr. and Mrs. Hardjosoedalso. They were the parents of the future Vincentian priest, Julius Haryanto, C.M. The event was as follows:

Mrs. Hardjosoedalso, who was a member of the Fujinkai (a women's organization formed by the Japanese), and her fellow members were on duty to supervise a village during the morning. Suddenly a driver approached her and said that Mrs Hardjosoedalso was requested to return home immediately, because the Japanese police were waiting for her. At her home, a Japanese driver and several policemen were already in front of the door. They asked for the keys of the church buildings and told her to open it. Being driven by anxiety and curiosity, some neighbors gathered in front of the church. Some of them shed tears. In front of the church stood another Japanese officer and three policemen. Calmly Mrs. Hardjosoedalso opened the church door. As soon as she entered, she immediately knelt down and prayed silently near the holy water. Seeing her kneeling down devotedly before the alter, the Japanese officers and the police were then on their knees too although they did not know what it meant. After praying Mrs. Hardjosoedalso stood up and walked around the church and was followed by them. The Japanese officer asked several questions. They asked about the buildings of the church and their uses, the capacity of the church, the number of people who attended the services every day and every Sunday; whether there were still services after the priests were exiled and so on. After they were satisfied, they left saying that from time to time they would come to watch the Sunday service in this church. From their attitude, they were impressed with the church as a place to glorify God. (Soenardja 1976).

Three days after that, the Kempetai summoned Mr. Hardjosoedalso. And, on behalf of the leader, Kataoka, he was informed of the Japanese plan to take over the church and other large buildings in the parish. Being inspired by the spirit of Christ and Christian courage, without counting what might happen to him, Mr. Hardjosoedalso said that he did not agree with the Japanese intention. Robertus Soenardja and Mr. Hardjosoedalso then believed that the Japanese would definitely watch the church at the time of the service on the following Sunday, July 19, 1942. It seemed that the Japanese wanted to convince themselves that the intention to take over the church building would not cause a reaction from the Catholics. "That same day we invited the Catholics and requested their willingness to come to the Church every morning at six a.m. and especially to attend the Sunday Mass, on July 19, 1942. We would like to show to the Kempetai that the church building was indeed being used by large number of Catholics regularly despite the absence of our priests." (Soenardja 1976) So, the moment that had been awaited, was then occurring. It would always be remembered by the congregation who experienced it. On July 19, 1942, in the Church of St. Yusuf the service program had been arranged by the community leaders. At seven a.m., the church bells rang. At seven thirty the Sunday service began with the division of tasks as follows: Mrs. Hardjosoedalso and Robertus Soenardja were assigned to stand at the main door as receptionists (for the Japanese officers and the police). Apart from being a receptionist, Robertus also had the task of organizing the worship service and giving a sort of "homily" to the congregation. Mr. Soekandar was in charge of reading the Epistle and the Bible. Mr. Soebardji took the ciborium from the Tabernacle. Alas, when opening the tabernacle, difficulties came up because the key was not there. The Kempetai had already taken it from Mrs. Hardjosoedalso some days before. With the help of God Almighty, finally Mr. Hardjosoedalso managed to open the door of the tabernacle. The Catholics then could receive communions without the priests. The Catholics were all brave at that time. The Japanese "guests" just watched from behind, near the holy water font. Having seen the large crowd of the Catholics in the church, the Japanese left the ceremony saying: "Yoi! Yoi!" (meaning: Fine! Fine!). It seemed that they had quite an impression of our Sunday service without priests for the first time ever. After that Sunday service we were all thankful to God for protecting the church building from the Japanese seizure (Soenardja 1976). It was indeed a miracle that would be the beginning of the future character of the Church in vicariate of Surabaya, namely active participation by the laity.

4.3 "Prison of Minggiran" as narrated by Henrie van Megen

The story of "Prison of Minggiran" tells us how suffering becomes a daily experience for Missionaries as told by Henrie van Megen in his letter to the superior general in

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	Nama panggilan - Christian name - Voornaam
	Alamat - Street - Adres k. 2 m. P. Min g. s. i
	Kota - Locality - Plaats
	Keresidenan - County - Residentie
	Negeri - Country - Land
	Pemberitahoean—Message—Mededeeling
	(Paling banjak 25 perkataan, hanja berita keloearga) — (not over 25 words, family news of strictly personal character) — (niet meer dan 25 woorden,
	slechts familie-berichten van strikt persoonlijke aard)
	Most revered Father: Vanmagen Wassels
	Klooster, hither to recluded, nevertheless alive -
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	JANG MENERINA ADDRESSEE ONTVANGER REPUBLICE
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Figure 3: Letter from "Prison of Minggiran" 1945 (Source: Archives of Generalate of the Congregation of the Mission, Rome).

Paris (Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General 1946). Minggiran is located in the suburb of Kediri (the Eastern Java) where there is also a Vincentian parish. Missionaries were detained in Minggiran by the so-called "people's army of Indonesia" soon after being freed from the Japanese concentration camps in Cimahi. They were taken to jail due to the revolutionary movement to pursue the independence, which was proclaimed by Sukarno and Hatta, the Founding Fathers of Indonesia, on August 17, 1945. This seems to be like "being released from one suffering then moved to another". However, the difference between Cimahi and Miggiran is evident, since in Cimahi was under Kempetai with its famous cruelty (Bekkering, Huisarts, and Bekkering-Merens 1980), whereas in Minggiran our Missionaries were close to their parishioners. There was also a young Indonesian confrere, Dwidjosoesastro who often made a short visit. There were four Lazarists in the prison, namely Johannes Klooster (the future bishop of Surabaya), Herman Wessels, Kees Schoenmakers, and Henrie van Megen. They were in the Minggiran prison from October 14, 1945, to January 25, 1946 (Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General 1946). From prison, van Megen asked the parishioners to look after the church building. The situation was very precarious at that time, because the Catholic Church was identified with the Dutch (foreigners) and thus was evidently an enemy to the Indonesian people (Wolters 1946). Church buildings were threatened with burning and vandalism (as happened to the church of Nativity of Mary, Surabaya, and the church of Jombang).

In a Red Cross Letter to the superior general in Paris, written from the prison of Minggiran, van Megen informed him briefly of his condition: From camp Minggiran [Prison Minggiran, Kediri], van Megen, Wessels, Klooster hitherto recluded nevertheless alive, Neither mass, nor books, breviarium; autumn and spring vade mecum (all are the same); monotony, starvation; short visit Dwidjosoesastro; Bless us. Henry van Megen. 13 August '46.

In another letter to the superior general (1953) van Megen reported that most of the Vincentian missionaries had returned to the Netherlands at the same time because of medical problems caused by their lengthy internment. He was accompanied only by a few priests who remained to do mission work at the vicariate of Surabaya. At that time, the Apostolic Vicar of Surabaya was Bishop Verhoeks who did not write many letters, due to his deteriorating health. It was van Megen who diligently delivered reports, asked for help, submitted proposals, and wrote stories in letters for the benefit of the restoration of the vicariate in the late forties and fifties (1946–1958).

When Bishop Verhoeks passed away, van Megen was appointed as Pro-Vicar (or temporary) Apostolic of Surabaya. In a letter of June 4, 1953, to the superior general in Paris, he reported that the vicariate of Surabaya experienced a crucial situation of a "dryness" of energy (Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General of the CM 4 June 1953). This was due to the various assignments of the confreres. Gerard Smet returned to the Netherlands to rest. Thomas van Deursen loved being a professor at Depaul University Chicago. Jan Wolters underwent cancer surgery in the Netherlands and was confronting death "face to face." Sjef van Mensvoort was experiencing an unstable health condition. Jan Haest had a serious condition after a road accident in Holland. At the end of his letter, van Megen wrote: "En somme nous sentons assez fort le manque de personnel [In short, we feel really understaffed]" (Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General of the CM 4 June 1953).

"After 1942 [after Japan entered 1941], did our mission disappear? What was left of the vicariate in the years of the Japanese invasion, when the Missionaries were thrown into the horror of the internment camps in which there was only hunger, disease, and suffering? All of our schools [that we have founded], more than a hundred schools that accommodate approximately nine thousand students, were completely destroyed, and only four or five could be guickly restored. During these four years of war [1941–1945] the devastation that occurred was incomparable. The confreres were threatened with death, while others were sent to prison for more than a year. In 1946, the city of Surabaya, which was previously a very crowded city, was deserted. Thousands of residents fled from the city of Surabaya. Of all the destruction, the most beautiful church in Surabaya was burned down (12 November 1945). And, the religious houses occupied by the Japanese troops were also badly damaged. We who had been released from internment began to return to Surabaya and scavenge for what was left. This is how we started to rebuild our mission in the vicariate." (van Megen 1952)

4.4 A Letter to his Beloved Mom, from Sjef van Mensvoort

There is nothing more moving than reading a letter sent by a young missionary to his beloved elderly mother and younger sisters in Holland. The letter gives no details except to inform them that he and his eldest brother survived a hard test at the concentration camps. He hopes for the same news from his beloved mother and younger sisters (about seven or eight little sisters?). The letter belongs to Sjef van Mensvoort who was in Cimahi. Soon after his liberation from the concentration camp, Sjef went to meet his brother (Everard) in Bandung, where he wrote this "freedom" letter on September 20, 1945.

"To my beloved mother and sisters. Finally, today for the first time we have the opportunity to send a letter by means of the "Red Cross". Of course, I took advantage of this opportunity. However, at this time I cannot tell you too much because I must first know whether all of you are still safe. When I wanted to start to write this letter with greetings, I had a chance to ask with a worried heart: "Are you all safe?" Especially my beloved mother? Every time we think about how much Mom worries about both of us (Everard and I)! But now I can reassure you 100% with the news: Everard and I are doing very well; we have even been able to start our own work. Before we were interned, we still enjoyed our freedom until September 1943. When we were imprisoned, Everard lived in Surabaya while I lived in Kediri. In February 1944

I was taken to Cimahi while Everard to Bandoeng. Then on September 4, 1944, I was again transferred to the Everard's concentration camp in Bandoeng. So, we got together again, after being separated for more than two years. We hadn't been apart for such a long time. Of course, we have been through various events, but, thanks be to God, we could get out brilliantly, and we are doing very well now. But with all that, our hearts are still anxious, so we ask you to immediately send us news about all of you. You can imagine how we spend day and night thinking about your situation. Of course, we understand that what we can hope for is not just good news always. Because in five years anything can happen. We just hope that the good God will free us all from every evil." ([s.n.], Sjef van Mensvoort, Letter to My Mother and Sisters 20 September 1945 from Bandung [Transl. from the Dutch])

5. Conclusion

"We scavenged what was left. This is how we started to rebuild the vicariate of Surabaya." (van Megen 1952) This is one of the powerful expressions of the narrative of the suffering. The *memoria passionis* of the Lazarist Missionaries is a meaningful witness to the work of the mission itself. They were exhausted from their long internment on the one hand but remained steadfast and persistent to continue the mission work on the other. Missionary work is at first God's loving work accomplished by missionaries and laymen who persevere in announcing the Gospel. With impressive diligence our confreres and the lay people worked together under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to rebuild the mission of the vicariate. Their sacrifices and endurance in times of the Japanese internment and its aftermath have contributed to the restoration of the work of the mission ravaged by war. This period – in the context of the vicariate of Surabaya – the damage suffered by the Catholic mission was enormous due to its place as the epicenter of the bloody conflict. The Vincentian Missionaries themselves were almost all exhausted and their health deteriorated, but the mission was not halted as feared.

After the Japanese internment (1945), missionaries were imprisoned sporadically in several cities by the people's army fighting for independence. The experience of being in an "Indonesian prison" seems to be different from the "Japanese internment" in Cimahi and Bandung. In the internment camps they suffered from hunger, humiliation, enslavement, forced labor, and the like; while in the latter they got better treatment and received visits from parishioners. The prison of Minggiran did not offer comforts for sure, yet its condition was not as miserable as in the concentration camps (Archieve Panningen, Archive of the Provincialate, Henrie van Megen, Letter to Superior General 1946). However, hostility towards Dutch missionaries did not interfere with the sustainability of the mission works. This hostility eventually ended up with the supportive action performed by the missionaries to the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement to regain their full independence (van Megen 1951, 1952).

Missionaries viewed the experience of suffering at the concentration camps as a trial of their missionary work. Their suffering was a part of being missionaries to accomplish the mission. They did not despair, even though the Catholic mission stations in the remote villages were neglected because of the war. The suffering not only put them on the path of "martyrdom", which becomes the seed of the Church of mission works, but also suggests a sort of an "ecclesiological prophecy" that the Catholic Church of the vicariate would be a Church strongly promoting the lay participation in a typical way, just as the Indonesian Catholic Church in general.

The war also transformed the role of the Catholics to a new level by entrusting catechism classes to the people. Their bravery in defending the church building (in Blitar) from the Japanese Kempetai's confiscation while Missionaries were interned was also indeed impressive, since many Church buildings in other cities were seized or destroyed. The Indonesian Church has naturally become a "lay church", where the laity participate decisively in preaching the Gospel (Muskens 1974b). The Catholic mission did not die from the war, for missionaries with the help of reliable lay figures steadfastly ignited the fire of the Catholic faith. While many stations in Blitar, Kediri, Madiun and elsewhere were abandoned because the Lazarist Missionaries were detained in the camps, lay figures took the initiative to catechize the villagers. The new model of the "lay church" precedes coincidently what would then be promoted by the decree, "Apostolicam Actuositatem" [Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity] issued by the Second Vatican Council. In the context of the Vincentian mission in the vicariate of Surabaya, this "lay" model will characterize the Church and the thinking of its priests to involve actively the laity in evangelization. Later on, in the vicariate of Surabaya there appear schools that educate the lay persons specifically to be catechists, pastoral workers, and priests to proclaim the Gospel (Iswandir and Riyanto 2021).

Finally, in 1954 the secretary of the papal nuncio, van den Borght, a Lazarist, who was also an alumnus of the Japanese internment in Cimahi, wrote that the Catholics in Indonesia have reached the number of one million (out of about seventy million Indonesians). This number indicates convincingly that the Catholic mission, particularly in the vicariate of Surabaya, has already passed through the dark alleys of its history, particularly the Japanese invasion (van den Borght 1954). It means that the Catholic Church of Indonesia is ready to step forward on its next journey toward the future.

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