

The Villages of Tunggul Wulung and Pieter Jansz: Vision and Reality in the Javanese Countryside

Lawrence M. Yoder, *Eastern Mennonite University*

Introduction

Ancient Javanese myths of origins assert that their ancestors created a new world by going into a remote forest, *mbabad alas* (making a clearing) and starting a new village. *Babad* in Javanese means history, so making a clearing in the forest and starting a village is making history. Dutch and, later, Russian Mennonite missionaries came to Java in the second half of the nineteenth century to call people to turn to Jesus the Messiah. They were profoundly influenced by indigenous Javanese evangelist Kiai Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung, who had the vision for clearing primeval forest land and forming there fresh, new villages expectant of God's arriving reign, isolated from the multi-faceted corruption of colonial rule.

The Muria area, where Dutch Mennonite missionary Pieter Jansz began his work in 1852,¹ surrounds Mount Muria on the north coast of Central Java, east of the provincial capital, Sema-

rang. Our story is set during the 150 years that the Netherlands East Indies (now the Republic of Indonesia) was a crown colony of the Kingdom of Netherlands. Whether under rule as a crown colony (1800 to 1950) or the previous two hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule, colonial rule was oppressive and pervasive. The top functionaries of colonial rule down to the residency (county) chiefs were Dutch officials, ostensibly Christian. But middle- to lower-level administration functionaries were Javanese gentry, people of the traditional Javanese ruling class, who were required to execute the exploitative colonial policies over their own people.

The Cultivation System² inaugurated in 1830 was the Dutch king's plan to exploit his colony. First, village farmers throughout Java were charged rent for their cropland. The amount of this land rent was pre-determined to be approximately equal to the value of a plantation crop like coffee, indigo or sugar, which the farmers of each village were required to raise on one fourth of their cropland and turn over to the government. The government would only pay the villagers for their crops if the plantation harvest was extraordinarily good and therefore valued *higher than the land rent* the villagers were required to pay. If the plantation crop was *less than good*, the village farmers would have to pay the portion of land rent that exceeded the value of the plantation crop. So, on average, the total plantation crop from one fourth of every village's cropland would go to the government with no exchange of money either way. The government got the plantation crop, including the value of all the labour the villagers exerted in planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing and delivering the crop to government warehouses, without paying a cent.³

The colonial regime realized huge profits from this system, because they could sell the plantation products on the world market for a price much higher than the fictive payment the farmers received for growing them. These profits far exceeded the operations budget of the colonial government, and the net profits were annually transferred to the treasury of the Kingdom of Netherlands.

In addition to this system of exploitation, Javanese farmers were required to perform *corvee*' work as determined by local and regional government officials, to construct and repair roads, bridges, canals and other facilities like military installations. This forced labour took people away from their farm work.⁴ By the 1850s and '60s other ways of producing plantation crops for the world markets were developed. One was to encourage European or Indo-European entrepreneurs to lease large tracts of supposed wasteland to grow crops for export. This required a source of labour to

cultivate crops. The villagers living on the land that the entrepreneurs leased were required to supply that labour.

Movement for Christian Mission in the Indies

By the turn of the nineteenth century, “Christian” European powers were establishing colonies all over the world. For centuries Europe operated by the principle, *cuius regio eius religio*: they who rule a region, theirs is the religion of that region. The powers of Europe extending their rule over more regions of the world raised the question whether Christian missions should be allowed, encouraged or even supported by the colonial governments.⁵

Christians in Netherlands soon formed mission societies like the Netherlands Missionary Society (NZG).⁶ Mennonites in Netherlands also became interested in overseas mission. In 1847 Dutch Mennonites organized their own Mennonite Mission Society.⁷ By 1851 they appointed Pieter Jansz as missionary to Java. Jansz and his new wife, Wihelmina Schmilau,⁸ arrived in Batavia⁹ on November 15 and continued to Semarang, the capital and main seaport of Central Java. There they met with NZG missionary Hoezoo who offered suggestions about possible places for Jansz to begin his work. Jansz also met Javanese Prince Ario Tjondronegoro IV, regent of Demak,¹⁰ who encouraged him to accept an offer from Markar Soekias, an Armenian plantation holder, to start a school on his plantation near Jepara, where he would also provide a dwelling.¹¹

Jansz was apparently unaware that Prince Tjondronegoro, like all regents, was heavily involved in the Cultivation System’s program to exploit the land and people of Java for the Kingdom of Netherlands. Operating through the traditional Javanese governmental hierarchy, Cultivation System functionaries like Tjondronegoro gained significant wealth. The population of Java was increasing rapidly throughout the nineteenth century, but in the early 1850s in the regions of Semarang and Jepara so much good land was allocated for plantation crops for export that there was inadequate land to produce food for the population. This resulted in famine, starvation and population decline.¹² But Soekias’ offer was apparently the determining factor in Jansz’s decision to go to Jepara.

Soekias was one of the European entrepreneurs the colonial government was encouraging to lease large tracts of land to grow plantation crops for export. He apparently had five parcels of land,

one of which was called Blakang Gunung about six kilometers north of Jepara in an area called Soembring.¹³ There were twelve Javanese villages on the land he leased with a population of six or seven thousand villagers. The regulations were that these villagers were obligated to plant, cultivate and harvest the plantation crop specified by the plantation holder. Each Sunday morning Soekias would call the heads of the twelve villages on his land to his house at Blakang Gunung to give them instructions for preparing the soil, planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing and delivering the plantation crop to the warehouse.

Jansz's ministry plan, in addition to starting the school for Soekias' children and the children of the villagers, was that when Soekias finished giving his instructions to the village heads each Sunday morning, Soekias would have them stay on so that Jansz could present his gospel message to them. This plan seemed good to Jansz at first. He would always have a ready audience to hear his message each Sunday. And there would be children for his school. But, as we shall see, Jansz had no clear sense of the realities of the Cultivation System he was getting involved in. He had no idea of the resentment and degradation it engendered in the hearts, minds and spirits of people who were forced to labour under the direction of plantation operators like Soekias.

It was August 14, 1852 when Jansz and his wife finally sailed the fifty kilometers from Semarang to Jepara. The house Soekias had promised them in Blakang Gunung was not yet ready, so they remained in Jepara for a time. But Jansz started going to Blakang Gunung each Sunday to preach to the village leaders after they had met with Soekias for their instructions. About ten to twenty village heads from the twelve villages on the plantation were there, plus others from the local village. But it soon became clear to him that these village leaders were not attracted to his gospel message. No matter how true and good his words, his message was intertwined and contaminated with the oppressive realities of colonialism.

In the first place, before Jansz began to speak, these men had already sat and listened an hour or two to Soekias' instructions for the plantation. More importantly, Jansz, and perhaps Soekias, a nominal Christian, had no clear idea that a group of village heads like this would be about the least likely people to be interested in hearing about the Christian faith. They were the leaders of their villages where everyone was at least nominally Muslim. They were responsible to motivate their fellow-villagers to do the required tasks on the plantation. Furthermore, for them to show interest in the religion of Soekias and of the colonial power ruling their coun-

try would make them appear to be currying special favours with their Christian overlords. This would jeopardize their position of authority among their own people.

Finally, he learned, Javanese people were not typically influenced by a one-way lecture. A context of a give and take discussion where there was no coercion was far more fruitful. Beyond such discussion, there might be a kind of debate where people made their points to each other in a process that might go on for days. In this process, eventually one person might begin to realize that the points the missionary had been making were worthy of attention, such that they decided to accept the gospel. Jansz knew this kind of discussion or conversation as one characterized by mutual respect.¹⁴ And yet Jansz was unwittingly linked to the oppressive structures of the colonial regime. He would have to learn that fruitfully sharing Christian faith with oppressed people requires clearly distancing oneself from any coercive or repressive system involved in their lives. In June 1853, the house Soekias was preparing in Blakang Gunung was ready. Living there, six kilometers from town, Jansz began to learn how people, oppressed for generations by the colonial Cultivation System, had been dehumanized and robbed of their self-respect.

Jansz's difficulty speaking about Christianity to the village leaders (in Javanese) also helped him realize he needed a Javanese associate evangelist to share the gospel in a clearer, more culturally sensitive way. He contacted NZG missionary Jellesma in Mojowarno, East Java who was known for his ability to train new Javanese believers to share their faith with other people. Jellesma sent a young man named Sem Sampir who Jansz asked to speak to the village leaders when they gathered on Sundays. The reaction of the village leaders was mixed. Several were interested in what Sem Sampir was trying to teach them, but others berated Sem, calling him a Dutch lackey. Jansz succeeded in gathering a small group in Blakang Gunung and a handful in nearby Mlonggo to whom he regularly taught basic elements the gospel. But progress was slow and setbacks frequent.

Jansz meets Tunggul Wulung

Hardly more than six months after moving to Soembring, on January 11, 1854, Jansz received a visitor, Kiai Tunggul Wulung, who was unlike anyone he had ever met. It was Sem Sampir who brought this unusual man to meet with Jansz. To understand who

this Tunggul Wulung was, we need to look at his story. He was a scion of the royal family of Surakarta, who in his early maturity was called R. Tondokusumo. After serving as *demang* in Kediri, where he was known as Raden Mas Demang Padmodirdjo,¹⁵ he joined Prince Diponegoro's campaign against colonial rule called the Java War (1825 to 1830). To escape arrest when this uprising collapsed, Padmodirdjo fled to the village of Ngalapan, south of the northern coastal town of Juana, where he identified himself as Kiai Amat Dullah.¹⁶

Kiai Amat Dullah lived in Ngalapan a decade or more.¹⁷ To escape arrest for horse theft he fled to the high slopes of volcanic Mount Kelud in south central East Java not far from Kediri and became a hermit. He again changed his name, this time calling himself Tunggul Wulung.¹⁸ He met with a female hermit named Endang Sampurnowati, who, like Tunggul Wulung, was a mystic seeker of esoteric spiritual knowledge in the Javanese tradition. Challenging each other to a test of spiritual knowledge in the kind of debate mentioned above, each challenged the other with a riddle. Remarkably, the answer to both riddles was the same: Isa Al-Masih (Jesus the Messiah). Finding each other on a similar plane, they decided to live with one another in mutual respect. Both of them had some knowledge of Christianity, but it seems that they still regarded this new spiritual knowledge as one more of many kinds of esoteric mystical knowledge, not an indication of what Janz taught, repentance and trust in Jesus Christ as saviour and Lord.

One day Tunggul Wulung discovered under his sleeping mat a scrap of paper on which was written these words: "God spoke, and these were his words: 'I am the LORD your God who brought you out of Egypt where you were slaves. Worship no God but me...'"¹⁹ This message about deliverance from slavery peaked great interest in Tunggul Wulung. It was accompanied by an inspiration that he seek further explanation about these words by going northward down the mountain from his hermitage.²⁰ According to Tunggul Wulung's explanation to Pieter Jansz in 1854, he was brought to faith in Jesus by a Javanese Christian believer who had been a hermit mystic on Mount Celering northeast of Mount Muria.²¹

Tunggul Wulung as a Christian believer now added the name Ibrahim. Following the inspiration he received when he found the message under his mat, he went down the mountain to a village called Ngoro. There he found an Indo-European man, C.L. Coolen, who had leased a tract of land from the colonial government where he invited Javanese believers to gather and form a new Javanese

Christian village. Coolen believed deeply that Javanese people who turned to Jesus should not mimic the ways of Dutch Christians, but should become authentically *Javanese* Christians, *Kristen Jowo*.²² Tunggul Wulung embraced this conviction about Javanese Christianity and held much of it for the rest of his life. He also began to call Javanese believers who adopted Dutch customs *Kristen Londo* (Dutch Christians).²³ But while with Coolen in his Javanese Christian village he cannot have ignored the central fact that Coolen was an Indo-European plantation holder who had leased his land from the colonial government. This placed him in a position of powerful control over what happened in the Javanese Christian village he had established on his plantation. This experience in Ngoro contributed to Tunggul Wulung's own vision for going into a remote forest, clearing the land and forming a new Christian village as the social manifestation of the dawning reign of God.

Soon Tunggul Wulung continued farther northeast to the village of Mojowarno where NZG missionary Jellesma lived and ministered among a group of Javanese Christians who had invited him to come and serve among them. Here Tunggul Wulung and Endang Sampurnowati learned much about Christian faith from Jellesma and his more deliberate and substantive way of teaching the faith. His way of training people to evangelize was to teach certain basic elements of the faith in a relatively short block of time and then send them off to share what they had learned with whomever they might meet – and then come back and talk with Jellesma about their experience. So, after a period of instruction there in Mojowarno, Tunggul Wulung returned to the Muria area sharing what he had learned with people he met along the way. It was on this journey that he met Sem Sampir (also trained by Jellesma) who took him to meet Pieter Jansz.

The first thing Tunggul Wulung noticed about Jansz when they met in Blakang Gunung was his involvement with Soekias, who, though claiming to be a Christian, was heavily involved in the oppressive Cultivation System. Sem Sampir had certainly already told him about trying to teach the gospel to the village leaders on Sunday mornings after Soekias had given them their instructions for the week. He surely also told Tunggul Wulung how some village heads called him a Dutch lackey. Obviously Jansz's ministry situation was seriously compromised. Tunggul Wulung came hoping to partner with Jansz and tell people he knew in the area about his new-found faith. This included hermits on Mount Celering northeast of Mount Muria, but also people southeast of Mount Mu-

ria whom he knew when he was living in Ngalapan. So, he offered to become a partner with Jansz.

Jansz wanted to know how much Tunggul Wulung knew about Christianity. So, in their conversation, he gave Tunggul Wulung a little oral quiz. He concluded that there was much more that Tunggul Wulung needed to learn before he could become his assistant. So Jansz told him that if he would come and live with him and learn more about Christianity for six months or a year, he (Jansz) might take him on as an assistant evangelist.²⁴ To Tunggul Wulung, Jansz's proposal may have seemed condescending. After all, Tunggul Wulung was a scion of the royal house of Surakarta, was twenty years Jansz's senior, and he had fought in the Java War against Dutch colonial rule. And Jansz was himself heavily compromised in the Dutch colonial system with plantation holder Soekias. So Tunggul Wulung told Jansz that he would just go and evangelize the area on his own.

Tunggul Wulung and Jansz Start Christian Villages

But they also talked about Tunggul Wulung's idea of evangelizing people and inviting them to gather with him in a new village they would carve out of the remote forest. This idea was partly based on what Tunggul Wulung had witnessed in Ngoro and Mojowarno, two new Christian villages. In Ngoro the founder was the Indo-European planter Coolen who invited people to turn to faith in Christ and come and start a village on his plantation land. The important thing was that planter Coolen himself was very much an evangelist and an advocate of cultivating a distinctly Javanese Christian village in Ngoro, one in which the Christian gospel did not displace the Javanese culture or encourage Javanese believers to adopt Dutch ways. Rather, here the Christian gospel was to be a transformative leaven infusing Javanese culture with new life.

Mojowarno was founded by Javanese Christians who came to faith largely through reading and studying the Gospel of Mark that missionary Brückner had translated some decades earlier.²⁵ They gathered together in a remote area to form a new village, which they called Mojowarno. Only later did they invite NZG missionary Jellesma to come and live among them. Jellesma was certainly influential in Mojowarno, but village life and leadership were already established before he came on the scene. So, in Mojowarno Jellesma served in more of a collaborative role, not a dominating or supervisory one.

From Tunggul Wulung's perspective there was something good about each of these Christian villages. In his mind, they both harkened back to the ancient Javanese myth of a group of Javanese people going into a remote forest location, *mbabad alas* (clearing some forest) and founding a new village, and in this way creating a "whole new world." But neither of these examples was perfect. The liability in each case was the powerful Indo-European or Dutchman involved. In Ngoro, it was the Indo-European Coolen, who perhaps from his Javanese princess mother picked up the importance of Javanese believers in Jesus remaining Javanese. But that Indo-European still held the lease of the tract of land and was very much in charge of what went on there. In the case of Mojowarno, Dutch missionary Jellesma was a powerful influence in the community, but his influence was mostly in the area of substantive evangelistic teaching. Indigenous leadership in the church and community was clearly established well before Jellesma appeared on the scene.

It was this vision of starting a Christian village in a remote area that Tunggul Wulung shared with Pieter Jansz. To Tunggul Wulung, life in towns, cities and plantations was corrupted morally, culturally, economically, politically and socially. Colonial rule was in itself corrupting as Dutch Europeans, presuming to own and rule over Java, forced the population to generate wealth that was then siphoned off to Netherlands. Dutch and other European men were key functionaries in this political and agricultural system of exploitation. Such men often took a Javanese woman to be their *niai* or concubine. Opium, monopolized by the colonial government, was readily available in the towns. Islamic boarding schools were in the coastal towns. People living in more remote villages were less influenced by these things. They were more upright. It was easier to share the Christian gospel with them. When he interested people and families in the faith, Tunggul Wulung tried to convince them to move with him to a new Christian village where they would be free from the corrupting influences of the towns, cities and plantations.

Jansz saw the value of forming Christian villages where new believers could come and live, but he did not agree with starting new villages in *remote* areas. How could they be the salt and light to people around them if located in such isolated places? He preferred to locate new Christian villages nearer Jepara. Jansz also wanted to be able to reside in such a village, but he would have difficulty getting government permission to live in a remote area.

About this time, however, Jansz became preoccupied with difficulties related to Sem Sampir and convincing the people he was working with to settle in a new village became difficult. In this vacuum Tunggul Wulung convinced a number of people whom Jansz had been preparing for baptism to move with him to a location by the sea called Bondo, about fourteen kilometers north of Jepara, and there to form a new Christian village. Complications arose. To Jansz, Tunggul Wulung was stealing his sheep. Jansz tried to gain influence in this new village by sending an associate evangelist there when Tunggul Wulung was off on one of his many evangelizing journeys. Another way to create a connection with them was to provide credit for a team of water buffalo that they could use to work their land. Needing to repay this loan would assure a continuing connection to him. But the new Christian village of Bondo was clearly under the primary leadership of Tunggul Wulung and became the first of three Javanese Christian Villages that he would establish in the Muria area.

Aside from working with the new Christian village in Bondo, Tunggul Wulung continued the work he had started on the east side of Mount Muria when he first met Pieter Jansz in 1854. There he kept sharing his Christian faith with people in several places. By 1861 some of the people there were ready to form a new Christian community to the south of the village of Dukuhseti. Tunggul Wulung visited these people and their new village grew. Jansz also sent his assistant to visit this new village each month, but Tunggul Wulung placed one of his assistants to live there and shepherd these people. New people kept arriving and by 1864 between sixty and seventy people made up this new Christian community.

These people faced persistent opposition from unfriendly Muslims living nearby. Finally, Tunggul Wulung sought advice from a friend, Mr. Anthing,²⁶ a judge in the court system. Tunggul Wulung and the group had found a location east of Dukuhseti by the edge of the Java Sea and Mr. Anthing secured a license for this group to start a new village there. They called the place Banyutowo (fresh water) because they found there a strong spring of fresh water. By 1870 the Dukuhseti group of Christian believers numbering 234 under Tunggul Wulung's leadership had formed a permanent new Christian village at Banyutowo.

As Javanese Christian villages of Bondo and Banyutowo grew, it soon became clear to Tunggul Wulung that a third Christian village was needed. In 1878 Tunggul Wulung and his associates started a new Christian hamlet in Tegalombo, about six kilometers northwest of Banyutowo. This new Christian village was not in an isolat-

ed location, but right along a through road in an area that was already settled.

The best example of a new Christian village resulting from the work of Pieter Jansz and his evangelists began with new believers in Pulojati, ten kilometers south of Jepara near present-day Pecangaan. Because of violence against them, this group moved nearer to Jepara. Finally, in 1869 it was decided that they should relocate in Karanggondang, several kilometers north of Soembring on the way to Bondo. They named this new Christian hamlet Kedungpenjalin. The first man of Pulojati to become a believer was Karso, whose name meant "will." As a new believer Karso added Pasrah ("surrendered") to his name. Pasrah Karso became a capable evangelist and pastor and led this now oldest continually existing mission congregation for several decades without supervision by a resident missionary.

Jansz's Vision for a Christian Settlement

Jansz's experiences through his first two decades of ministry among the Javanese people taught him many things. Most significant was what he was learning about starting village churches. Ideas from Tunggul Wulung, and his own observation of how Tunggul Wulung started the new village churches in Bondo and Banyutowo, convinced Jansz of the need for a new approach for starting mission churches.

In 1874 Jansz published a pamphlet on land development and evangelization on Java.²⁷ To prepare for writing this pamphlet he consulted Mr. Anthing, Tunggul Wulung's high-level supporter, who had by then retired as vice president of the Supreme Court in Batavia, and other legal and agricultural experts. His goal was to persuade the mission societies to jointly establish large long-term land-lease projects, for which people would be invited to come, take up residence, be open to the Christian congregation forming there, and receive a piece of land to cultivate. His pamphlet included the following main requirements and regulations pertaining to people coming to join in this community: 1) settlements were to be led by experts who were committed Christians; 2) both Muslims and Christians would be welcomed to live in the settlement; 3) each would receive a portion of land to cultivate and a portion of the harvest; 4) residents were to be given guidance and direction in agriculture and marketing; 5) no one was to be forced to participate in the Cultivation System; 6) health care facilities and a school

for the children would be provided; 8) a fund from profits to cover losses from inclement weather or natural disaster would be established; 9) smoking opium would be forbidden, as would indecent dancing; 10) evangelists would not be allowed to get involved in economics and management; 11) Dutch missionaries would provide pastoral care for Christians in the Settlement and oversee the school without pressuring anyone to become a Christian.

It is interesting that the first item listed as a requirement for the agricultural settlements was that experts oversee their operation, and that these experts would need to be Christians. The second requirement was that guidance and direction would be provided to the settlement farmers in planting and cultivating their land and in marketing their produce. This guidance would include rotation of crops, the prevention of erosion and the construction and maintenance of irrigation channels. Further, there would be none of the forced cultivation that was characteristic of the government's Cultivation System.

When Jansz had his pamphlet printed and published in Netherlands and forwarded to the leaders of the Mennonite Mission Society, they hardly responded. To them it seemed like a very large project that would certainly cost a lot of money and they did not see how, or even why, anything of this sort should be done. So, they did nothing and things went on as they had been.

In 1876 Pieter Jansz's son, Pieter Anton Jansz, who had gone to Netherlands for some years of study, returned to Java. At first P.A. Jansz helped his father wherever he could. Beginning in April 1878 P.A. Jansz took over the mission schools supervised by his father. Missionary N.D. Schuurmans had been the principal of the schools, but because of an illness he had returned to Netherlands.²⁸ As things proceeded, it became more and more clear that Pieter Jansz was becoming less able to do all that he had been doing, so P.A. Jansz needed to take on more of his work. As for P.A. Jansz himself, the first priority was to act on his father's plan to establish Christian agricultural settlements.

Mission Society leaders back in Netherlands had other ideas. They believed that the growing church in Kedungpenjalin north of Jepara ought to be made the center of operations for the mission in Java. Responding to this proposal, both Pieter Jansz and P.A. Jansz offered several reasons why making Kedungpenjalin the center of operations for the mission was not a good idea. First, it was located far from a main road and part of the access road was impassible in the rainy season and unbearable in the dusty dry season. Furthermore, housing there was unsatisfactory, and available land for both

rice paddies and dry land crops was very limited, which was surely inadequate for a growing church community. They also argued that there was no way to keep the community from being inundated by Muslims since available land for housing and planting was owned by others.

For P.A. Jansz, the congregation in Jepara, to which the Janszes had returned to base their activities after the failure of the Soembring experiment, was itself not a viable context for outreach activity. Reflecting the conviction of Tunggul Wulung, the younger Jansz believed that evangelization should be undertaken in rural areas, and that urban areas were not a suitable context for church ministries. He wrote a very strong letter to the Mission Society leaders in Netherlands saying:

Six years have passed since my father submitted an important and much discussed matter, i.e., that of "Land Development and Evangelization," but up to the present time the mission still waits for the execution of the plan. There has been much talk and agreement about the plan, but no one has done anything to carry it out. It is not necessary for me to say that this attitude is not in accordance with the words found on the title page of the pamphlet. "Let us love not only with words, but truth and actions. The Kingdom of God is not a matter of words but of power" (I Cor. 4:20).

I cannot understand why the plan my father suggested cannot be executed. Many private individuals come to Java to work the land and make a lot of profit. Would not the owners of capital who are believers and love the work of mission be willing to work land not just to enrich themselves, but also for the spiritual well-being of the people of Java...? Or perhaps the owners of capital who are not religious have more courage and initiative than those who are Christians.... I almost believe that unreligious capitalists have more faith than those who are believers.

How much longer are the people of Holland going to just watch Java be exploited by greedy tramps in search of profit...? Does the land that is still undeveloped have to fall into the hands of greedy industrialists who care nothing if the morals of the Javanese people are destroyed and they become more impoverished...?

Has not the time come for us to stop our useless talk and take steps appropriate for the time, evangelization through agricultural community development?²⁹

By this time the younger Jansz was already investigating possibilities for establishing a Christian agricultural settlement, including making approaches to government officials about the steps that would be necessary. He was also thinking about possible locations. Clearly P.A. Jansz was an action man on the settlement issue in a

way that his father was not. It was in the middle of these discussions, on October 23, 1881, that the time came for Pieter Jansz to lay down his mantle and turn his work as a missionary over to his son, P.A. Jansz.³⁰

Evangelization through Christian Agricultural Settlements

With the departure of the elder Jansz, P.A. Jansz was left alone to give leadership to the rather small congregation in Jepara. He needed also to pay attention to the larger congregation in Kedungpenjalin, since Pasrah Karso, the pastor of that congregation, was advancing in years. Amid these responsibilities P.A. Jansz began immediately to pursue his goal of establishing a Christian agricultural settlement. According to the vision of Pieter Jansz, a missionary should not be involved in the business of establishing or administering an agricultural settlement. That would be the work of a businessman recruited for that purpose. It could be a Christian or perhaps someone who was not a Christian.³¹

P.A. Jansz agreed with his father in many ways, but in two significant ways he did not agree. First, he believed that setting up and overseeing a Christian agricultural settlement was integral to the work of mission. That is why he himself was taking the initiative to establish a settlement. Second, he believed that the participants in the settlement should be Christians, as he defined it, people who had turned to Christ, repented of their sins and been baptized. In these respects, P.A. Jansz's vision was similar to what Tunggul Wulung had witnessed when he came down from Mount Kelud to visit Ngoro. There, C.L. Coolen had obtained long-term lease land and invited believers to come and form a new Christian village on it. Coolen was landlord as well as *pendeta* (minister) of the people living there. This put him in a very strong leadership position in the Ngoro Javanese Christian settlement, stronger than the position of Tunggul Wulung in his Javanese Christian villages. P.A. Jansz's plan was to move the congregations in Jepara and Kedungpenjalin, to a new settlement.

When P.A. Jansz approached J.W. Moojen, the official colonial Resident of the Muria area, with his plan, he received a very positive response. Making several suggestions for the project, Moojen encouraged Jansz to move ahead right away since only one year remained of his term as resident and there was no certainty that his successor would support the plan. In fact, Moojen urged Jansz to not wait very long for the Mission Society leaders to approve of

the plan. Jansz himself should, in his own name, make application to the government to lease the land. Jansz also received approval from the Regent of Juana, the Wedana of Tayu and District head of Margotahu, where he found the ideal location in the area of Puncel, right along the main road that went through Tegalombo and near Java Sea shore.

Already on January 3, 1881 Jansz had filed his request to obtain a long-term lease for approximately 340 acres³² of land for a period of seventy-five years. Twenty months later P.A. Jansz's request to "enter a long-term lease agreement for a tract of land in the location of his choosing in the amount of 326.4 acres" was granted.³³ The following requirements pertained: Protect springs on the land; maintain the roads; grow no coffee; and land rent is US \$14.44 per acre.³⁴

P.A. Jansz now had to develop a set of "settlement regulations" to be the basis for inviting people to join this new community. These included certain "Christian" standards of behavior:

Live in a Christian way; opiates and hard drinks are not allowed; school age children must attend the mission school (without charge); parents raise children in a Christian way; avoid occult activities;³⁵ adultery, prostitution and bigamy are forbidden; gambling and indecent dancing are forbidden; pawning and lending money to impoverish others is not allowed; maintain roads, bridges, irrigation channels and the cemetery; resident families pay US \$210.35 per year beginning in their fourth year and receive 1.7 acres of rice paddy³⁶ and 1.7 acres of dry crop land;³⁷ people who do not cultivate their land will lose their right to land; houses and fences must be according to instructions; water buffalo and cattle are kept in a common shed, but horse may be kept in a shed in the back yard; beginning in the sixth year each resident family will help with the maintenance of the church and school and caring for the poor and sick; residents will elect a village head from a list of candidates chosen by the owner of the Settlement; candidates may not pay people to vote for them; persons violating these regulations can be expelled from the settlement.³⁸

Clearly this system involved a great deal of control by the owner of the settlement, the lone Mennonite missionary that was present in Java at the time. It was only possible because of the government policy in this post-Cultivation System time of granting leases for large tracts of land to Europeans and Indo-Europeans. A basic element of this land-lease system was that the one holding the lease could invite anyone they chose to live on the land, exclude anyone they believed to be undesirable and expel residents who did not keep the regulations agreed to upon first being admitted. Suppos-

edly this meant that there was no obligation or pressure for anyone to apply to join the settlement community. But, since it was Jansz's plan to move the Jepara and Kedungpenjalin congregations to this settlement, there would clearly be pressure for the members of those churches to go along with it.

The major question that arises is why missionary P.A. Jansz was exclusively empowered to make these decisions. Neither P.A. Jansz nor his father seemed to have a vision in mind for a time or a process by means of which a Javanese congregation might be formed under the leadership of Javanese ministers with Javanese lay persons participating in church councils and the like. Neither Anabaptist understandings of the church nor any other theological understanding of church seems to be reflected in this structure and pattern of organization.

With these preparations, early in 1882 Jansz asked attorney Nicodemus Sudjalmohardjo to lead a crew of 160 people to prepare the land for settlement. The school constructed in Jepara by missionary Schuurmans was dismantled and moved to the new settlement by October of that year. The students from Jepara came as well. Teacher Yusuf and two assistants gave leadership to the school, which was opened in February 1883. A temporary residence was constructed for Jansz, which he occupied in April.

The settlement was officially opened with a feast of celebration on June 9, 1883 and given the name Margorejo, which means "way to happiness."³⁹ By planting season 1884, thirteen people moved to the settlement, three of whom were already members of the mission church. Five people came from nearby Tegalombo, the third Christian Village organized by Tunggul Wulung. Three Muslim families came promising to live by the regulations of the settlement. The number of people living in the settlement, including wives and children, the school children and the employees, had by that time reached ninety-one.⁴⁰ Jansz called evangelist Yakobus Semadin from Kedungpenjalin to come and provide pastoral leadership for the settlement. Before long, however, this man fell into using opium and was removed from his position.

Some other problems appeared in the new settlement, however, the seeds planted among weeds began to grow and flourish. Within a year the number of settlement households, not counting the teachers or the missionary family, reached 18, so that the total number of settlement residents reached 137. And the amount of land that was already cultivated was twenty-six acres, some rice paddies and some dry field vegetable plots. The kapok trees that had been planted were growing well, promising a good income for

the settlement. Jansz hired J. Schroot Bettink to serve as administrator of the agricultural settlement but soon decided that the new village head that had been chosen would be able to handle that administrative work, particularly matters relating to the government.

Tunggul Wulung's Villages Join the Mission Church

In the early 1880s Tunggul Wulung was aging and losing his ability to lead his Javanese Christian villages in Bondo, Banyutowo and Tegalombo. He appointed young men to provide leadership for these three village churches, people whom he had given some training, some of whom he had sent to receive training from Pieter Jansz. When, on April 29, 1885 Tunggul Wulung died, none of the young leaders was able to rise to the task of succeeding him in his leadership role. Some of his followers were ready to join the mission church, others were not. Some were ready for baptism but not ready to join the mission church. Eventually most of the people in these three villages accepted baptism from Jansz and became part of the mission church. Some of them moved to the Margorejo settlement, but many remained in their respective villages.

F.L. Anthing, the retired member of the Supreme Court in Batavia, had gone to Netherlands and returned, having been appointed as Apostle to Java by the Apostolic movement in Netherlands. Not long thereafter he was killed in a tram accident in Batavia. Other Apostolic leaders made an effort to embrace and claim the Javanese Christian villages that Tunggul Wulung had started as part of their movement. These efforts were focused primarily on Bondo and Tegalombo. Eventually these interventions diminished and most of the people in Bondo, Banyutowo and Tegalombo identified with the Mennonite mission. Jansz appointed leaders for these Christian villages.

Since Pasrah Karso, the long-time pastor of the Kedungpenjalin church was aging, more youthful leaders of his own family took over leadership there. It fell on P.A. Jansz to provide leadership to the youthful pastors because neither they nor Pasrah Karso himself were credentialed ministers and therefore not authorized to baptize people or serve communion. They all were appointed as missionary assistants or evangelists.

By 1887 the number of baptized believers in the Mennonite mission churches reached 368, mostly because many of the people in Bondo, Banyutowo and Tegalombo wanted to be baptized. Under

Tunggul Wulung's leadership baptism had not been practiced. The number of residents in the Margorejo settlement reached 191, though a much smaller number of them were baptized church members.

New Mennonite Missionaries from Russia

The Mennonite Mission Society back in Netherlands had been trying to recruit new missionaries to work with Jansz. They had no success finding candidates in Netherlands, but already in 1871, the *Kirchliche* Mennonites in Russia⁴¹ had sent missionaries through the Dutch Mennonite Mission Society to begin mission work in the Mandailing area of southern North Sumatra. Now the Mennonite Mission Society invited the *Kirchliche* Mennonites in Russia to send workers to Java to work with Jansz in the Muria area.

The first Mennonite missionary from Russia to be sent to Java was Johan Gerald Fast, who arrived in Margorejo in 1888.⁴² His assignment was to assist Jansz in his many-faceted responsibilities in Margorejo. There were ups and downs in the settlement, including criminal incidents that required police involvement. Having to deal with these difficulties, Jansz began to reconsider the suitability of the settlement model. At least he wanted to abandon plans to form more such mission settlements. But Fast, who had just arrived from Russia, and other new missionaries from Russia – Johann Hübert, Johan Klassen and Nicolai Thiessen – found something appealing about the settlement model. In Russia, the Mennonite communities were organized into settlements in which only Mennonite church people lived. Because of this familiarity with settlements, these new Mennonite missionaries had a distinctly positive regard for the settlement model.

A Second Christian Agricultural Settlement: Margokerto

Johann Hübert was based in Kedungpenjalin to oversee ministries in the western part of the Muria area. He discovered a parcel of land several kilometers north of Bondo where Tunggul Wulung had developed his first Christian village. It consisted of 608 acres that had previously been cultivated as a sugar plantation supplying the Jerukwangi-Bangsri sugar factory, an initiative that had long been discontinued because it was no longer profitable.⁴³

The four missionaries – Jansz, Fast, Hübert and Klassen – had by this time organized themselves into a Conference of Mennonite Missionaries, which met regularly to do all their planning, reporting and decision-making. When Hübert came with his proposal to open a new Christian agricultural settlement, they discussed the matter and decided to pursue it, giving Hübert the task of launching the project. In July 1900 they filed a request with residency officials, who sent the request to the Governor-General in Batavia. The act was issued on October 29 of that year.⁴⁴ The new settlement was called Margokerto, which means “way to salvation.”

The regulations pertaining to this new settlement were somewhat different from those used in Margorejo. The most remarkable difference was that no missionary resided in Margokerto or was directly involved in its administration. Like Margorejo, the Margokerto settlement involved providing each family with both irrigated paddy land and dry farm land; but for irrigated paddy land they were to pay one quarter of their harvest to the settlement and for dry crop land, one half. Additionally, the settlement itself was to receive the harvest from the kapok grove and the kapok trees along the roads in the settlement, plus the harvest of the coconut grove.

Missionary Hübert led the original development of the Margokerto settlement, assisted by Martokarjo and Soeradi, both from Kedungpenjalin. For the continuing spiritual leadership of the Margokerto settlement and congregation, Esrom Legiman was appointed as gospel teacher.⁴⁵ This appointment was augmented by a decision by the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies.⁴⁶ Esrom, also known as Ibrahim, was originally from Ngalapan, south of Juana and southeast of Mount Muria, but had provided leadership in gathering a group of believers in Pulojati. Many of the people in Pulojati followed Esrom to Margokerto. To oversee the Margokerto settlement as an agricultural enterprise, a certain L. van Kriegenbergh was appointed with special responsibility to improve the cultivation and development of the land.⁴⁷ So in both agricultural settlements, Margorejo and Margokerto, resources were provided for improving cultivation of the land.

Gospel teacher Esrom Legiman and L. van Kriegenbergh provided good leadership for this new Margokerto Christian settlement. The experience with Margorejo and Margokerto was fruitful enough to encourage the Conference of Missionaries to establish two more such settlements.

Two Additional Christian Agricultural Settlements

In 1910, in the region northeast of Mount Muria, a third Christian agricultural settlement was established with the name Bumi-harjo. It was much smaller than the first two settlements, with only eighty-nine acres.⁴⁸ This settlement became a *pepantan* (branch) of Margorejo. Fifteen years later in 1925, a fourth settlement was established in Pakis Suwawal, northwest of Mount Muria near Soembring with 374 acres of land.⁴⁹ Pakis Suwawal became a *pepantan* of the Kedungpenjalin Church, but a Javanese overseer was chosen to manage the agricultural land. The settlement developed slowly into a viable congregation, so that by 1965 there were sixteen adult members. By 1974 the group was organized as a mature congregation responsible for its own finances, with its own full-time pastor. Little information is available for how the land lease settlement operated. The Margokerto and Margorejo settlements were much more fruitful than Bumiharjo and Pakis Suwawal, though during the Japanese occupation and the Islamic uprising of early 1942, both of them (and other congregations and church institutions) suffered severely, including the destruction of Margorejo's beautiful teakwood church building.

By the 1920s the Indonesian nationalist movement was growing, but none of the Javanese Mennonite congregations was *selfstanding*⁵⁰ with an ordained minister. Missionaries were slow to prepare indigenous leaders or to foster the maturation of congregations and the formation of a Javanese Mennonite Church conference.

Conclusion

The Muria Javanese Mennonite Church Conference⁵¹ (now synod) was formed on the spur of the moment on May 30, 1940, twenty days after German armies invaded and occupied Netherlands, precipitating the immediate arrest of two of the three missionary ministers, German missionaries Herman Schmidt and Otto Stauffer.⁵² The remaining two members of the Conference of Missionaries, Daniel Amstutz (of Switzerland) and physician Dr. K.C. Gramberg (of Netherlands) gathered the lone *pamomong* (ordained minister) of Margorejo, the fifteen *pemulang* (gospel teachers) of the other eleven congregations, and other leaders, to organize themselves into a conference capable of standing on its own feet. The twelve congregations and twenty-nine branches had a total of 4,182 baptized members.

By the end of the 1940s – with its extremely difficult Japanese occupation with missionaries interred or placed under house arrest (1942 to 1945), the declaration of independence of the Republic of Indonesia (July 17, 1945), the revolutionary struggle (1945 to 1949) and the peace accord (December 29, 1949) – only about one half of the congregations and half of their members were still gathering regularly for worship. However, over the subsequent decades (1949 to 2015) in the new Indonesia, a society where eighty-seven percent of the people were Muslims and less than ten percent were Christians, more than ninety additional mature congregations were formed. In 2015 the Muria Javanese Mennonite Church Synod had 102 mature congregations plus many *pepantans* (branches) with a combined worshipping community of about sixty-eight thousand people.

None of the four Christian agricultural settlement congregations continues to operate with their original leased land. When the leases have come up for renewal, the Indonesian government, established in 1945, has arranged for the ownership of the lease land to be transferred to individual families currently working their parcels. Some churches have rice paddy and other land that is cultivated as a source of income for the congregation, but none of them has leased land available to members of the church to cultivate, who then give a portion of their harvest to the settlement. The lease-land settlements have been dissolved.

Making history is more than going into a remote forest, making a clearing and starting a village. For both Peter Janz and Tunggul Wulung, the greatest challenge for the church was always for it to thrive and bear strong witness to God's coming reign in Indonesian society and beyond, and to take clear steps for justice, righteousness, and a healthy natural environment for all.

Notes

- ¹ Dutch Mennonite Missionary Pieter Jansz was the first Mennonite missionary to be sent anywhere overseas. Alle Hoekema, "Why the Dutch Were the First Mennonites to Send Missionaries Overseas" in *Dutch Mennonite Mission in Indonesia, Historical Essays* (Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 2001), 9-23.
- ² Cornelis Fasseur, *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation, Java, the Dutch, and the Cultivation System* (Ithaca, New York: South East Asia Program of Cornell University, 1992), 24.
- ³ Robert Van Niel, *Java Under the Cultivation System* (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press, 1992), 20-21.

- ⁴ It also reduced Netherlands Indies government expenses so that more of the proceeds from the sale of plantation crops could go to the king's treasury. The amount sent to the Netherlands in a year sometimes equaled thirty to forty percent – or even more – of the *total revenues* of the government of Netherlands, thus making Java the “cork on which the Netherlands floats,” as one Minister of Colonies put it. These operations were kept secret from the parliament and the public of Netherlands. But as decades slipped by, liberal voices critical of the Cultivation System began to demand a voice in the governance of the Indies (Fasseur, 57).
- ⁵ During the era of Dutch East India Company rule (1604 to 1799) and through to the 1840s, no missionaries were allowed in Java for fear that they would provoke violent reactions and interrupt the company's profit-making enterprises.
- ⁶ *Nederlandsche Zendelingsgenootschap*, abbreviated as NZG, organized in 1797 in Rotterdam, Netherlands.
- ⁷ *Doopsgezinde Zendingsvereniging* (DZV). The meaning of the original full name of the society was Mennonite Mission Society for spreading the Gospel in Netherlands overseas, occupied territories.
- ⁸ Hoekema, *Dutch Mennonite Mission in Indonesia*, 1.
- ⁹ The capital city of the Netherlands Indies and present-day Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia.
- ¹⁰ Demak, the capital of the first Islamic kingdom on Java, established in the early-sixteenth century. M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008), 38-39.
- ¹¹ Sigit Heru Sukoco and Lawrence M. Yoder, *Tata Injil di Bumi Muria, Sejarah Gereja Injili di Tanah Jawa-GITJ* [Way of the Gospel in the World of the Muria, History of the Muria Javanese Mennonite Church-GITJ], (Semarang: Pustaka Muria, 2010), 121. (An English language version of this history will hopefully appear in the near future.)
- ¹² Fasseur, 116-117.
- ¹³ Or Cumbering. A topographical map from the 1860s names five *perceel* (parcels of land) north of the town of Jepara: Boege, Blakang Gunung, Bandengan, Nyampoeng, and Kedoeng Tjina, plus a sugar factory called Suikerfabriek Soembring, with each name followed by “perceel Soembring” in parentheses. Apparently Soekias held the lease for all five of these parcels, because the twelve villages with six or seven thousand inhabitants said to be on the plantation at Soembring could not have been on the one parcel the map labels Blakang Gunung (perceel Soembring). “Topographische Kaart der Residentie Japara, 1866-1869,” in A. G. Hoekema, *Tot heil van Java's arme bevolking: Een keuze uit het Dagboek van Pieter Jansz, doopsgeqind zendeling in Jepara, Midden-Java* [Toward the salvation of Java's benighted people, selections from the journal of Pieter Jansz, Mennonite missionary in Jepara, Central Java](n. p.: Verloren, 1977), 40.
- ¹⁴ Sukoco and Yoder, 125-126.
- ¹⁵ *R* stands for *Raden*, which is a Javanese gentry title. *Raden Mas* is a higher-level gentry title. *Demang* means ‘head,’ as in leader.
- ¹⁶ *Kiai* (or *Kyai*) is a Javanese title for a religious leader usually assumed by Islamic religious leaders, but which was sometimes used by Javanese Christian leaders. *Amat Dullah* (meaning “very much a servant of God”) is how he identified himself to Mennonite missionary Pieter Jansz. He also used

- Ngabdoolah*, a Javanized form of the Arabic name *Abdullah*, meaning servant of God, which is how he identified himself to the chief of the Jepara residency. Javanese gentry at that time followed a form of Islam, which included some pre-Islamic, mystical beliefs and practices. The indigenous title *kiai* would tend to identify him as an Islamic teacher, but he would not likely have had much, if any, schooling in Islam. It is not unusual for Javanese people, who often have just one name, to add to or change their name when the occasion or their station seems to call for it.
- ¹⁷ Amat Dullah became very wealthy, before giving much of his wealth away and then after having been arrested and then escaping he fled to Mount Kelud. This information about Kiai Amat Dullah is largely dependent on my interview on January 3, 1974 at Margorejo Tayu with Soedjono Harsosoedirdjo, a minister in the Javanese Mennonite Church there who knew many of Amat Dullah's descendants. A report on this interview was carried in the journal *Wiyata Wacana*, 3(2), published by Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen Wiyata Wacana in Pati entitled "Wawancara Sekitar Tunggul Wulung."
- ¹⁸ Tunggul Wulung was the name of a mythical guardian of Mount Kelud, and also the name of a general in the army of Joyoboyo, who was king of Kediri from 1135 to 1179 CE. Though Tunggul Wulung is written as two words, they are never used separately, except in the informal expression *Bah Tunggul* (Grandpa Tunggul).
- ¹⁹ Exodus 20:1-3 (GNT).
- ²⁰ Journal of Pieter Jansz, March 24, 1854.
- ²¹ Journal of Pieter Jansz, January 17, 1854.
- ²² Coolen regarded baptism to be one of "the ways of Dutch Christians" that should be set aside.
- ²³ These two phrases, *Kristen Jowo* and *Kristen Londo*, are both in low Javanese.
- ²⁴ Jansz's missionary mentality was that missionaries would always be in charge and that Javanese people he might train or employ would be his assistants. It would be 125 years before the Mennonite missionaries there would ordain the first Javanese minister.
- ²⁵ Brückner, a Baptist missionary, who after one year had become minister in the Church of the Indies (Indische Kerk) in Semarang, had translated the Gospel of Mark into Javanese and had had it printed in Burma back in the 1830s, but Netherlands colonial officials had seized the shipment. Only a few copies were circulated.
- ²⁶ Mr. Anthing, the Vice-President of the Supreme Court in Batavia 'in Bativa, encouraged the indigenization of evangelism and later connected with the Apostolic Church. (Sukoco and Yoder, 10-11).
- ²⁷ *Landontginning en Evangelisatie op Java, een Voorstel aan de Vrienden van het GodsRijk*, [Land development and evangelization, a proposal to the friends of God's kingdom], (Amsterdam: Hoveker en Zoon, 1874).
- ²⁸ Sukoco and Yoder, 163 to 166.
- ²⁹ Letter of P.A. Jansz to the Mennonite Mission Society, December 2, 1880, quoted in Sukoco and Yoder, 173-174.
- ³⁰ He and his wife remained in the Indies, first in Depok south of Batavia, moving then to Salatiga to live with their daughter and son-in-law. Presently he accepted a new assignment of revising the Javanese Bible, a lengthy pro-

cess the outcome of which became the standard Bible for the Javanese-speaking churches throughout Java. Completing this project, Jansz and his wife moved to Pati and then to Kayuapu. There Jansz died on June 6, 1904, fifty-three years after he and his wife first arrived in Java. During that half-century, they never returned to Netherlands. His wife died in Salatiga in 1909. Both were buried in Kayuapu.

³¹ Pieter Jansz, *Landontginning en Evangelisatie op Java*.

³² 200 *bau*. One *bau* is 1.7 acres.

³³ 192.5 *bau*.

³⁴ f 2.10 for each *bau*. One 1880 NI f equals about US \$11.69 in current dollars.

³⁵ Caring for a *punden* (place where a spirits reside) and using *jimat-tumbul* (occult objects and practices).

³⁶ One *bau*.

³⁷ One *bau*.

³⁸ Sukoco and Yoder, 184. Abbreviated from the more extensive original statement of the regulations.

³⁹ Sukoco and Yoder, 189.

⁴⁰ Sukoco and Yoder, 190.

⁴¹ *Kirchliche* is often used to distinguish the main group of Mennonite churches in Russia from the Mennonite Brethren movement begun in the 1860s.

⁴² He was not married but he soon married the youngest sister of P. A. Jansz, Jacoba Anna Maria Jansz on May 21, 1890. Th. E. Jensma, *Doopsgezinde Zending in Indonesia* (Gravenhage: Boekencentrum N.V., 1968) 59, fn 51.

⁴³ 321 *bau* and 249 sq. *roedes* or 546 US acres. This area is translated as 608 US acres in Th. Nijdam, C., W. F. Golterman and Lawrence M. Yoder, "Java (Indonesia)," *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, 1987, [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Java_\(Indonesia\)](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Java_(Indonesia)).

⁴⁴ Governor-General Decision number 39, dated July 23, 1900 cited in Sukoco and Yoder, 219, fn 175.

⁴⁵ Another term for evangelist or missionary assistant.

⁴⁶ Superintendent Decision Number 14, dated January 14, 1900 cited in Sukoco and Yoder, 220, fn 178.

⁴⁷ Minutes of the Conference of Missionaries, March 31, 1903.

⁴⁸ 47 *bau*.

⁴⁹ Or 197 *bau*. Nijdam, Golterman and Yoder, "Java (Indonesia)".

⁵⁰ Able to stand on its own feet.

⁵¹ The first name of the conference was *Patunggilanipun para Pasamuhan Kristen Tata Injil ing wengkon Kabupaten Kudus, Pati, lan Jepara* (Union of Gospel-Way Congregations in the Regencies of the Kudus, Pati and Jepara).

⁵² The two Mennonite missionaries from Germany, Hermann Schmitt and Otto Stauffer, were immediately arrested by the government of the Netherlands Indies. They died when their prison ship was sunk in a harbor by a Japanese submarine. Their families went to China, where eventually Mennonite Central Committee workers facilitated their migration to California.