

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

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EXTRACTS

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III AHMEDNAGAR

*“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 quickened 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 imperium, ... 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 ministries 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 Ahmad-nagar, or Ahmed-nagar, 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 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 Ahmednagar 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:

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.

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 encamped 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 solidarity 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 enhanced 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 Ahmadnagar 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 Ahmadnagar 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 Streckisen 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

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.

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 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 sympathetically 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', so-called."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 sincerity 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 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.

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 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 missionaries 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 Ranchi. 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 Secretary, 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.
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: Hermannsburgers 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 Streckreisen 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 Lorch 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. Swavely, ("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.

XI CAMPUS TEUTONICUS AT DEHRA DUN

For over five years, from October, 1941 through November, 1946, the Central Internment Camp for British India was located at Premnagar, near Dehra Dun, in the United Provinces. It was the first major camp which had not been associated to or converted from a cantonment, e.g. Ahmadnagar, Deolali, St. Thomas Mount, etc. To the northwest of Dehra Dun there were several small cantonments, or barracks called "Lines,"¹ three at least for the special Gurkha troops, who would primarily be the guards for the detention settlement. This internment camp offered a concrete dimension, in that it was constructed to accommodate the foreign civil prisoners of war in India and from other 2 parts of Asia.²

The location of the "small town of camps"³ at Premnagar was likely selected for military and climatic reasons;

In north Hindustan, at the foot of the highest mountains of the world, lies Dehra Dun, not far from the mountain kingdom of Nepal. The city extends itself against the gradually protracted, splendidly contoured chain of (the Swalik) foot-hills. Like a stone curtain the foot-hills conceal the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas.⁴

The 'representative group' of the internees, under Oswald Urchs's leadership, in August had been impressed by the attractive environment with the backdrop of the mountains.⁵ The camp itself, with its thatched roofs, seemed acceptable, and the location, in contrast to Deolali, was a great improvement. There was one unquestionable feature to the central internment camp, namely, "there were only permanent huts."⁶ This implied that for those entering the Premnagar Camp, it was the final station in the prolonged internment period of World War II.

The first impressions which this detention settlement had upon the internees seem overwhelming. One German wrote home: "Es sieht fast aus wie ein niedersächsisches Dorf."⁷ - others remembered the camp as a "village in Friesland,"⁸ - part of the State of Lower Saxony. Christian Lohse (Breklum) noted: "This was a straw-roofed camp, and I must say, it was very reasonable. The area was not so large as in Deolali (II) and Ahmadnagar, but it was quite bearable."⁹ One internee mentioned, that

... when we came there, we converted one barrack into a canteen ... (and) called it: "Der Falsche Friese" (the False Frise), because it was everything else but a Friesendorf, excepting that there was straw on the roofs of the buildings.¹⁰

The canteen of the German wing carried the name and some of the atmosphere of a Friesendorf; scenes of Germany were painted on the walls, and beer was available.¹¹

Thus, at the foot of the Himalaya mountains,

Under the tropical sun, between tea gardens and bush, row upon row of flat-reed, thatched-roof barracks were laid out on a former arable field. The straw roofs reach deep down to the ground and leave a cave-like semi-darkness around the buildings. Only isolated trees tower upwards; carrion birds looking for garbage sit in the branches. Otherwise one sees shrubs, allotment gardens, runs (as for animals), long rows of latrines. There are neither women nor children there, but otherwise a colourful population thrown together; for next to the Germans live the Italians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Finns; and together here they idle their time away. The Germans, from all the countries between Iraq and Hongkong, were by far the largest majority.¹²

The Premnagar Internment Camp

... was divided into sections or 'Wings' (Flügel), of which there were a total of seven. These Wings were separated by high, doubled barbed-wire fences which formed gangways (aisles) in the style of the outer, surrounding fences.¹³

"The Germans of the Reich, those who had been residents in British India, were quartered in Wing 1."¹⁴ Of course the internees termed it the "Campus Teutonicus", while to either side there were the "Campus

Italicus" and the "Campus Judaicus".¹⁵ The latter only signified how many German Jewish men still were interned. "In Wing 3 there were about 270 older and sick internees."¹⁶ There was one wing for the Indian political prisoners, and in another one there were the Germans from the Dutch East Indies.¹⁷ And then there was one wing which was called "the Vatican City, ... so-called because the Italian priests were held there as prisoners."¹⁸ In general there were about 500 internees to a wing; thus besides the necessary functional buildings, there were "approximately 14 barracks, each occupied by about 40 men."¹⁹ Johannes Klimkeit remembered: "We were thirty people in the barrack, ... a mixed group."²⁰

The picture of the Friesendorf or the Campus Teutonicus painted by the internees is totally coloured by the length of the stay. In October, 1941, at the Premnagar settlement, Wing 1, eleven Protestant missionaries continued their internment in north India. Among them were the four Breklum men - Hübner, Ahrens, Lohse and Speck; the four Gossner men - Borutta, Jellinghaus, Klimkeit and Wolff; the two Leipzig men Röver and Tiedt; and the Independent from Burma - Dworschak. A year later, September, 1942, Bräsen of the Breklum Mission, and some weeks later Fritz Mack of the Basel Mission also arrived at Dehra Dun, making for 13 German brethren again under first degree detention. For the first above-mentioned eight missionaries, their stay was "quite bearable",²¹ since it was overshadowed by the happy reunions with their wives and families at the Purandhar camp. Their stay had been approximately 14 to 15 months. For the others the Dehra Dun internment remains a tormenting experience in the "city of despair,"²² gauged by the barbed wire and the concentrated nature of the wing within the camp. Lives were affected adversely in the ever-extended months and years at Dehra Dun.

Premnagar had its advantages and disadvantages also. All year round, "the nights offered a fantastic, beautiful sight as the lights of Mussoorie spread over a large area along the mountain range."²³ The winter provided a majestic view of the snow-capped mountains, and the cooler seasons were invigorating. However, in the basin-like valley before the mountains, the hot season of March through June was a marked contrast. An internee wrote on May 28th, 1942:

God be praised that I am still healthy and spared from the acute consequences of this terrible heat, and from which we all seem more or less exhausted. But apparently we have now reached the climax with the 46° C. (115° F.) in the shade and the rainy season is not far ahead.²⁴

Another German described the summer season as following:

In the barracks it was hot as a haybox. The doors and the windows were closed firmly for the day, so that no new heat would penetrate from outside. In the semi-darkness of the long room the sweating bodies of companions stand out, as they sit at the small hand-made tables or lie around on the plank-beds.²⁵

The limitation of space in the separate barracks meant that "one could not make a single move in the camp without being watched by countless eyes."²⁶ The "only place where one could discuss matters without being overheard" was on the sports field.²⁷ What to do and how to do something under the limitations, was nearly everyone's business. A natural, attractive occupation of any prisoner-of-war camp, as at Premnagar, was the business of planning an escape from the 'city of despair'. At various stages there were different groups among the 1.500 Germans finally assembled there.²⁸ The most celebrated fellow-internees at Dehra Dun, through their escapes and reputations in the post-war years, were Heinrich Harrer, Rolf Magener, as well as Peter Aufschnaiter, Heins von Have and others who managed the exemplary escape of April 29th, 1944.²⁹ The Protestant missionaries were not involved in any of the escape plans or ventures.

There were adequate opportunities granted the internees in the training and the preparing for escapes from the camp. Upon the commandant's permission "sufficient freedom"³⁰ for outings or hikes during the day was given the internee. Others, like Heinrich Harrer, found that "the outings certainly served also as a research study of the area around the camp."³¹ Johannes Klimkeit described what had already begun at Ahmadnagar as the practice of outings:

The first regulation, when we started to go out on excursions, was that the commandant ... to begin with sent British soldiers along with us. He gave the orders that the soldiers were always to keep their prisoners, or

their internees, in sight. This meant that we did not have to care whether they came along or not. They had to come along.

We had good food in the camp and we were not tired. And these poor English fellows with their guns had to run after us, ... to keep an eye on their internees. There were Harrer, Aufschnaiter, Schmaderer and Magener, ... they could run over the hills. They were mountaineers.

And when we returned the first day from the outing, these soldiers went to Colonel Williams and informed him: "This is impossible. These Germans have good legs; they don't get tired. They hike like anything and we have to keep them in our sight."³²

Freedom for taking such excursions could only be granted by the commandant; yet the greater part of the month-upon-month schedule, the internee remained behind barbed wire, confined to the barracks, the sports field, the runs and "Der Falsche Friese."

CONTACT IN MANY OTHER FIELDS

The German community of Premnagar was no ordinary fraternity of individuals. Most of these men had an adventuresome spirit and an optimistic outlook on life and the world, whether they represented the field of Christian Missions and the Church - Evangelical Lutheran, Roman Catholic or otherwise, or whether they were in the field of business, research, travel or even refugees from the Nazi tyranny. The Dehra Dun camp offered an assemblage of numerous doctors of theology, philosophy, medicine, dentistry, engineering, etc., a roster from all branches of life and with all levels of education and degrees. Many of these German men were in their training years or labouring in a foreign land for what would likely lead them later into higher positions and responsibilities at home.³³ In fact, many of them had managed through their foreign service to leave behind them the monotonous uniformity and the ideological bigotry of the Nazi totalitarian state. They were not able to disassociate themselves from their 'Vaterland', or even the patriotic and aggressive dreams of the Third Reich, and they were not willing to take up the 'anti-Nazi' banner. Many of these German internees were young men with visions and hopes, and drawn to British India as a land of many possibilities. Though in good health and in good spirit, the camp life restricted them for over a seven-year period.

As in any penal institution, one has little choice but to make the most of his options. Due to the variety of professions, talents and interests, many possibilities were made available. There were the chores to be done and the duties to be carried out, as in the previous camps. In the encounter with men and professions of all branches of life, the opportunity for learning was immense. At Dehra Dun, for example, Hans Röver (Leipzig Mission) "served in the camp as an assistant to the camp dentist."³⁴

Physical exercise and sports played a dominant role in the daily routine of the Wing.³⁵ The camp sport field was one spot where one came in contact with one's neighbour, for reasons of competitive games, but also a place to discuss private matters.³⁶ Here one could excel, join in or even observe the sports events. According to one internee, it seems a Roman Catholic Brother Calixtus was a "most popular person through his sports and through his personal contact with people."³⁷

The Christian missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic, had an excellent opportunity to have "contact in many fields during this time,"³⁸ including other clergymen and theologians. The Roman Catholic clergy and missionaries, alone through their overwhelming number in comparison, cast a great influence on the camp internees. A non-Roman businessman offered his recollections:

The Catholic priests were very much more open-minded. ... They were very social. ... They were much closer to the people in all connections; let us say in playing sports with us or in maintaining a tent where you could have some evening refreshments in the nature of two fried eggs, or a glass ... of something. It was run by the priests. ...³⁹

Such impressions and recollections are coloured by the passage of time, when the months turned into years and the acquaintances became friendships.

Excellent study courses and contacts developed between the Evangelical Lutheran and the Roman Catholic clergy, a contrast to the rivalry and mistrust of each other's missions endeavours and the winning of the other's 'sheep' in the pre-ecumenical period. Friedrich Hübner (Breklum), reflecting on the war years, candidly admitted:

... These seven years in internment camps were, of course, the main training in the whole field of mission work in India, because we met all the other missionaries, Evangelical and Roman Catholic. We did thorough work and had contacts in many fields during this time. Without the seven years of internment I would never have become a Bishop (of Kiel) and never have become a Secretary of the United Lutheran Church in Germany for Foreign Relations, for Mission Work and Diaspora Work, and the Ecumenical Movement.⁴⁰

The contact in these 'training years' proved to be exceedingly beneficial for the missionary as theologian;

For instance we worked for two years thoroughly through the whole Dogmatics together with four professors of the Roman Catholic Ignatius Loyola College in Bombay. This work (was with) . . . Professor Löwenstein, Professor Neuner and Professor Hörmann, ... all very qualified men.⁴¹

The German Lutheran missionaries, detained eight months at Ahmadnagar, a further eight months at Deolali, found ample opportunities at Premnagar for personal and theological studies, as well as Christian fellowship with their Roman brothers in Christ. For confined together, the conditions for mutual studies and understanding between the missionaries seemed more favourable and co-operative in internment than on the actual mission field.

As in everyday life and under the scrutiny of countless eyes, so also in a camp environment, the Christian clergy and missionaries can stand out in their society. Brother Franz Calixtus (Roehl) of the Order of St. Francis, Mount Pointsur, Bombay, is remembered as a helpful and friendly person. Hans Röver, a clergy bachelor of the Leipzig Mission, also stood out as man of Christian character, "a very good man, ... a small chap, but he had a heart of gold."⁴² Many others added personality dimensions to the camp history, yet likely no clergyman stood out in strength and stature as Father Löwenstein.

Scarcely could the Roman Catholic Church in India have had a priest in that era with such qualifications and with a name which bespoke excellent Christian training and German heritage. On one occasion, according to an internee, Father Löwenstein explained the tradition of his family;

... he talked to a group of us in Dehra Dun. And he said: "Well, my family will always be properly located. One of my brothers is a politician, another is a high military man and I am in the Church. Nothing can happen to my family."⁴³

Father or Prince (Fürst) Löwenstein, as he is remembered by the internees, "was an extraordinarily gifted man, a very solid individual."⁴⁴ And were one to combine his many titles, one would have the name of the Reverend Father Professor Dr. Felix Löwenstein Prince of Wiesenthal.⁴⁵

As spokesman and leader of a group of 70 Catholic priests,⁴⁶ he had been "the Superior of the Jesuit Order."⁴⁷ Yet Löwenstein is generally remembered with great affection.⁴⁸ Of a clerical family himself, the non-Roman layman Alfred Brocke commented: "At Ahmadnagar I went rather to the service of Löwenstein than to one of the others. ..."⁴⁹

Otto Tiedt, one of the five Protestant brethren at the camp remaining after January, 1943, recollected the good working relationship and ministry with Father Löwenstein. One example Tiedt narrated:

We were never supplied (the elements) by the Anglican clergyman there. It was always refused us. The army chaplain himself was a heavy drinker. Anyhow we never were able to obtain them. And so we helped ourselves to cups, etc. Of course we managed, ... but we did not have any wafers, nor wine, etc. The

Catholics on the other hand did receive them, and so I petitioned to Prince Löwenstein if we too might obtain them.

So on one occasion he appeared and said: "Here you are, Brother Tiedt; here I have brought you something for your communion. Here are the wafers, though they have been blessed already. You don't have to say it any further." I said: "No, that won't make any difference to us. I will take it and I am grateful to have them." It helped us greatly then.⁵⁰

As the shepherd of his flock in internment, Löwenstein conveyed his leadership qualities in a gentle manner;⁵¹

He made no bones about his absolute, clear-cut opinion against the Nazis, but he did it so cleverly that everybody knew what he meant, though nobody could catch him about not (being a good German, even) the very strict Nazi camp leader, Dr. Oswald Urchs.⁵²

Also attributal to Löwenstein's stature and authority was the feeling that "all these padres were the ones who were actually not co-operating with the Nazis, at least though only as they could do it without having severe problems."⁵³

However, the central figure in the German camp community and in the internal authority of Wing One was the above-mentioned Nazi leader. The German national, Oswald Urchs, M.D.,⁵⁴ alluded to in the opening chapter, came to India with the giant chemical firm of I.G. Farben Industries, for which Alfred Brocke, Rolf Magener and others served.⁵⁵

Urchs had the special position of being the "Landesgruppenleiter", the chief Nazi for India. In 1936 Urchs became an 'Ehrenbürger'⁵⁶ of the Third Reich through Adolf Hitler's recognition.⁵⁷ With the declaration of war and the internment of all German nationals, "the former 'Landesgruppenleiter' became the current camp leader (Lagerleiter). ..." ⁵⁸

In the internment camp Urchs "had his colleagues very much under his influence,"⁵⁹ and together they cast a shadow of immense control and fear over their fellow internees, among whom were the younger missionaries relegated to the detention camps from 1940 to 1942.

The Nazi influence in the British camps began at Ahmadnagar, when through passive resistance the "declared Nazis stayed in Wing B where they did not pay anything," so as to inflict a financial loss for the Government.⁶⁰ Again at Deolali the crucial issues of the camp conditions and the shortage of water led to a genuine, successful hunger strike.⁶¹

Still, Urchs's background gave one a better insight into this life and what Otto Tiedt (Leipzig) described as "a very impenetrable personality."⁶² Tiedt was interned with Urchs for over seven years in internment and he had ample time to appraise the once 'Landesgruppenleiter' for India. Urchs was of the German race, though he originated from the Sudetenland border-country of Czechoslovakia,⁶³ from the region which Hitler annexed in October, 1938. Urchs's stern image, as "a very strict Nazi camp leader,"⁶⁴ or the "impenetrable personality" in carrying out his duties and actions, as oftentimes rumoured, point to certain aspects of his part Jewish family background and the reason for his being in India and not in Germany during the Third Reich.

FEARS AND THREATS BEFORE STALINGRAD

In the ideological cult of the 1.000 year Deutsches Reich and the glorification of the Führer Hitler, the Nazi regime capitalized on the authority over most German nationals over the world. The focus of attention of the Nazi totalitarianism was in the promotion of a pure and unique State and in the persecution of all political and ideological opponents, which included the "destruction of the European Jews."⁶⁵ The mass exodus of German Jews from Germany, when there was still a chance, bespoke the immense fears individuals had of the Nazi regime.⁶⁶ Their fears were substantiated by the atrocities in the concentration

camps. In countless cases in the Nazi era, German Jews, as well as Germans opposed to the new ideology, departed from the Third Reich for safer places as British India. Some Germans with a partial Jewish ancestry, able to hide this strain in their background, left Nazi Germany with or without the blessing of Hitler. But for fear of being discovered by their fellow Germans, they served as fervent, loyal Nazi leaders and workers in a foreign land, as in internment.

In September, 1942, Wilhelm Bräsen (Breklum) arrived at Premnagar, Dehra Dun,⁶⁷ a full year after his colleagues Ahrens, Hübner, Lohse and Speck from the Jeypore District. As the Yercaud Parole Camp was dissolved, Bräsen had to journey north and encountered the internment camp life for the first time. His recollection was vivid, for at Dehra Dun, "there was the so-called 'Golden Ring', composed of the camp Nazis. They held all the positions of course. ... They were all the important people in those days."⁶⁸

Thus, in the internment camp the Nazis levied a substantial psychological 'clout' over the German internees. This was not difficult to perceive, and silly as it may sound, according to Reimer Speck, "these were things which you can't understand anymore today. But of course in those days it was a reality."⁶⁹ Because Alfred Brocke "went over to the anti-Nazi company," he too was threatened by the Nazi regulars.⁷⁰

The Nazi threats, in reference to subsequent prosecution, were directed at unfaithful nationals. Yet, what may appear as absurd to our present-day thinking, in the event the Nazi regime was to win the war, Brocke, as one example, was promised an early sentence: "You'll be thrown overboard;" and such parallel things.⁷¹ As a Breklum missionary, Speck concurred fully with Brocke's statement.

Yes, thinking of the Vaterland on the one side and a lost war would have been a terrible thing; and on the other side a won war would also have been a terrible thing. And we knew that our co-internees, the Nazis, had certain lists in the camp of people who would have been thrown overboard at their repatriation, if the Germans had won the war.

Yes, certainly, there were lists of people prepared in the camp by the co-internees. ... They would certainly have thrown some 50 persons overboard on the way home; ... some missionaries included, and other people too.⁷²

Political pressures were applied against the missionary too;

I had a good friend and he was a member of the Nazi Party, and we very often got together in the internment camp. And he got a warning from his superiors not to get into so close a friendship with that missionary Speck, because he belongs to an international organization. He got that warning. He told me about it.⁷³

However, the threats and the warnings directed towards the German nationals were easier said in the pre-Stalingrad days.

Germany's attack on Russia on June 22nd, 1941, was equally matched by Japan's surprise air-attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941. As a further major power, the United States of America was brought into the European conflict. It was a bad omen for those who had once believed that the Third Reich could win the war. In spite of America's entrance, the North African drive and the 'Barbarossa campaign' into Russia by Hitler's armies were the successful offensives of 1941 and 1942. In its 'Lebensraum' drive the Third Reich met its Waterloo in the crucial and decisive battles of El-Alamein in Egypt and of Stalingrad on the Volga. On the Russian scene the German 6th Army was entirely encircled by Christmas, 1942, and after months of fighting, the south and the north pockets of the German soldiers fell to the Russians on January 31st and February 2nd, respectively.⁷⁴ General Chukov had emphasized what it would mean to the Soviet people: "The abandonment of the city would destroy the morale of our people. We have to hold Stalingrad or we perish there."⁷⁵ Stalingrad, as El-Alamein, were the gravest defeats for Hitler's armies, so accustomed to victories, that by 1942 a turning point had been reached in the Reich's growth.

The degree of Nazi pride and influence among the German nationals in internment were measured by the success of the Nazi armies, at least through 1942 and to Stalingrad. The German victories offered another interpretation:

The fact that the Nazis had conquered so many countries was no indication that they would win the war. On the contrary, it was just like an enormous bubble, that if one pricks it sometime, the whole show will collapse.⁷⁶

Events as El-Alamein and Stalingrad, distant as they were from the Indian scene, helped bring about the collapse of the enormous bubble of pride and the whole show of confidence which the Nazi leadership had had in British India. With the Nazi armies increasingly beset with defeats, the balance of a growing confidence swung in the direction of the Allies, so also for the British authorities in India. According to Christian Lohse (Breklum), "later on in the situation, as it became clear after 1942 and Stalingrad, there then were some relaxations made."⁷⁷ The most welcomed relief from the war fever and the harsh security measures of the Government of India came when four Gossner brethren and later four Breklum men were permitted to depart from Dehra Dun to join their families at the Purandhar Family Parole Camp. The relaxation also brought some of the non-missionary families together after the years of separation.

With the entrance of the Japanese Imperial forces into World War II, the conflict became even more global and it spread deeper into the British Empire, the other Far and Southeast Asian lands, as well as into the Dutch East Indies. Within a matter of weeks, from the original air attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941, the Philippines, Malaya, Burma and other island nations of the Pacific were invaded by Japan. "By January they had occupied the Netherlands East Indies. On the last day of February, 1942, Japanese troops moved into Java. A week later they took New Guinea. ..."78 The blitz action of the Nippon forces subjected the Dutch authorities to alter their plans radically. It necessitated the immediate evacuation of their own Dutch nationals and "approximately 2.000 German men interned in the Dutch East Indies. ..."79

Already in May, 1940, upon the invasion of Holland by Hitler's armies, all German nationals in the Netherlands East Indies were rounded up and placed under internment at Fort de Kock first (May-October, 1940) and then at Alas Vallei (Oct.'40-Dec.'41), both locations in North Sumatra.⁸⁰ Among these German internees were "all the missionaries, doctors and deacons of the Rhenish, the Basel and the Neukirchner Missions. ..."81 Due to the Japanese invasion, all German male nationals were hastily "transferred to British India."⁸² The wives and the children of these Germans, along with the single ladies, remained behind in the Dutch colony, as was also the case with the Rhenish Mission (Batak Church) personnel remaining at the "refugee camp of Raja, near Berastagi on Sumatra."⁸³ However, the swift evacuation of the Dutch and the German nationals by the authorities added another dimension to the history of Christian Missions and the further loss of German missionary lives. The *Sechtes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien*, the annual bulletin of the German Office of Foreign Affairs, reported what had already become general knowledge in British India:

As a consequence to the events of the war in the Far East, in January, 1942, the Dutch transferred the German male civil internees from the central internment camp of Alas Vallei on Sumatra to British India and there handed them over to the British-Indian authorities. Two transport ships arrived safely in British India; however the third transport ship was regrettably sunk on account of the war activities, whereby unfortunately because of the inadequate life-saving equipment, a large number of Germans of the Reich lost their lives. All the relatives have been notified. Those who were saved now are safe and sound on Sumatra, of which the relatives have likewise been informed.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the *Merkblatt* failed to mention some basic facts to the sinking incident, e.g. that these German internees, with "some of the German missionaries, were lost when a ship conveying them to India was sunk by the Japanese."⁸⁵ On January 19th, 1942, the steamship "van Imhoff", with two other Dutch ships and accompanied by the Dutch cruiser "Java", departed from Sibolga, a west Sumatra port.⁸⁶ According to the missionary Gottlob Weiler, one of the survivors, three bombs on account of a Japanese aerial attack struck the "van Imhoff" and the ship sank; and of the 477 German internees aboard, 411 perished. The Dutch crew and the 66 survivors managed to get away in life-boats.⁸⁷ The tragedy lay both in the fact that the Japanese bombed a boat with German nationals, but further that all the lifeboats were not in order so that the Dutch crew offered the internees little assistance; and the life-boats of the Dutch were half full. Then a day later the Dutch ship "Boelongan" passed through the waters to rescue any of the Dutch crew of the "van Imhoff". Upon finding no Dutch personnel, the "Boelongan" crew rejected all pleas of the stranded Germans, even for fresh water, and left the surviving men to paddle their rudderless life-boat, until they came to the island of Nias.⁸⁸ "On account of the war activities" such atrocities were conveniently forgotten. At any rate, along with the approximate 600 German internees already in India, there were also about "1.300 German men who were brought from the Dutch East Indies to British India"⁸⁹ and presented to the British authorities.

Friedrich Hübner (Brekum) remembered the tragedy from his days at Dehra Dun. His response was: "There were quite a number of missionaries among the dead at the time."⁹⁰ It correctly indicated the impact over the loss of 17 German missionaries among the younger Christian churches. Among the dead were five Rhenish Mission men, four Basel men from Borneo, one Neukirchner and seven Evangelical missionaries serving with a Dutch Missionary Society.⁹¹

In writing to his former director Karl Hartenstein, Fritz Mack (Basel), interned at Kodaikanal, expressed his reaction to the grave misfortune over the lives lost;

The fate of our Borneo brothers has shocked us all deeply. Brothers Schweitzer and Trostel were the first in my graduating class to have departed from us. Would you please convey my heartfelt sympathies to the Schweitzer and Mall families, whom I personally know. In remembrance of these departed brothers I have written the accompanying poem, which perhaps expresses how I felt about their death. We attempted immediately after we heard the news to make some contact with the other brethren who were brought to India. Finally after many weeks we received a short letter from Brother Baer, but in which it is neither clear where he is with the others, nor whether he is still at the camp in Ramgarh.⁹²

Fritz Mack's poem - "in remembrance of these departed brethren"⁹³ - in the censored mail was removed for permanence.⁹⁴

Further reports on the transfer reached Germany:

The interned missionaries, who up to recently had been in the Dutch East Indies, all appear to be situated at the Ramgarh Camp; only the missionary physician Dr. Thompson of the Rhenish Mission is serving as a camp doctor in Bombay (Presidency).⁹⁵

In the location of the Ramgarh Camp the readers of the *Evangelische Missionszeitschrift* were introduced to another detention center in the list of internment camps used for German nationals in India. According to Erich Klappert, a Rhenish missionary from Sumatra, it was a military cantonment⁹⁶ evacuated for the German internees.⁹⁶ The Missions periodical attempted to give the missionaries' new locality:

They are at Ramgarh in the Province of Bihar, and it lies at the point of the intersection of 81 (sic 85.5) degrees longitude and 23 (sic 23.5) degrees latitude, exactly west of Calcutta, in the middle (of India) between the coasts.⁹⁷

The Ramgarh internment for the Dutch East Indies internees turned out to be a temporary stopover, January 13th to July 21st, 1942, because of the Japanese threat on the Burma front and the military needing the cantonment. Thus, a further provisional stay was planned at the Deoli camp, at the edge of the Thar Desert, lasting from July 24th, 1942 through April 19th, 1943.⁹⁸ Within the year, the news from British India was:

All 36 missionaries, doctors and deacons of the Rhenish Mission from Sumatra are now located at the Internment Camp of Premnagar at Dehra Dun at the height of 800 metres at the foot of the Himalayas.⁹⁹

The Rhenish Mission personnel of the Sumatra Batak Church were by far the largest group at Dehra Dun, followed by the six Neukirchner missionaries. In the case of the Basel Mission, it was reported that "in April of the year, the five Borneo brethren at Deoli were also transported there."¹⁰⁰ The Deoli Camp, in the State of Ajmer-Merwara, was then used as an Italian 'prisoners of war' settlement, for those brought to India from the African conflict.¹⁰¹

The German nationals from the Dutch East Indies then "got a special wing" at Premnagar. As a separate wing¹⁰² or unit they were severed from the Germans who were residents of British India.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, contact between the missionaries of the two wings was apparently possible, for Hübner pointed out that "contacts with the Sumatra Rhenish missionary people" were initiated right away.¹⁰⁴ Each wing had its own tasks, its own services and the missionaries offered a ministry to those interested.

The German evacuees from the Dutch colony lingered at Premnagar until November 11th, 1946, when they were repatriated to Germany on the Dutch steamship "Sloterdijk".¹⁰⁵ Their families from Sumatra and the East Indies only arrived in Germany in July, 1947.¹⁰⁶ Their fate and their experiences under the Japanese is another chapter of wartime Christian Missions and one also little known even today.

THE DEATH OF MACK SAHIB, NO. 13019

The death of any Christian missionary in the 20th century seems unjust and tragic, especially when it appears

to be the case of neglect or the sin of omission. Over the decades the foreign missionary has been regarded the shepherd and the teacher to hundreds of people in the mission congregations. Fritz Mack of the Basel Missionary Society was one such missionary in British India.¹⁰⁷ After a short but rich and devoted career, his family was struck by tragedy in Germany. The tragedy was heightened by the rigours of the World War and it finally led to suffering and death. Mack's death was the second among the German Missions' personnel in India during the turbulent, troubled years of the internment period. In 1940, Frau Marlene Tauscher, mother of seven children, died due to a grave error.¹⁰⁸ Fritz Mack's life came to an end at the Premnagar Internment Camp. His life is an example of Christian sacrifice and disciple-ship, as he gave himself for the younger Church.

In October, 1941, among the 600 German nationals who were transported from the Deolali Cantonment to Dehra Dun,¹⁰⁹ there was a group of eleven Protestant missionaries. A year later, as the Kodaikanal and Yercaud Parole Camps were reduced, the families were sent to Satara, and Bräsen (Brekum) journeyed to Premnagar. At the time of the transfer Fritz Mack was recuperating from surgery at the Swedish Mission Hospital at Tirupattur.¹¹⁰ When he was strong enough to leave in September, 1942, he had no other choice, as his colleague Theodor Lorch noted: "The bachelors mostly went to Dehra Dun, ... while we, in contrast, with our families came to Satara."¹¹¹ Mack's family though, as Bräsen's, was in Germany. Here it might seem feasible to digress into the missionary Mack's life.

The Reverend Friedrich A. Mack was born on January 5th, 1906, in Aalen, Württemberg,¹¹² in the German "Basel Mission country". Easter, 1926, Fritz Mack began with the first student class following World War I at the Missions Institute at Basel, and with "his above average' aptitude completed in five years"¹¹³ the customary missionary preparatory course of six years.¹¹⁴ Following his language studies residence in England, he departed for British India on October 17th, 1931. In November of that year Mack began a most fruitful and remarkable term of service in the Malabar (Coast) District of the Basel Mission Church, at first responsible for the Nettur and Wanyankulam stations. Completing his Malayalam exams, two years after his arrival, in September, 1933, Mack married Marie Meier, a Swiss secretary from the Basel Mission House.¹¹⁵ In 1936 he was assigned to Calicut, the largest city congregation on the Malabar. Lorch, as College principal in Calicut since 1937, remembered the disposition of his fellow-worker: "He was a friend of all and was always in good humour; one of the few rare people who made everyone at ease around him."¹¹⁶ Yet he "was Schwabian and his soul contained all the fundamentals and gulfs peculiar to many people of this ethnic group."¹¹⁷

In India Mack gave of himself with his whole heart for the welfare and the evangelistic work of the Mission churches, going from "village to village, from house to house, carrying the word of salvation."¹¹⁸ His fellow labourer Dr. Friso Melzer, who first met Mack in Calicut in 1935,¹¹⁹ recalled that the Indian Christians spoke of him with their highest tribute and affection; "Mack Sahib talked just like a Malayali. If you could not see him and you heard his voice, you would say that it was one of us talking."¹²⁰ Melzer, himself a scholar in Indian Studies, admitted that "Fritz Mack surpassed all the other missionaries in his abilities in the Malayalam language."¹²¹ Not only was Mack a gifted linguist, but his short book, *Der Wunder Anfang* (The Marvellous Beginning), according to Alfons Koechlin "belongs to the best of missions literature."¹²² Melzer also had high praise for the work: "I know no book in the German language out of the Indian mission world in this century which can be equated with it in content and in stature. It is the true witness of a true man."¹²³

In March, 1937, after a 5 ½ year term in India, Mack and his family returned to Europe for a furlough. The Mack family had two sons, Uli and Günther, born 1934 and 1936 respectively. After some months of vacationing, Mack began a six-month term as a deputation minister in Crailsheim, effective September 1st, 1937.¹²⁴ In all the years in India the family had managed health-wise, in fact, their two young boys had begun their lives on the Malabar Coast. Upon returning to Germany the first in a series of rare and tragic events struck the Mack family. Christmas was only days ahead, when on December 12th, 1937, Marie Mack was killed in an accident.¹²⁵

On Monday, December 13th, we received the shocking news of the death of Frau Missionary Mack, née Meier, on account of an automobile accident. Frau Mack had been invited by friends to go for a car drive to Stuttgart. On their way back to Crailsheim the car was struck by a train at a railroad crossing without a gate,

and as a result all four passengers were killed outright. Missionary Mack and both the small children, as also the Mission, have thereby suffered a great loss.¹²⁶

The personal tragedy delayed Mack's departure for India until September 14th, 1938. He "returned again to his former congregation in Calicut; but at the same time the office of District Chairman for the Malabar field was conferred on him."¹²⁷ At 32 years of age, Mack and his two Swiss colleagues, Burckhardt and Noverraz, served as the chairmen of the three Basel Mission districts. Yet the return passage to India in September had given Mack a new outlook on life;

... he became acquainted with Fraulein Carla Tegtmeier from Hamburg; she was travelling out to China on the same steamer as a missionary of the Hochau Mission. Then in January, 1939, he became engaged to her. Fraulein Tegtmeier returned home the beginning of March, 1939, so that she could get to know both the Mack children.¹²⁸

On the Malabar District at the time, Lorch later wrote: "We prepared for his second wedding, when the war broke out and made his hopes to be joined again to a life companion come to nothing."¹²⁹ The projected trip for August 30th, 1939, for his bride-to-be and his two sons, was blocked by the outbreak of hostilities.¹³⁰

In India the war was also upon the German personnel of the Basel Mission. On September 4th, 1939, at the Emergency Meeting of the Malabar Mission Council, Mack resigned from his offices,¹³¹ and the same evening his internment days began.¹³² The stay at the Ahmadnagar Cantonment Camp was short for Mack, as already in the first week of December he was released as the first Basel missionary. Again he took up his mission labours, though now his nationality curtailed him from any administrative duties. "Brother Mack was appointed as station-missionary for Waniyankulam,"¹³³ one of the two mission stations from his first term in India.

In the Spring of 1940 seven Basel families were repatriated to Germany. Mack could well have returned to his family, but he had only just come out again from his furlough. By not being repatriated, he indicated his desire to abide by his calling and his commitment to the Indian Church. He was in good health and he felt that the highest priority in life was his service to the younger Church; in spite of the war, the missionaries were free to continue their work. Mack's hope was that his bride could come out and assist him in his mission endeavours. And Alfons Koechlin correctly appraised Mack's need, or even prophetically predicted an outcome when he wrote to Adolf Streckeisen in Calicut: "We feel that Mack could not stand the strain for years to have no wife at his side, and that if his work is to be fruitful he ought to have his Carla."¹³⁴ Koechlin sensed the consequences, so much so that his letter of April 24th, 1940, to his Swiss colleague Streckeisen, is primarily concerned with the Mack-Tegtmeier couple;

In a former letter I wrote that her journey to India was impossible. Since then Hilde Uber brought to me the repeated request of Mack, that we might open the way for his bride to India. The journey home of Hilde Uber has proved that women of German nationality might travel on Italian boats without difficulties. ... In addition we have heard that the Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong has in principle granted permission for two German brides to pass through the Colony of Hong-Kong on their way to China. He has even written to the British General Consul at Basel to give, in case such a request should be made by the B.M., the necessary transit visum.

Carla Tegtmeier ... is of course also very anxious to join Mack. ... The Committee of the Basel Mission thinks that under those circumstances and after so many of our missionaries have left India, a sending out of Carla ought if possible to take place.

As far as we see the first thing to do is to make (it) clear in India if Carla gets permission there to enter the Indian territory, and if the Indian Government gives permission to a German to become married. Unless we have this certainty we cannot take any steps here. ... Would you kindly undertake the necessary steps officially? It is evident that we ought not to exercise any undue pressure.¹³⁵

The Swiss brethren Koechlin and Streckeisen corresponded concerning the Mack family, but they failed "to exercise any undue pressure",¹³⁶ or to gain the assistance of William Paton in London, A.L. Warnshuis in

New York, the Metropolitan Foss Westcott in Calcutta, Bishop Stephen Neill or any number of other Church leaders friendly towards the German Missions; any or all could have lent a Samaritan hand for Fritz Mack, his bride and his two sons.

With the Nazi invasions in the Spring of 1940 and Italy's entrance into the war, no visas were to be available. The opportunities for Mack to return to Germany or his family to come to India apparently closed. On July 10th, 1940, the second and final internment period began for Mack and the other missionary families at Kodaikanal.¹³⁷ The first 18 months on this hill-station, termed a vacation by Streckeisen after visiting his German brethren twice,¹³⁸ were routine and without excessive complaints. Now the special plea for repatriating Mack and Brasen under the new war conditions came to nothing.¹³⁹ Seeing no possibilities for reunion right away, on February 21st, 1942, Fritz Mack in Kodaikanal and Carla Tegtmeier in Hamburg were married by proxy through the International Red Cross.¹⁴⁰

However, in January, 1942, Fritz Mack's appendix had begun to irritate him, and 17 months later he was dead. Mack

Sahib's correspondence with his bride best tells the story;

- Kodaikanal, 19 January, 1942: And (I wonder) whether our marriage certificate will reach you before February 21st? It is possible that I might have to spend that day in the hospital since I will likely have to undergo an appendicitis operation. It is not a case of an acute infection, but I feel an irritation sometimes. Now in the next few days I am going to let a Swedish Mission doctor examine me, and he happens to be a good surgeon and has recommended an operation. Yet I still have to await his final decision.¹⁴¹
- Kodaikanal, 21 February, 1942: I have the permit for my operation, but now the doctor is on a trip. Perhaps it will work out next month. If it happens to be the case I will relate the news to Koehlin or Annie. It was dear of you to think of this day today. I will soon thank Uli (7) and Gunther (5) for their letters and pictures. Give each of them a kiss for me. ¹⁴²
- Kodaikanal, 15 March, 1942: The days are so uniform. My operation has still not been performed, since the doctor is still on his trip. But at present I don't have any complaints. It will now become very hot down on the plains, so that I would rather wait for the cooler season. ...Oh, why can't you just come to me?¹⁴³
- Kodaikanal, Easter 1942: Frau Lipp lies gravely ill in Yercaud from a brain malaria. Today I now can give you some good news: I don't have to be operated on. Yesterday a Government doctor visited the camp and he examined me thoroughly (he didn't come on account of me). He believes that the symptoms do not bespeak of appendicitis, rather it could be more so an after-effect of unhealed dysentery that occasionally gives pains. So I will let myself be treated for it and push aside the thoughts of the operation. I am doubly thankful for that.¹⁴⁴
- Kodaikanal, 9 August, 1942: This is probably the last letter which I will write to you before my operation. Tomorrow I will travel, if everything works out, (to the hospital) and on Wednesday I will be freed from my appendix. Sorry that I could not inform you of it sooner, so that you might especially think of me. I still have a somewhat peculiar feeling. But I am quite calm and confident. Dr. Sendel is a good surgeon and to judge by human standards all should go well. We are of course in God's hands in every station of life.¹⁴⁵
- Tirupattur (Swedish Mission hospital), 18 August, 1942: Now the operation is behind me. How grateful I am that everything went well and that I can report to you, even if I am a bit shaky. Can you imagine that my appendix had developed into a proper 'climbing plant' and had pushed itself as far as under the right kidney. For almost two hours I lay under the surgeon's knife, and only because of the doctor's skill can one be grateful that my side did not have to be opened up as well. The wound appears to have healed well, since I scarcely can feel pain anymore. Tomorrow the clamps

will be removed and if all goes well, I can return to Kodaikanal already next week. Was that an experience after the camp life to see the open country. When will it be that one can go free?¹⁴⁶

- Dehra Dun (Internment Camp, No. 13,019), 14 December, 1942: ... Day after tomorrow the Breklumers leave for the Family Camp (as the Gossners); then I will be alone with Bräsen and two unmarried Leipzig missionaries (Röver and Tiedt). ... It is not easy now that all the others are leaving to be joined with their families, though one should certainly be happy for each one. Involuntarily one increases to think of the "Why" and "How long". My scar has been hurting me lately. The doctor is not quite sure whether it means that a suture has partially opened up inside. So I have to be careful.¹⁴⁷
- At the Premnagar 'Campus Teutonicus', Dehra Dun, Otto Tiedt remembered Mack's troubles: He came to us there, and after a while he began to complain about pains in his body. So we finally said to him: "Good grief! We have a hospital and everything here. You have to be examined; this has to be looked into. ..."148
- Dehra Dun, 8 April, 1943, Mack wrote to Carla again: Out of inclination I have to go into the hospital now! I was already there for some time, but now tomorrow I have to have X-rays made at the military hospital. The result of the examination is still not clear. Perhaps as an outgrowth of the earlier operation an abscess has developed, or there is something not quite in order with the kidney. After such a short time I don't want to consent to another operation that easily.¹⁴⁹
- Dehra Dun, 1 May, 1943, Mack Sahib, as internee No. 13,019, wrote his closing letter to his wife Carla: Since the beginning of April I was first in the camp hospital for a short examination and then in the military hospital for a thorough examination. Presumably I have an abscess in the stomach area. Stomach, intestines and kidneys are sound on the basis of the many examinations and X-rays. Apparently it now concerns a malignant tumour (blood abscess?) between the navel and the appendix scar. ... It is growing very quickly and this could be technically problematic in removing it some time later. The doctors, also our camp doctors here, have advised me to have an operation at once. ... Dearest Sweetheart! You must not worry. Humanly speaking everything will be done which can be done and I am in the hands of first-class surgeons. ... Nothing can befall us without the leading and will of God. There is another reason why I would prefer not to wait too long. The heat now is increasing every day and in the hospital tents of the camp it becomes quite hot already during the day. Thus, the earlier the better. It would certainly be much nicer and easier if you could only be near me, but this hardship we have to bear bravely. In God's trusted hands we are well sheltered, you there and I here. Loving greetings to all and heartfelt kisses to you and the children. From yours, Fritz¹⁵⁰

The military hospital at Dehra Dun was being renovated at the time, so that it could only accommodate the British personnel cases.¹⁵¹ Instead of the one-week waiting period, three weeks passed. Finally on May 22nd Mack was operated on for a second time within a year, and it was absolutely in the hottest days of the year.¹⁵² Two persons who knew Fritz Mack, namely Otto Tiedt at Dehra Dun and his wife Carla, separately and yet uniformly related about his death. Tiedt recalled:

And then it was confirmed that as they opened him up, that it was already too late. Yes, there was a swab and more, ... left remaining in there and his body had begun to suppurate. For that reason he died. There was sepsis. ...¹⁵³

Carla Mack was informed that the British surgeons, upon opening up Mack again, discovered a surgical sponge left from the operation nine months earlier at Tirupattur.¹⁵⁴ Finally in July Carla was informed through the German Foreign Office that her husband had passed away on June 7th, 1943. On the British certificate the official cause of death was tetanus.¹⁵⁵

Fritz Mack's mission and ministry in life were interrupted when he was 33 years old. At the age of 37 "he died at Dehra Dun. He lies at the Internees' Cemetery in Dehra Dun."¹⁵⁶ J Mack Sahib was a captive at the rim of modern civilization's engrossed conflict of pagan nationalisms which engendered the "deification of

the State ... (as) a direct challenge to the freedom of the individual for self-expression."¹⁵⁷ Karl Barth had termed Hitlerism as "the had dreams¹⁵⁸ of German pagans," though all nations have their bad dreams and their nationalisms. Yet between the warring 'tribes', Christian Missions' personnel were taken and held captive for their nationalities. Mack was a civil prisoner of war on account of the national paganism of his day; he suffered from poor medical advice and service in his captivity; his Swiss Mission brethren could not give him his wife and sons for fear of "pressure" on the neutral Society; and the procrastination at Dehra Dun, because there was no room for the German; all were factors which eventually took his life.

Mack Sahib was a bearer of Christianity and of the truth of his convictions. He sacrificed his life rather than abandon his mission to the Indian Church on the Malabar Coast. In the closing years of his internment life, in the loneliness and in the yearning for his family, Mack wrote poems, and in this one offered a prayer, entitled 'Bitte' :

Our dear Lord God, how well you know,
Of our complaints, of our soul's woe,
You know too, the heartfelt pain,
Which burdens us in this time of strain.

From the heart, one thing do we beg of you,
Do not make our burdens quite so true,
Help us to believe through the doubt of night,
Until we meet you in the eternal light.¹⁵⁹

THE MEMORIES AND A MINISTRY

The months and the years at Premnagar, "at the rim of the jungle"¹⁶⁰ and amidst the Dehra Dun tea garden country between the Swalik foot-hills and the Himalaya mountains, have a host of memories for the German nationals once interned in Wing 1. There were many things to remember: - the mountains and the snow-capped peaks in winter; the scenery and the rivers; the lights at night of Mussoorie; the seasons with the cold of winter and the dreadful heat of summer; the lasting friendships; drinking coffee or tea for breakfast on the barrack's verandha; the amusing events and the tragic incidents; the silly fears and tensions, and the surprising loyalties; and much more - all at the thatched village. For some the time was measured by months, for others the detention was for years. Patterns for the "routine internee"¹⁶¹ were established with the chores in the kitchen and the cleaning of the barracks and the bunks. Innumerable forms of activities were introduced into the daily schedule, so much so that one internee wrote home:

If only we had more time! I know this deep heartfelt sigh sounds more than comical. You would believe that we didn't know how we would begin to use our time, ... but each who is somewhat active has so much to do that the day is simply far too short.¹⁶²

To begin with there were good opportunities in the field of sports, e.g. football, volleyball, ring-tennis, hockey and callisthenics. There were the theatrical productions, the musical concerts - given by the internees or played from records, the choir programs and also the cinema films. The celebrations for special events and birthdays were well supported by the good camp bakery; the excursions and hikes provided a change in scenery; and there were language courses in the European and Indian tongues.¹⁶³ An entire faculty with students was established with preparatory courses for university, technical and vocational schools, as also for commercial, agricultural and academic vocations;¹⁶⁴ and there were occasions for worship and religious studies. For the educated and the enterprising there was much to do within the small barbed-wire compound.

Some of the memories are still vivid and unique, and Johannes Klimkeit (Gossner) offered these two anecdotes:

Then in Dehra Dun it was quite interesting. Just a short story: "The Monkeys!" The monkeys came from the jungles begging. They wanted bread and we had too much. Each day we received one large loaf of bread and we couldn't eat that much. The coolies used to take the rest along, but they also had enough. But then came the monkeys. We threw the bread over the barbed wire and the monkeys carried it off into the jungles.

There was a man from Berlin. ... He wasn't a missionary; he had been an engineer with a paper mill. He then wrote to his wife: "Well, well, well, how times sure have changed. When we were in Berlin we used to go to the zoo and there we saw the monkeys behind bars. Here it is just the opposite; we are behind barbed wire and the monkeys come to visit us. They are free."¹⁶⁵

The second concerned a German national, but not a missionary:

... he started to cultivate an area between the barracks. We had a fairly good space between the barracks which could be ... dug up. So we asked him what he was going to do here.

"Well," he said, "I am going to plant oranges."

"Do you think that the war is going to last that long so that you will have oranges - fully ripened oranges?"

"Yes, it is going to last that long."

So he started digging up the earth, and he ordered his orange plants and he planted them. After four years he had his fruit and he could eat it too. He was like Jeremiah, who wrote to the Jews departed for Babylon: "Settle there and plant gardens."¹⁶⁶

The Dehra Dun captivity could be compared to Babylon and Jeremiah's words: "Your exile will be long; build houses and live in them, and plant gardens and eat their produce."¹⁶⁷

No aspect of the ministry in the name of the Christian Church is as picky as the one directed to one's national peers in a foreign land. A ministry is particularly fastidious when fellow internees regard the Christian Missions' endeavours with certain disdain and ridicule. The claims that the missions personnel belonged to international organizations,¹⁶⁸ stood in contrast to the national ideology which dwelt on the individual being faithful to the Vaterland and the aims of the Third Reich. Ideologically Christian Missions did seek a "supranational" status. But to have a Christian ministry among German nationals, many dedicated to or fearful of the Nazi organization, seemed even a greater challenge than the mission station.

There were parallels to be found between Hindu Aryan-ism (the Sanskrit arya) and the German version of Nazi Ary-anism (contrast to the Semite). Both systems were devoted to a pure blood theory, a sacredness of their land and state, and a meticulous attention to a greater order and the rites of their societies.¹⁶⁹ Each movement identified with the leading religion of the land and both fostered a nationalism at the time.¹⁷⁰ Under the circumstances of internment for the German nationals, the missionaries offered a ministry.

The German Evangelical-Lutheran missionaries to British India, stationed with their Roman Catholic brethren at the German Wing 1 of the Dehra Dun camp, served a community of 500 souls. In December, 1942, and January, 1943, when the four Gossner and the four Breklum missionaries respectively departed for the Family Camp at Purandhar,¹⁷¹ a few remained to carry on Christian worship in the Protestant tradition. Autumn, 1942, Bräsen and Mack had also arrived from South India. Then the year 1943 brought the additional German missionaries, those originally from the Dutch East Indies;¹⁷² they were transferred from Deoli in April, but assigned to another wing. Shortly before his death, Fritz

Mack had the opportunity to meet the five surviving fellow Basel missionaries, Bar, Baier, Braun, Gerlach and Weissinger,¹⁷³ but "unfortunately he was not able to enjoy their fellowship very long."¹⁷⁴

Otto Tiedt of the Leipzig Mission spent over five years at the Premnagar Wing 1, and he remembered that "those from the Dutch East Indies came to us, as did those from Persia; all the Germans were brought there."¹⁷⁵ He offered this commentary on their ministry in internment:

There was maybe about a wing of us; we were still about 500 there. Every Sunday we held our worship services in camp. We were all together in this thing, thrown together, and what we had we wanted to give them, namely the Gospel. ...

The priests also held their masses. ...

We always held our worship services. Few came to them; they were (mostly) all party members. So we then did it this way for a time; we appealed directly 'on the front'. We let it be known: "Day after tomorrow is Sunday worship; the sermon title for the morning service will be, etc. ..." We alternated as missionaries. Not all though, because there were some who said, having been in India a long time already; "We don't know this (Nazi) company at all. It's better if the younger ones take care of that. ..." So we took upon ourselves the responsibility, not because we necessarily had become better acquainted with the opposition.¹⁷⁶

In spite of the rigid socio-political structure within the camp and the Nazi allegiance among most of the internees, the faithful few gathered on Sunday. Tiedt noted:

... We preached the Gospel steadfastly to this 'society', whether they came (in numbers) or not. It is remarkable that not one worship service was cancelled. ... There were always a couple of people there, even if there were six or seven. ...¹⁷⁷

Later some of the Dutch East Indies missionaries were transferred over to Wing 1, for according to Tiedt, the Neuklrchner missionary "Kroh ... helped us out then also."¹⁷⁸ Subjected to the same fate, an ecumenism developed among the Christians. Again Tiedt gave this account:

... There we practiced an ecumenism. ... An Adventist preacher and missionary, I will always remember him - (Erich) Bethmann. ... He too helped us with the worship. We said to him: "You do it the way you think best with the liturgy, etc. If you have other ideas, then use them in the manner you believe to be correct." So he held services as we had been doing them, and we could have a unified form of liturgy.

He was married, but he had come from Persia. His wife was somewhere else; at least she was not in India. . . . But in any case, this man helped us greatly; that good Bethmann! He had his peculiarities, which certainly belong to the Adventist Church, hut they were not at all noticeable. He thoroughly devoted himself to the preaching of the Gospel. ...

We made no claims; "We are Lutherans or Reformed, etc." It was a mixed group in camp, though it was largely the Evangelical Church. ... And for all those years (1941-1946) it went very well.

Then, when the war had ceased, we had a noticeable increase in the worship service attendance. Now then we had 40 to 50 people coming for morning worship, when before we had only 15 to 20; for these had actually had fears. Yet I must admit even today, that when these individuals came early to Sunday services, I raise my hat to them. It was naturally expected of us, but these men, say one who was an Inspector for a firm or as a mechanic who had been out there, they shaved early on Sundays, dressed up in clean white trousers and a clean white shirt, and then they came to this place for morning worship. Yet as they went there, they would be jeered at by the others in the barracks; "You there, you belong to them?! You're going to the traitors, etc.!" And yet these men continued to come for the entire duration of the war.¹⁷⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. Sir S.G. Burrard, K.C.S.I. (Surveyor General of India), "United Provinces - Dehra Dun District & Tehri State," Catalogue of Maps (Calcutta: Survey of India Offices, 1915; London: IOLR, Ref. 78° O'to 10; 30° 30'to 15'.

2. Rolf Magener, *Die Chance War Null* (Frankfurt/M & Berlin: Verlag Ullstein GmbH, 1963), p. 5; *Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien* (Berlin: German Government, State December", 1942), p. 3.
3. Magener, loc. cit.
4. Ibid.; *Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt*, op. cit., p. 4; Walter Freytag, ed., "Nachrichten und Streiflichter," *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, July-September, 1943), p. 150.
5. *Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon* (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1941), p. 3; "Nachdem bereits Ende August einige Vertrauensleute der Internierten unter Führung des früheren Landesgruppenleiters und jetzigen Lagerleiters Dr. Urchs in das noch im Bau befindliche Lager Dehra Dun abgereist waren, erfolgte Ende Oktober die Verlegung des gesamten Lagers." The *Sechstes Merkblatt* points out that the transfer was in the beginning of October after all.
6. Reimer Speck, P.I. (Molfsee, near Kiel: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 7; Mortimer von Belling, "Exilium Triste Domini Mortimer de Belling" (Premnagar: 16 February, 1943; Artist Ernst Messerschmidt; Appendix).
7. *Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt*, op. cit., p. 10.
8. Gerhard Swatek, P.I. (Erlangen: 20 November, 1974), Tr. p. 4.
9. Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 7.
10. Swatek, op. cit., p. 5; *Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt*, loc. cit.
11. Ernst Messerschmidt, Murals in 'Spelunca Vinosa'; Appendix.
12. Magener, loc. cit.
13. Ibid., p. 10; *Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt*, op. cit., p. 3.
14. Ibid.
15. von Belling, loc. cit.
16. *Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt* loc. cit.
17. Wilhelm Bräsen, P.I. (Neukirchen, Malente: 28 September, 1970), Tr. p. 6; Otto Tiedt, P.I. (Erlangen: 27 September, 1973), Tr. p. 8.
18. Magener, op. cit., p. 21; Belling, loc. cit. "in this case it was either the "7. Casa Episcopi" or "10. Casa Clericalis".
19. *Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt*, op. cit., p. 6.
20. Johannes Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 10.
21. Lohse, loc. cit.
22. Magener, op. cit., p. 5; Heinrich Harrer, *Sieben Jahre in Tibet* (Wien: Ullstein & Co., GmbH, 1952), p. 9; here the Tibetan researcher Harrer noted; "... diese Welt unterschied sich allzu stark von den lichten, einsamen Höhen des Himalaja. Das war nichts für einen freiheitliebenden Menschen!"

23. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 5; Erich Klappert, *Erlebnisse - 2375 Tage Im "Paradies" und im "Wunderland" gefangen* (Wiehl: Selbstverlag Erich Klappert, 1978), p. 58, on which he wrote: "Von dem auf einem der Vorberge gelegenen Erholungsort Mussoori sah man abends vom Lager aus die Lichter aufblitzen." Mussoorie, along with its suburbs, has always been one of the favorite hill-stations of the Himalaya mountains. Half-a-dozen excellent boarding-schools are scattered over the ridges of Mussoorie and Landour. Thus, only ten to twelve miles below Mussoorie (as the crow flies) and totally unbeknown to the writer at the time attending the American Mission Woodstock School of Landour in his childhood days, the drama of the internment camp at Premnagar occurred.

24. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, loc. cit.

25. Magener, op. cit., p. 17.

26. Ibid., p. 9.

27. Ibid., p. 11.

28. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 3. According to the German Government's estimates, there were approximately 2,050 German nationals in the internment camps of India, the largest number of which were at Dehra Dun. This figure does not include the hundreds of German Jewish immigrants and refugees.

29. Magener, op. cit. . pp. 20-23; Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 7. The Gossner missionary only mentioned the presence of these celebrities.

30. Ibid.

31. Harrer, op. cit., p. 12.

32. Klimkeit, loc. cit.

33. Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 14, and also a statement not on tape; Friedrich Hübner, P.I. (Kiel: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 1.

34. Selma Heller, "Rev. H. Röver - a Life of Service in India, and for the Gospel of Christ" (Unpublished biographical sketch; Erlangen: LML - Heller File, 15 April, 1972), p. 1.

35. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 8.

36. Magener, op. cit.. p. 5.

37. Swatek, op. cit., p. 6.

38. Hübner, op. cit.

39. Swatek, loc. cit.

40. Hübner, loc. cit.

41. Ibid.; their names were Paul Hörmann, Josef Neuner and Felix von Löwenstein.

42. Swatek, loc. cit.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., p. 5.

45. Brocke, op. cit., p. 8; Hübner, op. cit., p. 7; Swatek, loc. cit.; Tiedt, op. cit., pp. 8, 15.
46. Swatek, loc. cit.
47. Brocke, loc.cit. t., p. 8.
48. Tiedt, op. ci
49. Brocke, loc. cit.
50. Tiedt, op. cit.. p. 15.
51. Swatek, loc. cit.
52. Ibid.
53. Brocke, loc. cit.
54. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 11; mentions, "... der bekannte deutsche Arzt und Landesgruppenleiter Dr. Urchs aus Bombay. ..."
55. Brocke, op. cit., p. 14; Magener, op. cit., p. 7.
- 56 Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, loc. cit.; "... der tüchtigen Lagerleitung zu verdanken, deren bewährter Vorsitzender, ... Landesgruppenleiter Dr. Urchs. ..."
- 57 Marianne Brocke, P.I. (München: 25 January, 1975), an untaped statement. The Brockes knew the Urchs couple through their firm in India.
58. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, loc. cit.
59. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham, Bavaria: 29 December, 1969), Tr. p. 3.
60. Ibid., p. 2.
61. Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 6; Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 8.
62. Tiedt, op. cit., p. 14.
63. Marianne Brocke, loc. cit.; Gerhard Swatek, P.I. (Erlangen: 24 February, 1974), Tr. p. 1.
64. Swatek, P.I. November, op. cit.. p. 5.
65. Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1961, 771 pages).
66. Walter Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, I.K.: 6 July, 1966), Tr. p. 4; Oskar Gans, P.I. (Erlangen: 7 March, 1973), Tr. pp. 1, 8.
67. Bräsen, loc. cit.
68. Ibid., p. 7.
69. Speck, op. cit., p. 10.
70. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 11.

71. Ibid.

72. Speck, loc. cit.

73. Ibid.

74. Hermann Kinder and Werner Hilgemann, DTV - Atlas zur Weltgeschichte (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1966, Vol. 2), pp. 206-207.

75. Paul Carell, Der Russlandkrieg - Fotografiert von Soldaten (Frankfurt/M - Berlin: Verlag Ullstein GmbH, 1967), p. 204. This happens to be "Der Bildband zu Unter-nehmen Barbarossa und Verbrannte Erde."

76. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 12.

77. Lohse, op. cit., p. 9.

78. Kenneth Scott Latourette and William Richey Hogg, World Christian Community In Action (The Story of World War II and Orphaned Missions; London & New York: IMC, 1949), p. 22.

79. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit. . p. 3; Klappert, op. cit., p. 19.

80. Freytag, (EMZ, February, 1942), op. cit., p. 60; Klappert, ojj. cit.. pp. 12, 19. Klappert wrote (p.19): "Inzwischen hatten die Holländer in dem ganz malariaverseuchten und von hohen Bergen eingesäumten feuchtheissen Alastal ein für mehr als 2.000 Deutsche weit abgelegenes Stacheldrahtlager errichtet."

81. Freytag, loc. cit.

82. Latourette & Hogg, op. cit., p. 2.

83. Freytag, loc. cit.; Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 20. The latter reported that some of the German women were in fact brought to Japan itself.

84. Ibid., p. 12.

85. William Paton and Margaret Sinclair, eds.. "Survey - The War and Missions" (Netherlands Indies), The IRM (London: Edinburgh House, January, 1943), p. 73; Hübner, op. cit., p. 6.

86. Klappert, op. cit. , p. 37. Als der holländische Transportoffizier den ersten Transport in Bombay den Briten mit den Worten übergab: ‚I bring you 600 Germans, sailors and criminals‘, wandten sich die englischen Offiziere schweigend um. Der britische Armeearzt verweigerte schon nach einer nur oberflächlichen Besichtigung der zerlumpten, halbverhungerten Elendsgestalten die Übernahme. Erst mussten die notwendigen Ambulanzwagen hergeschafft werden. Das war erst nach zwei Stunden möglich. Die Deutschen wurden zum ersten Mal ordentlich gepflegt. Da sie bisher unter Androhung der strengsten Strafen gezwungen worden waren, wie ehemals die Kontraktkulis in Reih und Glied auf dem Boden zu hocken, kauerten sie sich auch jetzt in dieser Weise auf dem Boden des Hafenschuppens nieder, wo man sie zum Schutz vor der glühenden Sonne vorübergehend untergebracht hatte. Die indischen Unteroffiziere, die zum ersten Mal in ihrem Leben weiße Menschen gedemütigt sahen, wurden ganz nervös und forderten die weißen Gefangenen schreiend auf, sich zu erheben. Auch der zweite Transport kam sicher in Bombay an. Die Gefangenen wurden von den Briten nach Ramgarh bei Kalkutta weitertransportiert.

87. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

88. Ibid., pp. 47-49.

89. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit.. p. 3.

90. Hübner, op. cit. , pp. 6-7.

91. Freytag, (EMZ, March/April, 1942), op. cit., p. 89.
92. Friedrich Mack, Letter to Karl Hartenstein (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, 1 July, 1942; Appendix).
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.; in reference to the enclosed poem, Hartenstein made the note, (1. Beilage) "ist nicht angekommen."
95. Freytag, (EMZ, May, 1942), op. cit., p. 122; Klappert, op. cit., 42.
96. Ibid.
97. Freytag, op. cit., p. 60. Ramgarh in the Hindi language means Rama's house ('garh'), Rama being one of the Hindu gods. It is easily understandable why there are more than four Ramgarhs in India and the EMZ writer picked out another Ramgarh in the Central Provinces. The Ramgarh used as the temporary camp for the German internees is located at 85.5 degrees longitude and 23.5 degrees latitude.
98. Klappert, op. cit., pp. 42, 52.
99. Freytag, (July-September, 1943), op. cit., p. 150.
100. Alfons Koechlin, "Todesanzeigen - Missionar Fritz Mack" (Basel: BML, 10 July, 1943).
101. Alfred de Spindler, P.I. (Wasserwendi, Switzerland: 20 May, 1973). The interview was recorded, though it is not transcribed by pages.
102. Hübner, op. cit., p. 6.
103. Ibid.; Belling, loc. cit.
104. Hübner, loc. cit.
105. Klappert, op. cit., p. 99.
106. Latourette & Hogg, op. cit., p. 3; Klappert, op. cit., pp. 103-105.
107. Basel Mission, "Todesanzeigen - Missionar Fritz Mack" (Stuttgart & Basel: Basel Mission, 1943), p. 1.
108. Detlef Bracker, Marlene, Eine Missionsfrau (Brekum: Verlag Missionsbuchhandlung Breklum, GmbH, 1940), pp. 66-69.
109. Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 3.
110. Fritz Mack, Letter to Carla Mack (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, 18 September, 1942).
111. Theodor Lorch, P.I. (Ludwigsburg: 13 April, 1973), Tr. p. 9
112. Basel Mission, Todesanzeigen, loc. cit.
113. Ibid.
114. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Sussen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 3.
115. Koechlin, Todesanzeigen, loc. cit.
116. Theodor Lorch, Begegnungen in Indien (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1948), p. 130

117. Basel Mission, Todesanzeigen, op. cit., p. 2.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Koechlin, loc. cit.
123. Basel Mission, op. cit., p. 4.
124. Koechlin, loc. cit.
125. Ibid.; Lorch, Begegnungen, loc. cit.
126. Hans Huppenbauer, "Personliches aus der Missionsfamilie," Der Evangelische Heidenbote (Basel: Basler Mis-sionsbuchhandlung 1938), pp. 15-16.
127. Koechlin, loc. cit.
128. Ibid.
129. Lorch, Begegnungen, op. cit.. p. 131. A wedding on the Indian mission field, as in the case of the Breklum Mission couple Friedrich Hübner and Christa Roos, merely as an example, is depicted by Frau Reimer Speck in Detlef Bracker's book, op. cit.. pp. 62-63.
130. Carla Mack, P.I. by Telephone and Summary (Erlangen -Hamburg: 1 December, 1974).
131. Adolf Streckeisen, Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of the Mission Council Malabar, at Calicut (Basel: BML, 4 September, 1939).
132. Koechlin, loc. cit.; Lorch, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.
133. Richard Lipp, Minutes of 'Geschwisterkonferenz' at Calicut (Basel: BML - India File, 16 January, 1940).
134. Alfons Koechlin, Letter to Adolf Streckeisen (Basel: BML - India File, 26 April, 1940).
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Koechlin, Todesanzeigen, loc. cit.
138. Friedrich (Fritz) Mack, loc. cit.
139. J.Z. Hodge, The War and the N.C.C. (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 31 July, 1941), p. 11.
140. Koechlin, Todesanzeigen, loc. clt.
141. Fritz Mack, Letter to Carla Tegtmeier (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, 19 January, 1942).
142. Mack, Letter to Carla, ibid., 21 February, 1942. This was their wedding date.
143. Mack, Letter to Carla, ibid., 15 March, 1942.

144. Mack, Letter to Carla, *ibid.*, Easter, April, 1942

145. Mack, Letter to Carla, *ibid.*, 9 August, 1942.

146. Mack, Letter to Carla, *ibid.*, 18 August, 1942.

147. Mack, Letter to Carla, *ibid.*, 14 December, 1942. This letter was passed by the Dehra Dun censor No. 5.

148. Tiedt, *op. cit.*, p. 11

149. Mack, Letter to Carla, *op. cit.*, 8 April, 1943.

150. Mack, Letter to Carla, *ibid.*, 1 May, 1943.

151. Carla Mack, P.I., *loc. cit.*; Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, *op. cit.*, p. 4. In reference to the medical care at the Central Internment Camp, the Merkblatt stated: "Schwerere Krankheitsfälle werden von 2 deutschen Ärzten in dem Lagerhospital, das ausserhalb des Internierungslagers liegt, behandelt. Das Hospital besteht aus Kranken-baracken, einer Isolationsbaracke für ansteckende Krankheiten, einer Baracke, in der der Operationssaal mit Sterilisationsraum, Untersuchungsraum, Laboratorium und die zahnärztliche Abteilung untergebracht sind, und einer Spitalküche. Schwierige Krankheitsfälle, die von einem Spezialarzt behandelt werden müssen, werden in das moderne Militär-hospital nach Dehra Dun verbracht..."

152. Carla Mack, *loc. cit.*

153. Tiedt, *loc. cit.*

154. Carla Mack, *loc. cit.* The surgical sponge was the "something" mentioned in his letter of 8 April, 1943, or the "malignant tumour" assumed in his closing letter.

155. *Ibid.*

156. Tiedt, *loc. cit.*

157. J.Z. Hodge, ed., "The World in Conflict", Part 2, by A.J. Saunders, The NCCR (Mysore City: The Wesley Press and Publishing House, December, 1938), pp. 668-669.

158. *Ibid.*, "The War and Peace" (Extracts from a letter by Karl Barth to a French editor, NCCR, May, 1940), p. 240.

159. Zum Gedenken an Fritz Mack (Stuttgart: Druck Omnitype, and Basel Mission - Stuttgart, 1943). A further poem by Fritz Mack in this work is entitled 'Geborgen' (Sheltered):

- "Wenn mein Herze bangt und zagt,
denk ich: - wie's auch gehe -
Gott hat mir ja zugesagt
Trost und seine Nähe.
- Mitten in der Wetter Brand
und der Stürme Toben
reicht Er mir mit starker Hand
Schutz und Kraft von oben.
- Ob der Tod gar mich bedroht
durch sein grausig Wüten:
Gott kann mich in jeder Not,
selbst im Tod, behüten.

- Was mich je betroffen hat,
was mir auch geschehe:
Es geschieht nach Gottes Rat,
ob ich's gleich nicht sehe.
- Was er immer mit mir tut,
so halt ich ihm stille,
denn gerecht und immer gut
ist sein heilger Wille.
- Weich, du Herzensbangigkeit!
Weicht, ihr grauen Sorgen!
Bei dem Herrn der Ewigkeit
bin ich wohl geborgen."

160. Magener, loc. cit.

161. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., pp. 3-11. These pages, mostly excerpts drawn from the internees' letters by the Nazi Government's censors, offer the reader a detailed and interesting description of the camp life, the activities and the conditions of Premnagar, Dehra Dun.

162. Ibid., p. 8. Another German internee wrote home: "Ich arbeite hier auch wie ein Löwe, in der Küche, im Eierzelt und Kaffeehaus, überhaupt alles, schreiben und lesen, beschäftige mich mit Finanzierungsproblemen und studiere indisches Handelsrecht. ... Zur Abwechslung zeichne und konstruiere ich dann Modelleisenbahnen."

163. Ibid., pp. 5-10.

164. Ibid., p. 9.

165. Klimkeit, op. cit., pp. 9-10; Klappert, op. cit. p. 59.

166. Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 10.

167. The Book of Jeremiah, Holy Bible. Chapter 29, verse 28.

168. Speck, loc. cit.

169. Hodge, "Tribulation and Promise in the German Church Struggle" by Karl Barth, (NCCR, 1939), op. cit., pp. 13-25. On page 18, Barth himself uses a statement "made by one who may be considered an authority: 'Germany, viewed religiously, has taken the place of Christianity. It embodies a totalitarian demand which displaces the totalitarian demand of the Bible.'" William Paton & M.M. Underhill, eds., "Nazism and the Christian Mission," IRM, July, 1941, pp. 363-373. Karl Hartenstein, "The Outlook for German Missions" in World Dominion (London: World Dominion Press, April, 1936), pp. 158-159.

170. Hodge, War & Peace by Karl Barth, loc. cit.; Lorch, Begegnungen, op. cit., p. 36.

171. Tiedt, op. cit., p. 16; Borutta, op. cit., p. 8.

172. Freytag, (EMZ, 1943), op. cit. , p. 150.

173. Koechlin, Todesanzeigen, loc. cit.; Rajah B. Manikam, "List of Missionary Internees and their Addresses" (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, August, 1944).

174. Koechlin, Todesanzeigen, loc. cit.

175. Tiedt, op. cit., p. 11; Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit.. pp. 3, 12.

176. Tiedt, op. cit. , p. 8. Later in the interview, the Leipzig missionary Otto Tiedt commented; "... as a result Bräsen and I, we divided the labours; and Röver also, of course. Röver also held worship occasionally, ... (but he) used to say: 'Really, I don't know these people at all and I haven't experienced this ... (Nazi Germany)!'"

177. Ibid. p. 10.

178. Ibid., p. 17; Manikam, loc. cit.

179. Tiedt, op. cit.. pp. 17-18.

XIII PURANDHAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As distant as Purandhar was from the trade routes and the political centers, along with its lower and smaller sister-fortress Wazirgadh, they offer a rich evidence in Mah-ratti history. Purandhar is a hill fort bathed in monuments and history, pointing out that "there are vestiges of earlier fortifications and sanctuaries, probably of the Hindu Middle Ages, in one case possibly of even earlier date."¹⁵ Thus, before the major Muslim construction periods under the Bahmanis and the Nizam-shahis, before the early Mahratti period,

the pre-Shivaji and the Shivaji eras, the "Golden Age of Purandhar and Madhav Rao (A.D. 1761-72),"¹⁶ and the late Mahratti times (1772-1818),¹⁷ Purandhar gives archaeological evidence of older civilizations. "The oldest and most mysterious ruins are a series of caves in the southwestern and southeastern faces of the cliff-cone to the east¹⁸ of Vajragadh Fort (Wazirgadh)."¹⁸ It appears that "the caves cannot have been intended for human habitation or work;"¹⁹

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

Similar caves have not yet been discovered anywhere in India.²⁰

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

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

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

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

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

THE ARRIVAL OF GERMAN INTERNEES

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

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

The Foreign Office of the Third Reich and the German Orient Society, in the *Drittes Merkblatt* of January, 1941, mentioned briefly, in comparison to the internment camps of Ahmadnagar and Yercaud, that Purandhar "appears to be established, with few exceptions, for the quartering of interned Jews and emigrants."²⁶ Understandably the Nazi censors had received few letters from this settlement to glean the information, yet the Foreign office knew that "there were numerous doctors and dentists in the camp who had emigrated from Germany."²⁷ The Jewish camp came into being, because

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

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

On 27th August my wife and I, plus Lore - aged 2 3/4 years, were interned and brought from Hoshangabad, C.P., to Purandhar Parole Centre, Poona District. ... We were the only people from the Central Provinces.³⁰

Under a similar schedule, though coming a greater distance,

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

From the outset at the Purandhar Parole Camp,

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

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

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

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

LIKE BEING ON A SHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Purandhar parole camp became a close-knit group; "people got to know each other because they had to live there."⁵⁷ As "the time dragged on and there was nothing to do,"⁵⁸ and people had had enough of the schooling, so "personal interests developed."⁵⁹ The stories, the rumours and the activities increased; people got bored and they got into mischief. Certain single ladies became popular, and even "several people exchanged married partners,"⁶⁰ developments which were certainly not confined to this one particular internment camp.⁶¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PURANDHAR SLUM DEVELOPMENT

Due to the swelling numbers of civil prisoners of war in British India in 1942, Purandhar, like most detention settlements, began a program of building some additional barracks. According to the long-time residents of the fort society and their judgment, the building material quality and the type of barracks

constructed on the central, much-needed open spaces became officially designated as "The Purandhar Slum Development."⁶⁹ Tucher wrote in his diary:

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

The following progress report was then noted:

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

A recent arrival, Renate Klimkeit experienced this phase;

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was a costly miscalculation for two reasons; first, the Breklum men missed the opportunity to be with their families six weeks earlier and for Christmas at that, and secondly, on account of their internment years with the Nazis and their desire not to be sent to a Jewish camp, essentially others suspected them of being "German Nazis, as they thought we were,"⁷⁵ but which they were not in their own thinking.⁷⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The only available delivery table used at the camp occasionally became a contested item, particularly when more than one baby was expected at one time, as in late 1943.⁹¹

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

FROM BARRACKS TO BUNGALOWS WITH GARDENS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AUNTIE NAZI AND UNCLE NAZI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However faithful a Christians Missions servant might be, he portrays an image in his society. This the Breklum people knew well, for "among the missionaries there was always the imperative, (as articulated) by the missionary Helms; "The prestige of the missionaries must decrease!."¹²⁹ The missionary had to know his

own image, whether he was in the service of the Indian Church or a community of Europeans in an internment camp.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The avocation of labelling or playing the game of "Auntie Nazi and Uncle Nazi" at Purandhar thrived and became the more problematic, since it led to the formation of two distinct groups and loyalties. The Jewish refugees and the convinced anti-Nazis despised everything about the false prophet Adolf Hitler as an un-Christian and un-German phenomenon, while other German nationals perpetuated nationalistic allegiances, some believing "that Hitler's genius was . . . inspired by divine providence."¹³⁶ Ideologically Purandhar was divided into two (or more) camps, though of course not housed or segregated into Purandhar East and West. The mistrust between the two major factions fostered a separatism and the camp activities were planned around each group. Alfred Brocke, an anti-Nazi, remembered the acute polarization at the family parole camp;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

. . . was always out for his personal glorification and to get bargains out of people, out of the internees. He was very fond of being invited, and then he would save a meal by eating as much as possible from the internees. . . . He never forgot to mention that: "We have had such a good tea at your home that we would not need any dinner tonight."¹⁴⁶

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, as a contrast to the anti-Nazi and Jewish groups, the newer arrivals, among whom were the missionary families, Holland was able to develop good relationships.¹⁵⁶ Certainly the commandant knew how to be helpful and to influence people in camp. The Jewish community at first had also been happy to have him succeed Colonel Shah. As the older relationships became embittered, the newer internees gave

Holland a fresh start; while the older "group was not satisfied with him,"¹⁵⁷ a good climate was established with the new group, particularly since the families were appreciative of being united again.

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

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

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

Eventually, in order to get back at me, the missionaries decided, that that would be all right, that I should take delivery of those Red Cross articles from them, from one whom they had appointed. I forgot who it was. And I did, why shouldn't I. After all, I felt everyone was entitled to these parcels. They amounted to nothing. I remember it was very inferior tobacco which one couldn't even smoke. . . .¹⁵⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the outset at Purandhar the Presbyterian Sunday morning worship was held by the Rev. J.B. Primrose, a missionary of the Church of Scotland stationed at Poona.¹⁷² He officiated such duties and administered those sacraments when "he came up once a month."¹⁷³ The lesser national character of the Presbyterian worship and the clergyman offered the camp both the communion and the general ecumenical service.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Once all the eight younger missionary families had arrived at Purandhar, "they started their Sunday services proper in their particular fashion"¹⁸⁰ and liturgy, so the Quaker observed. The commandant, indicating his interest in these internees, attended the German services also.¹⁸¹ Also, now Radsick seemed to take a lesser role, not being the strongest preacher, "but he was made our chaplain, because he was the oldest."¹⁸² "He was more a pastor (Seelsorger)."¹⁸³

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

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

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

FIRST MISSIONARY FAMILY RELEASED

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

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

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

... had a tremendous influence on the camp. ... Through his accordian he played the hymns for the services in the camp. He held (Hindi) classes. He had a very good spiritual influence. ... There were all sorts of

people there. There were a lot of Jewish people at the outset. Because he had the spirit of acceptance and not rebellion, he was able to help a great many people.¹⁹⁴

Also, Alfred Brocke mentioned that Tucher was

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

However, the Friend acknowledged, that

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

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

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

Government of India, Home Department. . . .

ORDER

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

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

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

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

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

V. Shankar

Deputy Secretary to the Govt, of India

SCHEDULE

1. Purandhar to Hoshangabad via Bombay

2. Date on which to report arrival at destination on or before 24 Jan. 1944¹⁹⁸

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

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

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

Subsequent to the release order and a correspondence with the Quaker Lady Kathleen Whitby, wife of Sir Bernard, in Bombay,²⁰³ travel arrangements were made for the Quaker family. Lady Whitby contacted the Jewish friends, Dr. and Mrs. Oskar Gans, whether they could have the Tuchers for a brief stop-over at their elegant home on Bombay's west ocean front, fairly near the Mahalaxmi Temple.²⁰⁴ Thus from Purandhar to Poona by bus, from there to Bombay by train and the pause at the Gans home, the family finally caught the train from Victoria Terminal for Hoshangabad, C.P.

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

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

THE EVANGELICAL-LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL EXAMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

... More and more we prepared for service at home.²¹¹

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

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

Pastor Walter Ahrens, University Theological Degree
Pastor Friedrich Hübner, Doctor of Theology
Pastor Karl Theodor Jellinghaus, Univ. Theological Degree
Pastor Reimer Speck, University Theological Degree
Pastor Otto Wolff, Doctor of Theology.²¹⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Practical Exegesis
2. Biblical Knowledge
3. Theories of Church Administration
4. Pedagogics

5. Christian Benevolences
6. Knowledge of the Free Churches and Sects
7. Sermon Development
8. Delivery of the Sermon
9. Ability in Catechism Instruction
10. Competence in Liturgy.²²⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PURANDHAR AFTER THE WAR

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

...

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

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

Then in March, 1946, ten months after the collapse of the Third Reich, when nothing was certain other than the much-discussed and anticipated repatriation to Germany, the Lipp family at Purandhar quite unexpectedly was released. The Basel missionary remarked, "All of a sudden I was allowed to go back as the only one of this group."²⁴² The release 'Order' of the Rev. Richard Lipp was comparable to the one issued to the Quaker couple. It turned out that these were the only two missionary families released from Purandhar. Lipp had to report on April 4th, 1946, upon his arrival at Calicut.²⁴³ He was appointed to a remote mission-station by Adolf Streckeisen, so that he would in no manner endanger the Basel Mission's status or personnel. Lipp was the only Basel missionary of the 13 German brethren once labouring in India who was invited back by his Swiss brethren.²⁴⁴

With the continuing releases of Jewish refugees, German nationals and persons of other nationalities, both from Purandhar and Satara, a merger of the two camps was carried through.²⁴⁵ From Purandhar "the other inmates were transferred to Satara in early April."²⁴⁶ Satara then became the last internment station for the missionaries in India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Freytag, ed., "Umschau - Neueste Nachrichten von der deutschen Mission im Kriegsgeschehen," *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, GmbH, 1941), pp. 122, 60.
2. Friends Service Council, *Annual Report, 1940-41* (London: Friends House, Euston Road, 1941), p. 6.
3. Hermann Goetz, *Purandhar: Its Monuments and their History* (Reprinted from the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*; Poona: B.O.R. Institute, Vol. XXX, Parts III-IV, 1950), p. 215.
4. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Guffham, Bavaria: 28 July, 1966), Tr. p. 3.
5. Dennis Kincaid, *The Grand Rebel* (London & Glasgow: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1937), p. 106. Kincaid's sub-title is: "An Impression of Shivaji - Founder of the Maratha Empire."
6. *Ibid.*
7. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-240.
8. Tucher, *op. cit.* p. 4; Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; orig. Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 410. Quite parallel to these words of the Quaker missionary, was this description given by the historian Vincent Smith: "The prominent feature of the country is the range of the Western Ghats. The mountains are so formed that the flat summits are protected by walls of smooth rock constituting natural fortresses, which various princes, throughout many centuries, had converted by elaborate fortification into strongholds almost impregnable against the means of assault available in ancient times. Most of the hilltops are well provided with water."
9. Kincaid, *op. cit.* pp. 17,181.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
11. Hermann Goetz, "Unidentified Caves at Purandhar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1950), p. 158.
12. John Clark Marshman, *Abridgment of the History of India* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1905), p. 81; Smith, *op. cit.* p. 407.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 510; K. Srinivas Kini & U. Bhavani Shankar Rao, *Oxford Pictorial Atlas of Indian History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 41.
14. Marshman, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
15. Goetz, *Unidentified Caves*, *loc. cit.*
16. Goetz, *Purandhar: Monuments & History*, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
20. Goetz, *Caves*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

22. Tucher, op. cit., pp. 3-4; Smith, op. cit., p. 570; J.H. Furneaux, ed., *Glimpses of India - The Land of Antiquity, the vast Empire of the East* (London: D.E. McCon-nell & Co., 1896), p. 51; — "Purandhar was formerly an important Mahratta hill fort, but is now used as a convalescent home for English troops, being within easy reach of the great cantonment of Poona. It has been in the possession of the English since the year 1818, when it was captured by a column under General Pritzla."
23. Tucher, op. cit., p. 4; *Das Auswärtige Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien* (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1942), p. 15.
24. Goetz, *Purandhar: Monuments & History*, op. cit., p. 237.
25. Goetz, *Unidentified Caves*, op. cit., p. 158. It might be correct to point out that not all the Jewish and anti-Nazi internees were refugees; nevertheless, as Hermann Goetz continues, "Amongst these there were several experienced Bavarian and Austrian mountaineers who enthusiastically explored all the opportunities of the steep basalt cliffs surrounding Upper Purandhar fort and the neighbouring fort of Vajragadh (Wazirgadh, Rudramala)." Max J. Kirschner, as an amateur archeologist, was the most experienced explorer at Purandhar. Also from Bavaria, as indicated by the many quotes, was the Quaker missionary Tucher, who as well explored the Purandhar fort setting and the hill-top range.
26. *Das Auswärtige Amt, Drittes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien; die Internierungslager auf Ceylon und Jamaica* (Berlin: German Government, State January, 1941), p. 8.
27. *Das Auswärtige Amt, Viertes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon*" (Berlin: German Government, State September, 1941), p. 10.
28. Tucher, op. cit., p. 5. 29. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
30. Heinz von Tucher, *Personal Diary at Purandhar* (Personal Records, 1940-1942).
31. Freytag, "Nachrichten und Streiflichter," op. cit., p. 252.
32. Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.
33. Goetz, *Purandhar: Monuments & History*, op. cit., p. 242.
34. Marianne Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 14.
35. Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 8.
36. Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.
37. Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 12.
38. Marianne Brocke, op. cit., p. 12; Lohse, loc. cit.
39. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.
40. Karen von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham: 28 July, 1966), Tr. P. 13.
41. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.
42. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 4.
43. Walter Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, UK: 6 July, 1966), Tr. p. 2. The physician Fabisch described their arrival and their welcome; "And so it was decided, instead of staying in Poona overnight, the train moved on. Then we got out of the train and went by bus to the famous banyon tree and walked up the hill. And it was raining enormously. . . Yes, it was evening and we couldn't see a thing. We were simply in the clouds. Then

we arrived in the camp. We were taken to a beautifully laid dining room. . . . There were proper bearers in bearers' outfits. Old Colonel Shah stood there at the door and greeted us with a glass of sherry in his hand. And he was a nice and charming old man."

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

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

46. Ibid., p. 7.

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

49. Ibid.

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

51. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.

52. Ibid., p. 15.

53. Ibid.

54. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 6.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 5.

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

58. Ibid., p. 11.

59. Fabisch, loc. cit.

60. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., ~~o.c.~~ cit., p. 11.

61. Langdon Gilkey, Shantung Compound (The Story of Men and Women under Pressure; New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 163-164, 172-176.

62. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.

63. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 13.

64. Tucher, Diary, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

65. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 1.

66. Comite International de la Croix-Rouge et la Guerre, "Delegations du Comite international dans les cinq continents," Revue International De La Croix-Rouge (Geneve: Comite International de la Croix-Rouge, No. 322, October, 1945), p. 747.

67. Freytag, (EMZ, Sept., 1942), op. cit., p. 252; Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 19.

68. Renate Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde, near Minden: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 12; Freytag, loc. cit.

69. Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 11.

70. Ibid., p. 6.
71. Ibid., p. 11; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 6.
72. Klimkeit, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
73. Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 8.
74. Friedrich Hübner, P.I. (Kiel: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 7.
75. Ibid.
76. Ursula Ahrens, P.I. (Lübeck: 29 September, 1970), Tr.p.2.
77. Ibid., p. 8.
78. Ibid.
79. Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 10.
80. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit. . p. 12.
81. Ibid.; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 19.
82. Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 13.
83. Karen von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 12.
84. Borutta, op. cit., p. 9.
85. Helene Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 9.
86. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7.
87. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., pp. 5-6; Furneaux, op. cit., pp. 453-454, under Chapter XX, "Poona", he notes the following: "Medical aid is given free of charge in six medical institutions, two of which, the David Sassoon Hospital and the Lunatic Asylum, are Government establishments. The Civic Hospital, situated in the civil quarter, is named after Mr. David Sassoon, to whose generosity it owes its origin. It was opened in 1867. It is a handsome I Gothic building with a fine clock-tower, and has accommodation for 140 in-patients, besides which many out-patients are treated daily. It is in charge of the civil surgeon, who is assisted by a junior surgeon, two assistant surgeons, a matron, apothecary and lecturers at the medical school attached to it, which was founded by Mr. Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy."
88. Heinz von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 5.
89. Karen von Tucher, P.I. op. cit., p. 15; Heinz von Tucher, P.I., loc. cit.~"The Sassoon Hospital did not have a very good name among the internees; they used to call it the 'Die Soon Hospital1."
90. Klimkeit, loc. cit. 91. Ibid., p. 14.
92. Alfred Brooke, op. cit., p. 12.
93. Tucher, Diary, loc. cit.
94. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
95. Karen von Tucher, P.I., op. cit., p. 12.

96. Tucher, Diary, op. cit., p. 11.
97. Fabisch, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
98. Johannes Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 14.
99. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
100. Lohse, op. cit., p.6.
101. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
102. Marianne Brooke, op. cit., p. 6.
103. Lohse, op. cit., p. 6.
104. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham: 29 December, 1969), Tr. p. 7.
105. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 10.
106. Martin Pörksen, P.I. (Hamburg: 24 August, 1973), Tr. p. 9.
107. Gerhard Swatek, P.I. (Erlangen: 24 February, 1974). Interview was not taped.
108. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 2.
109. Lipp, op. cit., p. 9.
110. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 1; Marianne Brocke, loc. cit.
111. Das Auswärtige Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1941), p. 3; Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 11.
112. Hübner, loc. cit.
113. Freytag, Nachrichten & Streiflichter, EMZ '42, op. cit., pp. 252, 314; Borutta, loc. cit.
114. Hübner, loc. cit.
115. Ibid.
116. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 11.
117. Ibid., p. 9.
118. Ibid., p. 8; Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.
119. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 9.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., p. 10.
122. Freytag, Umschau, EMZ 1941, op. cit., p. 60.

123. Ibid., p. 122.
124. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 14.
125. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 12.
126. Ibid., p. 2. 127. Ibid., p. 1.
128. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p.14.
129. Hübner, op. cit., p. 11.
130. Borutta, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Pörksen, op. cit., p. 3; Jürgen Wesenick, "Die Entstehung des Deutschen Evangelischen Missions - Tages" (Unpublished Master's thesis of the Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Hamburg, 18 December, 1963), pp. 5, 6, 47.
131. J.Z. Hodge, Notes on an informal Conference between Mr. Conran-Smith of the Home Office, Government of India, and Mr. Hodge at Simla (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 18 July, 1940), p. 2.
132. Hübner, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
133. Ibid., p. 7; Lohse, op. cit., p. 9; Ahrens, loc. cit.
134. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5; Alfred Brocke, op. cit., pp. 1, 2, 5, 7. Expressing the opinion of an anti-Nazi, Dr. Brocke remarked: "These people tried to create the impression that they never had anything to do with the Nazis."
135. Lohse, loc. cit.
136. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 6; J.Z. Hodge, ed., "Tribulation and Promise in the German Church Struggle" by Karl Barth, The NCCR (Mysore City: The Wesley Press & Publishing House, January, 1939), pp. 20-22. Certainly Karl Barth was not alone in raising the question: "Dare one obey man rather than God?" One answer he gave and supported through the Confessional Church was, "The German Church struggle gives no occasion for hero-worship."
137. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7.
138. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 9.
139. Ibid.; Auswärtiges Amt, Fünftes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 12. The Merkblatt noted under the sub-section "Parolelager Satara", "In diesem Lager befindet sich auch der berühmte deutsche Tibetforscher Professor Filchner mit seiner Tochter."
140. Ibid.
141. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 15. As the camp doctor and a member of the three-man camp committee, Dr. Fabisch made, in this reference, these comments; "Now I do think that regarding the second commandant, Holland, ... I would not say that he instigated, but that he allowed these little squabbles to grow and to thrive, because it was much easier to cope with the camp if there was not much unity against the commandant, but if all the energies were exhausted against one another. And I feel that this was probably quite convenient for him, but a very poor way in handling persons. So the camp committee had quite (a task), . . . just the three of us, who were the intermediaries between the body of the internees and the commandant."
142. Helene Borutta, op. cit., p. 14.
143. Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 14.

144. Heinz von Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit. , p. 2.
145. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 4; Lohse, loc. cit.
146. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. '66, loc. cit.
147. Fabisch, op. cit., p. 9. In this regard, Friedrich Hübner, op_ cit. , p. 8, noted, "But the commandant had a very difficult task, because none of the Jewish people understood why they were interned and tried their utmost to get out of the camp."
148. Lohse, loc. cit.
149. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 19; Helene Borutta, loc. cit. The missionary families could also see through the commandant's schemes.
150. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 15; Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 14.
151. Alfred Brocke, loc. cit.
152. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
153. Tucher, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 13.
154. Hübner, loc. cit.
155. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 7. Dr. Brocke mentioned this incident; "The Catholic people did (care). Father Monsignor Scuderi went down to Poona to get toys for the children (at Christmas). He went and bought these, even when he himself was suffering at that time from an illness and was rather sick. And Holland made all sorts of difficulties for him, because Monsignor Scuderi was a very outspoken man, and he told Holland what he thought of those (his) practices."
156. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.
157. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
158. Hübner, loc. cit.
159. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
161. Hübner, loc. cit.
162. Johannes Klimkeit, loc. cit.
163. Lohse, op. cit., p. 8.
164. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 16.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
167. *Ibid.*; Karen von Tucher, op. cit.. pp. 9-10. The Quaker missionary wife described the Brockes ingenuity; "For instance the Brockes made dolls' furniture and painted them very attractively ('in peasant syle'). The Brockes also made a marionette theatre, and they produced some German operas - 'Frei-SchUtz', (Little Red Riding-hood). . . . And they got quite a number of people to help them in the performances.

They had made the beautiful puppets and the theatre, and they got the people who could sing, and they had a harmonium and the gramophone records. And so together, with these different items, they put up a little opera. One of the Catholic priests was a very good singer and he joined in too."

168. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 18.

169. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 15; Helene Borutta, loc. cit. Frau Borutta remarked, "Each one could do something, and some even became rich." Of course, 'rich' had to be measured in relationship to the other internees and the camp allowances.

170. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 13.

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

172. William Stewart, P.I. (Bridge of Allan, Scotland: 19 September, 1971), Tr. p. 8.

173. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, op. cit., p. 5.

174. Lisa Fabisch, P.I. (Nottingham, UK: 6 July, 1966); statement not on tape.

175. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 14.

176. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.

177. Lipp, op. cit., p. 15.

178. Alfred Brocke, op. cit., p. 1.

179. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.; Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.; Johannes Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 15.

180. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.

181. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 15.

182. Hübner, op. cit., p. 9.

183. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

184. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.

185. Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

186. A.S. Holland, Letter to Alfred de Spindler (Wettingen, Switzerland: Alfred de Spindler's Personal Records, 19 December, 1946); Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

187. Freytag, (EMZ, 1942), op. cit., p. 89.

188. William E. Barton (General Secretary), To Whom It May Concern (London: Friends Service Council, Friends House, 19 July, 1957; Heinz von Tucher's Personal Records).

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid.

191. Ibid.

192. Vivian Bose (Retired Judge, Supreme Court of India), "To All Whom It May Concern" (New Delhi: 18 July, 1957; Letter to the writer).
193. Stewart, loc. cit.
194. Ibid.; Fabisch, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
195. Alfred Brooke, op. cit. t p. 8.
196. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5.
197. Ibid., p. 6.
198. V. Shankar, Order (of Release), (New Delhi: Government of India, Home Department, No. 67/2/40-Political (E), 4 January, 1944; Appendix).
199. Barton, loc. cit.
200. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Erlangen: 1973), unrecorded statement.
201. The writer happened to be one of the three children.
202. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. 1969, op. cit., p. 5.
203. Friends Service Council. Annual Report, 1943-44 (London: Friends House, 1944), p. 7.
204. Oskar Gans, P.I. (Erlangen: 7 March, 1973), Tr. p. 2.
205. Friends Service Council, op. cit., p. 6.
206. Friends Service Council. Annual Report, 1944-45 (London: Friends House, 1945), p. 8.
207. This again the writer experienced, as his mother served the Sohagpur mission school.
208. Lipp, op. cit., p. 14.
209. Reimer Speck, P.I. (Molfsee: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 10.
210. Hübner, op. cit., p. 1.
211. Lipp, op. cit. , pp. 17-18.
212. Speck, op. cit., p. 11.
213. Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 8.
214. Johannes Sandegren (Bishop of Tranquebar), "Zeugnis" of Richard Lipp (Sussen: Richard Lipp's Personal Records, 30 October, 1944; Appendix); Speck, op. cit., pp. 10-11; Lipp, op. cit., p. 17.
215. Ibid.; Speck, loc. cit.
216. Rajah B. Manikam and Charles W. Ranson, Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 28 January - 1 February, 1944), p. 10.
217. Speck, op. cit. , p. 10.
218. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.; Renate Klimkeit, loc. cit.

219. Sandegren, loc. cit.; Lipp, loc. cit.
220. Pbrksen, op. cit., p. 8.
221. Speck, op. cit. , p. 11.
222. Rajah B. Manikam and Charles W. Ranson, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 15-17 February, 1945) ,p.6.
223. Selma Heller, "Alt-Bischof D. Dr. J. Sandegren" (Unpublished biographical sketch; Erlangen: LML – Heller File, no date given).
224. Ibid.; Helmuth Borutta, op. cit., p. 12. According to Borutta, Bishop Sandegren "had a good accent."
225. Sandegren, loc. cit.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid.; Lipp, op. cit., p. 13.
228. Sandegren, loc. cit. 229. Ibid.
230. Lipp, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
231. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.
232. Lipp, op. cit.. p. 17. 233. Ibid.. p. 10.
234. Friedrich Mack, Letter to Carla Mack (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, Easter,-1942); Friedrich Mack, Letter to Karl Hartenstein (Hamburg: Carla Mack's Personal Records, 1 July, 1942).
235. Lipp, loc. cit.
236. Ibid., p. 17.
237. Ibid., p. 11.
238. Ibid.
239. Ibid., p. 12.
240. Comite International de la Croix-Rouge, loc. cit.
241. Rajah B. Manikam, "List of Missionary Internees and their Addresses" (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, August, 1944). This list does not contain the number of missionary children at Purandhar.
242. Lipp, op. cit., p. 18.
243. V. Shankar (Deputy Secretary), Order (of Release for Richard Lipp), (New Delhi: Government of India, Home Department, No. 24/28/1/45 - Political (EW), 21 March, 1946; Appendix).
244. Ibid.; Lipp, loc. cit.
245. Selma Heller, Manuscript on Internment (Rummelsberg: 13 June, 1970; Appendix), p. 4.
246. A.S. Holland (Deputy Inspector General of Police (Retired)), "Certificate" of Recommendation of Mr. Borutta (Nürnberg: Helmuth Borutta's Personal Records, 29 June, 1946; Appendix).

247. Ibid.

248. Karen von Tucher, op. cit., p. 8.

249. Renate Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 16.

250. Helmuth Borutta, loc. cit.

251. Lipp, op. cit. t p. 12; Lohse, op. cit., p. 14. The Breklum missionary Lohse made a similar observation; "Ich meine, wenn ich irgendwie unter einer Besatzung oder einer Gefangenschaft geraten wäre, würde ich immer eine englische Gefangenschaft einer amerikanischen vorziehen. Der Engländer, bei all seiner konservativen Haltung, bleibt auch konservativ dem Gesetz gegenüber."

252. Holland, Letter to Spindler, loc. cit.

XIV SATARA

During World War II the Mahratti town of Satara served as the location of three detention camps for civil prisoners of war. It was the very last of 14 stations of internment, considering where all the German missionaries had been detained in British India. The 15th 'station' for these personnel would be either the freedom to return to a mission church, or for the majority to be brought to a former Nazi concentration camp in Germany. During a good portion of the war and immediately following, most of the missionary families were quartered at Satara, a town of 22,500 and a district capital in the Bombay Presidency.

Satara lies 55 miles due south of the Deccan city of Poona. The main highway, running just east of the Western Ghats, passes through Satara. Seven or eight miles to the east of the town lies Satara Road, the railway station on the smaller gauged railroad.¹ One missionary remembered the countryside around Satara;

The better known part of the region around Poona is known as Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani. Mahabaleshwar is the highest elevation (4,700 ft.) in the Deccan on the peninsula of India.²

Because of its elevation, its beauty and its invigorating climate, Mahabaleshwar served as the summer residence of the Bombay Presidency Government. Due to the Indian Ocean immediate to its west and its height above sea-level, Mahabaleshwar

... also has the highest rate of rainfall in India after Charepunji in Assam. And near Mahabaleshwar was the other hill-station called Panchgani, which was mostly then (known for) a school for sending English and Anglo-Indian children.

And just beneath that hill-station was Satara, where the Government of India had another camp for German internees.³

Satara should be recognized for its part in Maratha history. The town itself is situated somewhat south of the important chain of Shivaji's hill forts, Pratapgarh, Raigarh (where Shivaji died on April 5th, 1680), Torna, Rajgarh, Singgarh, Purandhar and other fortresses.⁴ Satara was in the heart of Shivaji country and the Mahratti people, a people extremely intelligent and linked to the Western Ghats.⁵

Shivaji at the time of his death in 1680 controlled the whole of the Konkan from the country around Daman in the north to Karwar in the south. His eastern boundary ran through the districts of Nasik and Poona and enclosed within his territories the whole of Satara and most of Kolhapur. ...⁶

Satara was not without its own fort, located south of the town, though it could not be classified as a hill fortress. The town lies in the valley, not too distant from the Histna river, and seen in the eyes of a German internee, "the landscape reminds one of the Lavant Valley in Kärnten, (Austria)."⁷ The Satara fort and the town bespeak an era of a raja dynasty of Shivaji's descendants;

After the execution of Sambhaji (Shivaji's son) the Maratha Government was carried on by his brother, Raja Ram, who retired to Jinji (Gingee) in the south. When he died a few years later (1700), his widow Tara Bai, an able and energetic woman, administered the affairs of the state as regent, and gave the Moghuls no peace. Her capital was Satara.⁸

In the 19th century the British Raj expanded its control over India and the former Maratha Confederacy became included in the Bombay Presidency. The town received special leniency, for

Satara had been revived by Lord Hastings in 1818, for the benefit of Shivaji's direct descendants; it came well within the class of 'dependent' states, but its annexation (in 1848) irritated Maratha sentiment.⁹

The annexation of Satara stemmed from the doctrine of lapse, meaning no successor to the throne. Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General of India 1848-1856, made such a sweeping application of this doctrine that it created "misgivings among all Hindu princes, ... (and) Muslims princes as well."¹⁰ The doctrine provoked unrest in north India, particularly in Oudh, which eventually led to the costly Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-1858.

As town and district in the State of Bombay, Satara remained an important business and farming center for the surrounding countryside. Through its brassware the town was known, but it also offered pulses and grains in the market, as well as other products. The German internees too, "with permission . . . could also go to the bazaar in the town."¹¹ Today Satara exhibits its Maratha monuments and also claims the noted sword of Shivaji.

Then too, Satara is not without its own chapter in the expansion of Christian Missions and the Christian Church in India. In the year 1855 the American Board (ABCFM), one of the earliest non-British Missions to enter India (1834), became concerned for the people of the town and the villages¹² surrounding it. In time the American Congregationalists were to be followed by the Salvation Army and the Seventh-Day Adventists.¹³ Under the American Board the missionary Lillian L. Picken, the "initiator of mission dispensary and social service in Satara City and villages,"¹⁴ Mrs. H. Wellen Fisher, widowed in 1934, and at times Dr. Maria Korchagina, with others, developed the Satara Public Health Unit, the Leprosy Control and the Social Rehabilitation Department of the district.¹⁵ These missionaries and others as their predecessors brought Christianity and the healing ministry to this needy town in India.

THE BARRACKS OF SATARA

In 1940, following the Nazi invasions of Germany's neighbours, Satara took on a different development. It received many additional foreigners, but as war internees. "At the outbreak of the war the German women were not interned,"¹⁶ and in the spring of 1940 the majority of them returned to Germany, while the male German nationals remained at Ahmadnagar. As the European war turned for the worse, the paroled missionaries were largely re-interned. At the same time the women's camps were established throughout India. Marianne Brocke described her own situation:

. . . When they interned all the women and the children, I was brought to Satara. That was purely a women's camp at first. And there I met . . . Mrs. Hoops and Mrs. Lampe. They both had two children. So our six children and we three women got a bungalow. After a lot of fighting we got a bungalow.¹⁷

According to the German Government's knowledge in 1940,

There are 59 German women, 5 men and 18 children accommodated there. The camp, a former military cantonment, is divided into two parts which are situated a distance of five minutes from each other. The internees are housed in the old military barracks, which are constructed dissimilarly.

...

Other barracks, in which the interned married couples are accommodated, have been divided so that each married couple has a large room with a verandha, a bath and a toilet. ...¹⁸

At first Satara had only five men, mostly Jewish with their wives. In February, 1941, the ratio at the camp was 41 German women, nine men and 12 children, indicating that some of the women and children had been transferred to Purandhar.¹⁹ In October, 1941, when the 600 German men were transported from Deolali to Dehra Dun, a few of the internees, as in the case of Karl Bareiss, joined their wives at Satara.²⁰ Thus, from the summer of 1940 through the summer of 1942, Satara served as a parole camp for German women. So far in the war, there had been:

1. Parole Camps for women;
2. the Internment Camp for the German males; and
3. the 'segregated camp' Purandhar for German Jews.

In 1942 the British authorities changed their detention system, when the Family Camps were finally established. The Foreign Office of the German Government reported:

Thanks to the constant efforts of the Swiss representative and the Red Cross representative in British India, in the end of July, 1942, permission had been granted by the British-Indian authorities for the establishment of two Family Camps, namely Satara and Purandhar. All married civil internees from Dehra Dun and the other Internment Camps in British India, will be transferred to Satara and Purandhar, so that they can be with their families. . . .

All the other Family Camps have also been closed. The married couples have arrived at the Family Internment Camps in Satara and Purandhar, and the unmarried German women, who had been interned elsewhere were brought to the Parole Camp of Satara, while the few unmarried men who had still been free were brought to the Parole Camp of Purandhar.²¹

In the autumn of 1942 the missionary families under the family camp conditions at Kodaikanal and Yereaud were brought to Satara. Selma Heller described the move:

... in September, 1942, they were finally so far that the new barracks in Satara, near Poona, were finished and we then were transferred there. Approximately the same time as we arrived there, quite a number of other internees came from various places, i.e. the Ceylon internees from Bengal (or Bihar), with those from Indonesia. ...²²

Thus from a relatively small, quiet parole camp for women, children and a few men in 1940, Satara became a thriving town of three detention settlements primarily for German and Italian nationals. Theodor Lorch (Basel) stated,²³ that

. . . near the Parole Camp, the 'German' Wing, ... (there was) the Nazi Wing, those who openly avowed themselves as Nazis or also as fascists. And I myself was, with most all of the missionaries, in the Parole Camp.²⁴

The American missionary, Alma Tauscher, interned with her family, remembered that "they had the camp divided into two sections. They had what they called the Nazi section, and they were under police protection when they left the camp; but they let us go freely"²⁵ into the town. The fact that the camp had two sections now draws attention to some form of interdependence, particularly as it concerned the children's education. Here again Tauscher (Breklum) noted:

There were 26 nationalities in Satara. It is unbelievable that they had that many people together. The Italians were in a separate camp, and there were two or three priests there. There were some people there who were ... pro-fascist. There was one Swedish woman who had had some trouble, and they put her in the camp, though she didn't belong to the group at all. Then too there were Germans with their Anglo-Indian wives. . . .²⁶

Lorch defined the situation at Satara further:

Our camp conveys international features: other than us (Germans) there are Jews, Italians, Scandinavians, French and also all kinds of people there. Just as colourful is the picture of the types of professions: professional dancers and missionaries, businessmen and scholars, barbers and doctors, everything thrown together and now supposed to find a social order. . . . One sees man at closer quarters than usual.²⁷

The 'thrown-together' society, like Hazaribagh and other camps used for the missionary families, was a period spent with other people of other morals and standards.

In September, 1943, the last four Breklum families arrived "in the Satara Camp, where most of the German missionaries to India were stationed."²⁸ The single ladies and Johannes Stosch had also been assigned to this camp. According to the I.M.C. records of August, 1944, the German Missions personnel at Satara made up quite a significant list.²⁹ There was also the reference to the 'Internment Camp', denoting "the one exception of a missionary in the Nazi camp."³⁰

The two Family Camps - Satara and Purandhar - where the German families were detained for the greater part of the war, had many similar conditions and problems. There were also many other contrasting aspects to the two places;

Satara	Purandhar
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • adjacent to town & market • valley environment (800 m.) trade centre and picturesque countryside • largely crowded barracks • adjacent Nazi camp influence and few German Jews • missionaries distanced themselves from Nazis and sympathizers • these missionary families separated briefly in 1939 - 1940 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • isolation at fort camp • hill-top setting (1,300 m.) and varying climate, pleasant walks around hills • bungalows & some barracks • German Jewish camp at first and few pro-Nazi Germans • some missionaries distanced themselves from anti-Nazis and German Jews • most of these missionary families separated 1940 - 1942

In both parole camps the missionaries had a considerable influence upon the commandants as well as in the daily routines and activities.³¹

For the Basel and the Leipzig families the move from Kodaikanal and Yereaud was not an improvement. On the hill-stations they at least had the use of bungalows. These missionaries had been living with their families ever since Sir Malcolm Darling had released them from Ahmadnagar. Though there were the good aspects of Satara, the 'close living' in the barracks meant increased noise and tensions in the camp.³² In contrast, on the Purandhar hill "the life was not bad,"³³ or as another expressed it, "what better could you have."³⁴

Lorch, in charge of the "church activities in the camp,"³⁵ gave this pastoral note on Satara.

There are quite a number of missionaries together. We belong to different Societies and come from different State Churches. Certainly, as a rule, there weren't any pertinent differences which led to frictions. One did gladly fight for Lutheranism or some other great cause then, and still there were the little foxes who spoiled the vineyard. No one could accuse us for having committed adultery or otherwise flagrantly offending the moral commandments. But who among us could say that he was free from a false consciousness of one's own importance?³⁶

True, the causes of the frictions and the tensions were varied and complicated. There were occasions where the frustrations became apparent, and the missionary, talented and called to offer a ministry in the Indian Church, found himself severely limited by the opportunities in the camp.

The barracks were not to be compared with the bungalows of the mission stations. The missionary bungalow usually held a much coveted position in a town or village, both for its centrality and for its European dimensions.³⁷ When the Missions personnel came from their stations of authority and responsibility, they were subjected to sharing bungalows at Kodaikanal and Yercaud, or they were given apartments in a barrack row. A description of the old Satara military barracks was given when it was still a women's camp;

Four barracks are subdivided into 8 rooms, which in each case has been made available to one woman and one child or to two single persons. In each of these barracks there are two bathrooms, with two bathtubs and four toilets.³⁸

The new barracks of Satara were constructed hastily so as to facilitate the family camp, but they scarcely seemed commensurable to the families' needs, particularly since they would have to face four years' residence there.³⁹ The sheer lack of adequate living space in the congested community was the cause of much unhappiness and irritation among the families. As an example, Selma Heller recaptured the difficult barrack days in a letter to the commandant;

Dear Sir,

My husband's nerves are getting into a state which makes him unable to stand, along with the work he does for the school, the noise unavoidable in our surroundings, and so we have decided that one room in a quieter corner would be better than our nice two rooms here. May I ask you to sanction our moving over into the room in the Old Barrack E 7, No. 6, in which Mr. Krueger has lived up till now.⁴⁰

Friedrich Hübner (Brekum) also pointed out why the accommodations were the cause for disturbing many relationships;

At the same time the built-up psychosis of the seven years of internment, with the family conditions with women and children, for many there was generated the feeling of utmost depression.⁴¹

Thus, the life in the Satara barracks was aggravated by the families' differences, by the personal issues in the camp and by the noise from one's neighbours. Isolated by the British authorities from their vocational bases in the mission churches, severed from their own home church to a large degree and restricted in their movement in the camp, the missionaries were left alone to keep themselves busy in the prime years of their lives. It was not difficult to find substitute concerns or issues, many not of their own choosing, yet for the moment crucial and captivating.

ISSUES OF THE DAY - THE NAZIS AND THE JEWS

The boredom and the dreariness of internment life in the overcrowded conditions gave the missionaries ample time to become involved with the current issues which went beyond the personal and family relationships and tensions. The prevailing wartime issues in the parole camp centered on the Nazis, the Russians, the Jews, the Vaterland, the prayers in Sunday worship, etc., all seemingly more political than religious matters of concern. Alma Tauscher, voluntarily interned at Satara, acknowledged:

There were difficulties; there were differences of opinion among the Germans. Yes, there certainly were even in our group. But one thing they really stood together on was that they felt that everything should be done to keep Russia from coming into German territory. That was the greatest tragedy; they knew it. ...⁴²

As the appointed pastor of the parole camp community, Theodor Lorch coped with the many issues and the reactions;

In the beginning the question was discussed whether one should pray for Germany's victory or the Führer in the Church worship prayers. After the decision had been made that we should pray for peace and for our German people, it was generally accepted. The everyday political conversations had no ideological acuteness. Where opposing sides arose, as a rule it is a question pertaining to a different position on the matter and not pertaining to a different belief. Most of the nominal members had not experienced National Socialism themselves. . .

Since the political conversations were fruitless under these circumstances, they soon did not take place. In any case, the political differences of opinion in our camp community were insignificant in comparison to the questions on communion and similar theological concerns.⁴³

Yet, let there be no mistake, there was pressure upon the missionaries, but their thinking was resolute;

Although the outcome of the war was not certain in the first years and the people in the Nazi camp calculated largely with a reward later on and with our punishment, no missionary was that vague about letting himself be transferred over (to the Nazis).⁴⁴

For the seasoned missionaries the issues were explicit and they had been thought out, with positions taken on them.

The Satara Parole Camp had the slightly older German missionaries of the Breklum, the Gossner, the Leipzig and the Basel Societies. The Missions leaders Meyer, Stosch, Gäbler and Lorch (for the Basel families), along with their colleagues, nevertheless attempted to keep a true missionary spirit in spite of their bondage. Stosch, the spokesman for the missionaries at Ahmadnagar, is remembered for his unmistakable position, one identified with the Confessional Church movement at home. The Quaker Tucher could see that "Herr Stosch was a man with a very clear mind and he was old enough to stand above it all."⁴⁵ Alfred Brocke, a Nazi opponent, also remembered

... Dr. Stosch; he was the President from either Orissa or Bihar. ... He was absolutely of our opinion He was dead set against the Nazis. He was very reasonable, a tolerant man in every respect. ...⁴⁶

These Missions leaders at Satara guided the families in the camp community on a fairly healthy, political course.

A further consuming issue during the war years at Satara was the acceptance of the German Jews, the emigrants and the refugees who had managed to escape to India. Satara could not be equated with Purandhar where the acceptance of the Jewish internees was a problem and where social ostracism was prevalent on both sides. There was some discussion on the subject among the missionaries at Satara, which was an admission that the air had been cleared and an unambiguous stand taken. Lorch wrote:

In our camp community we also had Jews. There was never a question regarding them, whether they should be accepted as valid community members. They were regarded exactly as every other community member. ...

I had no proper conception whatsoever over the concentration camps, the persecution of the Jews and the like, and therefore I can only say that I believed in the underground and foreign reports, while others believed in the German news.⁴⁷

The German missionaries, as Lipp and Bareiss, through their continuing association with the Jewish families in camp, were made aware of the injustices done against these German citizens fleeing from Nazi Germany.⁴⁸

COMMANDANT FERN AND HIS INTERNEES

The overwhelming gauge to an internment camp or a parole camp is frequently the disposition and the intelligence of the commandant. From all reports, Captain E.A. Fern, Satara's commandant, appeared to have a more benevolent and well-meaning outlook than his colleague Holland at Purandhar. Fern's attributes outweighed his faults, and in general he is remembered as being "very pleasant,"⁴⁹ great help to all and one who let his internees take the initiative in many spheres of the camp life.

Commandant Fern was a career police officer and he had been a "commissioner of Police in Bombay."⁵⁰ He was an Anglo-Indian,⁵¹ not a full Englishman, but an English Captain⁵² of the British Indian police and military structure. Fern's wife was also an Anglo-Indian.⁵³ In the opening period of the war at the Satara Women's Camp, Fern had become its commandant; and an internee woman wrote home:

By and by we have become accustomed to our present existence, especially since our Commandant, Captain E.A. Fern, is doing everything for us which lies in his power. We are all very grateful to this man, and we hope that one will also recognize his name at home.⁵⁴

Some time later, some of the women internees were

. . . transferred from Satara to Purandhar, . . . because Mr. Fern had a lot of trouble with these people. . . . They decided to bring this batch up to Purandhar, because they felt that Holland will be able to deal with these persons. . . . Holland was much stricter in every respect than Fern was.⁵⁵

"Fern was a very jovial man and he moved (about) with all the ladies and with everyone."⁵⁶ He was seen in a fatherly role,⁵⁷ and he is remembered as a "friend of the children."⁵⁸ Towards the internees Fern was generous in permitting them to go shopping in the town or to make excursions at times.⁵⁹

Considering all the professions, the frustrations over the war and the tensions in the barracks among the Satara internees, the commandant's task was quite intricate;

... in Satara too there were also the complaints that some people were flattering the commandant and were able to obtain certain freedoms, while others were held down rather strictly.⁶⁰

On the other hand, according to a Basel missionary,

He did not put obstacles in anyone's way. Certainly there were particular friendships with specific persons. . . . And it was not out of the question that they were favoured then. Yet by and large he was a good man. There were no difficulties, no chicaneries.⁶¹

At Satara the missionary families had a great deal to do with the weekly activities of the camp life and programs. A close working relationship developed between some of the Missions personnel and the commandant. Theodor Lorch was the camp chaplain, Heinrich Meyer became the camp leader or spokesman, Traugott Jungjohann carried the responsibilities of the co-operative store, Selma Heller had the children's activities and the education program, and many others shared in their particular capacities. The missionaries were accustomed to community activities and the administration of church groups and congregations.

Lorch related what his position was in Satara;

The commandant Captain Fern was full of good will. . . . I was appointed the camp chaplain from the Evangelical-Lutherans), in particular by the missionaries there. In that capacity I had to deal more with Captain Fern.

I was able to start a kindergarten for the children in the parole camp. In this manner he was very helpful to me. We had cultural events planned, meaning a series of lectures and the like. We then had a theological course, a study group was carried through, and also a language course. And in all these things, for which we naturally needed space, Captain Fern was quite helpful. Therefore he wanted to disturb us as little as possible in our activities; and further he demanded of us that we should carry this program by ourselves. ...⁶²

The religious, the educational and much of the cultural camp activities were directed by the missionary internees.

When the four Breklum Mission families entered the parole camp in September, 1943, it seems,

Herr Meyer became more and more the advisor to the commandant of the camp. He founded with his assistants in camp a store, in which there was everything and in which also the internees, those who became free one after the other, could sell those things which they wanted to dispose. ...⁶³

Traugott Jungjohann told how he became the "Economics Minister of Satara."⁶⁴ "We were all certainly self-reliant. Meyer had the official management there, while I had the food department."⁶⁵ According to Alma Tauscher,

Mr. Jungjohann had a lot to do with him (Fern), since he had the co-operative store in camp. Whatever they had in India, foodstuffs and the sorts, we had in camp. He was the business manager . . . and he could correspond through the camp office. And he could write to any business house in India. ... He actually ordered the things for the co-operative.⁶⁶

Jungjohann, in reflecting on those camp years, remarked:

... I travelled throughout the entire area, which meant to Poona, Bombay. (I was) free but I had to be accompanied by a small Indian from the C.I.D., and I negotiated the biggest trade deals for our

camp. There had been others before, but they had profited from all. Their prices had gone up and up until the boss, the commandant said, "This is impossible; the missionaries must go to the front now." And so we missionaries were given the camp management.⁶⁷

In the interests of the co-op store and for the internees' advantage, Jungjohann had to abide by a certain rule;

. . . each day I had to visit this man (Fern). Really, he couldn't have managed alone, if I had not come and chatted with him a while. For this was an ordinance and I had to appear.⁶⁸

Captain Fern seemed to understand his internees' needs and he did his best for the families. According to Jungjohann, "You can hardly imagine all that which we got, because our dear boss, the commandant, was so kind. ..."⁶⁹

The children of the camp were very much at the center of the community life at Satara, and one of the commandant's attributes was assessed as "a friend of children."⁷⁰ One did all one could for the next generation. Selma Heller took a very active role in the children's activities, though

her own children were in Germany. She "was going every where",⁷¹ promoting and caring for the children's programs. Frau Heller remembered, that

Everything which could be done for the children had the complete consent and favour of the commandant. . . . He was especially interested in a grand children's Christmas Party. He apparently had a treasury into which all tradesmen, barbers, etc., who wanted to carry on a business in camp, had to pay a certain tax. From this treasury he gave a small group of us about 1,000 Rupees in our hands and let us travel to Poona to buy the toys. As a result after the party for the children a torch-light procession with lanterns was put on as an expression of thanks.⁷²

Besides the scheduled activities and the schooling for the children, one of the few blessings of the internment years was found in the family life. Lorch readily admitted:

. . . There was also this to it; I said to my children sometimes, "You are the little gainers from the war." For never would I have had so much time for my children as a father, or for my wife, as was the case in the internment camp.⁷³

The children's schooling was a crucial matter. Before the missionary families arrived at Satara,

. . . there were already the many internees from Bombay. . . . They had 22 school-aged children with them and they had set up a school with the necessary help from the camp inmates; so that we were told that there were 25 teachers for 22 children.⁷⁴

Thus, according to Lorch, in September, 1942,

There was a school for the children, which at first, because of the majority of the children being (in the Internment Camp), it was under Nazi management. Then only when Germany collapsed, was the school administration handed over to me (in the Parole Camp).⁷⁵

In September, 1943, the numerical balance shifted in favour of the Parole Camp;

... it received the addition of four (Breklum) families with 18 children (three Meyer, six Helms, five Tauscher and four Jungjohann) and one teacher (Sister Helene Langlo). ... In the meantime there were now 50 school-aged children. . . .

We had the four classes of the elementary school, and the Classical as well as the Secondary (School) classes up to the 5th, if not up to the 6th class. . . . There were all kinds of people who also helped and taught classes. ...⁷⁶

Regarding the children's education, "practically all the men taught, while all the missionary wives had enough to do, as all had quite a few children to take care of. There were women who helped"⁷⁷ educate the children, and Selma Heller was one such dedicated person. Karl Bareiss remembered teaching religion and mathematics classes,⁷⁸ while Christian Lohse, a later arrival at Satara, taught Greek.⁷⁹ Frau Heller gave this description:

My husband gave classes in Latin and biology; a Breklum missionary taught history. There was a definite shortage of books for the children. The history teacher got the necessary teaching material from the few mutually treasured books and typed out the lesson on a typewriter, which he then could gladly hand out to the children as a folio-sheet.⁸⁰

Later the situation improved, for the International Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. gave considerable assistance; "the school got all the books it wanted, books even up to Abitur,"⁸¹ the German Gymnasium exams. Upon returning to Germany in 1949, Alma Tauscher became quite aware of the fact, that "we had more there than

we had here in Germany. They supplied us everything."⁸² "The Red Cross certainly helped the school; they had presents for the children also during Christmas."⁸³

The Satara educational program was not adequate for the older children. For that reason the "two (Gäbler) girls were in Kodaikanal at the American hill-station school, and a boy was studying in a higher class at a Bombay school."⁸⁴ The "Drittes Merkblatt" noted, that from the Satara Camp,

. . . some children are attending the boarding-school at Panchgani, whereby the parents in the camp receive a subsidy of Rs. 30/- from the Government of India for the living expenses of a child. Occasionally the children may be visited, which then costs Rs. 15/- for car fares.⁸⁵

For the pre-school children the camp "also had a kindergarten, which was led by the Gossner Mission Sister (Storim)."⁸⁶

For a while Selma Heller printed a children's paper "Unser Kinderblatt".⁸⁷ In the fourth issue (October, 1944), she wrote:

Due to the friendliness of the commandant our paper does not need to be typed on my typewriter, rather it will be printed on the big black press in town. So today it looks different from what it was up to now. There is more to it, so that you have more to read and the picture on the front is, as you see, much more attractive.⁸⁸

Due to the shortage of funds and a complication between the commandant and an Italian internee (a journalist) assisting the Kinderblatt, Heller had only a few issues to the paper.⁸⁹

The Kinderblatt did mention the children's outings at Satara and "all the wonderful enjoyable hours spent at the old fort."⁹⁰ The Missions personnel were blessed with many children, and according to Selma Heller's school list of 1944, the 'missionary kids' composed 37 of the 57 children in the Parole Camp or of the total of 89 children at Satara.⁹¹ When Alfred de Spindler of the International Red Cross visited the Satara camps in August, 1945, he reported that there were still 87 German children among the internees.⁹² Through all the activities, the special events and the attention which the children were given, these young internees were the "little gainers from the war."⁹³

OTHER ASPECTS OF INTERNMENT LIFE

In the world of parole and internment camps, where "everybody had his little duty and he could make himself useful,"⁹⁴ the seven lean years were difficult and uncertain; much patience and forbearance was required.⁹⁵ Yet Theodor Lorch admitted, that "in every hour of despondency and dissatisfaction, how much better did we have it than many others! God cared for us in the smallest things in a gracious way."⁹⁶

There was absolutely no question . . . that one naturally had something to do, but to a large extent one just busied himself, when in this time of life one could have rendered something else and more and better.⁹⁷

Camp life had its obvious limitations, as Alma Tauscher recounted about the parole settlement:

Now as we look back to our internment, it was rather calm and not too disturbing. They didn't take roll call or anything like that. Of course we had to stay in camp, but we could go walking and nobody asked us how far we went. We were supposed to go only two miles. . . . We didn't go any further because the children were small.⁹⁸

Karl Bareiss explained, "We could go out as far as 1½ miles (3 km.), so that we could make our outings."⁹⁹ Beyond that distance one required the permission of the authorities. Outings to the Pateshwar Hill,¹⁰⁰ or the joint visitational team of the Hellers, Lorch and Mr. Luciani calling on "the patients in the isolation ward on Christmas Eve, 24 December, 1944,¹⁰¹ as examples, were occasions when one required the commandant's permit.

Closer to home there were the responsibilities and the chores, the most pleasant one being the care of the children, while other jobs remained quite unattractive;

Each barrack had its 'hammal' (sweeper) who had to care for the cleanliness. This task also entailed, from time to time, that they had to control the increase of the roaming dogs by using poisoned scraps of meat. Eventually one of the missionaries took charge in supervising these fellows.¹⁰²

What further broke the monotony for the internees was the cinema in the camp.¹⁰³ Apparently the Satara town movie house was making too great a profit from the internees. According to Heller, with Fern's consent,

. . . some of the interned men, who formerly had been active in this business, joined together and prevailed on the commandant that they should decide on the selection of the showings in the camp. Through the years we were able to see ... by and large some good films, from which I especially treasure the historical ones.¹⁰⁴

These films gave the missionary families, even if only for a brief span of time, the occasion to forget camp life.

There were many other activities, as Lorch wrote in his booklet, "Begegnungen in Indien";

When I recall to memory the long years of internment, so many ventures come to mind, where one tried to fill one's life in camp with meaning and variety. What all didn't we start; study courses and lecture series, study groups and sports clubs, amusement and cultural clubs. Yet how quickly the interest waned in all these activities. The seven years, week for week, we carried through only two things; those were our Sunday services and our Evening-songs. Perhaps at certain times we were not inwardly composed, and we went to the worship service not just out of an inner conviction, but because of faithfulness and habit. But to the Evening Song some of us came each time with the same joy. There one could forget the monotony once more.¹⁰⁵

Concerning the chapel needs, Selma Heller offered this note:

The Catholics among us could visit the church of a Catholic Mission station about a quarter of an hour distance, where there were also about six priests interned on parole, similar to us in the parole camp. We Evangelical (-Lutherans) had a large barrack room, which our ladies, through the use of curtains, gave the appearance of a church. A treasured hamoninm represented the organ; I had that as my duty.¹⁰⁶

And in the camp one could also give "piano and harmonium lessons; a good grand piano stood in the office building."¹⁰⁷

Though the camp chaplain was responsible for the church activities, Lorch "did not preach every Sunday. They tried to have quite a number take the responsibilities, to take their turns."¹⁰⁸ Paul Gäbler (Leipzig) also participated in the ministerial duties, though he admitted that many stopped preaching because their lives were as glass houses.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, he felt that he had an obligation to preach, in spite of the closeness to one's neighbour.¹¹⁰

They also formed a small mixed church choir, which was directed at first by Dr. Lorch, . . . our community pastor, and it blossomed in the last half year. ...¹¹¹

In April, 1946, when the families were transferred from Purandhar, "among them was also Herr Hübner, a Breklum missionary, who took over the choir and improved it greatly."¹¹² The Christian seasons, the church services and the special occasions one could recall, so Lorch wrote:

When I hear again the Prätorius verses from "In dulci jubilo", Christmas time in the camp stands out with such emotion, like nothing else can generate; or Bach's verse - "Ach Herr, lass dein lieb' Engelein" - leads me always to the Satara cemetery, where we sang this verse for the departing. In such times ... the soul is especially receptive and impressionable.¹¹³

At the same time, the internment years at Satara became a time of preparation for the families' return to the German Church.¹¹⁴ Besides the study groups, the lecture series and the language courses, "a theological faculty"¹¹⁵ offered a theological course for those missionaries from the Missions institutions. Similar to Purandhar, the course had the blessing of the N.C.C., and Bishop Sandegren greatly assisted in making the arrangements. Thus, "Mr. Meyer had the New Testament, my husband (Tauscher) had Old Testament ..." ¹¹⁶ and others took the subjects of Church History, Practical Theology and Systematic Theology.

What was so often the case for the internee, "one of the strangest lessons that our unstable life-passage teaches us is that the unwanted is often creative rather than destructive."¹¹⁷ Lorch spoke of a similar experience;

One attempted then to make the best out of it; so at least one studied individually and mutually. It was for me also a time of contemplation, or concentration and of preparation for the later tasks. There is no ... doubt that from this time much fruit was borne for me.¹¹⁸

There was also the growing awareness among the German missionaries that one day they would be superseded from their calling and ministry in the Church of India. Once Principal of Malabar Christian College, Lorch realized

... the time for me as an active man in the best years of my life, who had just received the position, which both satisfied me thoroughly and which gave me inspiration, it was embittering; and that now for seven of my best years I should be condemned to a professional idleness. . . .¹¹⁹

Certainly as the camp chaplain, Lorch, like his colleagues, found a partial fulfillment and encouraging moments in the Christian ministry and pastoral care.

AN INDICATION

A customary practice of missionary families on the Indian field was to send their children to a boarding school, either in Kodaikanal, Mussoorie, Darjeeling or on one of the other hill-stations. The German families mostly either left their older children in Germany or sent their children home to receive a German education. Prior to World War II, few of the German children remained in the boarding schools in India. It was unusual that the Paul Gäblers, in the pre-war years, had sent their two oldest daughters to the American mission school at Kodaikanal. Gäbler remembered what it meant for his family;

I was (supposedly) also in bad company because our two daughters went to school in Kodaikanal at the American School. It was uncommon, un-German! Still the manager at the school at Kodai said, "Well, we are Christians after all. So we are glad to have your Lenore and Ulrike in school." He was a very fine person.

As soon as the war was over, they then also asked me, "How can we get our children admitted into the American School?" That was now 1945; everything had changed.¹²⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. C.H.D. Ryder, C.I.E. (Surveyor General of India) Catalogue of Maps (Calcutta: Survey of India Offices, 1923; Bombay - Satara District; London: IOLR).
2. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham, Bavaria: 28 July, 1966), Tr. p. 5.
3. Ibid.; The Tourist Division, Hill Stations of Western India (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Transport, March, 1957), p. 17; Das Auswärtige Amt, Drittes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien; Die Internierungslager auf Ceylon und Jamaica (Berlin: German Government, State January, 1941), p. 8. Under Satara the Merkblatt reported: "Im Lager ist eine Schule, die von einer mitinternierten deutschen Lehrerin unterhalten wird; einige Kinder sind in Internaten in Panchgani untergebracht, wofür die Eltern von der indischen Regierung die Lebenshaltungskosten des Kindes im Lager (30 Rs.) als Zuschuss erhalten." Also, Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 17, makes mention of their daughter attending a boarding school at Panchgani.
4. Vincent A. Smith, The Oxford History of India (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; orig. Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 409.
5. Ibid.. p. 410.
6. C. Collin Davies, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.48. Davies's map of "The Marathas in 1680" indicates how extensive Shivaji's influence was in the State of Maharashtra and the additional regions in South India.
7. Das Auswärtige Amt, Viertes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien und auf Ceylon (Berlin: German Government, State September, 1941), p. 11.
8. Smith, op. cit. . p. 422.
9. Ibid. . p. 659.
10. Ibid.
11. Selma Heller, Manuscript on Internment (Rummelsberg: 13 June, 1970), p. 3.
12. World Missionary Conference, Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference, 1910, p. 120. The Atlas was prepared for the Conference held at Edinburgh, June 14-23, 1910.
13. Ibid.
14. United Church Board for World Ministries, Directory and Calendar of Prayer (New York: The United Church Board for World Ministries, 1966-1967), p. 141.
15. Ibid., pp. 129, 134, 137.
16. Auswärtiges Amt, Viertes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 3.
17. Marianne Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr. p. 24.
18. Auswärtiges Amt, Drittes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 6.
19. Auswärtiges Amt, Viertes Merkblatt, op. cit., p. 8.
20. Karl Bareiss, P.I. (Ebingen: 23 May, 1973), Tr. p. 5.
21. Das Auswärtige Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt über die Lage der Deutschen in Britisch-Indien (Berlin: German Government, State December, 1942), p. 15.
22. Heller, op. cit., p. 2.
23. Auswärtiges Amt, Drittes Merkblatt, loc. cit.; Auswärtiges Amt, Viertes Merkblatt, loc. cit.; Comité International de la Croix-Rouge et la Guerre, "Délégations du Comité international dans les cinq continents," Revue International De La Croix-Rouge (Geneve: Comite Interna-tional de la Croix-Rouge, No. 322, October, 1945), p. 747.
24. Theodor Lorch, P.I. (Ludwigsburg: 13 April, 1973), Tr. p. 9.
25. Alma Tauscher, P.I. (Glückstadt: 19 July, 1972), Tr. p.3.
26. Ibid., p. 7.

27. Theodor Lorch, *Begegnungen in Indien* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1948), p. 122.
28. Theodor Lorch, "Die politische Haltung der deutschen Missionare um die Zeit des zweiten Weltkriegs" (Unpublished review; Appendix), p. 1.
29. Rajah B. Manikam, "List of Missionary Internees and their Addresses" (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, August, 1944)
This list was prepared for the I.M.C. and was the NCC Secretary's tabulation of the German missionaries interned.
30. Lorch, "Politische Haltung", op. cit., p. 2.
31. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.; Tauscher, op. cit., pp. 6-7; Traugott Jungjohann, P.I. (Wedel: 17 July, 1972), Tr. p. 7; Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit., p. 4.
32. Selma Heller, Letter to Commandant Fern (Appendix: 4 August, 1945).
33. Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 8
34. Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 11; Renate Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 14.
35. Tauscher, op. cit., p. 7.
36. Lorch, *Begegnungen*, op. cit., p. 123.
37. Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to John W. Decker (Geneva:WCCA - IMC File, 23 February, 1945). Though it was very much a letter of information, as well as personal observations, Manikam termed it a "Confidential Statement on Orphaned Missions."
38. Auswärtiges Amt, Drittes Merkblatt, loc. cit.
39. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit., pp. 2-5.
40. Heller, Letter to Fern, loc. cit.
41. Friedrich Hübner, P.I. (Kiel: 25 September, 1970), Tr. p. 8.
42. Tauscher, op. cit. . p. 3.
43. Lorch, *Politische Haltung*, loc. cit.
44. Ibid.
45. Heinz von Tucher, P.I. (Gufflham, Bavaria: 29 December, 1969), pp. 6-7.
46. Alfred Brocke, P.I. (München: 14 October, 1969), Tr.p. 5.
47. Lorch, *Politische Haltung*, loc. cit.
48. Bareiss, op. cit. . pp. 8-9; Lipp, op. cit., p. 9.
49. Jungjohann, op. cit. , pp. 7-8.
50. Ibid., p. 7.
51. Lipp, op. cit.. p. 12; Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit.. p. 3; Bareiss, op. cit.. p. 6.
52. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.; Bareiss, loc. cit.
53. Jungjohann, loc. cit.
54. Auswärtiges Amt, Sechstes Merkblatt, loc. cit.
55. Marianne Brocke, op. cit. , pp. 1-2.
56. Lipp, op. cit.. p. 11.
57. Bareiss, loc. cit.
58. Jungjohann, op. cit.. p. 8; Heller, Manuscript, loc.cit.
59. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
60. Tucher, P.I. 1966, loc. cit.
61. Bareiss, loc. cit.

62. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
63. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
64. Jungjohann, op. cit. , p. 7.
65. Ibid.
66. Tauscher, op. cit.. pp. 6-7.
67. Jungjohann, loc. cit.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p. 8.
70. Ibid.
71. Tauscher, op. cit., p.7.
72. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
73. Lorch, P.I., op. cit. . p. 10.
74. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit., p. 2.
75. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
76. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit. . pp. 2-3; also Selma Heller, Satara "Kinderliste" (Appendix: 1944), gives one a good idea of the number of children being educated at the camp.
77. Tauscher, op. cit., p. 6.
78. Bareiss, op. cit., p.8.
79. Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 11.
80. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit., p. 5.
81. Tauscher, loc. cit.; Heller, Manuscript, op. cit., p. 5.
82. Tauscher, loc. cit.
83. Ibid.
84. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, op. cit., p. 3; Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
85. Auswärtiges Amt, Drittes Merkblatt, o_p_. cit.. p. 8; as in footnote 3.
86. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
87. Selma Heller, Unser Kinderblatt (Satara: Vijay Press, October, 1944; Appendix).
88. Ibid., p. 1.
89. Selma Heller, Letter to the writer (Rummelsberg: 20 June, 1970). The Leipzig missionary lady wrote: "Ich habe natürlich auch allerlei vergessen darin zu erwähnen; z.B. von dem Kinderblatt, das ich herausgab, steht nichts drin. Das ersehen Sie aus den zwei Mustern, die ich mitschicke. Die Sache verlief zuletzt doch noch im Sande." Refer to Appendix.
90. Heller, Unser Kinderblatt, op. cit., p. 1.
91. Heller, Satara 'Kinderliste', loc. cit.
92. Comite International de la Croix-Rouge, loc. cit.
93. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
94. Lipp, op. cit., p. 17.
95. Lorch, Begegnungen in Indien, op. cit. . p. 128.
96. Ibid.
97. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.

98. Tauscher, op. cit., p. 3.
99. Bareiss, op. cit.. p. 6.
100. Assistant Commandant, Permission to Mr. & Mrs. Heller (Parole Camp, Satara: 29 December, 1943; Appendix).
101. Commandant Fern, "Permit" to Rev. & Mrs. Heller, Dr. Th. Lorch and Mr. Luciani (Satara, Internment Camp and Parole Centre: 21 December, 1944; Appendix), No. 5917/1944.
102. Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
103. Bareiss, loc. cit.
104. Heller, Manuscript, loc.cit.
105. Lorch, Begegnungen in Indien, op. cit., pp. 128-129.
106. Heller, Manuscript, loc. cit.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Paul Gäbler, P.I. (Erlangen: 9 November, 1970); statement not on tape.
110. Ibid.
111. Heller, Manuscript, op. cit.. p. 4.
112. Ibid.
113. Lorch, Begegnungen, op. cit.. p. 129.
114. Lipp, loc. cit.
115. Bareiss, op. cit., p. 8.
116. Tauscher, loc. cit.
117. Langdon Gilkey, Shantung Compound (The Story of Men and Women under Pressure), (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 242.
118. Lorch, P.I., loc. cit.
119. Ibid.
120. Gäbler, op. cit.. p. 6.

XV POST-WAR INTERNMENT

The cessation of the European hostilities in World War II brought little relief for the German families interned in British India, at least in the immediate months following the war. At Satara, Selma Heller remembered, "for though the war had come to an end in May, 1945, we noticed absolutely nothing. ..." (1) With the collapse of Nazi Germany, the "hardest time in camp" (2) began for the German internees. For some it was only a case "from May, 1945, until April, 1946," (3) but for others it continued until their eventual departure from India. The opening months of peace ushered in scarcely any change to the camp life and activities, except that the pressures from the National Socialists were now history. Now the waiting game became predominant and where any move might bring some hope for the missionary families.

Realizing that there was no hope for their return to the Indian Church, (4) the Missions personnel had "prepared for home service" (5) in the German Church. The unqualified pastors-to-be had passed their theological exams. Yet the question of a definite day of repatriation to Germany was clouded in the distant future. Alma Tauscher expressed their feelings in the comment: "We felt that was what irritated us most. The war was long over. Why should we have to stay when the war had already been over for a year?"

Five months following the defeat of the Third Reich and the evaporation of the Nazi ideologies, the first signs of a change in the British war policies towards the German nationals became apparent. In the interests of the Lutheran churches established by the German Societies, certain efforts were made before the October, 1945, Executive Meeting of the N.C.C. at Nagpur. (7) According to the minutes, the following report was made:

"Repatriation of German Missionary Internees.

The Secretary has been corresponding with the Home Department of the Government of India on this matter, and has also interviewed the Secretaries of that Department at New Delhi. The request of the Lutheran Federation for the employment of certain German missionaries in non-German Missions has been communicated to the Government and is receiving their attention.

On October 6, 1945, the N.C.C. was informed ... that the Government have decided to adopt the following policy in regard to all enemy foreigners including missionaries:

They consider that all enemy foreigners received from abroad and interned or restricted to parole centres in India should be removed from India. ...

They have decided that all enemy foreigners formerly resident in India whom it was necessary to intern or restrict to parole centres up to the end of hostilities cannot be allowed to remain in India but should be compulsorily repatriated. The Government of India will, however, be prepared to consider individual applications for relaxation from this rule which will be considered on the following grounds:

- risk of persecution on return to own country;
- length of residence and connections in India;
- required in India for work of national importance;
- those whose wives and children who are of British origin;
- any other circumstances in which compulsory repatriation might cause undue hardship.

The orders excluding enemy foreigners from major ports, the provinces of Bengal and Assam and other strategic areas have also been withdrawn.

The Government of India have decided that it is necessary to impose a ban on the admission of enemy foreigners for the next five years. ... They will, however, be prepared to consider relaxation from this ban in exceptional cases, for example, to admit technical experts in the national interests.

(8)

What the Government's repatriation policy amounted to in 1945, the N.C.C. Executive Committee noted once more on the subject of the German Missions personnel;

... that except for certain hard cases all German missionary internees will be repatriated to Germany and that no German missionary will be ordinarily allowed to return to India for a period of five years as was the case after the last war. The N.C.C. Executive Committee passed the following resolution:

That the Secretaries be instructed to consult with the War Emergency Committee of the Federation of Lutheran Churches and with the Churches in which missionaries of ex-enemy countries were working to learn whose services are desired in India, ... either in their own missions or in other mission fields. (9)

The news of the repatriation policy and of the five-year ban from India reached the missionaries in camp, yet it was not unexpected news. Karl and Selma Heller had experienced a similar procedure after World War I. (10) Selma Heller recalled to mind, that in 1945,

In October of that year, we - my husband and I - received the order that we would be repatriated. There-upon I requested and received a leave of absence for a few days to return to our (mission) station to fetch from there some of the things from our packed up belongings left behind, by which occasion I sold my sewing machine there. Then I returned to the camp and we waited for further developments. (11)

Now beginning with October, an unsettling mood arose among the Lutheran missionaries, for German nationals were gradually being released from the internment and the parole camps in British India. The remaining Jewish emigrants and refugees were naturally awarded their freedom finally. Yet the repatriation policy decreed by the Government offered little hope for any special generosity. (12) However, there were engineers and businessmen with their families, as well as the Catholic priests, who were granted their releases. The criterion "for relaxation from this rule" of the repatriation policy hinged on the urgency and on the necessity of an individual being required for a specific task by a business, a firm or a church institution in India. For the missionary families, as for the churches established by the German Societies, 1946 became a crucial year for the Indian Church. At Satara, "little by little the camp became emptier. ... There a technician disappeared; there a businessman with his family left from the camp." (14) "For there were the engineers and the business people who were needed by their firms." (15) It was sometimes demoralizing for those of an uncontested character and record, yet

Each private person, say an engineer or whoever he might be, who seriously was demanded by a firm, was released. ... The British politics after the war was more generous than one had anticipated. ... (16)

Measured in the perspectives of time and circumstances, when the war fever and the fears had subsided, British generosity increased in the closing months of the Raj and in the face of the impending Independence of India. (17)

Among the German nationals there were the Roman Catholic priests and also the Evangelical-Lutheran missionaries of the four German Societies. The manner in which these two groups of missionaries were handled by their church authorities and the way the "relaxation of this rule" for release was approached by their own leaders stand out with contrasts. In the waiting game of releases, it became a now or never cause of gaining further relaxations to the rule.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC WAY OF APPROACH

The visit to India of Dr. John W. Decker, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, the New York branch, and successor to A.L. Warnshuis, and Decker's attendance at the "meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council, held at Nagpur, February 15-17, 1945, (18) greatly assisted in making a bridge between the Indian and the American Churches. Decker's presence gave him the

opportunity to acquaint himself with the situation as well as the leaders with whom he would later correspond.

As "representative of the Foreign Missions Conference of Switzerland," (19) Adolf Streckeisen had also attended the Nagpur meeting. On October 18th he wrote to Decker:

You will have heard of the recent Government decision ordering compulsory repatriation of the internees, but allowing exceptions under certain - rather narrow - conditions. If they should be applied strictly, I fear that scarcely any missionary will have a chance. I hear on the Roman side already about 9 of their German missionaries have been released. They seem to have their own way of approach and we have to see that we Protestants are not lagging too far behind. As far as our Mission is concerned, we confine ourselves to one family - Rev. and Mrs. R. Lipp - and application for them is before Government. But no answer has been received so far. (20)

The Roman Catholics' "own way of approach" was to gain the freedom of as many of their interned brethren and as early as possible. They attempted to regain their German missionaries, veterans of India and trained and versed in one or more of the Indian languages. The Roman Catholic Church saw the urgency of the situation and the only rational way was to harness these brethren immediately in the Church in India. In contrast Streckeisen seemed to be insulted, in that the Protestants were lagging too far behind the Catholic brethren. If this was a failure, who was responsible for the procrastination? As one of the internees, Richard Lipp shed some light on this subject:

This is what I have felt very deeply; that the Church was far too little aware of its duty, I mean the Protestant churches. When we saw how the Catholics took an interest in their people, the Catholic Bishop of Bombay took great pains to get his missionaries out. So many Catholics were given the permit to return to their work, and some even to teach in a college.

If there were Roman Catholics who had very nationalistic views, they of course were not allowed to return. But many people, say those who were of my type, they were certainly allowed in the course of time to return to some type of work, not necessarily missionary-at-large, ... but maybe confined to a college or some institution. (21)

The Roman Catholic organizational structure with its universal character saw the greatest consequence for its church and mission labours in India, and for that reason it was militant in its desire to have its priests and missionaries back. Already by October, 1945, they were triumphant with their first nine men leaving camp. Karl Bareiss, not released by the British authorities and not accepted by his Swiss Basel brethren, made this observation:

They acted prudently and efficiently, that is, the Catholics. They simply got some out; simply sent them first into another province for some months and then brought them back to the Bombay Province. Then there was nothing more in their way. The Basel people did not do that. ... (22)

The Roman Catholic Church's own way of approach was in the image of the militant church, and each German missionary was an added warrior for the increasing ranks of the Church in India. The Protestant missionaries in internment did not receive the same quickened support, at least when the opportunity still existed in the years 1945 and 1946.

THE LUTHERAN RESOLUTIONS

Prior to the close of World War II certain overtures were made by the National Christian Council in seeking a better understanding with the Home Department, similar to J.Z. Hodge's consultations with Conran-Smith and others in 1939 and 1940. As an example, Dr. Rajah B. Manikam, N.C.C. Secretary, "interviewed the Home Secretary on October 23rd, 1944." (23) Manikam, a Tamil Lutheran, pointed out;

... that if the N.C.C. were kept informed by the Government of their general policy regarding repatriation, it would help the N.C.C. in making arrangements for the continued maintenance of the work done formerly by the German missionaries. ... (24)

On February 15-17, 1945, it was brought to the attention of the N.C.C. Executive Committee, that "negotiations were entered into with the Government of India regarding the release of one of the Lutheran missionaries, but the Government could not see their way to release him." (25) Further, the Committee made the following motion:

In order that as soon as repatriation became possible (the Government might be approached) to retain in India certain German missionaries, correspondence was now proceeding between certain missions and their Boards in the West regarding the employment of certain German missionaries now in internment. (26)

These were the beginnings of the renewed consultations and endeavours, though the missionaries on the other hand clearly had premonitions of their repatriation.

Following the war, Manikam continued to correspond with the Home Department concerning the interned families. At "the request of the Lutheran Federation for the employment of certain German missionaries, ..." (27) i.e., "the services of Rev. H. Meyer and Rev. R. Tauscher" for the Jeypore Evangelical Lutheran Church, (28) the possibility of retaining some of these men and women for the Church in India took on a probable trend. Manikam admitted to Decker that the "Indian leadership of the (Jeypore) Church is poor." (29) At any rate, it was thought that the missionaries might at least serve, if only for a while, with "non-German Missions," (30) be they American or European Lutheran Societies. This was the contention of Karl Bareiss (as discussed later) and the pattern which the Roman Catholic Church had used. Thus, only in October, 1945, the N.C.C. Executive Committee passed this resolution:

In the light of these consultations the Secretaries should approach the Government of India and place before them the need for adequately staffing fields that have been occupied by missionaries of ex-enemy countries. They should do all in their power to secure exemption from compulsory repatriation of suitable missionaries whose services it is desired to obtain, and also to secure sanction for the admission of new missionaries from such countries. (31)

The German missionary himself had little choice or say in the matter, so Selma Heller described the situation then.

We were not able to make any attempt to secure a position which might enable us to remain in India. One of the internees through such an attempt, which certainly was not very exertive, spoiled every hope of seeing his wish fulfilled.

But from before the war some of our fellow-internees had been so appreciated in their jobs by their firms or elsewhere, that their former employers requested to have them back. (32)

Restricted from making an appeal to friends, organizations or mission churches, "we had to wait until we were fetched." (33) And in the year 1945 not a single German Evangelical-Lutheran missionary had departed from Satara or Purandhar.

It was not the wish of every missionary to remain in British India. Johannes Stosch, Wilhelm Bräsen and Otto Tied had not seen their wives since 1937 or 1938 when they came out to India alone, or the couples Heller and Tauscher had children in Germany from the pre-war years. From Germany there were requests made for some of the internees, as in the case of a Pfarrer Pompe's letter in October, 1945;

... the direction of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Breklum has requested that the Evangelisches Hilfswerk (für Internierte und Kriegsgefangene) convey the following petition to the International Mission Council:

The International Missionary Council wishes an immediate return to his homeland of the missionary Wilhelm Braesen, hitherto at the Central Internment Camp, Dehra Dun, G.P.O. Bombay, and for

Fraulein Helene Langlo, hitherto at the Parole Centre Satara, Bombay Presidency, to be effected and carried through. (34)

Pompe's letter of appeal to Professor Knut B. Westman at Uppsala was in turn forwarded to Norman Goodall of the I.M.C. in London. In the latter's absence Betty Gibson acknowledged Westman's letter and informed him, "We have been receiving quite a number of inquiries through different sources from various missionary societies with regard to their people and their work abroad." (35) But the influence of the I.M.C. upon Whitehall and the Government of India had changed substantially from the days of William Paton, the man who "drove himself unmercifully beyond human endurance" (36) until his death on August 21st, 1943. (37) With the courage of a Christian warrior, Paton had so ably influenced his Government to understand Christian Missions in the British colonies.

Then in December, 1945, in the interest of the German families, a more vigorous approach was initiated by the increased role of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in India. If the N.C.C., in spite of its consultations and the correspondence with the Home Department, had to this date no appreciable results, then it was time for the other Lutherans in India to act prudently and efficiently before it was too late and all the German missionaries were repatriated and banned from India. The Indian Church needed these men and women, and the Missions personnel loved their Indian families, (38) knew their languages, taught their young and adults, and came to serve in India as all the other Christian missionaries.

At the December 4th meeting of the Lutheran Federation's Executive Council, some guidelines and requests were passed as resolutions:

That the Federation Executive reiterate its strong desire to have certain of the Lutheran interned missionaries already named in previous correspondence retained in this country for service in certain of our Constituent bodies and request the N.C.C. to use its good offices to secure the retention of the missionaries in question.

That the request of the Jeypore Evangelical Lutheran Church for the services of Rev. H. Meyer and Rev. R. Tauscher being made available. ...

c) That the Constituent bodies concerned who have not already acted be urged to invite by resolution for service in their respective areas those missionaries who are acceptable to them and who are willing to work under their Church organization. (39)

While the Roman Catholics were already receiving their interned missionaries back, the Lutheran Federation was forced to assemble and make these resolutions, indicating once more its "strong desire" for "the N.C.C. to use its good offices to secure" some of the wanted German brethren. The names of the interned missionaries had been mentioned often enough, and the resolutions appeared to be a form of friendly persuasion that the N.C.C. Secretary Manikam get things moving in the interest of the German Missions. In this matter Manikam's letter to Goodall noted:

The Secretary of the Lutheran Federation adds the following paragraph:

"It appears as though no definite recommendations could be expected at least for sometime from Gossner and Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran mission area(s). The matter regarding the Jeypore field has become very urgent because Mr. Anderson is very anxious to hand over charge and be ready to leave the country as soon as passage is available. The Federation earnestly requests that immediate action regarding the Jeypore field be taken." (40)

These pressing matters were not only discussed and resolutions passed at the December 4th meeting, but they were once; again taken up at "an enlarged meeting of the Executive Council (Lutheran) ... at Madras on December 28-29," (41) 1945, placing further responsibility on the N.C.C. to use its influence as the leading non-Roman body of the Indian Christian Church. The N.C.C. Secretary in turn did act, stating:

I wrote to the Government forwarding the resolutions of the N.C.C. and the All-India Lutheran Federation and made a special plea for the immediate release of Messrs Meyer and Tauscher. I also wrote about the release of Mr. and Mrs. R. Lipp of the Basel Mission. ... Of course I made it clear

that our request for the release and retention of these missionaries was on the condition that there was nothing politically against them. ...

The N.C.C. Executive Committee again made it quite clear that we should consult not only the All-India Lutheran Federation but also the Churches concerned. The Church in the Breklum field has unanimously asked for the release and retention of Messrs Meyer and Tauscher. The Gossner Lutheran Church has not yet (29th Jan., 1946) taken any definite action for the retention of any of its missionaries; so also the Tamil Lutheran Church. The matter is engaging the attention of the Lutheran Federation and I am keeping in close touch with them. ... (42)

Obviously Lipp, Meyer and Tauscher fell into the category of those who could be accepted, as "there was nothing politically against them." (43) And at this stage, from the two autonomous Lutheran churches, the Gossner and the Tamil (Leipzig) Evangelical Lutheran Churches, "no definite recommendations could be expected at least for some time." (44) In the case of the Leipzig Mission, the Tamil Church's northern field, Bishop Sandegren of Tranquebar was once more on vacation in Sweden. (45) "As for Mr. Stosch the Gossner Church Council has been somewhat hesitant about inviting him to Ranchi because of the military occupation of the Church compound." (46)

Then much to the surprise of everyone concerned, Manikam received some good news:

On February 9th, 1946, the Government of India informed the Secretary, N.C.C. that the Government had decided to release the following five missionaries:

- The Rev. Dr. W. Graefe (Leipzig Mission);
- The Rev. H. Meyer (Schlesinger Holstein);
- The Rev. R. Tauscher (Schlesinger Holstein);
- The Rev. J. Stosch (Gossner);
- The Rev. R. Lipp (Basel Mission).

It was also stated that the release of other interned German missionaries was not possible. (47)

However, Manikam introduced another category in a subsequent letter to Norman Goodall:

It has not been possible for them to release any of the others owing to their adverse record. ...

You will note that with the release of these missionaries, at least one experienced missionary is available for service in each of the four important orphaned missions and churches. It is not yet possible for the Government to give us any indication when the rest of the missionaries will be repatriated. All depends on shipping conditions. (48)

From Manikam's communiqué one is made to believe that these five releases close the case concerning the Lutheran missionaries, particularly since the remaining 23 German brethren all fall into the realm of having "adverse record(s)," and the next stage is to await their repatriation. For the N.C.C. Secretary the issue had now been fully regulated.

The February news was cause for joy, even if it was four months after the earliest Roman Catholic releases. Yet the War Emergency Committee of the Lutheran Federation met on February 26th at Bezwada again. In gratitude, these Lutherans, with Manikam in attendance,

RESOLVED:

That the War Emergency Committee express its gratitude to Government for their generous action in being willing to release these missionaries for service in India and request the Secretary, National Christian Council, to convey to the Government its deep appreciation of their action. ...

To assure the National Christian Council that it is the conviction of the Committee that they need have no misgivings regarding the observance of the oath required by the Government from the missionaries already recommended by the Federation. Further **RESOLVED** to request the Secretary of National Christian Council to give the necessary guarantee to the Government and sign the

papers, at present only for the Rev. Messrs H. Meyer and R. Tauscher and to inform the Government that the matter of the assignment of Mr. Stosch to work in the Gossner ... Church and the question of the employment of Rev. W. Graefe not so far recommended by the Federation are still under correspondence.

That the War Emergency Committee assure the National Christian Council that the Federation guarantee for Rev. J. Stosch, as in the case of the Breklum missionaries, his salary and passage money for his journey back to Germany when his period of service is terminated. ... (49)

Stosch, once the President of the Gossner Church, was granted his release by the Government, but an invitation from his Church Council remained delinquent. For that reason, "this committee further requested the N.C.C. Secretary to confer with the President of the Gossner Church regarding the employment of the Rev. J. Stosch in Ranchi District." (50)

Among the post-war developments mentioned, it was also noted: "The Lutheran Federation is making arrangements for the care or the disposal of the belongings of German missionaries if and when repatriated." And following a statement on the War Emergency Fund, its receipts, payments and balance, the Committee made three further resolutions, the most important being; "That the Secretary of the N.C.C. be asked to confer further with the Home Department, Government of India, regarding the cases of the unreleased German missionaries."

The Lutheran Federation and its War Emergency Committee continued to press for the release of additional German brethren, obviously since the Government had indicated a growing generosity towards their appeals. From the Federation resolutions, one might draw some conclusions:

1. The Government of India was willing to release German missionaries, i.e. Johannes Stosch, even if the mission church was hesitant to request the return; (53)
2. The Lutheran Federation, as the umbrella organization for the Lutheran churches of India, could not forget its "unreleased German missionaries," (54) Lutheran brethren to be repatriated and banned; and
3. The Secretary of the N.C.C., Manikam, was to "sign t, the papers" for the releases as a guarantee to the Government of India. (55)

Nevertheless, the procedure for gaining the release of a German missionary from a camp became entangled in a complicated process of successive and conditional stages. A six (or more) point process of release seemed to develop;

Lutheran Federation recommended certain brethren; (56)

Acceptance of that missionary by the church body; (57)

3- N.C.C., through Manikam, carried these recommendations to the Government of India; (58)

Government discriminated on these brethren - no adverse record and politically safe (59) - and granted the releases;

Lutheran Federation supported the N.C.C. and Manikam gave the guarantees, i.e., "as for Mr. Meyer and Mr. Tauscher I have signed the undertaking required by the Government." (60)

Government, through the Home Department's Deputy Secretary, V. Shankar, issued the release ORDERS. (61)

If one step in the intricate procedure was unintentionally or intentionally omitted, i.e. the missionary's guarantee papers were pushed aside and left to rest on the table, the chances for a particular individual to remain in India were then negligible. It was a tedious system to contrast it with the direct approach of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. There was a reward in fighting "to secure the retention of the missionaries in question" (62) for the Lutheran churches.

THE FIRST POST-WAR RELEASES

By the time the February news of the five missionary releases reached the parole camps, e.g. Richard Lipp at Purandhar, and the necessary "undertakings" had been signed, it was March, 1946. (63) Ten months after the collapse of Nazi Germany and five months after the release of the first Catholic priests, the release orders arrived. Yet what was good news for these five families, was at the same time a disturbing experience for the others. Why should one missionary be chosen and another be rejected by the same mission church? Nevertheless, the Lutheran Federation and the N.C.C. had only achieved their first major goal.

It was altogether a painful situation of missionary families interned six years, a world war nearly a year behind them and everyone waiting in British India for their repatriation day. Suddenly five, all without question worthy candidates and invaluable leaders for the continuing work of the Indian Church, were granted their freedom. Except for six brethren applying for repatriation, (64) all interned were prepared to return to the mission churches.

While the evaluations and the judgments continued to be made on these missionaries by others "behind the scenes," (65) it was a pathetic guessing game in the camps, as no one was able to make an appeal outside. Not to be accepted by the mission church which they had served these years, meant a compulsory eviction and a ban from an adopted land.

At first the Government of India sanctioned the re lease of at least one man from each mission church, and it is interesting to note some of the developments leading up to the release orders of March, 1946. From the Breklum Mission Heinrich Meyer and Rudolf Tauscher, as the former President of the Mission Church and as the missionary with the longest period of service (since 1927), respectively, were unanimously requested by the Jeypore Evangelical Lutheran Church. Manikam had stated that he himself "made a special plea for the immediate release" (67) of these two men. In fact, in February, 1945, before the close of the war, Manikam indicated to Decker, that "we commend to the Federation the needs of the West Jeypore Church ... for two resident missionaries." (68)

From the Basel Mission Richard Lipp, who during the war had emphasized his missionary vocation and his task to not get politically involved, (69) was the only choice of the Swiss personnel. Based on what had been a "hitherto considerable correspondence," (70) Adolf Streckeisen, "Superintendent of the Basel Mission, has given the necessary undertaking in the case of Mr. Lipp." (71) Streckeisen accepted the token offer of the Government, but he felt strongly that "as far as our Mission is concerned, we confine ourselves to one family - Rev. and Mrs. R. Lipp." (72) This admission of Streckeisen's attitude stood in contrast to the Basel Mission Church, when the Indian church leaders voted 14 to 2 in favour of the resolution: "The Synod welcomes heartily missionaries who thus are enabled to come back and assures them that the bond of Christian fellowship with them is as strong as ever." (73) The Indian Christians spoke of "missionaries", while the Swiss personnel, still very much the administrators, spoke of "one family". Earlier in the year Manikam had commented on the Mission to Decker; "I do not believe that in other ways Indian leadership has been greatly countenanced or encouraged." (74)

From the Gossner Mission Johannes Stosch, a missionary to India since 1908 and Chairman of the Mission as well as President of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church until his resignation in 1942, was the natural person to be invited by his Church. However,

There was some hesitation in the mind of the Gossner Church Council to invite Mr. Stosch for work at Ranchi in view of the military occupation. ... We have had to deal with this matter rather carefully and tactfully. (75)

The initiative for Stosch's return began, as Manikam noted;

... The Lutheran Federation went into this matter very carefully on February 26th and at which meeting I was present and they requested me to confer with Rev. J. Lakra, President of the Gossner Church. (76)

On March 5th, 1946, at Nagpur the N.C.C. Secretary

... had a personal interview with the President of the Gossner Church, Rev. Joel Lakra, and after a good deal of discussion was able to convince him that complications are not likely to arise if Mr. Stosch was released. (77)

And on March 9th Manikam conveyed the news to the I.M.C.:

... Mr. Lakra has gone back to Ranchi this morning to request his Church Council to welcome Mr. Stosch and to assign him to work in the Theological Seminary at Lohardaga. I am to write to the Government of Bihar explaining ... that Mr. Stosch comes back to the Ranchi District as a member of the Gossner Church and not as a member of a separate German mission. (78)

Rajah Manikam also pointed out to Betty Gibson in London,

... that Mr. Stosch is being welcomed as a friend, advisor and well-wisher of the Gossner Church and that he is not to exercise any executive functions. The Gossner Church is extremely chary of inviting missionaries from abroad who will not become members of the Church and will not serve in and under the Church. (79)

On precisely the same day, April 23rd, 1946, and at the Parole Camp of Satara, Stosch also wrote to London;

Dear Miss Gibson,

I thankfully remember the help you gave me for my return to the Gossner field in India when I saw you in London in July, 1925. Now Dr. Manikam invites me to write to you that I am going to be released for theological work in Ranchi District. In 10 days I hope to leave the camp. I shall not return to Ranchi as 'President of the Church', but as friend and adviser, having access to every department of Church and Mission work and being a member of the Church Council, non-voting. In a way an ideal appointment. My daily work will be in our Theological Seminary. (80)

In May, 1946, an entire year following World War II, Stosch departed from Satara to take up the teaching position at the Lohardaga Seminary. Since "the Government of India have tabooed the entry of German missionaries into this country for the next five years," (81) there existed the obstacle "regarding his wife and daughter joining him in India." (82) For that reason Stosch did not see the year out in India. On November 19th Manikam wrote to Betty Gibson:

We were finally able to secure a place for Mr. Stosch on 'Ansgar' to Amsterdam and Mr. Stosch went to Patna to get his passport. ... I am indeed, like you, very sorry that Mr. Stosch has to return to Germany, so soon after his release. His presence in the Gossner Church had been and would have continued to be of very great help. (83)

Yet it is not difficult to understand Stosch's desire to depart from India, considering the initial reluctance of the Gossner Church to extend him an invitation, but also that his wife and his daughter would not be allowed to come out to the British colony. The departure of Johannes Stosch from the Indian scene brought to a close the career of one of Germany's most able missionaries of the 20th century on the sub-continent and a service to the Indian Church over a span of nearly 40 years, interrupted and scarred by two world wars and the Gossner Church's many difficulties.

From the Leipzig Mission, much to the surprise of everyone, Dr. Walter Graefe was selected, but more than any other person he seemed to unleash an unrest among the missionary families and some complications for the N.C.C. One missionary's comment was: "That they permitted Graefe to go free and that they sent Gäbler home, was obviously a mistake, for Graefe was certainly everything else but a missionary. He was a language researcher" (84) and a scholar of Indian religions. Not only was Graefe's release unexpected, but he had been favoured before Paul Gäbler, the Leipzig Mission chairman. Manikam also expressed his amazement in the selection, "We did not ask for his release, nor did the Lutheran Federation, but he was released because there

was nothing against him in his political record." It also substantiated the position that "the Tamil Lutheran Church has not yet taken any definite action for the retention of any of its missionaries." (86) Thus Manikam tried to explain to Norman Goodall the meaning of Graefe's freedom;

We did not ask for the release of Dr. Graefe but we did apply for the release of the other four. Someone else must have written on behalf of Dr. Graefe. The Tamil Church is not favourably inclined towards inviting him for service. The Church of Sweden Mission is likewise not very happy about receiving him into their work. ... There is some tension between the Swedes and the Germans. I have therefore not been able to give the understanding on behalf of Dr. Graefe. (87)

At any rate, regarding "Dr. Graefe, there was a lot said about him going back to the field. There were a lot of un-pleasant things said about people staying or not staying." It was quite understandable that Graefe's selection caused some turmoil, for of the three strictly German Lutheran Missions, the Leipzig Society work, under the care of the Church of Sweden Mission, was the only Mission which did not see its chairman, Paul Gäbler, invited by his church.

One explanation for Graefe's release, beyond his clean political record and also Manikam's evaluation, was the fact "that Mrs. Graefe was Secretary to the Commandant (Fern), Satara Camp, and that this had much to do with their release." (89) The Graefes departed from the parole camp and he went to serve at the Department of Modern European languages, the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. (90) In this manner a German researcher was retained for India.

According to Selma Heller's observations and the speculation among the internees, certain criteria were necessary to a release order;

They were determined after three viewpoints:

1. How he behaved himself before the war or whether he had made himself suspicious (India was in its independence struggle from England);
2. Whether he had showed himself as a follower of Hitler in the camp in some way; and
3. How the commandant judged him in all the other matters. He clearly had the most important word. (91)

They were strictly theories, but they were born of experience and much time for contemplation.

For the other missionaries remaining in camp, there were the added weeks for reflection and self-appraisal. The daily life had a routine and the question whether one was to be repatriated or to be released persisted for many more months. There were other concerns and some insoluble problems preoccupying the families. As an example, in March a Leipzig missionary wrote to the I.M.C. and expressed his concerns to Norman Goodall and Betty Gibson;

Mrs. Gerlach and I are still staying under the very same and quite satisfactory conditions here at Satara. Both of us are healthy and all right. In spite of our application for release to go on with work in our Tamil Mission Field we now got the definite order for repatriation; from our Mission only Dr. W. Graefe is released.

... Today, just one year ago (8.3.45), both of us had to pass through a bitter sorrow: our first child was a still-born baby. During all the months Mrs. Gerlach was quite all right, only during the last ten days sudden trouble arose; we had to leave together for the good and near American Marathi Mission hospital at Wai. ... The little girl I had to bury there among the other missionary graves.

Our last news from our relations at home is the letter of my brother Walter Gerlach, dated 17.2.45. We worry so much about all our relatives, and we would be so much relieved, if we could get news from them. ... (92)

March, 1946, five German missionary families were granted permits to leave internment; it would be some weeks before they all had departed. The remaining families were still very much internees and destined for Germany.

APRIL IN SATARA

April, 1946, brought encouraging signs for the interned Lutheran families. Another release, on account of further appeals, was indicative now that the Government of India was going beyond the token releases of "one experienced missionary in each of the four important churches and missions." (93) Also, "in the spring of 1946 some of the smaller camps were dissolved, among them also the larger one at Purandhar, and from there the internees ..." were accommodated at Satara. (94) Through this move all the German missionary families, except for the five already released and the three men at Dehra Dun, were now assembled for their eventual journey to Germany. Yet the closing down of the other camps meant that the Jewish and the German national families continued to depart in freedom. (95) According to one family transferred from Purandhar,

In Satara ... each person was given one room; so that for each family, as for the five of us, ... it really was quite pleasant in the barracks, five rooms in a row. And we could fix them up as we wanted to. Therefore Satara was a camp of which one has a vivid impression. ... (96)

Those families transferred from the hill fort spent only a brief seven months at Satara. Yet it too was an uncertain time; "as the International Missionary Council's May, 1946, Bulletin stated, 'A survey ... presents a rather monotonous picture of people carrying on doggedly or waiting patiently for deliverance.'" (97)

In April the first major break-through in the Government's policy on releases occurred, supporting Manikam's view "that the Government of India have been very good to German missionaries in the country and have been very generous and kind in their treatment of them." (98) Manikam wrote to Betty Gibson over the latest development:

You will be glad to hear that in addition to the 5 missionaries whose release has been secured we have been able to get one other free and that is Mr. Jungjohann of the Schleswig Holstein Mission. The Church is now being asked whether it would invite him to work and if it agrees I shall sign on his behalf the undertaking required by the Government of India from the N.C.C. (99)

Traugott Jungjohann's release meant that the third Breklum man of a total of six brethren leaving the parole camps was now permitted to return to his mission church work. One might conjecture that an influential factor in Jungjohann's freedom was due to his excellent service as Commandant Fern's "economic minister" at Satara. His release supported Selma Heller's observations, mentioned above under point 3. (100)

Jungjohann's release from the parole settlement, contrast to the first token releases, now awakened a real hope for the remaining Missions personnel. It was well known that the Jeypore District Commissioner thought well of his German missionaries. Yet moreso, Jungjohann's freedom to depart disqualified Manikam's March, 1946, statement - "It has not been possible for them to release any of the others owing to their adverse record." (101) And Jungjohann's release gave new impetus for those outside the camp; for

The Lutheran Federation is now recommending to its War Emergency Committee that the N.C.C. be approached to secure the release of Messrs Gaebler and Gerlach. If this recommendation goes through, we shall try to secure their release also.

We are approaching the Government with the request that they re-examine the cases of the unreleased missionaries. (102)

In the same April 23rd letter, Manikam explained to Gibson:

The Tamil Church would have been happy to get Mr. Gerlach, but the Tamil Church has voted against inviting any German missionary, including Gaebler. I understand now that the Church of

Sweden Mission which was also reluctant to invite Mr. Gerlach for work in its field is changing its mind and would like to assign him. ... (103)

The Lutheran Federation recommendations of Paul Gäbler, the Leipzig Mission chairman, and Wolfgang Gerlach, a younger missionary with administrative ability at the Shiyali School, were short lived. The Tamil Church vote indicated certain fears towards the German brethren returning to take up the positions which the Indian leadership had carried in their absence. Manikam had also spoken of the tensions between the Swedes and the Germans, though the first group were the administrators in freedom and the other the hapless internees at the mercy of others. Furthermore, if Sigfrid Estborn was representative of the erroneous, inexcusable thinking of the Swedes, then who could tolerate "the German missionaries, some of whom were members of the Nazi party and had openly propagated Nazism, ..." (104) to be in their midst again.

It was actually the junior missionary Gerlach who was most 'in demand' of the Leipzig men, and not Gäbler, the trusted and experienced head of the Mission. Gerlach was needed for his services at the Shiyali School, but from the position of the Government of India, his release seemed unlikely, since he was one of the two Leipzig men not released on parole in the few months of 1940. (105) How often did each of the remaining 22 missionary internees have the occasion and the time to make a self-evaluation or to attempt to give a justifiable explanation for the lack of an invitation from his mission church and his continued presence in the parole camp? Gäbler and Gerlach were two brethren who never had a chance, even as the Government of India became increasingly "very generous and kind in their treatment" of the German families.

THE UNRELEASED MISSIONARIES

April in Satara came and went, and only the Breklum missionary Jungjohann received his release order. The hot season was once again upon the land and upon the internees in the barracks. For the months of May and June, the British officials, most Christian missionaries and the more affluent Indians had departed for one of the many wonderful hill-stations of India. The 'early April' transfer from Purandhar to Satara, from an altitude of 3.600 feet down to, 2.300 feet, seemed to be a particularly harsh measure for these families with babies and children. Likely the British needed the Purandhar sanatorium facilities for their own personnel.

From outside the camp there was little fresh news in these vacation months. Inside the camp the families saw the weeks drag on, waiting for deliverance from the heat in the barracks and from the uncertain future. With the anticipated repatriation already announced in October, 1945, so one missionary said, "Since we knew nothing about all the, things (outside the camp), we prepared ourselves for the journey home." (107) In the summer heat, followed by the monsoon rains, the families prepared themselves for Europe;

It was natural that we already started knitting wool clothes for our children, though they were so used to the heat. Now we anticipated arriving in Germany in winter. This was going to be forced upon us next. (108)

There were other concerns about returning to the Vaterland, and Christian Lohse envisioned one problem:

I had no great longing to return to Germany, because I could well imagine for myself how things actually were. ... When I finally came home, I could see that it was still worse than what I had expected. At that time I personally would have rather gone to America or (if to Australia than return to Germany. (109)

After a three-month lull for the holidays, a respite came to "the monotonous picture of people carrying on doggedly" (110) at the Satara Parole Camp;

For one evening in July Herr Meyer appeared quite unexpectedly, since the commandant had called him so that he could help him in these matters. He (Fern) was quite unfamiliar with each mission, and he could not have familiarized himself with them.

Herr Meyer came to us to ask us whether there was the possibility and whether we were prepared, instead of going back to our children, we might return to our mission work again. He gave us until

the following morning to think it over. ... We were prepared to remain in India, since we knew clearly how few missionaries could remain; and with this decision he departed again. (111)

This was the case of the Karl Hellers (Leipzig Mission); for

... at first the Tamil Church wanted to virtually renounce (all missionaries), since there were, at that time, men in its leadership with strong nationalistic feelings. But then one voice was raised that one should not completely reject the offer of the Government. (112)

The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church eventually accepted the offer of the Government, as Selma Heller stated, "They took my husband out of necessity." (113) Seemingly "they did not want him back, as he was quite enterprising; yet they still did receive him back" (114) to assist in the financial concerns and administration of the Tamil Church.

In August a most encouraging event occurred, here retold by Frau Heller;

The still-existing camps were at the time under the eminent official Mr. Shankar. This man visited us for a couple of days and on August 13th he held a consultation afternoon for all of us in the dining hall. After he had made a short speech, he went from table to table and let the commandant introduce the people to him. As he heard my husband's name and the name of a Basel missionary (Bareiss) at our table, he said: "Oh, I can congratulate you here right away. You are free." My husband, not exactly sure whom he meant from the group, followed him and asked him again what he meant. "Well, you!" was his reply.

We felt sorry for our friends who had to hear this and whose names were not considered again. We ourselves rejoiced naturally. But even after this, ("the oral news that we would be released," (115)) and the silence, regarding our staying in the country, ... we still had to wait for months. Some of our friends from Ceylon and Indonesia then left the camp in September. (116)

By August, 1946, the Government of India and the N.C.C. knew fairly well how the German missionary families were going to fare regarding their releases, and as Manikam wrote, "the financial implication of such a procedure;" (117)

The All-India Lutheran Federation has, till now, been making itself responsible for the maintenance of the released German missionaries. I suppose a way would be found whereby the additional burden might be borne by the Lutheran Federation. (118)

The Lutheran Federation was dependent on the world-wide efforts for the 'Orphaned Missions' under the guidance of the I.M.C. in London and New York, but strongly supported by the Lutheran Churches of America and the Lutheran World Convention. (119) From their post-war budgets the American Lutheran organizations forwarded substantial financial aid for the many orphaned Lutheran mission churches in the world.(120)

From British India Manikam's August 20th letter gave Betty Gibson this elaborate survey:

The Government of India are following a very liberal policy in releasing as many as possible of the German missionaries against whom there is no political record or whose release will not be too risky.

The total number of Protestant missionaries still in internment and not yet released, is twenty-five. Of these, the following have applied for repatriation to Germany:

1. BEAESEN, Wilhelm (Breklum)
2. TIED, Otto Will Georg (Leipzig)
3. RADSICK, W. (Gossner)
4. KLING, W. (Basel)
5. WEINERT, J. (Leipzig)

6. LANGLO, Miss H. (Breklum)

Of the remaining 19 it has been decided, on the basis of their record, both prior to and after internment, to keep in detention the following 11 missionaries:

1. GERLACH, Rev. Kurt Wolfgang (Leipzig)
2. GÄBLER, Rev. Paul Hermann Julius Theodor
3. AHRENS, Rev. Walter Hans Albert (Breklum)
4. JELLINGHAUS, Rev. Karl Theodor (Gossner)
5. WOLFF, Dr. Otto (Gossner)
6. STORIM, Miss Irene (Gossner)
7. SPECK, Rev. Reimer Hans (Breklum)
8. LOHSE, Rev. Christian Johannes (Breklum)
9. HUEBNER, Rev. Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm (Breklum)
10. PALMANN, Rev. Guiseppe
11. LORCH, Dr. Theodor (Basel)

The remaining 8 missionaries are under the very liberal policy of the Government eligible for release.

Their names are:

1. ROEVER, Rev. Hans (Leipzig)
2. HELLER, Rev. Karl and Mrs. Selma (Leipzig)
3. DILLER, Miss Amy (Gossner)
4. KLIMKEIT, Rev. Johannes and Mrs. Renate (Gossner)
5. SCHMIDT, Miss Hedwig (Gossner)
6. HELMS, Rev. Nikolaus & Mrs. Hedwig (Breklum)
7. BAREISS, Rev. Karl & Mrs. Hanna (Basel)
8. BORUTTA, Rev. Helmut Fritz Erhard & Mrs. Helene (Gossner)

[\(121\)](#)

As a point of clarification, Betty Gibson's letter to Walter Freytag mentioned the fact that "Dr. Manikam's letter of August 20th indicated that 11 missionaries were to be kept in detention, I presume, with the possibility of later release in India." (122) Yet in her closing paragraph, she conceded to Freytag the very opposite; "... but I expect that they too will be sent home now." (123)

With only a year remaining for India's Independence set for August 15th, 1947, the British Government made the generous offer of the above "8 missionaries" to the N.C.C. and the Indian Church. In this regard Manikam could write:

I am now getting in touch with the Churches and Missions concerned regarding the employment of these persons, should they be released and also with the Lutheran Federation regarding their financial support and repatriation expenses if need be.

The National Christian Council has been requested to give undertaking on behalf of each one of these missionaries with reference to their good behaviour. (124)

And with the Government's increasingly generous policy, it was the thinking among the missionaries, as expressed by Christian Lohse, that "if the N.C.C. had claimed us, we could all have been released. Each private person, ... whoever he might have been, who seriously was requested, ... he was released." (125)

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS BORDERS

One further glimpse into the Central Internment Camp at Dehra Dun might offer an insight into the continuing problems of the post-war years. Most of the German missionaries from the Dutch East Indies were quartered at this camp; and following the death of Fritz Mack (Basel), only Otto Tied and Hans Röver (both Leipzig), and Wilhelm Bräsen (Brekum) remained at Premnagar from the brethren once serving with the Missionary Societies to British India. Tied described how heavily these post-war months hung upon the internees:

We continuously longed to go home, but the British commandant apparently had no interest that we should be sent home. ... This was Colonel Williams; ... he accompanied us throughout entire India. He was already with us in Ahmadnagar. ... He made a business out of us then. ... For if the camp had to be dissolved, he then would have to return to his army unit. ... In any case, he had an excellent occupation there in north India with his parolees and he did not necessarily care for a change.

And this (camp) he managed until we made a disturbance and gained the YMCA's help. They then came again, and so I informed them, "Well, our people are completely, stirred up. Frankly, we want to return home. We have been interned the longest; we were arrested the first day of the declared war and confined from that day on. ... None of the prisoners of war had to sit as long as we did. We certainly have the right to appeal that we might be sent home as early as possible." In this matter the YMCA personnel could clearly see the situation and informed us that they would take up the matter. (126)

The YMCA men, Messrs Franklin and Bell, (127) according to Tied, "established direct contact with the Government of India." (128)

Whatever the Government plans may have been for the German nationals, the missionaries had little knowledge regarding their future. The British seemed to be moving extremely cautiously. Yet besides the YMCA and the International Red Cross personnel in India, some further church organizations offered assistance. In one case Tied noted:

Now I had written a letter, because we also wanted Christian literature for the camp. And I knew who to write to ... (in) the Berlin Church Foreign Office. ... They suggested that I turn to a certain person, Olivier Béguin, in Geneva. And then he concerned himself with supplying us Christian literature, with novels and whatever else they were permitted to send, though everything could not be sent out. In this manner we formed our own library. ... (129)

Ever since World War II was over, the male internees at Dehra Dun could only look forward to the happy reunions with their families in Germany, and the continuing supply of literature from the World Council of Churches was no substitute. Tied, as a camp pastor, appealed to Béguin again;

Your newspaper "Die Lagergemeinde" has arrived again, and we thank you for it. But I must add that there is no great interest in this paper. After all these years of internment people have become extremely weary in every respect. One must not forget that this is the eighth year of our internment. We receive the letters from home, asking us to return after all this time. ... I am glad for every man who still feels some responsibility towards his family. I am sorry to say that there are many other cases where the husband reads calmly about the trouble which his family faces at home, but only worries about himself.

However that may be, those who feel any responsibility, say that if the people in Geneva can't do anything else but send us papers, then they can't be concerned for us any longer. The Protestant Christians in the world have done little else for us so far. I am writing this to you quite frankly. It has no purpose solely to be polite and to overlook the truth. ... I think you will understand that after having been behind barbed wire for seven years, one is weary of most everything. (130)

These were the customary internment complaints, but Tiedt's letter pointed to a grave disappointment among the German brethren. His frank letter was properly channelled. Béguin, in his letter of October 22nd, 1946, appealed to Norman Goodall for assistance:

Please find attached the copy of a letter we received from Rev. Otto Tied. As you see, Rev. Tied is interned in British India since many years, and now has lost courage. We feel very sorry for him, and are sending you the copy of this letter, because we hope, that you shall be able to help.

We have also sent a copy to our delegate in London, Staff Chaplain W.B. Johnston C.F. The War Office. ...

We are writing to Rev. Tied, telling him that we sent the copy of his letter to you ... and we hope to be able to encourage him in his difficult situation. (131)

It was a discouraging situation, to say the least, and what further encouragement the Church organizations were able to render in this period is difficult to assess.

After the seven years of internment, the missionaries, in their role as the camp chaplains, expressed a growing indignation. It was not only a case of having "lost courage" under the futile detention, but the brethren had lost faith in the representatives of the Christian Church outside the camps. What had happened to the spirit of Tambaram? It was even more surprising how much courage Tied and his colleagues had, considering the physical and the psychological pressures, the barbed-wire fences and guarded gates, and then the isolation or the desertion behind the barracks life. Wilhelm Bräsen (Brekum) reiterated what non-Germans seemingly were not able to understand for lack of the experience, namely, "the meanest thing which one can afflict upon any creature is to place him behind barbed wire and fences," (132) and strictly because of his nationality.

In the closing months of internment another enlightening correspondence was carried on between Hans Röver (Leipzig) and Betty Gibson in London. In writing to Röver at Dehra Dun, Gibson informed him that Walter Graefe of his Mission had been permitted "to return to missionary work" and that a "special appeal to the Government" had been made for Gäbler and Gerlach. (133) Röver was aware of these developments. Also Betty Gibson consoled him with the news:

Some 4 or 5 men of other missions have been given similar exemption but all other German missionaries will be repatriated. This is, I am afraid, very hard for those who have given so much of their lives to India, but it is one of the disastrous results of war that distrust and suspicion take many years to allay. (134)

Even less comforting for the missionaries under detention was the awareness of a growing alienation with their mission churches. Here Gibson pointed out the hard facts to Röver;

In India there is not only the Government attitude to be taken into consideration but also that of the Indian Church. As you know there has been a very rapid move towards independence during the war and the Indian Church leaders are showing a very critical spirit with regard to those for whose return they are ready to press. The Government is inclined to consider the release only of those whom the Indian Church is ready to receive. ... There is no choice before the interned missionaries and those who are sent home now must acquiesce in the hope that someday the way may once more open to them to serve in the mission field. (135)

Gibson's delineation on the critical spirit of the mission churches was a realistic appraisal, though it was a depressing note for those who suddenly had "no choice" in the affairs of the mission work. As inmate No. 91 of the Dehra Dun Internment Camp, Röver had already been granted a release by the Government in August, 1946, yet he lacked the necessary undertaking from his mission church or the N.C.C.

Hans Röver's reply to Betty Gibson was also direct;

Of course I understand well that the mission work will continue even if we are repatriated. Perhaps your council too has now received news about the efforts of Dr. Samuel, Madras. Seeing this kind (of) attitude of the Indian Christians I doubt that the repatriation is one of the disastrous results of

war. But I fear that it is the result of the resolution which was adopted at Geneva by the International Missionary Council with regard to the political feelings of the National Christian Council and thereby political and religious matters were mixed up. From the biblical point of view we have to pay attention to the danger which had spoiled my own Church at home. ... (136)

In reference to the appeal for Gäbler and Gerlach, he wrote:

Meanwhile you will have heard the events with regard to the release of those you mentioned in your letter. As the National Christian Council did not care very much for them during the war, I am afraid the Council will not do it even now after the war. (137)

Röver closed his letter to Gibson with this hope:

May God help your Council to find another field for those who have to leave, because nobody would call it a Christian spirit, - asking a mission-worker to quit his service after he had only worked and lived for the mission, and was waiting during his internment of seven years for the day to serve again the Lord on the field.(138)

RAJAH BUSHANAM MANIKAM OF THE N.C.C.

In 1946 British India was already very much aware of the impending independence of the country by August, 1947. It was impossible to evaluate the Church and the mission scene without sensing the national and the chauvinistic aspirations of the Indian people. Most Indians rejoiced at the thought, that finally the white rulers of the British Raj were once and for all times withdrawing. This was not the case among all Christians in the mission churches, yet there were others who could not be withheld from the political climate in the land. This latter group rightly enhanced the coming of age of the Indian Church. (139) At the same time, Hans Röver had pointed out the danger in the German Church during the Nazi period of mixing up the political and religious matters. (140)

The approaching independence and the nationalistic sentiments of Indian Christians greatly affected the German missionaries' future. It is true that the Christian Church in India sought its own independence, yet it still could "not become autonomous with regard to the finances." (141) It was clear to the German brethren that their release depended on "those whom the Indian Church is ready to receive," yet the one and possibly the only person who was able to press for the return of each missionary, as in Stosch's return to Ranchi, was the N.C.C. Secretary, Rajah Manikam.

During 1945 and 1946, in the meetings of the Lutheran Federation of India and its War Emergency Committee, in the conferences with the leaders of the German Mission churches, at the N.C.C. Executive meetings as well as their general gatherings, in the consultations with the Government of India and in the correspondence with the I.M.C. (London and New York) and the Lutheran leaders in America, no other church figure in India stands out so dominantly, especially on the question of German Missions, as the Lutheran Dr. Rajah Bushanam Manikam, as the N.C.C. Executive Secretary.

Manikam was born in Cuddalore, also a station founded by the Danish-Halle Mission in 1737, revived again by the Leipzig Mission in 1856 and finally brought under the Danish Missionary Society work. Thus Manikam came out of the heart of the Leipzig Mission field and the Tamil Lutheran Church. After having received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University, New York, from 1929 to 1937 he taught at an American Lutheran institution, the Andhra Christian College at Guntur. Thereupon he joined the National Christian Council team as the Secretary of Christian Education. (142) In 1941, upon the retirement of J.Z. Hodge, Manikam and Dr. Charles Wesley Ranson served jointly through 1945 as Secretaries of the N.C.C. (143) In reference to World War II,

The credit for steering the Council through these stormy years and for tackling efficiently all these problems must go to Dr. Manikam. He organized support for the orphaned churches during the War and laid the foundations for the policy of the Council in post-war India. Under him the N.C.C.

experienced an enormous expansion, and ... he repeatedly put forward the demand for immediate integration of church and mission. Under his leadership the Council changed from a kind of missionary institution to a truly indigenous organization. (144)

The turbulent, politically-oriented years of 1945-1947 in the post-war British era were crucial for the country, for the Indian Church and for the foreign missionaries. The trend towards indigenous, autonomous churches was well overdue, and yet it was problematic on most mission fields. (145) The question of the withdrawal of the German Missions personnel from the churches and the yielding of their responsibilities, i.e. the Gossner and the Breklum fields, had been resolved largely by the internment of the missionaries. Yet in the post-war period, when the men and women so dearly yearned to return to their mission churches, their acceptance or their rejection was conditional to the political climate among the Indian Christians. These churches, seeking their own identity, were influenced by the N.C.C. and Rajah Manikam. The observation of a German missionary was correct, in that there was both "the politics of the Government and the politics of the N.C.C." (146)

It would be an evasive gesture not to recognize the fact that Manikam was an Indian nationalist. (147) It would be logical to expect an educated church leader, having studied in the United States of America and in England, to then be "very definitely Indian-minded." (148) Helmuth Borutta (Gossner), one of the fortunate men to be released in late 1946, offered a defence of Manikam's sentiments;

He too was committed to a position that was against the British Government. ... If you go and speak on the issue, ... he was a nationalist. ... I would likely have been the same. I don't hold this against Manikam, for it was his duty, even as a pastor, to be a good Indian. (149)

Even if Manikam contained his disapproving attitude towards the Government, the British authorities greatly relied on his advice and his undertakings for the German families. His sentiments went beyond an anti-British spirit; he was encompassed by a caste and colour consciousness, e.g. "brown and white, ... they must work together." (150) This consciousness became the more obvious following the war and it could well have influenced the N.C.C. Secretary in making the association of the German missionaries with the dominant ruling class of British officialdom.

Manikam's first name was 'Rajah', and he was a prince of the Indian Church;

He of course was of a higher caste in his background than the ordinary South Indian Christian. ... It doesn't matter what your job was, it was your caste background. And his background was a medium high landowning community, neither of the Nadara nor the out-castes, which was the vast mass of the Southern Christians. They were a very strong, small group of them ... among these Christians; but they have almost all died out. ... They were very outstanding people, like Manikam; a very remarkable body of people came out of Tinneveli. (151)

Manikam was an outstanding person as the Executive Secretary. of India's highest non-Roman church body. However,

He certainly had his weaknesses. He was a curious personality in that sense. After all his deep-rooted conviction, which you see running through so many people, that your primary responsibility is for your own in the wide family sense. You get the Asians in Africa and the complaint that they identified themselves with one another. ... They employed their own people in an enclosed world. (152)

Manikam "was this curiously mixed person;" (153)

All the time you have always got to remember what you were dealing with. Manikam went his own personal (way) and when his family situation was not involved, he was wise and interesting and a far-sighted person. But when Manikam's personal interests were involved he could be absolutely incredibly difficult. ... (154)

Rajah Manikam had on the one hand a higher caste consciousness, while on the other hand,

His background being Lutheran, ... he was related to a Mission which was related to German work very definitely. ... And that did set him free. ... It set him free in a real sense to be more aware of nationalism than perhaps the English Missions would have been. (155)

Of course, the missionaries' internment made a vacuum and thereby the occasion for this greater freedom. Yet Manikam himself, as a personality drawn from the Indian caste structure (a particular problem in the Tamil Church), "came as a kind of superior into the camp." (156) Richard Lipp remarked:

I knew him very well. He came to the camps, but he came as the N.C.C. man, and he played (an important role). Well, of course he was a shrewd man, clever; but his character was not the strongest. ... And then you see, even his own missionaries who were Lutherans, who brought the Gospel ... (157)

to the Tamil people, they were rejected outright at first when the Government of India intended to release them.

It was a sign of strength and vision that the Indian Church should become totally indigenous. Yet Manikam

... was not only a nationalist, but he was also a chauvinist. That means the Missions had to be discontinued completely; it must be solely Indian, as much as the navy and fleet become Indian. (158)

Quite understandably, among the Indian Church leadership,

They were very much for the reduction of the potential of the missionary. ... As an example, that Rev. Helms was released, was not the wish of the N.C.C. rather the Government set him free. ... (159)

Herein lay one of the pronounced difficulties surrounding the German missionaries. With the mission churches becoming independent and some leaders nationally minded, it is significant that there were so many German brethren permitted to remain in India. However, in the matter of the exemptions, Christian Lohse (Brekum) believed that "we could all have been released, if the N.C.C. had requested us." (160)

After "considerable amount of talking with the National Christian Council for the release of the missionaries and for the posting of them," (161) it was already November, 1946.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Selma Heller, Manuscript on Internment (Rummelsberg: 13 June, 1970; Appendix), p. 4.
- (2) Alma Tauscher, P.I. (Glückstadt: 19 July, 1972), Tr. P. 4.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Richard Lipp, P.I. (Süssen: 14 April, 1973), Tr. p. 17.
- (5) Ibid., p. 18.
- (6) Tauscher, op. cit.. p. 7.
- (7) Rajah B. Manikam and Charles W. Ranson, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 24-25 October, 1945), p. 4.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Ibid., p. 5.
- (10) Selma Heller, P.I. (Erlangen: 28 May, 1970), Tr. p. 1.
- (11) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
- (12) Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 12.
- (13) Manikam and Ranson, op. cit., p. 4.
- (14) Heller, Manuscript, loc. cit.
- (15) Karl Bareiss, P.I. (Ebingen: 23 May, 1973), Tr. p. 10.
- (16) Lohse, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
- (17) Ibid., p. 12.
- (18) Rajah B. Manikam & Charles W. Ranson, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: N.C.C. Offices, 15-17 February, 1945), p. 3.
- (19) Ibid.
- (20) Adolf Streckeisen, Letter to John W. Decker (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 18 October, 1945).
- (21) Lipp, op. cit., p. 14.
- (22) Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (23) Manikam & Ranson, Executive Committee - February, 1945, op. cit. p. 6. As in the opening months and years of World War II under the Secretaryship of J.Z. Hodge, so too in the closing months and years of the war and also in the post-war period, the N.C.C. officers, particularly Rajah Manikam, served as spokesmen for the Indian churches and missions in their appeals to the Government of India.
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) Ibid.
- (26) Manikam & Ranson, Executive Com., Feb., 1945, loc. cit.
- (27) Manikam & Ranson, Executive Com., Oct., 1945, loc. cit.
- (28) Manikam & Ranson, Feb., 1945, loc. cit.
- (29) Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to Norman Goodall (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 29 January, 1946); Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to John W. Decker (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 23 February, 1945). According to William Richey Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 323, "In January, 1943, he (Decker) succeeded Warnshuis. In similar fashion, following Paton's death, the Reverend Norman Goodall was chosen in London." Decker served in New York.
- (30) Manikam & Ranson, October, 1945, loc. cit.
- (31) Ibid., p. 5.

- (32) Heller, Manuscript, loc. cit.
- (33) Heller, P.I., op. cit., p. 10.
- (34) Pfarrer Pompe, Letter to Knut B. Westman (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, September, 1945). Westman forwarded the letter to Goodall in London.
- (35) Betty D. Gibson, Letter to Knut B. Westman (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 5 October, 1945).
- (36) Hogg, op. cit., p. 321.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Tauscher, op. cit., p. 5; Lipp, op. cit. p. 18; Hermann Palm, P.I. (Böhringen: 13 June, 1973), Tr. p. 3; Theodor Lorch, P.I. (Ludwigsburg: 13 April, 1973), Tr. p. 2, Lorch expressed a basic concern of all missionaries in India; "Wir wollten bewusst den Indern dazu verhelfen, dass sie die indische Kirche würden. Ich habe meinen Kollegen im College nahegelegt, ihre Andachten doch in Malayalam zu halten. Sie haben gesagt, sie seien da überfordert; es falle ihnen leichter das in Englisch zu tun. Aber wir Missionare waren weiterhin die die gedrängt haben, dass die Inder bewusst ihre Dinge selbst in die Hände nehmen sollten, ohne zu ahnen, dass der Krieg das dann zwingend notwendig machen würde kurze Zeit später. Wir taten das einfach aus der richtigen Erkenntnis, denn die Zeit des Mündigwerdens war nicht weit weg."
- (39) Rajah B. Manikam, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council (Mysore City: Wesley Press & Publishing House, 3-4 April, 1946), p. 5; Manikam, Letter to Goodall, loc. cit. The meeting was held at Allahabad instead of the customary Nagpur.
- (40) Ibid.
- (41) Manikam, Executive Committee, April, 1946, op. cit. ,p. 4.
- (42) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, loc. cit.
- (43) Ibid.
- (44) Ibid.
- (45) Heller, P.I., op. cit., p. 8.
- (46) Rajah N. Manikam, Letter to Norman Goodall (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 9 March, 1946).
- (47) Manikam, Minutes of Executive Committee, April, 1946, loc. cit.; Manikam, Goodall Letter - March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Manikam, April Minutes, op. cit., p. 6.
- (50) Ibid., p. 7.
- (51) Ibid.
- (52) Ibid, pp. 7-8.
- (53) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (54) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, op. cit., p. 8.
- (55) Ibid., p. 6.
- (56) Ibid., p. 5.
- (57) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (58) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, op. cit., p. 5.
- (59) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, January, 1946, loc. cit.
- (60) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (61) V. Shankar (Deputy Secretary), "Order" (of Release for Richard Lipp), (New Delhi: Government of India, Home Department, No. 24/28/1/45 - Political (EW), 21 March, 1946; also "Order" (of Release for Heinz von Tucher; No. 67/2/40 - Political (E), 4 January, 1944; Appendix).

- (62) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, loc. cit.
- (63) Shankar, Order of Release for Lipp, loc. cit.
- (64) Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 20 August, 1946).
- (65) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit. She wrote, "In Bezug auf die Missionare spielte sich hinter den Kulissen einiges ab, von dem wir erst später erfuhren."
- (66) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, January, 1946, loc. cit.
- (67) Ibid.
- (68) Manikam, Decker Letter, loc. cit.
- (69) Lipp, op. cit., p. 15.
- (70) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, January, 1946, loc. cit.
- (71) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, op. cit., p. 6.
- (72) Streckeisen, Letter to Decker, loc. cit.
- (73) Adolf Streckeisen, Minutes of the Basel Mission Church Synod at Calicut, 16 October, 1945 (Geneva: WCCA).
- (74) Manikam, Letter to Decker, loc. cit.
- (75) Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: , WCCA - IMC File, 23 April, 1946).
- (76) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (77) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, op. cit., p. 7; Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (78) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (79) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (80) Johannes Stosch, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 23 April, 1946).
- (81) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 20 August, 1946, loc. cit.
- (82) Ibid.
- (83) Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 19 November, 1946).
- (84) Lohse, op. cit.. p. 12.
- (85) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (86) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 29 January, 1946, loc. cit.
- (87) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (88) Tauscher, loc. cit.
- (89) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (90) Walter Graefe, Letter to Karl Heller (Erlangen: LML - Heller File, 2 February, 1952).
- (91) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
- (92) Wolfgang Gerlach, Letter to the International Missionary Council (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 8 March, 1946). Gerlach wrote concerning "Mrs. Gerlach's parents: Herrn Pfarrer Curt Weidenkaff, ... and from my parents: Herrn Pfarrer Th. Gerlach, ... (all in Saxony). ..."
- (93) Manikam, April, 1946, Minutes, op. cit. p. 5.
- (94) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
- (95) Ibid.; Lohse, ojp. cit.. p. 11.
- (96) Ibid.
- (97) Kenneth Scott Latourette & William Richey Hogg, World Christian Community In Action (New York & London: International Missionary Council, 1949), p. 37.

- (98) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (99) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (100) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
- (101) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (102) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 23 April, 1946, loc. cit.
- (103) Ibid.
- (104) C.H. Swavelly, ed., *The Lutheran Enterprise in India 1706-1952* (Madras: Diocesan Press, 1952), "The Church of Sweden Mission 1874" by Sigfrid Estborn, p. 140.
- (105) Martin Weishaupt, ed., "Unser indisches Missionsfeld 1939/40" by Carl Ihmels, *Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionsblatt* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evang.-luth. Mission zu v Leipzig, September, 1940), p. 101.
- (106) Manikam, Letter to Goodall, 9 March, 1946, loc. cit.
- (107) Heller, Manuscript on Internment, loc. cit.
- (108) Renate Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde, near Minden: 23 August, f 1973), Tr. p. 17.
- (109) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (110) Latourette & Hogg, loc. cit.
- (111) Heller, Manuscript, loc. cit.
- (112) Ibid.
- (113) Ibid.
- (114) Heller, P.I., op. cit. , p. 7.
- (115) Ibid.
- (116) Heller, Manuscript, loc. cit.
- (117) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 20 August, 1946, loc. cit.
- (118) Ibid.
- (119) L.S. Albright, *Aid For Orphaned Missions* (Financial Statement - January 1 - December 31, 1946; London & New York: International Missionary Council, 31 March, 1947), p. 4; Latourette & Hogg, op. cit., p. 44.
- (120) Gustav Bernander, *Lutheran Wartime Assistance to Tanzanian Churches 1940-1945* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, *Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia IX*, 1968, pp. 170). Though the work focuses on the Tanzanian Churches, the assistance stems from a world-wide endeavour of the Church.
- (121) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 20 August, 1946, loc. cit.; Betty D. Gibson, Letter to Walter Freytag (Geneva: WCCA-IMC File, 15 November, 1946). According to Manikam's tabulation and letter, under No. 10 a Rev. Guiseppe Palmann is listed. He did not belong to any of the four major German Missions in India, nor is the writer able to assess for which Society Palmann laboured. His name does have both German and Italian origins. However, Rudolf Ertz, as printer and manager of the Mangalore Basel Mission Press, was overlooked.
- (122) Ibid.
- (123) Ibid.
- (124) Manikam, Letter to Gibson, 20 August, 1946, loc. cit.
- (125) Lohse, op. cit. , pp. 11-12.
- (126) Otto Tied, P.I. (Erlangen: 27 September, 1973), Tr. pp. 18-19.
- (127) Lohse, op. cit., p. 16; Helmuth Borutta, P.I. (Exten: 23 August, 1973), p. 12.
- (128) Tied, op. cit., p. 19.
- (129) Ibid., p. 16.
- (130) Otto Tied, Letter to Olivier Béguin (Geneva: WCCA -IMC File, 22 August, 1946).

- (131) Olivier Béguin, Letter to Norman Goodall (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 2 October, 1946).
- (132) Wilhelm Bräsen, P.I. (Neukirchen, near Malente: 28 September, 1970), Tr. p. 6.
- (133) Betty D. Gibson, Letter to Hans Röver (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 12 August, 1946).
- (134) Ibid.
- (135) Ibid.
- (136) Hans Röver, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 19 September, 1946).
- (137) Ibid.
- (138) Ibid.
- (139) Lorch, op. cit., pp. 2-3. Very parallel to Lorch's comments, under footnote 38, were these remarks: "Dazu kam in der damaligen Zeit, dass die Frage der südindischen Kirchenunion bereits aktuell war. Ab '39 hat man sehr bewusst daran gearbeitet; vorher hat man bereits darüber gesprochen, man hat vorbereitet in der Richtung auf diesen Schritt. Auch von daher war die Indianisierung der Kirche in vollem Gang. Wir haben uns darauf eingerichtet, unabhängig von der Gefahr eines Krieges, dass diese vielen Erziehungseinrichtungen in der Basler Missionskirche möglichst eine eigene Organisation bekommen sollten. ... Wir gingen davon aus, die Zeit ist da, dass die Missionare sich sehr zurückziehen und die Inder ihre Dinge selbst in die Hand nehmen."
- (140) Röver, loc. cit.
- (141) Easter Raj, P.I. (Erlangen: 19 July, 1970), Tr. p. 9. In its entirety, the future Bishop of Tranquebar's statement was, "That is very important; you see, even with regards to the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, though this Church became autonomous with the Constitution, with the Bishop, with the Church Council and the Administrative Council and all that, they did not become autonomous with regard to the finances."
- (142) Günter Gloede, ed., *Ökumenische Profile - Brückenbauer Der Einen Kirche* (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, GmbH, Vol. II, 1963), p. 61. Kenrick M. Baker jr. contributed the biographical sketch on "Rajah Bushanam Manikam - Der ökumenische Botschafter in Ostasien," pp. 59-65.
- (143) Kaj Baago, *National Christian Council of India, 1914-1964* (Nagpur: Christian Council Lodge, 1964), p. 87. The author lists all the Presidents and the Secretaries of the N.C.C. for the above period.
- (144) Ibid., p. 62.
- (145) Manikam, Letter to Decker, loc. cit. In reviewing the scene and the status of the Continental Missions in India, Rajah Manikam, as N.C.C. Secretary, expressed his doubts; "This, indeed, is a gloomy picture of the Orphaned Missions and Churches in India. But there is another side to it. I am glad that Lutheran missionaries and Indian Lutherans have rallied to the support of these distressed Church and Mission bodies. They have given liberally for their support. They have transcended national and linguistic barriers. They have shown their oneness in Christ. ..."
- (146) Lohse, op. cit., p. 11.
- (147) Martin Pörksen, P.I. (Hamburg: 24 August, 1973), Tr. p. 14; Borutta, op. cit., p. 15; Michael Hollis, P.I. (Bury St. Edmunds, UK: 19 April, 1973), Tr. p. 17; Lipp, loc. cit.; Heller, P.I., loc. cit.
- (148) Lipp, loc. cit.
- (149) Borutta, loc. cit.
- (150) Pörksen, op. cit., p. 15. The comment was made to Martin Pörksen when the Breklum Missionary Society director journeyed to India in 1956 to attend the ceremony at which time Rajah Manikam became the Bishop of Tranquebar
- (151) Hollis, loc. cit.
- (152) Ibid., p. 18.
- (153) Ibid., p. 13.
- (154) Ibid.
- (155) Ibid., p. 17.

- (156) Lipp, op. cit., p. 18.
- (157) Ibid.
- (158) Pörksen, op. cit., p. 14.
- (159) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (160) Ibid.
- (161) Easter Raj, loc. cit.

XVII THE ODYSSEY OF THE 'JOHAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELT'

On November 27th, 1946, the Dutch steamer 'Johan van Oldenbarnevelt' sailed from Bombay out into the Arabian Sea and headed in the direction of Europe. (1) Among its passengers were several hundred German civil prisoners of war, internees from the internment and parole camps of British India. It was the second repatriation ship of German nationals. (2) Among these German internees there were fifteen missionary families, three single ladies and two brethren from the Missionary Societies represented in India.

November, 1946, became the final month of residence for the larger number of the German Missions personnel once working in the British colony. Then came the repatriation chapter, and the Johan van Oldenbarnevelt became the transport ship for these families. One of the missionary repatriatees gave this description:

It had formerly been a luxury steamer, serving between Holland and Batavia, what is today called Jakarta. During the war it was then converted, at least half of it into a troop transport. And with this ship we came home. A wonderful steamer. (3)

Thus, in the post-war era, the Dutch ships on the main route between Holland and the Dutch East Indies called in at the Indian ports. Obviously due to the naval skirmishes in the war, there existed a shortage of British shipping tonnage in this period.

At any rate, Otto Tied (Leipzig) remembered, that at Bombay "we then all came together again, as they also arrived from Satara, so we" (4) from Dehra Dun. "We were all collected together then," (5) and for an entire month on the seas, the Oldenbarnevelt became another form of internment.

A Breklum missionary described their confinement:

We received one third of the ship, that is the German internees. ... This means that those from Dehra Sun, those from Deolali, (as from Satara), ... they were brought to Bombay. ...

The other two thirds were for the English and the Dutch passengers. We did not have any contact with them. (6)

Apparently "there were many Dutch people travelling home" (7) on the steamer as well.

The Government of India had obviously had some problems finding accommodations on the few ocean liners serving the Asian routes following the war. And in this case, the once luxurious steamer, the Oldenbarnevelt, became comparable to the 'Golconda' of the World War I era and the memories surrounding the journey home for the repatriated families. Once again, and vivid in the minds of the missionaries, there was "this sort of freighting; and it was as if one was simply thrown in there with the masses." (8)

Upon embarkation at Bombay, the British failed to recognize an important error in their own planning for these German families and men, so one missionary noted:

What was somewhat interesting was the fact that we were the first there from Satara. They then placed us men on the bottom, on the lowest deck where the propeller-shaft turned. The women were above; and then in between came the men from Dehra Dun, who were without their wives. They wanted to place them in the in-between deck.

So then we made a row; "This can't be permitted. We had the right to be near our wives. ..." You can imagine what could have happened. ... In the end we were the ones responsible for our wives. ...

This was the oversight of the British officers on board. Only it was a Dutch ship. (9)

The repatriation journey on the Oldenbarnevelt was a marked contrast to the pre-war trip out to India. In those years these younger missionary men, followed then by their wives, had journeyed out on the 'Potsdam' (10), the 'Koblenz' (11), the 'Gneissenu' (12) and other luxury liners. For these the journey out to India had

been one of mixed emotions, uncertainties and yet one with the greatest anticipations for service in the foreign work of their Missionary Societies. With the exception of one or two missionaries, the repatriation was the first return trip from British India. In contrast to the pleasant journey out, a missionary wife noted:

We were freighted; one could almost say that as dear cattle, in the in-between deck, one called it, so I recollect. I can still remember how we were all pushed in there, freighted as one would transport a piece of luggage. (13)

To be sure, there had been a devastating war which had shattered and shaken modern civilization; yet with peace again in the world, it appeared that the repatriation journey itself became another in the long series of ordeals for these missionary families. How little did their fellow Christian leaders in that land know about these German families in the hold of the Oldenbarnevelt for those four weeks. Decades later the excruciating experiences remain as memories of "the ship (which) was converted from the passenger steamer to a troop transport." (14) Karl Bareiss (Basel) spoke of the general conditions, which were

"... not very favourable! Of course, I guess, the food was acceptable; the treatment could also have been the same. ... But we had to sleep in the dining hall, in the hammocks over the dining room tables. Yes, the hammocks we had to hang up ... in the evenings, each evening without fail, and each morning they had to come down. Yes, that wasn't very pleasant. We had room until we arrived at Mombassa." (15)

Dr. Paul Gäbler (Leipzig) gave a very parallel description:

... We were with our wives, but we could not stay together, because there was one large compartment in which the wives were with the children; and then there was a large compartment in which we husbands were. We were in the front part of the steamer where the cabin walls had all been torn down and we had to sleep in hammocks. We had to become accustomed to it. Some preferred to sleep on the floor, so that they didn't have to climb up into the hammocks.

But of course we could always go over there (to our families) and help them string up the hammocks every evening and then in the morning remove them. And then we had to sit on benches without any backs. It was not a very nice time. ... But we were on our way a whole month. We left on November 27th. (16)

MOMBASA AND 1.200 ITALIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

The "very long voyage" (17) of the 'Johan van Oldenbarnevelt', carrying British and Dutch passengers, as well as the German internees, had begun at Bombay. It made its first stop at the port of Mombasa, Kenya. On account of the stop-over at the African city, these internees experienced the meaning of being "overcrowded," (18) and it only intensified their hardships and the treatment which made them as human freight. (19) Christian Lohse (Brecklum) commented on the significance of Mombasa:

... there we perhaps experienced the most difficult extremity of our trip. We took on 1.200 Italian prisoners of war. And then it became naturally terribly crowded on the steamer; so frightfully crowded; so beastly crowded! (20)

Karl Bareiss (Basel) gave a comparable description:

... We had enough room until we came to Mombasa. Then the 1,200 prisoners of war came on board. This ship was overcrowded; it was packed. ... What really aggravated us then was the matter of the hammocks when the Italians came aboard - that we were simply crammed together. (21)

In the week or so, as the steamer journeyed from Mombasa, through the Suez Canal and on to Naples, the Odyssey of the 'Oldenbarnevelt' reached its most gruelling and agonizing stage for the German families being repatriated home. On this phase of the journey, Paul Gäbler (Leipzig) remembered that "it was not exactly cold; there was shelter and yet of course, there was occasionally terrible sea-sickness." (22) "Then we had a dreadful storm near Crete; (and) what all happened then!" (23) Under the crowded human conditions

and confined to sections and decks of the ship, the stormy weather has scarcely been forgotten. One of the mothers related, that "then on board, actually all the children were sick; everyone became sick in some way."
(24)

CHRISTMAS, 1946 - ON BOARD

Some relief came to the German repatriates when the 'Oldenbarnevelt' reached Naples. (25) As the Italian prisoners of war reached the port city and disembarked, (26) "they were welcomed with cries of joy from the Italians who had waited outside the quay" (27) area.

It was now well into December, 1946, as the steamship headed westward from Naples. According to one missionary, "we then passed around the Bay of Biscay and then we arrived at Southampton. ..." (28) The Dutch ship "touched England on Christmas Eve." (29) However, an incident which grew out

of the desire to celebrate Christmas 1946 on board the steamer, depicted the lingering war mood and the role of the internee and his lot on board. Gäbler related this yule-tide occurrence:

And as it was, the German mothers had wanted to have a little Christmas celebration for the children. And they also expected some help from the passengers. But the Dutch passengers said, "These terrible Germans; they don't need anything from us.

It was one of the disappointments, because neither they nor we had anything to do with the war. (30)

With an intermediate call at a Dutch port, the Oldenbarnevelt journeyed on to Germany. In spite of the disastrous conditions surrounding the harbour city on the Elbe, river, the missionary families "reached Hamburg. It was the second day of Christmas," (31) December 26th, 1946.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Rajah B. Manikam, Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the National Christian Council (Nagpur: NCC Offices, 26-29 November, 1946), p. 13; Karl Bareiss, P.I. (Ebingen: 23 May, 1973), Tr. p. 9; Theodor Lorch, P.I. (Ludwigsburg: 13 April, 1973), Tr. p. 10; Otto Tiedt, P.I. (Erlangen: 27 September, 1973), Tr. pp. 19-20.
- (2) Betty D. Gibson, Letter to Walter Freytag (Geneva: WCCA-IMC File, 15 November, 1946); Erich Klappert, Erlebnisse - 2375 Tage im "Paradies" und im "Wunderland" gefangen (Wiehl: Selbstverlag Erich Klappert, 1978), pp. 99-101, gives a first-hand account of the earlier repatriation.
- (3) Tiedt, op. cit., p. 19; Bareiss, loc. cit. A brief commentary might be made here concerning the person's name associated to the steamer transporting the German civil prisoners of war, based on the following sources: Jan den Tex, Oldenbarnevelt (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1973), Vol. II, pp. 446-489; and Athelstan Ridgway, ed., Everyman's Encyclopaedia (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Vol. II, 1949-1950), p. 95, under "Barneveldt, Jan van Olden (1547-1619). Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was a Dutch statesman and Grand Pensionary of Holland, a courageous man both in the history of the Dutch state and in the Christian Church. He had studied at Heidelberg and the Hague in the fields of law and divinity, and had taken an active role in supporting the Arminians against the Calvinists. As the republican party leader he brought about the peace with Spain in 1609; his political influence even reached England. But in the great struggle of Arminianism, also known by the Remonstrants, at the national Synod of Dort (Dordrecht), 1618-1619, Oldenbarnevelt was found guilty of the Arminian heresy and beheaded on May 14, 1619, in the Hague. The Remonstrants Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius, Hogerbeets and others had fought for the freer concepts advocated by Jacobus Arminius (Jakob Harmensen), asserting that "God bestows forgiveness and eternal life on all who repent of their sins and believe in Christ," and simultaneously opposed Calvin and Theodore Beza's position of the predestination of the elect. Jan den Tex closed the chapter on the "Trial and Execution" with the words, "The tragedy which had cost the Netherlands their greatest statesman was ended."
- (4) Tiedt, loc. cit.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 12.
- (7) Paul Gäbler, P.I. (Erlangen: 9 November, 1970), Tr. p. 1.
- (8) Traugott Jungjohann, P.I. (Wedel: 17 July, 1972), Tr. p. 10. Though the Jungjohann family was invited back to the Breklum Mission Church, the letters received from their colleagues described the atrocious conditions and the gruesome journey home on the Oldenbarnevelt.
- (9) Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (10) Lohse, op. cit., p. 1.
- (11) Selma Heller, P.I. (Erlangen: 28 May, 1970), Tr. p. 1.
- (12) Johannes Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde, near Minden: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 1.
- (13) Ursula Ahrens, P.I. (Lübeck: 29 September, 1970), Tr. P. 4
- (14) Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (15) Ibid.
- (16) Gäbler, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
- (17) Ibid., p. 1.
- (18) Lorch, loc. cit.; Lohse, op. cit., p. 13; Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (19) Ahrens, loc. cit.; Jungjohann, loc. cit.
- (20) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (21) Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (22) Gäbler, op. cit., p. 2. It is solely through the interviews of the missionary families that we have this narrative of the Oldenbarnevelt Odyssey.

- (23) Bareiss, loc. cit.
- (24) Ahrens, loc. cit.
- (25) Gäbler, op. cit., p. 1; Lohse, loc. cit.; Tied, op.cit., p. 20.
- (26) Ibid.
- (27) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (28) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (29) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (30) Ibid.
- (31) Ibid.

XVIII NEUENGAMME AND RELEASE

Even in repatriation and in the final process of release, the German Missions personnel from British India were again ushered through varied, unpleasant and political activities. For among the German nationals returning on the Dutch steamer 'Oldenbarnevelt', there were businessmen (whose wives were largely in Germany), Roman Catholic nuns and priests, as well as the Lutheran missionaries - theologians, pastors, teachers, business managers, nurses and evangelists - the substance of any missionary society. Lacking the necessary invitations to serve with their own mission churches had meant their ban from India, the compulsory repatriation and the further humiliation at Neuengamme.

Christmas had been celebrated, as much space and re- sources would permit on the Oldenbarnevelt. The Dutch ship pulled into the Hamburg harbour to unload the latest cargo of men, women and children from the British colonies. Being the end of December, "it was in the height of winter," (1) and one of Europe's coldest winters on record. For the British colonialists of India, who themselves were far too conscious and acquainted with the problems of climate - the tropics versus the European temperatures, the search for hill-stations in the hot season and also to have appropriate clothing and' topi-hats for the heat and the sun - then to send these families into the midst of a European winter, after their seven years of internment camps, was seen as a "real meanness on the part of the English." (2) After all that which these missionary families had experienced in India, this final stage - the voyage home on the transport, the arrival at Hamburg in sub-zero weather and finally the transfer to Neuengamme - seemed like a "base act", (3) a thoughtless deed and foreign to the usual nature of British considerateness. No one could have foreseen that the winter of 1946 - 1947 would be so extremely cold, but it brought added suffering to these accustomed to the Indian climate. Otto Tied (Leipzig) narrated about their arrival:

... We came from a warm climate of about 40° C. We came into this cold of winter of about - 20° C. Within a matter of four weeks, we had an approximate change of 60° C. And of course we did not have any winter clothes. We weren't prepared at all for it. We only had our troop things.

And there we arrived at Hamburg! (4)

Martin Pörksen and Walter Freytag were present to welcome the missionary families. The Schleswig-Holstein Mission's director remarked, that these families had to leave practically most "everything in India. ... They brought what they had in camp. It was appalling then as they arrived. ... It was frightfully difficult," (5) considering what they had as their personal belongings and that they were permitted one cubic-metre of luggage for each person. (6) Thus, the arrival in the homeland, the experience of the extremely cold winter and the internment at the Neuengamme Camp, are remembered as practically the most brutal treatment which these men, women and children encountered in the war and the post-war period.

'HAMBURG BEI NACHT'

In the freezing winter weather, under a clear December sky, according to one missionary, "in Hamburg we were unloaded in the night." (7) Thereupon the repatriates "were loaded onto open lorries and then driven an hour through Hamburg, through all the fields of ruins in Hamburg." (8) Tied remembered that it was "in full moonlight, so that we could easily see everything," (9) while Lohse emphasized that it was "through darkened Hamburg which we were driven actually we could not see very much." (10) They were transported in lorries "with nothing in them - absolutely bare ('nackte LKW's), covered with tarpaulin." (11) The cold only magnified the suffering for the women and children, as for the men; "We froze miserably, ... and then we did not know at all where it went from there." (12)

Rajah Manikam and Betty Gibson had expressed the hope to Walter Freytag in Hamburg, that in regards to the German families being processed, "... they may be released from the Transit Camp in Germany as soon as possible." (13) However, the transit camp was more than the missionaries had awaited. According to Gäbler, "we were taken to a different internment camp, a German internment camp. (14) The new transit

camp was a former Nazi concentration camp situated between Neuengamme and Altengamme in the British Zone of Germany.

NEUENGAMME CONCENTRATION CAMP

The very last chapter of the internment episode for the German missionaries of British India was staged at one of Adolf Hitler's Nazi concentration camps, namely at Neuengamme, a few miles from Hamburg, the British Zone. The internment narrative of these years had begun at the one-time concentration camp of Ahmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency of British India. (15) Now it was the concentration camp of Neuengamme, one of the lesser known, perhaps because it was not acclaimed as one of the "killing centers" directed "against the destruction of the European Jews." Yet it claimed a record of nearly 50.000 exterminations, mostly political or prisoner of war cases from most of Germany's neighbouring countries.

Neuengamme, as its sister village to the south - Altengamme, is situated in the marshlands southeast of Hamburg. It is comparable to an island, situated in the broad valley of the Elbe river. The dikes along the south bank of the Elbe and the flat meadowed landscape behind the elevations stretch as far as Hamburg and give one the impression of Holland. In the heart of this peaceful, tranquil setting, a mere 15 kilometres from the center of Hamburg, stands the evidence of the once-powerful Nazi Government and the ideology which left such a scar upon German and world history. The concentration camp still stands, used in our times as a correctional institute for the youth of the city and the state. The city of Hamburg has constructed a memorial to the thousands who suffered and died at Neuengamme. (17)

In December, 1946, and into January, 1947, the Neuengamme concentration camp became the British transit camp for the two shipments of German nationals returning from British India. Considering the amount of damage on Germany's cities, the British authorities saw every justifiable reason for using the Neuengamme facilities as a process station. The Nazi regime had constructed the camp for that very purpose. Otto Tied recounted what occurred following their disembarkation at Hamburg:

Then suddenly we were once again behind barbed wire in Neuengamme. That naturally was very bitter. And there was nothing there. There were the plank-beds and some straw mattresses lay around as well. Then we were also given a blanket; nothing more! Maybe we received even two blankets. There wasn't any heating either. The water was frozen and we could hardly wash ourselves. (18)

Again "the men and women were separated;" (19)

... the women and the children, they were placed into one building. And we men, we were left in a long building simply with mattresses and we had to sleep on them. And it was frightfully cold and there was snow around. (20)

For the German families the processing phase at the Neuengamme Camp was remarkably short in comparison to their years in India. Christian Lohse remembered; "We were only there a good eight days." (21) Nevertheless, the last internment station is likely one of the best held in the memories of certain individuals. This infamous concentration camp stands out as vividly as the many detention centers of British India. Paul Gäbler added these remarks:

... We spent days and days by counting the number (of internees), standing outside. All the names were called; there was the roll call, and then we were dismissed again.

And in the meanwhile Dr. Freytag and some others came and visited us. And they asked, "Where are you going to find a place? Where are you going to live?" There had been no connections established with our relatives and friends. And so they wrote to the different places, because we were not allowed to write any letters then. (22)

Though the missionary families' sojourn at Neuengamme might be confined to a matter of days, it is still possible to categorize this closing stage into three phases:

1. The investigations at Neuengamme by the authorities;
2. The health problems and deaths due to the winter; and
3. The welcome, guidance and relocation.

THE NEUENGAMME INVESTIGATIONS

The German repatriates from British India soon found themselves confronted with the task of another round of investigations of their political leanings and their past activities. Due to their arrival at Neuengamme in the holiday season, as "New Year's Eve and New Year's Day came in between, naturally in these days the British officials were not working." (23) No longer under the colonial British Raj, these men and women entered a defeated Germany and the jurisdiction of the British occupational forces.

It is understandable that the British military authorities in Germany had to process carefully the latest shipment from the colony of India. Of course, British Intelligence already had a fair knowledge of these internees. However, according to one missionary, "after seven and a half years, upon our arrival in Hamburg, at Neuengamme we were once again humiliated with sharp words. ... They had sent the files along." (24) To be sure, the German missionaries were only a small segment of the large contingent of several hundred German nationals from the Oldenbarnevelt. Yet from these missions personnel it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the investigations, the purpose of which was to rediscover the individual's political thoughts and his family relations. Gäbler gave this description:

It was the English (British) who were in charge. And along with them, there were the officers, Jews generally, who had to find out whether we were Nazis or not. These were the English, because it was in the northern Zone, ... Jewish officers ... for the investigation, since they could speak German, Jews who had of course fled. They were naturally not very kind to us. ...

And there they had to grade us, whether we were innocent or however it was, ... or those who had acted as Nazis, ... all the Germans who were removed from India at that time. ... And some who had had Nazi activities, they got terrible scoldings, verbal shoutings. Some of the missionaries also got these shoutings. But nobody was present; they took them in one by one. But some reported, "Oh, terrible fellows!" (25)

For some of the internees Neuengamme was very much a repeat performance of Ahmadnagar of seven years earlier. Christian Lohse (Breklum) gave this commentary:

In Neuengamme it started once again with the renewed questionnaires, a questionnaire with 139 questions. ...

And there sat the German Jews. ... One had to be absolutely honest, for one did not know what they knew. They didn't know everything which you knew. Some of the internees were certainly not truthful, as they gave false answers. Yet they were released. Really some of the leading Nazis were released then without anything happening to them. ...

I was definitely associated with some Party organization. And I did have a good friend, the son of a missions inspector, who assisted me in getting into the S.A. navy. And so I spent my time serving in the S.A. navy, perhaps for three-quarters of a year. And that I declared then. For this I was then categorized into Group 5 as a 'Mitläufer' (sympathizer). My wife had gathered a girls' group together in Treia (near Schleswig), and since there was the 'Jugendverbot', she disguised it under the B.D.M. (Bund Deutscher Mädchen). And this she declared also. But for it she was graded into Group 4, and discriminated against for it. (26)

The grading process of the investigations at Neuengamme (27) appeared to have had six categories. The first three groups (1-3) offered little chance for a person gaining immediate freedom, and likely were channeled into the denazification program. The remaining groups 4-6 signified an early release, and the missionary families all had the more favourable discriminations by the camp authorities. (28)

Karl Bareiss (Basel) also described Neuengamme:

We had to complete the questionnaires with the 133 questions. They wanted to know everything. Just a part of it I still remember; "Did you vote for the Party in 1933?" That really was quite a crafty question, which I find quite appropriate. For it I wrote at the time, National Socialist. If I had written 'No', ... he then would not have believed me, and I happen to be an honest person. It was quite clear; they knew that much. And today I am ashamed of myself for what I then did, but I did not lie to them.

And six times we had to fill out the questionnaires - who your father was, your grandfather, your great-grandfather. They only wanted to make sure that no one had made any false statements. ... Everything had been written down. And as we came to Neuengamme, we were once more humiliated with sharp words. ... There was an English lieutenant, and he roared at me. He was terribly impolite, because I as a German in a foreign country had not expressed myself against Hitler. Yet they did release me from Ahmadnagar for a few months. ... It was quite interesting that after 7½ years, they reproached me then for what I had stated earlier. In the end that is what I told the lieutenant at Neuengamme. I had not preached this from the pulpit. ...

I also told him that I had never signed the record of the Darling Commission; "... as you please, but that which you hold there against me, that I definitely did not sign, as you now attempt to distort." Then only did he quiet down.

Then my wife came before him. He upset her completely, because she had been a teacher in Augsburg at a 'Mutterschule' before our engagement and marriage. It was most ridiculous. ... (29)

In defense of his patriotic attitude, Bareiss added:

One is born in Germany, one grows up there and then one goes out (to India). Then one hears that Germany is at war, and one has to fold one's hands, as was the case there. You have to search out the positive aspects, since you do not know about the horrors in Germany, certainly not to that extent. I had been honest and that one could not hold against me as evil, for otherwise they would not have let me out for those six months. (30)

Nineteen months following the collapse of the Third Reich, or seven years after Ahmadnagar, the investigations of Neuengamme renewed the unpleasant memories, and all because they were not invited back by their mission churches. Paul Gäbler offered this personal sketch of the hearings:

It was funny then. I came with my wife. She had to go in for herself with our Ulrike, who was 14 or 15. Then the officer asked our girl first, "Has she been in H.J.?" And she asked my wife, "What is H.J., Mutti? don't know anything about H.J." That was the (Hitler) youth organization. Then of course they realized we had been in camps in India since 1939, that we had nothing to do with the whole thing. And there was no difficulty; and we got through the thing quickly. (31)

NEUENGAMME'S HEALTH PROBLEMS

At the Neuengamme Concentration Camp, scarcely anything could compare to the torturous, cold temperatures which saturated the internees' bodies and minds, and so shortly after their return from the tropics. The consequence of these days at the transit camp was the heavy toll on the German families, in particular on the children and the babies. With a few exceptions, the missionary families would have preferred to remain in India. Renate Klimkeit (Gossner), though remaining in India, commented on those frightening days;

... we received letters from the wives in Germany. "Be happy that you can stay out there, for in Germany there is hunger and cold weather. ..." And many of (them wrote to us, "Just be grateful for the fact that you can stay there with your many children, as we have freezing weather, ... and we have little to eat." (32)

Martin Pörksen also remembered the arrival of the German Missions personnel, among whom were the six Breklum families. With Walter Freytag he visited these returnees from India;

We came to the camp and we welcomed them; we spoke to them (about the conditions). ... They were in the barracks, ... and there were also their children. ... But many of the children simply became ill. Yet we could not get them out. ... Professor Freytag and I came into the camp, ... and we at least realized then that we had to get the babies into hospitals.

We informed the commandant, "We have a room ready for them.' However the commandant answered, 'I don't have to be pressured by you. Who lost the war, you or we?'" (33)

The rampant illnesses of colds and pneumonia, and the death of one of the missionary children, became the overriding reason for the immediate processing of these re-patriatees. Christian Lohse (Breklum) gave this personal account regarding his family's predicament:

It was as follows: Of our children, my youngest daughter became ill. And Martin Pörksen found a way somehow for us, and he conveyed this to the commandant. And so our daughter, with our youngest son, came to my sister in the hospital, ... because they had to be put up somewhere. There were quite a number of children ill and so they rushed matters a bit, so as to release the families. We came out rather quickly. (34)

Likely the most agonizing story from Neuengamme was the unexpected death of an innocent missionary child. Often death alone is the primary mover of many officialdoms. This time, under the British authorities, a further death was registered at the concentration camp. Renate Klimkeit gave this narration of her colleagues:

Regarding Dr. (and Mrs.) Wolff, their one and only son, who was born after many years of marriage, raised in the heat of India's climate, got pneumonia in Hamburg and died. He was their only child; ... they had been married for quite some time before a son was born to them. ... Later though they were blessed with a daughter. (35)

WELCOME, GUIDANCE AND RELOCATION

No single person was as important and as influential as Dr. Walter Freytag in the direction given the German families returning from India. As Chairman of the German Evangelical Mission Council (DEMRC) situated in Hamburg, Freytag, along with Martin Pörksen and other Missions leaders, visited Neuengamme on more than one occasion in the Christmas holiday season of 1946 - 1947. Pörksen's endeavours for the missionaries' children were remarkable feats in themselves.

Freytag first appeared at the concentration camp with Betty Gibson's letter containing a list of the missionary families repatriated. (36) It was certainly an assurance for the British authorities, that the I.M.C. had expressed its trust and confidence in this Missions statesman. And once the investigations and the discriminations of Neuengamme had been carried through to their accomplished goals, Freytag, Pörksen, Dr. Thade, Martin Witte and other leaders were better able to process these families. (37) In spite of the list sent to Freytag, "he was not exactly sure who had remained out (in India) and who had come along." (38) Otto Tied (Leipzig) remembered Freytag's visit:

"We were really still completely uninformed, so he gave us an excellent presentation regarding the situation in Germany, how things now appeared and how we had to conduct ourselves. He gave us these guidelines. Really it was admirable of him. ..." (39)

The German families were informed concerning the "guidelines in relationship" (40) to the Allied authorities, to the new order in the country with the four different zones and to the difficulties already arising between the Russians and the three Western powers. (41)

Following World War II, Freytag corresponded steadily with Betty Gibson of the I.M.C. On January 24th, 1947, Freytag wrote to her regarding the fate and the approximate addresses of those families released in that month:

Dear Miss Gibson, ... The addresses of the returned missionaries from British India will change in the next weeks. The missionaries of the Gossner and Leipzig Mission are in the Western Zone, and it is not yet decided who of them will go to the Eastern Zone. I think it is the best way if you will send the parcels to the missionary headquarters.

That is for the Breklum Mission:

(Rev. Walter Ahrens, Rev. Friedrich Hübner, Rev. Christian Lohse, Rev. Reimer Speck, Rev. Wilhelm Bräsen, Miss Lene Langlo), c/o Breklumer Mission, Breklum bei Bredstedt, Schleswig-Holstein, Britische Zone.

Gossner Mission:

(Miss Irene Storim, Rev. Wilhelm Radsick, Rev. (F.) Jellinghaus, Rev. Otto Wolff), c/o Pastor Dr. Thade, Hope-Eickel, Kr. Lübbecke, Britische Zone.

Basel Mission:

(Rev. Kling, Rev. Bareiss, Rev. Lorch, Rev. Ertz), c/o Baseler Mission, Stuttgart, Heusteigstrasse 34, Amerikanische Zone.

Leipzig Mission:

(Rev. Otto Tied, Rev. Wolfgang Gerlach, Rev. Paul Gäbler, Rev. Johannes Weinert). c/o Pastor Witte, Hackenstedt, Post Holle (Hannover), Britische Zone.

Miss Hildegard Storm, c/o Duisburg-Beek, Nordstrasse 46, Evangelisches Pastorat, (Brit. Zone). (42)

Freytag's letter confirmed the fact that the missionary families from India, finally after the many years, had been released by the British authorities. His letter simultaneously indicated, that in spite of the Gossner Mission's headquarters being in Berlin and the Leipzig Mission's in Leipzig, both in the Russian Zone, all addresses in the interest of the missionaries were located in the British and the American Zones. Gradually these clergymen, with their families, would be absorbed into the state churches as the parish positions became available.

The departure of the above-listed German missionaries from the Neuengamme Concentration Camp near Hamburg was the very last 'cantonment' and the final detention in the long narrative of the German Missions personnel from India. These internment years were not devoted to the preaching of the Christian Faith to the Indian people; neither did these missionaries, with one or two exceptions, have another chance to see active service in the mission churches of India. By the guidance of others and the leading of God, these who were repatriated to Germany and banned from India found a ministry with the revitalized German Church of the post-war era.

OESSELSE, JOLDELUND AND HACKENSTEDT-SOTTRUM

It would be an incomplete study were one to abruptly leave the internment tale of woe and ennui on the note that those returning on the steamship 'Oldenbarnevelt' were released from a Nazi concentration camp. Some brief sketches might add meaning to this chapter on the relocation and the Christian ministry of these once-active missionaries of India. Once as resourceful leaders, teachers, evangelists, language specialists and pastors of the mission church ventures, in their homeland they began a new life and entered the parish ministry. For over seven years much human kindness and personal considerations had been deprived them. Meanwhile at home they received acceptance and recognition for what they were and for what they had achieved in India. They were obviously classified as ineligible for release, a contrast to those who were

"eligible for release." (43) The years of internment were already a form of ineligibility, a pre-mature banishment or seclusion imposed by the British Raj; but even more disconcerting for the German missionaries was the knowledge that they had in essence been excommunicated from the mission churches which they had served and had loved so dearly.

In Germany these men and women found a world of approval again, what might be seen in two spheres:

1. Called to serve as pastors in the German Church, and
2. Welcomed by their State Church in special services.

It would be a consuming study in itself to review the beginnings of each person's re-entrance into the active ministry with the German Church. Thus, two missionaries might be drawn out as purely symbolic of the others who also faced the same conditions and trials after the years in India.

The Rev. Dr. Paul Gäbler, once the President of the Leipzig Mission work in India and not invited back by the mission church, told of his departure from Neuengamme:

The next morning we had to leave, my family and I; we had to leave for Hannover. And it was not very pleasant; so many people crowded into the trains, and with everything so desolate. Hamburg; everywhere ruins; bombed out houses. And it was the same in Hannover.

My family was divided into three parts. And after six weeks I became a pastor in the Hannover (State) Church. Then our family was reunited again. But it was a terrible winter at that time; such high snow and we had rather thin clothing. I got the parsonage which was offered to me; a vacancy! But there were no potatoes, no fuel, no coal nor wood to burn. But fortunately in Oesselse they had a small forest which belonged to the church, and there was a tremendous oak which the congregation cut down in the deep snow. Oesselse was near Hannover, and there we were till the end of 1950. (44)

The Rev. Christian Lohse of the Breklum Mission in the State of Schleswig-Holstein gave a parallel sketch, and spoke of his start at Joldelund as

"... a deputation missionary for the Breklum Mission. At first I went to Joldelund for ten years, In Joldelund they were very sensible. They at once placed the use of the meadow at my disposal. One of my relatives in agriculture, one of my uncles, gave us a cow to use. So there was milk on the table. I had all these relatives who were farmers, and they certainly were industrious. We also had the bread rations. In Joldelund all these things were remarkably very, very simple." (45)

As a pastor of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church, Lohse served to his retirement in 1972 at the Schwesing parish.

Another aspect of the approval and the acceptance of the men and women from the Indian mission fields began by the welcome extended by the German Missions leaders. Freytag, Pörksen, Thade, Witte and others had assisted the repatriatees in locating pastorates and duties in the State Churches. As overwhelming and thereby evoking renewed spirit for them were the welcoming services held by the various missionary societies. For whether it was the Basel Mission in the Stuttgart area, the Breklum Mission in Schleswig-Holstein and the Gossner and Leipzig Societies in the British Zone, a gratitude to God was expressed for the safe return of these men and women. One such welcoming occasion, held by the Leipzig Society, might help to convey the joyous spirit over their missionaries' arrival. Many factors and much effort, as a background, went into the preparations.

Pastor Martin Witte, a Leipzig missionary to the Tamil Church until the spring of 1939, was one of the church leaders in Freytag's welcoming committee. Witte had a small parish in the towns of Hackenstedt-Sottrum, though because of the concern for and the contact with his colleagues from India, the parish church took on added significance in the Leipzig Mission life. Witte related:

I was released, so to speak, from a salary of the Leipzig Mission, and the Hannover State Church employed me under a contract as a missionary in Hackenstedt. ...

In May, 1945, I returned (from the war) to the parish at Hackenstedt and founded the central location for the Leipzig Mission in northwest Germany at Hackenstedt, which today is at Hildesheim. (46)

Due to Witte's acquaintance with the Indian mission work, his ecumenical contacts with non-Germans in India and at Tambaram, as well as his association with Dr. [Hanns Lilje](#), the future Bishop of the Hannover State Church, many missions personnel from far and near were sent to him.

... We also came to prepare for those who were now returning home from India and Africa. They were not the ones banished from the East (lost German States), but those expelled from the mission fields and foreign lands. What was to happen to them if they arrived here in tropical clothes? As a matter of fact, they did arrive in January, 1947, with all their tropical clothing in the cold of winter at Hamburg. ...

In February we held a welcoming service in our parish of Hackenstedt, in the church at Sottrum, for Gäbler and Gerlach (and Weinert), they who had recently returned from India. And Tied was also among them. And the worship service of welcome in Sottrum was, so to speak, a confirmation of the soundness of this enterprise at Hackenstedt, serving as a central location. (47)

Upon his release from Neuengamme, Otto Tied had journeyed first to a friend, Herr Knorr, in Bessingen, near Hameln,(48) where he "literally thawed out." (49) Tied added:

And then I still remember, a few days later we received an invitation, that we should come to a certain place. ... There the State Bishop [Marahrens](#) had arranged a grand welcoming service for those Leipzig missionaries returning home. It was held in a village church near Hildesheim.

This much I can confirm, that it was a wonderful worship service. It thrilled us immensely. The church was really completely filled. ... Some of the people even had to stand outside. The balconies were packed; I can still see them today. I glanced up and thought then, I hope the balconies do not collapse.

For the occasion Marahrens gave an excellent sermon; and in the church he greeted us as the returning missionaries. Frankly this worship service I shall never for-get. (50)

Of course, Witte also was responsible for the preparations surrounding the missionaries' welcome. He confirmed that

... the elderly Bishop August Marahrens, the first Bishop of the Hannover State Church, conducted the welcoming service in Sottrum, and he delivered the sermon. ... August Marahrens was then still Bishop. Yes, Lilje first became the State Bishop in May, 1947. (51)

At the conclusion of the welcoming service there was just as great a surprise and an outpouring of Christian love and kindness for these missionary families who had suffered the years of internment and seclusion from friends. Tiedt's words described this closing scene:

Following then there was a fellowship hour. He (Marahrens) had to leave, ... but there were others. He had provided for us; he knew that we had brought very little, only a suitcase and little else. All the other things we had to leave in India. He had appealed to the congregations; 'Our missionaries have come home. Please help provide for them. They have little or nothing; ... collect your extra things together.' There were also the children; the Weinerts had small children as well.

And in that room the large tables were completely covered. There it all lay, mounted up, everything imaginable, even undershirts and underparts, etc. It really was a moving sight. To this day I shall never forget it. (52)

There was much else which these German missionary families from British India would never forget and their memories often remain as the only source. Much more has already been forgotten, which will also never be recorded for Missions history. Yet through the memories of these men and women, and through the material available in the form of letters, records and printed memorabilia, there was just cause and abundant substance to research into the narrative of the internment of German Lutheran families in British India during and following World War II. Out of the account the case of nationalism repeatedly

overshadowed the individual's Christian imperative of brotherly love and sacrifice, and herein existed the threat to and the crisis in Christian Missions.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Renate Klimkeit, P.I. (Bierde, near Minden: 23 August, 1973), Tr. p. 17.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Otto Tiedt, P.I. (Erlangen: 27 September, 1973), Tr. p. 20.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Martin Pörksen, P.I. (Hamburg: 24 August, 1973), Tr. p. 13.
- (6) Christian Lohse, P.I. (Husum: 18 July, 1972), Tr. p. 12.
- (7) Ibid.. p. 13.
- (8) Tiedt, loc. cit.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (11) Ibid.
- (12) Tiedt, loc. cit.
- (13) Betty D. Gibson, Letter to Walter Freytag (Geneva: WCCA-IMC File, 15 November, 1946).
- (14) Paul Gäbler, P.I. (Erlangen: 9 November, 1970), Tr.p. 1.
- (15) C.H. Swavely, ed., "The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church 1845" by Joel Lakra, *The Lutheran Enterprise in India* (Madras: At the Diocesan Press"J 1952), pp. 71-72. According to the publication, the Gossner Church leader Lakra regarded the British camps as such; "As the result of the war, all the missionaries except Rev. J. Stosch, Miss Diller and Miss Schmidt, were taken to concentration camps." Or, "Government remembered that German missionaries were yet out of the concentration camps." (p. 72).
- (16) Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 573.
- (17) Photographs by writer; Appendix.
- (18) Tiedt, loc. cit.
- (19) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (20) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (21) Lohse, loc. cit.
- (22) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (23) Tiedt, op. cit., p. 21.
- (24) Karl Bareiss, P.I. (Ebingen: 23 May, 1973), Tr. p. 7.
- (25) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (26) Lohse, loc. cit. Christian Lohse's reference to the 'Jugendverbot' points out the emphasis which the Nazi regime placed upon the girls joining the 'Bund Deutsche Mädchen' (BDM), or upon the youth participating in the 'Hitler-Jugend' (HJ). Obviously the forbidding of the German youth to participate in certain church activities, the CVJM (YMCA), etc., removed any serious competition.
- (27) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (28) Lohse, loc. Cit .
- (29) Bareiss, op. cit., pp. 7-8.
- (30) Ibid., p. 9.
- (31) Gäbler, op. cit., p. 2.
- (32) Klimkeit, loc. cit.

- (33) Pörksen, op. cit., p. 10.
- (34) Lohse, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
- (35) Klimkeit, loc. cit.
- (36) Gibson, loc. cit.
- (37) Gäbler, loc. cit.; Walter Freytag, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 24 January, 1947); Martin Witte, P.I. (Betzendorf: 20 July, 1972), Tr. p. 12.
- (38) Tiedt, loc. cit. In spite of Betty Gibson's letter to Walter Freytag, Tied felt that Freytag wanted to confirm the list of the mission families who had arrived home.
- (39) Ibid.
- (40) Pörksen, op. cit., p. 9.
- (41) Witte, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Tied, loc. cit.
- (42) Freytag, loc. cit.
- (43) Rajah B. Manikam, Letter to Betty D. Gibson (Geneva: WCCA - IMC File, 20 August, 1946).
- (44) Gäbler, loc. cit.
- (45) Lohse, op. cit., p. 14.
- (46) Witte, op. cit., p. 11.
- (47) Ibid., p. 12.
- (48) Tiedt, op. cit., p. 22.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) Ibid.
- (51) Witte, loc. cit.
- (52) Tiedt, loc. cit.

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

The personal interviews, designated as P.I., when otherwise stated, were recorded on tape cassettes by the writer. These cassettes have been given to the library of the "Seminar für Missions- und Religionswissenschaft" of the Theological Faculty of the University Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany...

Most of the taped personal interviews were transcribed by the writer. The page denoted in the footnotes refers to his transcript (Tr.) and also points out the approximate position and length of the tape. For some interviews, though recorded, the writer has not transcribed them and therefore the page designation fails. In two or three instances there is more than one tape from an individual.

The interviews were largely recorded in Germany, as indicated by the town, while those held abroad are of course specified by the town and the country.

1. GERMAN MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

Ahrens, Ursula (Frau Walter)

Breklum Mission and missionary wife. Interview at Lübeck, 29 September, 1970; in the German language; transcript 8 pages. Arrived in India in March, 1939, as a 'Braut'. November, 1946, was repatriated with her family to Germany. Husband was a German pastor. Interview presented the hardships of the war and the trials which the German women and children faced on their stations and in camp, and the journey home into the bitter-cold European winter.

Bareiss, Karl

Once stationed at Betigeri, the South Maratha District of the Basel Mission Church; today retired pastor of the Württemberg State Church. Interview at Ebingen, Württ., 23 May, 1973; in German, transcript 11 pages. 1936 graduate of the Basel Mission Institute and arrived in India in August of the same year. Joined by his 'Braut' Johanna Lochmann in 1938. November, 1946, repatriated with his family to Germany and released in January, 1947. Served parishes in Württemberg. Interview was a personal description, conveying the pre-war scene, the zeal of the young German missionaries, the hazards of the war and internment, the repatriation and the disappointment in an unfulfilled Missions career in British India.

Borutta, Helmuth and Helene

Formerly Gossner Society missionaries at Tezpur, Assam. Interview at Exten, 23 August, 1973; in German, transcript 16 pages. Graduates of Gossner Mission Institute and Berlin University. Arrived together in India in December, 1938, and briefly attended the Tambaram Conference. November, 1946, released to the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church. Retired pastor in Germany. Interview stressed their optimistic call to service in India, acquaintance with the Gossner Mission work, the years of internment and the complications, but as well the joy in their release to continue to serve the Church in India.

Bräsen, Wilhelm and Grete

Formerly at Salur on the Telugu District of the Breklum Missionary Society. Interview at Neukirchen, near Malente, 28 September, 1970; in German, transcript 8 pages. He is a graduate of the Breklum Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1929, followed by, two years by his bride Grete Bibow. Following their first furlough, he returned alone to India in 1938. Later became pastor in the Schleswig-Holstein Church. Interview described the pre-war times, the labours on the mission field, the unnecessary inhuman conditions to internment and the 1946 repatriation.

Daub, Johannes

Once stationed at Mulki, the Kanara District of the Basel Mission Church. Interview at Oberaula, 26 May, 1973; in German, transcript 11 pages. Graduate of the Basel Mission Institute. Arrived in India in August, 1933, followed by his 'Braut' Mathilde Zurflüh (Swiss citizen). Repatriated to Germany in April, 1940, and became a pastor in the German Church. Interview conveyed the joy of his mission years (1933-1939), the abrupt internment and separation from his young family, the valuable studies in camp and the pressure to leave India and the Basel Mission work.

Gäbler, Paul

Dr. Theol. Former Chairman of the Leipzig Mission field in India, stationed at Trichinopoly. Interview at Erlangen, 9 November, 1970; in English, transcript 6 pages. Studied at Leipzig University. Arrived in India at first in 1926 as the post-World War I work was reopened for German missionaries. Repatriated to Germany in November, 1946, and became pastor in the Hannover Church and Missions lecturer at the University of Göttingen. Interview stressed what occurred in his family's case, the difficulties and responsibilities thrust upon him as Chairman, the disappointment of not being invited back by his Mission Church and the new beginning in post-war Germany. He passed away on 3 October, 1971.

Erinnerung an Paul Gäbler von Walther Hellinger

In besonderem Maße schicksalhaft war es für Paul Gäbler, dass er in Tiruvallur in Südindien (1901) geboren wurde und in dem Haus heranwuchs, das sein Vater gebaut und als erster Missionar selbst bezogen hatte. Die südindische Geburt brachte ihm die englische Staatsbürgerschaft ein, aber auch die lebenslange Verbindung mit dem Werk der Mission.

Wer sein freundliches, oft heiteres Wesen kennen lernte wird nicht sogleich auf den Gedanken gekommen sein, dass er in seinem Leben immer wieder schwere Lasten auf die Schultern nehmen musste. Wie so manches Missionarskind verlebte auch er die formativen Jahre seiner Jugendzeit nicht im Elternhaus. Von seinem siebten Lebensjahr an erzogen ihn Verwandte in Braunschweig, die ihm auch den Besuch des Gymnasiums ermöglichten. Zwar waren seine Eltern noch während des Krieges im Jahre 1916 auf der gefürchteten »Golconda« zurückgekommen, doch starb Vater Gäbler schon im Mai 1918 im Erzgebirge, wo er eine Pfarrstelle übernommen hatte.

Von 1920 bis 1924 studierte Paul in Leipzig Theologie und stellte sich anschließend der Leipziger Mission zur Verfügung, der er zunächst ein Jahr lang als Hauskandidat diente. Im Jahre 1925 ging er für ein paar Monate nach England, legte in Dresden das zweite theologische Examen ab, wurde in Leipzig in der Thomaskirche ordiniert, im Oktober in der Nikolaikirche feierlich abgeordnet und reiste im November als erster junger Missionar nach dem Kriege mit Dr. Ihmels in sein zukünftiges Arbeitsgebiet.

Die Solidität der damaligen kirchlichen Arbeit im Ausland war auch daran zu erkennen, dass ohne gründliche Sprachkenntnisse kein missionarischer Dienst übertragen wurde. Wie es üblich war, lernte Paul Gäbler zwei Jahre hindurch Tamil und bekam danach seine ersten Aufgaben in Madras zugewiesen. Ihm wurde die Leitung eines Mädchenschul-Internates übertragen, dazu Religionsunterricht an der Fabrizius Highschool. Er wirkte aber auch als Deutschlehrer an der Universität Madras, als Studentenpfarrer, als Mitarbeiter im CVJM und als Leiter von Jugendfreizeiten. Die Aufzählung dieser Aufgaben gibt einen Begriff von dem hohen Maß an Vertrauen, das ihm als Sohn eines ehemaligen Missionars entgegengebracht wurde. Wird ein solches Kapital von vielen Seiten in Anspruch genommen, kann die Rechtfertigung so reichen Vertrauens erschwert werden, weil es unter zu viele aufgeteilt werden muss. Aber Paul Gäbler vermochte dennoch über diese Aufgaben hinaus, die damals in Amerika und Europa Aufsehen erregenden Bücher des hochbegabten amerikanischen Missionars Dr. Stanley Jones mit großem Fleiß und viel Geschick ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. Stanley Jones hatte seine Erfahrungen, die er als Evangelist auf seinen Reisen durch ganz Indien gemacht hatte, in den Büchern »Der Christus der indischen Landstraße« und »Christus am runden Tisch« niedergelegt. Es gab schon Übersetzungen dieser Bücher in vierzehn Sprachen, zu denen Paul Gäbler die deutsche Übersetzung hinzufügte. Sie fand eine gute Aufnahme im deutschen Sprachgebiet.

Im Jahre 1933 trat er mit seiner Frau und zwei Töchtern einen Heimaturlaub an, der ihn für zwei Jahre von Indien fernhielt. Diese Zeit wurde ausgefüllt durch die Ausheilung einer ernsten Magenerkrankung und die Ausarbeitung seiner Doktordissertation über den damals weltbekannten indischen Heiligen Sadhu Sundar Singh, der seit 1929 verschollen war und wahrscheinlich in Tibet den Tod gefunden hatte. Für seine Doktorarbeit hatte Paul Gäbler in Indien mit bewährtem Fleiß, mit Akribie und beharrlichem Spürsinn eine Fülle von Material gesammelt. Bei der mündlichen und schriftlichen Befragung von Zeugen, die den Sadhu gekannt hatten, hat er keinen ausgelassen. Durch die von ihm angewandte wissenschaftlich journalistische Methode geriet der Sadhu in ein recht ungünstiges Licht, er selber aber unter den Beschuss des großen Sadhu-Freundes Friedrich Heiler.

Als er zum zweiten Mal im Jahr 1935 nach Indien ausreiste, begann die letzte Zeit seines Indienstes. Zwischen der Leipziger und der schwedischen Kirchenmission war die Einrichtung eines Religionslehrerseminars in Trichinopoly vereinbart worden, für dessen Leitung Paul Gäbler berufen wurde. Von da an übernahm die schwedische Mission auch seine Besoldung. Das brachte der Finanzlage der Leipziger Mission eine Erleichterung ein, da infolge der nationalsozialistischen Devisenverweigerung für die Missionsarbeit die deutschen Missionsleute mit einem sehr kümmerlichen Existenzminimum auskommen mussten, wozu sie sich. ausnahmslos bereit erklärt hatten.

Aber schon nach einem Jahr hatte Paul Gäbler die Leitung des Seminars aufzugeben, weil ihm eine Aufgabe zugewiesen wurde, die wohl die nachhaltigsten Ergebnisse seines Dienstes in Indien einbrachte. In den Niederungen des Flusses Coleroon zwischen Trichinopoly und Tanjore baten zahlreiche kleine katholische Gemeinden um Aufnahme in die Evang. Luth. Kirche. Hier lag nun sein neuer Wirkungskreis. Zusammen mit einigen Mitarbeitern hatte er den Motiven der Bittsteller nachzugehen, Rechtsfragen zu klären und für eine geordnete Unterweisung zu sorgen. Das war ein mühevoller, weitläufiger Dienst, den er auch weiterführte, als er 1936 als Nachfolger des heimgekehrten Seniors Dr. Frölich zum Präsidenten der Leipziger Mission für Indien ernannt wurde.

Er konnte nicht voraussehen, dass mit dem Ausbruch des Krieges sein Wirken in Indien ein abruptes Ende finden würde. Was diese Wendung für ihn bedeutete, vermag wohl niemand ganz zu ermessen. Wie einst im ersten Krieg seine Eltern in das Internierungslager zu gehen hatten, musste er ihnen mit seiner Familie auf der leidvollen Spur der Internierung folgen, noch dazu für eine sich länger hinziehende Zeit. Erst im Januar 1947 wurde er mit seiner inzwischen angewachsenen Familie von Hamburg aus in die Freiheit entlassen.

Es lag für ihn nahe, in den Dienst der hannoverschen Landeskirche einzutreten, die viele Rückkehrer von den Missionsfeldern aufgenommen hat. Es fügte sich, dass ihm zunächst die Gemeinde in Oesselse übertragen wurde. Aber nach einigen Jahren erreichte ihn ein Ruf der Universität Göttingen, durch die ihm eine Dozentur für Missionswissenschaft angeboten wurde. Bei dem durch die beiden folgenschweren Kriege verursachten Mangel an Missionswissenschaftlern in Deutschland konnte er Ruf nicht überhören, obwohl er von dieser Dozentur nicht leben konnte. Er hatte zugleich das nahe bei Göttingen liegende Pfarramt von Niedernjesa und Stockhausen zu übernehmen und musste so zwei Herren dienen und immer wieder neu entscheiden, wem von beiden er mehr Zeit widmen müsse. Zu diesen Schwierigkeiten hat er Ja gesagt und beide Ämter gehalten, bis er in den Ruhestand ging.

Aber die letzten Jahre seines Lebens hatte er allein zu wandern, da zu seinem großen Schmerz seine Frau bei einem Besuch ihrer in Ostafrika verheirateten Tochter unerwartet verstarb.

Die Verbindung zum Missionswerk hielt er bis zuletzt als Mitglied des Vorstandes der Leipziger Mission und der Synode der hannoverschen Landeskirche wie auch im Vortragsdienst hin und her im Lande. Auf der Fahrt zu einem Gottesdienst in einer Landgemeinde versagte sein Herz, und er fuhr das Auto in den Graben, wo es sich überschlug. Sein Bewusstsein erlangte er nicht wieder.

Er würde noch heute zu dem Satz stehen, den er im Vorwort zu Stanley Jones' Buch vom »Christus auf der indischen Landstraße« übersetzte: »Ich bin überzeugt, dass die einzige Welt, die Daseinswert hat, die Welt ist, die der Gesinnung und dem Geist Jesu entspricht.«

Heller, Selma (Frau Karl)

Once stationed at Tranquebar of the Leipzig Mission, the Northern Field of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church. Interview at Erlangen, 28 May, 1970; in German, transcript 13 pages. Arrived in India in 1911 (Karl in 1908). November, 1946, was released with her husband to return to the Tamil Church, and served the Indian Church till his retirement. Interview dwelt on her husband's as well as her labours during the pre-war and war years, as well as the post-war months and release, and mentioned some regrettable misfortunes for the German missionary families.

Internment Years, von Selma Heller, Rummelsberg 13. Juni 1970

Dreißig Jahre sind es her, seit wir interniert wurden, in Indien. Nach unseren damaligen Erlebnissen gefragt, habe ich lange gesucht, nach der Mappe von Satara, bis ich sie in einem Winkel wohlverwahrt fand;' aber auch in ihr wurde ich enttäuscht, denn es waren wohl viele*Akten aus dem ersten Weltkrieg darinnen, aber kaum etwas von Belang aus dem zweiten. So will ich nun versuchen, aus meiner Erinnerung zu ersetzen, soviel ich kann.

Im ersten Weltkrieg hatte die englische Regierung keine Ahnung, wer alles sich in ihren Kolonien aufhielt oder herumtrieb (an meinem ersten Tag in Indien 1911 kam ein deutscher Bettler vor die Türe des Missionarshauses, in welchem wir beim Essen saßen). Erst 14 Tage nach Kriegsbeginn notierte ein Polizist die Personalien der Ausländer auf der Straße in ein Taschenbuch. 25 Jahre später war's anders. Schon im Frühling 1939 merkten wir, daß wir beobachtet und sogar unsere Post kontrolliert wurde. Im Juli wurden wir alle ausführlich registriert. Und als dann der Krieg ausbrach, (mein Mann und ich waren gerade auf den Bergen in unserm Erholungsort) , hatte schon vorher die Polizei unsere Erholungshäuser umstellt; sobald die Kriegserklärung bekannt wurde, kamen sie herein und verhafteten alle Männer, die am nächsten Tag ins Fort St. George in Madras und bald nachher ins Lager nach Ahmednagar abtransportiert wurden. Uns Frauen ließen sie noch in Ruhe, nur durften auch wir nicht ohne Erlaubnis reisen, und bald mußte ich, auf unsere Station in der Ebene zurückgekehrt mich regelmäßig auf der Polizeistation vorstellen. Den konfiszierten Photographenapparat bekam ich zurück, aber das Auto mußte verkauft werden.

Ins Männerlager in Ahmednagar kam nach ca. vier Wochen eine Kommission von hohen Herren (Sir Darling) und untersuchte jeden einzelnen Fall der Internierten. Mein Mann wurde als erster freigesprochen; da er aber einen Sohn in Deutschland als Offizier in der Armee hatte, mußte er erst eine Rückfrage der Kommission an die englische Regierung abwarten, ehe er Anfang Dezember zu mir zurückkehren durfte. Er hatte die Zusicherung mitbekommen, ungehindert arbeiten zu dürfen. Aber wir Deutschen durften nichts mehr mit Schulen zu tun haben, und er war doch Inspektor für alle Kirchenschulen (ca. 100) im Hauptamt gewesen. So fühlte er sich nicht ausgelastet mit seinem Anteil an der Missionsleitung; und als er auf einer Inspektionsfahrt in Pandur, unserer früheren Station sah, daß dort eine Leitung nötig war, beschlossen wir, wieder dorthin zu ziehen, Anfang Februar 1940. Jene Versicherung, daß wir ungehindert arbeiten dürften, ließ uns auch die Möglichkeit, nach Deutschland zu fahren, die in jenem Frühling 1940 viermal gegeben war, nicht benutzen, während die meisten unserer weiblichen Mitarbeiter auf Veranlassung der Leitung sich deren bedienten, zuletzt im Mai noch auch Fr. Frölich, die mit uns in Pandur arbeitete.

Da fiel Hitler in Holland ein, und als er es erobert hatte, hielt er über Rundfunk eine Rede, in der er sagte: "er sei mit vier Kolonnen in dem Land einmarschiert, aber die fünfte habe er schon im Lande gehabt." Das fuhr den Engländern heiß in die Knochen, und sie bekamen einen großen Schrecken, denn nun vermuteten sie in jeder ihrer Kolonien eine deutsche "Fünfte Kolonne". Die Folge war, daß sie am 1. Juni alles Deutsche, Männer Frauen- und Kinder, verhafteten. Wir wurden auf unserm eigenen Grundstück interniert, mit vier Polizisten, die auf unserer Veranda kampierten und allwöchentlich ausgewechselt wurden. Im übrigen waren die Beamten freundlich; sie nahmen uns zwar den Photo-Apparat wieder ab, den wir nie mehr zu sehen bekamen, aber ich durfte jenseits der Straße in unserer Poliklinik mitarbeiten, und da es gerade die Zeit war für die jährliche Verpachtung der Missionsfelder, durften die Pächter zu meinem Mann kommen. Nach fünf Wochen, am 9. Juli, wurden wir samt großem Gepäck in ein vergittertes Polizeiauto verladen und zur Polizeizentrale des Distrikts nach St. Thomas Mount gebracht. Von dort ging's zum Nachtzug nach Süden, nach Kodaikanal Road, wo einige Familien von der Basler Mission zu uns stießen; dann fuhren wir

zusammen hinauf auf die Berge in unsere eigenen Erholungshäuser, die, freilich doppelt besetzt, unser Internierungslager wurden. Rings um das weitläufige, waldige Grundstück standen einige indische Polizisten als Posten; zuerst konnten wir Ausflüge machen, aber dann wurden wir auf ein bestimmtes Areal beschränkt, das in unserer Nachbarschaft so einsam lag, daß wir kaum je mit Menschen anderer Nationalitäten zusammenkamen. Den tamulischen Gottesdienst in unserer Kirche durften wir auch nicht besuchen, und ein Freund, der höhere Ausbildung besaß als ein Chauffeur, bekam nicht leicht Erlaubnis, zu uns zu kommen. Dagegen durften wir nach Belieben auf den Markt gehen und einkaufen, auch in Läden der Europäer.

Dort oben brachten wir 1½ Jahre zu. Im Januar 1942 kam eine Änderung Ich bin überzeugt, daß es ein für die Regierung etwas teurer Irrtum war, der uns alle bis auf zwei Familien plötzlich mit unserer beweglichen Habe nach Yercaud umtransportierte, wo wir in Privathäusern untergebracht wurden, während in untere Häuser in Kodaikanal deutsche katholische Priester und Mönche einzogen. In Yercaud hatten wir erst einige Schwierigkeiten mit einer schweren Malaria, die in dem Haus, das wir Beide mit zwei Basler Familien zusammen bewohnten, zuhause war; wir wurden daher nach wohl zwei Monaten weit in die Kaffeegärten verlegt in ein anderes großen Haus. Hier waren schon einige andere deutsche Familien, sowie ein paar jüdische Ärzte mit Frauen. Die Juden hatten eine eigentümliche Stellung in dieser Kriegszeit; sie waren ja keine Deutschen mehr, sondern wohl alle geflüchtet, wurden aber doch mit Mißtrauen betrachtet und hatten nur halbe Freiheit. Die Ärzte waren gewissermaßen ebenfalls interniert, durften aber praktizieren, der eine sogar regelmäßig drunten in der Stadt Salem, während wir den Berg, dem wir frei überallhin gehen konnten, nicht verlassen durften.

Nach dem Völkerrecht, das ja an uns schon mehrfach gebrochen war, sollten Eheleute, die in gleichen Land interniert werden, nicht über ein Jahr getrennt bleiben. Unter uns waren Frauen, deren Männer nun schon ins dritte Jahr in Ahmednagar, fern von ihnen, gefangen waren. Nun sickerte allmählich durch, daß an einem "Familienlager" gebaut wurde. Einige von den Kaufmannsfrauen bei uns machten sogar einen Hungerstreik, um die Sache zu beschleunigen. Und im September 1942 kam es endlich soweit, daß in Satara bei Poona die neuen Baracken fertig waren und man uns zusammenholte dorthin. Ziemlich zur selben Zeit wie wir kamen auch viele Internierte von anderen Orten her, u.a. Ceylon-Internierte aus Bengalen, mit solchen aus Indonesien (diese waren mit drei Schiffen herübergebracht worden, von denen eins mit Gefangenen unterging).

Vorher waren in dem Lager in Satara schon viele Internierte aus Bombay und Zentral-Indien interniert gewesen, darunter auch die Missionare der Gossner-Mission. Sie hatten 22 schulpflichtige Kinder dabei und richteten für diese eine Schule ein, mit so viel Hilfe von Seiten der Lagerinsassen, daß man uns sagte, es seien für die 22 Kinder 25 Lehrer dagewesen. Auch war es bis 1942 möglich gewesen, daß ein Internierter, wenn er Geld hatte, auf Parole außerhalb des Lagers wohnen konnte, in einem gemieteten Haus. Dazu hatten die Insassen die Möglichkeit, bis zu fünf Meilen (8 km) weit vom Lager zu wandern. Im Sommer 1942 wurden plötzlich diese Freiheiten beschnitten. Alle mußten ins Lager ziehen; ein älteres Ehepaar nahm das so schwer, daß sie Selbstmord begingen, indem sie Gift nahmen und das Haus über ihren Betten anzündeten, sodaß es halb verbrannte. Und der Umkreis für Spaziergänge wurde auf 1½ Meilen (2 km) beschränkt. Erst Jahre später erfuhren wir, warum das geschah. Es hatte sich nämlich in den Bergen westlich von Satara eine Räuberbande gebildet, die, noch dazu unter Berufung und in dem Namen des "Kongresses", der damals heftig um die Unabhängigkeit Indiens kämpfte, immer wieder einen Dorfhäuptling oder einen anderen indischen Prominenten entführte und nur gegen hohes Lösegeld wieder freigab. Hätten diese Kerle jemand von uns erwischt, so hätte das für die Lagerleitung wie für die Regierung schwere Weiterungen bedeutet. Doch konnten wir in größeren Gruppen mit besonderer Erlaubnis des Kommandanten Tageswanderungen machen; wir mußten nur vor Nacht zurück sein.

Die Missionare der Breklumer Mission in Orissa waren bei ihrer Provinzialregierung so gut angeschrieben, daß diese sie bis 1943 zwar auch in ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit beschränkte, aber nicht in die allgemeine Internierung auslieferte. Aber im September 1943 mußten sie es doch tun, und die Familien kamen teils zu uns, teils in das viel höher gelegene Lager Purandhar. Wir bekamen vier Familien Zuwachs, mit 18 Kindern und einer Lehrerin, mit der diese Mission in Kotagiri eine "Bergschule" geführt hatte. Herr Meyer, der Präses der Breklumer Mission in Indien, nahm nun die Schule in die Hand; es waren inzwischen über 50 Schulkinder geworden. Da halfen auch wieder

allerlei Leute mit und gaben Stunden, und wir hatten eine vierklassige Grundschule und humanistische sowie Realschulklassen bis zur damaligen fünften., wenn nicht sechsten Klasse. Zwei Mädchen waren in Kodaikanal in der amerikanischen Bergschule geblieben, und ein Junge studierte wohl in Bombay in einer höheren Klasse. Auch mein Mann gab Stunden in Latein und Biologie; ein Breklumer Missionar gab Geschichte. Es fehlte weitgehend an Büchern für die Kinder; der "Geschichtspräsident" holte sich das nötige. Lehrwissen aus zusammengeborgten Büchern und diktierte in die Schreibmaschine, was er davon den Kindern gern in die Hand geben wollte, auf Foliobogen. Auch einen Kindergarten hatten wir, den eine Gossner-Schwester leitete. Alles, was für die Kinder getan wurde, hatte die volle Billigung und Gunst des Kommandanten, eines alten Indo-Engländer. Besonders sorgte er für ein großartiges Kinder-Weihnachtsfest. Er hatte offenbar eine Kasse, in die alle Händler, Friseur etc., die im Lager Geschäfte machen wollten, sicher tüchtigen Zoll hinauszahlen mußten. Aus dieser Kasse gab er einer kleinen Gruppe von uns etwa 1000 Rs. in die Hand und ließ uns nach Poona fahren und Spielsachen einkaufen. Dafür bekam er nach dem Fest von den Kindern einen Fackelzug mit Laternen.

Herr Meyer wurde nach und nach der Berater des Kommandanten für das Lager. Er richtete mit einigen Helfern einen Laden ein, in dem es allerlei gab, durch den aber auch die Internierten, die nacheinander frei wurden, Sachen, die sie abstoßen wollten, verkaufen konnten. Vorher hatten wir beim Parsi, in einem guten indischen Laden, einkaufen können; mit Erlaubnis konnten wir auch in die Stadt auf den Bazar gehen. Es gab drei Lager: ein "Internment Camp", mit Stacheldraht eingefriedigt, für Deutsche, ein ebenso geschlossenes in Gebäuden in der Stadt für Italiener, und unser "Parole Camp", das gar nicht verzäunt, sondern nur rings mit einigen Postern von indischer Polizei bewacht war, und in dem wir viel Freiheit hatten. Jede Baracke hatte ihren "Hammal", der für Sauberkeit sorgen mußte. Dazu gehörte auch, daß sie von Zeit zu Zeit dem Überhandnehmen der streunenden Hunde mit vergifteten« Fleischbrocken steuerten. Allmählich nahm einer unserer Missionare die Oberaufsicht über diese Burschen in die Hand.

Die Katholiken unter uns konnten die Kirche einer katholischen Missionsstation in etwa einer Viertelstunde Entfernung besuchen, wo auch etwa sechs Priester interniert waren, auf Parole, wie wir im "Parole Camp". Wir Evangelische hatten einen großen Barackenraum, den unsere Frauen mit Vorhängen die Form einer Kirche gaben. Ein geborgtes Harmonium vertrat die Orgel; ich hatte daran mein Amt. (Im übrigen gab ich Klavier- und Harmoniumstunden; im Bürogebäude stand ein guter Flügel.)

In der Stadt Satara gab es ein Kino, geführt von Indern. Auch sie wollten gerne an uns profitieren (was man gut verstehen kann), und erreichten vom Kommandanten, daß sie allwöchentlich zweimal bei uns im Bürogebäude Filme zeigen durften. Das waren aber zuerst so minderwertige Filme, daß sich einige internierte Herren, die vorher in dieser Branche tätig gewesen waren, zusammensetzten und beim Kommandanten durchsetzten, daß sie für die Vorführungen im Lager die Auswahl treffen durften. So haben wir einige Jahre hindurch wenn auch teilweise alte, doch zumeist recht gute Filme zu sehen bekommen, von denen ich besonders die historischen schätzte.

Was die materielle Versorgung betraf, so war wohl vorher (ich weiß nicht mehr wann) die finanzielle Seite derselben schon in Ordnung gekommen. Als wir nach Satara kamen, bestand eine "Mess", geführt von Italienern, früheren Hoteliers, und wir aßen dort, wie es auch von der Lagerleitung her beabsichtigt war. Diese Italiener waren in etwas in Konkurrenz miteinander und suchten sich, wenn auch nur um Groschen, zu unterbieten bei mehrmaligem Wechsel. Aber nach einem Monat sprang ich ab, nach einem weiteren mein Mann ebenfalls; das italienische Essen vertrug nicht Jeder. Ich kochte bei uns daheim auf zwei kleinen Holzkohlen-Herdchen. Dadurch konnten wir von dem Essensgeld auch sparen. Wir bekamen pro Tag 2 Rupies, also 120 Rs. im Monat zusammen, dazu 20 Rs. für Wäscher und derartige Nebenausgaben. Und im Jahr 1-2 mal 80 Rs. Kleidergeld. Dazu legten die Missionare der amerikanischen Missouri-Mission von ihrem Gehalt soviel zusammen, daß wir noch pro Mann 15 Rs. bekamen; mehr erlaubte die Regierung nicht. Doch konnten wir mit dem, was wir erhielten, ganz gut leben; wir hatten ja wenig Gelegenheit, Geld auszugeben, und waren auch, besonders von unseren weltfernen Missionsstationen her, nicht verwöhnt.

Auch ein kleiner gemischter Kirchenchor bildete sich, den zuerst Dr. Lorch von der Basler Mission, unser Gemeindepastor, leitete, der aber im letzten Halbjahr besonders aufblühte.

Daß im Mai 1945 der Krieg zu Ende war, merkten wir gar nicht, soweit ich mich entsinnen kann. Im Oktober des Jahres erhielten wir, mein Mann und ich, die Ordre, daß wir repatriert werden sollten. Daraufhin erbat und erhielt ich Urlaub für einige Tage, um zurückzufahren auf unsere Station und aus unserm dort verpackt zurückgelassenen Eigentum einiges zu holen; bei dieser Gelegenheit verkaufte ich dort meine Nähmaschine. Dann kehrte ich ins Lager zurück und wir warteten der weiteren Entwicklung. Nach und nach wurde das Lager leerer. Wir durften keinen Versuch machen, eine Anstellung zu finden, um in Indien zu bleiben; einem von uns verdarb eine solche, sicher nicht sehr energische Werbung alle Aussicht, seinen Wunsch erfüllt zu sehen. Aber Mancher unter uns war vor dem Krieg bei einer Firma oder sonst in einer Stellung so geschätzt gewesen, daß seine damaligen Brotgeber sich jetzt um ihn bewarben. Da wurde nach drei Gesichtspunkten entschieden: 1. wie er sich vor dem Krieg betragen oder ob er sich verdächtig gemacht hatte (Indien lag ja im Kampf mit den Engländern, die noch herrschten, um seine Unabhängigkeit); 2. ob er sich im Lager irgendwie als Gefolgsmann Hitlers gezeigt hatte, und 3. wie der Kommandant ihn im übrigen beurteilte. Dieser hatte dabei wohl das wichtigste Wort. So verschwand da ein Techniker dort ein Kaufmann mit seiner Familie aus dem Lager. Auch Herr Meyer konnte schon im März 1946 auf sein Missionsfeld zurückkehren. In Bezug auf die Missionare spielte sich hinter den Kulissen einiges ab, von dem wir erst später erfuhren. Die Regierung hatte nämlich den selbständigen eingebornen Kirchen angeboten, ihnen je zwei Missionare zurückzugeben, während die andern repatriert werden sollten. So waren Herr Meyer und Herr Jungjohann in ihre Breklumer Arbeit zurückgekehrt. Unsere Tamulenkirche hatte sich auch zwei Missionare ausgesucht; aber sie hatte auf solche getroffen, die der Regierung für das gärende Indien nicht zuverlässig genug erschienen, und so verweigerte sie deren Freilassung. Nun wollte die Tamulenkirche erst überhaupt resignieren, denn in ihrer Leitung saßen damals Männer mit starkem nationalistischem Zug. Aber dann erhob sich eine Stimme, daß man doch das Angebot der Regierung nicht so ganz ausschlagen sollte; und so nahmen sie notgedrungen meinen Mann. Wir wußten, wie gesagt, von alledem nichts und bereiteten uns auf die Heimfahrt vor. Da kam an einem Abend im Juli überraschend Herr Meyer zu uns, den der Kommandant gerufen hatte, damit er ihm in diesen Sachen helfe; er war jeder Mission so fremd, daß er sich gar nicht hineinfinden konnte. Herr Meyer kam zu uns, um uns zu fragen, ob, wenn man uns die Möglichkeit gebe, wir bereit wären, anstatt zu unsern Kindern heimzufahren, wieder in die Arbeit zurückzukehren. Er gab uns Bedenkzeit bis zum Morgen und ging wieder. Wir waren bereit, in Indien zu bleiben, da wir ja wußten, wie wenig Missionare bleiben durften; mit diesem Bescheid fuhr er wieder ab.

Im Frühling 1946 waren einige kleinere Lager aufgelöst worden, darunter auch das größere in Purandhar, und von dort waren die Internierten, die man heimschicken wollte, in unser Lager einquartiert worden. Dabei war auch Herr Hübner, Breklumer Missionar, der unsern Chor übernahm und höher brachte. Die noch vorhandenen Lager standen damals unter einem hochgestellten Inder, Mr. Sankar. Dieser besuchte das unsrige für ein paar Tage und am 13. August hielt er für uns im Speisesaal einen Sprechnachmittag ab. Nachdem er eine kurze Rede an uns gehalten hatte, ging er von Tisch zu Tisch und ließ sich vom Kommandanten die Leute vorstellen. Als er an unserm Tisch die Namen meines Mannes und eines Basler Missionars hörte, sagte er "O, ich kann Ihnen hier gleich gratulieren: Sie sind frei!" Mein Mann, nicht sicher wen er eigentlich in der Gruppe gemeint hatte, ging ihm nach und fragte noch einmal wen, er meine. "Nun, Sie!" war die Antwort. Uns taten nur die Freunde leid, die es hören mußten, denen aber das Wort nicht gegolten hatte. Wir selber freuten uns sehr. Aber wenn auch nach diesem das Schweigen um unser Im-Lande-Bleiben nicht mehr so dicht blieb, so mußten wir doch noch monatelang warten. Einige Freunde aus Ceylon und Indonesien verließen uns im September; im November erst gingen eines Morgens die Busse nach Poona ab, die weitaus die Meisten zum Zug nach Bombay und zum Schiff nach der Heimat brachten. Mein Mann und ich bekamen erst weitere zwei Wochen später die Erlaubnis, auf unser Missionsfeld zurückzukehren.

Solange wir im Lager waren, sollten wir möglichst wenig mit Menschen draußen zu tun haben, was bei der Angst der Engländer vor der "Fünften-Kolonie", vor Aufwiegelung der Inder durch diese "Enemy aliens" uns nicht zu wundern brauchte. Freilich war die Abschließung keineswegs hermetisch. Wir hatten ja indische Lagerbedienstete, konnten in die nächsten Läden gehen und auf Spaziergängen wurde auch nicht kontrolliert. Doch hat der Kommandant sicher gewußt, wie mein Mann ständig auf seinen Gängen, wo er dem Lager entflo, den Rayon überschritt und alle

umstehenden Berge erstieg; aber er traute meinem Mann. Die Engländer waren überhaupt anscheinend sorglos, solange sie keine Ungelegenheiten bekamen; dann freilich griffen sie durch.

Wir hatten auch Besuch von dem schwedischen Bischof unserer Tamulenkirche, sowie von dem Sekretär des Christenrates, je einmal (oder war's der des Lutherischen Bundes?). Leider wurden unsere tamulischen Christen von der Polizei eingeschüchert, daß sie uns nicht schreiben sollten; auch unsere schwedischen Mitarbeiter waren sehr ängstlich damit, sodaß wir von unserem Arbeitsfeld vollständig abgeschnitten waren.

Zwischen den Lagern gab es natürlich allerlei Korrespondenzen. Das ging gut bis etwa 1943. Da ergaben sich kleine Ungelegenheiten für die Lagerleitungen. Wenn in einem Lager irgend eine kleine Vergünstigung gewährt wurde, schrieben es die Gefangenen natürlich auch an ihre Freunde im andern Lager; die Folge war, daß diese zu ihrem Kommandanten gingen und dieselbe Vergünstigung auch für sich verlangten. Daraufhin wurde angeordnet, daß hinfort nur noch "Blutsverwandte" von Lager zu Lager einander schreiben durften.

Natürlich haben die Insassen der Satara-Lager diese Jahre sehr verschieden durchlebt und hingenommen; ich meinerseits fand, daß freilich Gefangenschaft an sich schon ein Unglück ist, und dazu für Manche die Enge der Wohnung, die Nähe der vielen, in unserm Parole-Lager noch dazu aus ganz verschiedenen Nationalitäten stammenden Menschen, das an sich bei 700 m Meereshöhe recht gesunde, aber eben doch tropische Klima, außer den eigenen persönlichen Sorgen, sehr schwer zu ertragen war, daß aber doch diese vier Jahre in Satara weitgehend eine ruhige, teilweise sogar eine interessante Zeit war, vor allem, weil so viele interessante und feine Menschen unter uns waren, deren Gesellschaft man genießen konnte. Wir waren außerdem in Sicherheit und konnten unser Leben gestalten, wie Pensionisten des Staates; das Rote Kreuz, sowie amerikanische Hilfsaktionen schickten uns Bücher, Singbücher, Arbeitsmaterial für Handarbeiten, etc., So wurde uns das Warten auf die Freiheit und auf ein regulär tätiges Leben verhältnismäßig leicht gemacht.

Hellinger, Walther

A Leipzig Society missionary in the pre- and post-World War II eras; in Germany during the war. Interview at Bad Salzdetfurth, 16 July, 1972; in German and not taped. In 1956 nominated, though not elected, Bishop of Tranquebar. Author of 'Vom Inneren Schicksal Indiens'. Interview generally described the pre- and post-war years in the Tamil Church in India.

Hübner, Friedrich,

Bishop & Dr. Theol. Once at Nowrangapur, Breklum Mission Church in Jeypore District. Interview at Kiel, 25 September, 1970; in English, transcript 11 pages. Graduate of Bethel Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1937; fiancée Christa Roos followed in 1938. Repatriated to Germany with his family in 1946. Served with the Lutheran World Federation (VELKO-DNK) in Germany until becoming 'Landesbischof' of the Schleswig-Holstein Church. Interview was historical, factual and informative, with many personal comments. One of the first recorded conversations held by the writer and focused on the problematic internment years.

Jungjohann, Traugott

Also stationed at Nowrangapur, the Jeypore District of the Breklum Mission Church. Interview at Wedel, 17 July, 1972; in German, transcript 11 pages. Graduate of the Breklum Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1932, followed by his 'Braut' Else Stäcker. Released in the spring, 1946, from Satara, the family returned to the Jeypore Lutheran Church. In his interview the missionary and businessman narrated in an informative and humorous manner regarding their war-troubled years in India.

Klimkeit, Johannes and Renate

In the pre-war years stationed at Kinkel on the Chota Nagpur District of the Gossner Mission and Evangelical Lutheran Church. Interview at Bierde, near Minden, 23 August, 1973; in German, transcript 18 pages. He was a graduate of the Gossner Mission Institute in Berlin. Arrived in India in February, 1937. His fiancée arrived in India exactly one year later. Both held Lithuanian passports, yet interned. Released in

November, 1946, and took up his teaching responsibilities with the Gossner Church at Rajgangpur and later at Ranchi. Interview was, along with the factual commentary, an excellent account over the turbulent and crucial years during the war. Renate Klimkeit added many personal remarks regarding the problems which the women and children faced on the stations.

Pfarrer in Bierde von 1959 bis 01.05.1975, gestorben am 9. März 1977

Kloss, Hermann

Former missionary of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Chota Nagpur District; today professor at Serampore College, West Bengal. Interview at Erlangen, 23 July, 1974; in English; recorded though not transcribed. Kloss is a post-World War II educator. Interview gave a good background to the events and the developments in the Gossner Church in the war era.

Lipp, Richard

Bishop. Once on the Malabar District of the Basel Mission Church in South India. Interview at Süssen, 14 April, 1973; in English, transcript 21 pages. Graduate of the Basel Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1936, followed by his 'Braut' Margret Oehler in 1938. In March, 1946, Lipp and his family were released from Purandhar Fort to return to the Basel Mission Church. Lipp was the only German Basel missionary invited back. 1953 Lipp was elected Bishop of the Church of South India. Interview was open, personal and informative; it reflected the Bishop's great love for the Church of India and his Indian brothers in Christ.

Zu den Christen in Nord-Kerala hat der Evangelische Kirchenbezirk Geislingen seit langem eine besondere Verbindung. Samuel Hebich aus Nellingen/Alb war im vergangenen Jahrhundert einer der bedeutendsten Basler Missionare in diesem Gebiet Indiens.

Jahrzehnte später war dort der aus Eislingen stammende Missionar Richard Lipp tätig. Er wurde nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg im unabhängigen Indien zum Bischof unserer Partnerdiözese gewählt. Seinen Ruhestand verbrachte er in Süßen. Über ihn kam die Anfrage aus Nord-Kerala nach einer Partnerschaft an den Evangelischen Kirchenbezirk Geislingen.

Lohse, Christian

Formerly at Parvatipur mission station, the Telugu District of the Breklum Mission. Interview at Husum, 18 July, 1972; in German, transcript 15 pages. Graduate of the Breklum Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1935, followed by his 'Braut' Margarete Haack in 1937. In November, 1946, repatriated with his family to Germany. Became a pastor in the Church of Schleswig-Holstein. Interview was open and descriptive of the wartime period in India, as well as of the individual's response to the war conditions and increased nationalism.

Lorch, Theodor

Dr. Theol. Formerly Principal of Malabar Christian College, Calicut, institute of the Basel Mission Society. Interview at Ludwigsburg, 13 April, 1973; in German, transcript 12 pages. University education. Arrived in India in 1937 with his wife Hilde. Repatriated to Germany with his family in 1946, for lack of an invitation by the Swiss personnel. Author of "Begegnungen in Indien". Interview was very articulate and explanatory, and it defined the changing mood in the mission work and the growing stature of the Church.

Die politische Haltung der deutschen Missionare um die Zeit des zweiten Weltkriegs, von Dr. Theodor Lorch

Persönliche Vorbemerkung: Ich kam im Januar 1937 nach Indien und stand als Prinzipal des Malaba Christian College in Kalikut im Dienst der Basler Mission. Während des Kriegs war ich interniert. Im Lager Satara befanden sich die meisten deutschen Missionare aus Indien. Von den Gemeindegliedern des Internierungslagers wurde ich als Lagerpfarrer eingesetzt.

Seitdem es den Nationalsozialismus gab, gehörte ich zu seinen Gegnern. Vor meiner Ausreise nach Indien stand ich aktiv in den Reihen der Bekenntniskirche.

Nationale Gesinnung der deutschen Missionare: Die meisten deutschen Missionare hatten etwa dasselbe nationale Empfinden wie die Mehrzahl der deutschen Pfarrer in jener Zeit. Die Pflege des patriotischen Geistes in den bürgerlich-kirchlichen Kreisen war durch den ersten Weltkrieg nur wenig erschüttert worden. Das geschah erst durch den zweiten Weltkrieg. Eine ähnliche nationale Gesinnung wie die der deutschen Missionare fand ich in jener Zeit bei Engländern oder Amerikanern oder Schweizern. Jeder Nationalismus hatte seine eigene Färbung. Im Grunde war es aber dasselbe Phänomen. Der deutsche Nationalismus war nach all den Enttäuschungen in der Zeit nach 1918 besonders empfindlich. Im Ausland waren die Deutschen nach 1933 sehr massiven Angriffen ausgesetzt. Den meisten Angehörigen anderer Völker, besonders der neutralen, ging das Verständnis für den deutschen Weg ab. Auch ich argumentierte als Auslandsdeutscher anders, als ich es zu Hause tat. Durch allzu massive und verständnislose Vorwürfe wurde man als Deutscher unwillkürlich in eine einseitige Verteidigungshaltung gedrängt.

Vollends nachdem der Krieg begonnen hatte, setzte sich fast überall das Entweder-oder-Donken durch. Es wurde von uns erwartet, daß wir entweder generell gegen die Nazis und für die Alliierten oder gegen die Nazis und gegen Deutschland waren. Ein Gegner des Dritten Reiches, der trotzdem ein guter Deutscher bleiben wollte, hatte damals gegenüber den meisten Angehörigen anderer Nationen einen sehr schweren Stand. Das Ausmaß des Schwarz-Weiß-Malens kam mir besonders deutlich zum Bewußtsein, als mir bei Vernehmungen durch den englischen CID deutsche Propaganda vorgeworfen wurde, weil ich in einer unserer christlichen Gemeinden einen Vortrag gegen den Kommunismus gehalten hatte.

Die Missionare und der Nationalsozialismus: Unter den Missionaren gab es einige entschiedene Gegner des Dritten Reiches, viele Mitläufer und ein paar überzeugte Anhänger der Partei. Während die Nazis in einem Lager hinter Stacheldraht waren, befanden sich die andern in einem Parolgelager. Fast alle Missionare waren in letzterem. Obwohl in den ersten Jahren das Ende des Krieges nicht sicher war und die Leute im Nazilager sehr mit einer späteren Belohnung und mit unserer Bestrafung rechneten, dachte kein Missionar daran, sich dorthin versetzen zu lassen.

Zu unserer Lagergemeinde gehörten auch Juden. Es gab nie eine Diskussion darüber, ob sie als vollwertige Gemeindeglieder angesehen werden sollten. Sie waren ebenso geachtet wie jedes andere Gemeindeglied. Am Anfang wurde über die Frage diskutiert, ob man im Kirchengebet für den Sieg Deutschlands oder den Führer beten sollte. Nachdem die Entscheidung gefallen war, daß wir für den Frieden und für unser deutsches Volk beten, wurde sie allgemein akzeptiert. Die alltäglichen politischen Gespräche hatten keine ideologische Schärfe. Wo Gegensätze auftraten, handelte es sich in der Regel um eine verschiedene Sicht der Dinge und nicht um einen verschiedenen Glauben. Die meisten Mitläufer hatten den Nationalsozialismus nicht selber erlebt. Wie schwer es damals war, die wirkliche Lage richtig zu sehen, ist nur denen bekannt, die die damalige Zeit miterlebten. Ich selbst hatte Ende 1936 Deutschland verlassen. Ich hatte keinerlei eigene Anschauung über Konzentrationslager, Judenverfolgungen und dergleichen und konnte darum nur sagen, daß ich den Untergrund- oder Auslandsberichten glaubte, während die andern den deutschen Nachrichten glaubten. Da politische Gespräche unter diesen Umständen unfruchtbar waren, unterblieben sie bald. Jedenfalls waren in unserer Lagergemeinde politische Meinungsverschiedenheiten unbedeutend im Vergleich zur Abendmahlsfrage oder ähnlichen theologischen Anliegen. Wir hatten unter uns gute Patrioten, aber keine "Deutschen Christen", sohlecht informierte Mitläufer, aber keine richtigen Nazis (mit Ausnahme von einem Missionar im Nazilager).

Karlshöhe-Direktor Theodor Lorch wird hundert Jahre alt

Theodor Lorch, der langjährige Direktor der Karlshöhe in Ludwigsburg, kann am Dienstag (22. November 2005) seinen 100. Geburtstag feiern. Er war von 1947 bis zu seinem Eintritt in den Ruhestand 1970 dort tätig, von 1950 an als ihr Direktor. Er hat in dieser Zeit die Weichen dafür gestellt, dass die Karlshöhe nach eigenen heute die anerkannte Ausbildungsstätte für Diakone im Bereich der württembergischen Landeskirche ist und zu den großen Sozialanbietern gehört.

Das in Stuttgart geborene Kind einer in Afrika tätigen Missionarsfamilie wuchs bei Verwandten und im Missionskinderheim auf, durchlief die Seminare Schöntal und Urach und studierte Theologie und Volkswirtschaft in Tübingen und Berlin. Nach der Promotion über ein volkswirtschaftliches Thema und Vikarsjahren in Württemberg ging das Mitglied der dem Nationalsozialismus gegenüber

kritischen "Bekennenden Kirche" 1936 für die Basler Mission nach Indien. Dort leitete er zuletzt in Calicut eine christliche Ausbildungsstätte.

Nach der Rückkehr aus Indien, wo er als Deutscher wegen des Krieges sieben Jahre in einem Lager interniert war, wurde Lorch 1947 dritter Pfarrer an der Karlshöhe, von 1948 bis 1951 leitete er die damalige Wohlfahrtspflegerschule dort, zum 1. April wurde er zum Direktor berufen. In seiner Amtszeit wandelte sie sich zu einer zeitgemäßen Diakonenausbildungsstätte und einem Sozialanbieter mit vielfältigem Angebot.

Lorch ist Inhaber hoher staatlicher und kirchlicher Auszeichnungen: so erhielt er 1998 das Bundesverdienstkreuz erster Klasse. Er ist mit zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen hervor getreten. Seinen Ruhestand verbringt der geistig noch rege Lorch im Altenheim der Karlshöhe. An seinem Geburtstag findet in der Kirche dort ein Dankgottesdienst statt, ein Empfang mit Grußworten schließt sich an.

Dr. Theodor Lorch feiert am Dienstag, 22. November 2005 seinen 100. Geburtstag. Der promovierte Volkswirt und Pfarrer war von 1950 bis 1971 Direktor der Karlshöhe Ludwigsburg.

Lorch wurde 1905 als Sohn eines Missionarsehepaars geboren, das bereits zehn Monate nach seiner Geburt wieder abreiste und den Sohn in die Obhut des Kinderheims der Basler Mission gab. Als Kritiker des NS-Regimes gehörte Lorch zur Bekennenden Kirche und reiste während der Nazi-Jahre nach Indien aus, wo er der Prinzipal eines Colleges und später sechs Jahre interniert war.

Später kam er auf die Karlshöhe zurück, die er bereits zuvor als Theologe kennen gelernt hatte. In den Jahren seines Schaffens baute er die Dienste der Stiftung Karlshöhe aus, es entstanden das Körperbehindertenzentrum und das Haus auf der Wart, das Ferienheim Rappenhof, das Ferienheim Lauchbühl (Grindelwald/Schweiz) und das Kinderheim Carola in Berchtesgaden wurden aufgebaut.

Für zahlreiche Absolventen der damaligen Karlshöher Diakonenschule wurde er zur prägenden Figur. Durch seine Bescheidenheit und intellektuelle Autorität erwarb er sich eine große Glaubwürdigkeit, die oft provozierend war und dennoch Bewunderung hervor rief. Er selbst bezeichnet sich gern als "demokratischer Patriarch". Solchermaßen hinterließ er auch einen bleibenden Eindruck in der württembergischen Diakonie, die er stets ermahnte, sich auf dem Boden des Evangeliums der Armen anzunehmen.

Heute lebt Lorch im Altenheim "Haus am Salon" der Karlshöhe Ludwigsburg. Gebrechlich zwar, doch mit wachem Geist verfolgt er nach wie vor mit Interesse das gesellschaftliche und das Karlshöher Tagesgeschehen.

Mack, Carla (Frau Fritz)

Missionary to China at first, and second wife of the Malabar District Chairman and missionary at Calicut, Basel Mission Church. Interview by telephone: Erlangen - Hamburg, 1 December, 1974; in German, though not taped. Carla Tegtmeier never reached her husband-to-be nor India in September, 1939. Carla and Fritz Mack were married by proxy on 21 February, 1942. He passed away in June, 1943, at the Dehra Dun Internment Camp. The discussion focused on the Mack family, the tragic death of the Basel missionary and the suggestions for further resource materials, e.g., the Merkblätter of the German Government.

Meltzer, Friso

Dr. Theol., Dr. Phil. Prior to World War II the Principal of Mangalore Christian College, institute of the Basel Mission Church. Interview at Erlangen, 30 November, 1976; in German, and interview not transcribed. University of Breslau (Dr. Phil.), University of Tübingen (Dr. Theol.). Arrived in India in March, 1935, followed by his 'Braut' Helene Hamel the close of the same year. Served at both the Basel Mission colleges at Calicut and Mangalore, and was to teach at the Bangalore Theological Seminary. In May, 1940, repatriated with his family (due to illness). Author of several religious and meditative works. Interview dwelt on the pre-war era and the crisis for the Basel Mission families in the opening months of the war, and it offered insight into the missionary life and work.

Palm, Hermann

Formerly stationed at Karkalla, the Kanara District of the Basel Mission Church. Interview at Böhringen, Württemberg, 13 June, 1973; in German, transcript 12 pages. Graduate of the Basel Mission Institute. Arrived in India in August, 1936 (month of the Nazi Olympics), and followed by his 'Braut' Annamarie Lenz in 1938. In April, 1940, repatriated to Germany due to illness in the family. Served as a pastor in the Württemberg State Church. Interview conveyed the attitudes and sentiments of a dedicated missionary, his love for his fellow Indian Christians and also the havoc which World War II played in the family's life.

Pörksen, Martin

Dr. Phil. Former Director of the Breklum Missionary Society in the State of Schleswig-Holstein. Interview at Hamburg, 24 August, 1973; in German, transcript 15 pages. Graduate of Kiel University. 1933-1973 served as the director of the Schleswig-Holstein Missionary Society and in other leading roles in North German Missions endeavours. Assisted Walter Freytag in welcoming the missionary repatriates in January, 1947. Interview depicted many historical and critical aspects of German Missions prior to, in and following the war.

Speck, Reimer

Before the war at Kotapad, the Jeypore District of the Breklum Mission work. Interview at Molfsee near Kiel, 25 September, 1970; in English, transcript 11 pages. Graduate of the Breklum Mission Institute. Sent out to India in 1936, and followed by his fiancée Ille Tonnesen after two years. November, 1946, the family was repatriated to Germany. He then served with the Schleswig-Holstein Church, but soon after was called to return to India for a full career of mission service with the Jeypore Lutheran Church. Interview, one of the first taped by the writer, presents an informative, introductory depiction of the many problems which the German Missions personnel faced in British India during World War II.

Tauscher, Alma (Mrs. Rudolf)

Alma Jungermann, formerly of the Evangelical and Reformed Mission (USA), married the Breklum missionary in 1942. Interview at Glückstadt, 19 July, 1972; in English, transcript 10 pages. Trained as a nurse, Alma (a U.S. citizen) became Rudolf Tauscher's second wife, following the tragic death of Marlene Tauscher in March, 1940. Released from the Satara Camp in March, 1946, she served a full missionary career with her husband in India. Interview was a confirmation of the commentaries of her German colleagues, and as an American presented an objective picture of the war era.

Thomä, Hedwig

Stationed 1931-1937 at Chombola on the Malabar District, the Basel Mission field. Interview at Stuttgart, 24 May, 1973; in German, transcript 11 pages. She served as head mistress of the Girls' Orphanage Home in Chombola for 5½ years. The war prevented her return to India, and at the outbreak of the war she became Karl Hartenstein's secretary in Stuttgart. The interview portrayed her own missionary service, the leading role of Hartenstein as Director of the Basel Society and his resignation and exile to Germany, as well Hartenstein's continuing leadership as one of Germany's Missions and Church statesmen.

Tied, Otto

In pre-war days stationed at Trivallur on the Northern Field (Leipzig Mission) of the Tamil Lutheran Church. Interview at Erlangen, 27 September, 1973; in German, transcript 26 pages. Graduate of the Leipzig Mission Institute. Arrived in India in 1937. Awaited his 'Braut' in September, 1939, but World War II prohibited their seeing each other until 1947. Married by proxy during the war. Repatriated to Germany in November, 1946, and became a pastor in East Germany. Interview was candid and personal, and detailed; it provided the writer an even fuller picture of this war chapter of Christian Missions in India.

Tucher, Heinz von

Stationed at Makoriya, Hoshangabad District, Central Provinces, with the Friends Service Council, London Yearly Meeting. Interview at Gufflham, Bavaria, 28 July, 1966; in English, transcript 15 pages. Accepted a call to serve as an agricultural missionary in India in 1930. Married Karen Magnus in 1931. Interned during the war, but released in January, 1944, on account of his Quaker, pacifist convictions and his service with a British Society. Interview focused on the Purandhar Parole Settlement - the Jewish community, the events and the individuals on the hill fort. Father of the writer.

Interview again at Gufflham, near Burghausen, 29 December, 1969; in English, transcript 8 pages. It concentrated on the German missionaries during their World War II internment years.

Interview at Erlangen, 10 April, 1975; in English. Statements, in response to questions, were not taped.

Tucher, Karen von (Frau Heinz)

Stationed with her husband at Makoriya, Hoshangabad District. Interview at Erlangen, 8 April, 1973; in English, transcript 7 pages. Began her medical studies in Denmark; interrupted on account of her marriage and service then in India. Interview dwelt on the events following her husband's internment in September, 1939, and the plight of the German women and children on the mission stations in wartime. Mother of the writer.

Wagner, Johannes

Once stationed at Kumbakonam, the Leipzig Mission work (Northern Field) of the Tamil Lutheran Church. Interview at Hasede, near Hildesheim, 16 July, 1972; in German, transcript 11 pages. Graduate of the Leipzig Mission Institute. Arrived in India in October, 1935. Married Rosemarie Wossidlo, who entered the Indian mission work in 1933. Repatriated in May, 1940, with his family and in Germany served as a pastor. Interview described the opening months of the war and internment in India, the return to wartime Germany, and a frank appraisal of the difficult period in their lives.

Witte, Martin

Before leaving India in 1939, stationed at Madras under the Leipzig Mission. Interview at Betzendorf, 20 July, 1972; in German, transcript 12 pages. Served on the Northern Field of the Tamil Church from October, 1933, through July, 1939. Arrived in Germany days before the outbreak of World War II. Pastor at the Hackenstadt-Sottrum parish following the war and instrumental in welcoming the returning Leipzig missionary families to Germany. Interview was historical, factual and descriptive, focusing largely on the post-war conditions in Germany.

2. INDIAN, BRITISH & AMERICAN CHURCH & MISSIONS PERSONNEL

Chandhy, Jacob

M.D. Served the World Council of Churches, Geneva, as Secretary for Medical Ministries. Interview at Geneva, 14 April, 1970; in English, transcript 5 pages. Chandhy laboured 1939-1944 as an Indian medical missionary in Arabia, and came from the Malabar Coast, South India. Later called to the W.C.C. at Geneva. Interview was the first with an Indian Church leader. Chandhy emphasized the need for an integrated Church and expressed an admiration for the Basel Mission work in India.

David, Prodduku

Dr. Theol. Principal of the Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute in Madras. Interview at Erlangen, 14 January, 1975; in English; not recorded on tape. Prodduku David is a Tamil Lutheran from South India. He described the current ventures of the Church in South India and expressed a gratitude of the Indian Church towards the German missionaries who served with his people in the Madras Presidency.

Dearing, Frieda

Former secretary with the I.M.C. and successor to Betty D. Gibson in London. Interview at Pagham, near Bognor Regis, U.K., 28 April, 1973; in English, on tape though not transcribed. The discussion dwelt on the efforts which Betty Gibson made in her relationship to and concern for the German Missions personnel, the post-World War II era at the I.M.C and the transition period of Miss Dearing's work. She commented that "she (Gibson) had a great love for the German people in particular. ... She spoke German, of course."

Hollis, Michael

Retired Bishop of Madras. Served the Church of South India, and successor to Bishop Harry Waller. Interview at Bury St. Edmunds, U.K., 19 April, 1973; in English, transcript 19 pages. "In 1942 he was elected as Bishop of Madras in the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. ... On the Inauguration of the Church of South India in 1947 he was made Bishop of Madras," (Hollis, *The Significance of South India*), and became its moderator, serving till 1954, when he became - Professor for Church History at Bangalore. The interview portrayed the Church of South India, the wartime conditions among the German Missions personnel and good character descriptions of his colleagues Bishop Azariah and Rajah Manikam. Hollis is the author of several short works on the Indian Church.

Raj, L. Easter

Retired Bishop. Formerly Principal of the Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary, Madurai; retired Bishop of Tranquebar; and former Principal of the Gurukul Theological College, Madras. Interview at Erlangen, 19 July, 1970; in English, transcript 13 pages. In the interview Easter Raj, a Tamil Lutheran, depicted many of the concerns and problems of the Tamil Church, the crucial years of World War II on account of the Leipzig missionaries' internment and a gratitude for what the German personnel have meant to him and his people in the founding and nurturing of their Church.

Ranson, Charles Wesley

Dr. Former Secretary of the N.C.C. and later Secretary of the I.M.C; also Dean and Professor of Drew Theological School, Madison, N.J., USA, and later Professor at Hartford Theological Seminary. Interview at Hartford Airport, Conn., 29 February, 1972; in English, the discussion not taped. As a Methodist from Northern Ireland, Charles Ranson came to India as a missionary; upon J.Z. Hodge's retirement in 1941 joined Rajah Manikam in the N.C.C. Secretaryships at Nagpur until following the war. Interview described some of the conditions during the war in India, the German Missions' problems and the complications for their families (Basel and Gossner in particular), and it gave the writer helpful direction in his research efforts.

Sadiq, John

Bishop Dr. Former Chairman of the National Christian Council of India, and (at time of interview) visiting lecturer at the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, U.K. Interview at Birmingham, 26 May, 1972; in English, discussion not taped. As a north Indian, John Sadiq came to Nagpur to serve the Indian Church and the N.C.C. and in the post-war era became the Bishop of Nagpur, Anglican Diocese. Interview emphasized the role and development of the integrated Indian Church.

Scott, Roland

Dr. Former Secretary for Evangelism of the N.C.C. and later Treasurer of the NCC. Interview at Evanston, Ill., 19 February, 1971; in English, and not on tape. As an American Methodist, Roland Scott served in more than one of the N.C.C. offices and was on the Nagpur scene during the critical war years. On his departure from India, he served with the Methodist Missions Board in New York, and later became Professor of Missions at Garrett Theological Seminary, Evanston. The interview represented his knowledge of individuals, sources and materials available on the Indian Church.

Stewart, William

Dr. First served with the N.C.C. in Nagpur during World War II, and in the post-war period became Principal of Serampore College. Interview at Bridge of Allan, Scotland, 19 September, 1971; in English, transcript 11 pages. William Stewart came under the auspices of the Church of Scotland to India and the N.C.C. headquarters, and became aware of some of the problems facing the German Missions families. Following Serampore College, he became the pastor of the Bridge of Allan Church (of Scotland). The interview, occasionally interspersed by his wife Wilma's comments, reviewed the wartime scene in British India, the striving for church-mission integration and the pioneering spirit towards Church Union among the Christian leaders.

3. GERMAN (NON-MISSIONARY) NATIONALS

Brocke, Alfred G.

Dr. (Chem.). Formerly in India with I.G. Farben Industries of Germany. Interview at München, 14 October, 1969; mostly in German, transcript 30 pages. Frau Marianne Brocke interjected some comments into the conversation. Alfred Brocke, from Thüringen, was assigned to India before the war, and as most German nationals in the Nazi era, was cautious in opposing the regime, though during the war became an anti-Nazi. At the Purandhar Parole Settlement the Brookes were some of the more ingenious internees, creating a marionette theatre and making dolls' houses and furniture for sale. Interview gave a detailed account of internment days, the tensions, Brooke's anti-Nazi stance and an invaluable description on the Purandhar hill fort. He passed away on 15 July, 1973.

Brocke, Marianne (Frau Alfred)

Interview at München, 25 January, 1975; in English, the discussion was not tape-recorded. Marianne Brocke, from Holland, in this interview reiterated some of the unfortunate pre-war conditions for German nationals in India, the strong Nazi influence there - both through the leaders and the publications in British India.

Gans, Oskar

Prof., M.D. During World War II dermatologist in Bombay, and later Professor at the Medical Faculty of the University of Frankfurt/Main. Interview at Erlangen, 7 March, 1973; in English, transcript 10 pages. Oskar Gans, with his wife, arrived in Bombay in 1934, leaving Nazi Germany and Hitler's politics. In Bombay he opened up a practice, and soon became the Secretary of the Jewish Relief Association. He played an important role in assisting his fellow Jewish countrymen find a haven in India. Interview dwelt on the pre-war years, the suspicions of the British over incoming emigrants and refugees, the brief internment at Ahmadnagar and the war mood in Bombay itself. In 1944, the writer with parents and sisters, upon their release, tarried two days at the Gans residence in Bombay.

Kirschner, Max Josef

Prior to World War II a tobacco planter in Sumatra. As Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies, he was transferred to British India by the Dutch in January, 1942. Interview at München, 25 January, 1975; in English, and discussion recorded, though not transcribed. Max Kirschner was interned at Purandhar (March - October, 1943), where he came in contact with German Missions personnel. The interview dwelt on Kirschner's wartime experiences and his exploration of the Purandhar tomb caves.

Swatek, Gerhard

A German from the former Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia; he came to India in 1938 as a young businessman and interned for the entire war. Interview at Erlangen, 24 February, 1974; in English, discussion not taped. Released in December, 1946, to work in Bihar. Later served with the large electrical firm of Siemens of Germany. Interview depicted camp life, the camp leaders and the courage of Alfred Brocke as an anti-Nazi in India. Interview at Erlangen, 20 November, 1974; in English, transcript 8 pages. The second interview portrayed the hunger strike of Deolali, the Dehra Dun camp, personalities as Father Löwenstein, Hans Röver and Father Calixtus, and the hardships of internment years.

4. OTHER (NON-GERMAN) PERSONALITIES

Bose, Vivian and Irene (née Mott)

Interview at Gufflham, Bavaria, 5 December, 1971; in English, transcript 9 pages. The Rt. Hon. Justice Vivian Bose served as a Judge of the High Court of the Central Provinces during the war, became the Chief Justice in 1946, and in 1951 was called to the Supreme Court of India. Later he served as President of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva. Irene Mott Bose, daughter of the American Church statesman John R. Mott, was known for her Christian labours in the Nagpur area. Interview centered on the wartime conditions in India, on Bishop Azariah and J.Z. Hodge's efforts, and the harsh measures of the British towards the Indians and the Germans. From pre-war years at Pachmarhi the writer and his parents were well acquainted with the Boses.

Fabisch, Walter

M.D. Arrived in British India in 1938, having fled the Nazi regime of Germany. Interview at Nottingham, U.K., 6 July, 1966; in English, transcript 18 pages. Walter and Lisa Fabisch were fortunate to be able to leave the Third Reich and permitted to enter India. He was removed from his practice in Lahore and interned; later reinterned with his wife at the Purandhar Parole Settlement for German Jewish emigrants and refugees. Served as camp doctor and one of a three-man camp committee. The interview dwelt on the above-mentioned areas of the physician's life - the new beginning in India, the camp life in the fort community and the release in September, 1942, to serve as a doctor in the British army.

Spindler, Alfred de

Served in India with the International Red Cross during the war; one of a team of five Swiss representatives with Huber (Chm.), J.A. Rikli, W. Reist and Otto Wenger (M.D.). Interview at Wasserwendi, Switzerland, 20 May, 1973; in English, and discussion taped, though not transcribed. Spindler served from Spring, 1942, to Spring, 1946, with the Red Cross Committee, after serving as a civil engineer in Afghanistan. The Red Cross was called in, as the British transferred 70,000 Italian prisoners from Abyssinia to India. The interview depicted Spindler's visits to the camps of Deoli, Dehra Dun, Satara, Purandhar, etc., his acquaintance with the Purandhar commandant Holland and the contact with the German missionaries.

5. INTERVIEWS WHICH FAILED TO MATERIALIZE

Gibson, Betty D.

As secretary of William Paton of the IMC, she carried on the task of caring for the German Missions personnel following Paton's death in August, 1943. Betty Gibson passed away the very week in which the writer sought to contact her in Edinburgh (March, 1973).

Helms, Nicolaus

Due to his travel plans and other engagements, a convenient time for an interview could not be arranged. The Breklum missionary died in August, 1973

Lokies, Hans

Dr. The Gossner Missionary Society director was a courageous leader in the Confessional Church. On account of the director's retirement and age the writer found it difficult to arrange an interview.

Manikam, Rajah

B., Bishop of Tranquebar, Ph.D. The former Tamil Lutheran and N.C.C. Secretary visited Erlangen, Germany, in November, 1968. At the time the writer was unaware of the churchman's role in post-war India.

Meyer, Heinrich

Bishop of Lübeck. Former President of the Jeypore Lutheran Church and Chairman of the Breklum Mission. Due to the Bishop's poor health, a rare opportunity was missed when

Primrose, James B.

Former Scottish Presbyterian missionary in Poona during the war years. J.B. Primrose visited the Purandhar Parole Camp monthly to hold worship services and administer the sacraments. In New Zealand, in his retirement he failed to remember his encouraging ministry to the German internees.

INFORMATIONEN ZU WEITEREN MISSIONAREN

Gerlach, Wolfgang

Wolfgang Gerlach, geb. 06.10.1910, Radeberg/Sachsen, 1930 - 1934 Seminar, Ausreise 1936 Madras, interniert, Rückkehr 1947, Kirchlicher Dienst, Heirat Esther Weidenkaff. 1938, gest. 11.04.1984

Graefe, Walther

Dr. phil. Walther Graefe, geb. 30.7.1900, Leipzig, Seminar 1921 - 1925, Dr. phil. 1928, Ausreise 1928 Shiyali, Chidambaram, 1940 interniert, 1947 ausgeschieden, Heirat Irmgard Kopp 1934, gest. 1955

Röver, Hans

Hans Röver, geb. 01.05.1902, Güstrow, 1924 - 1930 Seminar, Ausreise 1931, Pandur-Trankebar, 1940 Internierungslager, 1946 Perambalur, gest. 15.08.1967

Stosch, Johannes

Lic. Johannes Stosch, Missionar der Goßnerschen Missionsgesellschaft, wird unter 44 Bewerbern zum Pfarrer für Berlin-Wannsee ernannt. Er tritt am 15. April 1920 sein Amt an. Das Pfarrhaus teilt er sich mit der Witwe seines Vorgängers, die das obere Stockwerk bewohnt, während er selbst mit seiner kurz zuvor geheirateten Frau in die untere Etage zieht. In seiner über 30-jährigen Amtszeit fallen 1921 die Bildung der eigenständigen Kirchengemeinde Wannsee sowie 1926/27 der Bau des Gemeinde- und neuen Pfarrhauses in der Florastraße (heute Schuchardweg). Die neben dem Pfarrerramt in Wannsee fortgeführte Missionstätigkeit von Pfr. Stosch erforderte während der jeweils fünf Monate dauernden Missionsreisen nach Indien mehrfach eine Vertretung durch andere Pfarrer. Am 11.07.1939 bricht Pfr. Lic. Stosch erneut zur Missionsarbeit nach Indien auf. Er wird dort vom Ausbruch des 2. Weltkrieges überrascht, interniert und kehrt erst 1947 wieder nach Wannsee zurück. Pfarrer Stosch geht im Oktober 1952 in den Ruhestand und verstirbt am 01.11.1973. Sein Grab befindet sich auf dem Gelände der Andreaskirche am Ende der Kriegsgräberreihe hinter dem Chor der Kirche.

Weinert, Johannes

Johannes Weinert, geb. 18.07.1911, Sagan/Schlesien, Seminar 1928 - 1934, Ausreise 1936 Shiyali, 1940 interniert, 1947 repatriert, 1953 Ausreise nach Südafrika, gest. 17.09.1986, Heirat 1938 Anna Luise Härtel, gest. 27.04.1965.

Gott hat erfüllt das Mass der Leiden an seinem Diener.

Missionar und Pastor Johannes Weinert wurde am 17. September 1986 aus dieser Zeit Leiden heimgerufen in den ewigen Frieden und am 23. September auf dem Friedhof in Uelzen zur letzten Ruhe gebettet.

Sein Lebensweg stand unter dem Sendungswort: "Gehet hin in alle Welt und machet zu Jüngern alle Völker und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes" (Matth. 28,19). Gott hat ihn willig gemacht, diesen Ruf als persönliche Berufung anzunehmen und sich der Führungen Gottes anzuvertrauen.

Johannes Weinert wurde am 18. Juli 1911 in Sagan/Schlesien geboren. Schon früh wurde in ihm der Wunsch lebendig, als Missionar zu den Völkern zu gehen und das Heil in Christus zu verkündigen.

Mit 17 Jahren trat er ein in das Seminar der Ev. Luth. Mission zu Leipzig, wo er in den Jahren 1928 - 1934 seine Ausbildung erhielt. 1934 wurde er in Mecklenburg ordiniert, 1935 nach Indien abgeordnet und 1936 ausgesandt. Nach zweijährigem Sprachstudium (Tamulisch und Sanskrit) verheiratete er sich mit Anna Härtel aus Fraustadt/Schlesien. Von Sirkali aus verwaltete er dann eine Pfarrstelle in der Tamulenkirche. Aus dieser Arbeit wurde er mit dem Ausbruch des 2. Weltkrieges herausgerissen durch die Internierung. Sieben Jahre verbrachte er teilweise mit der Familie, teilweise ohne Familie in der Internierung. 1946 kehrte er mit seiner Familie nach Deutschland zurück und trat in den Dienst seiner Heimatkirche, der Ev. Luth. Kirche im früheren Preussen, zunächst in Duisburg (Westdeutschland) und seit 1947 in Fürstenwalde an der Spree (Ostdeutschland). 1953 stellte er sich der Mission Ev. Luth. Freikirchen zur Verfügung, als Missionar nach Südafrika zu gehen. Er war bereit, durch seinen Dienst in der Personalnot zu helfen, die durch den Weltkrieg entstanden war. Mit dieser Bereitschaft aber verband er die Bitte an die Missionsleitung, sich soweit wie möglich auch um die in Südafrika lebenden Inder kümmern zu dürfen. Nachdem sich von der Missionsstation Eben Ezer Kontakte zu den Indern in der Umgebung ergeben hatten, wurde er 1956 zum vollzeitigen Indermissionar bestimmt mit Wohnsitz in Glencoe. Vor hier aus hat er bis zu seiner Versetzung in den Ruhestand im Jahre 1980 gewirkt in einer weiten Umgebung. In dieser Arbeit ist ihm seine Ehefrau eine treue Gehilfin gewesen, bis sie bereits im Jahre 1965 heimgerufen wurde. Seinen Ruhestand verlebte er zunächst bei seinem Sohn Friedhelm in Newcastle und zuletzt in einem Pflegeheim in Durban, wo die Tochter Dorothea ihn bis zuletzt regelmässig besuchen konnte.

Dieser Lebensweg war nicht gekrönt von aufsehenerregenden Erfolgen, sondern vielmehr von schweren Bedingungen, Entsagungen und Entbehrungen und unausgesprochenem Leid - ein Leben in grosser Einsamkeit. Missionar Weinert ist diesen Weg gegangen in geduldsamem Gehorsam und hat sich so erwiesen als ein getreuer Diener seines Herrn, dem allein er dienen wollte. Darum sind wir dankbar mit seinen Kindern und Grosskindern für den gewissen Trost aus Gottes Wort, der uns an seinem Sarge und Grabe wurde. Pastor W. Köhne Hess bei der Aussegnung Gewissheit und Trost laut und lebendig werden aufgrund von 1. Kor. 15, 55-57: "Gott aber sei Dank, der uns den Sieg gegeben hat durch unsern Herrn Jesus Christus."

Missionssuperintendent G. Heidenreich, Mafikeng, stellte dieses vollendete Leben in das Licht des Wortes aus Joh. 12,26: "Wo ich bin, da soll mein Diener auch sein." "Der ist bei dem Herrn, der sein Diener ist. Das gilt für jeden, der Jesus Christus seinen Herrn nennt. Aber er ruft seine Diener oft zu besonderem Dienst. Und er führt seine Diener oft weite und mühsame Wege. Das ist abzulesen an dem Lebenslauf unseres verstorbenen Bruders. Der Herr hat ihn gerufen. Und Johannes Weinert hat diesen Ruf angenommen und ist seinem Herrn gefolgt. Er hat ihn aus Schlesien nach Leipzig, über Mecklenburg nach Indien geführt. Er führt ins Leiden, in Internierung und Deportation, in Entsagungen und in Entbehrungen, in Einsamkeit und Tod. Wir fragen: Warum? Darauf können wir die Antwort nicht wissen. Aber wir wissen: Der Herr hat ihn zu seinem Diener gemacht. Darum ist gewiss, dass auch die Verheissung gilt: "Wo ich bin, da soll mein Diener auch sein." Der Diener Jesu Christi, der Apostel Paulus, bezeugt: "Ich bin gewiss, dass weder Tod noch Leben, weder Engel noch Fürstentümer noch Gewalten, weder Gegenwärtiges noch Zukünftiges, weder Hohes noch Tiefes noch keine andere Kreatur mag uns scheiden von der Liebe Gottes, die in Christo Jesu ist, unserm Herrn" (Röm. 8, 38-39). Ja, bei dem Herrn sein, das reicht hinaus über alle Lebensbereiche, auch über den Tod. Bei dem Herrn sein, das weist auf Auferstehung und ewiges Leben. Gewiss ist die Trauer da, wenn der Tod einen lieben Menschen von uns genommen hat. Aber wir trauern nicht wie die, die keine Hoffnung haben. Hier tragen wir einen Diener am Wort zu Grabe. Hier wollen wir die herrliche Hoffnung bezeugen, zu der wir berufen sind. Unser Bruder hat seinen Weg vollendet. Wir sind noch auf dem Wege. Wir stehen noch in Gefahr, den Weg zu verfehlen. Darum lasst uns einander trösten. Und zuletzt wollen wir nicht vergessen den Dank für alles, was er seiner Familie und auch unserer Mission hat sein dürfen. Auf den "Umwegen", die er seinen Diener führte, hat er unserer Mission die Aufgabe gezeigt, die wir auch an den Indern in diesem Lande haben. Gott sei Dank! Gott hat erfüllt das Mass der Leiden an diesem seinem Diener und uns durch ihn gesegnet. Nach der Verlesung des Lebenslaufes sprachen die anwesenden Amtsbrüder aus Kirche und Mission biblische Voten und nach dem Dankgebet und Segen erfolgte die Beisetzung auf dem Friedhof.

Für alle Liebe und Teilnahme, die uns während der langen Krankheit und nach dem Heimgang unseres Vaters und Grossvaters Pastor und Missionar JOHANNES PAUL WILHELM WEINERT erwiesen wurde, sowie für die vielen Kranz- und Blumenspenden, danken wir herzlich. Herrn Pastor W. Köhne und Herrn Superintendent G. Heidenreich sei besonders gedankt für ihren Beistand und Trost. Den Sängern, den Bläsern und dem Frauenkreis der Gemeinde Uelzen danken wir für alle Liebe und Hilfe und Liebe.

Wer mir dienen will, der folge mir nach; und wo ich bin, da soll mein Diener auch sein. Joh. 12,26.

Siegfried, Dorothea, Friedhelm und Helmut

Eine Missionarsfrau unter den Indern.

Anna Weinert

So war das damals mit den Bräuten

Dem jungen Missionar Johannes Weinert wurde von der Leipziger Mission am. 9. Oktober 1934 mitgeteilt: "Wir haben aus Ihren Unterlagen und aus dem persönlichen Bericht den Eindruck gewonnen, dass sich Fräulein Härtel (Frau Anna Weinert) wohl zu einer Missionsfrau eignet! So hat das Missionskollegium Ihre Verlobung genehmigt!" Die junge Braut hat im Missionshaus in ihrer Wartezeit einen Bräutekursus absolviert und englisch gelernt, während der Verlobte schon im Februar 1936 nach Indien ausreiste.

Sie reiste im Februar 1938 nach. Es war eine weite Reise, die sie allein zurücklegen musste. Und nicht nur das, sie ließ in Deutschland alles zurück und ging in ein fremdes Land und in eine ungewisse Zukunft. So kam sie mit dem Schiff im Hafen an, wo ihr Verlobter auf sie wartete und sie abholte. Ihr Brautkleid trug sie im Handgepäck. So konnte auf der nächsten Missionsstation gleich geheiratet werden, denn es wäre nicht denkbar gewesen, dass ein unverheiratetes Paar in das Land auf die Missionsstation alleine tagelang reiste. Danach begann die weite Fahrt ins Innere des Landes. Viel Fremdes und Ungewohntes erwartete Frau Anna Weinert dort auf der Missionsstation. Vor allem musste die fremde Sprache (Tamil) erlernt werden. Als sie 1939 das erste Mal mit ihrem Mann in einen Erholungsurlaub in die südlichen Berge fahren durfte, erklärte am 3. September England den Krieg. Damit wurden erstmals die Männer abgeholt und in ein Internierungslager gesteckt. Um die Frauen kümmerten sich befreundete Inder. Als der Krieg Anfang 1940 so ruhig verlief, wurden die meisten Missionare aus dem Internierungslager wieder entlassen. Sie konnten wieder beschränkt an ihre Arbeit gehen. Frau Anna Weinert lernte in dieser Zeit mit ihrem Lehrer weiter ihre tamilische Sprache.

Als der Krieg weiterging, wurden sie wiederum interniert, aber diesmal zusammen mit Frau und Kindern. Nach etlichen Lagern kamen sie dann schließlich in ein Familienlager, wo sie bis Ende 1946 ihr Leben verbrachten mit weiteren Missionarsfamilien aus den Missionshäusern von Basel, Berlin (Gossner und Brecklum). Inzwischen hatte Frau Anna Weinert vier Kinder geboren. Im kalten Winter 1947 kam sie mit ihrem Mann und ihren Kindern zurück nach Deutschland. Sie fanden zunächst Unterkunft in einem Haus der Rheinischen Mission in Kaiserswerth. Noch im gleichen Jahr siedelte die ganze Familie nach Fürstenwalde über, wo Herr Missionar Weinert ein Pfarramt übernahm. Frau Weinert gründete in dieser Gemeinde einen Frauenkreis und arbeitete tatkräftig mit. Am liebsten hätten sie aber ihre Missionsarbeit weiter getan. Die Leipziger Mission konnte das Ehepaar Weinert nicht mehr gebrauchen. So kam ein Ruf aus einer anderen Mission. Diese Mission ist die unsrige. Als Herr Missionar Weinert gelegentlich bei einem Pastor, Herrn Kirchenrat Schulz, weilte, kam die Frage an ihn, ob sie nicht wieder gerne in die Mission gehen würden. Herr Missionar Weinert fragte: "In welche denn?" Er bekam die Antwort, dass in Bleckmar eine Mission der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche sei, zu der sie doch gehen könnten. Herr Missionar Weinert meinte: "Da muss ich doch erst einmal meine Frau fragen!"

Aus dieser Frage ihres Mannes wurde kein Nein, sondern ein Ja. Und so sah das dann später aus: Am 6. November 1953 kam die sechsköpfige Familie in Kapstadt in Südafrika an. Danach ging es weiter nach Durban, dann weiter nach Kirchkorf, Uelzen, und schließlich auf die Missionsstation Eben Ezer. Auf dieser Missionsstation hat die ehemalige Bauerntochter, Frau Anna Weinert, sich

recht wohl gefühlt. Umgeben von Äckern und Wiesen bekamen sie von den Gemeindegliedern Kälber, Ferkel und viele Hühner geschenkt. Somit war die Familie erst einmal versorgt und Frau Anna Weinert war immer unermüdlich tätig. Sie hatten Milch genug, Butter, Quark und Eier und als ein Schwein groß genug war, wurde es geschlachtet und gegessen. Es gab ja noch keinen Kühlschrank. So hat Frau Weinert auch sehr viel von dem Geschlachteten eingeweckt. Ihr Mann meinte: "Wenn ich, um Zulu zu lernen, auf die Missionsstation gehen muss oder zu Missionsfesten reise, kann ich meine Frau in Ruhe zu Hause lassen. Sie hat keine Angst vor den Schwarzen." Das ist in Südafrika keine Selbstverständlichkeit.

Unermüdlich begleitete Frau Weinert ihren Mann zu den Gottesdiensten unter den Indern. Sie stand auch den indischen Frauen in Südafrika mit Rat und Tat zur Seite. So kamen diese nach den Gottesdiensten mit ihren Fragen zu ihr. Es handelte sich oft um Ehefragen oder um Kindererziehung. So konnte sie mancher Frau helfen. Frau Anna Weinert ging auch nach Dundee ins Gefängnis und kümmerte sich um die Strafgefangenen und deren Angehörigen. Die größten Ereignisse sind die Taufen. So wurde einmal ein Hindu von 29 Jahren mit seiner 23jährigen Frau und fünf Kindern im Alter von sechs Monaten bis zu neun Jahren getauft. Die Taufe fand in einer Hinduschule statt. Dort sind auch die heidnischen Inder immer zusammen zu ihren religiösen Zusammenkünften, Hochzeiten und sonstigen Zeremonien. So blieben sogar manchmal heidnische Inder zu diesen Taufhandlungen da. Herr Missionar Weinert erklärte allen, warum überhaupt getauft wird und warum nicht der ganze Körper unter das Wasser getaucht wird und weshalb auch die Kinder getauft werden. Als die Kinder an der Reihe waren, zu sagen, was sich für ein Christenleben schickt, sagte der sechsjährige Junge die zehn Gebote ohne Erklärungen ohne zu stolpern auf, darauf die fünfjährige kleine Schwester, und dann die dreijährige, letztere auf einem Stuhl stehend, die das Vaterunser sprach. Man steile sich diese Kleine vor, die Arme verschränkt, die Augen zugekniffen und mit ganzem Ernst bei der Sache. Selbst den Bläsern wurden die Augen feucht. Die große 9jährige, weniger begabte Tochter gab ebenfalls ihre Antwort ohne Furcht und Stocken. Es herrschte große Stille, als die Taufe der siebenköpfigen Familie vollzogen wurde. Die Taufnamen der Kinder hat sich der Vater aus der Bibel selbst ausgesucht: Elisabeth, Lea, Rahel, Naemi und der Junge Nathan. Die Eltern hatten den Missionar gebeten, ihnen die Taufnamen auszusuchen; sie wurden Matthäus und Martha genannt. Es war eine sehr schöne Feier, so beschreibt es Frau Weinert selbst in einem Missionsblatt.

Es kam auch vor, dass Frau Weinert beim Essenkochen eine Inderin bei sich hatte und ihr mit Rat und Tat zur Seite stand. Sie aß dann auch mit der Familie mit. Sie hatte zwei Jungen, mit denen sie nicht fertig wurde. Ihr Mann machte ihr Verwürfe und wollte sie verlassen. Aber die Frau blieb bei ihrem Mann und erduldet die Vorwürfe. Dieser Frau hat Frau Weinert ganz besonders geholfen. Die Frau sah auch an dem Beispiel im Hause Weinert, wie die Kinder der Mutter halfen; wie sie mit räumten und abwuschen und wie sie wieder zur Schule gingen. Das sah die Inderin und es gab ihr Mut, auch von ihren beiden Jungen Hilfe zu fordern. Danach bekam diese Inderin noch zwei Jungen und ein Mädchen. Dort wurden oft Gottesdienste gehalten.

Als Frau Weinert am 27. April 1965 ganz plötzlich und unerwartet heimging, kam gerade diese junge Inderfrau und versorgte die trauernde Familie. Fünf Monate später konnte diese Familie getauft werden und das jüngste Kind, ein Mädchen, bekam den Namen von Frau Missionar Weinert "Anne". Ist das nicht ein wunderschöner Dank über das Grab hinaus?

Ruth Bauseneick Sperlingshof

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Paul H. von Tucher was born 1932 of German missionaries (Friends Service Council of London) in Itarsi, then Central Provinces, British India; he attended Wellesley School (British), Naini Tal, U.P. (1939-42) and Woodstock School (American Missions), Mussoorie, U.P. (1942-49). He was graduated from Pasadena (Nazarene) College, Pasadena, California, in 1955 (B.A.) and received his Master of Divinity from the Theological School, Drew University (Methodist), Madison, New Jersey. He served three parishes in the United States of America: New Philadelphia Methodist Circuit, Pennsylvania; Glen Ellyn First Methodist, Illinois and Rogers Park Congregational (United Church of Christ), Chicago, Illinois.

In Germany, while preparing for his doctoral studies, the author served as an Associate Chaplain with the U.S. forces in the Vietnam War period. He received his Doctor of Theology in 1977 from the Theological Faculty of the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg and continues further archive and scholarship projects in the field of Missions research. In this relationship he revisited India in 1965 and in 1979, the latter being particularly devoted to South India in preparation for the publication of this book. Today he serves as the moderator of one of Erlangen's larger Evangelical-Lutheran congregations of the Bavarian 'Landeskirche'. He is married to an American and they have three children.