

German Missions in British India Nationalism: Case and Crisis in Missions

III AHMEDNAGAR

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"AHMEDNAGAR ! ...
What is the significance of the title? The older missions friends know it; Ahmednagar is the prisoner of war camp in which the German missionaries were interned in India during the World War (I). It lies exactly east of Bombay some 200 km. distance from this large harbor city. To this place ... now again ten of our missionaries have been brought."

*Dr. Carl Ihmels, Leipzig Mission
Director (Leipzig: ELMB, Dec. 1939*

The vast Indian Empire, as a sub-continent with its millions of people from varied origins and history, as well as the hundreds of languages and dialects of India, Burma and Ceylon, was an integral part of the great British Empire encircling the globe. As war was declared the Government of India, and in a lesser role the Congress Party under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, brought British India into the second European conflict of the century. In truth, "the day the Second World War started, England took India into the war by proclamation without consulting any Indians. India resented this additional proof of foreign control."¹ In the face of a summons and a mandatory visit to the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow at Simla, Gandhi came away from the consultations with a pro-British position and on September 16th expressed his thinking in his own paper, the Harijan;

Rightly or wrongly, and irrespective of what the other powers have done before under similar circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war.²

Gandhi's critics in India feared that the Swaraj leader was in fact siding with the real oppressor of the Indian people. Gandhi felt compelled to vindicate his controversial decision, in that his "sympathy for England and France is not the result of momentary emotion or, in cruder language, of hysteria;" rather he was of the belief that a grave injustice had been committed against others, in particular the invasion of the Polish people.³

British India, with its citizens only British subjects, was at war with Nazi Germany. As a colonial land it had not been given the sacred suffrage as to whether it would participate. Again the shadows of a European war stretched as far as India. The public press and the Indian Civil Servants quick-

ened the war mood and their voices found an easy target in the aggressive schemes of Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich. And yet, "different from other parts of the British im-

perium, ... the special relationship of India to England"⁴ had its consequences for the Indian people.

THE GERMANS ARE COMING

The impact of another foreign war unleashed in British India any number of related manifestations and consequences for all. The many ideals, sentiments and causes of the British, the Germans and the Indians frequently found a stage in the Indian setting. As a heightened example, the Marathi town of Ahmadnagar reflected the British-German contention. Regardless of the Indian population or the labours of foreign missionaries in Ahmadnagar for nearly a century, the town became synonymous to the central 'concentrated' camp of German nationals resident in British India.

For much of September, and even into October, as the accommodations at the Ahmadnagar barracks became available, German missionaries, German businessmen, German Jewish refugees and emigrants, as well as Austrian and other nationals, continued to flow in from all parts of India. Once the British and the Indian troops had been transferred, the internees arrived to take their places. Their reception at the internment camp by the military officers had little of the courteous treatment which the Government originally desired.

To regress briefly, in the year 1833 the Evangelicals of England had achieved "the opening of India without restriction to missionary enterprise."⁵ The East India Company, with the renewal of their Charter in that year, grudgingly unlocked their doors to non-British Societies as well, and it marked the beginning of an expanding Christian Missions era. Also in the year 1833 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, Congregational) established a work in the town of Ahmadnagar.⁶ The American Board developed a most encompassing ministry with the Boys' and the Girls' Schools, a college, a training

school, the sisal fibre industry, as well as the church congregation.

The American Board mission compounds were situated on both sides of the main road between the Ahmadnagar railroad station and the large cantonment facilities east of the town. It was not difficult to observe the comings and goings of the increased traffic due to the war. September, 1939, Roy and Edna Long were resident missionaries at Ahmadnagar, along with other American workers. Edna Long offered this first-hand knowledge of those days when the town had a population of 30,000; and it also had the

... British military cantonment where several thousand English soldiers were in training. Although radios and television sets were nonexistent, there were newspapers and telegraph services, so we knew about the conflict in Europe. The atmosphere was tense with rumours. The British feared that the Indians might take advantage of their military involvement in Europe and gain control of their government. Their regiments might be called back to fight there. ...⁷

The war introduced rumours as well among the Indians. Again Edna Long remembered this simple scene which took place at their mission bungalow, when their milkman Rama informed them in the Marathi language:

The Germans are coming. ... I saw jeeps full of English soldiers going to the railroad station to get them. Everyone says they will be in a prison behind the barracks.⁸

Her consoling word to the milkman was helpful; "There is nothing to worry about, Rama, ... these are German civilians, ... not soldiers. They won't harm anyone."⁹ Yet representative of Indian thinking, the milkman felt strongly; "But why should they bring them here when we haven't enough grain or milk for our own people? It's bad enough having the British army here."¹⁰

Throughout September the British and the Indian soldiers departed from the Ahmadnagar barracks, while German nationals arrived at the railroad station. The group of German men from Jubbulpore were fortunate to be fetched from the station. "We were packed into lorries. We were very tightly packed. We had to stand all the way from the station to the gate of the camp. We were really made to feel like convicts,"¹¹ so was the opinion of one internee.

A much larger contingent of German nationals from St. Thomas Mount Cantonment were made to trudge the main road;

The only hard-surfaced road in Ahmadnagar linked the British military post with the town's railway station. ... Indian men in white homespun Gandhi caps and shirts, women in pastel saris and barefoot children stood in clusters on the edge of the thoroughfare.¹²

The Leipzig missionary Johannes Wagner remembered the trek;

It was a relatively long stretch out there, to be marched through the city and out to the camp. ...

At any rate, it was something unpleasant. I had some uncomfortable shoes on and my feet were chafed. But truthfully speaking, the English soldiers pushed us quite hard, and that on top of the heat. Once we were in the camp it was much better.¹³

A glance at a map of Ahmadnagar shows that the internees' march was a distance of over eight kilometers (5 miles) to the East Ridge Barracks.

Thus, in the heart of the Deccan plains of Bombay Presidency a most unique phenomenon was witnessed as one group of German men arrived at Ahmadnagar. Edna Long recorded this unforgettable scene, as grim as it may sound;

The music increased in crescendo ... as the procession drew near to our house. There were hundreds of German men in civilian clothes, flanked by English soldiers carrying rifles. Heads erect, they sang in perfect harmony.

There was a short pause between songs when we heard only the beat of a thousand feet and then (the) prisoners began to sing again; "Ein

Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott", ... "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." ...

Tears blurred our vision as we watched from our vine-festooned verandah, yet we recognized some German missionaries among the marchers. ...¹⁴

The American Board personnel likely recognized the men of the Basel and Leipzig Missions. In the pre-war years on the south Indian hillstations of Kodaikanal, Kotagiri, etc., the German missionaries had ample occasion to associate, to study languages and to worship with them while on holiday.

Once behind the barbed wire of the Ahmadnagar Internment Camp, the commandant's welcome was more in the tougher military language. The Gossner Borutta noted this event:

In Ahmadnagar, I can recollect quite clearly, as we arrived there the commandant presented himself before all of us and held his talk in English. ... It was Williams, and I can still see him before me. ...¹⁵

In one of those memorable statements, Williams defined his conditions: "If you behave yourselves, we will treat you well; and if you don't, we will treat you like convicts."¹⁶ The commandant had stated his rules for keeping his German internees orderly, but much more, he had set the mood for them in their camp years in British India.

In Germany the missionary societies found it exceedingly difficult to gain any information from India. As late as November, 1939, the Leipzig monthly (ELMB) reported: "Out of India we have received the news that our missionaries are interned in one prisoner-of-war camp all together. Regarding their stay we nevertheless are not able to write anything."¹⁷ Then in January, 1940, the larger and more representative Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift in its very first publication stated:

In British India all the German male personnel of the Basel, Leipzig, Gossner and Breklum Missions are quartered in the 'Prisoners of War' camp at Ahmadnagar. Their treatment and working conditions are good.¹⁸

Of course, this was the news which could pass the strict censoring in the country, and though only partial, it appeared as encouraging news. Upon receiving the news from one of their missionary ladies, the British

Quaker monthly, *The Friend*, noted: "The internment of two of our own workers ... has brought the troubles of the Western World very close to us. ..."

IN AHMAD'S TOWN

The history and the reputation of Ahmadnagar belong primarily to the Moslem and British rulers in the Deccan Plains. In the 19th and 20th centuries, British officialdom and Christian Missions often bespeak complementary ministeries of secular authorities and foreign missionaries. At Ahmadnagar, where both histories unite, the Government of India did not grace the town's tradition through the use of the location and its facilities. Besides the large cantonment, Ahmadnagar was the settlement for concentrating all German nationals in the year 1939, and it is a chapter not well known in the western world.

Ahmadnagar was founded as a sultan state on the Deccan, a quarter of a century before Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation struck the Christian Church in Germany and Europe. Thus, its history is relatively brief in India's annals, and though largely a Hindu Marathi population, its leadership and character were signally Moslem. Under Muhammad bin Tugluq, the sultan of Delhi (1325-51), his 14th century empire "reached its greatest extent, and in area ... (was) comparable only to the empires of Asoka (B.C. 273-232) and Aurangzeb"²⁰ (1659-1707). The vast empire had communication problems and fermented widespread revolts. As a result Hasan, an Afghan or Turk! officer of the Delhi sultan, proceeded to occupy the Daulatabad fortress in the Deccan. In 1347, Hasan, known as Sultan 'Ala-ud-din I, ushered in the Bahmani dynasty of nearly two centuries.²¹ Then in 1490, in the process of a minister aspiring to become sultan himself, the Bahmani dynasty gave way to Ahmadnagar as one of the five Deccan states, along with illustrious Bijapur and Golconda, as well as Bidar and Berar.²² The founder of Ahmadnagar, or Ahmednagar, Ahmad Nizam Shah, "was

the son Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, a minister of the Bahmani kings."²³

Hardly was the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar a century old when it encountered the expanding Mughul Empire under Akbar (1555-1605). As the 16th century drew to a close, the glory of Ahmadnagar was beset with family intrigue – a norm for those times and the power and threat of the Mughul king Akbar had increased.²⁴ In this era the heroine of Ahmadnagar, a rare example of 'Joan of Arc' dimensions, gave new life to the town.

Chand Bibi, the queen dowager of Bijapur, who had returned to Ahmadnagar, made a gallant and successful resistance to Akbar's son, Prince Murad, in 1596, ... purchasing peace by the cession of Berar. But war broke out again, and in August 1600 after Chand Bibi had perished at the hands of the mob, the Mughul army stormed Ahmadnagar. ...²⁵

Ahmadnagar has left a noteworthy testimony of its place in Deccan history, though it conveys little in comparison to the unrivalled magnificence of Bijapur's edifices.²⁶ Ahmadnagar's architectural feats are circumscribed in the one principal ancient building, "the ruined Bhadr palace in white stone, built by the founder of the city. ..."²⁷ Less than a mile east of the town stands the Ahmadnagar fortress, erected in an era of glory and power, and it has served efficiently to the present century.²⁸ A further fragment of Ahmadnagar's tradition stems from the last great Mughul king Aurangzeb, when weary in age and yet in his military pursuits, he died there in 1707. He had sought to suppress the Marathis' growing power. In fact, the great Marathi king Shivaji (1627-80), responsible for the Hindu revival and strength, was the son of Shahji Bhonsle, a

Marathi officer of the original Ahmadnagar State.²⁹

As the Mughul dynasty of Delhi and Agra weakened, the Marathi movement and its Confederacy spread over much of India in the 18th century. In turn it progressively encountered the more aggressive East India Company of London with the military defenses surrounding its trading 'factories'.³⁰ Under Lord Wellesley, the Governor-

General of India, 1798-1805, the British extended their military successes, continuing in the tradition of Lord Clive at Plassey in 1757. Wellesley proved militarily superior in the skirmishes against the Marathi Confederacy, and in 1803 he did "capture the strong fortress of Ahmadnagar, Sindhia's great arsenal and depot in the Deccan. ..."³¹ Ahmadnagar became an integral part of the growing British Empire.

THE BOER WAR AND WORLD WAR I

Ahmadnagar's history into the 20th century is identified with the British Raj and everything associated with the colonial power. Ahmadnagar, now a part of the Bombay Presidency, was no longer confined to the task of defending itself against its warring neighbour-states in the Deccan. With a permanent British military cantonment of enormous proportions, it witnessed during the Boer War the introduction of the concentration camp into Indian history. It became the recipient of the Boer prisoners and families from the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State of South Africa. In the second Boer War, 1899-1902,

Lord Kitchener devised plans to crush this (Boer) resistance. To make sure that captured burghers would not fight again, he deported them to prison camps in St. Helena, Bermuda, Ceylon and India. To stop the commandos from obtaining food, shelter and remounts from the civilian population, he burnt farm buildings, destroyed stock and rounded up the women and children from the countryside and placed them in what were called concentration camps. There, they suffered an appalling mortality from dysentery, measles, enteric fever and other diseases. ... By the end of the war, ... about 25,000 women and children had died in the camps.³²

The concentration camps of the Boer War era marked an unprecedented development in the tactics of warfare. The British not only introduced the concentration camp system into the Empire, but also added an inter-related dimension as a colonial world power. For among the Boer prisoners brought to Ahmadnagar were German missionaries

serving in South Africa, who either had expressed their sympathy or who had assisted the burghers in their cause. Hermannsburg-er missionaries were among those brought to India,³³ while other Boer prisoners and families were quartered in Ceylon.³⁴ This phase of British colonial history at the turn of the century too readily remains a forgotten chapter in the treatment of Christian missionaries.

Because of the atrocities during the Boer War, as later in World War I, there was just cause for the German missionary to hold genuine fears towards the colonial rulers in World War II. Paul Gäbler (Leipzig Mission) had grave anxieties for his fellow missionaries, as for himself, that as German prisoners they would be deported to some distant island of the British Empire.³⁵

The German Missions personnel arriving at the Central Alien Internment Camp in September, 1939, were all too aware of Ahmadnagar's reputation. A Leipzig missionary offered this first-hand report:

We were partly housed in the barracks which had already been constructed in 1901 for the Boers. It was the first internment camp for the Boers coming from South Africa.³⁶

Ahmadnagar, according to Kitchener, was to serve as a concentration camp for prisoners, though it did not possess the crematorium of the Nazi concentration camps. Yet the barbed wire, the watch-towers and the military guards were standard equipment for the British detention camps in India. Thus, as World War II began, a return to Ahmadnagar

had particular meaning for the German Missions directors.³⁷

During World War I, in the years 1915 and 1916, most of the German brethren of an estimated 600 German Missions' personnel, removed from the mission stations, were brought to Ahmadnagar to await their transport home on the steamship Golconda.³⁸ Among the deportees were twelve members of the American Missouri Synod Lutheran Mission to India.³⁹ The missionary A. Hübener gave this description of Ahmadnagar during World War I;

The largest camp is the A-Camp. Here about 1,000 prisoners of war are accommodated. Four long extended one-floor infantry barracks are enclosed by a double row of barbed wire fences. Between both of the fence enclosures there are guard posts every so often. Inside the camp there is very, very little room for moving around, for exercise and for games for the inmates. This limited space was then primarily required for hundreds of tents, which the majority of the prisoners had to use till the end of 1915.⁴⁰

Furthermore, it was reported by a prisoner of the camp;

The accommodations in tents and in Nissen huts (corrugated iron) were critical for one's health and the general provisions were inadequate. Then too they were treated as convicts, and the life in the broiling camp behind the barbed wire severely depressed them emotionally.⁴¹

Among the German missionaries transported to the Central Internment Camp-A in 1939 were two men, who during World War I, had previously visited Ahmadnagar as prisoners. Johannes Stosch originally entered the Gossner Mission work in British India in 1913,⁴² while Karl Heller of the Leipzig Mission had begun his services in South India in 1908.⁴³ Dr. Friedrich Hübner, barely two years in India as a Breklum missionary, also knew Ahmadnagar from World War I times. It was "... very well known to me because of my father being there for two years, from 1914 to 1916, and from having a large book of photographs. I knew Ahmadnagar from my childhood. ..."⁴⁴

As World War II brought about a repeat performance at the Ahmadnagar Camp, Carl Ihmels conveyed some encouraging news concerning the German men in internment.

Those Germans, who already were at Ahmadnagar in 1914-18, could detect that the camp had been improved in the meantime. In particular the roofs offered better protection from the dangerous radiation of the sun's rays. Of course at the beginning the younger men had to live in tents. ...⁴⁵

Commenting on the established pattern of the previous wars, the Leipzig missionary Johannes Wagner added: "In 1916 our missionaries came to this place and they were interned there. And there we were interned again."⁴⁶

AHMADNAGAR CENTRAL ALIENS INTERNMENT CAMP

To be held in detention as an internee, for whatever period of time, is an experience written deeply upon an individual's life. For the person outside the camp there is the opportunity to visit his Christian brother in internment and offer him encouragement. During World War II most of the Christian and Missions leaders in India had too little or no idea as to the situation of the German brethren in internment. It was less controversial not to contend the action of the British removing German missionaries from

their stations, nor to concern oneself with these officially categorized as enemy aliens.

In a letter, dated 2nd November, 1939, Johannes Stosch reported to his home board: "We have nothing to complain about, although we feel how difficult it is to be separated from our work."⁴⁷ The abrupt detention within the confines of the Ahmadnagar camp was a distressing situation for the seasoned or the younger missionary, both with their ideals and dreams for the mission church. There was some comfort in the knowledge, that the "mission work, where that has had

to be abandoned by Germans,"⁴⁸ now was under the guidance of neighbouring missionary societies. Yet more unsettling as an emotional experience for the German missionaries was the separation from their wives and families, and particularly for those awaiting additions to their families.⁴⁹

Ahmadnagar was a "pukka old military settlement,"⁵⁰ a fine solid camp used by the British for their troops, in particular for the 11th Infantry Brigade, which had its headquarters in the old fort itself.⁵¹ Naturally Paul Gäbler saw his internment from inside the camp;

It was surrounded with Stacheldraht (barbed wire). We were guarded by Indian soldiers. They continuously marched up and down. And there were very strong lights. You couldn't escape, though a few did escape; but as white people you couldn't get very far.⁵²

Furthermore, "too many people came"⁵³ to the internment camp, and likely too early. "There were crowds of Germans" collected from all over India, so that "about 2,000 were interned at that time",⁵⁴ at the East Ridge Barracks of the cantonment. With "a big group of Germans there,"⁵⁵ of businessmen, Jewish refugees and Lutheran and Roman Catholic missionaries, one internee remarked:

LIFE AT AHMADNAGAR

Approximately 2,000 German nationals within the British Indian Empire appeared in September at the Deccan town of Ahmadnagar. Hundreds of them had been transferred from the major cities, including several hundred German Jews from the city of Bombay.⁵⁹ Here was a great unknown mass of Germans, many of them already in the Intelligence files of the Indian Government. Further investigations had to be held regarding these men from all walks of life, particularly those in India for profoundly political reasons.

Relatively soon at Ahmadnagar a division into camps A and B was initiated for the German internees. Half the men were en-

It was a bad time in the beginning, because we were all put into tents, four each into one tent at Ahmadnagar. There were terrible rains (monsoons), and it went through the tents. And we felt very uncomfortable. But the reason for that was that the barracks were not yet free. First the soldiers had to be removed and then we moved into the barracks; then it became quite a bearable life.⁵⁶

Contrasted to these words of Gäbler, was the more public-conscious depiction of Ahmadnagar by the Swiss Chairman of the Basel Mission in India, who first visited his German brethren only in January, 1940.⁵⁷ The Mission monthly, Der Evangelische Heidenbote, reported:

India. Through a letter, dated September 27th, from President Streckeisen, it can be concluded that ... the climate there is good, the quarters satisfactory with enough freedom for movement and the opportunity for sports.⁵⁸

For purposes of this study it is possible to define the weeks and months of late 1939, as into 1940, at the Central Aliens Internment Camp into distinct, functional spheres. They might be categorized as the life at Ahmadnagar, the pressure within the camp, the concern outside the barracks, the principle of discrimination, the Darling Commission of Enquiry and the missionaries' release.

camped in Camp B, also known as the Nazi Camp, while the "other half were given better treatment, ... and were called A-Class." In Camp-A "they paid for their board, at least the first few months of the war."⁶⁰ Some of the missionaries were also assigned to Camp-A, but as "a paying guest of His Majesty."⁶¹ The Gossner Mission monthly indicated to its readers that Johannes Stosch could be reached at the Internment Camp A under Nr. 6239.⁶² The general address given for the Gossner men was the Hostile Aliens Internment Camp, Ahmadnagar, British India.⁶³

The distinction of separating the German nationals as paying and non-paying guests

developed through quasi-political reasons. The division between anti-Nazi and Nazi lines had its beginnings in the two weeks when the large German community of businessmen and Jewish refugees from Bombay were at first at the Deolali Cantonment near Nasik.⁶⁴ The British camp commandant of Deolali needed “two responsible people for the crowd, ... (so as) to get some social action. He arranged for two parties, the Nazi party and the anti-Nazi or non-Nazi party, to select leaders for each group.”⁶⁵ Dr. Oskar Gans, the professor for dermatology and a German Jew who fled Germany in 1934, was elected to represent the large Jewish and anti-Nazi community.⁶⁶ For the German nationals loyal to the Third Reich and the Nazi Party, Eugen Reiss, representative of the German electrical concern Siemens, was chosen as the spokesman. The two men, though of markedly different schools of thought, through a pre-war friendship in Bombay made a good working relationship at Deolali and for a while too at Ahmadnagar.⁶⁷

The Nazi Party khans attempted to dictate the policy in the Ahmadnagar Camp-B. Their platform had one design;

All Nazis, declared Nazis, stayed in Wing B where they didn't pay anything and thereby they were thinking of inflicting a certain amount of financial loss onto the British Government. So in actual fact it was ridiculous.⁶⁸

It was regarded “as a sign by the Nazis as cooperating with the British Government to pay three Rupees a day for one's keep or one's food.”⁶⁹

Some of the German Protestant missionaries were Wing A, where you had to pay for the comfort,⁷⁰

... they still had funds available and they would have had to be paid by their own boards. So they could afford this very small amount. ... Bombay people, for instance, preferred to go into Wing-A, those who had earned large salaries.⁷¹

“The Roman Catholics decided that it was the proper thing for them” to go into Camp-B. “The idea was that not all Germans could go into Wing A; it was a sign of solidari-

ty with the poor ones, with the lesser paid ones.”⁷² In any case, prior to the process of discrimination and classification by the British authorities, the German nationals were discriminating among themselves. It became an issue with increasing meaning.

Once space became available at Ahmadnagar, in Camp-A the Jewish refugees and the Protestant missionaries were able to move from the tents into the barracks, constructed of “large solid stone buildings.”⁷³ At this stage the missionaries approached the commandant in the hopes of getting all or most of their group into one barrack. All 38 men associated with Protestant Missions could not be housed together, since “the missionaries filled one whole wing of a barrack containing about 30 beds.”⁷⁴ In the opinion of one Breklum missionary, experiencing seven camps during the war, Ahmadnagar “was the best maintained camp, a camp without bugs. And that is saying a lot for India.”⁷⁵

The 38 missionaries became a part of an unique experience, living and working together. It gave them a purpose in a time of separation from their mission labours and the love of their families and friends. Along with the German Basel missionaries, “there were also the Leipzig men, the Breklum men – with the (future) Bishop Meyer, and the Gossner men.”⁷⁶ The one Quaker missionary admitted: “Actually I met more German missionaries in the first camp to which I was taken in Ahmadnagar.”⁷⁷ In these weeks and months the brethren learned much in sharing their experiences and in the studies together. One of the joyful rituals for the younger men in the missionary barrack was the invitation which Stosch, a man with decades of foreign service, extended to join him for a cup of tea and a discussion about the church and mission aims in India.⁷⁸

One of the more important course of things was the time devoted to the study of the Bible and theology. Some were fortunate enough to have brought an adequate supply of books with them.⁷⁹ At Ahmadnagar, as in most ensuing camps, a “theological working group was organized.”⁸⁰ The group en-

hanced sound study and research.⁸¹ Johannes Daub recalls the time as a most meaningful pursuit and found the New Testament course offered by Heinrich Meyer as extremely rewarding; his excellent knowledge of the Greek language go alone was an inspiration.⁸² Also there were the responsibilities for Sunday morning worship and vespers, and Sunday for Sunday enough brethren had to lead these services.

Life at the internment camp began early, for "there was a roll call every morning at 7:00 A.M."⁸³ The roll call could vary in length according to the intention of the commandant. On occasions it could last for over two hours, and on one such day "the oldest man in Ahmadnagar (who) was 72 years" fainted.⁸⁴ "Of course all the Germans who were there sought to conduct themselves properly," but if someone attempted to escape, everyone had to line up once again.⁸⁵ Helmuth Borutta remembers one such instance, when "the commandant said: 'He didn't escape; he is somewhere in the camp. They looked for him in the camp, but to no avail. They found him though on a freight train ... on the way to Bombay."⁸⁶

From the outset there was some unrest at Ahmadnagar and there were adjustments of all sorts to be made. Incidents, not in the framework of the camp regulations, were also possible among these specialized and able men, under the confinement and with so much time on their hands. In the beginning one specific incident gave the missionaries unnecessary trouble. It seems that near their barrack the camp guards discovered that the barbed wire fence had been cut and a missionary was made responsible for the crime. The court scene was the dining hall, when two British officers, standing on a table, acted as the prosecutors. Later it was discovered that the supposed spot was the beginning of one roll and the end of another roll of barbed wire. The culinary tastes and needs of the internees increased as their freedom and mobility were restricted. Only five weeks at Ahmadnagar, Oskar Gans noted:

The food was quite all right in the beginning. ... The contractor was a Muslim. You know, they

used to be in this sort of business. ... But very soon he got too keen to make a profit. And the Nazi Germans then complained. They wouldn't eat that anymore. They wanted to get the materials so that they could prepare the food themselves. They had several cooks, and from then on the food was very, very good.⁸⁸

Expressing the general sentiment of the camp, the food was one positive phase of the life behind the camp fences. It provided as well working possibilities for some internees. Not all the chores of the kitchen were of a specialized nature; some were the menial tasks found in any camp, and the missionary was not exempted. The Baseler Hermann Palm remembered how he was

... appointed in the camp then to the department of potato peelers. That was naturally a very useful form of work, namely that one could also eat an extra potato, ... although we never were exactly hungry. ... One welcomed the little extra one had, even if one could eat potatoes.⁸⁹

A correspondence between the German men in camp and their wives in freedom was permitted to a limited extent.⁹⁰ Also, "In Service of Prisoners of War,"⁹¹ the missionary could receive packages from his wife on the mission station. Home-baked goods were a reminder of his wife's baking and they helped offset some hunger. Yet again for security reasons these items "were often in fact crushed into crumbs. There was naturally nothing in them, though they suspected that there may be some news hidden in the baked goods."⁹²

Lest one believe that all was favourable and the "food in the camp is good,"⁹³ the continued separation of the missionaries from their families became the greatest burden for all. Adolf Streckeisen's letter of October 31st, 1939, to Alfons Koechlin in Basel offers this insight:

I have good news for all our Mission personnel. In Udipi a little Hans Peter Reichenbacher was born, who I believe arrived on the 21st. Mother and child are doing well. Lipp is now in camp. Bier had some kind of malaria, Friso (Melzer) and Palm some dysentery, but all appear to be well.⁹⁴

Furthermore, there were the responsibilities of caring for the sanitary facilities. At Ah-

madnagar the communal toilets, known as latrines in India, "had to be cleaned up, and so on."⁹⁵ Here too the missionary had to assist in this pressing chore of camp life.

There was also the general concern for the maintenance of the camp premises. This assignment Palm described in part;

Also we frequently had to clean out the weeds from the barrack grounds with small kitchen knives. Essentially that was a form of work – how should I express it – something which would rate us down. One had to kneel there in the sun and pry the grass out with a knife. That I found very unpleasant.⁹⁶

Among the hundreds of German professional and businessmen, there were many Jewish doctors and dentists able to care for the internees. No missionary had these qualifications at that time, though each had received a basic training in the medical and dental sciences before his departure for India. At Ahmandnagar Gans carried on his practice for both groups - the non-Nazis and the Nazis - though they "were separated by the British into different camps, into different barracks. And so I was in one barrack, but it didn't prevent the Nazis, when they were ill, from consulting me."⁹⁷ Even with the knowledge of the Third Reich's atrocities, Gans had a professional obligation; "I didn't mind it; a patient is a patient."⁹⁸ "There was a hospital at the disposal of the internees"⁹⁹ and the doctors in internment.

The large internment camp with its Wings A and B provided few luxuries in comparison to the favourable conditions of the family parole camps later in the war. Taking part in one sport or the other was a healthy consolation to the pressures. The Breklum missionary Reimer Speck wrote home: "I have become the sport attendant and every day I exercise in physical training with a group of 50 men for half an hour."¹⁰⁰

Certain luxuries of life were taken from the internees obviously on account of the war. Gäbler remembered, "We had no possibility to hear the radio; we had no films. ... It was a dull time unless you studied books, etc."¹⁰¹ Not only was there the 'black-out' of the news through the papers and the wireless,

but the censors managed to remove a considerable portion of the letters between the men and their wives. The British censors "used to strike out so much of the news with India ink or something similar."¹⁰² Gans recalls that on one occasion, "I sent a letter and I enclosed a sketch of the barracks – just the roof, some straight lines and the windows. And the censor gave it back to me, saying: 'It is not allowed to send out any plans of the camp'."¹⁰³

What the censors were able to restrict from flowing in and out of the camp, was scarcely a deterrent for the amateur artist. Portraits, sketches, etchings and the like blossomed as the days and weeks dragged on. A favorite etching used by the internees for the Christmas season card was the depiction of their barrack interior. A total of 24 missions personnel, of the original 38 interned, celebrated Christmas 1939 at Ahmadnagar. For most of these younger missionaries, separated already four months, it was a Season with mixed feelings.¹⁰⁴

Life at the internment Camp-A did provide opportunities to make use of one's money, that is if one had enough. From his limited funds the missionary could have his washing done, purchase an occasional cigar, buy some fruit and other extras.¹⁰⁵ J.Z. Hodge, in his report on The War And The N.C.C., discussed the matter of allowances, though it is not certain whether this statement applied to the first or the second Ahmadnagar internment period. He wrote that the German missionaries did receive

... ordinary soldiers rations, equivalent to Rs.1-8-0 a day, an additional monthly allowance of Rs. 20 and an extra daily allowance of 3½ annas - roughly Rs. 70 a month.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand Streckeisen appeared to be uncertain regarding his Basel brethren's allowances; "I learn that in the Camp they have no expenses except pocket expenses, perhaps Rs. 30 per month."¹⁰⁷ From missionary life of a 'minimum existence', managing on 60% or less of their salaries and with monetary shortages unparalleled in mission work, the camp allowances were as a windfall for many interned.

This war which most of the world did not desire held catastrophic consequences for these missions people.¹⁰⁸ They found themselves divorced from their 'call' to serve in the Indian church, separated from their families and held in a camp as enemy nationals. Quite naturally their thoughts centered on the uncertainty of a further work in India, on the continuing captivity (Gefangenschaft) at Ahmadnagar and on the welfare of their

families. And increasingly the internment would take on political colours for these missionaries, particularly as civil 'prisoners of war'. The life at Ahmadnagar portrayed a political climate as well, where a Nazi ideology and a growing pride in the Third Reich persisted, while the British authorities sought to penetrate the depth of the missionaries' sympathies.

PRESSURE WITHIN THE CAMP

Infiltrating "the quiet of the camp life, which (at first) quickly brings all disquiet to an end,"¹⁰⁹ was the constant awareness that there was an ideological war being waged in Europe, and not merely the nationalistic cause of World War I. In spite of the restricted news filtering through the camp, there was the information that the armies of Adolf Hitler had glowing triumphs. The Third Reich had grown astonishingly in the first weeks of the war. Even the declaration of war by England and France appeared to be and was "called the phony war in those days, until Germany invaded Norway (and Denmark) the following spring."¹¹⁰ Among the Germans themselves there was a renewed confidence and in the camp predictions were made that Germany would win the war.

The knowledge of an expanding Nazi Reich carried the image of a revitalized Germany. It was a radical contrast to the humiliations of World War I and the degrading Versailles Treaty. At Ahmadnagar Camp-B the Nazi activists or sympathizers made the most of Hitler's victorious campaigns. Though "there was barbed wire between (the wings) and though there was actually little contact,"¹¹¹ the mood in the camp was endangered when the Nazis started writing their laws and "continuously threatened those others who were not willing to call themselves Nazis."¹¹²

The World War was young but the pressures of National Socialism and the practices of a totalitarian state were entrenched in its world-wide operations. The first internment at Ahmadnagar for most of the missionary brethren was a period of two to five months. Yet within this space of time a deliberate and unambiguous exertion of Nazi influence was carried out against all German internees. The Nazi leadership's command and order only became consolidated at Ahmadnagar. The Quaker Tucher, only three months at this Deccan cantonment, sensed this influence;

In the beginning of the war a very quick ending was prophesied, and a great many people were afraid to call themselves Germans or anti-Nazis, which in the eyes of the British people was almost the same. They liked to lump everybody under the name of Nazi who openly did not avow that he was against the Nazis.¹¹³

The word 'German' would be a term of national loyalty for the Vaterland, as differentiated from National Socialism. In this case to be a 'German' in camp carried the sentiment of an in-between stance. Thus, the German missionary faced a real dilemma at Ahmadnagar, when the Nazi threats and warnings went beyond the use of mere words.¹¹⁴

Living in such close quarters and with no lack of time, the internees had ample opportunity for discussing the political and military developments. Richard Lipp (Basel) had

learned much from his fellow ward-patients during the six weeks at the Madras General Hospital.¹¹⁵ He recounts:

I was then brought to Ahmadnagar. ... You heard people talk – then the missionaries were among the others – over America. ... “This time America will not join in with the Germans or the British.” All this foolish talk. “In India a revolution will come, etc.”¹¹⁶

CONCERN OUTSIDE THE BARRACKS

In early July, William Paton, General Secretary of the International Missionary Council (IMC) at Edinburgh House, London, had taken the initial steps in assisting German Missions and its missionaries throughout the world, as there seemed a likely “possibility of war.”¹¹⁷ Paton first “had talks with Sir Findlater Stewart, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the India Office,”¹¹⁸ at Whitehall. Some days following the meeting, Paton wrote to Stewart:

Those who were in India during the last war remember that in the stress of affairs, and with almost no precedents to guide anybody, unfortunate events took place which probably could have been avoided. ...¹¹⁹

With the majority of the German Missionary Societies labouring within the British Empire,¹²⁰ Paton regarded the looming possibility of war as a matter of grave concern;

There are bound to be difficult problems connected with the handling of the missions of enemy countries, and I think it is worth while to make the point that the way in which these matters are handled by the British Government has a good deal of influence upon neutral, and especially American opinion.¹²¹

The concerns of the I.M.C. and the India Office were transmitted to the Indian scene to the National Christian Council in Nagpur

Severed from his vocation, from his Indian fellow workers and his family, the missionary now was so squarely thrust into a political setting and under political scrutiny and judgment. Of course, as a political being, he had been brought to Ahmadnagar to defend his innocence from what might otherwise be interpreted as his non-missionary activities in India.

and to the Indian Government’s Home Department, respectively. As noted above, in August, 1939, Conran-Smith, at the Government summer residence in Simla, turned to Hodge for advice on the question of carrying on the work of missionaries of enemy nationality.¹²² The Home Department’s tabulation on ‘German Christian Missions had focused on the problems of propaganda, the removal of the missionaries and a suggested course of action after their removal.¹²³ Hodge had responded immediately, indicating the N.C.C.’s desire to cooperate in every way.¹²⁴ In the minds of the church leaders, an impending war was unavoidable, and the matter had even been discussed at Tambaram in December, 1938. Unquestionable now was the necessity of coordinating the secular powers and the ecclesiastical leadership in British India. On the home front Whitehall and the I.M.C. were the instrumental agencies in the general policy-making guidelines for understanding the German Missions and its missionaries throughout the British colonies.

On September 14th, 1939, at the Senate House, London, Paton attended a meeting of the representatives of the Missionary Societies and the Ministry of Information.¹²⁵ He asserted again his concern in “the question of the treatment of

German missions in British Colonial territories.”¹²⁶ The minutes of the Proceedings, recorded by the Ministry of Information, conveyed Paton’s major points:

In the first place he would like to repeat what Dr. Cash had said, that many of them have had in past years, either in India or Africa, or Germany, fellowship with the German missionaries. They did not forget that, and though they must in a political sense regard them as enemies, they wanted to do all they could to preserve Christian links with them.

Secondly, it was not for them of course to discuss the question whether it may be necessary to intern, at least at the start, all German missionaries in a given territory, but it did seem to them that, with their knowledge of the Germans, and knowing how greatly they differ among themselves, the kind of discrimination which the Minister of Home Defence, Sir John Anderson, in his speech in the House of Commons, suggested should be brought to bear upon the refugees in this country, might very well be applied in India and Africa. It would seem to him that if cases were gone into carefully by competent persons, it might be possible after an initial round-up, to discriminate between them, as it is suggested be done with the refugees here.¹²⁷

The very same day, not letting up in his fervour over the intricate question of German Missions, Paton wrote to the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stressing that this branch of Christian World Missions be considered in more than mere political perspectives and that it should not be treated solely on humanitarian grounds. He was quick to point out again that the I.M.C. did not “question the right and duty of Government to intern German missionaries whose political views may be such as to render them unsuitable persons to exercise the influence which a missionary necessarily possesses among the common people.”¹²⁸ Paton admitted,

“that it may be administratively necessary in certain territories, at least in the first instance, to have a general internment.”¹²⁹ He qualified his own expression of “necessary in certain territories,” by having discussed “the question whether it may be necessary to intern”¹³⁰ altogether. There were situations which were far too vital to be regarded under one general policy. Stephan Neill, Bishop of Tinneveli, supported Paton, emphasizing how harmful the results of internment could be.¹³¹ Thus Paton appealed to the Colonial Office that it might take stock of the real needs and the hazards facing German missionaries in the British Empire. His guidelines were:

What we urge is that there should be discrimination exercised. It is well known to British missionaries and to all who are in touch at all closely with the facts of the German missions, that the German missionaries are of different types, and that some at least of them, through their connection with the Confessional Church in Germany or for other reasons, are not in sympathy with the present German regime, and are not to be regarded as in any sense as emissaries of the Nazi view of life. We believe that it would be quite possible to make the necessary enquiries, and we hope that in dealing with these men and women discrimination will be shown.¹³²

Paton raised two further points in his letter to MacDonald. “During the last war, after some earlier confusion, it was agreed that the personal and private property of German missionaries was respected. ... This principle was registered in Article 438 of the Versailles Treaty.”¹³³ Also Paton urged that “in cases where it is necessary to intern or remove the German missionaries the question of the maintenance and oversight of their work will ...”¹³⁴ be solved.

September was a crucial policy-making month of the British Government towards

the handling of German nationals in their colonies. Whitehall made its position clear;

The Ministry of Information does not consider it possible to utilise the Missionary Societies as agencies for propaganda, and it is obvious that the Societies themselves would be unwilling to accept such a position.¹³⁵

On September 20th a gathering of British officials assembled at the India Office, due in part to the concerns and labours of the I.M.C. and the Missionary Societies. The purpose of this conference was the need to make necessary Liaison Arrangements in coping with the German Missions, and among other items to discuss the issue of the German Societies, the matter of German missionary property and the problem of discrimination.¹³⁶ It was a distinguished group:

- From the Foreign Office – Mr. D.V. Kelly, C.M.G.
- From the India Office – Mr. Walton & Mr. A. Dibdin
- From the Colonial Office – Mr. A.H. Poynton, Mr. Robinson & Mr. Hans Vischer
- From the Ministry of Information - Lord Hailey, Mr. MacLennan & Mr. Hope.¹³⁷

These Liaison Arrangements were to be formulated and utilized as the official propaganda from the Ministry of Information, and they reflected an increased awareness of the I.M.C. concerns. Their minutes record the following:

Lord Hailey said it was desirable, in handling any necessary internment of German missionaries, that we should not antagonize neutral opinion, and he suggested that the Departments represented might agree to act on the same general principles.¹³⁸

These general principles or “several questions on which general agreement might be possible”¹³⁹ were:

a) Discrimination. The discrimination which the Minister for Home Defence proposed in regard to refugees in this country, might be applied to German missionaries in British territory. It had been urged by the Missionary Societies that if each case could be gone into by competent persons it might be possible, after an initial round up, to discriminate between those whom it was necessary to remove and those who might be left to carry on their work under supervision. ...

Mr. Poynton said that the Colonial Secretary (MacDonald) had already expressed his general wish that the work of the Missions should be maintained and encouraged in every way possible. Mr. Robinson informed the meeting that all Governors had been instructed to submit a list of enemy nationals in their districts, analysed under three headings: -

- (a) Those who could be left in the colony.
- (b) Those who should be repatriated.
- (c) Those who could neither be safely left nor repatriated; this would refer to Germans of military age and German technicians.

It was explained that Memorandum No. 255 on German Missions prepared by Mr. MacLennan, had been circulated by the India and Colonial Offices, with general instructions, leaving to the local Governments the precise method of treatment and the adaptation of the general line of policy adopted in this country to local circumstances as might be thought right.¹⁴⁰

Concerning (b) Consultation with German Societies, Lord Hailey valued “an opportunity of informal consultation with German-Swiss or German missionary leaders with regard to the arrangements to provide for carrying on German Missions during the war.”¹⁴¹ In “the complex nature of Roman Catholic missionary work, ...”¹⁴² Mr. Kelly spoke of the unsatisfactory results of removing established Roman missionaries of one nationality and replacing them by others. ...”¹⁴² Once again,

Importance was laid on the effect on neutral opinion if temporary transfer of German missionary work to British and American or Scandinavian Societies was made a matter of informal consultation with the German Societies concerned.¹⁴³

Pertaining to

(c) German Missionary Property; it was agreed that the German Missionary Societies' property and the personal properties of their missionaries should be dealt with along the lines of the provisions of Article 438 of the Peace Treaty of 1919. After the last war the personal properties of German missionaries were dealt with under the economic clauses of the Treaty. It was agreed that such action should be avoided on this occasion.¹⁴⁴

These Liaison Arrangements were encouraging guidelines, when considering the devastating picture of German Missions during World War I in British India. Then hundreds of men, women and children were removed from the colony. It is, therefore, easily understood why the I.M.C., under the unrelenting diligence of Paton, sought to avoid the same confusion and tragedy associated with World War I.

Then a new 'Approved Draft' was formulated by the I.M.C. to assist the Ministry of Information in this delicate matter of the Church. The 'Draft' stated:

The Council has met with a considerate readiness on the part of Government to act sym-

pathetically so as to ensure that the work shall be carried on, and that, where this is compatible with the requirements of security, such Germans as can after examination of their cases be allowed to return to their work should be permitted to do so.¹⁴⁵

Though the I.M.C. cautiously admitted the necessity to intern enemy aliens in war time,¹⁴⁶ it also stated:

We are given to understand that the Government is anxious to secure that such persons should not be put to the inconvenience of a longer period of detention than is strictly necessary. Full consideration is given to the cases of missionaries on whose behalf applications for release have been or may be made.¹⁴⁷

Such clauses as the selection of "competent persons ... to discriminate between those ..." or "leaving to the local Governments the precise method of treatment and the adaptation of the general line of policy, ..." ¹⁴⁸ were a reminder that the actual handling of German missionaries rested with the authorities in the British territories. The Government in London had established certain guidelines and the Home Department in New Delhi was to transact these policies. For that reason Paton turned his attention to the church and missions leaders on the Indian scene, where the action of the round-up, the removal, the internment and the interrogations were being staged.

VEDANAYAGAM SAMUEL AZARIAH

In juxtaposition to the political, secular developments associated to the Independence Movement in India, or nearly a decade earlier, an ecclesiastical awakening occurred as a result of the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. "It might be described as the first shot in the campaign against 'missionary imperialism',

socalled."¹⁴⁹ It was a slim, dark Indian, a young man by the name of Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah, who "set us all talking: missionaries who had lived long in India said that the picture was overdrawn; missionaries of the younger generation, unconscious as yet of social shortcomings, asked, can these things be?"¹⁵⁰ The sin-

cerity of the young speaker was indisputable. Though the Conference ended on an encouraging note,

... the pebble cast that summer evening into a placid pool of Christian complacency started ripples that touched many shores and did much to bring about the happier social climate that now pertains in the mission world generally.¹⁵¹

Azariah's plea at Edinburgh was a great call for 'partnership' as a guiding principle between the missionary and the Indian pastor and Christian.¹⁵² It was a call for greater acceptance of Indian leadership and the indigenous Church.¹⁵³ Yet the power and influence of 'missionary imperialism', closely associated with the control of the finances, lingered generally and with certain social shortcomings, in spite of "an increasing demand from Indian Christians for 'Home Rule' in the Churches."¹⁵⁴

In 1912 the Anglican Church in India took a promising step in making Azariah Bishop of Dornakal, a new diocese for India.¹⁵⁵ It was "a notable reminder that the wisest way to deal with the splendid ardours of youth is to harness them to real responsibility."¹⁵⁶ His energies and vision as a leader at Dornakal are in themselves an unparalleled example of devotion and evangelistic fervour. Azariah at the same time took on an increasing role at the National Christian Council following World War I,¹⁵⁷ which in turn led to his eminence, that from January, 1929, until his death on January 31st, 1945, "he was the indispensable Chairman."¹⁵⁸ And during World War II, particularly at the outset, Azariah had proven to be a dear friend of the German missionaries, and his services, with Paton and Hodge, towards the German Missions were another chapter of his Indian greatness.

WILLIAM PATON AND J. Z. HODGE

Closely associated with the Bishop of Dornakal, in the period between the two World Wars, were notably two British church leaders who consecutively served as secretaries of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon (N.C.C.) Following World War I, with a changing mood among Indian Christians, the N.C.C. took on increasing importance. The years "1923-1941 might well be described as the 'Paton-Hodge era' of the N.C.C, after its two leading secretaries, William Paton (1923-27) and J.Z. Hodge (1929-1941)."¹⁵⁹ These same three Church leaders, Azariah, Paton and Hodge, were the prime movers and the persevering men, who most assisted the German missionaries interned again in British India during the Second World War.

William Paton's immense resourcefulness and sagacity were already found in an earlier period of his training in India. "William Paton had come to India in 1921 as Y.M.C.A. secretary."¹⁶⁰ The few years which he served as the first full-time Secretary of the N.C.C, instituted an "excellent administration of the Council, ... (and) under his leadership the N.C.C became, what it had never been before, a leading force of the Church."¹⁶¹ As World War II broke out, Paton's knowledge of the missions scene in India rendered him to be exceptionally well-qualified and discerning. The intrepidity and courage in his approach to Whitehall, the Colonial Office, the Home Department in New Delhi and other agencies, were the traits of a church statesman, and moreso a fearless prophet speaking to the secular authorities regarding the gravity of

Christian Missions and the plight of German missionaries in their defencelessness.

The Rev. J.Z. Hodge, Paton's successor and similarly a Scotsman, arrived in India in 1900 and "belonged to the 'Regions Beyond Missionary Union'."¹⁶² He laboured in Champaram in the most northern district of the State of Bihar bordering Nepal. One of Mahatma Gandhi's first significant strides, the indigo problem of 1917 in the Champaram District drew the attention of the entire country and the British Empire. It seems that "most of the arable land in the Champaram District was divided into large estates owned by Englishmen and worked by Indian tenants. The chief commercial crop was indigo."¹⁶³ Gandhi arrived to support the Indian peasant; and the "official inquiry assembled a crushing mountain of evidence against the big planters."¹⁶⁴ Hodge, who "had a long career behind him as a missionary in Bihar and as secretary of the Bihar Christian Council,"¹⁶⁵ "observed the entire (indigo) episode at close range."¹⁶⁶

A further undertaking of the Bihar Christian Council arose from the complicated situation regarding the Gossner Mission Church. During World War I, when in 1915 the entire Gossner Mission's personnel were removed and then transported to Germany, the Anglican Bishop of Chota Nagpur, Foss Westcott, supervised the German Mission with great compassion and dedication.¹⁶⁷ There then arose the complication,

... when, towards the end of the war, the (British) authorities made it more or less evident that the German missionaries would not be allowed to return and that consequently the German missionary property would either have to be taken over by another mission or to be confiscated.

In this situation the Bishop proposed a union of the Anglican and the Gossner Lutheran Churches.¹⁶⁸

The circumstances would not have been quite so critical and vulnerable were it not for the Lutheran Christians

... still remembering how in 1869 the S.P.G., in defiance of all Comity rules, had entered the field and accepted about one third of the Lutherans into the Anglican fold, saw in this proposal an attempt on the part of the Anglicans to swallow up the whole Gossner Church.¹⁶⁹

This was the appraisal made in a report by a specially appointed Commission of Enquiry, consisting of Dr. S.K. Dutta, Prof. S.C. Mukerjee, Dr. Felt and Hodge.¹⁷⁰

Following Paton's departure for England in 1927 and the brief interim period of service rendered by Nicol Macnicol, Hodge became the new Secretary of the N.C.C. in 1929, coinciding with the selection of Bishop Azariah as its President. As an Indian bishop and a Scottish secretary they formed a unique and balanced team for the Indian scene. Together they were one of the reasons for the awakened "revival of the Evangelistic Forward Movement"¹⁷¹ of the 1930's. It manifested itself in the outgrowth of two major and Both Azariah and Hodge added greatly to a revitalized Christian spirit in movements: 1. Christian Higher Education in India,¹⁷² and 2. Christian Mass Movements in India.¹⁷³ Both Azaria and Hoge added greatly to a revitalized Christian spirit in India, enhanced by their articles and books on Christian Evangelism, Christian Giving and Christian Education.¹⁷⁴ Their endeavours also nurtured a growing consciousness of the National Christian Council, rising above the individual mission churches and serving as church leaders in the interests of the entire

land and for all branches of the Indian Church.

The Tambaram World Missionary Conference of 1938, held near Madras, signified an identity with one of the vigorous younger churches and with the oldest mission work among Protestant societies. The spirit of Tambaram, or "the Wonder of the Church",¹⁷⁵ was truly symptomatic of the mood in India and attested to the Council and the Church's growing influence in the

BISHOPS JOHANNES SANDEGREN AND STEPHEN NEILL AWAY

The Tambaram gathering had focused greater attention on the Church in India. Countless delegates, representatives and friends of the Church, particularly in South India, were able to attend and gain the spirit of the world body in session. Some even attended merely for a day.¹⁷⁸ Many secondary conferences were held either prior to or following Tambaram, affording the local churches the opportunity of having foreign dignitaries in their midst.¹⁷⁹ Yet the presence of many Indian Church leaders at the world session was essential, acting both as conference delegates and as hosts. Furloughs were not taken or postponed till 1939.

As the war machinery of the Third Reich moved into Poland and war was declared against Nazi Germany in September, 1939, two of India's significant church heads were not in the country; they were on furlough in Europe. Two of the German missionaries' closest friends were Johannes Sandegren, Bishop of Tranquebar of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, and Stephen Neill, Bishop of Tinnevely and Madura of the Church of India. Both Sandegren and Neill, each in his section of South India, had "a rather special intimacy

universal body of Christ. The Proceedings of the N.C.C. of April 12-13, 1939,¹⁷⁶ with the subsequent overtures of July and August with the Home Department,¹⁷⁷ and the working relationship with the secular powers, were to some extent motivated by the knowledgeable N.C.C. leaders. Two better-qualified men, than Bishop Azariah and Hodge, could scarcely have been found to handle the question of the German Missions.

with ... the German missionaries in India."¹⁸⁰

Both were not able to give these men their close assistance. The Bishop of Tranquebar was home in Sweden, arriving "in June (1939) for a well deserved furlough."¹⁸¹ Sandegren had hoped to return to the mission church within the year. The bishop's flock now was under wartime conditions, and in his absence the able Pastor Appadurai had carried on for him.¹⁸² Sandegren had written;

... when a war breaks out, a completely new situation arises, presenting new demands on the leader of the Church. Therefore I suggested at the outbreak of the war to the Missions Board that I should return immediately. ... But the Missions Board desired that I should remain at home, until it could take a position regarding certain problems to the work in India.¹⁸³

There may have been personal reasons for advising Sandegren to remain in neutral Sweden. "Regarding certain problems to the work in India," one factor may have been the nationality of his mother. Theodora Kremmer was the daughter of the former Leipzig missionary C.F. Kremmer of Madras, and it was advisable to be cautious regarding national identities.¹⁸⁴ At any

rate, Sandegren was greatly missed as the German brethren of the Leipzig Mission were interned.

On October 15th, 1940, Sandegren and his wife departed from Sweden to cross over Russia and journey on towards India.¹⁸⁵ Once in Bombay on November 20th, 1940,¹⁸⁶ he was back in the land of his birth and the mission work of his father and grandfather, as well as in his adopted church with the Tamil people. He resumed his duties as Bishop of the T.E.L. Church, but he also began an unparalleled ministry in caring for the German brethren and their families, when the political tensions fostered unduly many complications and suspicions.¹⁸⁷

The other influential church leader who assisted the German missionaries as an "intermediary with the British Government"¹⁸⁸ was the Bishop of Tinnevely and Madura. World War II found Stephen Neill on leave from his diocese at Coverack in Cornwall. For him the outbreak of a war in Europe signified an unfavourable course for the German Missions workers.¹⁸⁹ From his Cornwall retreat Neill wrote to Paton, expressing his concern about what appeared as another disaster in Christian Missions. He knew the situation in South India and the German Missions,¹⁹⁰ "particularly those of the Basel Mission."¹⁹¹ Neill wrote in his letter;

... I know that they will regard it as a misfortune that I was out of India when the war was started. Almost to a man they belong to the Confessional Church, and are anti-Hitler at least as far as his aggressive policy is concerned.¹⁹²

His desire was to aid in whatever manner he could, or at least to reassure Paton about "the attitude of the German missionaries in South India."¹⁹³ Paton responded at once in informing him that "the mission-

aries had been informed" about internment, and indicated: "I do not think it is possible to question the taking of this step, at least in the first instance."¹⁹⁴ The I.M.C. Secretary stated among other things that it was "necessary for them to round up everybody," with the hopes that "at least some of the people" would be released as the next stage.¹⁹⁵

Yet for Stephen Neill, born on December 31st, 1900, in Edinburgh and having Scottish associations, he identified himself with the German men. He answered Paton;

I am grieved to hear that in all probability the missionaries have been interned; this is what I hoped it might have been possible to avoid, but from what leaked out in the September crisis last year, I was afraid that they had planned to take immediate action: and I cannot but fear that the results will be harmful, even though some or all are later released.¹⁹⁶

Neill's words did not have to be those of a prophet. He had genuine fears stemming from a knowledge and the association with the German Missions' personnel and what they endured in World War I. His "fear that the results will be harmful"¹⁹⁷ would be verified as the war continued and as the situation worsened. To Paton he expressed his intention to contact Mr. Zetland at Whitehall, London, in the hopes of contributing his "personal knowledge of the point of view of missionaries themselves."¹⁹⁸ In a still further letter to Paton, he wrote: "In point of fact, they are almost refugees, - that is to say they loathe Hitlerism, while yet remaining utterly patriotic Germans."¹⁹⁹ And Neill expressed the hope: "I trust myself that there is an overwhelming case for letting the missionaries of that type carry on with their work."²⁰⁰ Only the course of events would indicate how harmful the internment would be for the German families and what effect it

would have for their future work in British

India.

‘SITUATION CREATED BY THE WAR’

The National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon had agreed in April, 1939, to bring its Executive Committee together in the event of war.²⁰¹ Thus, September 27th – 29th, the Committee members assembled at the N.C.C. headquarters of Nagpur to consider the uncomfortable situation in the Indian Church caused by a war.²⁰² The N.C.C. was better prepared than the National Missionary Council in the years 1914-1918. The church leaders, Hodge, Bishop Azariah and Dr. Strock, made their reports on what was termed the “Situation created by the War.”²⁰³

Hodge began by stating that the N.C.C. had established a favourable contact with the Home Department and had offered the Council’s guidance and services. He also reported that the N.C.C. had proceeded to inform the Provincial Christian Councils as well as the Mission Societies directly affected, both the German and the neighbouring missions, how these German Missions might be assisted in the event of another war.²⁰⁴

The Executive Committee members were also furnished a general review of the ‘Situation’ in the German Missions;

Supplementary reports were given by Dr. Strock and the Bishop of Dornakal from which it appeared:

(1) The Gossner Field presented the least difficulty. The Church there became autonomous after the last war and the missionaries had been reduced to a handful. The Church Council had invited the Federation of Lutheran Churches to come to their help and the Federation had agreed to do so with the cordial approval of the local Government of Ran-

chi. Financial support was promised from America. Four unmarried ladies were carrying on their work unhindered.

(2) The Schleswig Holstein Mission. Dr. Strock reported that the Federation of Lutheran Churches were accepting responsibility at the request of the interned missionaries. The local arrangements were being made by the Council of the India Mission of the United Lutheran Church in America, with the approval of the interned missionaries and local officials.

(3) The Leipzig Mission. The Church of Sweden Mission jointly with the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church had undertaken responsibility for this field with the approval of the interned missionaries and the Federation of Lutheran Churches. In this case it was expected that further help from outside sources would be needed.

(4) The Basel Mission. The Bishop of Dornakal reported fully on the situation and suggested ways in which the help of the Council might be given. The chief task would be to strengthen the hands of the Swiss missionaries who are now in charge of the work.²⁰⁵

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee indicate that a number of resolutions were adopted;

(1) (It) ... appreciates the desire of Government that mission work in areas directly affected by the war should be fully maintained and undertakes to render every possible help in this connection.

(2) It approves the initial steps already taken by the Secretariat of the Council.

(3) It gratefully acknowledges the ready response made by the Provincial Christian Councils, the Federation of Lutheran Churches in India, the Council of India Mission of the United Lutheran Church in America, the

Church of Sweden Mission, the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Christian forces in India generally to the request for co-operation made by the officers of the N.C.C.

(4) It approves the ... interim arrangements and commends them to the sanction of Government. ...²⁰⁶

Further, the Committee welcomed these suggestions:

1. That immediate steps be taken to arrange for an outstanding British missionary to take up residence within the (Basel Mission) area and share with the Swiss missionaries the supervision of the work, ... to secure an English manager for the Basel Mission Press, that ... the Government of India be asked to recognize it as a Mission of a neutral country, (and) that the Government of India be asked to ratify the formation of the Trust Association of the Church. ...

2. In view of the many difficult questions arising out of the situation that Mr. Hodge be instructed to seek an interview with the Home Department. ...

3. That ... he (Hodge) draw attention to ... the desirability of local officials following a uniform and considerate procedure in their treatment of interned missionaries and their wives and families, the unmarried ladies, and the other missionaries that have been allowed to remain at their posts. ...

4. That Government be advised, when malicious rumours regarding missionaries of enemy nationality reach them, to refer to the N.C.C. before taking action.

5. That special consideration be given to the case of those missionaries whose length of service in India and unquestioned loyalty make their presence among their Indian Christian brethren most desirable at this time.²⁰⁷

Focusing on the 'Situation created by the War', the Committee members prepared "A Message to the Churches."²⁰⁸

The National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon expresses its pain and sorrow at the outbreak of war in Europe. It realises that this tragic event will involve ... untold loss and sufferings ... by all countries of the world. Churches and Missions in all lands will be affected. The Council therefore calls upon all Churches to give themselves steadfastly to prayer, and an earnest endeavour to uproot the causes of war. ...

Through this message the Council desires to convey its sympathy, and that of Christians in India generally, to the Churches and Missions whose work in certain areas has been affected by restrictions imposed by war conditions. It assures all individuals, institutions, local Missions and Churches of its resolve to do all in its power to minimise the losses, sufferings and dislocations caused by the state of war and to see that their work is not allowed to suffer. ...

The Council remembers with kindly feelings missionaries of German nationality – fellow-workers in the Gospel – who have been interned, and expresses its deep sorrow that the cruel ordeal of war has necessitated their separation from their families and from the work to which they had given their lives. ...

'If one member suffereth, all the members of the Body suffer with it.' The Council therefore appeals to all Churches to respond generously to calls for help by giving their moral and material support whenever such calls are made. ...²⁰⁹

The N.C.C. message of concern, appeal and intention was a befitting reminder to all Christians in India;

These days of crisis and opportunity summon the Church in India to accept new and heavier responsibilities. They call Christians of all communions to a deeper loyalty to their Lord, to the launching out on new and indigenous ventures in evangelism and other church activities. ...²¹⁰

This was to be the message and the test of the Church now.

DELHI – OCTOBER 16TH, 1939

Through pre-arrangement J.Z. Hodge travelled to New Delhi to meet with Mr. E. Conran-Smith, Head of the Home Office of the Government of India, on October 16th. Hodge found him “very friendly and made me his guest for the day.”²¹¹ Since Conran-Smith was “a former Madras civilian he was familiar with conditions in South India and Malabar.”²¹² Hodge conveyed to him the activities of the N.C.C. and described the arrangements made for the four German Missions in India. In the case of each Mission, he raised points which might assist the churches in the absence of their missionaries. Cardinal for the continuing work of the German Mission churches and an enduring stability, was the requisite of gaining the release of certain German men, particularly those with long years of service and with unquestioned loyalty.²¹³ Hodge appealed for the release of those brethren whom he knew personally. He “entered a plea for the release of the Rev. J. Stosch, President of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church, and received an assurance that his case would receive sympathetic consideration.”²¹⁴ He also “urged Government to consider favourably the request made for the release of Mr. Meyer ... of the Schleswig Holstein Mission,” and then “expressed the hope that special consideration would be given to the case of Dr. Gaebler, the Secretary of the (Leipzig) Mission.”²¹⁵ There was no mention of a German Basel missionary.

The discussion on the Basel Society focused on the national character of the Mission. Hodge pointed out that though it was Swiss in name and headquarters, the Society had derived “most of its support in men and money from Germany.”²¹⁶ For

reasons of the war it sought to be recognized as a Swiss and neutral Mission.

Government warmly welcomed our proposals (a) to invite the Rev. J.H. Maclean, D.D., or some other distinguished British missionary, to reside within the area and help the present missionaries by his counsel, and (b) to secure the services of an English Manager for the Basel Mission Press, ... Mr. Matthews, Assistant Manager of the Wesley Press, Mysore.
...²¹⁷

Though Hodge’s visit with Conran-Smith at Delhi was to be regarded as an informative meeting, the N.C.C. desired to make its position lucid. Hodge had a mandate to seek the release of the interned missionaries, and he could report:

... I was assured that when the matter was taken up special cases would be specially considered, and I was asked to submit a list, accompanied by convincing reasons for release in each case. What Government is mainly concerned with is not the exigencies of the work, but the conscious or unconscious influence the presence of (a) missionary may exert in developing an attitude of sympathy with the Nazi Government among the people. No missionary, I gathered, was likely to be released unless he disavowed all sympathy with Naziism. Government is now sifting the case of Jewish refugees; the question of the release of German nationals will be taken up later.²¹⁸

Under miscellaneous items, Hodge entered a plea that in the event of repatriation to Germany the families should not be separated as in World War I.²¹⁹ Hodge came away from New Delhi assured “that Government desired both the well-being of the missionaries and the maintenance of their work and welcomed the advice of the Council.”²²⁰

THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER

During November the N.C.C. Secretary made two further visits which were strategically important for reassuring a humanitarian course for the German families and in the interest of the mission churches. Hodge's visit to the Basel Mission from November 7-11,²²¹ and a second interview with the Home Department on November 15th were executive in nature; at the same time he provided Government with additional knowledge and guidance. In the opening weeks of the war and the bargaining for the release of the German men, one cannot forget the many other mission fellow-workers and the German missionary wives who faithfully took up the duties and concerns of the mission churches.

Hodge's visit to the Basel Mission field and the Synod session of the three Basel churches provided him a rare but helpful contact with the remaining Swiss brethren Streckeisen, Burkhardt and Noverraz, as well as with "many of the Indian pastors and leading laymen."²²² He also confirmed the presence of Dr. & Mrs. Maclean at the Mission headquarters of Mangalore, and that "Mr. Matthews should take over the managership of the Basel Mission Press."²²³ There Hodge met the German ladies and heard their complaints. Through a meeting with the District Collector, Hodge, with Streckeisen and Maclean, managed to help relax the restrictions for these ladies of the Mission.²²⁴

The other principal visit was Hodge's second interview with the Home Department on November 15th, again in New Delhi. On this occasion Hodge was "received by the Hon. F.H. Puckle, who was equally gracious. Mr. H.F. Frampton, Deputy Secre-

tary, and Mr. Cook, Controller of Enemy Property, were also present."²²⁵ Once more the crucial question of the discussion was to gain the release of the German men. Questions pertaining to the changed status of the Basel Mission, German Mission properties, personal allowances and repatriation were also raised. Hodge made these notes;

1. At the outset, Mr. Puckle informed me that Government had now decided on their policy. They were prepared to release on parole, with no exacting conditions, all missionaries and other German nationals whose loyalty to the Government in India was above suspicion and against whom no adverse reports had been received. ...

2. The procedure preparatory to release would be the same as that followed in the case of interned Jewish refugees. Each case would be investigated by the Commission of Enquiry, presided over by Sir Malcolm Darling, and if the Commission is satisfied that there is nothing to the detriment of the Missionary, he will be allowed to return to his post without any further delay. Other German nationals will be similarly treated and the process of investigation and release is therefore likely to take some time.²²⁶

In all, Hodge gained a "very satisfactory and rather different impression from the October 16th meeting."²²⁷

The application of the 'principle of discrimination' meant that the Government of India's policy of investigation, to be executed by the Darling Commission of Enquiry, could eventually lead to the releases.²²⁸ This investigation or interrogation, and the gradual release of the German brethren, were staged at the Ahmadnagar Camp. There the Darling chapter unfolded.

FOOTNOTES

1. Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1950), p. 353.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Siegfried Knak, "The German Missionaries In War Time," (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 1940) p. 1.
5. Stephen Neill, *The Pelican History of the Church: 6 Christian Missions* (Baltimore. Md.: Penguin Books, 1964, p. 276.
6. World Missionary Conference, *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions* (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference, 1910), p. 107.
7. Edna Margaret Long, "Along Life's Highways," *The Church in the Home* (Philadelphia: United Church Press, April-June, 1966), p. 79.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham, Bavaria: 28 July, 1966), Tr. p. 6.
12. Long, loc. cit.
13. Johannes Wagner, P.I. (Hasede: 16 July, 1972), Tr. p. 4.
14. Long, loc. cit.
15. Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973) Tr. p. 5.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Martin Weishaupt, "Neue Nachrichten aus unserer Mission," *Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionsblatt* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evang.-luth. Mission zu Leipzig, 1939), p. 260.18. Walter Freytag, "Umschau," *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1940), p. 909.19. Margaret Finch, "A Message from India," *The Friend* (London: Friends House, Euston Street, 1939), p. 909.
20. C. Collin Davies, *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 34.
21. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 281; Davies, op. cit., pp. 33-5.
22. H.H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1934), p. 176. All five Deccan states were Muslim kingdoms.
23. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday and Co., 1956), p. 139.
24. Dodwell, op. cit., pp. 374–375.
25. Smith, op. cit., p. 295.
26. John Clark Marshman, *Abridgement of the History of India* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1905), p. 89. The description of Beejapore (Bijapur), in Marshman's words, is altogether in the superlative; "The majestic ruins of the palaces in the citadel, and of the mosques and tombs in the city, after two centuries of decay in an Indian climate, still attract the admiration of the traveller. 'The chief feature in the scene is the mausoleum of Mahomed Adil Shah (1626-56), the dome of which, like the dome of St. Peter's, fills the eye from every point of view, and though entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonises with the wreck and desolation around it. One is at a loss on seeing these ruins,

to conjecture how so small a state could have maintained such a capital’.”

27. Smith, op. cit., p. 301.

28. National Atlas of India. “Bombay Plate 144,” (Calcutta: National Atlas Organization, 1961).

29. Smith, op. cit., p. 405; Marshman, op. cit., p. 70.

30. Ibid. p. 256; Brian Gardner, *The East India Company* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971), p. 33.

31. Marshman, op. cit., p. 266.

32. Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), Vol. II, *South’ Africa 1870-1966*, p. 328.

33. Georg Haccius, *Hannover’sche Missionsgeschichte (1865 bis Gegenwart)*; Hermannsburg: Hermannsburger Missionsbuch-handlung, 1920), Vol. 3, p. 11.

34. Selma Heller, P.I. (Erlangen: 28 May, 1970), Tr. p. 12.

35. Paul Gäbler, P.I. (Erlangen: 9 November, 1970), Tr. p. 3.

36. Wagner, loc. cit.

37. Weishaupt, “Ahmednagar” by Carl Ihmels, ojj. cit.. p. 261.

38. Albrecht Oepke, *Ahmednagar und Golconda* (Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling und Franke, 1918), pp. 53-55.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.. “Kriegsgefangen in Indien” by A. Hübener, pp. 132-133. It is interesting to note that Hübener was a German-American missionary who provided this descriptive account of a very sad chapter of Christian Missions in India.

41. Haccius, op. cit.. pp. 582-583.

42. Sir Malcolm Darling, Letter to H.F. Frampton (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 17 November, 1939). Frampton was Deputy Secretary of the Home Department of the Indian Government.

43. Heller, op. cit.. p. 1.

44. Friedrich Hübner, P.I. (Kiel: 25 September, 1970) Tr.p.4.

45. Weishaupt, “Unser indisches Missionsfeld 1939/40” by Carl Ihmels, op. cit., p. 100.

46. Wagner, loc. cit.

47. Hans Lokies, “Der erste Brief unseres Missionspräses Lic. Stosch aus dem Internierungslager,” *Die Biene Auf Dem Missionsfelde* (Berlin-Friedenau: Verlag der Gossnerschen Mission, 1939), p. 126.

48. William Paton, Letter to the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 14 September, 1939), p. 2.

49. Selma Heller, List of Satara Children (Appendix section).

50. Reimer Speck, P.I. (Molfsee: 25 September, 1970) Tr. p.7.

51. Athelstan Ridgway, *Everyman’s Encyclopaedia* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1949-50), p. 181, under “Ahmednagar”.

52. Gäbler, op. cit., p. 4. Missionary Speck gave a comparable description of the camp surroundings.

53. Oskar Gans, P.I. (Erlangen: 7 March, 1973), Tr. p. 3.

54. Tucher, op. cit., p. 2.

55. Ibid.; Otto Tiedt, P.I. (Erlangen: 27 September, 1973), Tr. p. 8.

56. Gäbler, loc. cit.; Johannes Daub, P.I. (Oberaula: 26 May, 1973), Tr. pp. 7-8. The Basel missionary Daub remembered, “We had to throw up our own tents. It wasn’t a pleasant task. And then we had a huge downpour of rain; and there we stood with our feet in water.”

57. Ibid.. p. 7. Daub added, “Und schliesslich kam dann Streckeisen tatsächlich mal nach Ahmadnagar nach Monaten. Na ja. ...”

58. H. Huppenbauer, “Nachrichtenteil,” *Per Evangelische Heidenbote* (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1939), p. 187, Stuttgart edit., p. 151.

59. Walter Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, England: 6 July, 1966), Tr. p. 3.

60. Tucher, loc. cit.
61. Ibid.
62. Lokies, loc. cit.
63. Ibid., p. 132.
64. Gans, loc. cit.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p. 1; Tucher, op. cit., p. 3; Fabisch, op. cit. p.4.
67. Gans, op. cit., p. 3.
68. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham: 29 December, 1969), Tr. p. 2. This was the second interview with the writer's father and with a greater emphasis on the German missionary families during wartime.
69. Ibid., p. 3.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 2.
73. Lokies, "Nachrichten aus Indien" (from Reimer Speck, 1940), op. cit., p. 16.
74. Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 4; Tucher, loc. cit.; Daub, loc. cit.; William Paton and M.M. Underhill, eds., *The International Review of Missions* (London: Edinburgh House, April, 1940), p. iii.
75. Lohse, loc. cit.
76. Daub, loc. cit.
77. Tucher, loc. cit.
78. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Erlangen: 10 April, 1975). This was more a comment out of his personal recollections and the discussion was not taped.
79. Daub, op. cit., p. 5.
80. Ibid., p. 7.
81. Detlef Bracker, Marlene, *Eine Missionsfrau* (Brekum: Verlag Missionsbuchhandlung Breklum G.m.b.H, 1940), p. 65. This little work of 70 pages, written by the Breklum Mission director over his own daughter's life and sudden death in India, has many invaluable descriptions and personal accounts of the missionary life in the 1930's, conveyed to a large extent through the letters which Marlene wrote before and during the war. She was married to Rudolf Tauscher. In camp the brethren "konnten sich wissenschaftlich betätigen."
82. Daub, loc. cit.
83. Gans, op. cit., p. 4.
84. Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 3.
85. Borutta, loc. cit.
86. Ibid.
87. Karl Bareiss, P.I. (Ebingen: 23 May, 1973), Tr. p. 4.
88. Gans, loc. cit.; Weishaupt, "Unser indisches Missionsfeld 1939/40" by Carl Ihmels, (ELMB, 1940), op. cit., p. 100. Ihmels presents the reassuring note 'that in most ways the general conditions at Ahmadnagar had improved over the World War I era.
89. Hermann Palm, P.I. (Böhringen: 13 June, 1973), Tr. p. 8.
90. Lokies, "Briefe aus Indien" (Frau T. Jellinghaus, 1940), op. cit., p. 6.
91. From postcards and envelopes, as memorabilia from World War II (Appendix section); Marianne Brooke, Letter to writer (26 February, 1975). She commented on Frau Erika Schneider-Filchner's efforts towards "a documentation she is compiling for the "Forschungsgemeinschaft Indien," a branch of the "Philatelisten Verein."
92. Palm, loc. cit.
93. Huppenbauer, (1940), op. cit., p. 13.
94. Adolf Streckeisen, Letter to Alfons Koechlin (Basel: BML, 31 October, 1939).
95. Gans, loc. cit.
96. Palm, loc. cit.
97. Gans, op. cit., p. 3.
98. Ibid.
99. Kurt Schmitt, *Drittes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien; Die Internierungslager auf Ceylon und Jamaica* (Berlin:

- Auswärtiges Amt, Government of Germany, State January, 1941), p. 1.
100. Lokies, "Nachrichten aus Indien" (Speck, 1940), op. cit., p. 16.
101. Gäbler, op. cit., p. 5.
102. Palm, loc. cit.
103. Gans, op. cit., p. 4.
104. J.Z. Hodge, "Statement by Mr. Hodge," Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the N.C.C. (Nagpur: Office of the N.C.C., 28 December, 1939 – 2 January, 1940). p. 31; also related by Paton & Underhill, (January, 1941), op. cit., p. 109.
105. Speck, loc. cit.
106. J.Z. Hodge, The War and the N.C.C. (Nagpur: N.C.C, 31 July, 1941), p. 6.
107. Streckeisen, loc. cit. Koechlin's reply of 19 December, 1939, to Streckeisen noted, "For the interned male missionaries we agree with the allowance of 20-30 Rupees a month, as it will seem right to you."
108. Lokies, op. cit., pp. 6-7, 96.
109. Speck, loc. cit.
110. Tucher, 1966, op. cit., p. 3
111. Wagner, op. cit., p. 6.
112. Tucher, op. cit., p. 2
113. Tucher, 1969, loc. cit.
114. Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1970), Tr. p. 11; Speck, op. cit., p. 10; Tucher, op. cit., p. 3.
115. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 10.
116. Ibid.
117. William Paton, Letter to Sir Findlater Stewart (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 13 July, 1939).
118. William Paton, Letter to Stephen Neill (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, 13 September, 1939).
119. Paton, Letter to Stewart, loc. cit.
120. Paton & Underhill, loc. cit.
121. Paton, Letter to Stewart, loc. cit.
122. E. Conran-Smith, Letter to J.Z. Hodge (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, 3 August, 1939).
123. Home Department of Government of India, German Christian Missions (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, & London: IOLR, August, 1939), pp. 1-2.
124. J.Z. Hodge, Letter to E. Conran-Smith (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 11 August, 1939).
125. Ministry of Information, Summary of Proceedings at Meeting with Representatives of Missionary Societies (London: Senate House, 14 September, 1939, and Geneva: WCCA – IMC File), p. 6.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.
128. Paton, Letter to MacDonald, op. cit., p. 1.
129. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
130. Ibid.
131. Stephen Neill. Letter to William Paton (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 14 September, 1939).
132. Paton, Letter to MacDonald, op. cit., p. 2.
133. Ibid.
134. Ibid.
135. Ministry of Information, Copy of Minutes, with Reference to the work of the Religions Division (London: Senate House, and Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 18 September, 1939).
136. Ministry of Information, "Liaison Arrangements," Conference at the Indian Office (London: IOLR – P & J File 39–3436/38, and Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, 20 September, 1939).
137. Ibid., p. 1.
138. Ibid., p. 2.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
141. Ibid., p. 3.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid., p. 4.
144. Ibid.

145. William Paton, Approved Draft (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, and London: IOLR – P & J File, 5150 (3408/39), 18 October, 1939), p. 1.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Ministry of Information, loc. cit.
149. J.Z. Hodge, Bishop Azariah of Dornakal (Madras, Bangalore & Mysore! The Christian Literature Society for India, 1946), p. 4. It is worth noting that these were the words of the Scotsman Hodge, and one might also emphasize the fact that the first shot in the campaign against missionary imperialism took place in Scotland.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid., p. 5.
152. Ibid.
153. Kaj Baago, National Christian Council of India. 1914-1964 (Nagpur: Christian Council Lodge, 1964), p. 30. Refer to the Proceedings of the N.C.C., 1920, p. 17.
154. Baago, loc. cit.
155. Cecil John Grimes, Towards An Indian Church (London, Northumberland Avenue: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946), p. 90. Grimes added, "The first bishop, Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah, was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on December 29th, 1912."
156. Hodge, op. cit., p. 8.
157. Baago, loc. cit. 158. Hodge, op. cit., p. 48. In reference to the life and work of the Bishop of Dornakal, in the Oekumenische Profile, edited by Günter Gloede (Stuttgart: Evang. Missionsverlag, GmbH, 1963, Vol. II), the Basel missionary Theodor Lorich provides an excellent biographical chapter on Azariah, "Der erste indische Bischof," gained primarily from his personal acquaintance with the leading Indian Church statesman. It may be particularly helpful for the German reader. 159. Baago, op. cit., p. 35.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid.
163. Fischer, op. cit., p. 155.
164. Ibid.
165. Baago, loc. cit.
166. Fischer, loc. cit.
167. Baago, op. cit., pp. 24-25, C.H. Swavely, ed., The Lutheran Interprise in India 1706-1952 (Madras: Diocesan Press, 1952), "The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church 1845" by Joel Lakra, p. 60.
168. Baago, op. cit., p. 25.
169. Ibid., p. 26.
170. Swavely (Lakra), op. cit., p. 62.
171. Baago, op. cit., p. 50.
172. Articles and works were constantly appearing on the subject of Christian Education, and the Church leaders as Bishop Azariah, J.Z. Hodge, John McKenzie, Alice Van Doren, Rajah Manikam and others, primarily through the NCCR, the IRM or their own publications, made India increasingly conscious of the task.
173. Similarly, Christian Mass Movements in India, the title given by Jarrell Waskom Pickett, or the theme of John R. Mott's efforts, emphasized the renewed intensity in the Church in India, "Christ in the Indian Villages" (Azariah), "Evangelism in India" (Hodge), "Ways of Evangelism" (R. Scott), etc.
174. Bishop Azariah devoted much of his energies to making the Indian Church come of age and independent. His most significant work - Christian Giving: A Series of Studies in Christian Stewardship (Madras: Christian Literature Society for India, 1939) - has scarcely an equal. The Bishop of Dornakal emphasized and discussed the issue, "Self-support: False and True," in the IRM (July, 1938), pp. 361-371.
175. Martin Schlunk, ed., Das Wunder der Kirche unter den Völkern der Erde (Bericht über Weltmissions-Konferenz in Tambaram (Südindien), Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1939).
176. Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the N.C.C. (Nagpur: NCC, 12-13 April, 1939).

177. Hodge, Letter to Conran-Smith, loc. cit.; Conran-Smith, loc. cit.
178. Borutta, op. cit., p. 2.
179. Weishaupt, ("Missionarskonferenzen in Tranquebar" by Luise Frölich, Juni, 1939) op. cit., p. 145; Lokies, "Mitteilungen aus der Arbeit," (March, 1939), op. cit., p. 35.
180. Stephen Neill, Letter to William Paton (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, 11 September, 1939).
181. Knut Westman, Letter to William Paton (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 19 October, 1939).
182. Weishaupt, "Vor der Ausreise nach Indien" by Johannes Sandegren, December, 1940), op. cit., p. 131; Westman, loc. cit.
183. Weishaupt (Sandegren), loc. cit.
184. Swavelly, ("The Church of Sweden Mission in India, 1874" by Sigfrid Estborn), op. cit., p. 128; Weishaupt, loc. cit. In this connection Estborn wrote, "In 1869 another Swedish Missionary, C.J. Sandegren, came and joined the Mission. He was a very able man with eminent gifts as a leader. When he married Theodora Kremmer, a daughter of one of the prominent German missionaries, he became more intimately connected with the Leipzig Mission. The fact that the Sandegren family is 50 percent German and 50 percent Swedish has not been without significance for the relations between the two missions in subsequent years."
185. Weishaupt, ("Von Stockholm nach Teheran" by Johannes Sandegren, January, 1941), op. cit., p. 3.
186. Ibid., (Über den Persischen Meerbusen nach Indien" by Johannes Sandegren, May, 1941), p. 60.
187. Gäbler, loc. cit.; Johannes Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 15.
188. Stephen Neill, Letter to William Paton (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, 19 September, 1939).
189. Neill, Paton Letter of 11 September, loc. cit.
190. Gloede, ("Stephen Neill, Europäer und Weltbürger" by Cecil Northcott), op. cit., p. 105.
191. Neill, loc. cit.
192. Ibid.
193. Neill, Paton Letter of 19 September, loc. cit.
194. Paton, Neill Letter, loc. cit.
195. Ibid.
196. Neill, Paton Letter of 14 September, loc. cit.
197. Ibid. In using the term "harmful", Neill could also have been concerned for the ecumenical possibilities of a United Church of South India.
198. Ibid.
199. Neill, Paton Letter of 19 September, loc. cit.
200. Ibid.
201. Hodge, Conran-Smith Letter, loc. cit.
202. J.Z. Hodge, "Situation Created By The War," Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon (Nagpur: N.C.C, 27-29 September, 1939), p. 3.
203. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
204. Ibid., p. 4.
205. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
206. Ibid., p. 5.
207. Ibid., p. 6.
208. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid., p. 7.
211. J.Z. Hodge, Government and German Missions (Nagpur: N.C.C. Offices, 16 October, 1939, (Meeting with E. Conran-Smith)), p. 1.
212. Ibid.
213. Hodge, "Situation Created By The War," op. cit., p. 6.
214. Hodge, Government & German Missions, loc. cit.
215. Ibid., p. 2.
216. Ibid.
217. Ibid., p. 3.
218. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

219. Ibid. p. 4; Oepke, op. cit., pp. 53-55, indicates through the statistics on these pages how the German families were separated when they were transported home to Germany. Also, Friedrich Hübner, op. cit., p. 5, in this connection pointed to the separation within the German missionary families during World War I.

220. Hodge, "Statement by Mr. Hodge," op. cit., p. 29.

221. J.Z. Hodge, German Missions and Other Matters (Nagpur: N.C.C, 15 November, 1939, Meeting with Home Department officials, pp. 1-2; Hodge (Statement by Mr. Hodge), loc. cit.

222. Ibid.; Alfons Koechlin, Letter to William Paton (Geneva: WCCA – IMC File, and Basel: BML, 16 December, 1939), p. 3.

223. Hodge, "Statement by Mr. Hodge," loc. cit.

224. Ibid., p. 30.

225. Hodge, German Missions, op. cit., p. 1.

226. Ibid.; Hodge, "Statement by Mr. Hodge," op. cit., p. 30.

227. Hodge, German Missions, loc. cit.

228. Ministry of Information, 14 and 18 September, 1939, loc. cit.

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