

# GERMAN MISSIONS IN BRITISH INDIA NATIONALISM: CASE AND CRISIS IN MISSIONS

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"More and more we prepared for home service. And then all of a sudden I was allowed to go back (to mission work), as the only one of our group. This whole generation (of missionaries), all these people were repatriated."

*Bishop Richard Lipp April 14th, 1973*

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### XIII PURANDHAR

The first reference in a German Missions magazine to the location of Purandhar as an internment camp for Protestant missionaries was made in 1941. The *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* reported quite definitively;

From India the Gossner Mission received the news that its missionary Radsick is interned at the Parole Camp of Purandhar. The camp is situated at 4,000 feet above sea level. The internees are permitted to take walks for hours around the hills. Other than the missionary Radsick there appears to be one other missionary interned there.<sup>1</sup>

The one other missionary was the Quaker Heinz von Tucher, interned with his wife Karen and youngest child.<sup>2</sup> In 1942 and 1943 the Family Parole Camp of Purandhar would have increased importance for the German Missions personnel.

"South of Poona, between the Karba and Nira Valleys, there stretches a conspicuous mountain range, the highest stock of which, crowned by the Kedareshvar Temple, is occupied by Purandhar Fort. ..." <sup>3</sup> Tucher also described the same mount:

Purandhar was a magnificent natural setting, one of the Maharatta hill forts in the Western Ghats, situated between 3,000 and 4,000 feet. The actual top of one of the hills was about 4,400 feet. ...<sup>4</sup>

For much of the time, "on cloudy days its dark crest is hidden;"<sup>5</sup> and

At the summit are two peaks, on one of which is the citadel proper. The other peak, known as Shiva's Rosary, had also been fortified and garrisoned by Shivaji so as to form an outwork of the main fort. ...<sup>6</sup>

The peaks, the crests between the peaks and the extension to the easterly bastion (Khandkada) of Purandhar are crowned with ruins of temples, of a mosque, of the palaces of Nizamshahis and Abaji, as well as Shivaji's fortifications, cisterns, bastions and the immense gates.<sup>7</sup> Purandhar bespeaks a rich past and the evidence of many eras and uses. Alone "the defence of the fort was through the natural wall, through a basil rock that covers the softer strata of the mountain; it forms an unscalable barrier to an aggressor."<sup>8</sup>

Purandhar, isolated from the routes of the plains, remained strategic for the Mahratta people and their Hindu king Shivaji (1627-1680);<sup>9</sup> for he

. . . made himself master of the bridge of strong forts connecting the eastern plateau (extended from the Western Ghats) with the coastland and guarding the approaches from Bijapur to Shivaji's own lands.<sup>10</sup>

Then too, Purandhar Fort became "... famous in Indian history by the siege A.D. 1665 undertaken on behalf of the emperor Aurangzeb by Maharajah Jai Singh I of Amber (Jaipur),<sup>11</sup> which forced Shivaji to surrender to the Moghuls." Upon the conquest of this important fort, the "Convention of Poorundhur" was held in June, 1665. It was stipulated that Shivaji had to "restore all the (23) forts and districts which had been taken from the Moghuls, with the exception of 12 (forts)."<sup>12</sup>

In 1776 the Treaty of Purandhar replaced the Treaty of Surat of 1775, whereby a settlement was achieved between the British and the Peshwa Raganath Rao of Poona and others,<sup>13</sup> a consequence to the political maneuverings ensuing from the Mahratta wars. The conditions were that "all the territorial acquisitions of the (East India) Company should be relinquished with the exception of Salsette,"<sup>14</sup> the island-today's Greater Bombay.

As distant as Purandhar was from the trade routes and the political centers, along with its lower and smaller sister-fortress Wazirgadh, they offer a rich evidence in Mahratti history. Purandhar is a hill fort bathed in monuments and history, pointing out that "there are vestiges of earlier fortifications and

sanctuaries, probably of the Hindu Middle Ages, in one case possibly of even earlier date."<sup>15</sup> Thus, before the major Muslim construction periods under the Bahmanis and the Nizam-shahis, before the early Mahratti period, the pre-Shivaji and the Shivaji eras, the "Golden Age of Purandhar and Madhav Rao (A.D. 1761-72),"<sup>16</sup> and the late Mahratti times (1772-1818),<sup>17</sup> Purandhar gives archaeological evidence of older civilizations. "The oldest and most mysterious ruins are a series of caves in the southwestern and southeastern faces of the cliff-cone to the east<sup>18</sup> of Vajragadh Fort (Wazirgadh)."<sup>18</sup> It appears that "the caves cannot have been intended for human habitation or work;"<sup>19</sup>

The sole workable explanation is that the caves were tombs. The size of the chambers and tunnels is just that needed for bringing in and depositing one or two corpses together with the customary gifts. The length of the tunnels would be justified by the desire to protect the bodies of the deceased. . . . The general plan of similar tombs is known from prehistoric Europe, Lydia and also the Egyptian rock tombs. Grooves of exactly the same sort are mentioned by the Rabbinic tradition as having been provided in the royal sepulchres of Jerusalem: "They have had a cavity by which the impurity was led out into the valley of Cedron." (Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 1946-7, p. 109)

Similar caves have not yet been discovered anywhere in India.<sup>20</sup>

Considering all the tribes which invaded India periodically between 300 B.C. - A.D. 700, "the groove to 'lead out the impurity' would well be in harmony with Iranian ideas," or through the Scythian or Turkish incursions.<sup>21</sup>

In more recent times in the late Mahratta period, when the Peshwa Baji Rao II was deposed in the closing Mahratti War of 1818, the British of the Bombay Presidency, in search of higher locations, discovered the "magnificent natural setting" of Purandhar.<sup>22</sup> Along the lower 'deck' on the northern side of Purandhar Fort itself,

Underneath this slab of basalt rock (and the Fort) were the gardens and the bungalows of the British Sanatorium, where the British troops were sent to recuperate from the effects of the hot climate of the plains. The garrisons of Poona (Kirkee) and Ahmadnagar, and others farther inland, were sent there. There was also a military hospital (Purandhar West). But of course this was a development of the 19th century, and perhaps in the 20th century. ... <sup>23</sup>

Yet what is often the case in archaeological discoveries of ancient civilizations, was also true for Purandhar.

Quite a number of the bungalows still stand on Maratha foundations, and most of them are built of stones taken from former Maratha buildings. But these bungalows of the British hill sanatorium are simple works of military engineering without artistic pretensions and qualities. And the little church in memory of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence (died A.D. 1856), son of King William IV, is likewise a very provincial product.<sup>24</sup>

## THE ARRIVAL OF GERMAN INTERNEES

It was in July and August, 1940, following the 'fifth column' activities of the Third Reich and the enlarged European conflict, that Purandhar came into use as a family parole settlement. Nearly an entire year into

. . . the last war the British military sanatorium on (the) Lower Purandhar Fort was used for the accommodation of Jewish and anti-Nazi refugees from Germany and Austria detained under comparatively light restrictions.<sup>25</sup>

The Foreign Office of the Third Reich and the German Orient Society, in the *Drittes Merkblatt* of January, 1941, mentioned briefly, in comparison to the internment camps of Ahmadnagar and Yercaud, that Purandhar "appears to be established, with few exceptions, for the quartering of interned Jews and emigrants."<sup>26</sup> Understandably the Nazi censors had received few letters from this settlement to glean the

information, yet the Foreign office knew that "there were numerous doctors and dentists in the camp who had emigrated from Germany."<sup>27</sup> The Jewish camp came into being, because

There were always a number of cases where the British Government was not sure what to think of them. Some of them had two passports, which all the more made them for some reason suspect them. Some had reached India shortly before the war, so that the British Government did not exclude the possibility that they were actually Nazi spies come to India in the disguise of refugees.<sup>28</sup>

Also arriving at the "so-called segregation camp",<sup>29</sup> because of the preponderance of German Jewish residents, were the two German missionaries, Wilhelm Radsick (Gossner) and Heinz von Tucher (British Friends). The Quaker wrote in his diary:

On 27th August my wife and I, plus Lore - aged 2¾ years, were interned and brought from Hoshangabad, C.P., to Purandhar Parole Centre, Poona District. ... We were the only people from the Central Provinces.<sup>30</sup>

Under a similar schedule, though coming a greater distance,

Missionary Radsick of the Gossner Mission was still able to visit the Christians in many places in Assam before his internment (on September 1st, 1940). He held two conferences on Faith; the one in Raidang was attended by approximately 1,000 Christians. ...<sup>31</sup>

From the outset at the Purandhar Parole Camp,

... the British Government interned all those Germans and German Jews of whom they did not fear any subversive activity. Therefore in Purandhar you would find, apart from the Jewish people, a few anti-Nazis or Germans without any Nazi inclination.

I was the only missionary in those days working for a British Society. ... Therefore I was taken to this camp, because it was known that I as a Quaker did not agree with any of the Nazi tenets and racial ideas. . . My wife and I were for some time the only German Aryan, non-Jewish family in the camp. There were some unmarried ladies in the camp who were not Jewish. And gradually the Government of India planned to unite some of the anti-Nazi families. ...<sup>32</sup>

The customary entrance to the Purandhar Fort camp was through the massive Moghul Gate, the Bini Darwaza,<sup>33</sup> exactly in the mid-section of the Lower Fort. Frau Marianne Brocke, whose husband joined her at Purandhar in 1941,

... still remember(s) vividly the day when we - the children and I - came to Purandhar. When we marched up the hill it was just about midday; it was very hot. You remember the huge gate which you enter, when you come up to the camp. And when I saw this and went through this gate, (I thought): "Oh, Good Lord, now I am in for it. . .".<sup>34</sup>

## LIKE BEING ON A SHIP

His Majesty's parole settlement at Purandhar served for nearly six years, July, 1940 to April, 1946. At its elevation, during the monsoon period with its rain and its mist, the camp was frequently hidden, while at times clouds simply blanketed the two peaks of the mountain. "The climate up there was certainly favourable,"<sup>35</sup> and "fairly pleasant temperatures compared to what they had had somewhere in a city on the plains in the sweltering heat."<sup>36</sup> Alfred Brocke remembered that

... it was marvellous living up there at Purandhar, because we had a garden there. We had a wonderful climate. We only knew the value of the climate in comparison to the plains in India. It is rather beautiful.<sup>37</sup>

Yet there were the terrible monsoon rains for days upon days or the dreadful winter mist and fog which shrouded the hill camp.<sup>38</sup> And there was "the uncertainty of the future, because one never knew how long this war would last and how it would turn out. . . ."<sup>39</sup>

Interned at Purandhar was "like being on a ship, confined to a certain small space, having to be with the same people and meeting them and living with them, and being at somebody's mercy."<sup>40</sup> The internees were much like passengers embarking on a long journey, plowing through the fog, the monsoons and "all this insecurity and all this . . . sorrow for the future."<sup>41</sup> One was at the 'captain's mercy'.

The Purandhar commandants, at first Shah and then Holland, were radically different men in character, religion, compassion and national identity. Both served the British army and the Government of India, and yet both lacked the enduring concern for these German emigrants, frustrated over their internment and the authorities.

. . . When war broke out, most of the army people were withdrawn from India and the officers that had to deal with internees were mostly taken from civil life, and were not regarded with very great respect by the Indian sepoy. Of course they mostly knew the trade they had been following before they became officers.<sup>42</sup>

The first German internees were welcomed by Colonel Shah, "an Indian medical army officer of the I.M.S. (Indian Medical Service). Shah was a Mohammedan and a member of the Aga Khani, the faction of the Aga Khan,"<sup>43</sup> "the Muslim tribe that came from Persia much later"<sup>44</sup> to India. In his daily log-book the Quaker Tucher wrote:

Colonel Shah was a fine Indian of Persian descent, a very companionable and easygoing gentleman, very cheerful as a rule, but prone to occasional outbursts of temper. During these he sometimes showed strong anti-Jewish feelings, which was very awkward because the camp was at that time filled with refugees, either Jewish or of Jewish descent.<sup>45</sup>

Dr. Walter Fabisch, the appointed Medical Superintendent of the camp and a refugee from Germany,<sup>46</sup> voiced the opinion that Colonel Shah "tried to do whatever he could to make the conditions tolerable; . . . he was a very humane type."<sup>47</sup> Yet the commandant became an isolated person. Being "anti-Jewish, as a Mohammedan,"<sup>48</sup> it led to the natural outgrowth that "the internees resented having an Indian running the show."<sup>49</sup> With the bitter feelings associated to Colonel Shah, during the rainy season of 1941 he "gave up running the camp after a year."<sup>50</sup>

Replacing Shah at the helm at the commandant's headquarters on the ridge between the Purandhar and Wazirgadh forts, was A.S. Holland. For nearly five years, 1941-1946, Holland had the command of the Purandhar 'ship' and for most passengers there was no disembarkation.

In the first two years, 1940-1942, the Purandhar parole settlement was very much as the German Jewish diaspora on a historical Indian fort. For these educated people, who had experienced much in their flight from Nazi Germany and in their survival as emigrants and refugees, "Purandhar was their first real holiday. . . ."<sup>51</sup> In that vein, Frau Eva Mayer, a Jewish lady and singer herself, composed one of the favorite camp songs - "How happy we were in Purandhar!"<sup>52</sup> But of the camp constituents of about 100 persons, 20 were dental and medical doctors.<sup>53</sup> Their professions had been disrupted, and boredom and frustration increased on the hill.<sup>54</sup> From the outset "there was nothing to do. . . . (So) the school or the teaching business was organized on a wide scale - a very elaborate system of keeping ourselves entertained and busy more-or-less 24 hours."<sup>55</sup> Thus, they

. . . tried to teach practically everything that could be taught; in languages — Hindustani (by Tucher), Urdu and Hans Kollin taught French. A businessman from Vienna taught bookkeeping. . . . (They) also gave first-aid lectures, and there was a kindergarten.<sup>56</sup>

The Purandhar parole camp became a close-knit group; "people got to know each other because they had to live there."<sup>57</sup> As "the time dragged on and there was nothing to do,"<sup>58</sup> and people had had enough of the schooling, so "personal interests developed."<sup>59</sup> The stories, the rumours and the activities increased; people got bored and they got into mischief. Certain single ladies became popular, and even "several

people exchanged married partners,"<sup>60</sup> developments which were certainly not confined to this one particular internment camp.<sup>61</sup>

Remarkably few people were released from Purandhar. A young Jewish doctor, Max Mayer and his wife Eva "were the first persons to be released, although he really did not want to leave."<sup>62</sup> He had hoped to continue his research studies. However, the first release set off an unrest in the parole camp. New arrivals brought on further unrest;

One break in the monotony was when all the people from Persia came in. There was an assortment of Danish, Belgian, Italian and Greek engineers who had been building the bridges for the Trans-Iranian Railway, over which afterwards the supplies to Russia were forwarded.

Then another break was when the German internees from Java and from the rest of the Dutch East Indies were transferred to India. We received some of them. Of course only a few professed to be anti-Nazi, like Kirschner and Paulsen. Paulsen is a well-known name because his brother was the President of the German Employers' Union. And Kirschner, ... a very energetic and untiring person (a tobacco planter from Sumatra) looked for caves and found quite a number (alluded to above).<sup>63</sup>

Throughout the years 1941 and 1942 the Purandhar internee list continued to grow. "Gradually as time went on, more and more people from the Ahmadnagar Central Internment Camp and later from Deolali were brought there to join their wives, first the Jewish husbands and later Aryan non-Nazis."<sup>64</sup> According to the Quaker missionary,

... at first we had German women (come from Satara); their men were brought from the other camps, as Ahmadnagar and Dehra Dun. So gradually the camp was filled up with German non-Nazi families, while simultaneously the Jewish people were released. The war situation became less critical and the Government of India was able to find out about the past of these Jewish people.<sup>65</sup>

The Purandhar Sanatorium, originally planned for approximately 100 persons, expanded its quarters for over 200 internees.<sup>66</sup> The accommodations became scarce and the people became more possessive of their space in camp. The additional Germans and the non-Germans gave the camp new life and new activities to a greater diversity, but likewise increased the problems. The new arrivals lessened the German Jewish character of the fort camp. Then, in late 1942 and early 1943, a small but significant group of Lutheran missionaries entered Purandhar. Stemming from the unfortunate circumstances for the missionary wives, the correspondence with the Government of India and the unnecessary separation of these missionary families, first the wives and the children, and then the husbands from Dehra Dun, began to arrive at this family camp near Poona.

It was July, 1942,<sup>67</sup> when Frau Jellinghaus and Frau Klimkeit (Gossner) arrived with their children at the banyan tree at the foot of Purandhar hill and they too entered the Bini Gate of the lower fort. Renate Klimkeit remembered well their reception:

As we came there one of our children had measles, and the commandant (Holland) wanted to throw us out immediately. "How is it possible that you want to bring sick children into the camp!" He then directed us to go back into the barracks, where there still was room. Each of us women got a flat.

There we received excellent food, which we hadn't had to eat for years, since we couldn't get it. And the air was also cool, as it was up on a hill and we had come out of the heat. It was really wonderful; we were very happy and we could rejoice. But at first we were not allowed to go out, so as not to infect anyone else.<sup>68</sup>

At Purandhar's Parole Camp a new missionary chapter began.

## THE PURANDHAR SLUM DEVELOPMENT

Due to the swelling numbers of civil prisoners of war in British India in 1942, Purandhar, like most detention settlements, began a program of building some additional barracks. According to the long-time residents of the fort society and their judgment, the building material quality and the type of barracks constructed on the central, much-needed open spaces became officially designated as "The Purandhar Slum Development."<sup>69</sup> Tucher wrote in his diary:

During March the beginning was made on a number of new buildings. The first and biggest was laid out on what used to be the only large sports grounds on the station. We had been playing football and other games on it at various times, though not regularly at all. Lately it had only been used as a police parade grounds. Some smaller barracks are now being built or laid out on various level bits of ground or old tennis courts. There will be very, very little opportunity for sports on the station when all the old and the new buildings will be completed.<sup>70</sup>

The following progress report was then noted:

1st June, 1942: "The Purandhar Slum Development" is forging ahead; a new barrack has been started in-between the former Dining Hall barrack and Brookes' (house) and Silberbergs' quarters; the place is ruined.<sup>71</sup>

A recent arrival, Renate Klimkeit experienced this phase;

. . . suddenly it seemed that quite a number of barracks were being built. And so the donkeys brought the stones up the hill. Donkeys carried all the bricks on their backs, as with the cement also.

Then the word was out that there was going to be a family camp installed; our men, husbands would be coming. Then after a couple of months one heard that the husbands were going to be taken to some island in the ocean. They were not coming there. Of course there was quite a sad mood among the wives. Then came the clue that some missionaries would be coming 'on trial' to the camp. There were the missionaries Klimkeit and Jellinghaus, as well as some older men - some salesmen and others. Then our husbands did come and we were permitted to remain in the barracks. Each of us was given a unit. ...<sup>72</sup>

The accommodations seemed quite secondary then in relation to the happy reunions of these German families at Purandhar. In "1942, shortly before Christmas, . . . before the Siva-ji celebration,"<sup>73</sup> Helmuth Borutta, Theodor Jellinghaus, Johannes Klimkeit and Dr. Otto Wolff arrived at the hill camp.

In the case of the four younger Breklum missionaries, Ahrens, Dr. Hübner, Lohse and Speck, while at Dehra Dun there arose a controversy between them and the Premnagar commandant, costing them the chance to be with their families for Christmas, 1942. Hübner gave this explanation:

When the Germans from Dehra Dun, who had families in India, were sent to a camp, we expected, of course, to be sent into the main camp at Satara. But for some reason, which I can't imagine, just the four missionaries from our mission - I, Ahrens, Lohse and Speck, and Klimkeit and Borutta from the Gossner Mission, and one or two more, were sent to Purandhar.

And we refused to go to Purandhar. The Jews refused to accept German Nazis, as they thought we were. And the commandant said, "Well, if you don't want to, you don't have to go. You can just stay on." But our wives had been waiting for over two years for this very much-discussed family camp, and they wrote to us very disappointedly that it (a protest) shouldn't be started. And after six weeks we returned to the commandant and told him that we were ready to go even to Purandhar. It was a far better place.<sup>74</sup>

It was a costly miscalculation for two reasons; first, the Breklum men missed the opportunity to be with their families six weeks earlier and for Christmas at that, and secondly, on account of their internment

years with the Nazis and their desire not to be sent to a Jewish camp, essentially others suspected them of being "German Nazis, as they thought we were,"<sup>75</sup> but which they were not in their own thinking.<sup>76</sup>

Finally the last four German missionaries "came in January, 1943, to the Family Internment Camp."<sup>77</sup> "It was then 2½ years,"<sup>78</sup> and for some young couples the separation had been longer than the life together during their married years in India.

## THE MISSIONARY BARRACK AND THE YOUNGEST INTERNEES

With the building program of the new barracks and with the accommodations available for the most recent arrivals, it was clear to the residents, that "some of the barrack quarters are most uncomfortable, as there are only eight foot wooden partitions, leaving the air circulating above."<sup>79</sup> At any rate, "the rooms had no ceilings in this kind of a barrack;"<sup>80</sup> rather "a big hall subdivided with low asbestos walls."<sup>81</sup> These missionary families were assigned to this barrack. Renate Klimkeit described their new abode:

So the barracks were completed and we all came into the missionary barrack. Each family got quarters - a three room unit with a verandha in front as well. But the walls were not built up to the ceiling and one could hear from a good distance everything, especially at night it was rather unpleasant.<sup>82</sup>

Conditions were so uncomfortable, that "if people snored in Apartment I, you would hear them in Apartment V. . . . You could hear everything, or anybody coughing. There was no privacy."<sup>83</sup>

These families had often enough accepted their lot in life, and they had courageously come through the crucial times on the mission stations. This Borutta concurred with;

Everywhere where we went we tried to make our home 'gemütlich' (comfortable). We didn't ask much, rather we accepted the moment. As an example, our barrack, which had no ceiling at all, had only a roof made of asbestos sheets. And that was hot. So we bought gunny-sack material and placed a covering over. And then everybody started talking; "This Borutta doesn't know how long he is going to stay here." . . . For us in the living room it was a bit cooler, especially since our child was very bothered. We had better protection from the sun and the heat. ...<sup>84</sup>

This was only one innovation, yet "after that everyone else copied"<sup>85</sup> the Borutta new heat-resisting ceiling system.

After the ordeal of the internment camps for the men and the loneliness for the women on the mission stations, and their marriages put asunder for over two years, these young couples finally wanted families. In the latter part of 1943 there was a sudden crop of new infants among these Missions personnel. Within a camp society, where often your business is everyone's business, it was not difficult to make a different interpretation, namely, "the Protestant missionaries . . . were actually producing children, because with every child which was born, they got an increase in their allowance."<sup>86</sup> These missionary couples genuinely wanted children.

In spite of the many able Jewish medical doctors at Purandhar, it had been the practice that expectant mothers,

. . . (and) patients from the Internment Camp were usually taken to the so-called Victor Sassoon Hospital (in Poona), which was really the Government hospital of that day. ...

The medical service was a transferred service, that is, the Government of India had certain departments reserved for the administration by English officers, while certain other things, like Education (and the Medical field) had been handed over (to the Indians). But there was no strict division; . . . this refers to how much control . . . the provincial government had as a legislative body over its subjects. ...<sup>87</sup>

Already within the first year at Purandhar, the Quaker couple had its own experience to relate about the hospital;

On January 4th, 1941, our youngest daughter was born, not in camp, but in Poona. ...

In the case of my wife they showed the utmost disregard to the needs of the patient. And if my wife had herself not had enough experience with medical care and had not been able to tell the nurses what to do, the doctor would probably not have cared and not bothered to save her from an infection or other complications.<sup>88</sup>

Karen von Tucher admitted that "when the Jewish doctors . . . heard afterwards how the hospital was, they were very sorry that they had not let me have the baby up there."<sup>89</sup>

The unfortunate experience was a valuable lesson for the internee medical staff, though in the early years there were few births at Purandhar. In the autumn and winter of 1943/44 the youngest group of internees were awaited, and the missionary barrack, not with the ideal delivery facilities, was utilized for yet another purpose. There were obvious limitations and related frustrations. Renate Klim-keit, the first to expect a child, commented on the subject:

As I awaited a baby then, it was a shocking thought to imagine that everyone would have to listen to me. I said to my husband, "Can't you find some bricks and build up the walls to the roof, so as to close off the rooms. ..." So he went out on a hunt and finally found enough bricks lying around, ... He brought them in a wheel barrow to our quarters and built the walls up to the top.

Our daughter was born there; our Christel was born in the barrack, and Frau Hübner was there to assist the doctor attending to me. At that time you could hear every thing. ... As the babies were awaited, one or two of the missionary wives would have to take the children for a walk around the hill-top, until the baby was born. . . . Then if the children were sleeping, and they happened to wake up, they would be taken over to a neighbour in another bungalow.<sup>90</sup>

The only available delivery table used at the camp occasionally became a contested item, particularly when more than one baby was expected at one time, as in late 1943.<sup>91</sup>

Due to the delivery of the babies in the missionary barrack and on account of Klimkeit's innovation - walls going up to the ceiling - a new construction period began, bringing the much-needed, welcomed privacy for the young families.

## FROM BARRACKS TO BUNGALOWS WITH GARDENS

Concerning the living quarters and the physical form, Purandhar was quite bearable. Alfred Brocke had pointed out that with a garden, the wonderful climate and the altitude, it was a joy living up there.<sup>92</sup> Regarding the accommodations, it was noted: "Married couples with children are more likely to get a house or half a house to themselves," while "married couples without children are usually allotted small quarters—part of a line of houses."<sup>93</sup>

As one of the missionaries, Helmuth Borutta related that from the "first we began by attempting to develop a small garden."<sup>94</sup> Actually the privilege of residing in a bungalow was associated with keeping a garden; "what Holland (the commandant) was always insisting on, was that if you live in a place with a garden, you must keep it a garden, else you will be put in a barrack. . . ."<sup>95</sup> This had not been one of the original conditions for the internees;

First there were Government gardeners for the bungalow gardens. Now the Commandant has issued a notice that internees must do the gardening themselves if they want to stay in bungalows - a very practical solution in the case of healthy parents - but not all are keen on gardening.<sup>96</sup>

At the outset it was a camp cared for by Government workers. As one of the German Jewish refugees arriving at Purandhar in August, 1940, Walter Fabisch remembered the first evening:

... We had something to eat and then we dispersed and tried to find somewhere to stay overnight. There were lots of houses and barracks. Whatever we found we just occupied and went in there and slept overnight. And the next morning we tried to sort ourselves out. . . . The next day we just found, quite by accident, this quartermaster's bungalow, which is now the doctor's residence.<sup>97</sup>

Thus, the first arrivals had the opportunity to select their houses with gardens.

As a few internees were released or transferred, the criterion for obtaining a vacated bungalow was the size of the family. And the missionary families had grown steadily in numbers and logically the commandant awarded them the bungalows. Klimkeit admitted that "we got a very attractive house in Purandhar, ... up by the mess-hall. ... It had a long verandha. It was beautiful with the view down"<sup>98</sup> on the plains. Renate Klimkeit acknowledged the same:

We got the house because we had the most children. . . . The commandant informed us, "You can have it." But my husband had to work hard for it. . . . The commandant said that if you want the house, you have to take an interest in the garden. So my husband wanted to develop something attractive, and so he made a wall and planted petunias hanging down from it. And he had to carry countless buckets of water for these flowers. . . . The flowers blossomed, and whenever visitors came to the camp, the commandant would say to his guests: "Come with me, I want to show you something; look at these beautiful flowers."<sup>99</sup>

Christian Lohse had a similar experience; "Upon my request I was given a larger bungalow. And since I had planted flowers in the front garden, I received an extra faucet, which he had installed."<sup>100</sup>

In general the missionary families fared well at Purandhar. They were grateful for everything after the hardships of the previous years. Their relationships with the commandant were better than those of the Jewish community, as the latter group knew him too well over a longer period of time. Renate Klimkeit pointed out that "to us he was always very pleasant, since we did so much in the garden, and that impressed him greatly."<sup>101</sup> Holland knew India well, and the emphasis which the British placed upon their gardens was one trade the commandant had learned well and appreciated most at Purandhar.

Yet, these matters seemed trivial in comparison to the political climate on the hill-fort.

## AUNTIE NAZI AND UNCLE NAZI

On one occasion following the arrival of the latest internees at Purandhar and the discussions by the permanent residents over the newcomers' political leanings,

We overheard these (children), one little girl playing with a few others. And she said, "Now I am the Auntie Nazi and you are the Uncle Nazis." It was horrible, but so funny. . . .<sup>102</sup>

The language was an outgrowth of the British authorities bringing German nationals to Purandhar; for no longer was it a camp for Jewish refugees and anti-Nazis. No one at Purandhar considered himself a party member, that is to say "a national socialist,"<sup>103</sup> but at times it appeared that there were those who "were actually enthusiastic about Hitler"<sup>104</sup> and about Germany winning the war.<sup>105</sup>

Until the Third Reich and the advance of the German armies were finally stopped, and the pure Aryan 'Geist' of the Nazi ideology punctured and made to collapse in disgrace, political pressures always existed between the Germans themselves. Between the Nazi Party friends, the 'Germans', the anti-Nazis, the German Jews, etc., the atmosphere in the British internment and parole camps was often filled with tenseness and bitterness on both sides.

However, there were those who were proud as loyal Germans of the Vaterland, but who were neither party members nor convinced opponents of the Third Reich. There was justification to support this type of patriotism, for every man, whatever nationality, held some national pride. Martin Porsken, the Breklum Mission director, explained:

All Germans serving in foreign lands were convinced Germans, convinced nationalists. There was a goodly number of Jewish emigrants as well, ... with whom I spoke, who had a longing for Germany, a yearning for Germany while living abroad, . . . concerning its problems and the explanations - a dialogue (as to) "What is missing?" But it went further; for the longer one was separated from the homeland, the stronger and more self-conscious a nationalist he was.<sup>106</sup>

This form of nationalism among the German internees in India and in some of the missionaries only placed the person in a pendulating category, swinging between the Nazi loyalists and the anti-Nazis. Brocke, "a very out-spoken anti-Nazi,"<sup>107</sup> made these observations:

... In this time everything looked as if the Nazis would win the war. For us it was amusing that we could actually find out at once the particular political situation, whether the Nazis were in the upper hand or whether they received any set-backs. . . . When they received set-backs, the missionaries suddenly became very polite and started wishing us the day and the time, and so on. And as soon as there were some set-backs for the Allies, they immediately needed to show that they were real nationalists and tried to boycott us. And as we never cared, it didn't make any difference.<sup>108</sup>

The dilemma, on the one hand to make the claim that one wanted to speak no evil of one's Vaterland as good Lutherans, while on the other hand as messengers of the Christian truth yet not condemning the atrocities against the European Jews, done in the name of the German people,<sup>109</sup> caused serious misunderstandings and complications which only divided the Purandhar Camp. The national fervour heightened the suspicions of the German Jews and the anti-Nazis. True, it would have been out of the question for the British to have transferred anyone who was a full-fledged Nazi Party member to this parole settlement.

At first several German wives with nationalistic sentiments came with their children from the primarily Women's Camp at Satara.<sup>110</sup> They were followed by their husbands from either Ahmadnagar, Deolali or Dehra Dun, as the German men were moved from one camp to the next. The later the men arrived at Purandhar, the more time they had spent in internment with Nazi Party members and the leader Urchs.<sup>111</sup>

A more difficult question on the issue of German nationalism, void of any anti-British association, is to be found in the four Breklum brethren's refusal to be transferred from Dehra Dun to Purandhar.<sup>112</sup> The four Gossner men, Borutta, Jellinghaus, Klimkeit and Wolff, accepted the British decision at Dehra Dun without conditions.<sup>113</sup> However, Hübner, as "spokesman for the four Breklum missionaries at Purandhar,"<sup>114</sup> felt, that it would mean "then we were a small non-Jewish minority in a fully Jewish-run camp."<sup>115</sup> The Camp Committee of Purandhar consisted of three representatives,<sup>116</sup> and in 1943 they might all still have been German Jewish refugees. However, beginning in 1941, in "little trickles,"<sup>117</sup> Dr. Max and Eva Mayer, Dr. Lily Selig and one or two others were released.<sup>118</sup> Then as a result of a "very serious influenza epidemic in the winter of 1941-1942 in England,"<sup>119</sup> the British Government "had to move quite a lot of army doctors back to England."<sup>120</sup> This meant that some of the Jewish doctors, e.g. Hamburger and Fabisch, were finally granted medical positions with the British army in India.<sup>121</sup> When the four Breklum men finally arrived in January, 1943, Purandhar was not strictly a Jewish camp. Yet their initial refusal to enter this camp did not assist their ingress and their image at Purandhar.

From the founding period of the fort parole camp, the presence of Wilhelm Radsick (Gossner) was reported.<sup>122</sup> "The only other missionary there"<sup>123</sup> remembered, that Radsick

. . . was a very faithful minister of the Lutheran Church and missionary in Assam serving in the tea estates. He kept the Protestant services going, ... until the missionaries of the Breklum Mission came.<sup>124</sup>

Brocke, from an Evangelical-Lutheran family of clergymen in Thuringen, took a special interest in the missionaries, though with some disappointment.<sup>125</sup> He recognized that Radsick "was from one of the mission schools" and that he had "never studied theology" at the University.<sup>126</sup> And in the Sunday morning worship Radsick "prayed for the authorities (in Germany); that was in 1941."<sup>127</sup> 'This seemed inexcusable for those who so strongly opposed the Hitler movement and ideology, and furthermore problematic considering the majority of the Purandhar Jewish internees who had barely escaped the gas chambers of the Reich. Due to some of Radsick's prayers, "he chased some of us away"<sup>128</sup> from Sunday worship. In other words, Radsick had established a certain reputation in the camp in regards to the German Missions.

However faithful a Christians Missions servant might be, he portrays an image in his society. This the Breklum people knew well, for "among the missionaries there was always the imperative, (as articulated) by the missionary Helms; 'The prestige of the missionaries must decrease'."<sup>129</sup> The missionary had to know his own image, whether he was in the service of the Indian Church or a community of Europeans in an internment camp.

Thus, when the four Breklum missionaries arrived at Purandhar, as ironical and as 'un-missionary' as it may appear, these brethren were once more embroiled in a political dispute over their national sentiments, one which should have been held completely in abeyance. There should have been no question concerning these new arrivals, particularly since the Gossner Society in Berlin, under Hans Lokies, and the Schleswig-Holstein Society in Breklum, under Martin Pörksen, both took up the courageous position of the Confessional Church in Nazi Germany.<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, according to J.Z. Hodge, it was known that the Breklum missionaries, through its Society, had a "membership in the Confessional Church which is under the ban of the Naai Government."<sup>131</sup> This association coincided with Hübner's explanation, as already alluded to above;

... I was one of the leaders of young pastors for the Confessional Church, and I was 'persona non grata' in Schleswig-Holstein. ... I was in the "Reichsbruderrat der bekennenden Kirche für die Hilfsprediger und Vikare."<sup>132</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of all these convincing credentials, yet due to their internment with the Nazis, these younger missionaries were involved in a controversy over their German patriotism and their desire to rid themselves of the 'German Nazi' image which they were falsely given.<sup>133</sup>

Two significant factors surfaced through this encounter with the long-time residents of Purandhar. It appeared that the German missionaries had these traits:

1. A near-religious devotion (or fear) to German loyalty and nationalism (a contrast to the supranationality of Christian Missions); and
2. Due to their patriotism for the Vaterland, a disdain for those German citizens opposed to the present German Government, and this directed against the German Jewish refugees and the anti-Nazis.

It was an unfortunate entrance into the camp community and a situation, which based upon ideological loyalties, caused the German missionaries' ministry or usefulness to become so dubious and debatable. True, "they may not have been in any way linked with an official Nazi organization, but they certainly were national in outlook."<sup>134</sup> And yet on the other hand, upon their arrival at Purandhar, as Lohse recounted, his own children were ill and "the Jewish doctor came immediately. ... For he (Laser) at once took care of the children with a great tenderness. Medically they received the best care."<sup>135</sup> Yet the issues were deeper.

The avocation of labelling or playing the game of "Auntie Nazi and Uncle Nazi" at Purandhar thrived and became the more problematic, since it led to the formation of two distinct groups and loyalties. The Jewish refugees and the convinced anti-Nazis despised everything about the false prophet Adolf Hitler as an un-Christian and un-German phenomenon, while other German nationals perpetuated nationalistic allegiances, some believing "that Hitler's genius was . . . inspired by divine providence."<sup>136</sup> Ideologically Purandhar was divided into two (or more) camps, though of course not housed or segregated into

Purandhar East and West. The mistrust between the two major factions fostered a separatism and the camp activities were planned around each group. Alfred Brocke, an anti-Nazi, remembered the acute polarization at the family parole camp;

We were naturally together with the Jews. We had no animosities; on the contrary we were friends, whereas the missionaries were just as antagonistic against the Jews as the Nazis were. And they didn't have any connections with the Jews at all. ... They boycotted the Jews. . . .<sup>137</sup>

There was the use of boycotts against the others, though it was a two-way street. As an example, "there was Professor Hermann Goetz; he was an archaeologist, and he put the museum in Baroda in order."<sup>138</sup> He too was at Purandhar. According to the Quaker Tucher, Professor Goetz

. . . was the only person who was able to make Herr (Prof.) Filchner speak. He was a well-known explorer in the inner Asiatic regions between China and India. Filchner was then already an old man when he was interned. People were not quite sure about his political views and so the Jews kept hack from him. I wanted to invite Filchner to give a talk, hut he refused, he-cause he said that all his slides were packed away in tin trunks and he couldn't open them in the rainy season. Of course if had spoken, the Jews would have hoycotted him, and he didn't want to come into this situation.

... He was then transferred to Satara because it was felt that he would feel more at home there and perhaps because the climate in Purandhar was very moist in the rainy season.<sup>139</sup>

His daughter, Frau Erika Schneider-Filchner, had accompanied him in his research ventures and was interned with him.<sup>140</sup>

The division between the two factions appeared to work to the advantage of the Commandant Holland and his control over the internees. 141 It was not difficult to recognize Holland's principle: "Divide and you rule."<sup>142</sup>

He had the most diverse groups in the camp. This was Holland's problem. And to bring them all under one hat and to keep the peace in the camp was not a simple task. And perhaps he did something like that, so that one group might not have been satisfied with him.<sup>143</sup>

## COMMANDANT A. S. HOLLAND

The Purandhar Commandant, A.S. Holland, in his role and his rule over the internees, was another fascinating but incredible chapter of internment life. He replaced the medical officer, Colonel Shah, in 1941. Holland, who as

. . . Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Province, was about to retire from active service with the police force. At first people liked him, generally speaking. He was trying to be just to everybody and gave (the internees) permission to go to Poona for shop-ing, etc., more easily than Colonel Shah. He also allowed nearly half the camp to do self-catering, which 144 Colonel Shah had been strictly refusing people. . . .<sup>144</sup>

Holland's background and his service with the Police Force give indications why in time he became remembered more for his orders, his manipulations and his tricks. Apparently he "had spent his youth in poverty. He had probably worked his way up very slowly and had married an Anglo-Indian woman, which did not really help his status with the British officialdom."<sup>145</sup> What appear as trivialities today, were the reoccurring issues which the internees had ample time to observe on many occasions. As one example, Holland

. . . was always out for his personal glorification and to get bargains out of people, out of the internees. He was very fond of being invited, and then he would save a meal by eating

as much as possible from the internees. ... He never forgot to mention that: "We have had such a good tea at your home that we would not need any dinner tonight."<sup>146</sup>

A constant irritation for Holland was the attitude of the Jewish refugees; "everybody was trying to work his own discharge."<sup>147</sup> The Jewish couples had emigrated to India and they felt unjustly held in camp. In reality the Government of India did not trust them to the point of releasing them.<sup>148</sup> This constant pressure for their releases was an annoyance, but it was coupled with Holland's outlook on life as a police officer. He might have been accepted, understood and forgiven for his idiosyncrasies, were it not for the fact, that

Holland somehow resented the (Jewish) people. . . . And so he found all sorts of ways and means to annoy them and to make their lives very difficult. You know, this man had this subtle way, . . . even tricks, which are on the long run much more dangerous to the others than a real thunderstorm that purifies the air. But he always had this policy of pin-pricks.<sup>149</sup>

The Purandhar Camp began talking about Holland's Orders, Tricks and Notices,<sup>150</sup> and long before the eight German Missions families arrived on the hill, matters seemed to worsen. As the months turned into years, life at the fort camp became the uglier, for increasingly "Holland played all sorts of tricks,"<sup>151</sup> and "the commandant's queer gestures and writings",<sup>152</sup> his orders, turned mostly against the Jewish refugees, the largest group of internees. On June 2nd, 1942, Tucher wrote in his diary:

Our difficulties with the Camp Office are varied. The commandant, when met in private, is nearly always kind and almost deferential, but from his office he is as stern as anybody could be. His notices and orders are getting harsher and one feels that we are being slowly driven between two almost parallel walls that are nevertheless slowly converging; more duties being imposed and less privileges being granted every month.<sup>153</sup>

There is little question concerning Holland's record in this matter; oft times he is only remembered for his horrifying orders. Hübner conceded, "that if this group at Purandhar later on would have been called on by some international board, asking about their treatment, the commandant easily could have been convicted of utmost cruelty."<sup>154</sup> Even the Roman Catholic clergy, as Father Monsignor Scuderi, came under the wrath of Holland's measures for attempting to undertake certain charitable endeavours for the camp.<sup>155</sup>

On the other hand, as a contrast to the anti-Nazi and Jewish groups, the newer arrivals, among whom were the missionary families, Holland was able to develop good relationships.<sup>156</sup> Certainly the commandant knew how to be helpful and to influence people in camp. The Jewish community at first had also been happy to have him succeed Colonel Shah. As the older relationships became embittered, the newer internees gave Holland a fresh start; while the older "group was not satisfied with him,"<sup>157</sup> a good climate was established with the new group, particularly since the families were appreciative of being united again.

"The commandant had a very difficult task . . . (when) you always have to take both sides."<sup>158</sup> Occasionally Holland took a mediating role between the two factions. Brocke described one such incident:

I once had a great discussion with the commandant and the missionaries; I maintained that the Red Cross gifts which did arrive had to be given to all the Germans and not only to the 'Nazis'. And the missionaries maintained that those who declared themselves against Hitler as anti-Nazis, were not entitled to receive the Red Cross kits, because they came from Germany.

Here I explained to Holland that this is rubbish. The Red Cross is an international institution. They are paid as one institute to the other and that we should receive our share of these Red Cross gifts. I personally wasn't interested in this (gift) at all, . . . but still for reasons of the other prisoners I fought that through. ...

Eventually, in order to get back at me, the missionaries decided, that that would be all right, that I should take delivery of those Red Cross articles from them, from one whom

they had appointed. I forgot who it was. And I did, why shouldn't I. After all, I felt everyone was entitled to these parcels. They amounted to nothing. I remember it was very inferior tobacco which one couldn't even smoke. . . .<sup>159</sup>

Brocke was noticeably irritated that the Red Cross parcels should become associated with a dogmatics of German nationalism. But he added:

Borutta was the one I referred to who was very reasonable. I believe he was also the one who supported me in the question of the International Red Cross. . . . He was one of the most reasonable men.<sup>160</sup>

In light of the situation, according to Hübner, "the commandant . . . made a great effort to make it as pleasant as possible."<sup>161</sup> Of course, for the missionary families, quite convincing was the move from the 'slum' barracks to the better housing in bungalows. 162 Christian Lohse (Brekum) also had a good impression of Holland;

He had very good relations with many of the internees and let himself be invited for coffee with his Anglo-Indian wife. And he permitted trips to Poona. As well all my three sons had also had an Indian eye disease . . . with scars on the eyelids, . . . one which they had on the stations, in particular in Nowrangapur. . . . So every half year I could go with my sons to Poona, the Government defraying the expenses. He really was a generous man. And then he permitted us, I believe, every two weeks to go shopping at the large market at Sasawad, some six kilometres away.

I regarded Mr. Holland as a very proper commandant. . . . His primary concern was that the camp was well cared for. . . . The conditions were very good.<sup>163</sup>

In spite of Holland's competence or insensibility, depending upon one's relationship, the parole settlement was run efficiently, at least to the degree that the Swiss Consul from Bombay did not make any claims of unfair treatment to the German Government. Purandhar remained divided in most of its activities, but the internees had no choice but to live together and to make the most of their time with self-initiated projects and events. The Jewish emigrants and the anti-Nazis held special musical evenings, and "there was a Coffee House . . . near Holland's house."<sup>164</sup> "A refugee made buttons out of coconut shells."<sup>165</sup> The Brookes became "the producers of toys for the whole camp, . . . doll houses with furniture in peasant style, and a puppet theater,"<sup>166</sup> which gained a reputation and visitors from Poona.<sup>167</sup>

The German missionaries, not belonging to this group, also learned new trades, as well as studying and preparing themselves for an eventual return to the mission work or to Germany.<sup>168</sup> In camp Johannes Klimkeit and Walter Ahrens "opened up a Wurst (sausage) shop, . . . (while) Lohse, he baked Brötchen (rolls); and they were terrific."<sup>169</sup> The missionary families were blessed with their family increase; the mothers had enough to do with their infants, while the men ventured into a theological course in this period.

## A HIGHER CALLING AND RELIGION

On Sunday mornings there was the possibility that at least three Protestant denominational services might be held at Purandhar Camp. The internees had the occasion to worship with those persons of their belief and national sentiments. Anglican, Lutheran and Presbyterian worship services - weekly, monthly or irregularly, depending upon the availability of the chaplain, the minister or the missionary - were held at the "small pretty church there,"<sup>170</sup> the Fitzclarence Memorial Church, just east of the main entrance gate of the camp.<sup>171</sup> The Roman Catholic fathers held their masses in the smaller chapel situated between Purandhar East and West.

From the outset at Purandhar the Presbyterian Sunday morning worship was held by the Rev. J.B. Primrose, a missionary of the Church of Scotland stationed at Poona.<sup>172</sup> He officiated such duties and administered those sacraments when "he came up once a month."<sup>173</sup> The lesser national character of the

Presbyterian worship and the clergyman offered the camp both the communion and the general ecumenical service.

On one such monthly occasion of Primrose's visit, the Sunday morning service was followed by a baptismal ceremony, the christening of the Tucher family's youngest child Elisabeth. It was in the spring of 1941, still largely a Jewish-oriented camp with few Christians, yet it was one of the biggest events of the year at the camp.<sup>174</sup> Conducted by J.B. Primrose, Karen Tucher described the baptism:

. . . With a lot of Jewish people there, it was a great event. We had a big garden party afterwards, after Lieschen's baptism. . . .

We had about half the camp there. Now say the camp had 90 people, we had invited 45. We had invited the people whom we knew. . . . And we got a lot of help for this event. Quite a few of the ladies made the cakes or the sandwiches. And we had a professional caterer, Reubensohn, who was interned with us. He was the manager of Hackman's (Hotel, Mussoorie) later on. He sort of was in charge, seeing that everything was arranged nicely.<sup>175</sup>

"Lieschen's christening", even among the Jewish friends, was an important occasion, and for a "long time the people were discussing; 'Why was so-and-so not invited when so-and-so was invited?'"<sup>176</sup> In the first three years there were few christenings, yet such occasions "conveyed an ecumenical spirit among the interned Jews and the few Christians, together and yet with mutual respect for each other's Faith. This spirit was dampened somewhat as other German nationals with stronger patriotic sentiments arrived at the camp.

On occasions Anglican Sunday worship was also held, but primarily for Anglicans. Richard Lipp (Basel) remembered his attendance at these services;

The English chaplain came to Purandhar for the Anglicans, the commandant and other people who were there as Anglicans, and also some Anglo-Indians who were married to Germans.

Anyhow I asked the commandant, as I was searching for fellowship and my attitude towards Church Union in South India was strong already in those days, I said, that I would have enjoyed joining the service and having communion. "Of course you can attend the service." And I knew that then.

So I asked the (visiting) chaplain whether he would serve me communion. He said, "No!" I could not receive communion, but I could join the service. ... I was not a baptized Anglican. I felt, ... if you were to ask him, certainly he would say it was for theological reasons. But apart from this, I had the feeling that our Protestant Churches had far too little true ecumenism. It was not there. They were all national churches, whether Lutheran or whether Anglican, Methodist, even our Swiss friends, we as a Church.<sup>177</sup>

For those seeking a religious identity with the Evangelical Lutheran tradition, this opportunity for worship the elder missionary Radsick (Gossner) provided from the outset. As stated above, his prayers seemed to disturb more than to help the camp community, and Holland apparently "did not interfere with that, because after all that was not his responsibility."<sup>178</sup> When the younger missionaries of the Gossner Mission arrived, they too assisted in the Lutheran services. Renate Klimkeit could remember this time:

My husband held services on Sundays, alternating with the other missionaries. It was an attractive little church; it was beautiful. The Church service was one of his activities. ... Then the other missionary men and women came from the Breklum Mission. ... (So) also Hübner, sometimes Ahrens, as well as Radsick held services. 179

Once all the eight younger missionary families had arrived at Purandhar, "they started their Sunday services proper in their particular fashion"<sup>180</sup> and liturgy, so the Quaker observed. The commandant, indicating his interest in these internees, attended the German services also.<sup>181</sup> Also, now Radsick seemed

to take a lesser role, not being the strongest preacher, "but he was made our chaplain, because he was the oldest."<sup>182</sup> "He was more a pastor (Seelsorger)."<sup>183</sup>

At the close of 1943, as the Gossner and the Breklum personnel had increases to their families, the baptismal ceremony became more frequently celebrated. The baptisms of these children became joyous occasions, and though other families were invited,<sup>184</sup> they were no longer the inter-faith happenings. Again Renate Klimkeit described what these happy events meant to her;

I remember how we also decorated the church altar for the baptisms, for the many which took place. It was especially pretty. Each one thought how attractively they could adorn the church.<sup>185</sup>

And with Purandhar's "magnificent FLORA - probably the most varied in India within this limited space,"<sup>186</sup> it is not difficult to imagine the beautiful setting of the Fitzclarence Memorial Church and its altar graced by the sunlight streaming through the elegant stained-glass windows. These Christian baptisms were inspirational moments, irrespective of theological stances and national loyalties.

## FIRST MISSIONARY FAMILY RELEASED

German missionaries have through the centuries served with non-German Missionary Societies, some which were not in the Evangelical-Lutheran or Reformed traditions. The record in India depicts many outstanding and courageous pioneers of the Christian Church, e.g. Ziegenbalg, Plutschau, Fabricius and Schwartz of the Royal Danish Mission, Carl Rhenius of the Anglican C.M.S., W.T. Ringeltaube of the British Congregational L.M.S., as well as those serving with American Societies, as the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church. They brought Christianity to particular districts in India.

The tradition of serving with Societies of other countries had continued into the 20th century. For example, some of the Missions personnel transferred from the Dutch East Indies to India were not associated with a German Mission.<sup>187</sup> The German missionaries of this century, at least those with foreign Societies, have not necessarily been pioneers, rather moreso the trusted co-workers of established mission fields. In the case of the Quaker Heinz von Tucher, he "worked as an agricultural missionary on behalf of the Society of Friends on the staff of the Friends Service Council" in the Hoshangabad District, Central Provinces.<sup>188</sup> Serving with a British Society and with British personnel, he did not "stress his German nationality and he maintained complete loyalty towards the British authorities."<sup>189</sup> His pacifist philosophy was "quite inconsistent with that of Nazism,"<sup>190</sup> both through his own beliefs as well as his family's political awareness in Bavaria. "The fact that he left Europe before Nazism gained power, meant that he was never faced with Nazism as a direct issue."<sup>191</sup> And even with the pledge of all his property as a guarantee and the assurances of the Chief Justice Vivian Bose of the Central Provinces, Tucher and his family still were interned for 3½ years at the Purandhar Parole Camp.<sup>192</sup>

William Stewart, later President of Serampore College, remembered that his Scottish colleague, "J.B. Primrose ... constantly visited the internment camps of Purandhar and Satara."<sup>193</sup> He spoke about the fact that the Quaker

... had a tremendous influence on the camp. . . . Through his accordion he played the hymns for the services in the camp. He held (Hindi) classes. He had a very good spiritual influence. . . . There were all sorts of people there. There were a lot of Jewish people at the outset. Because he had the spirit of acceptance and not rebellion, he was able to help a great many people.<sup>194</sup>

Also, Alfred Brocke mentioned that Tucher was

... a very conservative man and he did not mix too much with these missionaries, or rather for quite some time he didn't mix at all with them. Naturally, he being a missionary, he also kept up the necessary friendly relations, but that was all as far as I can judge it.<sup>195</sup>

However, the Friend acknowledged, that

. . . in the camp in Purandhar, we being Aryan Germans, non-Jewish Germans, were the only couple who kept good relationships with both groups. We were invited when Hübner's second or third child was baptized. We were also often welcomed into the Jewish houses.<sup>196</sup>

In his relationship to Hübner, Tucher stated: "I never carried on any talks on politics, because I knew he differed with me very strongly, and he was not trying to aggravate the situation by arguments."<sup>197</sup>

Scarcely had the year 1944 begun, when another of the commandant's notices reached the Quaker internees. Exactly a year earlier the other missionaries had arrived at Purandhar. This 'ORDER', issued on January 4th, 1944, in New Delhi, came as unexpected news;

Government of India, Home Department. . . .

#### ORDER

In exercise of the power conferred by section 8 of the Foreigners Act, 1940 (II of 1940), the Central Government is pleased to direct-

(1) that the following further amendment shall be made in the order of the Government of India in the Home Department No. 67/2/40-Political (E), dated the 10th September, 1940, namely;-

In the list annexed to the said order, under the heading "COUPLES" the entry "Mr. and Mrs. H. Tucher" shall be omitted;

(2) that the said Mr. and Mrs. H. Tucher shall depart from Purandhar and proceed, by the route prescribed in the schedule appended to this order, . . .

(3) that the provisions of paragraph 10 of the Foreigners Order, 1939, and of paragraph 6 of the Enemy Foreigners Order, 1939, shall not apply to, or in relation to, the said Mr. and Mrs. H. Tucher for so long as they are travelling from Purandhar to Hoshangabad in compliance with clause (2).

V. Shankar

Deputy Secretary to the Govt, of India

#### SCHEDULE

1. Purandhar to Hoshangabad via Bombay

2. Date on which to report arrival at destination on or before 24 Jan. 1944<sup>198</sup>

It was a "clear indication that the Government authorities of India were satisfied with his bona fides, as he was released . . . for the rest of the war."<sup>199</sup> Assurances from influential British Quakers, both Horace Alexander and in particular Paul D. Sturge, Secretary of the Friends Service Council, in the consultations with William Paton on many matters, enhanced the Quaker couple's early release.<sup>200</sup>

After some days of intense packing and the nailing down of the wooden boxes, the Tucher family's internment days at Purandhar came to a close. The three older children were at the time of the release on their winter vacation from Woodstock School, Mussoorie.<sup>201</sup> Heinz von Tucher remembered their departure:

When we left the camp in Purandhar in 1944, two groups of people had formed to say good-bye to us, one group standing about 100 yards apart from the other. First we passed the German missionaries, . . . and towards the gate, the actual exit - "the Gate of Freedom" - a group of Jewish and anti-Nazi Germans said good-bye to us.<sup>202</sup>

Subsequent to the release order and a correspondence with the Quaker Lady Kathleen Whitby, wife of Sir Bernard, in Bombay,<sup>203</sup> travel arrangements were made for the Quaker family. Lady Whitby contacted the Jewish friends, Dr. and Mrs. Oskar Gans, whether they could have the Tuchers for a brief stop-over at

their elegant home on Bombay's west ocean front, fairly near the Mahalaxmi Temple.<sup>204</sup> Thus from Purandhar to Poona by bus, from there to Bombay by train and the pause at the Gans home, the family finally caught the train from Victoria Terminal for Hoshangabad, C.P.

In England the Friends Service Council made this note in its 1943-44 Annual Report: "We now have news of the welcome release of Heinz and Karen Tucher from internment."<sup>205</sup> The following year's report added the news: "Heinz Tucher has resumed his work at Makoriya Farm Colony since he and his family returned to the Central Provinces."<sup>206</sup> Due to the shortage of the missionary personnel, Karen Tucher took on the duties of principal at the Mission Girls' School at Sohagpur.<sup>207</sup>

Is it possible to make the claim, that even in internment and among German nationals, surely the mission of this Quaker couple was as the later Bishop Richard Lipp of the Church of South India stated: "The Church as a supranational body existed perhaps among people like the Quakers."<sup>208</sup>

## THE EVANGELICAL-LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL EXAMS

German missionaries in foreign service, commissioned by their regional Missionary Societies and serving the Younger Churches, have had a reputation for scholarship work and have been challenged in the study of the indigenous languages. They have been educationalists of the Lutheran catechism, theology, liturgy and Bible studies. Internment did not hinder these brethren from giving their attention and energies towards their spiritual growth and knowledge, even to the degree of theological studies.

At the time of their re-internment in June, 1940, according to Reimer Speck of the Breklum Mission;

We had prepared ourselves when we were interned the second time. ... Hübner, Ahrens, Lohse and I had divided the subjects so that everybody had to bring a different set of books into the internment camp. We were allowed to take quite a lot of books with us.

So I had the New Testament (books), Hübner had Dogmatics, Ahrens had Old Testament and Lohse I think had Church History; so that we had some basic stock of theological books there, . . . first only for our private reading.<sup>209</sup>

As mentioned already, these books had served the German brethren in their studies with their Catholic colleagues.<sup>210</sup> Based on the experience of World War I and the ban placed on the German missionaries from returning to India for a decade, the re-internment of 1940 seemed to indicate a similar course. Lipp at least deduced,

... there was no hope that we could go back to the mission work in India. I had no hope. I said that this war would be lost. There were others who said that the war will be won, and we will be victorious. ...

I said that we would all be sent home after this war. You know, that when these things developed, ... we will all be packed up and sent home. There were others who still spoke of the wonder weapon or something. ... Even with the wonder weapon they could not have saved us!

... More and more we prepared for service at home.<sup>211</sup>

There were times, as Speck felt, that "we made ourselves busy, (yet) we really were not busy"<sup>212</sup> in camp.

On the ancient fortress hill, once Shivaji's stronghold, according to Helmuth Borutta (Gossner), for wartime "the life was not bad in Purandhar. ... We lived as a family and we tried to continue our educational growth. As I said, we settled down to our work."<sup>213</sup> A theological faculty, with authentic students, was established at the Purandhar Camp in 1943. The teaching staff consisted of five lecturers:

Pastor Walter Ahrens, University Theological Degree  
 Pastor Friedrich Hübner, Doctor of Theology  
 Pastor Karl Theodor Jellinghaus, Univ. Theological Degree

Pastor Reimer Speck, University Theological Degree  
 Pastor Otto Wolff, Doctor of Theology.<sup>214</sup>

To begin with there were only three students, but in May, 1944, Richard Lipp joined the course as a transfer from the Satara Camp. These were seminary trained missionaries while their lecturers were university graduates. The four students were:

Missionary Helmuth Borutta, Gossner Mission  
 Missionary Johannes Klimkeit, Gossner Mission  
 Missionary Christian Lohse, Breklum Mission  
 Missionary Richard Lipp, Basel Mission.<sup>215</sup>

Those trained solely in the missions institutes had no other prospect, when upon returning to Germany, but to take their second theological exams to qualify as clergymen in their State Churches at home.

The theological course had the blessing of the National Christian Council, when at the 9th Meeting of the general N.C.C. gathering, it was reported: "Bishop Sandegren visited the internment camps in Western India, and arrangements had been made for starting a theological course for internees at Satara (and Purandhar)."216 The "two-year course,"217 1943-1944, was conducted "according to the requirements of the old Prussian Union, the second theological exams."218 The students were instructed "in all the theological subjects, . . . Old Testament and New Testament, Dogmatics and Church History, etc."219 Martin Pörksen, the Breklum Mission director, added:

In fact we even could send out the exam regulations to India, so that on the basis of these governing procedures, the examinations would be approved. Bishop Sandegren was present at these examinations.<sup>220</sup>

The last week of October, 1944, Bishop Sandegren of Tranquebar "came up for eight days"221 and "conducted the theological examinations."222 Sandegren, with a doctor of theology, seemed well qualified to serve as Chairman of the Examination Committee, for he had earned his degrees both in Sweden and in Germany.<sup>223</sup> The Bishop was fluent in German, since his mother, Theodora Kremmer, was the daughter of a Leipzig missionary.<sup>224</sup> In Sandegren's presence and supported by the five lecturers, "the second theological examinations of the Evangelical-Lutheran State Church of Schleswig-Holstein"225 were successfully held "in the Internment Camp and Parole Centre, Purandhar, Br. India."226

In May, 1944, primarily for health reasons, Richard Lipp was transferred from the Satara Camp where a similar theological course was being conducted. On October 29th, 1944, Lipp, a future Bishop of the Church of South India, was examined by the Committee on the following subjects:

1. Practical Exegesis
2. Biblical Knowledge
3. Theories of Church Administration
4. Pedagogics
5. Christian Benevolences
6. Knowledge of the Free Churches and Sects
7. Sermon Development
8. Delivery of the Sermon
9. Ability in Catechism Instruction
10. Competence in Liturgy.<sup>227</sup>

In the field of Practical Theology, Lipp presented the paper: "The Relationship between Preaching and Ministry in Pastoral Care", and it was graded 'Almost Excellent'.<sup>228</sup> He passed his theological exams with the grade of 'Good'.<sup>229</sup>

In spite of the environment, these German brethren passed exams which would "be acknowledged by the Church as academic examinations,"<sup>230</sup> and thereby qualify them for pastorates in Germany. Furthermore, the exams were "recognized by the old Prussian Union of the Church Chancellory in Berlin."<sup>231</sup>

The transfer of the Richard Lipp family from Satara to Purandhar, on account of the Basel missionary's poor health, has an addendum. Lipp related, that "in Satara, while I was there, Meyer, with Lorch and others, started a faculty there and I started with them. We started in our Church's role"<sup>232</sup> for service in Germany.

As the German families were interned at Yercaud for several months in 1942, there were a number of serious cases of malaria. Lipp nearly died from cerebral malaria,<sup>233</sup> while his wife and others also became seriously ill from the mosquitoes.<sup>234</sup> The future Bishop was also weakened from the emotional experience of the war - "the destruction of our country, the people dying there and my brothers dying as well."<sup>235</sup> For Lipp the issue was clear, in that the German people, as his own fallen brother, were fighting a war, but one which "was not a nationalistic war."<sup>236</sup> After the move to Satara in 1942, Lipp spoke of his recovery

... after this illness. I suffered a lot. I suffered also because of the tensions among the missionaries, because after this illness of malaria, my nerves were affected. . . . (These were) tensions which are natural under such conditions. You knew one another too well, all the weaknesses of individuals, they played their part. . . . You know, it was not easy.<sup>237</sup>

The climate at the lower-lying Satara and the camp conditions made it necessary for the authorities to transfer the Lipp family to Purandhar, a location already used as a convalescent sanatorium in pre-war days. At the higher elevation on the more isolated station, "it was much better, because you lived in separate houses."<sup>238</sup> And having fully recovered, Lipp went on to pass his exams.

Once again Lipp found himself among the German Jewish emigrants and refugees. Just as in the very first week of the war, when he shared a hospital room with eight Jewish refugees, Lipp commented on a strange development, namely,

... I came back after this Madras experience, but then again at Ahmadnagar I met the Jews. Then we were some time in Kodaikanal, ... and there I was with the Jews again. All the time I was with the Jews, and I enjoyed being with them. I thought, "This is God's will; we should at least try to show our personal friendship." For that I was sometimes criticized by the missionaries.<sup>239</sup>

For Lipp apparently God's will meant a Christian ministry which went beyond all national sentiments and beyond the claims of a theology obedient to one's own authorities.

## PURANDHAR AFTER THE WAR

With the cessation of hostilities in 1945, a new phase of the internment began, marked with increasing uncertainty about the future. Gradually a few of the civil prisoners of war were released. On his visits to the camps at Purandhar and Satara from August 21 - 24, 1945, the Swiss Alfred de Spindler of the International Red Cross was provided the latest census of the settlements. Still residing at Purandhar, according to the commandant, there were:

116	Germans	(71	adults	and	45	children),
26	Italians	(21	adults	and	5	children),
68	Internees of other nationalities	(57	adults	and	11	children). 240

Of the 71 German adults listed, 19 were of the Gossner, Breklum and Basel Missions personnel. Radsick was the only single missionary in camp. Many of the German children belonged to the nine missionary families.<sup>241</sup>

Then in March, 1946, ten months after the collapse of the Third Reich, when nothing was certain other than the much-discussed and anticipated repatriation to Germany, the Lipp family at Purandhar quite unexpectedly was released. The Basel missionary remarked, "All of a sudden I was allowed to go back as the only one of this group."<sup>242</sup> The release 'Order' of the Rev. Richard Lipp was comparable to the one

issued to the Quaker couple. It turned out that these were the only two missionary families released from Purandhar. Lipp had to report on April 4th, 1946, upon his arrival at Calicut.<sup>243</sup> He was appointed to a remote mission-station by Adolf Streckeisen, so that he would in no manner endanger the Basel Mission's status or personnel. Lipp was the only Basel missionary of the 13 German brethren once labouring in India who was invited back by his Swiss brethren.<sup>244</sup> With the continuing releases of Jewish refugees, German nationals and persons of other nationalities, both from Purandhar and Satara, a merger of the two camps was carried through.<sup>245</sup> From Purandhar "the other inmates were transferred to Satara in early April."<sup>246</sup> Satara then became the last internment station for the missionaries in India.

An unmarried Jewish couple and the Helmuth Borutta family remained on the hill fort until the end of June, 1946,

... to handle the laborious business of checking all furniture and equipment, handing over part of the same to a new organization, stacking, counting, listing and reporting for sale the remainder - total goods valued between Rs. 70,000/- and Rs. 100,000/-. He (Borutta) proved to be assiduous and accurate in his work and I can confidently recommend him for any job in future.<sup>247</sup>

His Majesty's settlement had held a strict course for its Purandhar internees for nearly six years. Now having reached its destination in time, its passengers, its crew and its commandant disembarked from the hill in the spring of 1946. There were both happy and sad memories of Purandhar; for not all could sing, "How happy we are in Purandhar."<sup>248</sup> Renate Klimkeit had these thoughts of the camp:

It was a very valuable time. For us wives, we had baked in the heat of the jungles, and here we had great changes. . . . And of all things we had associations with other Germans which we did not have at all in the jungles; seldom did we see a German in Kinkel. There were such interesting people. ... In this way it was for the missionaries an interesting time and a great chance, . . . because we had so much social contact in those days. It was a wonderful time.<sup>249</sup>

Life on the Purandhar Fort, according to Borutta, meant that "he who had abided by the laws and the regulations of the camp, he had no reason to suffer or to be afflicted." 250 All in all, "the best thing that could have happened to us was to be in British internment. That is the safest place to be during war, and also in the best hands."<sup>251</sup>

Meanwhile in 1946, the Commandant A.S. Holland, upon leaving Purandhar, returned to England and the Isle of Wight, where he contemplated writing a book on Purandhar - its history, its varied flora and its internees.<sup>252</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Freytag, ed., "Umschau - Neueste Nachrichten von der deutschen Mission im Kriegsgeschehen," *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, GmbH, 1941), pp. 122, 60.
2. Friends Service Council, Annual Report, 1940-41 (London: Friends House, Euston Road, 1941), p. 6.
3. Hermann Goetz, *Purandhar: Its Monuments and their History* (Reprinted from the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*; Poona: B.O.R. Institute, Vol. XXX, Parts III-IV, 1950), p. 215.
4. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham, Bavaria: 28 July, 1966), Tr. p. 3.
5. Dennis Kincaid, *The Grand Rebel* (London & Glasgow: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1937), p. 106. Kincaid's sub-title is: "An Impression of Shivaji - Founder of the Maratha Empire."

6. Ibid.

7. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-240.

8. Tucher, *op. cit.* p. 4; Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; orig. Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 410. Quite parallel to these words of the Quaker missionary, was this description given by the historian Vincent Smith: "The prominent feature of the country is the range of the Western Ghats. The mountains are so formed that the flat summits are protected by walls of smooth rock constituting natural fortresses, which various princes, throughout many centuries, had converted by elaborate fortification into strongholds almost impregnable against the means of assault available in ancient times. Most of the hilltops are well provided with water."

9. Kincaid, *op. cit.* pp. 17,181.

10. Ibid., p. 41.

11. Hermann Goetz, "Unidentified Caves at Purandhar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1950), p. 158.

12. John Clark Marshman, *Abridgment of the History of India* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1905), p. 81; Smith, *op. cit.* p. 407.

13. Ibid., p. 510; K. Srinivas Kini & U. Bhavani Shankar Rao, *Oxford Pictorial Atlas of Indian History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 41.

14. Marshman, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

15. Goetz, *Unidentified Caves*, *loc. cit.*

16. Goetz, *Purandhar: Monuments & History*, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

17. Ibid., p. 236.

18. Ibid., p. 217.

19. Ibid., p. 218.

20. Goetz, *Caves*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

21. Ibid., p. 162.

22. Tucher, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4; Smith, *op. cit.* p. 570; J.H. Furneaux, ed., *Glimpses of India - The Land of Antiquity, the vast Empire of the East* (London: D.E. McCon-nell & Co., 1896), p. 51; — "Purandhar was formerly an important Mahratta hill fort, but is now used as a convalescent home for English troops, being within easy reach of the great cantonment of Poona. It has been in the possession of the English since the year 1818, when it was captured by a column under General Pritzla."

23. Tucher, *op. cit.* p. 4; *Das Auswärtige Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien* (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1942), p. 15.

24. Goetz, *Purandhar: Monuments & History*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

25. Goetz, *Unidentified Caves*, *op. cit.*, p. 158. It might be correct to point out that not all the Jewish and anti-Nazi internees were refugees; nevertheless, as Hermann Goetz continues, "Amongst these there were several experienced Bavarian and Austrian mountaineers who enthusiastically explored all the opportunities of the steep basalt cliffs surrounding Upper Purandhar fort and the neighbouring fort of Vajragadh (Wazirgadh, Rudramala)." Max J. Kirschner, as an amateur archeologist, was the most

experienced explorer at Purandhar. Also from Bavaria, as indicated by the many quotes, was the Quaker missionary Tucher, who as well explored the Purandhar fort setting and the hill-top range.

26. Das Auswärtige Amt, Drittes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien; die Internierungslager auf Ceylon und Jamaica (Berlin: German Government, State January, 1941), p. 8.

27. Das Auswärtige Amt, Viertes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon" (Berlin: German Government, State September, 1941), p. 10.

28. Tucher, op. cit., p. 5. 29. Ibid., p. 1.

30. Heinz von Tucher, Personal Diary at Purandhar (Personal Records, 1940-1942).

31. Freytag, "Nachrichten und Streiflichter," op. cit., p. 252.

32. Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.

33. Goetz, Purandhar: Monuments & History, op. cit., p. 242.

34. Marianne Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 14.

35. Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 8.

36. Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.

37. Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 12.

38. Marianne Brocke, op. cit., p. 12; Lohse, loc. cit.

39. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.

40. Karen von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham: 28 July, 1966), Tr. P. 13.

41. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.

42. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 4.

43. Walter Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, UK: 6 July, 1966), Tr. p. 2. The physician Fabisch described their arrival and their welcome; "And so it was decided, instead of staying in Poona overnight, the train moved on. Then we got out of the train and went by bus to the famous banyon tree and walked up the hill. And it was raining enormously. . . Yes, it was evening and we couldn't see a thing. We were simply in the clouds. Then we arrived in the camp. We were taken to a beautifully laid dining room. . . . There were proper bearers in bearers' outfits. Old Colonel Shah stood there at the door and greeted us with a glass of sherry in his hand. And he was a nice and charming old man."

44. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.

45. Heinz von Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 1.

46. Ibid., p. 7.

47. Fabisch, loc. cit. 48. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.

49. Ibid.

50. Fabisch, loc. cit.; Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 2.

51. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.
52. Ibid., p. 15.
53. Ibid.
54. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 6.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p. 5.
57. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.
58. Ibid., p. 11.
59. Fabisch, loc. cit.
60. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 11.
61. Langdon Gilkey, *Shantung Compound (The Story of Men and Women under Pressure)*; New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 163-164, 172-176.
62. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.
63. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 13.
64. Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
65. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 1.
66. Comité International de la Croix-Rouge et la Guerre, "Delegations du Comité international dans les cinq continents," *Revue Internationale De La Croix-Rouge* (Geneve: Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, No. 322, October, 1945), p. 747.
67. Freytag, (EMZ, Sept., 1942), op. cit., p. 252; Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 19.
68. Renate Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde, near Minden: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 12; Freytag, loc. cit.
69. Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 11.
70. Ibid., p. 6.
71. Ibid., p. 11; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 6.
72. Klimkeit, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
73. Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 8.
74. Friedrich Hübner, P.I. (Kiel: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 7.
75. Ibid.
76. Ursula Ahrens, P.I. (Lübeck: 29 September, 1970), Tr.p.2.
77. Ibid., p. 8.

78. Ibid.

79. Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 10.

80. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit. . p. 12.

81. Ibid.; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 19.

82. Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 13.

83. Karen von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 12.

84. Borutta, op. cit., p. 9.

85. Helene Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 9.

86. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7.

87. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., pp. 5-6; Furneaux, op. cit., pp. 453-454, under Chapter XX, "Poona", he notes the following: "Medical aid is given free of charge in six medical institutions, two of which, the David Sassoon Hospital and the Lunatic Asylum, are Government establishments. The Civic Hospital, situated in the civil quarter, is named after Mr. David Sassoon, to whose generosity it owes its origin. It was opened in 1867. It is a handsome I Gothic building with a fine clock-tower, and has accommodation for 140 in-patients, besides which many out-patients are treated daily. It is in charge of the civil surgeon, who is assisted by a junior surgeon, two assistant surgeons, a matron, apothecary and lecturers at the medical school attached to it, which was founded by Mr. Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy."

88. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 5.

89. Karen von Tucher, P.I. op. cit., p. 15; Heinz von Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.~"The Sassoon Hospital did not have a very good name among the internees; they used to call it the 'Die Soon Hospital1."

90. Klimkeit, loc. cit. 91. Ibid., p. 14.

92. Alfred Brooke, op. cit., p. 12.

93. Tucher, *Diary*, loc. cit.

94. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.

95. Karen von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 12.

96. Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 11.

97. Fabisch, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

98. Johannes Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 14.

99. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

100. Lohse, op. cit., p.6.

101. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

102. Marianne Brooke, op. cit., p. 6.

103. Lohse, op. cit., p. 6.

104. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham: 29 December, 1969), Tr. p. 7.
105. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 10.
106. Martin Pörksen, P.I. (Hamburg: 24 August, 1973), Tr. p. 9.
107. Gerhard Swatek, P.I. (Erlangen: 24 February, 1974). Interview was not taped.
108. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 2.
109. Lipp, op. cit., p. 9.
110. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 1; Marianne Brocke, loc. cit.
111. Das Auswärtige Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1941), p. 3; Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 11.
112. Hübner, loc. cit.
113. Freytag, Nachrichten & Streiflichter, EMZ '42, op. cit., pp. 252, 314; Borutta, loc. cit.
114. Hübner, loc. cit.
115. Ibid.
116. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 11.
117. Ibid., p. 9.
118. Ibid., p. 8; Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.
119. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 9.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., p. 10.
122. Freytag, Umschau, EMZ 1941, op. cit., p. 60.
123. Ibid., p. 122.
124. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 14.
125. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 12.
126. Ibid., p. 2. 127. Ibid., p. 1.
128. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p.14.
129. Hübner, op. cit., p. 11.
130. Borutta, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Pörksen, op. cit., p. 3; Jürgen Wesenick, "Die Entstehung des Deutschen Evangelischen Missions - Tages" (Unpublished Master's thesis of the Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Hamburg, 18 December, 1963), pp. 5, 6, 47.

131. J.Z. Hodge, Notes on an informal Conference between Mr. Conran-Smith of the Home Office, Government of India, and Mr. Hodge at Simla (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 18 July, 1940), p. 2.
132. Hübner, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
133. Ibid., p. 7; Lohse, op. cit., p. 9; Ahrens, loc. cit.
134. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., pp. 1, 2, 5, 7. Expressing the opinion of an anti-Nazi, Dr. Brocke remarked: "These people tried to create the impression that they never had anything to do with the Nazis."
135. Lohse, loc. cit.
136. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 6; J.Z. Hodge, ed., "Tribulation and Promise in the German Church Struggle" by Karl Barth, The NCCR (Mysore City: The Wesley Press & Publishing House, January, 1939), pp. 20-22. Certainly Karl Barth was not alone in raising the question: "Dare one obey man rather than God?" One answer he gave and supported through the Confessional Church was, "The German Church struggle gives no occasion for hero-worship."
137. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7.
138. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 9.
139. Ibid.; Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 12. The Merkblatt noted under the subsection "Parolelager Satara", "In diesem Lager befindet sich auch der berühmte deutsche Tibetforscher Professor Filchner mit seiner Tochter."
140. Ibid.
141. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 15. As the camp doctor and a member of the three-man camp committee, Dr. Fabisch made, in this reference, these comments; "Now I do think that regarding the second commandant, Holland, ... I would not say that he instigated, but that he allowed these little squabbles to grow and to thrive, because it was much easier to cope with the camp if there was not much unity against the commandant, but if all the energies were exhausted against one another. And I feel that this was probably quite convenient for him, but a very poor way in handling persons. So the camp committee had quite (a task), . . . just the three of us, who were the intermediaries between the body of the internees and the commandant."
142. Helene Borutta, op. cit., p. 14.
143. Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 14.
144. Heinz von Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 2.
145. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 4; Lohse, loc. cit.
146. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. '66, loc. cit.
147. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 9. In this regard, Friedrich Hübner, op. cit., p. 8, noted, "But the commandant had a very difficult task, because none of the Jewish people understood why they were interned and tried their utmost to get out of the camp."
148. Lohse, loc. cit.
149. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 19; Helene Borutta, loc. cit. The missionary families could also see through the commandant's schemes.

150. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 15; Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 14.
151. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.
152. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
153. Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 13.
154. Hübner, loc. cit.
155. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7. Dr. Brocke mentioned this incident; "The Catholic people did (care). Father Monsignor Scuderi went down to Poona to get toys for the children (at Christmas). He went and bought these, even when he himself was suffering at that time from an illness and was rather sick. And Holland made all sorts of difficulties for him, because Monsignor Scuderi was a very outspoken man, and he told Holland what he thought of those (his) practices."
156. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
157. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
158. Hübner, loc. cit.
159. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
160. Ibid., p. 5.
161. Hübner, loc. cit.
162. Johannes Klimkeit, loc. cit.
163. Lohse, op. cit., p. 8.
164. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 16.
165. Ibid.
166. Ibid., p. 17.
167. Ibid.; Karen von Tucher, op. cit., pp. 9-10. The Quaker missionary wife described the Brockes ingenuity; "For instance the Brockes made dolls' furniture and painted them very attractively ('in peasant syle'). The Brockes also made a marionette theatre, and they produced some German operas - 'Frei-SchUtz', (Little Red Riding-hood). . . . And they got quite a number of people to help them in the performances. They had made the beautiful puppets and the theatre, and they got the people who could sing, and they had a harmonium and the gramophone records. And so together, with these different items, they put up a little opera. One of the Catholic priests was a very good singer and he joined in too."
168. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 18.
169. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 15; Helene Borutta, loc. cit. Frau Borutta remarked, "Each one could do something, and some even became rich." Of course, 'rich' had to be measured in relationship to the other internees and the camp allowances.
170. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 13.
171. Goetz, Purandhar: Monuments & History, op. cit., p. 237.
172. William Stewart, P.I. (Bridge of Allan, Scotland: 19 September, 1971), Tr. p. 8.

173. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 5.
174. Lisa Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, UK: 6 July, 1966); statement not on tape.
175. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 14.
176. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
177. Lipp, op. cit., p. 15.
178. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 1.
179. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.; Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.; Johannes Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 15.
180. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
181. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit. , p. 15.
182. Hübner, op. cit., p. 9.
183. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
184. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
185. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
186. A.S. Holland, Letter to Alfred de Spindler (Wettingen, Switzerland: Alfred de Spindler's Personal Records, 19 December, 1946); Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
187. Freytag, (EMZ, 1942), op. cit., p. 89.
188. William E. Barton (General Secretary), To Whom It May Concern (London: Friends Service Council, Friends House, 19 July, 1957; Heinz von Tucher's Personal Records).
189. Ibid.
190. Ibid.
191. Ibid.
192. Vivian Bose (Retired Judge, Supreme Court of India), "To All Whom It May Concern" (New Delhi: 18 July, 1957; Letter to the writer).
193. Stewart, loc. cit.
194. Ibid.; Fabisch, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
195. Alfred Brooke, op. cit. t p. 8.
196. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5.
197. Ibid., p. 6.
198. V. Shankar, Order (of Release), (New Delhi: Government of India, Home Department, No. 67/2/40-Political (E), 4 January, 1944; Appendix).
199. Barton, loc. cit.

200. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Erlangen: 1973), unrecorded statement.
201. The writer happened to be one of the three children.
202. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5.
203. Friends Service Council. Annual Report, 1943-44 (London: Friends House, 1944), p. 7.
204. Oskar Gans, P.I. (Erlangen: 7 March, 1973), Tr. p. 2.
205. Friends Service Council, op. cit., p. 6.
206. Friends Service Council. Annual Report, 1944-45 (London: Friends House, 1945), p. 8.
207. This again the writer experienced, as his mother served the Sohagpur mission school.
208. Lipp, op. cit., p. 14.
209. Reimer Speck, P.I. (Molfsee: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 10.
210. Hübner, op. cit., p. 1.
211. Lipp, op. cit. , pp. 17-18.
212. Speck, op. cit., p. 11.
213. Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 8.
214. Johannes Sandegren (Bishop of Tranquebar), "Zeugnis" of Richard Lipp (Sussen: Richard Lipp's Personal Records, 30 October, 1944; Appendix); Speck, op. cit., pp. 10-11; Lipp, op. cit., p. 17.
215. Ibid.; Speck, loc. cit.
216. Rajah B. Manikam and Charles W. Ranson, Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 28 January - 1 February, 1944), p. 10.
217. Speck, op. cit. , p. 10.
218. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.; Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
219. Sandegren, loc. cit.; Lipp, loc. cit.
220. Pbrksen, op. cit., p. 8.
221. Speck, op. cit. , p. 11.
222. Rajah B. Manikam and Charles W. Ranson, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 15-17 February, 1945) ,p.6.
223. Selma Heller, "Alt-Bischof D. Dr. J. Sandegren" (Unpublished biographical sketch; Erlangen: LML – Heller File, no date given).
224. Ibid.; Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 12. According to Borutta, Bishop Sandegren "had a good accent."
225. Sandegren, loc. cit.
226. Ibid.

227. Ibid.; Lipp, op. cit., p. 13.
228. Sandegren, loc. cit. 229. Ibid.
230. Lipp, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
231. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
232. Lipp, op. cit., p. 17. 233. Ibid., p. 10.
234. Friedrich Mack, Letter to Carla Mack (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, Easter, 1942); Friedrich Mack, Letter to Karl Hartenstein (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, 1 July, 1942).
235. Lipp, loc. cit.
236. Ibid., p. 17.
237. Ibid., p. 11.
238. Ibid.
239. Ibid., p. 12.
240. Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, loc. cit.
241. Rajah B. Manikam, "List of Missionary Internees and their Addresses" (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, August, 1944). This list does not contain the number of missionary children at Purandhar.
242. Lipp, op. cit., p. 18.
243. V. Shankar (Deputy Secretary), Order (of Release for Richard Lipp), (New Delhi: Government of India, Home Department, No. 24/28/1/45 - Political (EW), 21 March, 1946; Appendix).
244. Ibid.; Lipp, loc. cit.
245. Selma Heller, Manuscript on Internment (Rummelsberg: 13 June, 1970; Appendix), p. 4.
246. A.S. Holland (Deputy Inspector General of Police (Retired)), "Certificate" of Recommendation of Mr. Borutta (Nürnberg: Helmuth Borutta's Personal Records, 29 June, 1946; Appendix).
247. Ibid.
248. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.
249. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 16.
250. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
251. Lipp, op. cit., p. 12; Lohse, op. cit., p. 14. The Breklum missionary Lohse made a similar observation; "Ich meine, wenn ich irgendwie unter einer Besatzung oder einer Gefangenschaft geraten wäre, würde ich immer eine englische Gefangenschaft einer amerikanischen vorziehen. Der Engländer, bei all seiner konservativen Haltung, bleibt auch konservativ dem Gesetz gegenüber."
252. Holland, Letter to Spindler, loc. cit.