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ANGLICAN-LUTHERAN RELATIONS IN CHOTA NAGPUR, 1800 - 1919, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO 1914 - 1919 : THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND
THEOLOGICAL BEARING

Being a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Letters in the University of Durham, 1984

by the Reverend Bernard Mather,
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ABSTRACT

The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference 1910 instructed its Continuation Committee Chairman, Dr. John R. Mott, to make a tour of Asia in 1912 to bring into being National Councils of Missions. Dr Mott visited India, meeting church and missionary leaders in a series of Regional Conferences, and in 1914 the National Missionary Council of India was constituted with eight Provincial Councils. The Bihar and Orissa Provincial Council included the Anglican missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the German Lutherans of the Gossner Evangelical Mission both working in Chota Nagpur, a tribal hill tract in the south of Bihar.

Following the outbreak of the Great War the Government of India introduced a policy of internment for all German missionaries and in 1915 deported them from India. The National Missionary Council of India through its Provincial Councils in Madras and Bihar maintained the German missionfields throughout the War. In South India the German missions were entrusted to fellow Lutherans, Americans and Swedes; in Chota Nagpur the Anglican Bishop Foss Westcott with the sanction of the Government volunteered to maintain the Lutheran Mission schools by providing Anglican missionaries who lived in the Lutheran Mission stations.

The Government of India banned the German missionaries from returning to their work at the end of the War. Bishop Westcott was hopeful that a United Church could be established in Chota Nagpur composed of Anglicans and Lutherans. His hopes were unfulfilled. Supported by the Lutherans in South India the leaders of the Gossner Mission placed themselves under the direction of the National Missionary Council and the Bihar Provincial Council. The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam with an Advisory Board appointed by the Provincial Council was founded on July 10th 1919 as the first autonomous Lutheran Church in India.

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VOLUME I

PART I

THE INHERITANCE OF THE PAST

Chapter 1: THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY
COUNCIL OF INDIA AND ITS NINETEENTH-
CENTURY BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF INDIA AND ITS 19th. CENTURY BACKGROUND.

INTRODUCTION:

The National Missionary Council of India, formed in 1914, had an ancestry which stretched back into the 19th. century; its parentage stemmed from the denominational missionary societies of Britain. Europe and America, the conferences of missionaries who met for fellowship and discussion in North and South India and the international missionary conferences in Britain and America which popularised the missionary cause and inspired and informed thousands of supporters.

Let us look briefly at each of these progenitors and assess their significance.

The Missionary Society: The denominational missionary society based in a Mission House or office was the chief instrument which enabled the rank and file of church members to take an active part in the enterprise of preaching the Gospel to the heathen. It was based on popular support rather than the official sanction of the churches. Laymen and, later in the century, laywomen, far outnumbered the ordained missionaries who were recruited by the Society for work in the foreign fields. Support, in the way of prayer and finance, was channelled to the missionaries overseas and information from the mission field was disseminated by publishing the missionary magazine. The mission secretary's position was paramount in deciding policy.

The Conference of Missionaries: Meetings of missionaries who met for fellowship and discussion sprang up in local areas of the mission field, the members drawn from denominations and churches, but face to face with the same problems and opportunities in preaching the Gospel in a non-Christian environment. Far in advance of the home churches and

denominations the Conference or Association of Missionaries crossed the frontiers and boundaries which divided Christians from each other, pioneering the way towards co-operative action and ultimately towards Church union.

The International Missionary Conference: At first on a national scale, later on an international scale, the Missionary Conference brought the missionaries working in the field face to face with the supporters at the home base. Consultation and policy-making with secretaries of Mission Boards in closed sessions were complemented by enthusiastic mass meetings which drew thousands to listen to the heroes of the missionary cause. Supporters of missions were informed and educated to regard the whole world as a mission field with an urgency which coined the watch-word "The evangelisation of the World in this generation". Missionaries, Mission secretaries and Church leaders, and supporters were brought together as colleagues in co-operation.

We shall observe the relations between the missionary societies at the home base and the missionaries in the field; the growth in fellowship and the development of effective co-operation in evangelism by the members of the conferences of missionaries at work in India; and finally the nature deliberations which resulted in the formation of a permanent body, the National Missionary Council of India, which slowly but surely established the foundations on which the Unity of the Churches could be based.

THE 19th. CENTURY BACKGROUND: FOUNDED THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES:

"The Cape of Good Hope is now in the hands of the English; should it continue so, would it not be possible to have a general association of all denominations of Christians, from the four quarters of the world, kept there once in about ten years? I earnestly recommend the plan, let the first meeting be in the year 1810 or 1812 at furthest. I have no doubt but it would be attended with very important effects; we could understand one another better, and more entirely enter into one another's views by two hours' conversation than by two or three years epistolary correspondence." (1)

- Those words written in Calcutta on May 15th 1806 contain the germ and the
- ° prophecy of the whole ecumenical movement. The writer, William Carey, the first missionary to be sent out by the 'Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen' founded in 1792, is inviting Andrew Fuller, the Society's secretary in London to help promote a world meeting of Protestant leaders. Carey's own experience was sufficient to prove convincingly that the venue for such a conference was quite impossible in India. The policy of the East India Company was so hostile to Christian missionaries that Carey from the date of his arrival had been compelled for survival to work as superintendent of an indigo factory where his missionary labours were both unofficial and at the same time highly suspect. On January 10th 1800 he had finally been persuaded to move to Serampore, the Danish trading settlement north of
 - ° Calcutta, where he was to join his colleagues Joshua Marshman and
 - ° William Ward. (2)

In Britain and America the years 1790-1820 saw the founding of the denominational missionary societies which were responsible for the 19th. century's great advance in Protestant missionary endeavours. The London Missionary Society (1795), the Scottish Missionary Society and the

Glasgow Missionary Society (both 1793), the Church Missionary Society and the Religious Tract Society (both 1799), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), and in 1814 the American Baptist Missionary Board. From 1790 the Wesleyan Methodists had supported missionary work and in 1817 the Wesleyan Missionary Society was founded. These societies were the result of the Evangelical Revival which gave them, in spite of their denominational character, a broad base for co-operation. The two older Anglican missionary societies - the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded 1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded by Royal Charter in 1701) were only slowly drawn towards association with them. The latter society in particular tended to remain aloof from any co-operative action with non-Church members.

On October 29th 1819, at the Baptist Missionary Society House, the first meeting of the London Secretaries Association was held when the secretaries of the LMS, BMS, CMS and the WMS met for informal discussion on their common objects. These meetings continued regularly throughout the 19th. century, minutes being recorded but no formal resolutions which required the sanction of the Societies ever being made. Towards the close of the century, the secretaries of the Bible Society, the SPCK and the SPG became members, thus strengthening the missionary base in London. (3)

OPENING INDIA TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS:

- By the Regulating Act of 1773 the East India Company, founded in London on December 31st 1600 as "The East India Company of the Merchants of London", was made subject to the British Parliament, and the Company charter from that date was renewed at intervals of 20 years. When in 1793 the
- * charter came before the House of Commons, William Wilberforce and
 - * Charles Grant, representing Evangelical opinion, attempted to include two resolutions for the promotion of "useful knowledge and the religious and

moral improvement of the inhabitants of the British dominions of the East", together with the means of "religious instruction for all persons of the Protestant Communion in India", their efforts fell foul of the parliamentary lawyers. Legal opinion asserted that to make the resolutions legally effective, the words "missionaries" and "school-masters" must be included. When the clauses were redrafted to include these "two portentous words" the Court of Directors of the Company quashed them, and the first attempt to gain permission for the work of Christian missions within the territory of the East India Company came to nothing. But much had been learned in the process. When in 1813 the Charter again came before Parliament for renewal, Wilberforce again led the movement to include resolutions for allowing Christian missions within the Company's territory, and on June 22nd. 1813, after a speech lasting for over three hours, Parliament gave its sanction. At the same time the bishopric of Calcutta, with a bishop and three archdeacons, was constituted by letters patent, the Company undertaking to pay the salaries, and the Church of England Ecclesiastical Establishment covering the whole of the Company's domains in India was brought into being. (4)

The 1813 Charter permitted Christian missionaries to work in India under licence from the Court of Directors in London. When the Charter again came before Parliament for renewal in 1833, this regulation was rescinded, and from that date special permission was no longer required for missions to be founded. The proliferation of Protestant missions in India dates from the 1830's, and the methods which were gradually worked out for co-operation between the societies, termed "Cunity of Missions" regulated Protestant missionary work throughout the century and up to the outbreak of the First World War.

CHAPLAINS AND MISSIONARIES: The piety of the founding fathers of the Company in the days of Elizabeth I had made provision for chaplains to serve in their factories, and after 1685 the Bishop of London licensed all Anglican clergymen appointed to the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta who were in the Company's employ. During the period of service in India, chaplains were regarded as on a par with the chaplains of the British regiments with the rank of major. Like their military colleagues they confined their ministry to their own countrymen, some of them taking up trade and returning to retire with their fortunes made. The influence of Charles Simeon, the Evangelical Vicar of Holy Trinity church, Cambridge between 1783-1836, brought about in Calcutta the appointment of five Company chaplains who combined missionary zeal with their ministry to the English community covering the years 1787-1829.

David Brown (1787-1812) Claudius Buchanan (1797-1809)

Henry Martyn (1806-1811) Daniel Corrie (1806-1837) and

Thomas Thomason (1816-1829), collectively known as the Evangelical

Chaplains, promoted the cause of Christian missions in Bengal before and immediately following the renewal of the 1813 charter which acknowledged the Company's obligations to promote the Christian religion. At the same time the creation of the diocese of Calcutta and the appointment of a bishop to supervise and direct the Company chaplains and their work showed the British government's response to the appeal for greater Church order and the provision of sacramental rites, particularly Confirmation, within the confines of their Indian possessions. Chaplains and missionaries were seen together in consultation. Henry Martyn's temporary home was the pagoda furnished by David Brown on his country estate at Aldeon, only 10 minutes walk from the mission house at Serampore. It became the venue for united prayer. "As the shadow of bigotry never falls upon us here, we take sweet counsel and go together

to God's House as friends. The utmost harmony prevails and a union of hearts unknown between persons of different denominations in England", was Carey's observation in a letter written on January 20th. 1807. (5)

THE CONFERENCE OF MISSIONARIES FOUNDED: Within three years of the passing of the 1813 Charter there is reference to the Monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting held in Calcutta at which missionaries of the Baptist and London Societies were present. By February 1825 Carey, writing to Dr Ryland, the Society's secretary, mentions a missionary association of Baptist, Independent and Lutheran ministers. On June 1st 1831 at the meeting held in the Congregationalist Union Chapel House in Calcutta,

- ° the first minutes were recorded when Dr Alexander Duff, the first missionary appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, broached the subject of the need for a United Christian College. In August of the same year, Duff co-operated in a series of public lectures
- ° with the Revd. John Adams of the LMS and Thomas Dealtry, the Senior Company chaplain. The raison d'être of the conference of missionaries
- ° was put by Joseph Mullins of the LMS in these words:

"In 1831 the missionaries of various societies in the city few in number but most friendly to each other, established a monthly meeting for prayer and consultation which by degrees settled down into what was soon known as the Calcutta Missionary Conference. The fact that they were strangers in a strange land, yet brethren of one faith, devoted to one object and serving the same Master, naturally drew them to each other. Special reasons for their union were found in the advantage of bringing their many difficulties before each other and of combining publicly to promote united action in great public questions". (6)

The Regulation Act of 1773 had made the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay subordinate to that of Bengal. A Governor-General appointed by the British Parliament with a Council of Four resided in Calcutta which thus became the capital city of British India. At the renewal of the Company charter in 1833 the diocese of Calcutta was sub-divided by creating the dioceses of Madras and Bombay to be co-terminous with the Presidency boundaries. The clauses constituting the two sees designated the Bishop of Calcutta as Metropolitan since the Archbishop of Canterbury was the legal Primate of the Church of England in India.

In Madras and Bombay, evangelical chaplains and missionaries co-operated and formed missionary associations on the general pattern of the Calcutta Missionary Conference: the Bombay Missionary Union was organised in 1838 and the Madras Missionary Conference in 1834. (7)

The Presidency cities had seen the birth of the Conferences of Missionaries, and as more missions became established an increasing number of members developed and expanded the agenda which formed the basis of discussion. In 1855, only 24 years after the first formal meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries was called together to consider questions connected with their common work. In Calcutta for four days, 55 missionaries representing six societies working in the Presidency heard the following papers read and discussed: Missionary progress in Bengal; influence of indigo-planting; female education, the Zeminadary System and Christianity; vernacular preaching and literature.

The procedure for such conferences had already been standardised: a chairman was appointed for the day; after opening prayer and praise a paper was read and then the topic thrown open for discussion. The subjects chosen were directed towards the airing and solution of practical difficulties and problems which transcended denominational

barriers. Membership was exclusively personal since no attempt was made to formulate policy or commit members so as to involve their Mission Boards in executive decisions. A Report on the conference was published with papers and proceedings in book form for reference and information. In the 20 years following the Bengal General Conference of 1855, similar regional conferences of missionaries were held: 1857 - Bonaroe (all records lost in the Mutiny), 1858 - Ooticanund - the 1st South Indian Missionary Conference; 1862 - Lahore - The Punjab Missionary Conference; 1879 - Bangalore - the 2nd South India and Ceylon Conference.

These regional conferences paved the way for the holding of an All India Conference of Missionaries which took place in Allahabad in December 1872, lasting for seven days, in which 136 missionaries belonging to 19 societies produced a Report of nearly 600 pages. The idea of decennial conferences had been the brain-child of William Carey whose proposal in 1806 was by the 1870's capable of realisation. In the Anglican Church the Lambeth Conference of Bishops began its decennial meetings from 1867, and in India the Second All India Decennial Conference of Missionaries met in Calcutta in December 1882. The number of members had risen to 475, and the societies represented to 27. The Third Decennial met in Bombay in 1892, and followed the general pattern of its predecessors: over 700 missionaries were present representing 40 societies. A synopsis of the papers read at these three Decennials focuses the interests and problems of mission work for the decades 1872-1892. Preaching to the heathen, primary and higher education, work amongst females, work amongst Hindus, both high class and lower classes, work amongst Mohammedans, the native church, Anglo-Indians and Eurasians, the press and literature, medical missions. The report in 2 volumes ran to over 1,000 pages, but signs were not wanting that these subjects had been discussed and debated thread bare. No provision for formulating policy or initiating action was possible, since members attended still in their personal and private

capacity. The Decennials had proved the bankruptcy of this type of conference as a field for co-operative action. (C)

In 1897, missionaries in South India representing Anglican (CMS), Lutheran, Congregationalist, Baptist and Methodist societies combined to form the South India Missionary Association with definite aims for united, effective co-operation. The Missionary Language School and the United Theological College, both situated in Bangalore, a TB sanatorium for patients from the five missions and the Christian Endeavour Society for united evangelistic campaigns, amply demonstrated that the Association had broken new ground in the interests of united mission work. As these practical results of the Association received publicity the inspiration to follow suit was taken by groups of missionaries in Central India (1906), Western India (1906) and Bihar (1908). Similar Missionary Associations were formed out of old Conferences of Missionaries of the 19th. century but with this radical difference - co-operative action rather than discussion - was the guiding ideal.

Again, in South India new ground was broken when the 3rd. South India Missionary Conference met in 1900. The innovation that only accredited delegates, appointed by their Mission Boards, should attend, brought together 148 representatives from 24 societies, armed with statistical tables covering the 20 years since the Bangalore conference of 1878. The Conference passed 95 resolutions on the 11 subjects which formed the basis for the seven-day meeting; five committees were elected to maintain and develop the areas requiring action and further research. The preparatory statistics and studies which demonstrated progress or inadequacies had provided the basis for serious and concerted action enabling the delegates to commit themselves and their Mission Boards to responsible decisions. So transparently effective was this procedure, that it was repeated for the holding of the Fourth Decennial Conference

at Madras in December 1902 when 268 delegates from 55 societies divided into eight commissions for eight days of intensive study and debate.

The three previous Decennial Conferences had required no permanent executive to continue in office, once the members had dispersed after the last final meeting, since the whole purpose of such conferences had been the creation of fellowship amongst those taking part which transcended denominational barriers. The sharing of information, renewal of personal friendships, the introduction of new colleagues and the opportunity for united worship and discussion had been the ostensible motive for such gatherings. By contrast, the Madras Decennial appointed three permanent and four temporary committees to promote the implementation of the 149 resolutions on which delegates had voted. This serious attempt to conserve, rather than dissipate, the energies and hard work of the commissions by providing a permanent body to carry forward the delegates' wishes was a presage capable of even further development. Preliminary study based on research, delegates with jurisdiction, and a continuation committee to implement Conference decisions - these three constituents provided the matrix for the 20th. century series of ecumenical conferences, most notably the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910. (9)

In India, the half-century which spanned the holding of the first of the regional Conferences of Missionaries: (The Bengal Conference of 1855, to the holding of the 4th Decennial Conference in Madras in 1902), had amply proved the reality of William Carey's plea for a general association of all denominations of Christians. Carey's vision had taken in Christians from the four quarters of the world. To describe how this dimension of the Christian Missionary movement developed we turn to the growth of the international Missionary Conference.

THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCES 1854-1910

In Britain in the months preceding the renewal of the East India Company charter in 1813, the newly-formed missionary societies were able to mobilise their supporters in the campaign to open India to Christian missions; over 900 petitions were presented to Parliament. The former Company chaplain, Claudius Buchanan, who had left Calcutta in 1809 was active during the same months in promoting the scheme for the Indian episcopate. He worked assiduously to contact politicians, men of influence and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Manners Sutton, editing and bringing up to date his monograph, "An Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India", which he laid before the public. Buchanan and a fellow Scot, Charles Grant, the former Member of the Council of Bengal, represented informed opinion about India in the circles of London Evangelicals known as the Clapham Sect. When in 1818 the Baptist missionary William Ward visited England from Serampore, in spite of undergoing medical treatment at Cheltenham, he was engaged daily in preaching and speaking to members of the Baptist Missionary Society. Joshua Marshman's visits in 1822 and 1826 followed the same pattern, with tours throughout the United Kingdom in order to collect funds and inform supporters at first hand of the work. The missionary meeting of local supporters was now established. (10)

NEW YORK 1854, LONDON 1854 AND THE LIVERPOOL 1860 CONFERENCES

Dr. Alexander Duff returned from Calcutta on leave to spend the years 1835-1839 and again 1850-1855 in undertaking extensive tours of the British Isles speaking and lecturing to capacity audiences on the Christian missionary cause in its Indian setting. Duff was the first non-Anglican to address the CMS Annual Meeting in London in 1836, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society likewise honoured him by inviting him to their Annual Meeting in 1837. In 1851 Duff was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church, and in 1854 an invitation from the Presbyterian

Synod in Canada, linked with pressing invitations from churchmen in America, sent Duff across the Atlantic as the delegate of the Foreign Missions Committee. From February to May 1854, Duff was to experience the impact of the mass missionary meeting when thousands flocked to hear him lecture, drawn from all Protestant churches. In New York, he addressed the first Missionary Convention to be held in the United States on May 4-5th. in the Broadway Tabernacle. More significant by far were the sessions held in Dr. Alexander's Church hall, when Duff sat in consultation with secretaries, officers of missionary societies and missionaries, to advise and propound the scriptural basis of missions, deployment and training of missionaries and the vexed questions relating to comity and the duplication of missions in areas of the field already occupied. The resolutions adopted by the New York convention guided policy for the future for American missionary societies. (11)

In England missionary support was well established, but was still confined within the denominational societies. The secretaries of the four societies: Anglican (CMS), Baptist, Congregationalist and Wesleyan Methodist, called the first inter-denominational missionary meeting in London from October 12-13th, 1854. Procedure was not yet clarified for this to be termed a Conference; no policy decisions were taken but the promotion of brotherly feelings which transcended the rigid denominationalism of the churches inspired all the supporters who attended the meetings.

The impulse to organise on a national scale a Missionary Conference which would help the societies and their supporters in Great Britain more effectively to assist the work in the mission field brought into being the Liverpool Missionary Conference which met from March 18-23rd. 1860.

The procedure had now matured, enabling the 126 official members and the 37 missionaries to conduct closed day sessions for discussion and policy making, and the evening meetings drawing the public to the addresses to hear Stephen Hisslop from Nagpur, Behari Lal, Duff's convert from Calcutta, Hope Waddell from Calabar and William Shaw of South Africa relate the experience of first hand adventures in the mission field. The London secretaries with the assistance of Joseph Mullins, formerly of Calcutta (and from 1865 to be appointed Foreign Secretary of the LMS) produced the Conference report: educational institutions and the training of native pastors and clergy demanded additional financial support; the recruitment of more graduates from the universities for missionary service (in 1836 on his visit to Trinity College, Cambridge, Duff had pointed out that to date no Cambridge graduate had been sent to the missions); improvement of the quality of missionary literature, and the plea for an authoritative Journal of Missions, were subjects found in the Report as guidelines for policy for the future. (12)

THE LONDON MISSIONARY CONFERENCES 1878 AND 1888

The pattern of the Liverpool Conference with its day sessions for debate and policy making and evening meetings open to the general public was repeated at the Conference Hall, Mildmay Park, London from October 21-26th. 1878. The missionary societies appointed delegates to act on their behalf: 23 British societies and 11 societies from the continent and America assembled 158 official representatives. The increased flow of information from the Mission Field enabled the Conference to view the missionary call on a world basis; discussion was according to a geographical scheme which concentrated attention on Africa, India, China and Japan and the Pacific islands. Previous missionary gatherings in New York, London and Liverpool had been national in character. The London Conference of 1878 was the first International Missionary Conference to be held, despite the attendance being overwhelmingly from the British

12200.

At Exeter Hall, London the Second International Missionary Conference was arranged as a decennial in 1888 in association with the celebrations connected with a century of Protestant missionary work since the founding of the Baptist Society in 1792. Known accordingly as the Centenary Conference, the number of missionary societies sending delegations had quadrupled in the intervening decade: 53 from Great Britain, 67 from America, 18 from Europe and two from the British colonies, assembled a total of 1,494 representatives who divided into seven sections for debate. The public were admitted to five open conferences held from the 9-19th June. Except for the High-Church Anglican societies, the SPG and UMCA, and the Salvation Army, all the British Protestant missionary societies were represented.

The 2 volume report included all the speeches and the findings of the 7 sectional committees: missionary methods, medical missions, women's work, Literature, education, national churches and relations of missions and governments. The proposal that to resolve the complexities resulting from non-observance of equity a permanent Committee of Arbitration should be appointed proved premature, informal arrangements being deemed more acceptable by the majority. The world-wide picture of Protestant missionary endeavour was in tune with the celebrations which prompted the calling of the Conference.

NEW YORK 1900

The Missionary Conferences had increasingly appealed to the interest and enthusiasm of the supporters of missions who had welcomed the opportunity to attend the open sessions and the evening mass-meetings. This arrangement reached its climax in the New York Missionary Conference arranged from April 21st - May 1st. 1900. The Conference adopted the name Ecumenical to demonstrate the fact that Christian missions had penetrated to virtually all corners of the world. The Conference drew

its main support from Canada and the United States with British and Continental delegates also taking part. Missionaries attending the sessions numbered over 600; 115 missionary societies sent a total of 1,500 delegates representing 48 countries but these were totally outnumbered by the visitors who poured into the public meetings, estimated at over 200,000. Over 50,000 tickets were issued for the public sessions at the Carnegie Hall covering the 10 days' sessions. In the Report over 70 sectional discussions were reported and the 2 volumes comprised an encyclopaedia of missionary facts and statistics.

The International Missionary Conferences had developed a character of their own which increasingly took its colour from the public mass-meetings rather than the private sessions for delegates. They were held in halls where crowds of enthusiastic supporters could be seated to hear at first hand heroes of the missionary cause relate their experiences. They provided inspiration for increased giving in support of missionary work; reliable information educated the benefactors of the missionary cause, and the world-wide perspective of the challenge to preach the gospel to the heathen was taken up. The New York Ecumenical Conference was the last in the series to admit the general public to its sessions. A new kind of Missionary conference was planned for the decennial to take place in 1910. (13)

THE EDINBURGH WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE 1910

The decennial which followed New York 1900 was held in Edinburgh from June 15-23rd. 1910 and was planned as a Consultative Assembly requiring earnest study of the Christian missionary enterprise in order to reach solutions to problems on a co-operative basis. Preparation for the Conference started in 1906 with the appointment of eight commissions each dealing with a theme. Consultants throughout the world were contacted in order that the preliminary reports should be composed by acknowledged experts and for the first time delegates were chosen on a

proportional representative basis according to the amount of money each society sent to the mission field. The budget of £2000 annually entitled a society to send delegates with extra delegates for each £4000 of foreign expenditure.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been a notable absentee from all previous Missionary Conferences, nor had the Anglican episcopate, with only rare examples, felt at home in the conferences of missionaries. Insistence that the Anglican representation should be fully representative of the Church not only brought to Edinburgh the Secretary of SPG with a full delegation, but the Archbishops of both Canterbury and York (Randall Davidson and Cosmo Gordon Lang); the bishops of Southwark (Edward Stuart Talbot) Durham (Handley Moule) and Birmingham (Charles Gore) also attended. But it was in the selection of the chairman for the Conference, John Raleigh Mott, and the secretary, Joseph Houldsworth Oldham, both laymen, that the Edinburgh Conference showed remarkable insight. Mott in 1888 had become the national inter-collegiate secretary of the YMCA, and in 1895 had helped to found the World Student Christian Federation which had pioneered the interdenominational basis of the Student Christian Movement. Oldham also had worked for the YMCA but had been called to be secretary for the Conference in place of the regular secretary who had fallen ill. An amazingly energetic man, slight of body, keen of mind, deeply spiritual and an incisive thinker and philosopher, he had been the first full-time secretary for the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain. The partnership of Mott and Oldham ensured both the careful thorough preparation for the Conference and the widely representative character of the delegates. This in turn was complemented by the decision taken on the last day that a Continuation Committee should be formed to carry forward the work, with Mott as its chairman.

The Edinburgh Conference perfected the procedural evolution which the Madras 1900 Missionary Conference had first planned. Dispensing with addresses, committees were appointed to deal intensively with relevant subjects and then submit the results to plenary sessions for discussion and resolutions. Questions dealing with the faith and order of the churches which appointed delegates were proscribed from formulation as resolutions. Before the delegates arrived, the volumes prepared by the foresight of Mott and Oldham containing the reports for each commission, with data, assessments, statistics and counsel, provided the basis for informed discussion. In the plenary sessions speakers notified the chairman by card, awaited recognition and then spoke within a time limit. (14)

Over 1,200 delegates from 160 Mission Boards and Societies based in Britain, Europe and North America on the final day of the Conference decided decisively that the times called for a permanent International Missionary Committee, and by authorising the formation of a Continuation Committee to carry forward the work of the Conference, laid the foundations on which the Ecumenical Movement was to grow.

THE EDINBURGH CONTINUATION COMMITTEE CONFERENCES IN INDIA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL 1914

The National Missionary Council of India was formed in 1914 as a direct result of the decision reached at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference 1910 that the Continuation Committee should develop the investigations and promote the spirit of co-operation in the Mission Field which the Conference had so signally demonstrated at the home base. In 1911 the Continuation Committee requested its chairman, Dr. John R Mott, to make a tour of Asia with the dual purpose of informing Christian leaders of the aims of the Continuation Committee and its special committees, and to assist these same committees in relating to the needs and opportunities of Christian missions in each national

situation.

Dr.Mott after careful study,decided on the following plan for his visits to India, China and Japan. A series of regional conferences would enable missionaries and church leaders to meet him and discuss questions and topics which he considered most relevant, to be followed by a National Conference, attended by official delegates from the regional conferences which would constitute a permanent body with which the Edinburgh Continuation Committee could correspond. Dr.Mott's visit to the Indian sub-continent commenced with the regional conference held in Colombo, Ceylon in November 1912,and after further conferences held in Madras, Bombay, Jabalpure, Allahabad, Lahore and Calcutta,closed with the Indian National Conference held in Calcutta from December 18-21st.1912.

The National Conference authenticated Dr.Mott's preliminary survey of the Indian mission field by constituting Regional Conferences of Missionaries on a provincial basis. With a National Missionary Council, formed from a delegates appointed by the Regional Conferences to follow as soon as the Regional Conferences could meet. During 1913 eight provincial councils were formed and duly constituted in Bengal, Bihar-Orissa, Bombay, Punjab, Mid-India, Upper-Provinces, Madras and Burma,and on February 4-15th.1914,28 out of the 36 appointed delegates met in the YMCA building in Calcutta to found the National Missionary Council. The Council elected as President the Anglican Metropolitan, George Alfred Lefroy, and the Revd.Horbert Anderson, in order to undertake the responsibilities as Secretary, was released by the Baptist Missionary Society.

"I found India ripe for the union of forces". This comment of Mott's will serve admirably to conclude this survey of the 19th.century,from the first proposal made by William Carey in 1806 for a conference of all denominations of Protestant Christian leaders,to Dr.Mott's

official court of 1912 which brought into being the National Machinery Council of India. (15)

CHAPTER 2

THE GERMAN MISSIONS IN SOUTH INDIA BEFORE 1914

INTRODUCTION

In Germany the training of missionaries preceded the founding of the missionary societies. The oldest centre was Halle, a university founded by the Elector of Brandenburg who in 1692 appointed

August Hermann Francke as professor. Francke founded a succession of institutions, schools, orphanages, a printing and publishing house and a dispensary. In the theological faculty he trained ministers and missionaries who were imbued with the tenets of Pietism, stressing personal conversion and holiness, close fellowship in societies of believers within the established church, and a responsibility to witness tinged with the expectation of Christ's second Advent. The missionaries for the Royal Danish Mission on the Coromandel Coast of South India founded by King Frederick IV in 1706 were supplied by the mission school at Halle.

In 1780 the German Christian Fellowship was founded at Basle in Switzerland by Pietists as an international and interdenominational society which quickly formed branches, the London German Congregation being one of its earliest members. Anglicans joined with Moravians, Mennonites, Lutherans, Reformed and Roman Catholics in a society which ignored social barriers and reproduced the piety and practical common sense which had marked Francke's work at Halle. The Fellowship magazine, Gatherings for Lovers of Christian Truth, included news from the mission field provided by the Moravians who since 1732 had been active in Greenland, Labrador and Newfoundland, among the slaves in the Danish and British West Indies, and in Surinam and at the Cape of Good Hope. From 1800 onwards, the Fellowship had encouraged and supported the training of missionaries in Berlin by the minister of the

* Bethlehem Moravian congregation, Johannes Jaenicke. Jaenicke's Mission School provided missionaries for both the CMS the Dutch missionary societies, and for the LMS: over 80 being sent out before Jaenicke's death in 1827. After the proposal to move Jaenicke's school to Basle in 1807 came to nothing, in 1816 the Fellowship members opened their own Mission School which until 1834 trained missionaries for other established societies, chief among them being CMS.

The Moravians were to leave an indelible character on one stream of German missionary training: that of the unacademic missionary in contrast to the pastors and clergy of the established churches both Lutheran and Reformed. The justification for this was put by Christian Ignatius Latrobe the English Secretary of the Moravian missions as follows:-

"While scholarly men are not excluded, most of the missionaries must be drawn from the artisan and labouring classes; first because such men are best able to endure a rough life, and secondly because in the Church's opinion higher education is not required. Students do not as a rule make as good missionaries as mechanics; and in the sphere of education the missionary needs only four great qualities - first, he must have a good knowledge of the Scriptures, second, a good understanding; third, a friendly disposition and fourth, a heart filled with the love of God." (1)

Of the five German societies who established work in India the Basle Mission, the Gossner Mission and the Hermannsburg Mission were committed to these principles of missionary work. It was characteristic of the German societies when they were founded in the 1820's and 1830's that they came into existence as a counterpart to the organised churches. The work was supported by voluntary circles, which were gathered in congregations with the help and enthusiasm of the pastors. The stress on working-class and farming skills led as a natural consequence to the

experiments in community and self-support whereby each missionary practiced his own trade for the benefit of the common good and the common purse.

The confessional societies from the beginning stressed the need for the same education for their missionaries as the churches demanded for their parochial clergy, involving university and theological degrees. In India the Leipzig Society was the outstanding representative of this school, with its aim to send out to the mission field one trained theologian every second year. The Gossner Society was to experience the tragic results of this change in policy, when insistence on a more educated missionary resulted in schism, and the senior missionaries left the society to enter the Church of England.

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMITY OF MISSIONS:

For our purpose the particular histories of the German missions in India will serve to illustrate the principle of Comity of Missions, the agreement between the Protestant societies which has been dubbed 'Geographical denominationalism'. Comity was the term adopted for the mutual agreement whereby an area was reserved by the missionary society which commenced work, and thereafter only by invitation were other societies expected to enter the area. Regarded initially in the negative way of 'non-interference' by the societies who began work in the early decades of the 19th century, the observance of Comity rules by the majority of missions undergirded the fellowship of the Conferences of Missionaries, which frequently found the issues involved profitable for discussion. The need to resolve the complications which arose when Comity arrangements were not observed, eventually created the constitution of the Court of Arbitration which came into existence after the Decennial Conference at Madras in 1902.

The development from an unwritten gentleman's agreement not to interfere in the internal affairs of another mission was replaced by written rules which clarified the issues which resulted from diverse traditions and disparate mission regulations. When the National Missionary Council of India met in 1914 it requested its Committee on Co-operation and Unity to draft a Comprehensive Statement on Unity among Missions in India. The unprecedented crisis resulting from the First World War and the repatriation of all German missionaries in 1915 compelled the National Missionary Council to adopt measures for the care of the orphaned missions which validated the spirit of Unity observed positively as co-operation.

THE BASLE MISSION 1834

The Company Charter of 1813 had sanctioned missionaries working in India under licence permitting British societies to commence work in what was virtually a virgin field. In the Presidency of Bengal the Baptists had been long established at Serampore and they now began to open stations in the Ganges valley. In 1815 CMS sent out the first four missionaries to South India; in 1821 SPG sent out the Principal and Vice-Principal of the newly founded Bishop's College, Calcutta. In 1817 the LMS were able to establish work in Travancore, South India which had been earlier pioneered by Ringeltaube, one of the German missionaries who had left the Danish Mission at Tranquebar. The American Congregationalists commenced work in 1813 and the Wesleyan Methodists in 1817. The rescinding of the licencing clause in the 1833 Charter threw open the Indian field to Continental Missionary Societies and the first to take advantage of the new era was the Basle Mission,

THE BASLE MISSION IN INDIA

The Swiss city of Basle, situated on the banks of the Rhine in the German-speaking canton of the same name, had survived the Napoleonic wars prosperous and secure. Only once in 1815 threatened by the French

general Barbanegue, when the city came under bombardment it was saved by an almost miraculous natural phenomenon. Members of the German Christian Fellowship in the city had joined in fervent prayer for its deliverance, and in answer to their intercession a strong east wind extinguished the incendiary bombs, leaving the city undamaged. As a thank offering for its deliverance on the 25th. September 1815 six Christian men - a professor of philosophy, three clergymen, a merchant and a notary - gathered in the rectory of St Martin, and under the presidency of the Revd. Nicholas von Brun, constituted themselves as the Evangelical Missionary Society of Basle. They applied to the magistrate of the city for permission to open an institution for training missionaries where men of whatever denomination or rank, but of an acknowledged irreproachable and Christian character, might obtain a suitable education in order to go to the innumerable multitude of the heathen as useful Missionaries, to proclaim to them the saving Gospel of Christ, according to his commandment.

From its inception undenominational, attracting students from both Lutheran and Reformed churches, the Basle Mission won strong financial support from Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Alsace, and welcomed German, Swiss, French, Dutch and British personnel. It was, however, predominantly a German mission and retained its German name 'Evangelische Mission gesellschaft in Basel'. At first content to train missionaries for established societies in Britain and Holland in 1822, the first Basle Mission was established in the Russian Caucasus, with stations in Armenia and Baghdad.

In 1816 CMS sent a donation of £100 to the new seminary, and in 1817 severed the connection with Jaenicke's Mission School in Berlin in favour of the Basle Mission School. In 1825 the CMS opened its own Missionary Training College at Islington and, under an arrangement with the Bishop

of London, Basle men who wished to serve in the CMS could spend part of their training at the College, and after taking the ordination examination were ordained and licensed before being dismissed to the Mission field. By the year 1833, out of a total of 25 CMS missionaries working in Bengal, 14 were Basle trained. It was at the instigation and with the advice of the Basle men already at work in India, that the Basle Mission established its own mission, a gift of 10,000 talers from the Prince of Schoenberg sending out the first three missionaries who arrived at the south western port of Calicut on August 24th 1834. Only the British garrison at Cannanore was in occupation, and the missionaries established their centres near the garrison and at the capital city of Mangalore. They were joined on October 30th. 1834 by four more colleagues, and the Basle Mission took occupation of the virgin field lying along the sea coast and hemmed in by the Western Ghats.

A succession of able inspectors of the seminary at Basle - C.C. Blumhardt, Hoffmann, Josenhans, Schott and Oehler ensured that the Basle mission in India during the 19th. century was able to grow, prosper and develop with adequate funds and no shortage of missionaries. The mission schools where the children of converts could be educated were complemented by industrial concerns where the parents of the children found economic security. The missionaries were able to solve successfully the first generation Christian converts' social and economic excommunication and expulsion from the Hindi caste system. In 1840 experiments in watch-making and agriculture with coffee plantations and rice-fields were started, but by 1880 were abandoned as unproductive.

In 1841 printing and book-binding, in 1844 weaving and tailoring, and in 1865 tile-making, became the three industries for which the Basle mission acquired fame. The development of these industries on severely commercial and competitive lines which combined quality production with integrity,

honesty and a Christian environment was entrusted to laymen who were experts in their own field. The evangelistic and pastoral work was under the superintendence of the ordained members of the mission, as were the schools. In 1874 industrial workshops were started to train apprentices in carpentry, lock-making and iron work.

The visit of the Mission Inspector Jesenhans to India in 1852 inaugurated the stability of the industrial enterprises. In 1854 the Industrial Commission was established with its own treasury under a professional business manager and in 1882 a joint stock company was formed to meet the needs of the industrial concerns which now needed large capital. The success in India had been repeated on the Gold Coast, where the Basle missionaries had introduced cocoa plantations, and also in Hong Kong and South China. The profit from the industries was paid over to the Mission Committee as a free contribution. The Company headquarters were in Basle with the name of 'Missions Handels Gesellschaft - the Mission Trading Company'.

No other Protestant mission could compare with the Basle mission, which under the rules of cecity had a virtual monopoly of the South Canara district, geographically rather isolated between the Western Ghats and the sea. In 1899 the Report credited the society with the following statistics:-

Missionaries	185		
Zenana workers	99		
Teachers	280		
Mission stations	56		
Outstations	138		
Churches	129	Church Membership	36,703
		School children	17,000 (2)

THE LEIPZIG MISSION 1836

In 1819 the Basle Mission founded a branch in Dresden, and for 17 years the supporters of the mission in Saxony were content to uphold the un denominational and Pietistic indoctrination of the students who were urged "not to become the slaves of Luther or anybody else, but messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ". During the 1830's the desire for a missionary society in which Lutheran ordination and Lutheran tenets could be administered and taught resulted in a break with the parent society in Basle. On August 17th. 1836, the Dresden branch was refounded with the name 'The Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society' and with the training of its own students in mind the seminary was moved from Dresden to Leipzig, where in the University scientific subjects were taught and Bible and missionary curricula, with the Lutheran confessional creeds in the seminary. Insistence that the same academic training was indispensable for both pastors and missionaries regulated the Leipzig Mission's ideal to send out to the mission field every second year one trained

- ° theologian. The first mission director, Karl Graul, appointed in 1844 spent the years 1849-53 in South India gaining an intimate knowledge of the field and acquiring distinction as a Tamil scholar. His intention that the society should be the one central Lutheran missionary agency failed to be realised, but in 1855, he welcomed the first two missionaries from Sweden in a united venture, which by 1901, had resulted in the Church of Sweden fully maintaining its own work within the Leipzig field.

THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION FIELD 1841

The Leipzig Mission commenced its work in South India by sending its first missionary on a tour of exploration to Tranquebar, the Danish settlement on the Coromandel coast where in 1709 the first Protestant mission had been founded under the patronage of King Frederick IV of Denmark and staffed by the German missionaries trained at Halle. The intervening years had seen the decay of the mission which had succumbed

to the political rivalry between France and Great Britain in the 18th. century, and the decline in Protestant credenda which the Enlightenment had produced in Germany. During its first century of growth the mission had numbered over 36,000 Christians in its congregations, which had spread north to the British city of Madras, and east to the kingdom of Tanjore. From 1726 onwards the work in Madras was supported financially by the oldest English missionary society, the SPCK, which in 1820 received the stations in the kingdom of Tanjore. In 1826, the SPCK withdrawing from the field, handed the missions over to the SPG. In Tranquebar itself the mission was maintained by Augustus Frederick Caemmerer, until his death in 1837, by which time the Danish authorities had lost all interest in their Indian possessions.

The stations founded by the Tranquebar missionaries in the kingdom of Tanjore - Combaconum, Negapatam, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tinnivelly, the Dutch station at Pulicat with the British station at Vepery, were from 1815 territorially part of the diocese of Calcutta. The Anglican bishops Middleton, Heber and Turner had included them in their visitations and shown concern for their welfare. Gradually, and without any show of resentment, Anglican public worship in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, Confirmation and Ordination, replaced the older German Pietistic practices. The only congregations to remain aloof from this transfer in ecclesiastical allegiance were two scattered congregations attached to Tranquebar, where the mission property after the death of Caemmerer was held by his daughter.

Having failed to elicit any response from the Mission Board in Copenhagen regarding the situation in South India, the Leipzig Society commissioned John Henry Carl Cordes to proceed to Tranquebar and furnish them with a report on which they could act. Cordes arrived in Madras on December 27th. 1840, and accepted the invitation of the Danish chaplain

Knudsen to visit Tranquebar where he settled on March 20th. 1841. For a year he worked with the chaplain but from 1842 was left in sole control of the mission, which comprised the New Jerusalem church, a hymnbook and Bible in Tamil and Christians numbering 1,400 in two scattered congregations. Cordes, imbued with the desire to reclaim the Tranquebar mission for the Lutheran church, urged the home committee to send out support. In 1842, he gained permission from the Danish governor to open a training school for teachers; his marriage to Caemmerer's daughter, who since the death of her father in 1837 had inherited the mission property, secured the legal succession for the Leipzig Society. The common cause between Cordes in Tranquebar and the newly appointed director, Karl Graul, in Leipzig ensured that when in 1845 Tranquebar was sold to Great Britain, by special petition to the King of Denmark, the two congregations of native converts remained Lutheran.

THE CASTE CONTROVERSY

By the transfer of Tranquebar to Great Britain the former territorial frontier which had kept the Danish centre outside the East India Company's direct control was eliminated, and the Leipzig Society with its strong confessional Lutheran character entered an area which had been worked by Christian missions for over a century. Almost overnight new congregations were acquired, as the Leipzig missionaries were compelled to take sides in a controversy which had its roots in the toleration of caste observance in the congregations, which the German missionaries, trained at Halle, had from the beginning allowed.

Of the four castes of Hinduism - Priests, Warriors, Merchants and Servants - the majority of converts in the area covered by the Tranquebar mission had come from the fourth caste known as 'Sudras'. Although designated 'servants', the caste had a developed hierarchy comprising teachers, warriors, nobles, traders and agriculturists as well as domestic menials.

The second largest group of converts were drawn from a sub-caste, which on account of its common occupation was considered inferior - the toddy-drawers or palm-wine traffickers found throughout South India under a variety of names but in general known as 'Adi-Dravidas'. When, as not infrequently happened, a Christian congregation contained families from both castes, the customs and distinctions of social intercourse, obligatory under the caste system, had been allowed to continue after baptism under the regime of the German missionaries trained at Halle.

- ° Bartholomew Zeigenbalg himself had been responsible for this acceptance of caste (which he considered to be worldly but harmless) when he built the New Jerusalem church in Tranquebar in 1717. The church, which was cruciform in shape, permitted the Sudra men to sit on one side of the nave and the other castes on the other; the Sudra women sat in one transept and other converts opposite them; at Holy Communion all the Sudras, men and women, communicated first, followed by the rest of the congregation. Caste distinction was observed in burials in the cemetery, in schools and in social intercourse, in the selection of god-parents and in the appointment of catechists and assistant clergy. Sudras only associated with their own caste members, not infrequently living together in villages on their own, as at Tanjore, where the Sudras lived on one side of the church and the Adi-dravidas on the other.

From 1833 onwards the caste controversy in South India had been brought to a head by the Bishop of Calcutta, Daniel Wilson, who on July 5th 1833 issued a pastoral letter "To the Revd Brethren the Missionaries in the Diocese of Calcutta and the Flocks gathered by their Labours and entrusted to their Care", in which he insisted that the distinctions of caste must be abandoned decidedly, immediately and finally among the congregations served by missionaries of the CMS and the SPG.

Bishop Wilson followed up the letter by a visitation in 1834, but found

that opposition to his policy was both stubborn and liable to break out in disorder, the Sudras particularly objecting to common seating in church and no preference being allowed them at the Holy Communion. The Leipzig missionaries entered this field, where the questions of caste were still unresolved in Anglican congregations, in spite of the clear pastoral injunctions of the Bishop and attempts by both CMS and SPG missionaries to break with caste. To the consternation and indignation of the Anglicans, the newly arrived German missionaries endorsed the caste policy of the German founding fathers of the Tranquebar mission and retained the privileged position which the Sudras observed. Once this was realised, a succession of schisms resulted, as Sudra groups and congregations forsook the rigorist Anglicans and joined the more liberal and tolerant centres where the Leipzig missionaries were eager to work.

This flagrant breach of the rules of Comity was now allowed to go unchallenged. At the First South India Missionary Conference held at Ootacamund in 1858 the matter was brought before the assembled missionaries of the CMS, American Board, LMS, Basle Mission, Wesleyan Mission, Church of Scotland Mission and the Dutch Reformed Mission, in all 31, by the Revd George Uglow Pope, the sole member of the SPG and himself a former Wesleyan missionary, who delivered a very able paper entitled 'On the laws which should govern missionary societies and those who work under their direction or control, in their relations with one another in their respective fields'. No member of the Leipzig Mission was present to hear the result of the ensuing discussion which took the form of a letter of censure addressed to the German Home Committee as a formal protest 'against interference in the internal management of one community of native Converts by the body of missionaries (of the Leipzig Society)' which had caused 'scandal in the eyes of the heathen and inflicted injury generally on the Christian Church in

South India'. It was also decided to give the widest publicity to this breach of agreement (the word Comity was not yet in circulation) under which the six societies represented at the Conference had agreed to work, by sending reports to be published in both England and Germany. (3)

The Leipzig missionaries remained impervious to the protests of the Anglicans, since their fundamental outlook in regard to the Sudra groups was that of welcoming them back into the Lutheran fold from which they had strayed. The rapid increase in congregations was viewed as part of the Lutheran heritage, which the Leipzig missionaries could in no wise neglect.

From 1855 with the first Swedish missionaries as colleagues, after 1860 the Leipzig Mission's area extended and station after station was founded since until work was commenced in East Africa in 1893 the Indian field was the only one to claim support. In 1861 Anikadu; 1864 Negapatam; 1866 Chidambaran; 1868 Madura; 1873 Bangalore; 1875 Villupuram; 1883 Pattukotah; 1889 Dindigul; 1893 Trivellore; 1896 Shiyali and 1902 Viudhunagar.

Although Karl Graul's ideal of the Leipzig Mission as the one Lutheran Missionary agency was never realised, support prior to 1914 was widespread among Lutherans in Europe - Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, Estonia, Luthuania, Austria and France with financial support from American communities also contributing to the work. The connection with Sweden was to prove the most significant when in 1901 an independent diocese was established comprising the centres at Madura, Rammad and Pudukottah, which in 1914 was reconstituted as the Church of Sweden Mission. By mutual agreement, after the repatriation of the German missionaries in 1915, the whole Leipzig Mission field was taken over by the Church of Sweden. (4)

In 1913 the statistics for the Leipzig Mission are as follows:-

Communicant members: 22,033; schools: 286; teachers: male 538;

female 192; missionaries: native pastors: catechists and other

Indian workers:

THE GENERAL SYNOD AND GENERAL COUNCIL MISSIONS FROM AMERICA,

THE HERMANNSEBURG MISSION AND THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN MISSIONS

The rules and accepted observances of Comity were seen at their best in the relationship which developed between the four missions which commenced work in the Telugu country along the eastern sea-board north of Madras. These were the American Lutheran missions sponsored by the German communities in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who established the missions at Guntur and Rajahmundry from 1842 onwards, and the German societies who arrived later and benefited from advice and mutual agreement in delimiting the fields which should be occupied. Mutual support and assistance in founding the German missions from their American-German colleagues enabled the Hermannsburg Society to enter a new field at Nellore in 1865 and the Schleswig-Holstein Society to commence work where the Telugu country bordered on the north with Orissa in 1881. Both these societies found staunch allies in the Americans when after 1915 the maintenance of the work devolved on support from the United States. Missionaries from Guntur were also called upon to play a vital part in resolving the complex problems of the Gossner Mission in Bihar, which from 1919 onwards had an American as secretary of the Board of Trustees appointed by the Government, for the supervision and running of the mission.

Comity agreements were observed in relation to other missions which had established themselves along a coast line which stretched for almost 500 miles - the LMS at Vizagapatam 1804; the Plymouth Brethren at Bunder 1836; at Narsapur 1837; at Palakol 1840; the CMS at Bunder 1838;

at Masulipatan 1843; the American Baptists at Nellore 1840; the North German Society at Rajahmundry 1843. Unlike the Basle and Leipzig Missions which were able to staff their stations adequately both the Hermannsburg and Schleswig-Holstein societies suffered from experiments which were the result of faulty mission policies, unsuitable to the Indian field, and resulted in a high mortality rate and constant ill-health. Only after years of trial and error was the work finally established and before the First World War these two societies could claim, in comparison with the Basle and Leipzig missions, only minor achievements.

THE AMERICAN GENERAL SYNOD MISSION 1842 AND THE AMERICAN GENERAL COUNCIL MISSION 1869

William Penn, the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, had travelled in Germany and welcomed German settlers to his capital, Philadelphia. By the middle of the 18th. century it was estimated that more than half the population was German, and America was regarded in Pietist circles in Germany as a mission field. The outstanding missionary sent from Halle by Francke was Henry Melchior Muhlenberg who from 1742, the year of his arrival in Philadelphia brought together the first Lutheran synod in the Colony and organised the Lutheran churches in the New World.

By 1820, when the General Synod was constituted, from its own seminary at Gettysburg, it was sending out Lutheran missionaries to the states west of the Ohio river, where German immigrants were settling in great numbers. A missionary convention was organised at the meeting of the West Pennsylvania Synod, which in 1835 had organised the Central Missionary Society to assist destitute Lutheran congregations and to co-operate with others in sending the Gospel to the heathen. In 1836 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania organised the American Lutheran Missionary

Society with the dual purpose of assisting the Lutheran congregations in the western states and supporting one of the German missionaries who had commenced independent work in South India after leaving the CMS, Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius. The first missionary of the society, John Christian Frederick Heyer, was commissioned in St Paul's German Lutheran church, Philadelphia on October 5th. 1841 and sailed from Boston arriving in Tuticorin, the seaport in south east India, on March 23rd. 1842. A chance meeting with the son-in-law of Rhenius at Kotaur elicited the news that Rhenius had died and his followers had returned to their allegiance with the CMS. Heyer travelled north by way of Madura, Trichinopoly, and Tranquebar arriving in Madras on April 16th. At an earlier stage in his career Heyer had been in touch with the interdenominational body, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who had advised him to open work in the Telegu country and he now proceeded to act on this suggestion.

Travelling north Heyer was the guest of the American Baptists at Nellore and in company with one of their missionaries, Stephen Van Huse, they both reached Guntur the capital of the Kistna district to the south of the river Krishna on July 31st. Consultation with the British Collector and magistrate, Mr. H. Stokes produced an immediate invitation to share the work with the CMS who under the patronage of another British official Mr. John Goldingham, had the same year begun work at Masulipatam. For six months Heyer lived as Mr. Stokes' guest until the mission house, built with money originally donated for Rhenius and his work, could be completed. The schools at Guntur were handed over to Heyer and he conducted English services for the officials and their families. The area for the mission was delimited as south of the river Krishna extending to the border of Nellore district. In November 1842, the first girls' school was opened, six other schools were organised with 10 teachers and a total of 180 pupils. In 1844 the first

colleagues sent out by the General Synod joined Meyer at Guntur, Walter Gunn and his wife.

The same year Meyer was host to the pioneer missionary of the North German Missionary Society, Louis P. Monno Valett, who, in February 1844, prospected the area north of the river Krishna and finally decided to commence work at Rajahmundry on the banks of the river Godavery. From 1845-1850 the North German Society maintained the Rajahmundry field but when support for the mission failed by a mutual arrangement, the stations and the three missionaries were handed over to the General Synod Mission in January 1851.

On January 31st. 1853 Meyer summoned his colleagues to a formal synod which met at Guntur and elected him President. At the synod's second meeting in January 1854, Meyer recommended that relations with the other Lutheran missionaries at work in India should be established with the intention of holding a General Synod (fifty years later this proposal was found to be practical when the India Lutheran Conference met for the first time at Guntur). After the synod Meyer moved to Rajahmundry, and in 1855, leaving the mission in the hands of one of the former North German missionaries Charles William Greenning, he decided to leave India and return to the home mission work in the western states of America. President Greenning's tenure of office saw the decline of the mission with sickness taking its toll of new missionaries and their families, the crisis in India of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the outbreak of the Civil War in America in 1861. By 1865 Greenning was the only missionary who had survived and he decided to return to Germany.

The Civil War in America had reduced the support of the mission to such an extent that Greenning turned to the Hermannsburg mission school for help and requested the director Louis Harns to try and save the mission. When the Hermannsburg missionary, August Mylius, arrived in Rajahmundry

In 1865 no sooner had he commenced work in the house purchased for him by Groenning than he was informed by the American society that they declined to authorise the arrangement and requested him to leave. In Guntur one American missionary Dr. Elias Unangst was stationed in 1867 but finding the Rajahmundry field impossible to supervise, with the approval of the home Society he opened negotiations for its transfer to the CMS. Heyer, who had spent the intervening years as the home missionary to Minnesota where he had been able to organise the first Lutheran synod, hearing of the intended transfer in Germany where he was on vacation returned to America and was able to persuade the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at its meeting in Trinity Church, Reading in May 1869 by volunteering himself to return to India and to recover the Rajahmundry field. Within two years he had succeeded in reorganising the work so that it could be maintained as the special field of the newly constituted General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America. A development to which we must now turn our attention. (5)

THE GENERAL COUNCIL MISSION 1870

The strong confessional movement in Germany which was responsible for the founding of the Leipzig Society made its way to North America with the immigrants who arrived prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. During the war the Lutherans in the southern states withdrew from the General Synod and formed the United Synod (south) and other congregations joined with groups who withdrew from the General Synod to form the General Council of the Lutheran Church of North America in 1867.

As a result of the reorganisation which followed these new developments the missionary agencies in the synods were centralised, and on recommendations from the standing committees it was agreed to divide the mission field in India - the General Synod retaining Guntur and the General Council taking on the work at Rajahmundry from 1870. Cordial relations survived the transfer of stations with the result that a Biennial Conference of missionaries was founded.

Statistics for 1871 were as follows:-

<u>Guntur Field</u>		<u>Rajahmundry Field</u>
3	Missionaries	2
2,150	Christians	160
56	Indian workers	9
400	Pupils at School	138

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 the American missionaries of the Guntur and Rajahmundry fields, as neutrals, were able to assist the German missions founded by the Hermannsburg Society to the south and the Schleswig-Holstein Society to the north, by undertaking surveillance of the stations after the repatriation of the German missionary personnel in 1915. Assisted by generous donations from the Lutheran churches in the United States, the American Lutherans took on the role of financing the German missions throughout the war years.

The divisive effects of the Civil War were at last healed when in 1918, the General Synod, the General Council and the United Synod (south) united to form the United Lutheran Church of America, and in 1920 under a new constitution the Guntur and Rajahmundry fields were again united.

The statistics for 1919 were as follows:-

<u>Guntur Field</u>		<u>Rajahmundry Field</u>
60,180	Baptised	27,004
20,763	Communicants	14,476
12	Male Missionaries	10
11	Wives	10
11	Female Missionaries	8
16	Indian Pastors	8
1,057	Indian Workers	1,362

(6)

THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION 1865

- ° In 1849 Pastor Louis Harms founded his own Mission School in Hermannsburg in the kingdom of Hanover since his missionary principles obliged him to disagree with the highly academic training obligatory for the Leipzig Society and after supporting the North German Society he had withdrawn on doctrinal grounds. Drawing inspiration from the Brethren of the Common Life, a Roman Catholic congregation which had been well-known in Holland and North Germany until it was dissolved in 1802, he encouraged the training of young men who would undertake to remain unmarried and unite in the common life and common skills to be found in mission communities. He was able to build the big 'Candace' as a missionary supply ship in which his missionaries and other like-minded settlers could be sent to found stations and be supplied with material requirements. The first party left for the Cape of Good Hope in the 'Candace' in 1853. Only after 15 years of experimentation and after the death of Harms was the community ideal at last surrendered as impractical; the mortality rate amongst the Hermannsburgers in tropical countries forcing this realistic decision.

We have already referred to the particular history of the American Lutheran mission at Guntur and Rajahmundry which was reduced to destitution during the Civil War years 1861-65 leaving the sole missionary of the North German Society, Charles William Groenning, to look after its welfare. In 1864 Groenning wrote to Louis Harms asking him to save the mission for the Lutheran church. At the same time Harms had before him a letter from a former Leipzig missionary who had worked in South India and resigned from the Society, August Mylius, offering his services and requesting Harms to send him back to commence work on behalf of the Hermannsburgers. As the call and the answer arrived almost simultaneously Harms, foregoing his principles of community missions, agreed to send Mylius alone to India, and he was commissioned on August 24th. 1864 sailing on the 'Candace' for Cape Town with a group of Hermannsburgers who were destined for the missions founded in Natal.

Mylius changed ships at Cape Town and arrived at Madras in a British troop-ship on February 25th. 1865, where he was welcomed by one of his former colleagues, Christian Frederick Cremmer, who had been in charge of the Vepery congregation since 1848. Mylius moved north and settled in the house at Rajahmundry which had been purchased for him by Groenning and began to study Telugu. In America the Civil War had ended, and when Groenning's letter informing the General Synod of the arrangement with Mylius and the Hermannsburg Society was read, the Home Board refused to sanction the proposed plan, and requested Mylius to vacate the Rajahmundry station. Mylius returned to Vepery for further consultation with Cremmer on where to open a field for the Hermannsburg Society.

Fellow countrymen of the American Baptist mission were settled at Nellore, north of Madras, where they had been working since 1840, and an invitation was given to Mylius to share the work. The Revd. L. Jewett proposed the southern part of the Nellore district should be the

Hermannsburg field and Mylius founded his centre at Sullurupeta, on the low-lying malarial shore close to lake Pulicat. The Baptists had experienced the mistakes which followed the siting of stations in unhealthy territory, and Mylius was to learn by the same bitter experience that the coast was rife with malaria and elephantiasis. The arrival of the 'Candace' with new colleagues in 1867 brought the community up to seven bachelors, and out-stations were founded at Venkatagiri in 1869 and Kalahasti in 1873, both stations being in the territories of powerful native rulers. After 10 years work the records could show progress: at the end of 1876 there were eight stations, nine missionaries, baptisms for the year, 98, and since the beginning of the mission in 1865, a total of 401 converts.

Mylius had been elected Provost of the mission in 1867, a position he held for the next 20 years of his working life, and his policies and prejudices left their mark on the formative period of the development of the Hermannsburg field. Disapproving of marriage, he attempted to confine the mission to fellow-celibates and when this proved manifestly impossible he attempted to transfer his colleagues who married. Impervious to the health hazards of life in the tropics he never took leave or a holiday, and made no arrangements for return leave in Germany for his colleagues; the normal practice for Europeans to send wives and children to the hills during the hot weather he considered unnecessary with a consequent mortality rate amongst the families. From 1880-1891 out of 10 missionaries in the field, seven died and three were invalided home; nine wives and 23 children died and five wives were invalided home. Out of the total number of workers, 23 in all sent out, covering the years 1866-1891 seven worked for fewer than six years and 11 less than eight years; missionary wives stayed even less - 12 remained for only two years and 19 out of 26 stayed for less than five years. When the obligation was observed that the missionary should

remain for life service in the field, the Hermannsburgers' simple piety and frugality took a tremendous toll. Mylius died in 1887 at the first station he had opened, Nayudupet and was buried in front of the altar in the church he had built. The total number of converts during the 20 years he had been in charge numbered 1,275.

In 1891 the mission director, Egmont Harms, visited India and initiated the first reform by opening a hill station in Kodaikanal for the missionaries and their families. From that date no missionary died during the period of service in India.

Support for the work in India was raised in America by the students of the Hermannsburg mission house who served as pastors in the German congregations in Ohio and neighbouring states. In 1891 an arrangement with the Ohio synod to staff the mission station at Puttur was proposed but only financial assistance could be given. Not until 1914 were the first missionaries from America found and then permission was refused for their entry into India.

The statistics for 1913 were as follows:-

Total baptised since 1865	7000
Membership	3116
Missionaries	12
Indian pastors	2
Indian workers	218

(7)

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN MISSION 1881

Brecklum, in the province of Schleswig-Holstein, ceded by the Danes to Prussia after the war of 1864, became the centre for a complex of institutions very reminiscent of Halle under Francke. The founder of

° the Brecklum of Schleswig-Holstein Mission was Pastor Christian Jensen who gathered 12 students in the mission house in 1877 with the intention

of training them for three fields of work: the home church, the American immigrant communities and the mission to the heathen. The American field was supplied with over 200 pastors from Brecklum, but the only field of foreign work was the mission founded in 1881 with the advice and co-operation of the American missionaries at Rajahmundry.

The contact to send out men to the Telugu country was established through Charles William Groenning, the veteran missionary of the North German and American General Council mission at Rajahmundry, who retired from India in 1865 to his home at Hadersleben in the province of Schleswig, where he continued to tutor privately candidates for the missions. His son, William Groenning, was appointed assistant director of the Brecklum Mission School under Director Hoeber, and later Director. When the first four missionaries had finished their preliminary training in 1881, two joined the Netherland Lutheran Mission in Sumatra and the Revd. E. Pohl and the Revd. H. Bothmann, instructed by Groenning, sailed for India in order to found a mission in Bastar, the large native state lying to the north of the area being worked by the Americans at Rajahmundry. The two pioneers reached Rajahmundry in February 1882 and were greeted by a former student of Groenning Senior, Dr. H. C. Schmidt, a native of Flensburg in Schleswig, who had been brought to the American field by Heyer. After a month's acclimatisation a party which included Schmidt and a newly arrived American missionary, the Revd. H. G. B. Artman, Mr. Heelis of the Plymouth Brethren and the Brecklum men set out on the 200 mile trek to Jagdipur, the capital of Bastar. A stay of over a month in primitive conditions awaiting the decision of the rajah, reduced the whole party to such a state of debility that when they were finally ordered out of the kingdom under threats, there was no alternative but to abandon the project. Artman never fully recovered from this experience, and both Pohl and Bothmann were compelled to return to Madras to recuperate.

An invitation from the magistrate in the Jeypore Agency, Mr. Gay, directed the attention of the missionaries to Koraput, where they acquired land, but before a building could be erected both Pohl and Bothmann again succumbed to malarial fever and the work was abandoned. In Madras, the Leipzig missionaries Revd Mandemann and his wife joined in consultations which resulted in establishing a base at Salur, a small town at the foot of the Jeypore hills among the Telugu people. Here in 1884 the mission station was erected with a school, church and in 1889 a leper asylum. In this same year the LMS handed over their station to the east at Parvatipur. A third station at Sambari became the entry to the Kuvi Khonds, an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the 4,000 foot hills of the Eastern Ghats.

In 1914 the work in the Telugu field could show only modest progress:

Converts: Salur 788 Parvatipur 146 Sambari 20

(8)

The invitation to open the Jeypore agency to Christian missions extended by the British magistrate with Koraput as its centre was to prove a fatal attraction, owing to the prevalence of malaria and blackwater fever which between 1887 and 1900 accounted for the deaths of five missionaries and the permanent disablement of another two who were compelled to return to Germany. In 1885 a station was opened near the border of Bastar at Kotapad, in 1886 at Jeypore and in 1889 at Nowrangapur where the language was Oriya. This was to be the area where the first mass movement among the outcaste Dambas, a criminal tribe of thieves and robbers, not permitted to own or cultivate land, also including a sub-caste of weavers, responded to the preaching which up to that time had been confined to high-caste Hindus. The movement commenced at Kotapad, where a seminary was opened, in 1896, for training teachers. The whole of the missionaries' efforts in dealing with the mass movement among illiterate and depressed social groups was to train

catechists who could impart elementary Christian instruction and act as leaders in the village communities where chapels were erected. A system of church elders on the basis of 1 to every 100 Christians was also developed.

To battle against illiteracy, boarding schools were opened for boys and girls in the mission centres, but the language to be taught required simplification from the book Oriya, in which the Bible and other religious tracts had been translated. By 1914 progress had been made to enable an elementary training school for teachers to operate. In 1903 an industrial school was established at Koraput where carpentry, blacksmith work, pottery and weaving were taught, and the attempt to enable the weaver caste to improve the quality of their work by redesigned handlooms was undertaken.

In 1907 a new station was opened at Laskmipur, in 1909 a station at Nandapur and third station at Doliambo in 1910 saw the mission established in each of the towns of west Jeypore. In east Jeypore stations at Gunupore in 1900 and Bisencuttack in 1908 demanded a knowledge of the local tribal languages before evangelistic work could be effective enough to show results. Telegu and Oriya had to be complemented by Savara.

The complexities which attended the work in the Jeypore field resulted in there being no provision for native pastors to serve congregations. The missionary in the central station was assisted by catechists and elementary school teachers. Only in 1910 was it possible to consider advancing some of the senior catechists for further training as pastors, a scheme which the World War brought to nothing.

In 1914 the statistics for the Schleswig-Holstein mission were as follows:-

Church Members	12,577
Catechumens	2,550
Missionaries	42
Indian workers	240

(9)

The friendly connection with the American mission at Rajahmundry resulted in exchange of personnel: from 1894-97 Pohl was stationed at Rajahmundry and Dr. Schmidt who moved to be with his daughter who had married the Revd. J. Staecker established the station at Sambari.

In the crisis produced by the internment of the German missionaries in 1915, the supervision of the entire field was entrusted to the General Council Mission at Rajahmundry.

THE ALL INDIA LUTHERAN CONFERENCE 1908

The American, John Frederick Christian Heyer, elected President of the first Evangelical Lutheran Synod held at Guntur in 1853, had urged the necessity of making contacts with other Lutheran missionaries in India, and in his report for 1854 he recommended: To take some step toward establishing official correspondence with all Lutheran missionaries in India, which might eventually lead to the formation of a General Synod.

In the 1850's, the Leipzig missionaries based on Tranquebar were the only other Lutheran mission to be established; German missionaries were working for the Basle Mission, and the CMS also Gossner's missionaries in Bihar, but contact between these scattered groups and geographically isolated areas proved how formidable the hindrances were to realising Heyer's ideal. Biennial conferences of missionaries were held between the General Synod and the General Council at Guntur and Rajahmundry from 1890 to 1905, but it was the attraction of the hill station at Kodaikanal in the Palni hills, 7,000 ft up among the Western Ghats,

which was instrumental in bringing together the missionaries from the Leipzig, Basle, Hermannsburg, Swedish and American Lutheran societies during the hot weather holidays. In 1905 a Lutheran General Conference was held in the German Settlement at Kodaikanal with representatives from the missions in South India present with the aim of forming an All India Lutheran Literature Society and publishing an English-medium monthly church periodical. The proposal by the members to hold a Lutheran Conference once every three years, was to result in the first All-India Lutheran Conference which brought together for the first time 63 delegates from nine missions at Guntur from January 2-8th 1908. The conference followed the traditional pattern of papers and discussions. Four years later in January 1912 the second All-India Conference met at Rajahmundry, and passed the constitution which created the Conference as a permanent body with a view to initiating the Federation of Lutheran Churches in India. Plans for the United Lutheran Theological College to be sited at Bangalore were also proposed.

At the Edinburgh Continuation Committee regional conference summoned by Dr. J. R. Mott at Madras from November 18-20th. 1912 all the German missions were represented and Dr. John Aberly of the General Synod Mission at Guntur and Provost K. Pamperrian of the Leipzig Society were appointed to the interim committee which was to inaugurate the Madras Representative Council of Missions. The same two were delegates to the National Conference at Calcutta and Provost Pamperrian was elected to the Interim Committee to bring into being the National Missionary Council of India. (10)

With the outbreak of the First World War the Swedish missionaries of the Leipzig Society, and the American missionaries of the General Synod and General Council missions, were the only Lutherans who were allowed to remain and continue their work in India. The oversight of the entire Leipzig Mission was entrusted to the Swedish Lutherans who undertook

to maintain the field, after the decision of the Leipzig Mission to withdraw completely from India with no intention of returning, was ratified in Germany. The American Lutherans were requested to supervise the Hermannsburg field until the decision of the Society to relinquish the mission to the Ohio Synod of America could be arranged. The nominal oversight of the Schleswig-Holstein mission by the General Council mission at Rajahmundry, owing to the lack of missionaries who could be spared for this extra work, resulted in the mission stations being left virtually derelict for the War years.

Under the unprecedented trials of the situation produced by the First World War amongst the European and American missionary societies in India, the principles of Unity of Missions were adapted and expanded to deal with the orphaned German Missions in South India. The common confessions of the Lutheran churches formed the basis for this transfer, in which no fundamental doctrines or beliefs were sacrificed. The active concern for the welfare of the missions which found expression in the work of the National Missionary Council of India on their behalf, enabled the Swiss members of the Basle Mission and the Swedish members of the Leipzig Mission to maintain their fields and the Americans, first as neutrals and later as allies to ensure that the work of the German missionaries should not be lost to Christian community in India.

CHAPTER 3

THE GOSSNER MISSIONS IN INDIA

JOHANNES EVANGELISTA GOSSNER AND HIS MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION 1836

Johannes Evangelista Gossner, the eponymous founder of the missionary Society whose spiritual descendants in North India still proudly bear his name - the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam - was Jaenicke's successor in the Bethlehem Moravian parish in Berlin, where from 1800-1827 a training school for missionaries had been founded by a group of Pietists with Jaenicke as the sole teacher. Gossner's career before 1829, when he assumed charge of the parish was unique. A Bavarian and a Roman Catholic by birth, from 1791-96, he had trained for the priesthood at Augsburg, St. Jerome's University Dillingen and Ingoldstadt, and after ordination joined a small group of clergy whose leaders, Martin Boos and Michael Fineberg, had the parochial cure of Seeg, a village in the district of Allgau in the Bavarian Alps. As a result of Boos's dynamic preaching, a pentecostal movement had spread through the villages in the valleys close to the Austrian border, and the members calling themselves 'Erweckten Bruder - Awakened Brethren', established contacts with Protestant groups, at Herrnhut with the Moravians, and at Basle with the German Christian Fellowship. In 1801, Gossner was appointed chaplain to the cathedral at Augsburg, where his preaching brought him to the adverse notice of the Jesuits, who summoned him before the Inquisition. On June 21st. 1802, Gossner was sentenced and suspended from all ecclesiastical duties, a fate which Boos had suffered in 1797. With the change in government under the Elector Maximilian IV, Gossner, as a victim of the Jesuits, received protection, and from 1803-1811, was established as parish priest of Dirlewang, one of the largest and most prosperous parochial cures in the kingdom.

In 1810 for a period of three months Gossner moved to Basle to act as secretary of the German Christian Fellowship, when his friend Spittler was conscripted for Napoleon's armies, and from 1811 on his return to Bavaria he received the non-parochial cure of the Church of Our Lady in Munich. Here from 1811-19, Gossner's gifts as a preacher attracted a wide cross section of faithful devotees. He organised them into the classical type of Pietist groups and organisations for devotional and philanthropic objectives, and through contact with the British and Foreign Bible Society, he was assisted in printing his own German translation of the Vulgate New Testament. With the restoration to power in 1814 of the Jesuits Gossner again fell victim to their intrigues, and was finally banished from the kingdom of Bavaria in 1819. He took refuge in Dusseldorf, and in 1820 accepted the invitation from the Tsar Alexander I to move to St. Petersburg to take charge of the church of the Knights of Malta. His fame as a preacher soon attracted a cosmopolitan congregation, with whom he repeated the organisations he had previously directed in Munich. Banished from St. Petersburg in 1824 at the instigation of the Austrian Minister, Prince Metternich, who at the Congress of Verona had acquired an ascendancy over the Tsar, Gossner returned to Prussia, where in the same year, the Archbishop of Augsburg denounced him with other leaders of the Awakened Brethren. Through his friendship with Count Henry von Reuss whom he met during a visit to the Moravians at Herrnhut, Gossner was introduced to the aristocratic group of Pietists who had founded the Buchwald Bible Society in the Giants Mountains on the borders of Silesia and Austria. Most influential for Gossner's future was the President, the Countess Frederika von Reden, a close and respected friend of the Prussian Royal family who urged Gossner to become a Protestant with the prospect of an active ministry in the Church of Prussia. Gossner accompanied Baron Hans Ernest von Kottwitz, a member of the Court Circle

in Berlin and a personal friend of King Frederick William III, to meet the king, and by a special directive of the Royal Cabinet on February 17th 1827, the law of the Prussian Constitution forbidding employment in the Prussian church to former Roman Catholics was set aside, and Gossner was accepted by the Consistorium of the Church of Brandenburg. In 1829 at the age of 56, owing to the influence of Crown Prince Frederick William who became Gossner's life-long friend, Gossner was appointed to the Bethlehem Moravian parish in Berlin where he commenced an active ministry which terminated with his retirement in 1846, his missionary interests continuing until his death in 1858. (1)

THE MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION 1836

Gossner had maintained close contacts with the Moravians since his years as a young priest in the German Christian Fellowship, and he was in intimate touch with news of the Moravian missions; he was also in receipt of regular news from the missionary societies in Holland and England, notably the CMS who had supported and employed Jaenicke's missionaries from 1804-17, when the Society changed to support the Basle Mission House. Gossner had contributed to the building of the Basle seminary and his congregation in St. Petersburg had regularly sent donations and subscribed to the Basle mission magazine. In 1831 Gossner joined the Berlin Missionary Society, founded in 1824, but disapproving of the high academic training the Society insisted upon for its missionaries, he resigned in 1836. His sympathies were all in favour of the artisan missionary, and this same year he was given the opportunity to put his theories into practice. In December six young working men of his parish came to him to offer themselves for missionary work, and feeling a strong spiritual impulse to further them in their high ideal, Gossner accepted responsibility for their training. He informed the Brandenburg Consistorium of the circumstances prompting

this decision, and in January 1837 opened his Missionary Association with 12 students. Gossner himself gave instruction on the Bible and other members of his parish taught geography, the history of missions and language study. Following the precedent set by his predecessor Jaenicke, the intention was that the missionary students should be engaged to work for already established societies and churches. The first group to leave accompanied the Revd. John Dunmore Lang of the Scottish Presbyterian church in Australia, who intended that they should found a mission at Moreton Bay near Brisbane. At the dismissal service in the Bethlehem church on July 9th. 1837, Gossner gave the party the laying on of hands as a form of ordination. The success of the Missionary Association seemed assured, and Gossner accepted further pupils who were for the most part working artisans or manual labourers.

The Consistorium now insisted that Gossner should prepare a constitution for his Missionary Association to enable him to receive government recognition and the royal licence. In October 1838, a set of five rules were drafted and submitted as 'The Rules of the Bethlehem Missionary Association' embodying Gossner's own fervent faith and his abhorrence of anything which smacked of legal formalism. Rule 4 stated: 'The Association does not need a President as there is already One above all who has said "Ye are all brethren (Matthew ch. 23 verse 8). And even if one person administers the spiritual affairs and the others the external i.e. food, cash and so on, yet everyone will participate and serve in everything fraternally as much as he is able'. The Consistorium returned the five Rules as inadequate, requesting Gossner to draw up a more precise and formal constitution. When on June 28th. 1842 the final draft was approved it contained the faith principle which was to govern the policy of Gossner and his missionaries enshrined as follows:-

'Faith in the word of Jesus, "When I sent you out without purse or bag

or sandals did you lack anything?" (Luke chapter 22 verse 35) is the means and the funds. This has sufficed to date and we have to confess like the disciples "Nothing Lord". Gifts and subscriptions are not collected by special appeals and organised Associations, but we have with thanksgiving and praise to God accepted only voluntary gifts and subscriptions, sent by mission friends spontaneously of their own accord. And so it will be managed in the future too.' (2)

From 1837 to Gossner's death in 1858 the Missionary Association sent out 141 missionaries both men and women to Australia, North America, Brazil and Poland where they ministered to the needs of German immigrant communities. In Dutch New Guinea, Malaya, Java, the Celebes, Sanghi and Pelau islands off Indonesia under the auspices of established missionary societies they pioneered the evangelisation of primitive tribes. Only in North India were two fields established where Gossner's missionaries in their own right were able to found permanent communities of converts; these were the Ganges Valley Mission founded in 1838 and the Mission to Chota Nagpur founded in 1845.

THE MISSION TO THE GANGES VALLEY 1838

The precedent set by Dr. Lang, the first patron of Gossner's Missionary Association was followed in the spring of 1838 by the visit to Berlin of the Revd. William Start, a wealthy Anglican clergyman who had intentions of founding his own mission in Patna, a city on the banks of the Ganges in Bihar, where he had already spent five years as a free-lance evangelist and purchased his own house. Start stayed with Gossner, contributing to Gossner's magazine an account of his recent visit to see the former CMS missionary CTE Rhenius, with whom he had worked for a short time in 1837 on his way back to England. Start

interviewed the pupils in Gossner's training school, and chose 12 including three married couples, who were dismissed from the Bethlehem church on July 1st 1838 to accompany Start to India. The party arrived safely the following February and Start installed them in the derelict racing club north of the river in Hajipur and appointed Stolzenburg, the only non-artizan in the group to be the leader, since he had been a student in the university of Berlin. The domestic policy of the mission was established with the women doing all the domestic work and each man following his own trade: Beumann and Stolke learned from a Muslim baker how to bake bread, Wernicke looked after a flock of sheep and goats, shearing them and when necessary slaughtering them for meat, Dannenburg, who was a carpenter, made the furniture, Mass and Rebsch, who were tailors, made clothes and Brandin took up watch-repairing. The other men all helped to bring in firewood from the jungle, and joined in constructing a blacksmith's shop with a forge, Stolzenburg acted as general supervisor, pharmacist and doctor while at the same time conducting the Bible and language classes for all. In 1840 Gossner sent out two parties of missionaries, including three pastors and a teacher, followed by two more unmarried pastors and four prospective brides who were chaperoned by Pastor and Mrs. John Dullof Prochnow. This increase in numbers compelled Start to look further afield for new stations. The only other missionary society at work in the vicinity of Patna were the Baptists based on Serampore and by a mutual agreement Start in 1840, purchased their mission station at Digah; the same year he opened a station at Muzzaffapur, in 1842 one at Chaprah and in 1843 one at Buxar. The arrival of six pastors among the first reinforcements for the mission had a divisive effect on the policy of the Gossner Brethren, when Pastor Kluge at a meeting in Jahipur on April 17th. 1841 attempted to establish the mission on definite Lutheran principles. Kluge produced 18 theses establishing the Lutheran Church formularies and confessional creeds, the Lutheran corporate worship in accordance with the service books,

locally adapted, a mission inspector who was to be in charge and assign duties to each member, with the lay members confined to non-spiritual tasks, as the constitution for the mission to which all should subscribe. The conference rejected this innovation and when, later in the year, Kluge was accidentally drowned, a party of six missionaries which included all the pastors left the mission and sought employment with other societies.

From 1839-46 Gossner sent out 24 missionaries to the Ganges valley stations of whom five died in service and seven left of their own accord to find employment with other societies. Start himself took up another evangelistic field based on Darjeeling and only visited Patna in the cold weather. He finally seceded from the Church of England over the question of adult baptism, and this tenet was to be debated by the missionaries he had sponsored, leading to differences amongst the Gossner brethren which prevented stability in the work. The stations which had a precarious survival up to the outbreak of the war in 1914 were Ghazipur and Chaprah on the banks of the Ganges, and Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga in the plains to the north of the river, and centres for the caste of Maithil Brahmins, the most important and influential communities in the area. In 1871 after a period of 25 years work, the converts numbered 399; ten years later they were reduced to 338. Tenaciously holding to these centres the Gossner Brethren with their diminutive congregations of converts retained the character of the faith mission which had been Gossner's abiding principle for evangelism. Gossner had appointed Pastor Sternberg as head of the Ganges Field but after his death in 1864 no successor was appointed, since no agreement could be reached amongst the missionaries over the question of ordination. Similarly, the question of adult baptism for the initiation of converts was debated, but no ruling could be enforced since each station was dependent on the particular outlook of the missionaries in residence.

More independent than the more flourishing mission in Chota Nagpur, on account of the small numbers, it was possible to maintain the mission stations with assistance from India, and remain the spiritual heirs of Gossner's pietistic creed. The withdrawal of the German missionaries in 1915 left the mission stations derelict for the duration of the War, and in 1920 the four stations were disposed of to other societies: Ghazipur to the Baptists; Chaprah to the United Mission, Muzzaffarpur to the CMS and Darbhanga to the Methodists. The appeal of some of the congregations that they were Lutherans and should be part of the Chota Nagpur field was considered but found to be impractical by the Ranchi committee. (3)

THE GOSSNER MISSION TO CHOTA NAGPUR 1845

We have used the term 'Patron' to describe the two clergymen, Dr. Lang of the Presbyterian Church in Australia and the Revd. William Start of Patna who personally recruited missionaries from Gossner's training school in Berlin, and thereafter were responsible for their maintenance. The understanding between Dr. Lang and the Gossner Brethren was established that they were under the discipline of the Presbyterian Church, and by 1850 there were 16 laymen and 16 laywomen at work in the mission at Moreton Bay. Start's patronage was personal, and after he left Patna for Darjeeling in 1842 the Gossner Brethren were left to their own devices regarding both church order and domestic maintenance. They had no other recourse but to turn to Gossner in Berlin for assistance and the uncertainty of their material welfare contributed to the precarious condition of the Mission during Gossner's lifetime. We must now consider a new type of patron whose influence for the mission established in Chota Nagpur was to have decisive importance for its success. The patron of missions was the pious evangelical layman in the service of the East

India Company, who in his personal capacity felt the obligation to sponsor and support the planting of Christian missions in the area over which he held jurisdiction. Before 1853, when competitive examinations were introduced, recruitment for the Company's service was by nomination through influential families related to the members of the Court of Directors in London. Many of these were staunch Evangelicals, and we have already seen how this system worked in the case of the chaplains who were nominated for service in Bengal by the Revd. Charles Simeon in Cambridge and Charles Grant, the Member of the Court of Directors in London, who approved the nominee. The clauses in favour of missions introduced in the Charters of 1813 and 1833 resulted in a change in policy from open and active hostility to strict neutrality in the Company's attitude towards religion, and this in no way inhibited both military and civilian officers from supporting the cause of Christian missions as private individuals.

We have already had cause to notice this type of patron in the review of the work of the German missions in South India. The pioneer American missionary G.C.F. Heyer on arrival at Guntur in 1842 was welcomed by the Collector Mr. H. Stokes who together with his fellow officer, Mr. J. Goldingham, had begun missionary work on a private basis with the support of English families at Guntur and Masulipatam. Stokes acted as host to Heyer for the initial six months until the missionary bungalow was completed and remained a staunch friend to the mission during the whole of his active career. A similar instance was provided by the Agent of Jeypore, Mr. Gay, who after the disaster which attended the first attempt by the Schleswig-Holstein pioneers to found their mission in Bastar at Jagdilpur were invited to come to Koraput and eventually opened their station in 1882.

We shall now briefly review the first civilian patron of the East India Company to apply to Gossner for missionaries and the total disaster which accompanied this attempt to found a mission to the Gonds in Central India in 1841.

Mr. Donald Friell McLeod was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpure in 1840 having previously when stationed at Seoni contemplated founding a mission to the Gonds, an aboriginal tribe who inhabited the Satpura hills. His ideal was to found an agricultural mission to improve the material welfare of the villagers as well as bringing to them the benefits of education, but when no English missionary society showed interest in his scheme he corresponded personally with Gossner in Berlin. In answer to the appeal Gossner sent out five laymen including a carpenter, an apothecary and a teacher, and McLeod placed them under the leadership of the Revd. Alois Loesch, a German missionary who had worked in South India. In September 1841 the party left Bombay to explore the country at the source of the river Nerbudda, and finally settled at the village of Karanjia on the south bank of the river in the highlands where the climate in the cold season appeared ideal. McLeod, who paid a visit to the party, was delighted with the prospect and left with the assurance that his scheme was a success. True to Gossner's ideals the house for the missionaries was built by their own hands, and the cultivation of the neighbouring fields was also begun, but when the monsoon commenced the house was only half built, and disaster struck when cholera swept the neighbouring village. On July 23rd. the first man died, followed on the 26th. by the apothecary; Loesch and the carpenter died on the 31st. and the two survivors, deserted by everyone in the vicinity, were at last able to return to Jabalpure where one of them died. The sole survivor moved to Nagpur to work with the Free Church Mission and died after three years, never having recovered from his experiences. McLeod was transferred to the Punjab shortly

afterwards, and Gossner's Mission to the Gonds had ceased to exist. (4)

THE GOSSNER MISSION TO CHOTA NAGPUR 1845

The disastrous experience of the Gond Mission was not lost upon Gossner. When two years later the widow of Dr. Helfer, a German who had been murdered working for the British government in the province of Tenasserim in Burmah, arrived in Berlin and offered her bungalow to Gossner to found a mission station, Gossner's response was both prudent and cautious. He instructed the party of four laymen who were prepared to answer the challenge, to travel only as far as Calcutta and then act on the advice of the responsible and experienced missionaries on the spot whether to accept the property or to take up another field of work. Confident that a fellow German, Dr. John Haerberlin, a CMS missionary trained at Basle and Islington and the secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society would guide and advise them, Gossner dismissed Emil Schatz, a theological candidate, August Brandt and Frederick Batsch, teachers, and Theodore Jancke, a farmer, from the Bethlehem church on July 8th. 1844. In December the party arrived in Calcutta where they were hospitably received by Haerberlin and his wife at his home in Lol Bazaar which now became their headquarters. Haerberlin's advice based on accurate and recent reports of the work of the American Baptists who had been working in Burmah since 1815 was couched in terms of Comity. Not only was the site of the bungalow near the town of Mergui unsuitable as a mission station but 'it was not advisable for one society to step in when another society was already working in the field'. An alternative field was suggested, since Prochnow after leaving the Ganges mission had received Anglican orders and joined the CMS. He had been appointed by the local committee in Simla to Kotgarh on the road to the Shipki pass and Tibet.

In reply to their request to join him, Froehnew dissuaded them owing to the tension in the Punjab where war threatened between the Company and the Sikhs, and the Gossner Brethren finally were contemplating opening their mission amongst the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur in the south of Bihar when an invitation arrived from the Deputy Commissioner, Captain John Caulfield Hannington, requesting Haerberlin to send them to Ranchi to found their mission amongst these very people. Haerberlin undertook to make the journey to Ranchi and survey the field and meet the British officers who had sent the invitation, Colonel John Ralph Ouseley, the Governor General's Agent and his Assistant, Hannington. Satisfied with the welcome they would receive, Haerberlin supervised their departure, and the party reached Ranchi on November 2nd 1845 and took possession of a large estate adjoining Hannington's bungalow which had been granted them by the Rajah of Chota Nagpur. On December 1st they laid the foundation stone of the first building and christened the station Bethesda.

Gossner's mission to the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateau, a hill tract covering an area of 7,000 square miles, bordering on Bengal and Orissa, was the only German mission to be directly involved in the Sepoy Mutiny which broke out in North India in 1857. For our purposes it will be convenient to review the history of the mission prior to 1857 and then follow the effects which the disturbances of 1857 produced among the tribal people, heralding a mass movement towards Christianity.

In January 1857 the senior missionary in Ranchi, Emil Schatz, attended the Conference of Bengal Missionaries held at Benares where 'many heard for the first time the silent blessing the mission had received' with over 700 converts and 2,000 enquirers. The 12 intervening years since the mission had been founded in 1845 had seen the Gossner Brethren slowly but indefatigably establishing themselves among their socially depressed and exploited tribal neighbours. True to Gossner's ideals,

the domestic buildings were constructed with their own hands and rice fields planted out with the help of the orphan children sent to them by the magistrates. A school had been opened and the problem of tribal languages had been solved by learning Hindi, the lingua franca of the area and the official language of the courts. 1846 saw the first out-station established at Domba, nine miles south-west of Ranchi, and in 1847 the English service for the government officers and their families was entrusted to the Gossner Brethren. In 1848 at their request Gossner composed and sent out "Rules and Regulations for the Brethren and Sisters who are serving the Lord amongst the Heathen at Bethesda and Domba". Under 22 heads, Gossner lucidly set out the policy for evangelisation, baptism of converts, instruction for communicant status prior to receiving the Lord's Supper, training of assistants to become teachers and catechists, discipline for the lapsed, Sunday observance and public worship. The domestic affairs of the missionaries were placed under the supervision of Emil Schatz, having a common treasury and although divided into families, All were urged to practice economy for the benefit of the larger mission family. Gossner expected reports on the progress of the mission from Schatz at regular times and each missionary was to send a report to Berlin once a year. Diaries, registers of baptisms weddings and burials and financial accounts were to be kept strictly. (5)

In 1849, when not a single convert had been made, the request to abandon the mission was checked by Gossner in a strong letter of encouragement, saying that whether people become Christians or not 'is not for you to judge. If people will not receive the Word for their salvation, then preach to them for their condemnation. However, continue in prayer, and we shall also continue in prayer with greater tenacity.' The following year saw the first enquirers who requested further enlightenment after reading a copy of the New Testament which the missionaries had distributed during bazaar preaching. On Trinity Sunday June 9th. 1850 the first converts were

baptised from the Oraon tribe followed on October 26th 1851 by the baptism of the first converts from the Munda tribe. On November 18th 1851, the foundation for a church was laid and Gossner himself undertook to send out the necessary funds. The church, largely built with their own hands, was completed and dedicated, Christ Church, on Christmas Eve 1855.

By 1853 the number of converts was 171, of whom 112 were adults, and since the movement towards Christianity was spreading, the probationary period before baptism had been lengthened with the result that in 1853 there were no newly baptised. The missionaries numbered 18, there were four schools with 138 pupils, a boarding school in Ranchi with 49 boys and 23 girls; children baptised numbered 30. From 1855 the social implications of the missionaries' success amongst their tribal converts became apparent when opposition from the wealthy Hindu land-owners, who regarded the tribals as bonded serfs, erupted, and Herzog, the master mason who was building the church, was caught and suffered a terrible beating which almost cost him his life. The culprits were arrested and fined but a wave of persecution began, directed against the Christian converts who were terrorised by brutal gangs of ruffians in the pay of the landlords. The missionaries rallied to the support of their dependents, taking the culprits to court, and the unheard of success of cases being won before the local magistrates had a lightning effect on the neighbouring tribal communities. By December 1856, the missionaries were receiving requests from whole villages who had decided en masse to seek conversion. In the report sent to Gossner in April 1857 prior to the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny, the number of converts was given as 700 baptised adults and 2,000 enquiriers. (6)

THE SEPOY MUTINY AND ITS EFFECTS 1857

The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, Colonel Ouseley, and the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Hannington, had been the patrons for Gossner's missionaries in Ranchi, supporting the work by donations; Hannington made over his bungalow and estate at Lehardaga to found an out-station and from the other British officers in the Cantonment of the Ranghar Light Infantry, stationed at Dorandah, the Gossner Brethren had received financial assistance for the building of their church where divine service in English was regularly conducted. In 1857 the sympathetic support from the British officials in Ranchi was further strengthened by the appointment of Major Edward Tuite Dalton as Commissioner. Until his retirement in 1875, the Commissioner was to prove by his prestige in Government circles the decisive influence in the crises which now overtook the fledgling converts and their church. The military situation in Chota Nagpur, once the mutiny of the Indian troops in the cantonment at Dinapore outside Patna, had erupted, could not but be critical with detachments stationed in Hazaribagh to the north of Ranchi, Chaibasa to the south and Purulia to the east. Dalton was insistent that the missionaries should leave and seek safety, but their natural concern for the converts induced procrastination. On July 30th. mutineers from Dinapore reached Hazaribagh and the men of the 9th. BNI mutinied and drove the Europeans out of the station. News reached Ranchi in time for Dalton and his colleagues with some mounted troops to leave since defence of the station was out of the question. The missionaries with their wives and children set out on foot for the railhead at Raniganj, leaving the converts with what money remained in their treasury. The troops in the Doranda cantonment mutinied on August 2nd. and were joined by local land-owners who had become disaffected towards the government. Under the leadership of Thakur Bishnath Sahi and Pandey Ganpat Rai, a systematic persecution of the Christian converts commenced when the refuge village,

Prabhusharan, was pillaged and destroyed completely. The church and the missionaries bungalows were looted and the converts dispersed to the jungles where they remained in hiding. The tower of the church served as a target for artillery, but the sepoys took no interest in the Christians once the gold and treasury had been broken open. The missionary party comprising Schatz, Brandt, Bohn, Frederick Batsch, Herzog and Lohr, reached the railway without mishap and on August 17th, arrived in Calcutta where they were welcomed by friends of whom the most influential was Mr. McLeod Wylie, First Judge of the Calcutta Court, an active member of the CMS Corresponding Committee and Secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society.

The Gossner missionaries stayed in Calcutta during August, September and October 1857 meeting a growing number of friends and well-wishers for their mission, both German and British. The crisis in Ranchi and the missionaries escape to safety were reported to Gossner in Berlin who summoned Schatz to return and consult with him about the mission and its future.

At the age of 84, Gossner had suffered a stroke and was half paralysed and the future of the missionaries now became the concern of Schatz, Frederick Batsch and McLeod Wylie who worked out the proposal in Calcutta that the missionaries, with Gossner's consent, should come under the auspices of the CMS in Bengal, where many of their fellow countrymen had given outstanding service for the English society. Optimistic grounds for proposing this plan had been furnished by reports from Ranchi sent by Bohn and Brandt, who had marched with the troops of the relief column, and found the mission station derelict, but under severe persecution not a single convert had denied the faith. Schatz was accompanied on the voyage to Europe by Henry Batsch and his wife who had escaped from Hazaribagh before the mutiny broke out. They arrived in Berlin late in

November 1857, and early in December had won over Gossner to the proposal that the mission should be offered to the CMS. A letter dated December 4th. 1857 was entrusted to Schatz, who crossed over to London and received a sympathetic welcome from the CMS. The responsibility for deciding the question was delegated to the Society's Calcutta Corresponding Committee which met on February 10th. 1858. A copy of Gossner's letter was read and it was noted that the Society in London viewed favourably the proposal to assume responsibility for the Chota Nagpur mission, but firmly declined the offer of the station at Muzzafarpur. The Committee resolved to make further enquiries and finally at the meeting held on September 8th 1858 recorded its decision as follows:-

'The Committee here (in Calcutta) rather incline to leave this mission, already formed and flourishing under its present management and to extend the Church Missionary Society's labours into new fields where the gospel has not yet been fully preached'. At the urgent request of McLeod Wylie who was acting as Treasurer for the Chota Nagpur Mission in Calcutta, CMS sent out £1,000 for the Ranchi station from the special fund which had been collected for the restoration of the missions destroyed in the Sepoy Mutiny. By this time Gossner had died and the future of his mission had been placed in the hands of a committee. (7)

THE ROLE OF THE BERLIN CURATORIUM 1858-1869

Gossner died on March 30th. 1858, and on his death-bed prevailed on Dr. Karl Buchsel, the General Superintendent of the Church of Niederlausitz and Neuemark, to accept responsibility for the organisations in the Bethlehem parish, the Elizabeth hospital and the Deaconess Training School, which had been founded during Gossner's incumbency. Buchsel also took over supervision of the Missionary Association, which had a small committee of three laymen to control its affairs. Emil Schatz had been appointed the Mission secretary, but in June 1858, he moved to Caresbad for medical treatment and his successor, the Revd. J.D. Prochnow,

had returned to Berlin on account of his wife's health, after serving for 18 years in India. Sent out by Gossner to the Ganges Mission in 1840, Prochnow had been ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta in 1843 and worked for the CMS at their station in the Himalayas.

The partnership of Dr Buchuel and Prochnow resulted in the transformation of Gossner's Missionary Association. The house where Gossner had resided was sold, land was purchased for building a Secretariat and book-shop where Prochnow could live with his family, and the Association was registered anew with the title 'The Evangelical Missionary Society of Berlin founded by Pastor Gossner'; the common treasury for the missionaries was replaced by monthly salaries with allowances for children. A Board of Trustees was formed with the designation Curatorium to collect donations and interview prospective missionaries. Both the Ganges Valley and the Chota Nagpur missions were the direct responsibility of the Berlin trustees, since these were the only two fields where Gossner's missionaries had succeeded in establishing permanent stations, unaided by either personnel or funds from other missionary societies. Schatz and Henry Batsch returned to Ranchi; in 1859 August Brandt and his family left for leave in Germany, followed in April 1860 by Frederick Batsch. The same year, 1860 the Curatorium established relations with the Finnish Missionary Society, who had money but no missionaries; support from Finland enabled Hazaribagh to be reopened, and Henry Batsch returned to care for the workers in the tea gardens, many of whom were new converts. In 1862 the Curatorium undertook an ambitious scheme to found a new station in memory of Gossner's life-long friend, King Frederick William IV, by public appeals for funds and donations. In founding new stations the Curatorium also allotted new missionaries their spheres of work, without reference to the Brethren in Ranchi. This innovation was to prove fraught with misunderstanding since not even Prochnow, for all his experience in

India, had any intimate knowledge of the Mission in Ranchi or of the tribal converts and their culture.

The retirement of Emil Schatz in 1861 produced the first clash between the Ranchi Brethren and the Curatorium. Without reference to the wishes of the missionaries in the Chota Nagpur field, the Curatorium appointed Pastor A. Sternberg, one of the senior missionaries working in the Ganges Valley mission, as Schatz's successor and curtly informed the Ranchi Brethren to hand over the most convenient and suitable bungalow with all its furnishings for the use of Sternberg and his family. Exchanges between Ranchi and Berlin followed this directive, becoming increasingly acrimonious and terminating in the Curatorium dismissing the Ranchi missionaries en masse. Wiser counsels prevailed and a meeting was arranged in Calcutta attended by August Brandt, one of Gossner's four pioneer founders of the mission, Sternberg, Colonel Hannington, Melood Wylie, Dr. Alexander Duff, the eminent Scotch Presbyterian missionary, and Dr. Joseph Mullins of the LMS. The question in dispute, provoked by the arbitrary action of the Curatorium, revolved round who were the legal owners of the Ranchi property, since Gossner's principle of self-help ensured that the domestic buildings, schools and the church had been built largely by the Ranchi Brethren themselves. The enquiry proceeded and the legal problem was decided in favour of the Curatorium who were declared to be the owners of the Ranchi station; the Berlin trustees were also declared to be within their rights in appointing Sternberg as Schatz's successor and their right to regulate both the finance of the mission and its personnel was also established. The committee members advised Sternberg to retire since the Ranchi Brethren were opposed to his appointment. The Curatorium accepted Sternberg's resignation but refused to appoint a successor, until in 1863, relationships improved and Frederick Batsch was appointed the Senior Missionary of the Ranchi station.

In 1864 financial support from the Curatorium failed completely. The appeal for funds to found the station at Purulia in memory of the late King of Prussia having exhausted what ready money the Curatorium had available, methods for collecting money for the missionaries' salaries had been neglected. Missionary interest in Prussia was linked with the Berlin Society, and its missions in South Africa which were supported by a network of flourishing auxiliary committees and missionary associations. The Curatorium had so far failed to inaugurate such conventional methods of supplying missionary income with the result that for the second time in their history, only eight years after the disaster of 1857, the Ranchi Brethren faced the threat of the mission going bankrupt. In this emergency the missionaries accepted the initiative of the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, who proposed inviting the Bishop of Calcutta to visit Ranchi and advise on the mission and its future. On his return to Ranchi in September 1857, Dalton had not only restored law and order to Chota Nagpur but also brought to justice the two leading civilian rebels who had chiefly instigated the persecution of the native Christian community. His concern for the welfare of the Mission had ensured that compensation was paid to both the missionaries and the tribal converts from Government funds when he authenticated the claims prepared by the Judicial Commissioner, Major Davies, and McLeod Wylie of 640 Christians and 22 villages; the mission received a grant of Rs. 5,000 and each of the missionaries Rs. 2,000 from the Calcutta Relief Committee. This massive material aid for the despised native Christian community heralded a movement towards Christianity in the villages to the south and south-west of Ranchi. The missionaries were not unaware that the motives of the enquirers were often suspect, but instruction for baptism continued without a break. By 1860 the number of enquirers was estimated at 6,000 and the villages where Christians resided had risen to 130. Dalton and his colleagues were the observers of this movement

towards Christianity amongst the tribal communities of the Chota Nagpur plateau and determined that the exiguous and intermittent financial support from Germany should not cripple the missionaries and their success. He acted as host to Bishop Joseph Edward Lynch Cotton who reached Ranchi on Saturday, April 24th 1864. The Bishop was accompanied by the Revd. H. B. Burnoy, the chaplain in Hazaribagh, and Archdeacon John Henry Pratt who had worked in Bengal since 1839. Welcomed to Christ Church by over 2,000 converts, Cotton witnessed the baptism by Frederick Batsch of 143 catechumens; on the Sunday the Bishop preached at the Holy Communion to a congregation of 1,200 during which 600 adults received the sacrament in a service which was notably liturgical in character. On the Monday at a meeting of all the missionaries with Dalton and the visiting clergy, the Bishop proposed that a concerted effort should be made to bring the mission to the notice of the Christian community in India and publicise its present needs. He undertook to write officially to the Curatorium in Berlin urging an increase in support for the mission, and pointing out the special needs to be met over and above the salaries of the missionaries. As a final recourse, the Bishop consented to reopen with the CMS negotiations for taking over the mission, based on Gossner's letter of 1857. Since ordination and conformity to Anglican practice would be the prerequisite of this alternative mode of assistance, Frederick Batsch gave the assurance that personally he was prepared to uphold the Anglican formularies.

Bishop Cotton's visit resulted in an exchange of letters with Dr. Buchsel in which the financial difficulties which beset the Curatorium were frankly acknowledged, and the Bishop's offer to solicit support for the Mission in India gratefully accepted. In June an appeal for the Mission appeared in the Anglican Church periodical 'The Church Intelligencer' and as a result an Auxiliary Committee of both German and English friends of the Mission was founded in Calcutta. The approach to the CMS

was not taken until November 18th. 1864, when the Calcutta committee received a letter from the Bishop, with an appeal for money for the Mission composed by Burney, requesting the Secretary, the Revd. E.C. Stuart, to visit Ranchi and investigate the prospects of the mission at first hand. The only member of the CMS committee who had been present in 1857/58 when the application from Gossner to take on the Chota Nagpur field had been considered, was Mr. I.H. Fergusson and he supplemented the Bishop's letter by reading recent letters from Frederick Batsch describing the financial straits the missionaries were facing. The Secretary, accompanied by the Revd. C.B. Leupold, a Basle and Islington CMS missionary who had served in Bengal since 1832 and had been one of Haeblerlin's companions on the voyage to Calcutta, met the Ranchi Brethren in December and reported to the committee on December 21st. the desperate financial straits to which the missionary families were reduced and the deficit in mission income. The Committee instructed the Ranchi Brethren to send in a formal application which could be forwarded to London and Berlin, but by the time of the next meeting on March 8th. 1865, a letter from Batsch had been received in which he explained his reasons for withdrawing the offer of the mission to the CMS. At the meeting of April 12th. the directive from the Home Committee in London was read giving clear instructions that no further extension of the Society's work could be entertained in the area adjoining Chota Nagpur and that the Ranchi Brethren should feel free to open their station in Chaibasa. The proposal made by Dalton to Bishop Cotton in December 1864, that CMS should enter the field to the south of Chota Nagpur since funds from Berlin were not forthcoming, was thus firmly declined. (8)

In June 1865 the newly formed Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta circulated an appeal for Rs. 30,000 to build a seminary in Ranchi to train pastors and teachers, while in Berlin in 1866, the Curatorium were successful in founding a similar Auxiliary committee for collecting funds for the

Chota Nagpur mission. In April 1867 Prochnow resigned from being secretary of the Curatorium and his place was taken by George Frederick Hermann Ansoerge, one of Gossner's missionaries who had accompanied Henry Batsch to Ranchi in 1846, but after only four months had left the mission; from 1848-56 he had worked for the CMS in Bengal, and following his return to Germany had been ordained as a pastor in Waldenburg in Silesia. With financial support organised in both Calcutta and Berlin, the crisis of 1864/65 gradually receded and it was found possible to maintain out stations at Hazaribagh, Purulia and Chaibasa. At the meeting of the Curatorium on January 15th. 1868, Frederick Batsch was confirmed in his position as the Senior Missionary of all four stations in the Chota Nagpur Mission.

THE SCHISM IN THE MISSION 1868

During the decade of the 1860's the Curatorium were able to send out 17 missionaries to the Chota Nagpur field, but the decision to open a seminary in Ranchi entailed the recruitment of a more educated missionary to teach the prospective teachers and pastors of the native church. The arrival in the mission of four young pastors ordained in the Prussian church after university and theological studies, to staff the seminary, presaged a repetition of the events of 1841 in the Ganges Mission. On that occasion the lay and artisan majority had foiled the attempt to reform the mission led by Pastor Kluge, and as a consequence the party of pastors had left the mission to work elsewhere. No stigma was imputed to those who found work in Gossner's missions uncongenial, and left for alternative employment; both Prochnow and Ansoerge had conformed to this accepted practice and worked for the CMS and a number of the missionaries, prior to the Sepoy Mutiny, had left Ranchi and joined their fellow countrymen in America. The reform of the Chota Nagpur Mission which the pastors instigated in 1868 followed an innovatory method by the

complainants referring their dissatisfaction direct to the Curatorium in Berlin. The resulting reform of the mission by introducing a new constitution for the Chota Nagpur Mission, placing the pastors in authority, led to the expulsion of the senior lay Brethren from the mission. Unlike the precedent set on similar occasions, rather than quit, the Senior Brethren continued to reside in Ranchi after leaving the mission, and supported by the Commissioner and the British residents, declined to forsake their converts. The decision to resolve the problem of the Senior Brethren, by accepting the offer made by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to support them and their converts repeated, in changed circumstances, the situation in South India. When the Leipzig Society had welcomed the Anglican congregations who, on account of the caste controversy, decided to leave the SPG and CMS, and join the Leipzig mission, where caste distinctions for the Sudra families were exclusively retained. As on that occasion the rules of Comity were considered by the Anglicans to have been disregarded by the Leipzig Mission, so, in Chota Nagpur, the decision of the SPG to enter the field was interpreted by the Gossner Mission as a breach of Comity rules. We turn now to consider these developments of 1868 which were to influence the life of Gossner's Mission to Chota Nagpur into the 20th. century and the First World War.

The pastors who now formed a new element in the Chota Nagpur Mission were products of the German universities and theological faculties which constituted the prerequisite training for ordination in the Church of Prussia. We have noted that the Leipzig and Berlin Missionary Societies considered this preparation equally essential for their missionaries, a point of principle on which Gossner had disagreed and left the Berlin Society's committee in 1836. The decision to open the seminary in Ranchi had prompted the Curatorium to enlist these educated

and more intellectual young clergymen of the Prussian church and had assigned them for this work when they were accepted and commissioned. Paul Struve had resigned his parish in the Church of Prussia and, aged 30, had been sent out to commence the work of the seminary in 1864 but died of cholera at Chaibasa in 1866.

Theodore Jellinghaus was ordained and commissioned at the age of 24, having graduated from the University of Halle where he had studied since 1861. He reached Ranchi to work in the seminary in 1865, and two years later in December 1867 a fellow student of Jellinghaus, Karl Alfred Nottrott, aged 28, and Charles Haeblerlin, the son of Dr. John Haeblerlin who in 1844 had welcomed the Gossner Brethren in Calcutta and sponsored the founding of the mission in Ranchi, joined him. The trio of Jellinghaus, Nottrott and Haeblerlin, very conscious of their status as clergymen in the circle of missionary families in Ranchi, unaware of the principles which Gossner had inculcated for the founding and maintainance of the mission, submitted the situation which they found in Ranchi to a critical review, and forth-with commenced a correspondence with the Curatorium in Berlin over the irregularities and deficiencies which came to their notice. In February 1868, Nottrott introduced this disturbing innovation for the domestic life of the Mission when he forwarded a report to Berlin in which he complained that the Senior Missionary families in Ranchi were supposed to possess 90 villages, the rent and produce being reserved for their own personal benefits. This was followed by a second report composed by Haeblerlin and Jellinghaus disclosing the fact that the Ranchi Brethren possessed bungalows in Ranchi and had villages in farm from the government, in transactions which received no mention in the published mission reports. At the General Conference held in Ranchi on April 2nd. 1868, the attempt of the pastors to gain information about these operations was undertaken in such a provocative manner that nothing was achieved.

The pastors, joined by David Didlaukis a layman who had worked in Purulia since 1863, then withdrew and formed themselves into a party, continuing to write to the Curatorium, one of whose members was an uncle of one of the pastors. This relative now informed the pastors that the Curatorium had decided on a reform of the Chota Nagpur Mission by introducing a new constitution and that he had been entrusted to draft the document. This clandestine correspondence, which by-passed Frederick Batsch and the Senior Brethren, was retailed by a member of the Berlin Auxiliary Committee to the Committee in Calcutta, and the Senior Brethren became aware of what was impending, but with no accurate details of the charges being brought against them.

On June 12th. 1868, the Curatorium approved the new constitution for the Chota Nagpur Mission, modelled on contemporary documents available in Germany and Berlin, and authorised the Secretary and Inspector of the Mission, Pastor Ansonge, to introduce the constitution to the Ranchi Brethren and at the same time make an official visitation of the mission.

The closing clause of the Constitution contained these words -

'If anyone refuses to accept the Constitution, the Curatorium considers this as an act of disassociation from the Association'.

Ansonge, after an absence of 24 years, set out for the journey to Ranchi filled with a strong personal antipathy for Frederick Batsch, the senior missionary, who had been present in 1846 when Ansonge had quarrelled and left the mission rather than move to the out-station at Domba. On his arrival in Calcutta on September 14th. 1868 Ansonge alarmed Dr. Brandis and members of the Auxiliary Committee by his outright condemnation of Batsch and Herzog, the treasurer of the mission, and he proved quite impervious to any remonstrance that he should take an impartial stance until he heard the case put by the Senior Brethren in Ranchi. Determined to enforce compliance to the new constitution Ansonge arrived in Ranchi via Hazaribagh and after staying

the night of September 28th, as Batsch's guest, he moved to the seminary where he remained with Haerberlin and Jellinghaus for the remainder of his stay. He accompanied Batsch on visits to the out-stations at Purulia, Govindpur and Chaibasa and had completed the official visitation of the mission by November 7th. Ansonge's attitude, vindictive and biased against the Senior Missionaries and bordering on the pathological in his condemnation of Frederick Batsch and his conduct of the mission, was expressed quite openly in interviews he requested with the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, and the Judicial Commissioner, Major Davies, with the result that the alarm and apprehension of the Calcutta supporters of the mission was shared by the residents in Ranchi.

Ansonge had agreed with Dr. Brandis, the chairman of the Calcutta Committee, that two members, Messrs Atkinson and Schroeder, should visit Ranchi for the General Conference of the Mission on November 23rd. and assist him as assessors on the questions and problems which required clarification. Ignoring the date agreed upon, Ansonge brought forward the date of the Conference to November 15th. and insisted as a preliminary, that before any business was conducted, all the missionaries present should sign the new constitution. The four Senior Brethren Frederick and Henry Batsch, Herzog and Bohn declined to do this, demanding to know first what the charges were which the Pastors had framed against them to the Curatorium. When Ansonge refused to divulge these, the Conference reached a stalemate and nothing further was done until the two Calcutta members arrived in Ranchi on November 18th. A commission of five members was formed to investigate the complaints against the Senior Brethren which were now made public for the first time. It could be seen that the change over in secretary from Prochnow to Ansonge was accountable for the most serious charge, of the government villages and the bungalows and gardens owned by the missionaries in Ranchi not being generally known, since Prochnow had been fully informed of these

transactions when the estate of August Brandt who had died in 1864 was settled. Bohn also who had been on leave in 1867 had explained these affairs to a meeting of the Curatorium who had accepted his explanation as satisfactory. Ansonge, Nottrott, Cnasch, Henry Batsch and Schroeder investigated 12 petty complaints and irregularities which covered cash transactions, servants, the produce from the mission gardens and coffee plantation, the accountancy system used by Herzog as treasurer, and the property matters connected with the villages and bungalows. The accounts were checked going back to 1863 and found to be in order; the produce from the mission gardens and the coffee plantation was reserved for the families who prior to Gossner's death had relied on this for their kitchen supplies and cultivated the plots. The question of the government villages was left open and referred to the Conference. (9)

The trifling complaints preferred by the pastors against the Senior Brethren had not impressed Schroeder who met them in Ranchi during the week of November 18-23rd, and he was scandalised, when after being cleared of the charges of malversation of the Mission funds, no apology was tendered to either Batsch or Herzog for the slur cast on their good character. Equally scandalous had been Ansonge's conduct during the sessions of the enquiry commission, when in front of Frederick Batsch's brother, Henry, he had persistently calumniated the Senior Missionary and the way in which he had conducted the affair of the Mission. In writing his report for the Committee in Calcutta Schroeder concluded with the pessimistic prediction that as long as Ansonge remained as Secretary of the Mission it would be impossible for Frederick Batsch to continue. The Enquiry Commission's report was presented to the Mission Conference which reconvened on the 21st, and the arrangement whereby Dalton had suggested the missionaries should accept government villages which were farmed out for rent to enable them to be assured of rice supplies for their hostels was accepted. In the course of the

Conference it became clear that Ansorge had no intention of exonerating Batsch and Herzog, leaving them no alternative but to resign. The new Constitution which had taken second place in priorities was now seen to be a further cause of dissension, since Batsch, as Senior Missionary, was to be replaced by an Executive Committee of three members, President, Secretary and Treasurer, and the Seminary removed from control of the Ranchi station and placed directly under the jurisdiction of the Curatorium. Ansorge had already nominated Haerberlin as Treasurer and Voss, one of the missionaries who had accompanied Ansorge to Ranchi, as Secretary; Batsch remained as President, but in the Executive he could be outvoted on any issue by two votes to one. Jellinghaus and Haerberlin were to remain as custodians of the seminary.

On Monday, November 23rd, in spite of attempts made by Schroeder and Atkinson to reconcile the two parties, Frederick Batsch and Herzog tendered their resignations to Ansorge, handed over the whole of the Mission property and left the mission. They were followed later in the day by Henry Batsch, Bohn, Pohlentz and Kruger. The Commissioner and the Ranchi residents rallied to the support of the expelled missionaries and both parties continued to reside in Ranchi pending the decision of the Curatorium on the reports and appeals which had been forwarded to Berlin for their consideration.

THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA RECEIVES THE SENIOR BRETHREN INTO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 1869

Colonel Dalton clearly foresaw one eventuality which only gradually became apparent to the participants in the Mission quarrel, namely, that the close bond which hitherto had linked Frederick Batsch as the head of the native church with the Christian converts could not be

broken by a mere dictate from Berlin, and that whatever course lay open to the expelled Senior Missionaries their converts would also be intimately involved. The accuracy of this prognostication was immediately apparent on the first Sunday after the Missionary Conference when Batsch conducted divine service in a tent at which Dalton and his niece and Captain Henoy were present together with 21 catechists, five teachers and 70 boys and 40 girls from the boarding school and a congregation of 300 adults. The necessity of explaining to their neophytes the decision of the Conference in Ranchi was deputed to Frederick Bohn who went out on tour during December and January in the course of which he visited over 90 villages. The Ranchi residents and the Calcutta Committee had agreed to continue their support, enabling Henry Batsch and Pohlentz to return to Hazaribagh and Kruger to Chaibasa. Dalton also accurately anticipated the reaction of the Curatorium to the official report which Ansorge had sent to Berlin, which was received by the Curatorium on December 8th, and before the end of December, in consultation with Batsch, an appeal was sent to Calcutta requesting the Bishop to connect the mission in Ranchi with one or other of the Anglican societies in Bengal - the CMS or the SPG. Dalton's prediction that the missionaries' quarrel would reverberate throughout the entire native community with the almost certain result that the converts would become involved and divide the church, received endorsement in the report of the Conference prepared by Atkinson and Schroeder in Calcutta, which together with a memorial from the Ranchi residents was sent to Berlin in December; owing to the delays in the postal service these documents did not reach Berlin until March 7th. The Commissioner's foresight in opening negotiations for the welfare of the Senior Brethren and their followers by an appeal for support to the Bishop of Calcutta arose from his personal conviction that the Curatorium would disown the Senior Brethren and enforce the stance taken by their Inspector,

Pastor Anserge. Determined to prevent the ruin of the Mission, Dalton went personally to Calcutta early in January 1869, and placed the problem before Bishop Robert Milman who had succeeded Bishop Cotton in 1867. Aware that the CMS had been unable to take up his suggestion of opening work in Chaibasa in 1864, Dalton pressed the Bishop to open negotiations with the SPG in the hope that they would come to the support of the expropriated Senior Brethren. Since, in the question of Frederick Batsch's status as a pastor, having only Gossner's ordination and commission as a missionary, he with his colleagues, according to Anglican doctrine, was technically a layman, Dalton was able to give the Bishop the assurance that all the expelled missionaries were prepared to accept Anglican rites and formularies. The Bishop's response to this personal appeal was positive; he declined to visit Ranchi until the reply from the Curatorium had been received, but authorised communications to be opened with the CMS and the SPG regarding the possibility of the Ranchi mission being offered to either one or other of the societies. The secretary of the SPG in Bengal, the Revd John Cave-Brown wrote immediately to London urging the Society to undertake this responsibility; whereas, as on previous occasions, the CMS Committee deputed a delegation to visit Ranchi and report back to the Committee on its findings.

Cave-Brown's letter of January 5th, informing SPG of events in the mission at Ranchi was followed by a letter from the Bishop written on January 29th, in which he intimated to the Secretary of the Society that he reserved to himself the right to act as he thought best on the future of the German Mission when he arrived in Ranchi on March 12th.

The Curatorium had received their Inspector's report on the visitation of the Mission and an appeal from the Senior Brethren on December 8th, 1868, and on January 26th, 1869, the official reply to both documents was printed and copies forwarded by the Berlin Auxiliary to each of the

Senior Brethren and the Calcutta Auxiliary. The Reply to the Memorandum of the Calcutta Committee prepared by Atkinson and Schroeder, delayed in the post, was printed on April 5th, and forwarded to Calcutta. In these two official replies the Curatorium passed sentence on both the Senior Brethren and their supporters. The reply to the Appeal of the Senior Brethren apportioned the blame for the events in Ranchi on the insubordination and disobedience of the Senior Missionaries, and quoted the precedent of the refusal to accept Sternberg in 1864 as symptomatic of the refusal of the Ranchi families to welcome Anserge and to co-operate with him. Disrespect for the Mission Inspector, unwillingness to welcome more educated colleagues, and the determination to maintain their independent sphere of work were quoted as the defects of the Senior Brethren which by culminating in the refusal to sign the new Constitution, had terminated their association with the Berlin Gossner Missionary Association. The reply to Atkinson and Schroeder was couched in terms of the Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta being incompetent to judge internal matters of the Mission. In the view of the Curatorium the financial assistance which CMS and the Government had contributed at the crisis of the Sepoy Mutiny had not been accounted for; much was made of the involvement in the affairs of the farming out of the government villages to the neglect of the instruction of the converts, and the 'hero worship' accorded to Batsch was regarded as a misreading of that individual's true character. The Pastors were exonerated as being the injured parties were justified in appealing directly for justice to the Berlin Committee. In conclusion the Curatorium requested the dismissal of the Senior Brethren and their transfer to some other area in India. (10)

In February the CMS Corresponding Committee in Calcutta deputed one of their senior missionaries, the Revd. James Long to visit Ranchi. In company with Dr. Murray Mitchel of the Free Church of Scotland, Long discussed with the Senior Brethren the future of the Chota Nagpur mission. On his return to Calcutta he advised against working the Gossner field in conjunction with the CMS Santal Mission based on Bhagalpur. In declining for the third time to assume responsibility for the wish expressed by Gossner in 1857, the Committee made available the letter written by him to the Home Committee in London, a gesture which was to provide justification for the action of the Senior Brethren when they prepared to meet Bishop Milman. Gossner's letter also provided the Commissioner with an incontrovertible answer to a deputation of converts who called upon him for advice. Dalton replied that for himself and the Ranchi residents they would support the Senior Brethren and assist them in fulfilling Gossner's express wishes in connecting the Mission with the Church of England.

On March 16th, Bishop Milman arrived in Ranchi in company with the secretaries of the CMS and the SPG in Bengal and, following the precedent set by Bishop Cotton in 1864, stayed with the Commissioner. He was presented with an address in Hindi by a deputation of 800 converts and a Memorial by the Ranchi residents who came to meet him. The residents explained that for the future more permanent arrangements were required for the maintenance of the missionaries and the welfare of the Mission which was now beyond their local resources. It was estimated that out of a total of 11,000 native converts no fewer than 7,000 would act in accordance with the wishes of the Senior Brethren. On March 17th, the Bishop requested a meeting with the Pastors, and Jellinghaus, Haerberlin and Flex came to meet him when they heard for the first time that the converts were determined to continue with the Senior Brethren. Taken aback by a development they had never anticipated, the defects of the mission were described and a copy of the ruling of the Curatorium in

reply to the appeal of the Senior Brethren was presented to the Bishop. When asked for his advice Milman closed the interview by pointing out that as newcomers to India, they should withdraw from Chota Nagpur in accordance with established custom and open a field of work elsewhere, thus obviating the schism in the mission which would inevitably result if they continued to remain in Ranchi. Milman perused the Curatorium's reply to the Senior Brethren's appeal, and clearly informed of the stance taken by the Berlin Committee, he decided to receive the Senior Brethren and their converts into the Church of England, and informed both missionaries and a deputation of natives that he would return to Ranchi after making the necessary arrangements for their future welfare. On arrival in Calcutta, Milman was informed that the SPG Committee had received a telegraph during his visit to Ranchi stating that the Standing Committee of the Society in London on February 12th, had undertaken to finance the Chota Nagpur Mission to the extent of Rs 5,000 a year. Milman informed the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir William Grey, of his proposed intentions, and, supported by their approval and the whole-hearted concurrence of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee he returned to Ranchi on April 17th.

The rites of confirmation and ordination by the bishop were performed to regularise the members of Gossner's Mission in accordance with Anglican doctrine, and Milman confirmed a total of 430 candidates on the Saturday; at a meeting of the residents in Dalton's house the local Committee was reconstituted with three members of the mission and three laymen under the Secretary, Captain Rowlandson. The salaries of all mission workers, both missionary and that of converts who were teachers of catechists, were continued at the rates observed prior to the disruption, the character and constitution of the mission also was preserved with the only innovation that a request for an experienced English missionary

to serve with the German missionaries was made to the Bishop. During the meeting a formal protest written by Pastor Ansonge was delivered to the Bishop in which the Inspector, fully aware that the dismissal of the Senior Brethren had involved the converts and split the mission, accused the seceders of illegally stealing the converts from their true spiritual allegiance, and solemnly protesting against the Bishop's action in ordaining the senior missionaries, and erecting an opposition Mission without informing the Curatorium.

The Bishop wrote out his reply informing Ansonge that he was acting in accordance with the wishes of all the supporters of the Mission in India who were convinced, as he was himself, after reading the Curatorium's sentence of dismissal, that a gross injustice had been done to the Senior Brethren. Pointing out that he had not taken the initiative in coming to Ranchi uninvited, but at the request of those who had appealed to him for support, he intended to do what he thought best for both the missionaries and their converts. He assured Ansonge he would write to the Curatorium and advise the withdrawal of the Pastors to some other field of work, and the return of the mission property to the missionaries who had been instrumental in erecting the buildings. On Sunday April 18th Milman assisted by the visiting clergy from Calcutta, his domestic chaplain, the Revd. M. R. Burge, Cave-Brown the Secretary of the SPG and the Revd. Charles Edmund Driberg, the senior SPG missionary in Bengal and the Revd. F. Robbards, the chaplain at Hazaribagh, conducted the ordination service at which Frederick and Henry Batsch and Frederick Bohn were ordained deacon and priest and the leading native convert, William Daud Luther Singh, deacon, before a congregation estimated at over 1,000, which included all the Ranchi residents. In the afternoon a confirmation and baptism of new converts were performed, and returning to Calcutta via Hazaribagh, two more confirmations were conducted by the Bishop and his clergy. (11)

The Calcutta newspapers, the 'Friend of India' and the 'Englishman' gave publicity to the Bishop's actions in a series of leaders and correspondence which continued from April to October 1869, permitting Jellinghaus, as the spokesman of the Pastors, to make public the defects and short-comings of the Senior Brethren in their conduct of the Mission. Major-General Hannyngton rallied to the support of his friend Frederick Batsch, and although attempts were made by outside correspondents to magnify the intrusion of the Bishop and the illegality of his actions in erecting a second mission in Ranchi, the way in which Anson had carried out the visitation of the mission and his conduct towards the Senior Missionaries which was well known in Calcutta, together with the full support by the Auxiliary Committee for the Bishop's action, ensured the Christian community in India refused to treat what had taken place as an infringement of the normal Comity rules and observances. The correspondence was terminated on October 28th. 1869, when the Revd. J. C. Whitley, the SPG missionary who had been appointed to Ranchi, sent a copy of Gossner's letter to the CMS dated December 4th. 1857, to the 'Friend of India' requesting them to publish it.

It seemed the height of irony that in the events at Ranchi where the Pastors party had demanded the reform of the Mission and had gained their wish with the support and endorsement of the Curatorium, Frederick Batsch who had demanded from Gossner a reform of the 'Faith Mission' policy in favour of salaries and allowances at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny, should have been considered the villain of the mission and responsible for the deficiencies which the mass movement had demonstrated. Gossner's elementary principles were no longer adequate to the developed life of the Chota Nagpur mission, and the Curatorium, having refounded the Mission by discarding Gossner's Faith Mission methods, undertook to maintain and develop the field with such success that by the time of the outbreak of the Great War the Gossner Mission was the largest and most

flourishing Protestant mission in the whole of Bihar. (12)

THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN MISSION IN CHOTA NAGPUR AND ASSAM
1869-1914

In the years which elapsed from 1869 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 the Curatorium established the Chota Nagpur field as the most extensive and flourishing Protestant Mission in Bihar. The eight missionaries who had remained under the authority of the Berlin Committee were joined by Oscar Flex who returned to Ranchi from Assam, by Pohlentz who shortly left the station at Hazaribagh and requested to join his former colleagues, and by Wilhelm Huish, the only new missionary to arrive from Germany. Ansorge had determined on the need to found new out-stations, and he personally chose the site of Burju in 1869, authorised the staffing of Lohardaga, neglected since the Sepoy Mutiny and the establishing of Govindpur. The reconstituted Executive Committee or Vorstand assumed charge of the Mission with the senior missionary, Hermann Onasch as President, Haeberlin as Secretary and Oscar Flex as Treasurer. Meanwhile the pastor who had instigated the movement for the reform of the Mission by opening direct communications with the Curatorium had taken only a minor part in the proceedings in Ranchi. Prostrated by sickness, Carl Alfred Nottrott remained in Chaibasa, but he was to prove to be the master-mind which throughout the period prior to 1914 planned and perfected the organisation and expansion of the Mission ably supported by Ferdinand Hahan, who died in 1910. Nottrott in Ranchi and Dr. Plath, who succeeded Dr. Buchsel as Director of the Gossner Mission in 1871, were the main architects of the pre-First World War era, who established the character of the mission as Lutheran with the corresponding change in the title of the Mission - the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur and Assam. The departure from the authority of the Curatorium of the senior missionaries, recruited by

Gossner, saw the termination of the faith mission principles which had been the guide line by which Frederick Batsch and his colleagues had tried in loyalty to Gossner to direct the life of the developing native Christian church. In our review of the vigorous growth of the German Mission we shall confine our attention to those developments which by 1914 were of importance to both the Government of India and the Anglican Church, dictating the policy which was adopted during the years of the Great War for the surveillance of the Mission.

THE GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF EDUCATION

In the eyes of the Government, with the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the schools founded by the German missionaries were regarded as a prime responsibility for which a solution was required if they were to remain open and at the same time not lose their character as centres of Christian instruction. For an understanding of the government's concern in education, a brief historical introduction will demonstrate that the Education Dispatch drafted by Sir Charles Wood and sent out from London in 1854 introduced legislation which involved the government in a system of education for the whole of British India. The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were each required to establish a Department of Public Instruction ensuring that schools and colleges were to be maintained out of public funds. At the primary stage, education was allowed in the mother-tongue, but higher education leading to the founding of a university in each Presidency was to be in English. A system of financial grants-in-aid from the Government for schools supported or maintained by private individuals or organisations was the innovation which brought the Christian Missions within the sphere of Government influence.

The university in each Presidency provided affiliation for high schools and colleges, each in their own particular grade, introduced a recognised academic standard since the university was the examining authority, and afforded to Christian Missions the privilege of electing representatives to the University syndicate and governing bodies. Both the Bishop of Calcutta and Dr. Alexander Duff of the Free Church of Scotland were members of the Syndicate of Calcutta University founded in 1857. The establishing of schools had been a standard method of Protestant mission work in North India, where the magistrates had adopted the practice of entrusting orphan children to the care of missionaries. To the laudable ideal of promoting literacy and the incentive to enable their converts to read the Holy Scriptures in their own language, there was now added financial assistance provided by the grants-in-aid and the qualifying for recognition by the Inspector for Public Instruction for their schools in each recognised grade: primary, upper primary, middle and high schools.

We turn now to a review of the educational work of the Gossner missionaries in a field where for a quarter of a century they were pioneers among the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur. From 1869, the opening of the seminary in Ranchi to train native teachers in conjunction with catechists and pastors marked the importance which educational work demanded in the growth and expansion of the Mission. By 1914, the German mission schools were the recipients of Government grants-in-aid covering 240 village primary schools, 36 boarding schools and 13 kindergartens with a total of almost 9,000 pupils.

In the report of the Gossner Mission written in 1853 by Major Hannington educational work was noted as follows:-

"There were four vernacular schools with 138 pupils, a boarding school in Ranchi with 49 boys and 23 girls, of whom 17 were orphans; Bible

stories, the alphabet, singing and arithmetic were taught with the girls also learning needlework. A Government Report written in 1854 noted the disparity between the only other school in Ranchi and the Mission schools regarding concern for the tribal children" - "Though an English government school has been established for some years it has done nothing towards the education of the people of the Province. The number born on the books is 44 and the attendance in the last quarter of the year (1853) averaged 24. There are but two whose families are connected with the land of (Chota) Nagpore. The German missionaries established at Ranchi have better success. For many years the prejudice against them was very strong but they have now quite overcome it and their schools are full. The children are those of the lower orders".

The first recorded government grant for schools was authorised in 1863, when on the Commissioner Dalton's recommendation a grant of Rs 50 per month was sanctioned for the Mission school in Ranchi. By 1865 schools approved by the Director of Public Instruction numbered eight, with 115 boys and 35 girls with a grant of Rs. 100 per month. By the time of the schism in the Mission in 1869, in addition to the Ranchi school, which continued to receive the grant of Rs. 50 per month, schools had also been opened and recognition given in the out-stations at both Purulia and Chaibasa.

In Purulia there was a boarding school with 112 children under three teachers, an industrial school with 17 apprentices where carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making, pottery and iron-work were taught. A grant from government was provided to maintain 25 orphans, and from the Deputy Commissioner the sum of Rs. 455 had been authorised towards the running of these institutions. In 1874, the number of schools had risen to seven; there were five classes in the boarding school with five teachers, the government grant being at the rate of Rs. 60 per month to the boarding school and Rs 24 per month to the remainder. In Chaibasa

the pattern of progress in education was repeated: in 1869 the mission had opened a boarding school with 52 boarders and two classes under the supervision of a missionary; in 1874, with the help of grants from the Deputy Commissioners, the number of schools had risen to nine, with 366 children under instruction. The seminary in Ranchi was opened in 1869, and a class for teachers, in addition to the catechists and prospective pastors, supervised under Haeberlin with five missionaries and two pandits on the staff, ensured the staffing of the schools which continued to be opened. Each decade saw steady progress as the prejudice of parents against sending their children to school was replaced by Christian converts eagerly petitioning for schools to be opened by the Mission with the introduction of fees. In 1874 the report of the Director of Public Instruction for Bengal noted that there were 62 schools with a total of 1,314 children; in 1885, with 52 schools in which 1,299 boys and 363 girls were under instruction, the total expense to the Mission was Rs.10,053 of which the government grants accounted for Rs.2,360. In 1896 the Boarding school in Ranchi was awarded High School status, and affiliated to Calcutta University for the matriculation examination in English; recognition had also been achieved for 80 upper primary schools and 86 elementary schools with a total enrolment of 2,315 children. (13)

Nottrott's own report for the year 1910 will furnish a survey of the educational field as it had been developed in the decade before the outbreak of the War in 1914. In the Mission report printed in English for the information of the Christian community in India he wrote as follows :-

'The basis of the educational system of our Mission are the Kindergarten and the village schools. We have 12 Kindergartens with 423 children. The number of village schools is 175 with 3,229 pupils, among whom 462 are girls. Some of these schools teach up to the Lower Primary standard.

The Masters who are all Christians receive only half of their pay from the Mission, the other half being contributed by our people somehow or other. Our endeavour is to raise the status of these masters by employing more and more duly qualified men with better salaries, this appearing the only way of improving the condition of these schools. From the village school the best and most promising pupils enter the Boarding schools of the Mission stations or Native Pastorates, the standard of which is on the whole the Upper Primary course. We have 26 boarding schools for boys with 1,974 pupils, of whom 626 are girls. Four of these Boys' Boarding schools teach the Middle Vernacular English course viz: at Koronjo, Lohardaga, Govindpur and Takarma. At Ranchi we have a Training School for girls and Training class for Teachers and Catechists besides a Theological Seminary.

At the top of these schools stands the High English school with 179 pupils, including primary classes. This school also is a Boarding institution, intended chiefly for aboriginal boys of our mission. J A Cunningham Esq Indian Educational Service, Inspector of Schools in Chota Nagpur, has remarked on this school as follows: Since coming to Chota Nagpur I have been in search of a helpful standard by which I might test the quality of work being done in its schools and I think I have found such a standard gauge this morning at the German Evangelical Lutheran High English school. In almost every really essential respect I am satisfied that it may serve as an excellent 'Model' school towards which others may with advantage aspire. It is very comfortably housed in a substantial school house that is said to have been built 42 years ago, and which is therefore a solid testimony to the wise forththought of those pioneers in education. The average size of the classrooms is about 35 feet x 22 feet and 30 or 40 boys can work in such rooms with the absolute minimum of physical handicap. The staff is strong and well paid. It is under wise guidance, and I was particularly pleased to find

that in spite of the very obvious strength, and strength in reserve, only two optional subjects have hitherto been taken up for the Entrance viz: History and Greek in the past, and History and Mathematics for the immediate future. I hope Geography will soon be added and Experimental Mechanics a little later. But these are difficult and expensive subjects to teach properly. And I have nothing but the highest praise to offer for the discretion shown in making only a cautious beginning in this direction. I wish I knew how to commend such an example to the scores of incompetent schools in Bengal who have rushed into the teaching of subjects which no member of their staff knew enough about to know their great difficulty..... The average attendance on the 239 working days of the last 12 months works out at 93.35% of the total number of boys on the roll (nearly 200). This is surely an easy record of the primal school discipline for the whole of Bengal at least if not India. I have not heard of any better achievement anywhere. The percentage sank as low as 85 in January and reached 98.8 in December. The total annual cost of the school works out at nearly Rs 10,000 towards which the Government of Bengal contributes Rs 3,600. The accounts and all school records are kept in the most perfect order so that any inspector can see in the quickest possible time exactly how the school stands in every particular detail ... This is practically entirely a Boarding School, and though the arrangements for sleeping and eating could not be described as luxurious in European eyes everything seemed thoroughly clean and wholesome. The very important matter of comfortable accommodation for reading and writing in the preparation of daily lessons is provided for by substantial tables and benches and by plenty of good lamps ... All the boys seemed the very picture of health and happiness. Their choir entertained me in a way that I have not been entertained for a very long time and which I shall not easily forget. Altogether I am impressed with this school as a masterpiece of

educational organisation, and only those who have attempted such organisation in India can appreciate, in some small degree what that means in India. In such a work as the German Mission school at Ranchi the civilisation of the West really justifies itself in the East'. (14)

Inspector Cunningham's report furnishes ample proof of the concern of the Government for the welfare of the Mission schools established by the German missionaries in Chota Nagpur. The fate of these schools in 1914 was accepted as a responsibility by the government, demonstrated by the arrangements made to keep the schools open for the period of the War.

THE COMPETITIVE ERA OF MISSION ACTIVITY BETWEEN LUTHERANS, ANGLICANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS 1869-1914

The period of isolation from other missions in Bengal which the Ranchi missionaries had endured, geographically on account of the hill tracts and dense jungle which covered large areas of Chota Nagpur, and ecclesiastically since they had been the pioneer evangelists to the tribal inhabitants of the plateau, was brought to a close in 1869. The impasse between the Senior Missionaries and the Pastors and their party exacerbated by the visitation of the Mission Inspector Ansorge, which culminated in the imposition of the new constitution, had been resolved by the appeal to the Bishop of Calcutta and the entry of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel who had undertaken to support the Senior Missionaries and their converts. The arrival in Ranchi of the Revd. Jabez Cornelius Whitley as head of the SPG Mission on June 20th. 1869 was followed the same year by the arrival in Chaibasa of the first priest of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Augustus Stockman, of the Belgian Province, based in Midnapore but under the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta. In a letter of September 29th. 1869, Nottrott noted that the Jesuits were

building their house in Chaibasa, and from this year there dates the competitive spirit of evangelism and proselytism among Lutherans, Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Chota Nagpur, with all the concurrent problems. Between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries no Comity rules or agreements were observed, nor did Roman Catholics follow the methods of evangelism which the majority of Protestant missions had adopted in conferring Baptism only after a long period of probation. Mass baptism of whole communities had been a standard practice of Roman Catholic missions since the days of St Francis Xavier, with only the basic minimum of Christian teaching. These methods were to be pursued in Chota Nagpur with astonishing results during the period under review. For the Anglican mission, the particular nature of the schism in the German mission which was a matter of disagreement between the missionaries, although this has involved their converts, removed the solution which had finally been chosen from the normal run of breaches of Comity agreements between Protestant missions. Although the Curatorium had supported their Inspector during the months of crisis in Chota Nagpur, on his return to Berlin in 1870, Ansorge was dismissed from office. In India, although the action of Bishop Wilman in receiving the Senior Missionaries into the Church of England did not escape criticism, the sense of injustice towards the missionaries who had been expropriated from the mission they had founded, muted the protests which were made in the press. From his arrival in Ranchi, Whitley made every attempt to come to a working agreement with the German mission regarding the problems which might arise among the native Christian population as a result of the schism. The prohibition issued by the Curatorium that there were to be no dealings with the Anglican mission, although in force for a number of months, was rendered obsolete by the determination of the Anglicans to exclude rivalry and strife between the converts by discussion and mutual agreements. Whitley himself called on the German missionaries,

and then deputed Frederick Batsch to confer and draw up an agreement between the two missions regarding the reception of converts which came into force in 1870.

The agreement based on proved Comity principles was renewed in 1876 and again in 1886, following the visit to Ranchi of the Bishop of Calcutta, Ralph Edward Johnson. In 1890 the Anglican mission was constituted a diocese with Whitley as the first bishop of Chota Nagpur; in 1893 the agreement between the two missions was again revised and following the death of Whitley in 1904 his successor, Bishop Foss Westcott, in consultation with Nottrott, drafted the Comity agreement which was in force at the outbreak of the War. Since this agreement recapitulates the Comity arrangements of the past 40 years it is here given in full.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GEL AND ANGLICAN MISSIONS IN CHOTA NAGPUR 1909

1. Not to give paid employment or monitory help in lawsuits etc or support of children in boarding schools in the case of people changing from one mission to the other.

(NB those who pay Rs 1/8 per month or provide their own rice are not considered supported).

2. Not to accept people who wish to join on condition of getting (the post of) pracharak or master or merely to make marriage arrangements.
3. With regard to people under discipline accepting each other's decision in such cases we shall not receive these people.
4. The Anglican Mission will not marry any person of the German Mission in a mixed marriage who is below the age fixed by them (18 and 15 resp).

5. As a general principle mixed marriages are to be strongly discouraged, and in these cases where they take place the wedding ceremony is to be performed by the Mission to which the bridegroom belongs and a certificate of the bride's banns is to be sent to the officiating ministers. The children of such marriages are supposed to go with the father.
6. The German Mission offers to consider the matter of marrying parties belonging to the English Church at the request of a missionary of that Mission in cases of legal marriage after desertion.
7. The case of persons who have relapsed into heathenism after baptism by one mission and are won back to Christianity by members of the other Mission after a period of not less than ten years is to be considered open.

(NB 1. Nothing in this is to prevent recovering by means of fair argument persons who have changed to the other Mission).

8. Henceforth no boy shall be admitted from the one mission into the other without the consent of the principal of the school he is leaving.
9. In the case of others, no boy belonging to either mission shall be admitted by the other without the principal of the school of the mission to which the boy belongs having been previously notified.

signed: F Chota Nagpur 1st May 1909

Dr Nottrott Emil Muller Ferd Hahn

12th July 1909

During the period prior to the outbreak of the War in 1914 there were only three stations where from the time of the Schism the Lutheran and Anglican mission compounds were contiguous: in Ranchi where both missions had their headquarters, to the north of Ranchi at Hazaribagh and to the south of Ranchi at Chaibasa. In the area within a radius of 60 miles of Ranchi the stations at Lohardaga, Govindpur, Burju and Takarma were staffed and developed during the 1870's and 1880's; the most distant station at Purulia, being in a predominantly Bengali-speaking area developed along traditional lines but remained immune from the social upheaval which during these years influenced the tribal communities and the Christian converts in Chota Nagpur proper. This was a land agitation movement known as the 'Sirdar' movement; 'Sirdar' being the Hindi word for 'Leader'; and the Tribal leaders who led the agitation for land reform not only included some Lutheran Christians, but provided the Jesuit missionaries with an opening which they converted into a mass movement for conversion to the Roman Catholic Mission.

THE LAND AGITATION MOVEMENT AND ITS RESULTS 1866-1886

The German missionaries from the reception of the first converts in 1850 had been brought into intimate contact with the social evils connected with the landlord system in Chota Nagpur under which their tribal neophytes were oppressed. The fraudulent expropriation of their tribal ancestral lands by the courts, their status reduced to that of serfs under a form of obligatory enforced labour, the exaction of exorbitant rents and the brutal depredations by the police who were in the pay of the landlords, constituted an endemic social milieu which demanded redress. The missionaries had introduced both the accurate knowledge of their ancient rights and the method of obtaining these by court procedure with notable success. Prior to the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, this insistence on social justice had been a factor both in the move towards

Christianity by the tribals and the bitter opposition to the Christian missionaries demonstrated by the landlords. The strictly military phase of the mutiny of the regiment in Chota Nagpur had been combined in Ranchi with a social rebellion in which disaffected landlords, after plundering the property of the Christian converts and dispersing the congregation, had set themselves up as rulers in Chota Nagpur. The trial and execution of the two leading landowners by Dalton in 1858 had checked the more flagrant acts of oppression, but confrontation between the landowners and the tribals continued with sporadic acts of violence as the tribals attempted to get redress by force. From the mid 1860's, a movement led by the more educated and astute tribal leaders or 'Sirdars' attempted redress by direct application to the government as well as by the accepted court procedures. The Pastors on arrival in Ranchi in 1867 had become implicated with these leaders, who were Lutheran Christians, and Bishop Milman on his visit to Ranchi in 1869 had been approached for his assistance but had declined. Our concern with this movement relates to the refusal of the German mission to give unqualified support, since a political element was introduced whereby the Sirdars demanded their own tribal kingdom. Concurrently the Jesuit mission availed itself of the opportunity to win sympathy and support by championing the tribals at court on condition that baptism was accepted by the communities concerned. (15)

The agitation for land reform resulted in the Government of Bengal passing legislation in 1869, the Chota Nagpur Tenures Act, which promoted operations related to land registration and claims in more than 2,482 villages in the vicinity of Ranchi. (16) The increase in the number of law cases which resulted in attendance at the Ranchi courts involved both Christians and non-Christians who had learned the procedures of legal practice. The German missionaries were able to give only qualified assistance to the many who came to them for advice in making application

for the return of ancestral lands; they insisted that their converts should withdraw from support of the extreme element among the Sirdars, who came under suspicion from the British officers by claiming an independent kingdom for the tribals and the expulsion of all non-tribals from Chota Nagpur. The Commissioner and long-standing friend of the mission, General Dalton, retired in 1875, and official attitude towards the movement as seditious hardened, resulting in the German missionaries abandoning support for the claims of the tribal petitioners.

Disillusionment among some of their converts resulted, and at the General Meeting of the Mission in 1878, Hermann Onasch, the Head of the Mission, was accused of breaking his word in connection with assistance in a court case by three elders of the Lutheran church. Failing to gain satisfaction, the aggrieved party instigated a defection from the Mission which gathered momentum; disgruntled congregations withdrew their children from attending school and reverted to the heathen practices of dancing, drinking and sorcery. Yet on the eve of the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in this situation, the statistics for the German mission showed abundant signs of progress in the decade since the schism. At the end of 1880 the number of converts was estimated as 31,254 living in 1,052 villages under the supervision of 13 missionaries, 134 elders and 111 catechists.

1880 saw the Jesuit missionaries commencing their progress with the founding of stations at Sarwada in 1881, Bandgaon 1882, Dolda 1884 and Burudi also in 1884, known as the Quadrilateral. These foundations coincided with the first assistance in court cases. At first equally averse to involvement in the Sirdar movement as both German and English missionaries, with the arrival of Fr. Constance Lievens in 1885, the Jesuit Mission entered completely into the social unrest connected with the land agitation, and from the station founded at Torpa, a distance of 39 miles from the courts at Ranchi, he commenced his campaign for assistance in all cases connected with the tribals' grievances over the landlords and

their exactions. A mass movement resulted which involved thousands of converts to the Roman Catholic mission from communities untouched by the Lutherans, but also many former Lutheran congregations now joined the Roman Catholic mission in return for promises of assistance at court. In 1888 the heads of some 40 villages in which Lutheran congregations had been formed met with Fr. Lievens and, accepting his conditions, joined the Roman Mission. (17)

The result of the aggressive policy of the Jesuits, who erected their house in Ranchi in 1888, was to convince Nottrott and his colleagues that the method used by Lievens of stationing a missionary to live amongst the tribals was the key to their success in evangelisation. From the time of the schism in 1869, the Lutheran missionaries had been confined to their stations and the practice of the earlier period of touring amongst the villages had virtually ceased. In 1890 Dr. Karl Plath, the director of the Gossner Mission in Berlin, discarded one of Gossner's fundamental missionary notions by opening a missionary seminary for the recruiting and training of missionaries for the Chota Nagpur field. Plath himself was the head of the seminary, and in the years before the outbreak of the War sent out 54 missionaries to man the new stations which Nottrott established: Chainpur (1892) Khutitoli (1895) Kinkel (1898) Karimati and Tamar (1900) and Koronjo (1903). The competitive spirit of evangelism and proselytism among Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic missions was a chronic condition of the period prior to the outbreak of the War, and Nottrott's solution was to establish his stations in virgin territory where neither Jesuit or Anglicans were to be found. In 1914 the number of missionaries including wives in the German mission was 34; the converts were estimated as 89,000 baptised with 10,600 catechumens in an area with 13 main mission stations and eight out-stations. (18)

THE ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH 1869-1914

The mass movement which followed the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 produced a series of problems in organisation which demanded new methods of supervision and control if the missionaries were to deal effectively with the increase in numbers who flooded into the mission. Inevitably, with the increases in enquirers, the preparation and instruction for baptism was delegated to native assistants, since, single-handed, the missionaries in Ranchi could no longer, as formerly, instruct and test the sincerity of the catechumens. As early as 1851, the system at hand in all tribal villages had been adapted by employing an elementary organisation of elders or 'prachins'. These assistants were selected by the Conference of Missionaries, and consecrated by a commissioning service to be the guardians and leaders of the small groups of converts, families and individuals, who lived in the outlying villages. The elder was responsible for worship on Sunday, and also for morning and evening communal prayers said daily, the supervision of the school and the elementary instruction of enquirers from the shorter catechism of Martin Luther. In 1855 seven elders were appointed, and in 1856 a further seven. The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion were administered in the church at Ranchi, where the missionaries were responsible for the final instruction testing and preparation of the catechumens and communicants who came to reside in the mission compound, where firewood was provided and the villagers cooked their own food. The elders were the witnesses at the initiation of the new converts and were responsible for their continued welfare after they returned to their villages. This system survived the dispersal of the congregation in 1857, so that by 1864 there were 64 elders in charge of 383 villages where Christians resided.



The General Conference of the Mission met annually and was attended by both missionaries and mature native assistants, when the year's work was reviewed and proposals made for both the correction of defects and the development of new plans. At the Annual Meeting held in 1862, plans were initiated for the building of village chapels under the jurisdiction of the elders; each chapel was intended to serve as the centre for a parish with a school built with financial support from the mission but utilising the labour and assistance of the community who were then responsible for the upkeep of the fabric. It was possible for eight chapels in eight areas, to be designated parishes, to be planned by 1863.

The decision to build the seminary, proposed in 1864 but not opened until 1869, marked the new development in the life of the mission when educated assistants for both the congregations and the schools were to be enlisted to co-operate with the missionaries in providing a higher standard of instruction. Two categories of workers were trained under the seminary regime; the catechist or evangelist who was deputed under the surveillance of the missionary to work and preach in the villages among non-Christians and was paid a salary. The first catechist, Prabhu Dayal was appointed in 1856, without any advanced training and his salary fixed at Rs.5 per month.

When the missionaries were increasingly confined to the mission station the catechists were sent out on tours, returning after a fortnight or three weeks to report to the missionary. During the 1860's the number of catechists slowly increased: in 1863 there were eight catechists; in 1864, 14 and in 1866 20 catechists. Not highly trained, but with a zeal to win their kinsfolk for Christ, as a body of assistants they had earned Anson's scorn for their defective and elementary grasp of the Gospel, and he had repeatedly used this defect as a criticism of the way the Senior Brethren had failed in their organisation of the Mission.

The teachers were the product of the schools founded by the missionaries who staffed the ever increasing number of country schools from their old pupils. In addition to teaching the children, the teacher had a prime part in conducting the public worship of the congregations who assembled in the country chapels. It was from this body of more educated and experienced workers that the first selection was made for the vocation of native pastor. Ability to preach was the prerequisite qualification which brought the teacher to the notice of the missionary who gave additional help and assistance. After 1880, in addition to the catechists and teachers, the selection of ordinands who joined in the instruction and who were given the title of 'candidate' was included in the seminary, forming the highest academic standard of instruction. The seminary curriculum comprising a four-year course was taught by a staff of five missionaries and two Bengali pandits with the following subjects: arithmetic, Hindi, history, geography, classics, exegesis of the New Testament, principles of Christian doctrine, music, homiletics, catechetical exercises, pastoral theology and Greek covering 39 hours instruction in a week. The principal of the seminary also held the office of Inspector of the mission schools and was the representative of the Mission responsible to the Government for claiming the grant-in-aid which assured each teacher of a grant of Rs.3 per month. In 1872 there were 50 catechists, 25 teachers and 105 elders as assistants to the 13 German missionaries.

The ordination of native pastors was a development which resulted only after the schism of 1869. Before this, the authority to ordain had been the prerogative of the head of the Mission, and Gossner had conferred this on Emil Schatz and later on Frederick Batsch. The elders and catechists had received only a commissioning with a blessing similar to that which Gossner himself had given to his missionaries prior to their dismissal for overseas service. Ansorge, as Mission Inspector,

had ordained the first native pastor in May 1869, Paulus Nemo, who subsequently joined the Anglican mission, and before leaving Chota Nagpur he had ordained Hermann Onasch as Head of the Mission. Already in 1870 the change in name to include the definitive word 'Lutheran' had been proposed by the Ranchi missionaries but this had been vetoed by Dr. Buchsol in Berlin as contrary to the express wishes of Gossner. The reasons given for the change expressed the desire of the pastors and their followers to align the mission with the other German societies at work in India. When in 1885 the name was officially adopted by the Ranchi missionaries, there was no reaction from Berlin.

In 1875 the ordination of William Huss, together with the former headmaster of the Ranchi school, Hanuch Data Lakra, destined to be the first president of the autonomous church in 1919, and two other native pastors, was conducted at Govindpur, and with the increase in the native ministry the 'Ministerium' or official body of the ordained workers, both missionary and native, met annually for instruction and the deliberation of current issues at the time of the Annual Meeting of the Mission. The pastor held jurisdiction over his parish with its chapel, schools and congregations in scattered villages, and controlled the teachers, catechists and elders who were his colleagues and assistants, all coming under the surveillance of the missionary who resided in the mission station from which he directed the work of the parishes. By 1913 the number of pastors had increased to 31 with 322 catechists supervised by 28 German missionaries.

In 1909 proposals to integrate the native workers into the administration of the Mission by appointing a joint secretary of the Mission who would work with the missionary were frustrated by the transfer of personnel, but the organisation of the 'panch' or committee of five members in each congregation to assist and advise the missionary provided the

opportunity for educated laymen over the age of 30 to serve for three years at a time. The representation to the Annual Meeting of the Mission was also strengthened by the election of two deputies from each parish.

The unforeseen events of the First World War when, after the deportation of all the missionaries, the native pastors were given the total responsibility for the welfare of their congregations, under the oversight of the missionaries of the Anglican church, demonstrate how generally admirable this system devised by the German missionaries proved to be. In 1919, after the four years of war, when deprived of their accepted leaders, the pastors of the German mission resolved to accept responsibility for an autonomous church, they included the founding father of the mission in the name they adopted, and the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam took its place in the history of the Christian church in North India.

CHAPTER 4

THE S.P.G. IN THE DIOCESES OF CALCUTTA AND CHOTA NAGPUR

BEFORE 1914

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded by Royal Charter on June 16th 1701 in the last year of the reign of King William III, began to send out its first missionaries to the American colonies during the reign of Queen Anne. In 1711 the monarch acceded to the formal request made by the Archbishop of York, John Sharp, that a Queen's Letter for a public collection should be granted to be made in all churches throughout the cities of London and Westminster on Trinity Sunday in aid of the Society. The collection by Royal Letter amounted to £3,060 and as a method of providing income was repeated under the Hanoverians and under Queen Victoria who became patron of the Society in 1838. The collection by Royal Letter in aid of building Bishop's College, Calcutta was issued in 1819, and produced £45,747 from all the churches within the provinces of Canterbury and York. The character of S.P.G. with the Sovereign as Patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury as President, the members 'in perpetuum' including the two primates, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner, the Deans of Westminster and St Paul's, the Archdeacon of London and the Regius Professors of Divinity in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, guaranteed that its function was to promote the order and discipline of the Church of England in its fulness in the colonies and territories of the British crown. The procedure of making a Memorial to the government was the accepted method for the Society to draw attention to the Church's particular needs and by this means the provision of the Anglican episcopate for North America was a prime concern of the Society during the 18th century. The first Bishop for the American colonies, Dr Samuel Seabury, consecrated by the Scottish Bishops in Aberdeen on November 14th 1784, was a former missionary of the Society and on August 12th. 1787, Dr. Charles Inglis was consecrated the first bishop of Nova Scotia in Lambeth Palace chapel after serving as an S.P.G. missionary in Pennsylvania and New York since 1759.

(1)

The President of the Society, Archbishop Charles Manners Sutton, had taken an

active part in negotiations with the government for the founding of the see of Calcutta at the renewal of the East India Company Charter in 1813, leaving the duty of memorialising the government and cooperation with Wilberforce and the Evangelical supporters of missions to be undertaken by the East India Committee of the S.P.C.K. The Society's income during the early years of the 19th. century precluded any plans for extending its work into new fields; annual subscriptions varying from £388 in 1807 to £550 in 1819 and the total expenditure from the General Fund prior to 1814 never exceeding £5,000. The appointment of the Revd. A. Hamilton in place of Dr. W. Morice who had been Secretary of the Society since 1778, coincided with the direction of the President, Archbishop Sutton who on February 20th. 1818 stated "that time having been now allowed for the due settlement of the Episcopal authority in India... it now became the Society to step forward with some offer of cooperation with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in such plans as with the concurrence of the constituted authorities for the Government of India, his Lordship might be inclined to recommend." In reply to the Society's offer of a grant of £5,000, Bishop Middleton proposed founding a mission college in Calcutta and the Society responded with the collection made by Royal Letter in 1819. The Bible Society, the C.M.S. and the S.P.C.K. each contributed donations of £5,000 and the Society was granted a site for the institution, later named Bishop's College by the Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, and appointed the first principal, Dr. W. H. Mill and the 3rd professor Mr. J. H. Alt. In 1825 Bishop Reginald Heber formed the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of S.P.G. and the Society began its work in Bengal directing its missionaries to the needs of the native population since the Company chaplains were appointed for the pastoral care of the British and European residents.

The provision of the episcopate for India had been assured by the clauses in the Charter of 1813 erecting the see of Calcutta to cover the entire territories of the East India Company. By the Charter of 1833 two letters patent were issued by the sovereign: the first dismembered the Presidency of Madras, Ceylon,

New South Wales and Tasmania from the diocese of Calcutta and the second created the diocese of Madras. On January 18th.1836, the diocese of Australia was constituted by letters patent, on October 1st.1837 the diocese of Bombay, and on April 26th.1845, the diocese of Colombo. The Society had been intimately concerned with the increase in the episcopate during the 1830's and 1840's through the Council for Colonial Bishoprics, first proposed in a letter from Bishop Charles James Blomfield addressed to Archbishop William Howley urging the provision of a fund for the endowment of additional bishoprics in the colonies. On April 27th.1841, S.P.G. contributed £7,500 and S.P.C.K. £10,000, and under a revised constitution passed in May 1849 the Primates and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland formed the committee with the secretary of S.P.G. as the honorary secretary and the Council conducting all its business in the Society's office.

Between 1826 and 1859 the government was frequently memorialised for an increase in the number of Indian dioceses and, following the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 when the territories of the East India Company were surrendered to the Crown, the Society endeavoured to obtain sanction for the creation of dioceses as occasion required, in conformity with what had become accepted practice in the other British colonies. The legally established character of the Church of England in India, created by Act of Parliament, negatived these attempts, but in 1876 the Society promoted a scheme for establishing Missionary Bishoprics in India, six of them to be taken out of the area covered by the diocese of Calcutta; Rangoon, Lucknow, Lahore, Delhi, Peshawur and Singhbhoom (Chota Nagpur). £21,000 was provided for the endowment of the new sees and the missionary bishops in the first place were to be Europeans to be succeeded as soon as may be by native bishops of a self-supporting church. (2)

In Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait the Society possessed a President with the gifts of statesmanship required to summon to Lambeth members of the Society, and other advisers whose expert opinion on the complexities of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment could resolve the particular

problems connected with the partition of the diocese of Calcutta.

After the Archbishop had held two interviews with the Secretary of State for India the scheme for appointing missionary Bishops for the Church of England in India was considered to be undesirable, but the death of the Metropolitan, Bishop Robert Milman, at Rawalpindi on March 15th.1876, a victim to the fatigue and hazards of visiting his vast diocese, added urgency to the debates of the committee at Lambeth. The opinion of the parliamentary lawyers submitted to the Archbishop declared that the territory of the diocese of Calcutta, created by Act of Parliament in 1833, could only be dealt with by way of sub-division under the authority of another Act; but that the territories and Native States acquired after that date were extraneous to these regulations. Assistant bishops could be consecrated and dioceses created by Royal Licence or Letters Patent, always provided that no additional charge was incurred on the revenue. The Society cooperated in the negotiations, which resulted in the diocese of Lahore being created by Letters Patent to form a memorial to Bishop Milman, and with the consecration in Westminster Abbey of the first bishop, Thomas Valpy French, on December 21st.1877, the innovation of appointing a missionary to an Indian see was made, since French had been a C.M.S. missionary in the Punjab since 1851. Concurrent with the negotiations for Lahore, the diocese of Rangoon was constituted by the same legal process, and Jonathan Holt Titcomb consecrated the first Bishop. Each see required an endowment of £20,000, and the Society contributed £2,000, S.P.C.K. £5,000, the Colonial Bishops Fund £3,000 and the Government of India £800 per year, the salary of a senior chaplain, for both dioceses: the remaining amounts being collected by private donations and interested organisations.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE DIOCESE OF CHOTA NAGPUR 1890

Ranchi and the Chota Nagpur plateau, lying 200 miles west of Calcutta, fell within the area circumscribed by the 1833 Act, as forming the diocese of Calcutta, so that the decision to create a separate diocese for Chota Nagpur, without recourse to an Act of Parliament, taxed the ingenuity of church lawyers both in India and London. The solution was arrived at by Milman's successor as Metropolitan and Bishop of Calcutta, Edward Ralph Johnson, Archdeacon of

Ghester, who was consecrated in St Paul's Cathedral on November 30th.1876. Like Archbishop Tait, Johnson, during the 21 years he remained in India, was to devote his gifts of statesmanship to the problems of the effective organisation of the Church of England and its diocesan structure. Enthroned in his cathedral in February 1877, on March 11th.Johnson consecrated two Assistant Bishops for the diocese of Madras in an experiment which in the event was not to be repeated. The identical legal problem, that the diocese of Madras had been created by Act of Parliament in 1833,precluded a separate diocese being constituted for the church in Tinnevelley where both the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. had flourishing mass movements. The Colonial Clergy Act of 1874 had clarified the legal position that the Metropolitan and his suffragans of Madras and Bombay could consecrate bishops in India;and Johnson, unlike his two immediate predecessors, Bishops Cotton and Milman, agreed to consecrate assistant bishops for the church in Tinnevelley, but without the right of territorial jurisdiction. Robert Caldwell of the S.P.G. and Edward Sargent of the C.M.S., both senior missionaries of their respective societies were consecrated and appointed to be assistant bishops to the Bishop of Madras, Frederick Gell. Since both were fluent in Tamil,the arrangements for episcopal supervision for the Tinnevelley church, pastorally, were successful, but their legal status as episcopal curates to the Bishop of Madras, dependent on his good will, as the sole safeguard for the exercise of their ministry, which would terminate at his death and might not be renewed by his successor, convinced Johnson that for the future an alternative solution needed to be found. (3)

In reviewing the Society's work in Chota Nagpur over four decades from 1870-1910 we shall take the year 1890, when the diocese was founded, as our point of reference. Throughout our period we shall observe that in contrast to both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions where a policy of aggressive evangelism brought in thousands of converts,enabling new mission stations to be founded and staffed, the Society, owing to lack of workers, was unable to extend its work beyond the area south and south-west of Ranchi; the Anglican missionaries remained circumscribed within a radius of 40 miles where the

vast majority of the communities which had followed the German missionaries in 1869, were to be found. Only two outstations, Hazaribagh 80 miles to the north, and Chaibasa 120 miles to the south, could be maintained as subsidiary centres, both lying outside the region where tribals continued to turn to Christianity.

The S.P.G. Calcutta Committee met at the Bishop's Palace on March 25th. 1869 to hear from Bishop Milman the report of his visit to Ranchi and his decision, after meeting with both the Senior Missionaries and the Pastors' party, to receive the mission into the Church of England. The committee supported the Bishop by undertaking the responsibility of providing Rs. 5,000 a year for the mission and to promote public interest in India, published appeals and a short history of the mission which the secretary, Cave-Brown, undertook to prepare. When the Bishop visited Ranchi in April for the ordination and confirmation the questions relating to the missionaries salaries and the stipends of all catechists and teachers were discussed with the newly constituted Residents Committee, and the decision agreed to that all should continue to receive their differentials at the rate previously provided by the Curatorium. The transfer of the Revd. J. C. Whitley, who had been appointed by the Society to the Delhi station in 1862, brought no extra financial responsibility, and with Whitley's arrival in Ranchi on June 20th. 1869, the staff of the mission was established: Whitley, Frederick and Henry Batsch and Ferdinand Bohn as the ordained missionaries, Daud Luther Singh as the native deacon and Frederick Kruger and Adolph Herzog as lay missionaries. In conformity with the general tradition of English missions in India an Annual Report was published which provided statistics of the mission's progress, and in addition quarterly reports were submitted by each missionary to the Calcutta S.P.G. Committee, who compiled the Annual Report of the Diocesan Corresponding Committee, providing a review of the Society's work in each station in North India.

A brief review of the Society's work in Bengal will help to bring into focus the unique position of the Chota Nagpur field with its thousands of converts.

This was, compared with other stations where the policy of appointing a single missionary to oversee a large district, where continuity of personnel was intermittent and financial resources limited, and it resulted in the Society's missions being in a far from flourishing state. Out of 11 stations founded after the Society had commenced work in Bengal in 1820 no fewer than 6 had been abandoned owing to lack of staff: Cossipore (1823-32), Bhagalpur (1824-27), Ghinsurah (1825-36), Midnapore (1836), Patna (1860-71) and Barisal (1869-80); four missions were established within the city area of Calcutta: Tollygunj, Howrah, the Cathedral Mission and St Saviour's Mission and one out-station in the Sunderbuns 16 miles south of the city. Within the diocesan boundaries 5 widely scattered centres were maintained: Rorkee (1861), Cawnpore (1833), Delhi (1854), Tezpur (1862) and Rangoon (1859). (4)

Bishop's College provided the majority of the Society's lay workers who were appointed as catechists, many being from English or Anglo-Indian families who had graduated after entering the institution as boys. Outstanding catechists were recommended to the Society in London for ordination, but the majority, with the undoubted advantages of language and local culture, tended to remain conformists with little initiative. Their work without the oversight of an ordained missionary was chiefly pastoral, and only rarely directly evangelistic. In 1869, the year when the Chota Nagpur mission was adopted by the Society, there were 22 missionaries and 6 Indian clergy on the Society's roll for the whole of North India. The staff of the mission in Ranchi with a total of 6 missionaries and 1 native assistant was quite exceptional, as were the estimated 7,000 native converts. We shall now review the progress of the Chota Nagpur field, which in 20 years resulted in the formation of a new diocese within the area of the diocese of Calcutta, and the solving of the legal and constitutional impasse for the creation of a bishopric with independent jurisdiction.

Whitley arrived in Ranchi after working for 7 years in Kurnal, the first resident missionary of the Society to be placed in this northernmost outstation of the Delhi and South Punjab Mission. He was already fluent in

Hindi and as Head of the Ghota Magpuz mission he at once availed himself of the methods, proved and established by the experience of the German missionaries, for the organisation of the new field by grouping the 318 villages in which Anglican Christians were to be found in the proximity to Ranchi, into 35 circles, each with 10 to 15 villages under a reader-cum-teacher and with elders appointed from the communities. In each circle, a mud chapel was constructed as the centre for worship in the village where the largest number of families were to be found and, since no division of territory with the Lutheran mission was possible owing to the nature of the case, Anglican and Lutheran families continued to live together with very little friction in their social relationships. The decision to retain Ranchi with its English residents and Government officers as the centre of the mission was supported by the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, who was instrumental in arranging for the acquisition of a large coffee plantation, no longer under cultivation, to form the site for a church, hostels and schools. The urgency of providing pastoral care for the scattered congregations prompted Whitley to embark on the training of ordinands with a view to their eventual appointment as parish priests, and the most experienced teachers and catechists were called to Ranchi to be under instruction. By March 1870 the circles were organised, the Readers had been commissioned and appointed to their tasks, the class for the ordinands commenced by Whitley, an appeal for building a church circulated, 32 mud chapels constructed, a boarding school with 60 boys and 40 girls commenced and a total of 1,144 adults and children baptised. On September 1st, Dalton laid the foundation stone of the church, designed by the Judicial Commissioner Colonel Rowlatt, and the construction entrusted to the former master-mason, Herzog, who supervised the permanent buildings, school, hostels and bungalows which were replacing the temporary make-shift quarters and accommodation which had served since the previous year. A grant of Rs.10,000 from S.P.C.K. provided these essential installations. In 1872 a Bengali convert trained at Bishop's College, Rajendra Dutt, was appointed headmaster

of the Boys' Boarding School, and the Secretary of the Calcutta S.P.G. Committee, the Revd. Frederick Ross Vallings volunteered to join the mission. Never robust, Vallings died on the voyage returning to England on sick leave in 1876. (5)

Whitley had intended that the group of ordinands should be sent to Bishop's College for training but the problem of language, since ~~no one~~ on the staff could speak Hindi, resulted in Whitley himself conducting their preparation for ordination. On March 9th. 1873 Bishop Milman visited Ranchi and consecrated the church, dedicated to St Paul and destined to be the future cathedral, and on the 10th. ordained the five ordinands to the diaconate. This progress in the life of the mission was noted with approval by the Secretary of the Diocesan S.P.G. Committee, the Revd. William Henry Bray who accompanied the bishop. He commented: 'What the Society has long been trying to do in Bengal, but so far has largely failed in doing - to raise up native pastors, who shall retain their original simple manner of living, has been done to perfection in Chota Nagpur.' The deacons were appointed to the most flourishing centres of work which slowly developed into the first parish centres: Itki, Maranghada, Murhu, Tapkara and Ramtolya. During 1873 both the outstations at Hazaribagh and Chaibasa had been without a resident missionary since both Henry Batsch and Kruger were in Germany, and in 1874 Frederick Batsch and his wife left for leave. The absence for 12 to 18 months of the veteran workers of the mission who were all past their prime and in need of recuperation on health grounds, prompted Whitley in his report for 1874 to sound the note of anxiety which throughout our period was to be never absent from his observations to the Society. He animadverted - 'I begin to have a good deal of anxiety about the future of this important Mission. I cannot help feeling that the work has been taken up in a half-hearted sort of way. Our staff is at the very minimum strength. Present work is scarcely carried on with efficiency and no provision is made for the future. It is just kept going and no aggressive work against heathenism can be attempted with any regularity. It seems to me to be high time one or two new English men were sent here'.

In 1875 Bishop Milman spent 20 days visiting the mission and on February 17th ordained the 5 deacons to the priesthood, Rajendra Dutt with 3 others was made deacon and Frederick Kruger ordained priest. Henry Batsch on health grounds had been forbidden to return to India, and no replacement could be found for him at Hazaribagh so that the work languished. After the completion of the construction work in Ranchi, Herzog also had returned to Germany on retirement, since there seemed to be no further scope for his expert ministry. Bishop Johnson visited the mission in 1877 for confirmations and ordained Dutt to the priesthood. By the end of the decade statistics showed a modest increase in the state of the mission: In 1870 baptised members had numbered 5,773 and communicant members 1,900; there was one ordained native assistant working with the 6 missionaries. In 1880 baptised members numbered 10,679, communicants were 4,670, there were 11 native clergy working with the 4 missionaries, Whitley, Batsch, Bohn and Kruger. During the same period the Lutherans had 13 missionaries in Chota Nagpur and their estimated new converts showed a total increase of 20,000. (6)

The conferring of the rites of confirmation and ordination demanded that the Bishop of Calcutta should visit the mission once in every three years and Bishop Johnson in 1880 commenced his tour at Chaibasa in the south to Hazaribagh in the north; he confirmed over 1,000 candidates and ordained 3 priests and 7 deacons. He returned in November 1884 and ordained 2 deacons and one priest and consecrated the first stone churches to be built in the place of mud chapels: All Saints church in Chaibasa and St Peter's church in Dorma. During this visit the missionaries were able to discuss with him the great need they felt for a bishop to be resident in Chota Nagpur, and with his approval a formal request was drawn up to be forwarded to the Society in London. At a meeting of the clergy held on February 13th. 1885 the petition was prepared requesting the Metropolitan to help forward as much as was in his power the appointment of a bishop for Chota Nagpur. The petitioners stated the following reasons:-

1. The congregations numbered 13,292 persons with 506 catechumens under instruction for baptism.
2. There was a staff of 5 missionary priests, 12 native priests and 3 deacons.
3. Chota Nagpur was separated from the diocese of Calcutta by peculiarities of both race and language as well as geographically being a distinct field.
4. Experience had proved that the diocesan bishop, owing to his duties covering the vast area of his diocese could visit only once in three years.
5. The presence of powerful and aggressive Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions working in the same field made closer episcopal supervision imperative for the growth and stability of the mission.

The petition signed by all the Ranchi clergy was forwarded by Johnson to the Society in London who, after referring the question to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson, for approval, prepared a Memorial which was submitted to the government in 1887. When Johnson arrived in London to attend the third Lambeth Conference in July 1888 he was apprised of the government's position regarding a bishop for Chota Nagpur. The crown lawyers and the India Office legal experts proposed that an assistant bishop should be consecrated for Chota Nagpur following the precedent of Bishop Robert Caldwell in Tinnevelley as assistant bishop to the Bishop of Calcutta, but without territorial jurisdiction. Convinced that this proposal was detrimental to the wellbeing of the church, Johnson was able to benefit from the experience of other Colonial dioceses represented at the Conference, and he appropriated the principle of voluntary consensual compact, first proposed by the Colonial Secretary, William Ewart Gladstone in 1849, and embodied by Bishop George Augustus Selwyn in the constitution of the Church in New Zealand. The Church of Ireland, which had been disestablished in 1869, and the Church in Ceylon, disestablished in 1881, had based their constitutions on this legal principle, learning from the experience of the New Zealand Church.

By the mutual consent of all parties concerned jurisdiction could be given and delegated to a Bishop so that legally he was an Assistant Bishop, but ecclesiastically he was virtually an independent diocesan. Johnson determined to apply this principle as the constitution for a bishop in Chota Nagpur.

Johnson returned after the Lambeth Conference, supported by the approval for his scheme from his fellow bishops, Colombo, Bombay, Rangoon and Travancore, who had been present, as also from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the crown lawyers. He immediately decided to visit Ranchi and on March 29th.1889 he summoned the first synod of the clergy, comprising 3 missionaries and 15 natives, and laid before them his proposals for the appointment of a bishop. The principle of consensual compact was explained whereby the clergy would take the oath of canonical obedience to whoever the Metropolitan should select, whereas he would not appoint anyone without the full consent of the clergy concerned. After both resolutions had been passed on a unanimous vote Johnson then held an open discussion on the kind of person who should be selected. There followed a meeting of the European laity, when the Commissioner C.C. Stevens assured the bishop that they would welcome whoever he appointed, and a lay spokesman for the native congregation expressed the same views. Johnson's first choice, as he had explained to the clergy, had been for a leader from outside the mission who was young and able to give the inspiration which he felt they now required. When the offer made to George Alfred Lefroy working in the Delhi Mission was declined, Johnson had no hesitation in selecting Whitley, since he knew that many of the clergy had assumed that he would be the obvious choice. Johnson accordingly informed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Society and the crown lawyers and negotiations were commenced for the endowment of the new diocese.

A total of £13,500 was raised by the Society providing £2,500 and the S.P.C.K. and the Colonial Bishoprics Council each donating £5,000. The mandate from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury was signed on February 18th.1890, the Archbishop's Commission, issued in obedience to the mandate, was signed

on the 20th. and the documents forwarded by the India Office to the Metropolitan on the 21st. Johnson had agreed to the consecration being held on March 23rd, and the Bishop of Bombay, Lewis George Mylne, and the Bishop of Lahore, Henry James Matthew were the epistoller and gospeller; the sermon was preached by the veteran convert, William Luther Singh, who had accompanied the German missionaries at the formation of the mission in 1869. After the service was completed, the oath of canonical obedience was taken to the new bishop by the clergy, Whitley first signing the oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan. The area of the new diocese covered the identical territory on the Chota Nagpur plateau where Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions had been at work, and where owing to the lack of any Comity agreement a division of the field into mission areas had proved impracticable. In many villages all three missions were to be found, but whereas both Lutheran and Roman Catholic mission stations had been founded as centres of evangelism which had brought in thousands of converts, throughout the period 1870-1890 the pastoral care of the Anglican communities had been entrusted to one itinerating missionary based on Ranchi.

(7)

THE DIOCESE OF CHOTA NAGPUR 1890-1914

The Society had been successful in promoting the foundation of the diocese of Chota Nagpur, and in Whitley had provided one of its own missionaries to be the first bishop. The credit for resolving the legal impasse for a separate diocese within the diocese of Calcutta, without recourse to an act of Parliament, rested with Bishop Johnson, who as Metropolitan, was invited to pay his last visit to Ranchi prior to his resignation in 1898 on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Lutheran Mission held on November 9th, 1895. Whitley aged 53 had been 28 years in India and was to remain Bishop of Chota Nagpur until his death in 1904, and as he commenced his episcopate the last of the German missionaries who had formed the link with the founding of the Mission was preparing to retire. The previous decade had seen the arrival of the first English staff for the Mission recruited by the Society, when 3 laymen, Arthur Logsdail and David Joseph Flynn from St. Augustine's Missionary College,

Canterbury and Frederick Charles Boyd from St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford had commenced studies at Bishop's College, Calcutta from 1882-84 prior to their ordination and appointment for Chota Nagpur. Frederick Batsch and his wife had left India in 1884 and decided to remain in Germany and in 1898 Ferdinand Bohn had also retired; in 1891 Frederick Kruger had likewise retired. Whitley had three missionary priests who formed the minimum staff for the working of the diocese, when in 1892 he welcomed to Hazaribagh the first members of the Trinity College Dublin University Mission, a missionary brotherhood of the Church of Ireland who had been directed by the Society to offer their services to Whitley, following an appeal he had made after his consecration for a community of men; the Society at the same time allocating a grant of £400 a year for opening up new work. The party included 5 priests of whom one was also a doctor, and Miss Hasard, a trained nurse, and plans were adopted for the founding of both a hospital and a college based on the existing buildings of the deserted military cantonment which had been acquired by Whitley from the government as the headquarters for the mission. Hazaribagh had been virtually neglected since the retirement of Henry Batsch in 1875. Pastoral visits had been made from Ranchi to care for the congregation of coolies employed in the tea gardens, and at Dumar 11 miles distant, a village of Santals who had been converted in 1864, and following Henry Batsch in 1869, had been confirmed by Bishop Milman on his visits in 1870. Ten years later the congregation numbered 184. Between 1842 and 1868 Hazaribagh had been a convalescent centre for British troops and as the administrative centre of a district had civilian officials for whom a station church had been built, capable of holding 400 people. A government chaplain had been appointed, but with the departure of the army the station had declined in prosperity and the chaplain withdrawn. The members of the Brotherhood were able to plan and expand their work in the ample compound and minister to the European residents of the station, who from the first had welcomed them and assisted them in their intention to commence pastoral responsibility for the Europeans opening the coalfields of the East India Railways collieries at Giridith, 75 miles from Hazaribagh. The arrival

of Lady Associates of the Mission who were trained nurses and teachers strengthened the medical and educational work which the Brotherhood envisaged as their peculiar contribution to the life of the diocese. (8)

The Church of Ireland through its S.P.G. Committee had taken responsibility for the development of Hazaribagh, but further expansion of the work in the diocese was dependent on the support the Society could enlist, financially, in assigning the annual grant, and by attracting new workers and appointing them to the Ghotia Nagpur field. In 1890 the first lady mission workers, Miss Whigham and Miss Ingle, both possessed of private means, and trained as parish workers, reached Ranchi and took over the work which had previously been the responsibility of Mrs. Frederick Batsch. Miss Whigham took charge of the Girls' School and Miss Ingle opened a small dispensary, both ladies being accorded the status of Lady Helpers or Honorary Missionaries since they declined to receive any salary from the Society's Women's Missionary Association. In 1891 George Henry Lusty was ordained after training at St Augustine's College, Canterbury, and in 1892, Whitley's son, Edward Hamilton Whitley, and William O'Connor strengthened the staff which was to remain permanent for the rest of the decade. With six priests and the two lady missionaries, Whitley's development of the diocese commenced, although as he confessed, sickness and furlough accounted for the work being barely maintained, and in comparison with both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions, they were outnumbered by more than 8 to 1. Medical work under Miss Ingle in Ranchi was followed by the opening of a dispensary and clinic in Chaibaza by Logsdail who in 1892 commenced an industrial class for the boys by teaching carpentry. Logsdail found a new opening in 1893 when he appealed for a church and parsonage for the European and Anglo-Indian employees of the Bengal Nagpur Railway at Chakradharpur, 16 miles from Chaibasa. With active help from the Railway officials the church was completed in 1895. Mrs O'Connor who was a trained nurse commenced a school for the blind in Ranchi in 1893. From March 13-15th. 1893 Whitley summoned his first Clergy Synod and was able to send Lusty and his wife to reside at Murhu, 30 miles from Ranchi, where the first out-station

on the plateau was opened with a resident missionary. From March 12-14th. 1895 the first meeting of the Diocesan Council was called with 21 priests, 4 deacons, representatives of the 150 Readers and Teachers and lay-members of Ranchi parish. A Diocesan Board of Finance was also constituted with a membership of 3 Ranchi European residents and 3 missionaries with the purpose of advising the Bishop on the disbursement of the Annual Grant. In this year of the Lutheran Mission jubilee, commemorating 50 years from the first arrival of the Gossner Brethren in Ranchi in November 1845, the total number of Christians from the 3 missions was estimated to be 100,000; of these the 1893 census had assigned 13,195 to the Anglican Mission. When in March 1897 Whitley left to attend the 4th. Lambeth Conference the character of the diocese was becoming apparent. The Brotherhood in Hazaribagh had established the hospital with 2 doctors and trained nursing staff, orphanages for boys and girls, a boys' High School, bazaar schools for both boys and girls, and out-station pastoral visiting. At Ranchi, Boyd was in charge of the Schools and the Cathedral, Whitley was Diocesan Treasurer and teaching the ordinands, Lusty at Murhu and Logsdail at Chaibasa were concerned for the village schools, O'Connor and Flynn itinerated the district based on Ranchi. Miss Whipham, Miss Ingle and Mrs. O'Connor superintended the Girls' School, Dispensary and the Blind School. (9)

The embryo institutions which had been founded demanded additional financial support if they were to develop, but this was not available from the Society's annual grant to the diocese. In 1892 the Society allotted Rs.27,169 for Chota Nagpur of which missionaries salaries and masters and readers' stipends absorbed Rs.9,186 and Rs.13,547 respectively leaving a balance of Rs.5,000 for the day to day running of the mission. In 1897 the annual grant had risen to Rs.42,507; missionaries salaries and readers' stipends accounted for Rs.16,425 and Rs.13,643 with a grant for the Boarding Schools of Rs.8,000 leaving a balance of Rs.4,000 for the development of the work. In the Annual Report for 1897 the financial stringency under which development was virtually impossible was noted: "The financial condition of the Mission is still most unsatisfactory. Not only is it impossible to extend the work, but the

carrying on of the present work is attended with constant difficulty and anxiety. The S.P.G. does all it can for us and we trust that our friends will send as large contributions as they can for 1898." Whitley had hoped during his visit to the Lambeth Conference to be allowed to speak and appeal for his own diocese at the Society's meetings, but this had not been realised since he was requested to complete his engagements on General Deputation work. On his return with no additional staff except his daughter, he found the O'Connors were unable to remain in India for health reasons and in 1899 Flynn died, reducing his staff to the bare minimum. Lusty was withdrawn from Murhu to Ranchi and the financial crisis inhibited any further increase of staff to replace the itinerating work in the district. Miss Whitley took charge of the Blind School in place of Mrs O'Connor, but there were no buildings for the dispensary which was a room used by Miss Ingle in her own residence. In 1900 the total number of baptised was given as 14,972 in 14 parishes staffed by Indian priests and 2 deacons. Whitley drew attention to development which demanded diversifying the work which had previously been directed towards the native congregations. The arrival of increasing numbers of Europeans in the mining centres which were being opened in the coal-fields and iron ore sectors within the diocese, and the growth of railway centres where Anglo-Indian and European employees were concentrated, required provision for English chaplains to care for these industrial parishes. Whitley, when on leave in England, appealed to the Society to help, but the decision of the Dublin University Mission to open work at Ranchi in 1902 supplied the additional staff and the Society felt unable to increase its support. The perennial financial deficit was again referred to in the 1902 Report which had demanded rigid economy in expenditure, and although Whitley had made urgent appeals to the Committee in London he could be assured of no certain response. The work at Hazaribagh was the only centre where development was made: the Brotherhood had increased its numbers to 11 priests of whom J.G.F. Hearn and K.W.S. Kennedy were doctors and the Lady Associates were also 11 in number. Complying with the decision to assist the work in Ranchi, 2 priests and 2 Lady Associates were transferred, the latter to work in the

Girls Boarding and Day School and to develop the hospital. The College opened its first classes in 1903 for the B.A. affiliated to Calcutta University, having previously been since its inception in July 1899 a First Arts College. A matching grant of Rs.15,000 being given by the government for the buildings. (10)

Bishop Whitley died unexpectedly, visiting his daughter who was on vacation in Darjeeling, on October 17th.1904 and on November 20th the Metropolitan, Reginald Stephen Copleston, visited Ranchi and summoned the clergy to a synod to consult with them over the appointment of a successor. In reply to the Metropolitan's questions agreement was reached that the existing system for the appointment of a bishop should be continued, and that, if the selection of a candidate from within the diocese proved impossible, then an experienced leader who was familiar with Indian life and the Indian church should be chosen. The Metropolitan's choice would be accepted with full confidence by all the clergy, and after appointing a committee of clergy and laity to give him further advice, Copleston was able to inform them on February 28th.1905 that he had offered the vacant bishopric to Whitley's nephew, the Revd.Foss Westcott, an S.P.G. missionary and member of the Cawnpore Brotherhood, who had been for the past 16 years with his brother George, engaged in the development of this flourishing mission. Aged 42, Foss Westcott was consecrated in Allahabad Cathedral on November 30th.1905, and after making his first visits to the centres in the diocese, in October 1906 he was compelled on health grounds to leave India, returning to Ranchi after 14 months in December 1907. He was again compelled to leave the diocese to attend the Pan-Anglican Conference and the 5th.Lambeth Conference in 1908, with the result that from the death of Whitley in October 1904 to the Bishop's return in October 1908 the diocese had been without his direction except for a period of 14 months.

In the decade from the death of Bishop Whitley in 1904 to the outbreak of the War in 1914, under Foss Westcott the diocese of Chota Nagpur was at last to emerge from the crippling financial straits which hitherto

had prevented any methodical and extensive expansion of missionary work. This progress was made possible by two factors: individual missionaries were successful in soliciting friends to give generously for their work, thus supplying income in excess of the Annual Grant made by the Society; towards the close of the decade, with the creation in 1912 of the state of Bihar and Orissa from what had previously been Bengal, excellent relations were established between the Bishop and the Government, which resulted in the attraction of new grants for the Mission on a scale previously impracticable, when the diocese had been on the fringe of the territory of the state of Bengal. The increase in workers kept pace with the capacity to establish and maintain new fields of work, so that by 1914 the Diocese of Chota Nagpur had attained a status of modest prosperity. We shall now review in detail the stages by which this transformation was achieved.

In 1905 the deficit in the diocesan budget stood at Rs.7,000, a situation serious enough to prompt Foss Westcott to take over the work of diocesan treasurer in an attempt to rectify the financial position. By 1907 this deficit had been cleared, owing mainly to salaries of members of the D.U.M. which had not been claimed being transferred to the diocesan account. The Brotherhood had access to funds in Ireland which were collected by a network of diocesan committees, and much depended on the enthusiasm of the home workers for the Mission. By virtue of their rule, the Brotherhood and the Lady Associates were committed to a celibate life while working for the Mission, and marriage automatically severed the connection between the Missionary and the work at Hazaribagh. In 1894 the Revd. C. W. Darling had been the first of the brothers to marry, and owing to the inability of S.P.G. to provide an additional salary, both Darling and his wife were lost to the diocese as experienced workers. In 1904 Dr. K. W. S. Kennedy was the second of the Brothers who on account of marriage was compelled to leave Hazaribagh, but owing to sufficient prior notice it was arranged for him and his wife to transfer to the Society's list and they settled at Murhu, which had been deserted since Lusty and his wife had returned to Ranchi in 1899. Kennedy

at once commenced developing the station with financial assistance from friends in Ireland by applying for a grant from the District Board to build a dispensary. The £60 which he was able to contribute was matched by a grant from the government of Rs.400, and Kennedy made himself responsible for the planning and building. Meanwhile Mrs. Kennedy had decided on the opening of a girls' school, and commenced collecting funds from her contacts in Ireland. In 1903 Boyd had been transferred to Purulia, the nearest railway centre to Ranchi and also the direct route to the coal-fields and railway centres where European families were already settled and demanding pastoral care. Over 300 families were contacted, and by 1905 church committees were functioning in Dhanbad, the largest centre for the coal mining area, and at Adra the railway depot on the East Indian railway.

Dr. Eva Jellet replaced Kennedy in the medical work at Hazaribagh, and with the arrival of two trained nurses plans were initiated for the building of a new Zenana Hospital and appeals distributed in Ireland to finance the development. In 1906 the European residents in Ranchi organised a bazaar which raised Rs.1,500 and enabled the debt on the Blind School to be cleared. Lusty and his wife resigned and Boyd was compelled to take sick leave. The Bishop called the first clergy conference, held in Ranchi from May 18-30th, to become an annual event, when in an informal atmosphere he was able to discuss matters of concern: education for girls, night schools, self-help, intemperance and the duties of readers and their training. In 1907 the development of Itki, sixteen miles from Ranchi, was undertaken when the Revd. H.R. Lonsdale, a new recruit, and Dr. Sarkar, an Indian medical doctor who could fulfil the stipulations made by the S.P.C.K. for itinerating work to be opened up, began to develop as a centre for work amongst the Oraon tribe. With active encouragement from the government education department, the decision to commence a training class for female teachers with Miss Harris as the principal was started with 16 students and a Normal Class for training village schoolmasters. The seconding of the Revd. S. B. Harris from work in Hazaribagh to commence a chaplaincy in Dhanbad marked the

development in the industrial belt amongst the mine-workers. At Adra the foundations for a church were laid.

By 1908 Foss Westcott had become familiar enough with the diocese to lay down a policy for development which he felt able to implement. He concentrated on education by promoting the opening of village boarding schools to be staffed by the teachers trained in the Normal Class and with female teachers to open girls' schools. Mrs. Kennedy at Murhu had already collected funds for the proposed girls' school, and after Lonsdale's premature death in 1909, his father, Canon Lonsdale of Corbridge, Northumberland, opened a Memorial Fund in aid of village schools for the diocese which provided the additional income which promoted the establishment of 7 new schools. In 1910 out of the 8,570 children of Anglican parents, only 741 girls attended school of whom 171 were boarders; in addition 1,315 boys were in school making a total of barely 25% of children receiving education. The supply of teachers was regulated to allow for 2 classes of men with 18 and 13 students and 1 class for women with 17 students. The recognition in 1908 by Calcutta University of the Ranchi Boys' High School founded in 1869, prompted a meeting with the Lutheran authorities over amalgamating the two high schools, while providing hostel accommodation and religious instruction for each denomination. No progress was made with this scheme.

The organising of the congregations and the training of the native Christians to take a less passive and more responsible role in the work of the diocese prompted the bishop to appoint to the two most important committees which were exclusively European in make-up, the first native members: The Revd. P.L. Singh, grandson of the veteran companion of the Gossner Brethren, was nominated to the Diocesan Board of Finance and 3 priests and 3 lay-members joined Ranchi District Council. Since all business was conducted in English the bishop acknowledged the problem of finding native members who could contribute to the discussions but by 1909 he was able to point to a modest increase in the collection made for the Native Pastorate Fund: in 1905 a total of Rs.500 and in 1909 a total of Rs.1,500. These reforms were to culminate in May 1914 when the inauguration of the Diocesan Council was held with representatives

from parish and district councils elected to confer with the missionary workers on the future of the diocese, its problems and opportunities. The development of the two stations at Murhu and Itki made steady progress so that by 1911 Dr Kennedy had been able to build a ladies' bungalow with money donated from the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, and complete the girls' school which was opened under Miss Knott, a trained teacher, with 100 boarders and Miss Claypole, a trained nurse commenced work in the dispensary. At Itki a new boys' school was completed and the foundations for a hospital laid. The withdrawal of the Brotherhood from work in Ranchi owing to depletion in staff was followed in 1909 by the Lady Associates but new arrivals were able to maintain and develop the work. The Revd.C. G. Coldwell took over the work from Harris in Dhanbad, W.H. Satchell after his ordination to the diaconate joined Logsdail in Chaibassa, Canon W.F. Cosgrave, formerly Vicar of Christ Church, West Hartlepool and a canon of Durham, joined the bishop in Ranchi, the Revd.C. W. Stallard and his wife, who was a doctor, established themselves in Itki and the Revd.G. Dickson was stationed at the railway centre at Chakradharpur as an itinerating missionary on the southern border of the diocese. In 1912 the Society requested the services of Dr.Kennedy for a period of two years to serve in London as their Secretary for Medical Missions but were able to replace him at Murhu by sending out Dr.A.T. Williams. The Revd.P. T. Martin arrived to take on the work of diocesan treasurer and Mr.Metcalf, a science master from Canon Cosgrave's old parish of West Hartlepool, joined the staff of St Paul's High School, utilised income from his friends and supporters for the development of the school. On April 1st.1912 the new province of Bihar and Orissa was inaugurated with Ranchi as the temporary state capital, and in Sir Charles and Lady Bayley, the first governor, together with many of the senior British officials, the most cordial relations were established between the Bishop and Canon Cosgrave, the chaplain of the Cathedral. The governor took an active interest in the work of the mission and was a regular member of the Cathedral congregation, thus recalling the early days of the Gossner Bretheren in Ranchi when the

Commissioners had been staunch supporters of the work, and latterly the period after the Sepoy Mutiny when Colonel Dalton had proved an influential friend, responsible for the government grants which had been awarded as compensation for the depredations of the rebels. The policy initiated by the bishop to divide the diocese into the equivalent of the English deaneries termed districts, each with a resident missionary in the headquarters to supervise the parishes under his jurisdiction, with parish and district councils on which the native clergy and laity were represented, was the outcome of his conviction that only by efficient supervision could the school, the clergy and the readers be encouraged. We have already noted that this policy had been pursued by both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic missionaries with the subsequent result in the increase in conversions. In 1913 it was possible to purchase land in virgin territory on the Bengal Nagpur railway at Manoharpur, and to send Dickson as the pioneer missionary to build the station and develop the work. From Manoharpur Dickson travelled via Chakradharpur to the new mining town of Sakchi, where under licence from the government the firm of Tata had begun the planning of what was to prove the largest industrial city in India, subsequently named Jamshedpur. The Society's policy that in India its missionaries were appointed for work amongst the native population, relinquishing the work amongst Europeans to the government chaplains, could not be rigidly enforced in the diocese of Chota Nagpur where the industrial development in the coalfields, railways and iron mines, in isolated and inaccessible areas, compelled the missionaries to undertake both evangelistic work amongst the tribals and pastoral work on behalf of their own countrymen and women.

Canon Cosgrave in his dual role of Cathedral chaplain and Principal of St Paul's Boys' High School in Ranchi, established with the education department of the government working relations, which resulted in 1914 in the award of grants for educational development on a scale commensurate with ability to inspire confidence in the mission's progress. The following grants were sanctioned:

St. Paul's High School	£3,000
St. Paul's Hostel	£1,533
St. Paul's Girls' School	£1,466
Ranchi Female Normal Class	£533
St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh	
Science Laboratories	£3,333

The government also decided that for the future the training of teachers should be confined to the institutions run by the Christian missions, on condition that 50% of places should be reserved for non-Christian students. At the same time the government increased the stipend of teachers, compelling the missions to follow suit.

Medical work also received grants from the government allowing the 21st. Anniversary of the Dublin University Mission in Hazaribagh to be celebrated by the opening of the Zenana Hospital, completed with a grant of Rs.6,000 and the operating theatre furnished by the governor at his own expense. A further grant of Rs.2,500 permitted long overdue repairs and extensions to be made to the dispensaries in the district. The new hospital at Itki received a grant for the completion and equipment of an operating theatre allowing Mrs. Stallard to develop the medical and surgical scope of the country care of the sick.

When in October 1913, Foss Westcott returned to the diocese from leave in England, he had cause for sober confidence in the progress of the work which the annual diocesan report was able to demonstrate. In the 10 years which had elapsed since the death of Bishop Whitley the diocese had been divided into 6 districts each with its headquarters and cluster of institutions. The three oldest centres of Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Chaibasa dated from 1869, Murhu and Itki had been established and developed within the decade, and the newest centre at Manoharpur; founded in 1913, was still to be developed. In each district centre, educational and medical work was established with both boys and girls boarding schools and hostels, a hospital or dispensary, and in the three oldest centres of Ranchi, Chaibasa and Hazaribagh flourishing High Schools. At Hazaribagh, in addition, the Brotherhood had its B.A. college and the largest hospital in India, which was sponsored by S.P.G. through its

connection with the Dublin Home committee. The care of the European residents, who in the decade had increased to almost 3,000, had been provided for with churches built at Purulia, Dhanbad, Chakradharpur and Adra, and at Ranchi, with its government officials, the Cathedral congregation had its trained choir and a monthly magazine, the Ranchi Church Messenger, a Blind School, Teacher Training Schools and a Lace School.

The missionary staff comprised the following:-

Missionary priests:	18 of whom 7 formed the Brotherhood in Hazaribagh
Lay Missionaries:	2
Lady Missionaries:	21 of whom 9 were Lady Associates at Hazaribagh and 5 were Honorary workers receiving no salary
Native priests:	15
Native deacons:	5
Total baptised members:	20,028
Total Communicants:	9,503

The annual grant from the Society totalled Rs.61,347 of which Rs.22,741 was allocated for missionaries' salaries and Rs.15,625 for the stipends of masters and readers: the balance of Rs.22,981 being for the general work of the diocese. The contributions to the Native Pastorate Fund which was supported from the congregational offerings had made an increase from Rs.2:75 per communicant in 1910 to Rs.4:15 per communicant in 1913. The bishop's words at the end of his survey can fittingly close this review of the state of the diocese:- "There is work to be done of importance and great interest. Though we live apart from the great movements which stir the lives of Indians in more advanced parts, the development and uplift of the tribal people is an inspiring task. We thank God that he has called us to take our share in it, and pray that we may have wisdom, courage and strength to prove faithful to this solemn trust". The events of the First World War were to demonstrate the bishop's commitment to the service of the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur, not only those of the Anglican diocese but to those of the German mission who, deprived of the leadership of their own missionaries, found in Bishop Foss Westcott one who set himself to guide and sustain them during the years 1915-1919.

THE BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA AND METROPOLITANS: 1814-1945

The Bishop of Calcutta became Metropolitan by Letters Patent dated October 10th 1835.

1. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton 1814-1822
 Consecrated 8th May 1814
 Arrived 28th November 1814
 Died 8th July 1822
2. Reginald Heber 1823-1826
 Consecrated 1st June 1823
 Arrived 11th October 1823
 Died 3rd April 1826 (buried at Trichinopoly)
3. John Thomas James 1828
 Consecrated 3rd June 1827
 Arrived 16th January 1828
 Died 22nd August 1828 (died at sea)
4. John Matthias Turner 1829-1831
 Consecrated 11th May 1829
 Arrived 10th December 1829
 Died 7th July 1831
5. Daniel Wilson 1832-1858
 Consecrated 29th April 1832
 Arrived 5th November 1832
 Died 1st January 1858
6. George Edward Lynch Cotton 1858-1866
 (drowned at Kushtia 7th October 1866)
7. Robert Milman 1867-1876
 (died at Rawalpindi 5th March 1876)
8. Edward Ralph Johnson 1876-1898
 Resigned 1898
 Died 1912
9. James Edward Cowell Welldon 1898-1902
 Resigned 1902
 Died 1937

THE BISHOPS OF CATHAR AND THEIR SUCCESSION: 1614-1945 (Continued)

10. Marinella Stephen Copleston 1902-1913

(translated from Colombo).

Resigned 1913

Died 1925

11. George Alfred Lefroy 1913-1919

(translated from Lahore).

Died 1st January 1919

12. Foss Westcott 1919-1945

(translated from Chota Nagpur).

Died Darjeeling 19th October 1949

PART 2

THE WAR YEARS

Chapter 5: EDINBURGH 1910, THE OUTBREAK OF THE
GREAT WAR AND THE DEPORTATION OF THE
GERMAN MISSIONARIES FROM INDIA:
NOVEMBER 1915.

EDINBURGH 1910 AND THE PRELUDE TO THE GREAT WAR

The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 had devoted a Commission to the relations of Missions and Governments (Commission VII) which reported on the variety of political conditions under which Christian missions were at work throughout the world: Japan, China, India, the Dutch East Indies, Mohammedan Lands, Northern, Mid and Southern Africa. The status of missionaries with regard to government authority had been included in the Treaty of Berlin 1885 called by Bismarck, which, although dealing directly with missionaries in the Congo Free State, had subsequently acquired the authority of a general principle agreed to by all the signatory powers who attended the Conference on Colonial Questions. Article VI set the terms for the protection of missionaries and mission property as follows:-

PROVISIONS RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF THE NATIVES,
to MISSIONARIES, and TRAVELLERS, and to RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY.

All the Powers exercising sovereign rights, or having influence in the said territories will protect and encourage, without distinction of Nationality or Creed, all institutions and enterprises, religious, scientific, or charitable, established and organised for these objects or tending to educate the natives, and lead them to understand and appreciate the advantage of civilisation.

Christian missionaries, men of science, explorers and their escorts and collections to be equally the object of special protection. The free and public exercise of every creed, the right to erect religious buildings and or organise Missions belonging to every creed, shall be subject to no restrictions or impediment whatsoever.

The Berlin Agreement provided the terms of reference which accorded

the missionary and his property the protection and privileged status which came to be regarded as the norm irrespective of the political conditions appertaining in any one country. The clause stipulating that, in the event of war those aliens engaged in peaceful pursuits should not be arbitrarily expelled, protected the missionary communities with the full sanction of International Law.

(1)

In the Commission's report on India relations between missions and government were acknowledged to be such that there was very little ground for complaint:

"It is the practically unanimous testimony of missionaries of all Societies, representative of many nations, that under the Indian Government they have freedom and encouragement, and, in departments of their work for which the State acknowledges a certain responsibility of its own, considerable financial aid. No Government has acknowledged more freely the blessings which missionaries have brought to the people of the land."

(2)

In the Principles and Findings the right of each individual government to maintain law and order was acknowledged:-

Certain Underlying Principles controlling the relations of Missions to Governments No 4 stated:

"Every independent State has full control of municipal regulations within its borders. It is not answerable to any foreign State for such regulations, except as far as the regulations contravene accepted international law or treaty. Its function is civil and in that respect supreme. It is sole judge for what makes for the good or ill of its people. Under this head come all questions of property rights, as well as of social order."

(3)

Under the heading "Missionaries and Loyalty" the missionary and his

nationality was dealt with in the following terms:

"The Missionary is usually concerned with two Governments, that of the country from which he has come, and that of the country in which he works. And he must be regardful of his duty to both. The missionary can never shake off his nationality or race. However disposed he may be to sink all that marks him off from the people among whom he lives and works, he cannot, as a rule, do this. His nation and even his home Government are involved in him

Nationality, race, citizenship, Government, positive law, loyalty, are terms pregnant with meaning and importance for the missionary. Foremost amongst these things is the sentiment of respect for constituted authority." (4)

In the discussion accompanying the official Report of the Commission only one speaker denounced the use of war as the remedy for deciding right or wrong in international affairs. The Honorable William Jennings Bryan, one of the special delegates appointed by the American Executive Committee, from Lincoln, Nebraska predicting the creation of the League of Nations, denounced at the same time the very conditions under which the First World War was waged:-

"I do not understand how two Christian nations can very well justify going to war with each other to settle a question of right or wrong, and therefore it seems to me that we have about reached the time when the Christian nations will agree amongst themselves that if any dispute arises which defies diplomatic settlement it shall be submitted to an international impartial tribunal, at least for investigation and report, before the guns of war begin to sound."

(5)

The First World War, fought between the Christian nations of Europe, resulted in a deleterious situation for German and Austrian missionaries, who on account of their nationality became

compromised and the fortunes of the belligerents in India, where the government's policy became progressively hostile.

During the first months of the War German missionaries were accorded privileges which though restrictive were not harsh. After the passing of the Defence of India Act in March 1915, which brought India under martial law, these privileges were withdrawn; German missionary personnel were removed from their spheres of work, interned in concentration camps and finally deported. Under the anti-German hysteria which swept both Britain and India, German missionaries were accused of being enemy agents, and it was the outstanding leaders of the Indian and British churches who had the courage to denounce these accusations as slanderous. In India Bishop Foss Westcott and in Britain J.H. Oldham, the Secretary of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, throughout the war years worked for the welfare of the German missions. The support and care of the orphaned German missions in India became the responsibility of the National Missionary Council with which Oldham kept in close contact. Bishop Westcott's relations with the government of Bihar resulted in the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur being entrusted by the government to the Bishop so that the educational work of the Lutheran schools should not suffer. Thus Edinburgh 1910 in its Commission on Missions and Governments provided the basis and framework for consultation and confirmation between missionary societies and government departments in both Britain and India during the years of the World War.

THE MISSIONARY COUNCILS AND THE WAR

The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference brought into existence through its Continuation Committee national councils of missionary societies which, on the outbreak of the World War, were compelled to develop new methods of dealing with the problems created by the

Christian nations of Europe acting as belligerents in a total war, on a scale hitherto unprecedented. The Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, formed in 1911, and the National Missionary Council of India, formed in 1914, were two councils called upon to deal with the question of German missions in the British Empire in a changed political climate where the decisions of national governments with regard to enemy aliens replaced the protection afforded by International Law for missionary communities. The wartime problems which eventually affected the entire international missionary movement fell into two areas:- The matters directly concerned with German missions including the expulsion of German missionaries from their fields of work and the expropriation of German mission property by Government order.

Secondly the indirect result of the policy towards German missions which eventually affected all alien missionaries within the British Empire once the principle of Government permits for missionary personnel was established and introduced in 1919. The permit system for missionaries was widely adopted and became a generally established practice throughout the international missionary world in the post-war era.

The establishing of good relations between missionary societies and individual government departments called for diplomatic gifts of a high order, and the early influence of the Continuation Committee was exercised personally through individuals acting in a private capacity. This was particularly true in Great Britain where Members of Parliament interested in missionary work had access to their party leaders, where missionary and church leaders could call on politicians of their own denomination, and where the Archbishop of Canterbury, because of the position of the Established Church of England, was able to present the views of the churches and the missionary societies

to the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet. The closing down of the Continuation Committee's office in Edinburgh after the outbreak of the war and the move of both secretaries, J.H.Oldham and Kenneth Maclean, to London, where they offered their services to the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies, enabled the closest contacts to be formed with Government officials working in the India and Colonial Offices. Oldham, who had a keen appreciation of how to deal with problems by presenting them to Government in a way which elicited a positive response, established himself through his intellectual perception and diplomatic manner in a position of great personal influence. He came to be trusted by all Government departments with whom he corresponded on behalf of the interests of missions. In America John R.Mott had direct access to the devout Presbyterian President Woodrow Wilson, and two members of the State executive departments with the result that at the Peace negotiations in 1919 in which President Wilson took a leading part, Mott was able to introduce into the Treaty of Versailles Article 438 which preserved and protected German mission property from confiscation and secularisation.

The German missions and their problems found in Oldham a spokesman who represented the opinion of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain since the territories of the British Empire included the largest number of German societies and missionaries. In India the National Missionary Council and its Executive was the missionary agency best placed to carry out action on behalf of the German missions, despite only having come into existence in February 1914. The Council accepted responsibility for the large German mission fields and as a result was compelled to enter into negotiations with the Government of India which involved action and decisions which went beyond the strict letter of its constitution that "the function of the Council

shall be solely consultative and advisory and not legislative and mandatory." From 1914-1926 the National and Provincial Councils of Missions in India gave their time and their man-power to the work of supervision and assistance of the German mission fields, and in so doing they displayed ability, tact and impartiality in dealing with the problems which won the respect of all parties concerned. The War-time problems which demanded negotiations for the preservation of the German mission fields as alien property from confiscation by the Government of India at the close of the War were succeeded by the introduction of Government permits for alien missionaries. The National Missionary Council had won the confidence of the Government, who made the Council responsible for all non-Roman Catholic missionaries of recognised societies in America and the British Commonwealth, permitting into India only those who received recommendation from the Council.

The legality of the Government decisions based on national sovereignty which affected the German missions during and after the World War marked the end of the era of International Law which had ensured that enemy aliens engaged in peaceful and humanitarian pursuits were entitled to protection, and should not be arbitrarily expelled or victimised. The preservation of the German mission fields during the War, and the negotiations which permitted the German missionaries to return to continue their disinterested and self-denying work in the post-War period, demonstrated the success achieved by the Councils of Missions in their dealings with the Governments of both Great Britain and India.

(6)

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR: AUGUST 1914

The South African War between Great Britain and the Boer Republics which commenced on October 10th 1899 created significant precedents

for the way in which the civilian population was treated by the military authorities. By mutual agreement this was considered to be a 'White Man's War', in the initial stages fought between the professional soldiers and the armed burghers, but after 1901 the character of the war changed to a large scale guerilla campaign in which the Boer commandos evaded engagements and with the active support of the civilian population wrested the initiative from the static British garrisons. Sir Herbert Kitchener's solution to this frustrating problem was to remove the civilian population of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to concentration camps and destroy and burn their livestock and farms, thus depriving the commandos of their home bases. Amongst the internees were missionaries of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society who were assumed to have given their support to the Boers. Kitchener's policy of internment later developed into deportation from South Africa of prisoners who were considered to be refractory or politically dangerous. The largest concentration camp for deportees was erected in the vast military cantonment at Ahmednagar, 200 miles west of Bombay; other camps were set up on St. Helena, Bermuda and Ceylon. The party of Hermannsburgers were deported to Ahmednagar since they were accused of expressing sympathy with or assisting the commandos in their cause.

(7)

The Boer War introduced the concept of total war in which the distinction between the professional soldier and the civilian with his protected status, immunity and special privileges ceased to be regarded. The agreement reached on the status of missionaries by the Berlin Treaty of 1885 had envisaged their protection in cases of local native disputes but the eventuality of missionary personnel being involved in a 'White Man's War' had never been anticipated.

The internment of the Hermannsburg missionaries in Ahmednagar was the first breach of the immunity, which, on account of their philanthropic work, Protestant missionaries had come to expect in relation to government, and it left a deep impression on the German societies. With the outbreak of the World War in August 1914, the German authorities interned the British missionaries working in German, East Africa and impounded all their mission property, a precedent which was later followed by the Indian Government who in retaliation, interned and later deported all German and Austrian missionaries.

On August 4th. 1914 Great Britain declared war on Germany and on August 8th. the Defence of the Realm Act, (known as DORA) was passed placing the country under Martial Law. The censorship of the press on an unprecedented scale resulted in control of all sources of information which the general public were permitted to know, and the use of propaganda by the Government to further an anti-German campaign which was compounded of rumours, a spate of horror stories and atrocities, together with edited versions of events printed by the media, produced a wave of anti-German hysteria which swept the country in 1914 and early 1915.

A succession of events relating to the treatment of civilians produced the genesis of hatred against Germany, which the Government deliberately controlled through the Propaganda Bureau in which men of letters notably Rudyard Kipling and H.G. Wells created the caricature of the brutal Hun. Germany's total disregard of the Haig Conventions of 1899 relating to the international agreements regarding the Laws and Customs of War on Land gave additional proof of German "frightfulness" - the term which came into use covering German atrocities.

The initial atrocity stories originated in Belgium and were connected with the German army's occupation and bombardment of the city of Louvain on August 25th.1914. On November 2nd a German battle cruiser squadron raided the Norfolk coast, and on December 16th Sunderland, Hartlepool and Whitby were bombarded; on both occasions the raiders evaded the British navy and returned safely to Kiel. In January 1915 the Government published an official report on German Atrocities, known as the Bryce Report after the committee of investigation headed by Viscount Bryce, a former ambassador to the United States. This was aimed at the large German immigrant communities in America and was given wide circulation there and in neutral countries. A second report in 1916 undertaken by J.H.Morgan, a Professor of Constitutional Law in London University, demanded that the whole German nation should take responsibility for the acts of atrocity. January 1915 saw the first zeppelin raids on the south coast, and London and on March 10-12th. during the battle of Neuve Chapelle the Germans employed poison gas which controvened the Haig Conventions. On May 7th.1915 the passenger liner 'Lusitania' was sunk by the German U-boat 20 miles off the coast of Ireland. The fact that the ship was carrying ammunition was suppressed by the Government and the civilian casualties, of 1198, which included 124 American citizens, were publicised as further proof of German barbarity. The subsequent decoration of the U-boat Captain Waltar Schweiger by the Kaiser provided additional verification of the vileness of the German character. Finally on October 12th.1915 two British nurses, Edith Louisa Cavell and Grace Hume, were executed by firing squad in Brussels after trial by a German Court-Martial, despite pleas for clemency by representatives from neutral countries.

DORA had made provision for the registration of enemy aliens with the police, but anti-German hysteria provoked the looting of German

shops and business premises by angry mobs, compelling the government to create internment camps where aliens were collected and guarded by the army. Spy mania followed the success of the German forces, resulting in the popular outcry for the resignation of Prince Louis of Battenberg, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in October 1914. Later in the War the King was compelled to yield to anti-German feelings which again swept the country, and renouncing his German titles in 1917 change the name to the Royal House to Windsor. (8)

banking

In India the German community was comprised of business, and mercantile firms in the large Presidential cities and the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions which were located in distinct geographical areas throughout the country. We have noted that the largest concentration of German missions was to be found in South India where the Leipzig, Hermannsburg and Basle missions were at work; the Schleswig-Holstein Mission was isolated in the Jeypore Agency on the borders of Orissa, and the Gossner Lutheran Mission was centered in Chota Nagpur with the Ganges Mission stations in Bihar to the north and south of the river. The largest German Roman Catholic Mission was that of the Jesuits in Bombay, where the Archbishop was a German; there was a small mission of the Salvatorians in Assam and a third small mission of the Tyrolese Capuchins in North Bihar. German missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, were to be found working with other societies, as instanced by the Belgian Jesuit Mission in Chota Nagpur where there were five German priests.

The registration of all Germans and Austrians as Enemy Aliens followed the declaration of War in August 1914, a regulation which the local police applied to the missionaries who were allowed to remain and continue working on their stations. In March 1915 the Defence of India Act was passed bringing the country under Martial Law. The

intervening period from August 1914 to March 1915 reproduced in India, on a milder scale, the anti-German hysteria which had swept Britain, compounded of rumours, atrocity stories and the insinuation that all Germans, including the missionary community, were spies and enemy agents. The Government decided on the internment of all men who were of military age and reopened the old Boer War internment camp at Ahmednagar to which parties of Germans were transferred under military escorts.

We shall now review the situation as it developed in India during this first stage of the War and the responsibility which the newly formed National Missionary Council assumed for the support and welfare of the German missions.

THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL: THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

The National Missionary Council of India held its first meeting from February 4-5th. 1914 at the YMCA building Calcutta and was attended by 28 out of the 36 delegates appointed from the eight Provincial Councils which had been brought into existence during 1913. The plan for the Council which had been proposed at the All-India National Conference called by John R. Mott in December 1912 was discussed and finally approved and the election of the officers in accordance with the new Constitution completed. The Metropolitan, Bishop Lefroy was elected President, two joint secretaries - the Revd. Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in Calcutta, and Mr. E. C. Carter, a former leader of the American SCM, a graduate of Yale and the General Secretary of the Student YMCA of India, and the Honorary Treasurer, the Revd. W. E. S. Holland of the CMS in Allahabad, comprised the Executive Committee. The decision to increase the membership from the Provincial Councils to three elected members and the recommendation that the Indian Christian community should receive adequate representation as Council members

was agreed. The concern that a re-statement of the traditional principles of Comity was required to enable the Council members to co-operate more effectively resulted in the Committee on Co-operation and Unity being authorized to draft a comprehensive 'Statement on Comity among Missions in India', to be sent to the Provincial Councils for discussion and criticism. Further committees were appointed on Survey, Education, the Church in India, the European and Anglo-Indian Community, Finance, Literature, Medical Work and Co-operative Schemes. John R. Mott who had made available the necessary funds for the Regional Conferences of Missionaries, the National Missionary Conference and the first meeting of the Council, continued his financial support in order to ensure that the attendance of delegates to the Council, which, it was agreed, should meet annually, to enable the Council to render the most efficient service to the Christian community in India. Donations from Mott's personal friends and the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Board of the United States and Canada guaranteed the Council's future.

(9)

With the outbreak of the War in August 1914, the situation facing the missions working in India whose home base was situated in the countries of the Central Powers - Germany, Austria and their allies, - was seen to be critical and action for their welfare was initiated by Lefroy and Anderson. Since both were resident in Calcutta they immediately opened correspondence with J.H. Oldham, the Secretary of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee and the Standing Committee of the British Missionary Societies in London. The Continuation Committee composed of 40 members had met at the Hague in November 1913, and had planned its next meeting to be held in September 1914. With the outbreak of War the Committee ceased to function, since it proved

impossible for the three representatives from Germany, Professor D.G. Haussleiter, Bishop P.O. Hennig and Dr. Julius Richter to attend, and, in their absence, the members from neutral countries declined to continue proceedings. Only Mott, owing to his American nationality, was able to maintain contact with the German Home Mission Boards throughout the years of the War, before the Americans entered into hostilities on April 6th. 1917. It was agreed that information giving the state and needs of the Continental Missions in India was essential and Anderson undertook to collect this for transmission to London where an Appeal for Relief Funds was opened. In India he entrusted the Provincial Councils of Missions in Madras and Bihar through their respective secretaries to bring the needs of the Missions in their areas to the attention of the Missionary community in India.

THE NMC EXECUTIVE MEETING: NOVEMBER 1914

In our review of Protestant missions we have noted the important place assigned to the Home Society which was responsible for both the recruiting of workers for the mission field and collecting financial support for their maintenance and the development of the mission work in India. With the outbreak of war it was at once apparent to the officers of the NMC that the vital link between the Home Missions in Germany and the missionaries in their various fields in India had been seriously dislocated with the inevitable deficit in financial support. It was to this crisis that Lefroy and Anderson addressed themselves on behalf of their colleagues of the Continental Missions by initiating a policy which, while maintaining absolute loyalty to the Government of India, was employed to assist the German missions during the months following the declaration of hostilities in August 1914.

From November 21-24th. 1914 the Executive Committee of the NMC met at

the Bishop's Palace Calcutta and reviewed the progress of the schemes which had been undertaken on behalf of the Continental Missions.

Anderson presented reports which showed that the Provincial Councils of Missions in Madras and Bihar had responded energetically to the crisis by appointing Relief Committees which had issued appeals for funds, and, in the case of Madras, had also ascertained the needs of the individual German missions. In presenting his report on the Continental Missions Relief Fund, Anderson summarised the NMC achievements as follows:-

1. On the outbreak of the War the Secretary (Anderson) had made personal enquiries through the local German bank, the German-Asian Bank, in Calcutta regarding the financial condition of the nearest German mission (the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur) and had written to the Secretaries of the Bihar and Madras Councils requesting them to gather information relating to the needs of the German missions in their respective areas.
2. A letter of Fraternal Regard had been sent to the Secretaries of the German Missions working in India.
3. Appeals for funds had been issued by the Convenors of the special committees appointed for the welfare of German Missions, the Revd. C.H. Monahan of the Wesleyan Methodist Society for Madras and the Bishop of Chota Nagpur for Bihar. The Bihar appeal on October 8th; the Madras appeal on October 19th. and the General Appeal issued by the NMC Executive sent to every mission station in India on October 17th.
4. The Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal and the Private Secretary to the Viceroy had received copies of the NMC appeal and had been informed of the difficult situation confronting

the German Missions.

5. On November 3rd. 1914 a letter to the Press had been published giving the results of the MMC Appeal to date:-
British and American missionaries had contributed a total of Rs.3,500 of which a large amount was in the form of monthly subscriptions. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur had also received donations. However, should the present policy of the Government be continued for the future, considerable sums would be required and further donations were solicited to be sent to the Honorary Treasurer at 33 Amherst St Calcutta.

6. Close contact had been maintained with the officers of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, Dr.Mott and J.H.Oldham, and a donation of £400 had been received on November 19th.sent by Oldham from the Standing Committee of the British Missionary Societies in London.

Anderson closed his report with the following:-

"The Executive desire to express their gratitude for the response already made, evincing as it does, a deep and genuine interest in the activities of Continental Missions in India, an appreciation of the loyalty and self-sacrifice of German missionaries as a whole and a determination that the bond of Christian Brotherhood shall not be broken between those who are one in Christ."

The Provincial Survey of German Missions and their Needs, received to date, was also presented by Anderson:-

1. Bihar and Orissa: The Gossner Mission had heard from the Secretary of the Home Board that Rs.5,000 was about to be sent out. A report from the Secretary of the Mission in Ranchi,

Mr. Stosch, states that a balance of Rs.600 remains, that the Government are at present continuing their Educational Grant and in addition have given Rs.3,000. In the event of this support being withdrawn the position of the Mission will be serious.

2. United Provinces: The mission station at Ghazipur belonging to the Gossner Ganges Valley Mission is in need of help and an appeal has been made to the Bihar Committee.

3. Madras: No report was available from the Basle Mission. The Leipzig missionaries were in no special need.

The Hermannsburg Mission was in difficulty but no details were available.

The Schleswig-Holstein Mission had suffered drastically with the result that from September 15th.1914 the missionaries had dismissed 275 workers and placed a further 150 on half-pay. Their own allowances had been cut to one rupee per adult and eight annas per child. The sum of £636 received from the Home Board in Denmark for European Missionaries expenses had, by general agreement, been used for the general work.

The Executive agreed that the £400 sent by Oldham should be distributed in terms of Rs.4,000 to Madras and Rs.2,000 to Chota Nagpur with the balance reserved for future needs as they occurred.

Anderson concluded his report by stressing the vital importance of supplying the local Government authorities with regular news of the relief being given to the German missions, and requested that information regarding sums sent out by the German Home Boards should be communicated to the NMC Executive.

Government Policy in India: August 1914 - March 1915

The Government of India, no less than the British Government, was faced with an unprecedented situation after the declaration of war with regard to the status of German and Austrian citizens, who as Enemy Aliens were working in India. Prior to the introduction of the Defence of India Act in March 1915, which placed India under Martial Law, the Police were authorised to enforce the regulations which came to be applied to all German missionary personnel as follows:-

Censorship of letters, registration with the District Commissioner's office, a written undertaking not to damage Government interests, and the confiscation of all fire-arms. The mission stations were placed under Police surveillance day and night and all visitors and correspondence scrutinised and checked; after written recommendation had been provided by any two British government officers as guarantors, no restrictions were placed on the normal movements required for the work connected with the Mission. The only missionaries to be drastically affected by the state of hostilities were male missionaries under the age of 45 who were classed as Prisoners of War, since they were of military age. They were placed under escort and sent for internment to the camps at Ahmednagar. The consideration shown to the German missionaries was a direct result of the policy which the Secretary of State for India, Viscount Crewe, had formulated, following a question raised in the House of Commons on August 27th, and sent out to India in a telegram to the Home Department on September 2nd, 1914. Lord Crewe requested that 'sympathetic consideration should be extended to those engaged in purely religious work'. That such a policy was in accord with the views of the Government of India was confirmed in the reply sent on September 6th, that 'the Government intended to do so and anticipated that the

exceptions which it might be necessary to make would be few'.

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The Government of India with the approval of the Secretary of State for India delegated to the Provincial Governments the responsibility for the way in which the German missions in their territory were treated. The implementing of the policy in South India where the largest concentration of German missionaries were to be found resulted in the Government of Madras peremptorily sending the missionaries who were of military age to be interned at Ahmednagar. The Madras Council of Missions was at once alerted to the confusion which resulted from the sudden withdrawal from positions of influence and administration of many key personnel, and constituted a German Missions Continuation Committee to collect evidence. The Committee drafted an official Representation to the Government containing suggestions and forwarded it to the Executive Committee of the NMC in Calcutta with the request that the Executive should present the situation to the Government. The suggestions were as follows:-

- (a) That with the consent of the Local Government and District Magistrate concerned certain key missionaries now interned should be allowed to return to their stations in order to maintain the efficiency of their respective institutions.

The assurance in each case would be given of abstaining from all acts detrimental to the State.

- (b) Missionaries under the age of 45 who had failed to obtain the requisite signatures of two British officials and had been interned should be released.
- (c) Special consideration regarding the escorting of any missionaries who should be interned in the future.

(d) That the missionaries already interned at Ahmednagar might have the regulations regarding correspondence relaxed for both outgoing and incoming letters. On January 26th 1915 Anderson forwarded the Representation to the Viceroy, Lord Hardings.

The Viceroy during the years from 1910 had established the most cordial relations with Bishop Lefroy, who as Bishop of Lahore had frequently been his guest at Simla. At Lefroy's suggestion, Anderson requested a personal interview with the Viceroy to discuss the problems which had arisen regarding the German missions, and on March 11th, Lord Hardings replied to Anderson, agreeing to the meeting, but pointing out that it would be more appropriate if representatives of the NMC were to meet with Sir Reginald Craddock. On March 15th., Anderson and Carter met with Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir Harcourt Butler, Mr. H. Wheeler, Secretary to the Government of India, and Mr. H. Sharp, in the Secretariat at Delhi and presented an official Memorial which contained the following interests which the NMC regarded as important relating to the German missions in India.

1. World-wide missionary opinion was watching with concern to see in what way the Government of India was dealing with German Missionary Organisations, their missionaries and their institutions.
2. The Indian Christian Community, which numbered 38,000,000, included Lutherans who totalled 1/8th of the whole and whose relationship with the German missions was very significant at the present time.
3. Since the outbreak of war Protestant missionaries in India had contributed personally gifts amounting to Rs.25,000/- towards the support of German missionaries per week. The same groups of Protestant missionaries had given their support to the Memorial

to the Government which the Secretaries of the MNC were presenting for consideration.

The Memorial contained two points:-

1. On the basis of the very considerate treatment which had been granted to German missionaries during the past six months the Government would permit certain German missionaries to return from internment and continue to supervise their work, after giving the required assurances to observe strict neutrality.
2. The repatriation of German women, children and ill and infirm missionaries where this was considered to be desirable and necessary.

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The written reply to the Memorial was sent by Wheeler to Anderson dated March 24th.1915, in which he expressed the deep appreciation of the Government for the Representation drawn up by the Madras Missionary Council and acknowledged the advantages which the meeting in Delhi had afforded for a discussion on a very important matter. The Government's response to the suggestions in the Representation from Madras took the form of a list containing the status of German missionaries in all Provinces (with the exception of Bombay) showing that they were classified under three heads: under military control, under civil detention and at large on parole. The men from Madras detained at Ahmednagar under military control numbered 57, of whom 41 were classified as combatants as being under 45 years of age; for the rest of India eight men from the Basle Mission and one each from Bihar, the Punjab and the Central Provinces completed the number of internees.

In the category of persons under Civil Detention in Madras there were 16 men and 46 wives, leaving 58 men on parole and at large to continue

their work. Wheeler commented on the points in the Representation and the Memorial under the following heads:-

1. Return of Missionaries interned at Ahmednagar

While acknowledging that the situation in Madras was peculiar the general policy of the Government regarding German missions in the rest of the country had been as little irksome as possible. The procedure with regard to internment rested entirely with the local government and if representation was required for the release of prisoners from detention Wheeler advised an official approach to the local authorities.

2. Failure to obtain recommendation from two British officials

No missionary was in detention on this ground alone.

3. Military Escort to Ahmednagar and the Mail facilities during detention

The resentment and humiliation caused to missionaries by being publicly escorted to detention by British and Indian soldiers was a matter which rested entirely with the local military authorities and no information was available to the Government on how this escort duty had been performed.

The relaxation of the rules for missionaries who were under military detention relating to mail was not considered to be practicable.

4. Repatriation

The suggestion for the repatriation of missionary families was under consideration and would be sympathetically arranged as soon as correspondence with the Secretary of State had been finalised.

Wheeler stressed that the situation since the outbreak of the War in the previous August had demanded that the security of the State be the paramount consideration and that regulations which had at an earlier period been applied rather laxly had required modification. The introduction of the Defence of India Act, which placed the country under Martial Law, was the determining factor by which all previous regulations would be modified in the interests of greater strictness. In conclusion he commented - 'The Government of India trust that those who have moved in this question will perceive that in great measure the policy which they have advocated has been anticipated and that consideration has been shown to those whose interests they seek to protect the Government of India are perfectly willing to consider sympathetically any such requests made, though they must reserve the right to dispose of them on their individual merits'.

(13)

MARCH - DECEMBER 1915: THE GOVERNMENT CHANGE IN POLICY

We have noted the lenient and sympathetic attitude shown by the Government of India towards the German missionaries in response to the September 1914 telegram from the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe. During 1915 the Government of India's policy changed to one of increasing suspicion and hostility, resulting in the decision to expel all missionary personnel from their stations and finally to deport them to Germany. We have also noted the virulent anti-German hysteria which during 1915 gripped the population of Great Britain, and which was fostered by the Government's Bureau of Propaganda. This anti-German lobby found representation in the press and in the House of Commons, where increasingly critical questions relating to the policy of the Government in India were put to the Secretary of State for India. The insistence that the privileged status of German missionaries should be withdrawn found representation in the Indian

prisons, where a vocal anti-German campaign was undertaken by a section of the British community, who reflected the symptoms of the hysteria in Great Britain, accusing the missionaries of being spies and agents of the German Government. Following the introduction of the Defence of India Act in March 1915, the Government replaced supervision of the German missionaries who had been under civil and Police protection, by military internment in centres where they were classed indiscriminately as Prisoners of War, and the women and children isolated to await repatriation to Germany. Finally, the Government decision to remove all German missionaries from India by deportation was contaminated by the unproven charge and suspicion that as a body they had been actively disloyal to the Government, and as a consequence the possibility of their ever returning to their work after the War was deemed in official circles as impolitic.

We shall now trace the events of 1915 with reference to the British Parliament, the press campaign in India and the arrangements under which the German missionaries were removed and deported.

PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS:

The formation of a Coalition Government by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, on May 26th. 1915 recalled the MP for West Birmingham, Mr. Joseph Austen Chamberlain, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Conservative Government of Mr. Balfour, to the office of Secretary of State for India. Question time in the House of Commons from June 1915 provided the forum where the fortunes of the German community in India received publicity and where the future of the German missionaries together with their countrymen in the commercial community were decided. Mr. Chamberlain's answers from June onwards reflect the increasingly strict enforcement of the regulations relating to the German community in India. On June 9th.

Mr. Chamberlain replied to a question stating that in accordance with the Hostile Foreigners Trading Act the Government of India had insisted that all German commercial firms and shop-keepers must continue to function under a licence from the Government or wind up and dispose of their goods following liquidation. On June 23rd. the status of German missionaries was clarified according to the categories registered in April 1915 as follows:-

Interned under Military control at Ahmednagar	115
Under Civil Detention	70
At Liberty on Parole	442

Two further pointed questions relating to German missionaries were asked:-

What is the nature of the supervision exercised over German missionaries seeing they have great influence in large areas in which each missionary is probably the only resident European?

Why did they release on parole the German missionaries in India?

surely they are impregnated with German ideas? Mr. Chamberlain replied that the methods employed by the Government of India were adequate to each individual case and he was quite ready to leave the treatment of Aliens to the discretion of the Government of India since he was convinced that they were enforcing the regulations more strictly than was the case in Britain. These questions, however, prompted

Chamberlain to telegraph to the Viceroy on June 29th. outlining a policy of repatriation for all German women and for male missionaries under or over the statutory military age of 45, unless they had received exemption from a special Committee constituted to hear appeals. On July 1st questions relating to German missionaries were asked in both the Commons and the House of Lords. In the Commons the policy of not only deporting German missionaries but prohibiting their return

to India was coupled with a question advocating the desirability of expropriating all German commercial enterprises and placing the concerns under British management. Mr. Chamberlain replied that he was awaiting communication from the Viceroy. In the House of Lords the Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Islington, replied to a question put by Lord Strachie which was subsequently reported under the heading "Spy-Scare" relating to the information provided by Mr. Chamberlain on June 23rd, that missionaries were at liberty on parole. Lord Strachie asked - 'What has been done in the case of wives and daughters of missionaries who have been interned; in cases where it is thought necessary to shut up missionaries special care should be taken with regard to their female relatives. We know that as much harm can be done by women, perhaps more so, because they are under less suspicion. It has been the tradition from the time of Frederick the Great and has been hereditary in that country. The system of having spies has been fostered and organised by Germany in a way of which we had no idea until the War broke out'.

The campaign in the press against the German missionaries in India produced a report printed in the Morning Post on July 7th. 1915, stating that the Head of the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur, "Father Stosch", had been re-appointed as a member of the District Board for three years service, and that there were 110 German missionaries at large in Chota Nagpur of whom 50 were men. This was followed by a defamatory report relating to the German missionaries in South India dated from Calcutta on July 10th. under the heading:- 'Germans in India: Missionary Enterprise.' 'An English missionary who has had exceptional opportunities for making enquiries declares in the Madras Mail that an earnest hope exists in missionary circles in Madras that every German missionary will speedily be interned and at the close of the war deported. The use made by the Germans of

the privileges enjoyed by missionaries to spread unrest and sedition has distressed and disgusted the whole missionary community. While there was every readiness at the outset to be charitable, the general feeling entertained now is, says the missionary, that they can never again be trusted'.

On July 16th, The Times printed a report from Calcutta dated the 15th. July stating that 16 German missionaries in Assam had been conveyed under military escort from Gauhati to Jabbalpore for internment. The total number of German missionaries working in Assam at the outbreak of the war was given as 17 men and 10 women, all of whom had previously been allowed to continue their work on parole. The party of internees included the Prefect Apostolic, Monsignor C. Becker, and the whole of the Salvatorians, comprising nine priests and four lay-brothers. The 10 Salvatorian sisters were allowed to remain at Shillong awaiting repatriation.

On July 19th. Mr Chamberlain replied to the question raised by the report in the Morning Post of July 7th. relating to the Chota Nagpur Mission and Father Stosch. The Viceroy had telegraphed the information on July 18th. that Stosch, by virtue of his membership of the District Board, had received the form sent to all members asking if they wished to accept re-appointment for a period of three years. He had replied in the affirmative, but subsequently the authorities in Ranchi had decided that this was not desirable. Regarding the general treatment of missionaries, Mr. Chamberlain classed them with other enemy aliens and informed the House that the Government of India had issued instructions that the time had come to take greater precautions against the abuse of the leniency which they had hitherto enjoyed. The policy in India was to be brought into line with the arrangements in Britain regarding internment and repatriation.

On July 21st Truth announced Mr. Chamberlain's decision and added the following comment:- 'Better late than never but the precaution ought to have been taken 11 months ago. It is impossible to say what mischief has not been wrought among the native population by the hundreds of German missionaries who have been left at large all these months. So far as I am aware Truth has been alone among English newspapers in directing attention to this danger which has been infinitely more serious than any that could arise from the non-internment of German waiters and shop-keepers in this country'.

Mr. Chamberlain was able to substantiate the proposed policy in India by the official figures published by the British Government relating to Enemy Aliens given in a Note to Parliament on July 27th. providing the following information:-

British Figures for Aliens

Week July 7-12th.1915

Number interned 1,140

Number repatriated 573

From May 13th.- July 5th.1915

Number interned 7,144

The total number of Enemy Aliens in detention was 26,713, and the total number of Aliens deported, including children, was 4,800.

On August 6th The Times carried a report which confirmed that the Government of India had decided to deport all German missionaries. Noting with approval the change in policy, the following comment was included:- 'The decision will be heartily welcomed, for both in this country and in the Dependency there was great misgiving when Mr Chamberlain stated in the House on June 23rd. that at the beginning of April 442 alien missionaries, consisting of the most part of Germans were at liberty, on parole and subject to general civil supervision.

THE POLICY OF INTERMENT: JUNE - AUGUST 1915

The German missionaries in North India, both Lutheran and Roman Catholic, were in agreement that the sinking of the passenger liner 'Lusitania' on May 7th. 1915 with the loss of over 1,000 civilian casualties, marked the critical turning point in public opinion, represented by the British community and British officials. This was demonstrated by increasing hostility and suspicion to all Germans irrespective of their occupation. The report that the Kaiser had decorated the U-Boat captain responsible for the sinking, and that school-children had given a public holiday to celebrate, what was generally regarded in India, as the murder of innocent civilians, focused attention on the privileges enjoyed by the German missionaries, who were able to move about freely in the stations and centres where they were on parole. A characteristic, which marked the anti-German hysteria which appeared as early as 1914, and which was to continue throughout the War and find exponents at the Peace Negotiations in 1919, was the total condemnation of the entire German race as barbarians. From the Kaiser downwards, all Germans were equally guilty of the atrocities and war-crimes which the Government propaganda campaign publicised, and civilian, as opposed to the military, condemnation of Germany and her methods of war, included all Germans as potential spies and traitors.

In India the European Association based in Grosvenor House Calcutta and with branches throughout the country, represented the interests of the British tea-planters in Assam, Bengal and Bihar and on June 12th. 1915, the Council Secretary, Mr. Alec Marsh, wrote to the Secretary of the Government of India, Home Department, Mr. H. Wheeler, to express the concern of the members of the Association regarding the policy extended to Enemy Aliens. The full text of the letter was published in the Calcutta 'Statement' for June 16th. under the heading 'Demand for Drastic Action' showing that the Association pressed for

a policy to eliminate entirely all German commercial firms which under Government licence were still in operation, and the total exclusion of all Germans from India at the close of the War. Reference to German missionaries was as follows: 'The presence of a large number of German missionaries in this country appears undesirable, and the countenance and support which they have hitherto received should either be withdrawn altogether or only continued after very careful investigation. While no doubt, some of the German missionaries have done good work in this country, the preaching of Christianity by persons of the German nation should only be permitted in cases where the Government are fully satisfied that the teaching is confined purely to religious matters, and does not incorporate pernicious German doctrines'. The present Government policy for internment and parole for Germans was considered to be too lax, and the insinuation that spying by both men and women presented a public danger whereby the loyalty of the masses to the British Crown could be contaminated in the interests of anarchist and revolutionary movements, was levelled at all Germans without discrimination.

The revulsion of sentiment against Germany which had prompted the letter was expressed in the following terms:

'The whole world has been horrified by the methods and practices of the Germans in the present war. The atrocities in Belgium; the sinking of the 'Lusitania' and other merchant vessels and the murder of their passengers and crew; the use of asphyxiating gases contrary to the Hague Convention and the treatment of British prisoners, have established that the German nation is bound to the doctrine of hate which is prevalent in Germany. It appears that this barbarism is not only a characteristic of those responsible for the conduct of the war but affects the whole nation'.

In conclusion Marsh requested that a copy of his letter should be

forwarded by the Government of India to Mr. Chamberlain in London.

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The Association's criticism of the policy which permitted Germans, amongst whom were members of the missionary community, to move about freely on parole, found a spokesman in Ranchi in Mr. Henry Norman Cunningham Cloete, a retired FWD Superintendent Engineer and the senior member in the Ranchi Club. On June 15th. Cloete addressed a circular letter to all members of the Club requesting that a meeting should be convened to petition the Government to remove all Germans from the District. Freely confessing that war casualties in his own family, including the senior member, who had been lost in the sinking of the 'Lusitania', and other relations who were prisoners of war, had affected his attitude to Germany, Cloete directed the attention of Club members to the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur whose missionaries were enjoying privileges such as no British community in the German colonies was allowed.

Quoting his experience of the Mission extending for the past 24 years and his personal admiration for Dr. Nottrott and the Revd. Ferdinand Hahan, Cloete now viewed the flourishing condition of the Mission with its extensive property and network of schools extending throughout the District with grave suspicion. The presence of Germans, he considered wholly inimical to British concerns, and the opportunities afforded them of teaching the rising generation of British subjects in their schools subversive of British interests. Their holding property, either directly or through the villages in which their converts lived, brought them daily into contact with loyal landowners, and this, so he insinuated, had a disquieting affect, since, he assumed, that the Lutheran Christians were also tainted with German ideas of world-power regardless of the means adopted. Cloete had accepted in toto the British Government's official propaganda regarding German atrocities, and he accused Bishop Foss Westcott of being a

pro-German, since the publication in the March 1915 number of the Diocesan Paper of part of a pastoral letter written by the Bishop of Fulham which referred to the courtesy, consideration and very material help and assistance given to his correspondents by all classes in Germany. Cloete continued - 'I fail to see any good purpose served by publishing in Ranchi, correspondence which is contradictory in tone, to official records issued in London under authority of the Government there. I would not deny the Bishop the exercise of personal and private opinion, but I submit, that the publication and circulation of matter so contrary in tone to well established facts and official reports calls for strong disapproval and check, as it seems inimical to British interests here.

Cloete concluded - 'Past events have so indisputably proved that the whole German nation, from the Kaiser downwards, has shown itself capable and guilty of the most dastardly, treacherous and cruel crimes and atrocities which the mind of men could devise, and as it is not possible to anticipate the direction in which even here, endeavours and action may be taken inimical to our interests, it seems to be incumbent on us to take all precautions for our protection, and the first step that seems imperatively necessary is to rid the District of the presence of all Germans now in it, for their presence here, enjoying as they do now, the hospitality of the British Government, is abhorrent and intolerable'.

(16)

We have selected these articulate expressions of British public opinion in India as examples of the influence brought to bear on the Government to modify its lenient policy towards the German missionary community.

In a telegram dated July 15th.1915, the Government of India proposed the termination of parole for all German missionaries, and in his

reply to the telegram, on August 4th, Mr. Chamberlain sanctioned the policy of repatriation. As early as May 28th 1915, the Government of Bihar had contemplated the complete closure of the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur, and on June 17th, the Government of Bombay had reached the decision recommending that the large Jesuit Mission for the future should employ no missionaries of German or Austrian nationality in any missionary or educational work, and that a policy of total exclusion of German missions was called for. Both governments had forwarded their decisions to Wheeler stressing the importance of removing German influence from the sphere of education, since schools and colleges in both states formed a prominent part of the missionary work of both the Lutherans and Jesuits.

(17)

The decision regarding Enemy Aliens and their treatment was published in a Government Communique dated August 13th. 1915, and on August 30th., Marsh again wrote to Wheeler acknowledging a copy of the communique and expressing the appreciation of the Association for the Government's action. Marsh included in his letter resolutions passed by the Planters Associations in Ranchi and the Dooars which supported the move to intern all Germans, including those engaged in religious work, and presented the Association's recommendation on the future of German missions. Quoting an extract from Bishop Foss Westcott's letter in the Diocesan Paper for August 1915, in which the Bishop had conceded that ignorant members of the Lutheran mission had failed to distinguish between their political and their ecclesiastical allegiance, and that as a result their loyalty had not always been above suspicion though there had been no deliberate disloyalty, Marsh proposed the total elimination of German missions from India in the following terms:-

'It may be that elimination of German Missions may meet with opposition in some quarters, but, even if Government were to allow these

Missionaries to conduct their work after the war under strict surveillance, my Council consider that it would be placing them in a position to do mischief which it might be difficult to counteract afterwards, whether specific acts were detected or not. The danger of allowing Germans to engage in educational or missionary work in India is more insidious than apparent, and my Council consider it will be unsafe for many years to trust Germans in those occupations which bring them into contact with the ignorant and easily misled masses of India. They would urge upon Government the expediency of preventing any organised German Mission, irrespective of denomination, continuing in India'.

(18)

THE INTERNMENT AND DEPORTATION OF THE GERMAN MISSIONARIES

We have noted that the repatriation of German missionaries who were invalids or whose age required that they should return to their homeland, with the women and children of missionary families, had formed one of the requests made by the National Missionary Council, embodied in the Memorial presented by Anderson and Carter, the two secretaries, to the representatives of the Government of India at their meeting in Delhi on March 15th. 1915. In his reply Wheeler had assured them that this proposal was already under consideration and that the request would be sympathetically considered. The supervision of the German missions had been delegated to the provincial government authorities, and local circumstances dictated the way in which the missionaries and their families were treated during the period of internment prior to their departure from India by sea. There was wide disparity between the conditions of civil imprisonment, detention on mission stations, and the friendly or hostile attitude of the British Military and Police officials who were responsible for carrying out the regulations. Following the sinking

of the German light-cruiser "Emden" at North Keeling Island in the South Indian ocean on November 9th.1914,the Basle missionaries were involved in an incident which reflected the war-scare mentality charged with anti-German rumours prevalent at the time. In December 1914 it was thought that the German sea-raider "Karlsruhe" was operating off the west coast of India,and signal rockets were alleged to have been fired to attract her attention. The authorities accused the Basle missionaries of violating their parole,and the nine missionaries were sent to the Fort Prison in Bellary where in strict confinement they were detained for the whole of 1915. The women missionaries, families and children belonging to the Basle mission were moved inland and detained in Belgaum and Kodaikanal. In 1918,in a Memorandum published by the India Office,it was acknowledged that overt acts of disloyalty by members of the Basle Mission were hardly proved and that any connection with the person who fired the rockets and who was a British-Indian subject had not been established. But at the time this incident was exploited in official circles,and gave ground to the suspicion that the German missionaries were ready to violate their pledge of loyalty to the Government. The families of the Schleswig-Holstein missionaries were removed from their stations and brought to the coast at Waltair in December 1914 where they remained in close confinement for the whole of 1915; but the Leipzig and Hermannsburg missionaries were permitted to remain at their stations under supervision, until in November 1915 they were brought to Pallervaram, south of Madras, to await the ship taking them home to Germany.

In North India the German Salvatorian priests and lay-brothers were sent from Assam to be interned at Ahmednagar on July 15th.1915,and on August 20th.the 10 Salvatorian sisters were called to Shillong where they were detained in their own convent. The two Gossner

missionaries in Assam, Franz Gohlke and William Radsick, who worked among the immigrant Lutheran coolies who had left Chota Nagpur to work in the tea-gardens, were entirely dependent on the attitude of individual British tea-planters once the war broke out. Radsick, who was the only German missionary in Upper Assam, was brought into Dibrugarh, where he was for a short time confined in the prison, but later released.

Both Gohlke and Radsick accompanied the party of Salvatorians to detention in July 1915; Gohlke for a time was held at Jabbalpur but later sent to Ahmednagar, but Radsick, whose wife was expecting a baby, was allowed to be with her in the mission station at Dinapore, near Patna, where the Gossner missionaries from Chota Nagpur and the Ganges Mission were detained. The conditions at Dinapur were not restrictive, and the officials were both considerate and friendly.

In December 1914 the 90 Jesuits of the Bombay Archdiocese were allowed to reside at Kandala, their holiday station in the Western Ghats close to Poona; the Archbishop of Bombay, Monsignor Jeurgens, owing to his advanced age and impaired health, was permitted to retain his diocese, and was not repatriated. The five German members of the Belgian Jesuit Mission to Chota Nagpur were detained in Calcutta on parole to await repatriation, but the German sisters of the Mission were allowed to remain at their schools for the whole period of the war provided they restricted their teaching to drawing, music and painting. From August 8th. 1915, the Archbishop of Calcutta, Monsignor Neulman, officially took over the Salvatorian Mission in Assam. The 18 German Capuchins working in the Bettiah Prefecture in North Bihar were replaced by members of the Order from other countries during 1915, and were allowed to remain at their stations until they came to Calcutta for the return to Germany.

The Government provided an old merchant ship, the SS "Golconda" and fitted her out as a troopship for the repatriation of the German families from North India which included missionaries, members of the consular service and some business men. The "Golconda" left Calcutta on November 19th.1915 carrying 500 German passengers, amongst whom were the ordained Protestant missionaries of non-military age and their families, women missionaries, and Roman Catholic priests and nuns. The ship called at Madras, where 150 additional passengers were taken on board including the missionary personnel of the Basle, Leipzig, Hermannsburg and Schleswig-Holstein missions. The total complement of German missionaries on board was 336 made up as follows:-

<u>Mission</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Gossner	30	30	8	49	117
Basle	9	30	5	34	78
Leipzig	8	8	6	17	39
Hermannsburg	3	6	3	12	24
Schleswig-Holstein	3	4	1	4	12
Moravian	2	2	-	3	7
Kurku & American based	4	5	4	6	19
Jesuits	4	-	-	-	4
Capuchins	18	-	-	-	18
Nuns	-	-	18	-	18

The ship left Madras on November 24th, calling at the Seychelles, Cape Town, St. Helena, Gibraltar and Dover; the voyage terminated at Tilbury on January 12th.1916 where the passengers were transferred to the Dutch ship "Hecklenburg" and crossed to Vlissingen, the port for Rotterdam, where they arrived at 5.00 pm on January 13th. The Red Cross provided them with food and warm clothing for the children,

and the missionary party travelling by special train crossed the frontier into Germany at Goch.

The "Golconda" returned to India to collect internees from the camps at Ahmednagar who included the German missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, who had been held in Camp A. On March 27th. 1916 the men were marched to the railway station, and taken under military escort by train to Poona where the missionary families from Belgaum and Bellary joined the train. After collecting the Jesuits at Kandala, the train reached Bombay harbour on the 29th, and the passengers were put on board ship which left on the 30th. The Protestant missionaries numbered 81 men, 41 wives and 53 children with 120 Roman Catholic priests among the 500 passengers. The ship called at the Seychelles, then crossed to Mozambique, where 50 additional German passengers were taken in, called again at St Helena and arrived at Tilbury on May 16th. Compared with the first party of returned internees who had proceeded direct to Holland, the men were held in the Alexandra Palace internment camp to await repatriation in parties of 40 while the women and children crossed to Vlissingen the same night by a British ship the SS "Kilkenny".

The facilities and food on the "Golconda" were those of a British troop-ship as regulated by the British Admiralty, and with the inevitable discomfort owing to the overcrowding, the most unsatisfactory item on the voyage was the food, owing to the incompetence of the chief steward. The middle deck had been converted with cabins for 8-16 passengers with ladders leading down into the hold; the upper deck space, which was extremely limited, was reserved for the women and children, so that in the space available there was hardly room for the men to stand. After official complaints had been received regarding the conditions on board the "Golconda", the Admiralty

ordered an enquiry which was conducted at Cape Town. The chief steward was replaced, but the verdict of the official report proved that the conditions on the "Golconda" were regarded as normal for a troopship. The board of enquiry recommended that the ship should not continue in service, and this decision was approved.

(19)

CHAPTER 6

THE EVENTS IN CHOTA NAGPUR: MAY - AUGUST 1915

THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR DEPORTS THE GERMAN

MISSIONARIES AND ENTRUSTS THE LUTHERAN MISSION TO

BISHOP FOSS WESTCOTT.

COMITY AND CHURCH PRINCIPLES

The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference had considered the problems inherent in the duplication of missionary agencies competing with each other in any one area in its report on Commission VIII Co-operation and Unity. Chapter Two of the Report reviewed comity agreements in general and drew attention to the fact that Anglican missions in widely scattered fields had felt reluctance in abiding by the generally accepted practices observed by most Protestant missions. In the Philippines the American Protestant Episcopal Church, the name adopted by the Anglican Church in the United States of America, had not joined the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands, but had agreed to respect the principles of comity and the division of territory. In South Africa, the Anglican Church had not accepted the Arbitration Board set up by the General Missionary Conference of 1906 to adjudicate in matters relating to the breakdown of comity arrangements. In China, although the CMS had been a founder member of the West China Missionary Conference which in 1899 had formed an Advisory Board to resolve the problems which arose between the 10 societies working in the field, the Anglican Bishop of Western China Dr W.W. Cassells in 1908 had stated that the delimitation of territory assigned to any one mission was becoming less and less possible as work expanded. While comity agreements could exist on wide and simple lines, they were not in themselves sufficient and must lead to federation and some form of unity in order to present a common front. Only in the Pacific Ocean where the unique arrangement of assigning islands to different societies as their special field had been drawn up by the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, George Augustus Selwyn, in 1860, comity agreements had been observed with no overlapping. The total rejection of the territorial delimitation principle which was fundamental to comity agreements was contained

in a resolution passed in 1900 by the Synod of Anglican Bishops in India. Meeting under the presidency of the Metropolitan, Bishop J.E.C.Welldon, the bishops of Madras, Bombay, Colombo, Rangoon, Lucknow, Lahore, Chota Nagpur and Tinnevely resolved as follows:-

'In view of difficulties which have arisen from territorial agreements between different missionary bodies the Synod holds that all members of the Church of England, whether European or Indian, wherever they may be, have a right to the ministrations of the Church to which they belong, and that it is the duty of all congregations to be centres of missionary activity. That, therefore, while commending the spirit of the policy in accordance with which the Missions of different Christian bodies have endeavoured to avoid coming into collision with one another, the Synod deprecates any such territorial agreements in the future.'

The Edinburgh Commission was quite clear in identifying the reason for this Anglican reluctance and disagreement, which it stated in the following terms:-

'It is indeed difficult for those who regard episcopacy as of vital importance to recognise as an adequate evangelisation the work, however heroic, done by the non-episcopal bodies. Also they bring with them from home into the mission field a conception, inherited from the days anterior to the great divisions of Christendom, of the whole area as mapped out into districts - dioceses and parishes - in each of which they have a responsibility for every acre and soul, a responsibility which they cannot transfer, except to those with whom they are in full communion.'

Anglican members of the Commission who had prepared the Report numbered six out of eighteen, and included Bishop Edward Talbot of Winchester, Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, Walter Frere, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Bishop Grosvenor of Albany, USA and the secretaries of the CMS, Prebendary H. Fox, and the Canadian Church of England Missionary Society, Canon Norman Tucker. Among the 27 correspondents in India three CMS missionaries, E.S. Carr, G.E. Durrant and Dr. H. W. Weetbrecht. The Bishop of Bombay, Edwin James Palmer, had also been consulted.

(1)

In place of the aloofness and non-co-operation which had characterised the Anglican episcopate and the SPG before the decision to attend the Edinburgh Conference, the new factor in the meetings called by John R. Mott in preparation for the formation of the National Missionary Council of India in 1912, was the attendance of the Anglican bishops at the regional conferences and the election of the Metropolitan, Bishop Lefroy, to be the first President of the Council when it was formed in 1914.

Bishop Foss Westcott's full co-operation in the formation of the Bihar and Orissa Representative Council of Missions in 1913 resulted in his appointment as Vice-President and delegate to the National Missionary Council. The SPG, together with the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur, were both committed to the principles of Comity which the National Conference had referred to the Regional Councils for confirmation, and which were passed at the first meeting of the Bihar Council in 1913.

The particular complexity of the comity arrangements in Chota Nagpur arose from the circumstances of the crisis in the German Mission,

Whereby in 1868 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had entered the field in a manner which the German missionaries maintained had been a breach of the accepted comity agreement, that only with prior consultation should another society take up work in an area where one society was already established. Throughout the period before the World War, the German missionaries under their Praeses, Dr. Carl Nottrott, who had been present during the events leading to the schism, continued to regard the Anglican missionaries as intruders. The additional cause for resentment that their missionaries and converts had been compelled in 1869 to forego their Lutheran ordination and confirmation by accepting the episcopal rites for membership of the Anglican church, ensured that between the two missions there was virtually no intercourse. The Anglican missionaries of the SPG, with their high churchmanship, classed the Lutherans with the Non-Conformists with whom the Church of England had no tradition of co-operation. Unlike the members of the CMS who were in sympathy with members of the English denominational missionary societies and co-operated with them on equal terms, as true and valid members of the Protestant Faith, the SPG missionaries, as individuals and by virtue of working for the Society, had inherited the outlook of the Catholic revival in the Church of England, which regarded all non-episcopal ministries as invalid, and their ministers and congregations as deprived of the sacraments of the Church.

We have noted that the schism in the Lutheran mission had mainly affected the Christian communities within a 40 mile area south and south-west of Ranchi where individuals, families and some whole villages had followed the Senior Missionaries into the Church of England, with the result that no possible territorial delimitation was possible between the two missions. Socially there was very

little friction between the native converts during the period when the Anglicans developed their organisation based on the same principles which the Lutherans had proved to be successful, of building mud chapels which also served as schools, appointing elders from the village communities, training catechists and masters, and providing a native ministry to assist the missionary who visited the district from headquarters in Ranchi. The inability of the Anglican mission to develop and found additional stations during the period 1870-1910, in contrast to the Lutherans who successfully adopted an aggressive evangelistic programme of planting and staffing their centres in virgin territory, constituted an additional reason why relations between the two missions were largely confined to Ranchi and its vicinity. We have also noted the determination of the Anglican missionaries to avoid all cause of conflict, and to work for co-operation in the interests of the native Christian community, which resulted in a series of five comity agreements which throughout the period prior to the outbreak of the War attempted to regulate the normal problems arising between missions at work in the same area. These agreements, which were signed by Nottrott on behalf of the Lutherans and Whitley, and later Foss Westcott for the Anglicans, related to excommunicate persons, the employment of mission workers, school privileges, marriage arrangements, lapsed converts and assistance in court cases. Outside the headquarters in Ranchi, contact between individual German and English missionaries was the exception rather than the rule.

The presence in Chota Nagpur of the large and flourishing Roman Catholic mission staffed by Belgian Jesuits was a common cause of suspicion and mistrust to both Lutherans and Anglicans. Not only did Roman Catholic missionaries disregard the principles of comity by entering fields already occupied by Protestant missions; in

addition, their missionary methods and motives were at variance with the standard practices of Protestants in that unscrupulous proselytism, material inducements, an excellent co-operative banking system and minimum qualifications for baptism resulted in members from both Lutheran and Anglican congregations being seduced from their allegiance. Foss Westcott's blunt words in his report for 1909 may be taken as typical of the situation in general: 'For the first time the number of those in connection with the Anglican Mission exceed 18,000. But I cannot but remind our supporters of the continued loss which we suffer from the aggressive proselytism of the Jesuit Mission which depends for its success on an appeal to greed. In the past two years over 500 of our people have been induced to leave us in this way. If we would keep those whom we have baptised we must provide for closer supervision and more careful instruction.'

(2)

Ecclesiastical and denominational differences among Lutherans, Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Chota Nagpur were also aggravated by nationality. The political consequences of Count Bismarck's "May Laws" of 1873 were felt by the Lutheran missionaries, who were convinced that the Belgian Jesuits were motivated by a spirit of revenge in retaliation for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the German Empire, and the severe restrictions imposed on the Roman Catholic Church in Prussia.

With the outbreak of the War, relations between the German missionaries and the British residents of Ranchi became increasingly imbued with sentiments of patriotism to which were added the politics of imperialism epitomised in loyalty to the King Emperor. In the sensitive area of education the German missionaries were regarded as incapable of inculcating in their pupils genuine principles of

good citizenship and duty towards the Empire. A perfectly innocent cause of misunderstanding arose in connection with the Lutheran High School in Ranchi, which gave widespread grounds for these suspicions. In 1908 Herr Brunning, one of the supporters of the Mission in Calcutta, presented to the High School portraits of King Frederick William IV of Prussia and Count Bismarck. Both the King and his Prime Minister had been life-long friends of Gossner, who had baptised Bismarck's first son, Herbert, in 1849. It was thought appropriate that the ceremony of unveiling the portraits in the High School hall should be held on the anniversary of the King's birthday, and this was done on January 27th. 1908, when Pastor Hertzberg gave an account of the relations between Gossner and his distinguished friends. Pastor Muller and his wife unveiled the portraits, and the function closed with the singing of the National Anthem. Following the outbreak of the War, the misconception that the portrait was that of the Kaiser William II was compounded with the assertion that the German missionaries were teaching their pupils to be loyal to the German Emperor, and that the prayers used in the school assembly were intended for Germany's victory in the war.

Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar, who took office in 1912 and retired in 1915, had been a boy at Harrow under Bishop Westcott's father and the intimate relations which existed between the government and the Anglican mission in Chota Nagpur resulted in the Bishop having access to the Governor and being entrusted with confidential information. Bishop Westcott was informed of the intention of the government to close down the German mission and intern the missionaries before these events were made public. His advice and co-operation, which was welcomed by the government, resulted in a unique chapter in the history of

comity arrangements for the period of the War.

We shall now review these developments as they unfolded in the correspondence between Bishop Westcott and the Secretary of SPG in London, Bishop Henry Montgomery.

BISHOP FOSS WESTCOTT: A PROFILE

Bishop Foss Westcott's great great grandfather and namesake was a distinguished member of the Madras Establishment of the Honourable East India Company from 1741, who, on ground of ill health and pressing family affairs returned to England in 1757 to enjoy comparative wealth and prosperity. His father, the Revd. Brooke Foss Westcott, was successively an assistant master at Harrow from 1852-69, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge 1870-90, Canon of Westminster from 1883 and from 1890 until his death in 1901, Bishop of Durham. The family connection with India was maintained through the formation in 1876 of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, in which the Regius Professor took a leading part, and four of his seven sons served the Anglican church in India. One of Foss Westcott's older brothers, Arthur, from 1887 worked as an SPG missionary in Madras, from 1892 serving as the Society's Secretary for the Madras diocese, until his return to England in 1900. George Herbert Westcott, one year senior to Foss, joined the SPG Mission at Cawnpore in 1889 and when on furlough in 1895 was successful in persuading the Society to found the Cawnpore Missionary Brotherhood, of which from 1896 he was the Head until his election in 1910 as the second Bishop of Lucknow. Bishop George Westcott died suddenly at Allahabad in 1928. Foss Westcott's youngest brother, Basil, joined the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in 1896 and died of cholera in 1900. His mother's younger sister married the Revd. Jabez Cornelius Whitley, who in 1857 offered his services to SPG to serve

in the Delhi Mission, and in 1869 was transferred to the Society's new mission field in Chota Nagpur as Head of the Mission, and from 1890 until his death in 1904, was appointed the first bishop of the diocese.

George and Foss Westcott both entered Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1882, George having been at school at Marlborough and Foss at Cheltenham College. George was ordained in 1886 and returned to Marlborough as an assistant master; Foss, having gained a 3rd. class BA in the Natural Science Tripos in 1885, was ordained by his father's friend, colleague and predecessor in the See of Durham, Bishop Lightfoot, and from 1886-89 served a curacy at St Peter's Bishop Wearmouth in Sunderland. The decision of the two brothers to offer for service in India was recounted by George Westcott as follows:-

'In the early summer of 1889 the Secretary of SPG Prebendary H.W. Tucker, received a letter from the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Ralph Johnson, calling attention to the needs of the Cawnpore Mission. On the same day the Secretary received a letter from Dr. Westcott, Canon of Westminster, saying that two of his sons, George and Foss, were desirous of finding work together in some part of the Mission Field, by preference India. The result of the letters was that we were at once invited to take up work at the Cawnpore Mission. We have often felt that this call was in reality an answer to prayer offered in 1857, prayer answered in part, when my uncle, the Revd. Jabez Cornelius Whitley, volunteered for service in Delhi in 1858.'

(3)

In his application to SPG, Foss Westcott provided this account of his own sense of vocation:-

'The whole guiding of my life these last two years and especially this last year seems to have been in this direction. Though a

talk I had with my brother George, four years ago was the first step in this direction. I had this last year decided quite independently of him to offer myself. His letter of February 1889 was the first time, I think, that we had talked about going out to Mission work together. My Father was willing to let us go; an opening offered itself.'

(4)

The Letters Testimonial submitted to SPG give an insight into the character and capabilities of Foss Westcott as he prepared to commence his service to the Anglican Church in India: service which was to terminate with his death, 60 years later, on October 19th.1949. His vicar, the Revd.Thomas Jackson Secker wrote:

'In conduct he is irreproachable; his character is that of a man whose piety cannot be questioned, whose faith and trust in God is true and deep, whose humility and gentleness are always conspicuous, and his actions are marked with a large measure of discretion and zeal. He has good capabilities - not showy but real, and seeks nothing as to use his talents in his Master's service. One secret of his success is that he can thoroughly enter into the recreations of young men without losing in any way his position as a minister of Christ. His temper is uniformly good and cheerful. As a teacher he is quite able, and very patient and devoted. In short, as to his qualifications for what I conceive to be the essential requirements of a missionary among the heathen I think him eminently qualified - both in the purity of his life, the patient zeal and devotion with which he pursues his work and by the Spirit of prayer with which he is animated.'

The Revd.Edgar Lambert, Chaplain to the Mission to Seamen at Sunderland, who had known Westcott both as a schoolboy and undergraduate, remarked:

'His transcendent purity and simplicity perhaps distinguish him more than anything else from other men. He is a zealous and constant worker. He is thoughtful and self-restrained and of a peculiarly sweet disposition. He used to be good at both cricket and football and is still athletic.'

(5)

After their arrival in Calcutta in 1889, reminiscences of the Westcott brothers were provided by members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta: Father Shore wrote -

'The Calcutta Brotherhood were a splendid team and I came away filled with admiration for this fine Mission and deeply impressed with what I had seen of its fine work and of the brothers Westcott who were the heart and soul of everything; George-gentle, scholarly, quiet and radiating goodwill and benevolence, and Foss, vigorous, active and alert, running the industrial school of the Mission and a great deal more, and in the happiest relation with all the boys and girls.'

Father Holmes recalled:

'In 1903 I was in Calcutta visiting the Westcott brothers; George was deeply anxious for Foss who was out in the bazaar ministering to the plague-stricken, himself lancing their buboes. In 1905 the Metropolitan, Bishop Copplestone, in an evening stroll mentioned to me, in confidence, that he had offered to Foss Westcott the Bishopric of Chota Nagpur, adding, "I am advised that it is the younger of the two brothers who is the right man for the work" for it was the younger brother who had exactly the gifts and qualities needed for a missionary diocese like Chota Nagpur.'

Commenting on Foss Westcott's later years when after 1919 he was Metropolitan and Bishop of Calcutta, Father Shore recalled:

'Foss Westcott as a member of a committee or as a chairman was outstanding. He always seemed to have every detail of the business at his finger-tips. Annual accounts and budgets came under his expert scrutiny, and if there was an error anywhere it was sure to be detected. In his conduct of business in the

chair, while always allowing full discussion and showing complete impartiality, any tendency to excessive verbiage, or failure to keep to the point under consideration, was gently but decisively checked and the agenda was got through with all reasonable dispatch.

In his attitude and dealings with other Christian denominations his relations from the first were of the happiest kind. Even when there were matters to be discussed of a delicate or controversial character his unfailing courtesy and sympathetic appreciation of points of view with which he was unable to agree ensured that the discussion went on in a truly Christian spirit on both sides, and when agreement could not be attained it was a disagreement without bitterness and rancour. He was a peace-maker, one quick to recognise all that was good and loveable in other men and slow to criticise or condemn. Yet when it was a case of public wrong, no-one could contend for righteousness with greater courage and perseverance.'

(6)

In 1902 Foss Westcott was a delegate to the 4th. Decennial Missionary Conference at Madras, where he acted as Convenor for the Commission on Industrial Work and subsequently was appointed Secretary for the permanent Committee on Industrial Work which was empowered to promote co-operation between missions in the field of industrial work and education, to form a recourse centre for advice on technical and industrial questions and to publish vernacular text-books on technical skills and training. In 1908 he attended the Pan-Anglican Congress in London which preceded the meeting of the 5th. Lambeth Conference. The Congress which brought together for the first time 20,000 Anglican clergy and laity from all parts of the world for eight days, followed the pattern of the 19th. century

international missionary conferences in its aim to be both inspiring and informative. In the six-volume report, papers were included and Foss Westcott contributed a paper and a pamphlet for section D which considered the Church's Mission in Non-Christian Lands. The Congress had originated with Bishop F.H.Montgomery, from 1889-1901 Bishop of Tasmania, who in 1902 was appointed Secretary of SPG. Both Montgomery and Randall Davidson, who in 1903 was translated from the diocese of Winchester to be Archbishop of Canterbury, were contemporaries at Harrow when Foss Westcott's father was an assistant master, and Davidson appointed Bishop Montgomery to be the secretary of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, where his efficiency and genial Irish humour made him entirely acceptable to the 242 diocesan bishops who attended. Davidson and Montgomery as President and Secretary of SPG gave their full support and assistance to the policy which Foss Westcott initiated in Chota Nagpur, when in 1915 the entire staff of German missionaries was interned and later deported. The exchange of correspondence between Westcott and Montgomery which commenced in 1915 and continued for the War years will form the commentary on the events in Ranchi relating to the Gossner Lutheran Mission, the Government of Bihar and the Anglican bishop and his associates.

BISHOP WESTCOTT AND THE GOVERNMENT

On March 10th. 1915 Bishop Foss Westcott forwarded his Annual Report on the Diocese to the Secretary of SPG in London with a covering letter explaining that Government policy regarding the German Mission in Chota Nagpur was still not decided. The Bishop commented:

'The future of the German Mission - I can say nothing as to what that will be. I have been in the closest touch with the German missionaries throughout and they believe that there can be only

one result of the war and that is Germany's victory, so they do not face any possible reduction in their work. I have broached the subject (of the possibility of the Government's policy of internment). One, Mr Stosch, the Head of the Mission, said "If we were to hand over to you would you confirm our people who have been confirmed by us and would you ordain our pastors who have been ordained by us? To that we could never consent."

The Bishop continues:-

'They would like if they have to go, another Lutheran Mission - but I do not know where such could come from. The American Lutherans are, I imagine, German Americans.'

Westcott closed his letter with the remark:

'There is no doubt that the members of the Lutheran congregations here do not recognise their duties as British subjects; into the causes of that I could not enter - but it is a matter which Government must consider.'

(7)

In his Report which included a map of Chota Nagpur showing the Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic stations, Westcott showed himself alert to the dangers of competitive evangelism which the unprotected situation of the Lutheran mission would afford to both the Jesuits and to outside missionary agencies, in the event of the German missionaries being interned. He continued:-

We cannot, I think refuse to think of what the results of the war may mean for the German Mission in Chota Nagpur. Will they after it be able or willing or, perhaps, even be allowed to continue it as hitherto? If not, who is to take over any part of it? It is obvious that the Roman Mission is in the position

to step in over a large part of the area. This of course the Lutheran Mission would not approve of. It would give them such an overwhelming proportion of the people in the Province that, I fear, we should be very much swamped. I do believe that we ought to be prepared to step in if needed. I am quite sure that our work is on sounder lines than the Romans and that we can do more to lift the people up. We do not want to see a number of other sects coming into the district; though I know that there are some who would gladly take the opportunity. If we are strong enough to take over the work, if need be, we would have a good answer to any proposals that they might make. But unless we are ready we could not oppose their entrance.

(8)

In April the Bishop forwarded to London the printed pamphlet containing the March 1915 statement for the Continental Mission Fund with the report included. At the Executive Meeting of the Bihar Council of Missions held on March 22nd. the total amount in the fund, Rs.6,529/- including the donation from the National Missionary Council of Rs.2,816/-, had been handed over to the Bishop for disbursement to the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur. In his report the Bishop drew attention to the drastic reduction in the local subscriptions from India which had realised only Rs.680/-, and intimated that the only alternative source of future support was from the United States, where subscriptions were being organised but to date had not been forwarded. Concern for the Gossner missionaries had already been shown by the nearest Lutheran Mission - that of the American General Synod Mission at Guntur, through Dr. John Aberly, the Senior Missionary, who had sent Rs 1,000/- for Chota Nagpur and Rs 500/- for the Ganges Mission. The Report closed with the information that all the German missionaries

in Chota Nagpur were permitted to remain on their stations and that the latest remittance from the Gossner Mission in Berlin had been received in India.

(9)

On June 3rd. 1915, Bishop Westcott drafted a six page Report marked 'Private and Confidential', informing Bishop Montgomery of the Government of Bihar's proposals, taken at the meeting on May 28th, to close down the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur and exclude the German missionaries permanently from their work. The decision of the Governor-in-Council had prompted the Bishop to ask for a personal interview with Sir Charles Bayley, who was about to leave for Simla for consultation with the Viceroy. The Governor explained to the Bishop the reasons for the proposed policy: the decision had been prompted by German methods of conducting the war in Europe in contravention of the Hague Conventions; in Chota Nagpur the attitude of the Lutheran Christians was considered to have changed for the worse, and the combination of these two arguments rendered it impossible for the future to entrust the training of citizens of the Empire to German missionaries. An additional objection was that the present difficulties of arranging for the Mission to be carried on under temporary management were considered to be so great as to be totally impractical. Foss Westcott's rejoinder to the accusation that the Lutheran Christians had undergone a change of outlook was as follows:

I urged that the attitude of the Christians had not changed; owing to reasons which I explained, the Lutheran Christians had always identified themselves with the German nation and failed to distinguish their political allegiance from their ecclesiastical. That there had been no change for the worse in this respect. That we should distinguish between the German Government and the

Christian missionaries out here, who did not support the methods adopted, and that it would be a great set-back to Missions throughout the World if the principle of refusing to allow foreign missionaries to work in the Empire were adopted.

The political status of the German missionaries in India was the prime concern of the Government, and Westcott had to concede that it was proving exceptionally difficult for the Government to decide how far the Germans could be trusted. In the event of internment being ordered, the Bishop urged that the order of permanent exclusion from India might be deferred until after the war. Although the Governor showed himself personally sympathetic, there could be no doubt regarding the policy which was being formulated to exclude German missionaries permanently.

The Bishop then made his proposals to London as follows:-

If their action is approved the expulsion of the German missionaries will be sudden. The matter is being kept confidential and only the chief officials are acquainted with the action which has been taken. What are we to do in this position - that we must prepare for immediate action is obvious You will understand that I regard it as most desirable that Ranchi should not become an open field for all kinds of missions. The favourable character of the people among whom we work and the success of that work in the past make it an attractive field that people cast envious eyes upon. Can we so take up the work that there will be no reasonable excuse for others to enter in and complicate the work? We have found in the past that there has been undue rivalry between ourselves and the Germans; there has been unnecessary overlapping. This seems to be the time to remedy these defects.

The Bishop then reviewed the geographical area in which the German mission stations were to be found and made tentative proposals for staffing them by closing down some and transferring his own missionaries to others. He appealed to the Society to recruit men who were already proficient in Hindi, who might be resident in England or Ireland, and urged that the CMS should also be invited to co-operate in the work. He estimated that eight additional missionaries would be required. Turning to the vital question of finance he continued:-

The expenditure of the German mission before the War was large, some Rs.10,000/- per month. This was reduced to Rs.8,000/- when the war broke out by stopping the pay for the catechists and pastors and making a special effort to meet their needs locally. The Government would take over the responsibility for the schools as far as payment is concerned. They have promised this. They do not wish the schools to be run by any other agency except that of missions - this was stated in their note to the Imperial Government (dated May 28th. with the proposal to close down the Mission). At the beginning of the war they were giving the Germans Rs.3,000/- a month. With this amount and the salaries of the additional missionaries we could carry on for a little till a better method for the problem based on actual experience could be framed.

The possibility that the present crisis might be a means of healing the schism in the German mission which had resulted in the events of 1869 and the entry of the Anglicans into Chota Nagpur was considered as follows:-

I am sure that if we came to amalgamate the two missions we would find that there would be economies effected in our direction. How amalgamation could take place it is difficult to say. The

question opens out very big questions. Much must depend on the way the Government evicts them. Will they confiscate their property and allow another Mission to accept it? or will they sequestrate it for the period of the war and allow the Germans to deal with it afterwards? I asked this question, but of course, the Government policy is not yet confirmed.

Turning from the practical issues to those which embraced principles of comity, the Bishop continued:

With regard to the Lutheran congregations we cannot make them Churchmen against their will. The rules of comity, if this should happen, would need to be carefully considered. But I imagine that we would have to settle questions if I did and therefore I do not enlarge upon this now. I might say that the Metropolitan is hoping to spend the first fortnight of July with me and such questions could be talked out with him then. I do not know either how far the Germans would be allowed to decide as to the future of their mission.

That the Government of Bihar looked to the Bishop for his co-operation and help in the forthcoming crisis was made clear:-

I have talked the matter over with the Senior Member of Council, Sir Edward Gait, who is most anxious that we should step into the breach if it is made, and I know that this is the attitude of the Government of this Province as a whole. They will give us all the assistance that is in their power. It is with the permission of the Lieutenant-Governor that I am writing to you as I explained that as their action would be suddenly taken I must be allowed to make some preparations. I had better frame the phases in case of Government action:-

1. Germans evicted i.e. Germans are permanently excluded.
2. Germans interned i.e. they are interned for the period of the war and their future fate is left open.

The LG said that he thought they could not get the Government of India's answer until July, and I cannot think that such a large question involving other countries besides India can be settled except at home. You might be in a position to learn from the India Office what the action of the Government is likely to be.

After signing the report the Bishop added the following post-script:

I have omitted reference to the Jesuits. They cover the ground, but we all feel that their methods are such that we would not have them come and step into the place of the Germans. Further, my missionaries would certainly not want this nor would the Germans desire it.

(10)

The Government of Bihar's proposed action in closing down the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur was taken by the Governor-in-Council who at the meeting on May 28th. 1915 acted on the recommendations of the Commissioner for Chota Nagpur, Mr. H. T. S. Forrest, who on May 13th. had drafted a "Confidential Note on the GEL Mission in Ranchi District". The Commissioner had based his findings on the evidence of his subordinate officials:- Mr. Macnamara, the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Durham Waite, Manager of the Wards and Encumbered Estates, and Mr. T. S. McPherson, the Sub-Divisional Officer stationed at Khunti, 25 miles south of Ranchi. In his findings the Commissioner stated:

I have checked and supplemented the information supplied by means of conversations which I have had from time to time with minor

officials, missionaries, landlords, village headmen and others in different parts of the District. The conclusion I have come to is that the German Evangelical Lutheran community is profoundly disloyal, and that in this war the sympathies of its members are strongly and unhesitatingly on the side of the Germans with whose interests they conceive their own to be bound up. These facts are clearly apparent to anybody who knows anything of the District and would not, I imagine, be seriously denied by any Lutheran catechist or convert.

Forrest then supplied a number of instances for which he was able to vouch personally:

The German Christians habitually refer to the German troops in Europe and elsewhere as 'we' and in quarrels involving Lutheran and Roman Catholic schoolboys abuse couched in the following terms is regularly used - We shall eventually drive you into the sea, we have taken most of your land ie. Belgium, and it won't be long before we take England too.

After the outbreak of the war, prayers for Germany's victory had been regularly used in the Lutheran churches, but this practice had now stopped although it was still to be found amongst the Lutheran catechists in the villages where they were remote from outside observance and control. Several Roman Catholic mission schools had been closed down on the alleged pretext that the local Lutheran communities had persuaded parents that it was pointless to have their children educated by Belgians when their country had been overrun by the Germans, and consequently the Belgian mission must shortly shut down.

The Commissioner frankly stated his criticism of the lenient policy towards the German missionaries and the support given by the

government to the Lutheran schools in the following terms:

This leniency on the part of Government is rather a puzzle to the inhabitants of the District generally. On several occasions during the course of my last cold-weather tour I have been asked why Government is giving money to the Germans who are fighting against the British Raj; and among the more educated classes there appears to be a feeling of resentment against the action of Government in devoting money produced by taxing loyal subjects to the support of avowed enemies. The native Christian community itself has undoubtedly been convinced by the missionaries that the attitude of Government is due to the fear of what the Germans will do when they eventually conquer India. I think that among the non-Christian aboriginals the general view is that Government thinks there is at any rate a possibility of the Germans winning, and that therefore it is just as well to be on the safe side.

Forrest commented on the German missionaries and their conduct, quoting Colonel R.H.Maddox, a prominent member of the Ranchi Club as his authority:

The impression seems abroad that several Germans from various parts of the country who do not want to be interned have come to Ranchi and joined the Mission. This is probably nonsense, but I repeat it to show how the feeling runs.

I have noticed that when driving with ladies I have met a small party of young Germans who have stared at the ladies in a very marked and, I consider, impertinent manner. And Sergeant-Major Foden says they pass the armoury every evening and do something which he interprets as insults to the British flag which flies there.

Forrest continued:

Mr. Stesch, the titular head of the Mission, has practically no influence, and I would place very little faith in any measure which required for their success the exercise of his authority over Mofussil missionaries and their followers. The district is so large and the Police force so small that it is practically impossible to control the words and acts of German missionaries in the Mofussil or to find evidence for the prosecution of the more prominent patriots.

The Commissioner then drew attention to the particular difficulty which the very strong pro-German attitude of Bishop Foss Westcott had produced, and the misunderstandings which had resulted from the Bishop's actions:

From the very beginning of the War the Bishop's sermons have displayed him in the light of an apologist for the Germans, and a censor of the national shortcomings of ourselves and our allies; while locally he has constituted himself the champion of the Lutheran Mission and has exerted himself in many ways to give financial assistance to its members. On the Sunday following the outbreak of the war in his sermon the observation that as far as France was concerned, the war might be regarded as a divine chastisement for her sin in putting an avowed atheist at the head of her public affairs, gave offence to a large section of the European community. The subscription in aid of the German Mission which the Bishop has been levying for the past six months amounts, I understand, to a very considerable sum monthly.

The Bishop's motives for acting in this way are variously interpreted. The European community believes him to be actuated partly by the belief that England's motives for entering the war are not so

unselfish as she pretends, and that a good deal is to be said for the German side of the case, and partly by his desire to preserve the balance of power among the missions in Chota Nagpur. It is obvious that if the German Mission goes, most of its schools and a large proportion of its converts will fall into the hands of one or other of the two Missions, and if this occurs the chances are all in favour of the Roman Mission as against the SPG Mission in view of the very great preponderance of qualified missionaries and teachers that exists in the former mission.

Among the German Christians the Bishop's motive is undoubtedly thought to be the expectation that when the Germans come to take over the district his kindness to the German Mission will be remembered in favour of the English Mission. The existence of this belief among the German Christians is vouched for by Mr. Macnamara's enquiries and is admitted by the Bishop himself.

After alluding to the marked growth in anti-German feeling which had arisen from the atrocities in Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania, Forrest seriously anticipated acts of violence and collisions between the Lutheran and Roman Catholic communities in Chota Nagpur and made his proposals as follows:-

I cannot help thinking that sooner or later Government will be forced to take the step of removing from the District the whole of the German European missionary staff. This is the step that I would suggest that Government take now. In my opinion all missionaries of military age should be interned, and missionaries above the military age and all women and children should, if possible, be sent back to Germany or neutral territory. Action on these lines would have a most excellent effect on all classes of the population. The aborigines, Christians and non-Christians

allike would at length realise that Government is not afraid of the Germans and is determined to stand no nonsense from anybody. The German native Christians deprived of their leaders would become harmless, and would probably give no trouble.

The Commissioner's final proposal concerned the schools maintained by the Lutheran Mission:

Provided that satisfactory arrangements can be made to carry on the schools, this, I think, is an essential point. The Education Department, the District Board and the two other Missions should be able between them to see that this was done.

(11)

Mr. Forrest's report relating to the disloyalty of the Lutheran Christians was incorporated in the letter sent by Mr. H. McPherson, the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, in his official letter to the Government of India, Home Department, dated May 28th, in which he requested notification of the policy of the Supreme Government relating to the treatment of German missions in India. In the meanwhile, he stated, consideration was being given to the methods of dealing with the Lutheran Schools so that, in the event of the internment of the German missionaries, action for their future could be taken without delay.

(12)

The problem of the young German missionaries in India was complicated owing to their status as Reservists in the German army since compulsory military training had been in force in Germany prior to their arrival in India. This accounted for the Government decision to treat missionaries of military age under 45 as prisoners of war. Following the decision taken on May 28th. 1915 to close down the German Mission in Chota Nagpur, information relating to the internment of the male missionaries was included in the fortnightly

intelligence memorandum, a copy of which was sent with a covering letter, by McPherson to the Officer Commanding the Presidency Brigade at Fort William, Calcutta, on May 30th. On June 4th, the Brigadier-General at Fort William informed the Chief Secretary that he had received notification of the Government of India's intention to intern all alien missionaries of military age by either sending them under escort to the prisoner of war camp at Ahmednagar or, if regarded by the military and civilian authorities as quite harmless, they might be permitted to live on any selected station under the surveillance of the local civil authorities, provided the latter had no objection. Missionaries under or over military age were to be considered as exceptional cases and could be treated as qualifying for civil surveillance. The arrangement for providing a military escort to accompany the prisoners to Ahmednagar could be provided by the Army as soon as the request was made by the Government of Bihar.

(13)

In his report dated June 3rd. 1915, Bishop Westcott had confided to Bishop Montgomery the decision of the Government of Bihar to close down permanently the German mission in Chota Nagpur. The decision taken at a meeting of the Governor-in-Council was held on Thursday, May 28th, and the same day Bishop Westcott met the Governor and in a personal interview Sir Charles Bayley had given the reasons for the decision. After returning to Bishop's Lodge and pondering over the points which had arisen in the discussion, on Sunday May 31st. the Bishop decided to write to the Governor in order to present his reasons for believing that the Government's policy in regard to the suspected loyalty of the Lutheran Christians was based on a misapprehension. The Bishop presented his views as follows:-

It was very clear soon after the outbreak of the war that the Lutheran Christians had failed to distinguish between the ecclesiastical allegiance which they owed to the German missionaries and the political allegiance which they owed to the British Government. They had identified themselves not only with a particular form of ecclesiastical polity but with the nationality of the missionaries who had been the means of their conversion. Undoubtedly the presence of this feeling was due to the rivalry which in large measure has always existed between the English Mission and the Lutheran Mission, which was in turn largely due to the circumstances under which the English Mission was commenced in 1869. This feeling of rivalry on the part of the Germans at any rate was extremely bitter, though in recent years it has very greatly softened. The ecclesiastical rivalry was given a political character by the invariable use of the national denomination of the Missions: the German Mission and the English Mission.

I would urge therefore that it is a want of change rather than a change in the attitude of the native Christians of the German Mission which is the real charge which can be brought against them.

The Bishop then reviewed the question of the methods to be employed so that the members of the Lutheran congregations should be brought up as loyal citizens of the British Empire, and identified the schools as the solution for the reform in outlook:-

Schools are the very heart of the work of the Missions in Chota Nagpur. Fifty per cent of the scholars in our (Anglican) schools are Christians and the percentage is higher in the case of the Lutheran schools. It is here that the Christian character of the people is formed. Close the schools or secularise them and

the work must fail. Yet a teacher must give himself, and the German missionaries are intensely patriotic. Can they give their moral and spiritual selves and not their national selves? It should be possible. As patriots, in inculcating patriotism in their scholars, it should be to their own country and the Government under which it lives and not to any other. The failure in the past has been due, I think, to the causes which I have mentioned. While I have always felt the difficulty of handing over the training of the citizens of the Empire to foreigners, whether German or others, I do feel the difficulty is not insuperable.

The Bishop then reviewed the effects of the proposed policy on the international missionary movement and identified the possible repercussions as follows:-

If it is said we cannot allow you to teach Indian children because you are Germans, would it not give an opening to the Japanese, for instance, to say to our English missionaries we cannot allow you to have schools because you belong to another race and have different ideals of character and citizenship? It may be argued that the Germans mingle political propaganda with their religious propaganda and so they are differentiated from other missionaries. My own experience here does not confirm this view. I am sure that the Government would not wish to ignore the wide influence which the exclusion of the German missionaries from India might have on Mission work generally throughout the world.

Aware that the anti-German hysteria had found vocal expression among the British residents of Ranchi the Bishop disclosed his personal principles which he continued to maintain throughout the entire period of the War:-

As regards our own feelings towards the Germans, while we burn with indignation at the awful outrages and the abominable methods which have and are being employed, yet we try not to imitate the Germans in their indiscriminate hate. We do not wish to abandon the spirit of fair play which is one of our most cherished national characteristics and which has been so outraged by the behaviour of our enemies. Does this not lead us to discriminate between those who do and those who do not approve of the methods we abominate? My knowledge of some of the German missionaries leads me to think that they do repudiate the "frightfulness" of their compatriots. Some of them are slow to believe all that appears in our English papers and, perhaps, that is natural, but the methods alleged they condemn.

The Bishop then offered his services to try and maintain the Lutheran mission in the event of all the German missionaries being interned:

If it is felt that all must be interned, might not the question of their permanent exclusion still be left open till the conclusion of the War? I think if the women as well as the men were removed it might be possible to supervise the work and the opportunity would be given of trying to imbue the teachers and other workers with a spirit of loyalty to the British Raj, and time would be given to consider whether with proper safeguards which past experience has suggested it would be possible to retain the religious zeal of the German missionaries which has undoubtedly effected much in this part of India, while securing the political loyalty of the people of their congregations.

Bishop Westcott closed his letter with the observation which his championing the cause of the German missionaries was to prove true - in that he was generally assumed to be pro-German in his sympathies:

I feel keenly the delicacy of the subject with which I have attempted to deal, and the misconception which may be placed upon my words, but I also feel the very great setback to Mission work which the proposed action would entail, and that this aspect of the question should be set before you.

(14)

The Government of Bihar received the notification requested from the Imperial Government relating to the treatment of German missions and the withdrawal of education grants from Missions of hostile nationality during the third week of June 1915. On June 25th. Sir Edward Gait, the Senior Member of the Governor's Council, prepared a Confidential Report in which he disclosed the tentative arrangements made with Bishop Foss Westcott for the future of the German Mission. Sir Edward has asked if after the removal of all German missionary personnel, the Bishop would be able and willing to carry on the educational work of the Lutheran Mission for the period of the war, on the distinct understanding that the final decision regarding the affairs of the Mission after the war was still uncertain.

Bishop Westcott had asked the following questions:-

1. Are the Germans to have any say as to who carries on their Mission work?
2. Will the Germans have any say in the disposal of their property?
3. If the local Lutheran congregations are willing to carry on the educational work themselves will Government allow this and continue the existing grants?

To all three questions the tentative answer was No.

A further question relating to whether the German missionaries would be permitted to make their own arrangements for the Evangelistic and congregational work was considered to be outside the provence of Government, but since all German mission property was liable to confiscation, it was considered unlikely that any outside mission could come into the area to commence work.

Bishop Westcott had agreed to undertake the bulk of the educational work done by the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur on condition that:-

1. Government permitted him the use of all educational and residential buildings which he might require.
2. The existing educational grants made by both Government and the Ranchi District Board to the Lutheran Mission be made over to him and continued, together with the special grants made by Government during the first months of the war.

The Bishop undertook to staff the following Lutheran stations:- Lohardaga, Givindpur, Takarna, Khuntitolo and Chainpur and to maintain the Lutheran High School in Ranchi on condition that Government would take over the Middle English school at Dorandah.

These arrangements were submitted to the Governor for his approval and on June 26th. the Bishop was authorised to proceed with his plans to make instant arrangements for the schools, and the Deputy Commissioner was ordered to take over the Lutheran Mission buildings.

(15)

At a further meeting held on June 26th, Gait explained to the Bishop, the Commissioner and the Director for Public Instruction the intentions of Government for the future control of the German Mission. Additional points which required clarification were

discussed including the following:-

1. The Bishop wished to place on record that no attempt would be made by him to interfere with the Ecclesiastical allegiance of the converts of the German Mission.
2. The Leger Asylum at Purnulia should be offered to Dr. Campbell to supervise and the Lutheran stations in Orissa at Sambalpur and Gangpur should be offered to the Baptist Mission since on linguistic grounds these centres required workers who were fluent in Bengali and Oriya and lay outside the influence of the Anglican Mission.
3. Wherever possible the German missionaries should be allowed to hand over personally to the Bishop's workers with as little delay as possible in order to allow the pupils and staff to settle down quickly under the new arrangements. The only potential trouble was considered to be the Lutheran High School in Ranchi and the Inspector of Schools was ordered to be in residence until the arrangements were completed with instructions to strike off the names of any pupils who created a disturbance.
4. The removal of the German missionaries and their families to places of internment was in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner who would keep the Bishop informed of the proposed dates for the departure of the Germans from their stations.

(16)

On June 28th. Bishop Westcott wrote to Sir Edward with further proposals and arrangements which required clarification:-

1. The Revd. Peter Eidnaes stationed at Takarma was a Norwegian citizen and exempt from the internment order. Was he to be allowed to remain and continue his work when all the other

missionaries had left?

2. The Revd. Paul Wagner, the Superintendent of the Purulia Leger Asylum, had appealed to remain at his work on the grounds of his philanthropic work which in the past had received regular Government support. In the event of Dr. Campbell being unable to accept responsibility for the Asylum, the Bishop agreed to find a Bengali speaking missionary, since he did not consider a Government official would be a suitable appointment. He again stressed the undesirability of outside missions entering the field.
3. The proposal to send the Head of the Mission in Ranchi the Revd. Licentiate Johan Stosch, with the first batch of interneers should be countermanded since the Bishop required his co-operation and assistance in making plans for the transfer of the work.
4. Under the seal of secrecy the Bishop requested permission to inform both the Metropolitan and the Secretary of the National Missionary Council, the Revd. Herbert Anderson, of the latest developments and future plans for the Lutheran Mission since a large proportion of the funds sent to him for the missionaries and their work had been made available through the appeals organised by the NMC and this kind of support would be continued for the future.

(17)

THE DEPARTURE OF THE GERMAN MISSIONARIES FROM CHOTA NAGPUR

Bishop Westcott had explained to the Governor the reasons for the attitude of the Lutheran congregations which the outbreak of the war had rendered suspect in the estimation of British government officers. The chief cause for the present unsatisfactory conditions

which prevailed the Bishop identified to be the intense and bitter rivalry between the German and Anglican missions which had been the legacy of the schism of 1869. The influence of the two senior German missionaries who had moulded the character of the mission up to the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the war had been paramount. The President of the Mission, Dr. Carl Alfred Nottrott, after retirement from office had on health grounds returned to Germany in 1913. His colleague, the Mission Secretary, Ferdinand Hahn, had died while on vacation in Mussourie in 1910, leaving his widow and three daughters who were all active Mission workers. We have noted that Nottrott in 1868 had been the instigator of the rebellion against the Gossner Brethren, since it was his letter written direct to the Curatorium, complaining of the methods and practice of the missionaries in Ranchi, which had led to the decision to reform the Mission and impose the new Constitution. Ferdinand Hahn had arrived in Ranchi in 1868, joined the Pastors' Party, and after the schism had been appointed to the seminary. These two veterans had been assisted over the years by a Norwegian missionary, Peter Bidnaes, who had married a German wife and from 1882 shared the hostile attitude towards the Anglican missionaries. The next missionary in seniority was Ernst Wueste who had arrived in 1889 and at the outbreak of the war was regarded by the Police as the most influential member of the Mission. The continuation of the feud with the Anglican mission had rested with the trio of Nottrott, Hahn and Bidnaes who nursed memories of the events of 1869 and continued to regard the Anglican missionaries as intruders into the Lutheran preserve.

But, Bishop Westcott had informed the Governor, a change for the better had commenced in recent years, and this was in part attributable to the missionaries who had passed through the

Mission Seminary which the Director of the Lutheran Mission, Dr. Carl Platt, had founded in 1890. Of the missionaries working in Chota Nagpur in 1915, only Eidnaes and Kuoste represented the generation prior to the opening of the Berlin seminary, and in no respect was this attitude more apparent than in the appointment of Hottrott's successor as President. Licentiate Johan Stosch, after gaining his academic degree in theology had arrived in Chota Nagpur in 1907 aged 27. Hahn's successor as Secretary was Paul Wagner who had joined the Mission in 1894 aged 24 and who had been the representative of the Mission at the conferences called by John R. Mott - the Calcutta Regional Conference and the India National Conference at which Bishop Westcott had also been a delegate. With the Bishop, Paul Wagner had been a member of the Interim Committee entrusted with bringing into being the National Missionary Council in 1914 and at the first meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Representative Council of Missions held at Bankipore in 1913 he was elected the representative for Chota Nagpur. At the outbreak of the war Stosch, Wagner and Bishop Westcott had reached a more co-operative understanding which isolated Eidnaes as the chief representative of the older hostile attitude between the two missions.

The flourishing state of the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur can be estimated by a review of the Mission staff with their year of arrival in India, compiled by the Police after the registration of the missionaries as Hostile Aliens following the outbreak of the War in 1914.

	<u>NAME</u>	<u>MARRIED/ SINGLE</u>	<u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>STATION</u>
1.	Peter Widmaas	M	1882	57	Tekarna
2.	Ernst Wueste	M	1889	49	Ranchi
3.	Ernstz Kasten		1891	48	Kondra
4.	Paul Menzlaff		1891	47	Manbhum
5.	Wilhelm Dillar		1893	46	Orissa
6.	Gustav Beckmann	M	1893	46	Lohardaga
7.	Paul Wagner		1894	44	Purulia
8.	August John	M	1895	45	Kinkel
9.	Maximilian Klein	M	1895	46	Koronjo
10.	August Metzкус		1896	45	Orissa
11.	Marc Schutz	M	1897	47	Tamar
12.	Karl Beckmann		1898	33	Hazaribagh
13.	Karl Mehl	M	1898	43	Govindpur
14.	Gustav Lange	M	1898	43	Govindpur
15.	Gustav John	M	1899	38	Kinkel
16.	August Koeppen		1899	41	Singhbhum
17.	Wilhelm Dehmlow	M	1900	42	Chainpur
18.	August Jeschke	M	1901	41	Khuntitoli
19.	Adolph Petrick	S	1903	25	
20.	Adolph Karsten	M	1905	48	Kondra
21.	Freiderich Schnoor	M	1905	33	Gumla
22.	Wilhelm Duscheck	M	1906	34	Gangpur
23.	Christoph Schmidt	M	1906	39	Burju
24.	Paul Wueste	S	1906	33	Singhbhum
25.	Johannes Stosch	S	1907	35	Ranchi
26.	Martin Prehn	M	1908	31	Ranchi
27.	Reinhold Zeich	M	1908	31	Gumla
28.	Martin Kerschis	S	1909	31	Ranchi
29.	Emil Hagedorn	S	1909	31	Singhbhum

	<u>NAME</u>	<u>MARRIED/ SINGLE</u>	<u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>STATION</u>
30.	Fritz Jucknat	M	1910	33	Ranchi
31.	Adolph Michelowski	S	1912	25	Ranchi
32.	Karl Hensel	S	1912	28	Lohardaga
33.	Adolph Winkler	S	1913		Koronjo
34.	Leon Eckart	S	1913	28	Chainpur

The following missionaries serving in the Ganges Valley Mission stations were included in the Police Report and brought to Ranchi in 1915 when the policy for internment had been notified:-

1.	George Tenningkeit	1896	45	Muzaffarpur
2.	Hermann Stauber	1904	35	Dehri-on-Sone
3.	Johannes Tenningkeit	1905	35	Dehri-on-Sone
4.	Paul Bartsch	1907	32	Darbhangha
5.	Fritz Fanta		29	Buxar

The following women missionaries were also included in the Police Report:

1.	Mrs.Uffmann	Widow		Lohardaga
2.	Miss Ida Palm	S	54	Ranchi
3.	Mrs.Hahn	Widow	62	Ranchi
4.	Dora Hahn	S	24	Ranchi
5.	Elizabeth Hahn	S	22	Ranchi
6.	Miss Elfrieda Bessell	S	32	Ranchi
7.	Miss Toni Steiner	S	44	
8.	Miss Auguste Fritz	S	30	Khuntitoli
9.	Deaconess Marianne Gaedacke			Purulia
10.	Deaconess Marie Voerkoe per			Purulia

<u>NAME</u>	<u>MARRIED/ SINGLE</u>	<u>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>STATION</u>
11. Miss Prichrer				Purulia

(18)

The Lutheran Mission statistics for 1945, prior to the departure of the German missionaries, included the following:-

1. CHURCH DEPARTMENT:

Number of Christians	101,086
Missionary Pastors	34
Missionary Deaconesses	3
Native Pastors	43
Ordination Candidates	16
Catechists	377
Colporteurs	4
Bible Women	15

2. SCHOOL DEPARTMENT:

High School	1
Middle School	6
Primary Schools	260
Training School	1
Boarders - Boys	1,510
Boarders - Girls	669
Total number of pupils	8,225
Teachers and Gurus (male)	121
Teachers (female) Trained	36

3. LEPER ASYLUM 2

4. SEMINARY 1

Seminary Students	12

5. HOSPITALS 2

(19)

MINUTE OF THE STAFF OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

The prospect of having to arrange facilities for internment the mixed group of German missionary families prompted Mr. H. McPherson, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, to write to the Government of Bombay on June 23rd. 1915 with the enquiry whether it would be possible for him to make use of the internment camp which the Bombay Government had opened at Belgaum. On July 2nd McPherson received the reply that the camp at Belgaum was restricted to women and children only, with limited accommodation for the German families from Bombay, Central India, the Central Provinces and the Germans expelled from British East Africa. The Secretary to the Bombay Government advised McPherson that a proposal had been sent to the Central Government requesting that family internment camps similar to the one at Belgaum should be set up by the Provincial Governments in Madras, Bihar and Bengal. On July 7th. McPherson wrote to Mr. C. A. Oldham, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, informing him of the Bombay Government decision and pointing out that as there was no time to construct a special detention camp it seemed probable that buildings lying vacant in the old East India Company cantonment at Dinapur, six miles west of Patna, or failing this, the abandoned buildings of the Opium Department in Patna itself, could be converted. Permanent accommodation was required for 10 men, 40 women and 40 children with temporary accommodation for a further 20 men who at a later stage could be transferred to Ahmednagar. McPherson urged that no extra personnel from either the Police or the Military force at present in Patna should be required for guarding the prisoners.

Meanwhile McPherson had already sent off for internment at Ahmednagar the first party of German missionaries who on June 30th. were arrested and sent under escort from Ranchi railway station. Included

in the instructions given the Chief Secretary to the Ranchi Commissioner, Mr. Forrest, was a copy of the Government order which gave the reasons for the change in policy and which Forrest was asked to sign before handing it over to the Revd. J. Stosch with a verbal explanation making it quite clear that Government action was not prompted by any individual acts of disloyalty by the German missionaries in Ranchi or on account of any change in the local situation in Chota Nagpur. Government policy was stated to be based on the following reasons, all entirely political in nature:

1. The pan-German propagandist activities which had been directed against British interests throughout the world.
2. The bitterness of international relations engendered by the war.
3. British missionaries in the German colonies had **already** been interned.
4. The pronounced pro-German attitude of the native converts of the Lutheran mission in Chota Nagpur who regarded themselves as subjects of the German Empire rather than of the British Empire.

Forrest in turn had instructed the Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. M.G. Hallett, in conjunction with the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Drake, to carry out the Government order and on July 1st, he forwarded to McPherson an official report which provided the following details:

1. He had called the Revd. J. Stosch to his house at 7.30 am on June 30th. and informed him of the decision to intern the six missionaries who were men of military age and handed over to him the Government Order giving the reasons for the internment policy.
2. The Superintendent of Police arrested at 8.00 am at the Headquarters of the Lutheran Mission in Ranchi the following

six Germans:

1. Adolph Michaelowski	aged 26
2. Revd. Martin Kerschis	" 31
3. Leonhard Eckart	" 28
4. Adolph Petrick	" 25
5. Revd. Emil Hagedorn	" 31
6. Karl Henschel	" 28

The prisoners were warned not to leave the Compound and not to talk to any Indians with the exception of their personal servants.

3. At 3.30 pm the prisoners were brought to Ranchi railway station in carriages accompanied by a Police escort and in the presence of the Revd. J. Stosch, who was the only member of the Mission allowed to be present, the party was handed over to the Officer of the Escort, Lieutenant Lisle.
4. Second Class accommodation had been reserved for the journey to Ahmednagar but the allowance of Re three quarter per day for food for the prisoners was considered to be inadequate and accordingly an allowance of Rs. 36/- for their food on the journey had been advanced as it was known that the missionaries had no money of their own.
5. No demonstration of any kind had occurred at either the Mission or the railway station.

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By July 16th. it was confirmed that the cantonment at Dinapore would serve as the internment camp for the German missionary families, and between July 31st. and August 18th, the transfer of parties of missionaries from Ranchi to Patna was carried out under conditions

which the Government had insisted should cause as little discomfort as possible. A number of special cases involving invalids and women expecting babies ensured that the elderly widow, Mrs. Hahn, and her daughters, with Miss Elfrieda Bessoll remained in Ranchi until they were repatriated; Mrs. Gustav John and her husband were allowed to remain at the remote station at Kinkol and Miss Fritz was sent to attend her during her confinement; at Purulia the wife of Radsick, the German missionary from Upper Assam, had arrived with her children, and Deaconess Marie Voerkoeper was in attendance for her confinement; the other lady missionaries in Purulia, Deaconess Gaedacke and Miss Fricher were permitted to stay throughout August to await the final party of missionaries due to be sent to Dinapore. On September 9th, the Deputy-Commissioner of Manbhum writing from Purulia informed McPherson that the party of missionaries which included the Revd. Paul Wagner, the Revd. and Mrs. Paul Wenzlaff and family, the Deaconesses Voerkoeper and Gaedacke, Mrs. Radsick and children and the Revd. J. Stosch had been escorted to Dinapur and handed over to Mr. Harriott, the Superintendent of Police. The Norwegian missionary Peter Eidnaes was permitted to remain in Ranchi until his repatriation, but the other missionary of neutral nationality, Adolph Winkler, a Russian who had resigned his ethnic status but wished to be repatriated to Riga, had volunteered to go to Dinapore with his colleagues.

(21)

The German families were accommodated in the quarters of the non-commissioned officers lying vacant in the cantonment of the Royal Artillery who were the only British troops in the station. Each family had three rooms, fresh fruit and vegetables could be purchased daily, a canteen shop was also made available to them and for exercise there was a three mile perimeter where they could

talk. The barracks were kept spotlessly clean but the low-lying situation on the banks of the Ganges during the monsoon was unhealthy and all the internees began to suffer from dengue fever in the oppressing heat. One of the missionaries who had arrived in poor health, Paul Wenzlaff, who had worked for 25 years in Chota Nagpur, died shortly after arrival. On October 2nd, a party of nine ordained missionaries: Stosch, Schmidt, Schnoor, Dehmlow, Jucknat, Joschke and Paul Mueste from Chota Nagpur and Stauber and Bartsche from the Ganges Mission together with the two Gossner Missionaries from Assam - Gohlke and Radsick were transferred to the Prisoner of War camp at Ahmednagar where they were placed in Camp A. After only five weeks internment the Commandant at Dinapore sent instructions that they were to be sent back to accompany the women and children who were repatriated on the first voyage of the SS "Golconda" which left Calcutta on November 19th. A second party of three laymen from the Ganges Mission - Fanta, Gerwins and Naumann joined the laymen in Ahmednagar who had been sent from Ranchi in June.

In Berlin news of the arrival of the "Golconda" with the missionaries on board was received through the publication in the Calcutta Morning Post that the ship had sailed with 600 passengers on board, dated November 22nd. The Mission House which had been converted into a military convalescent home was handed back to the Curatorium, who prepared it to provide temporary accommodation for the returned families. Dr. Nottrott travelled to Holland in company with the Inspectors of the Hermannsburg and Schleswig-Holstein Missions, and met the party who disembarked from the Dutch ship "Necklenburg" at Vlissingen on January 13th. 1916. Of the 117 members of the Gossner Mission party 61 travelled to Berlin and were welcomed at the Mission House. On January 18th. the

missionaries and members of the Curatorium and related their experiences during internment, on the voyage, the state of the German missions in India, and the arrangements which had been agreed upon for the Mission in Chota Nagpur. On January 19th. the Princess Augusta and her daughter attended the Thanksgiving service in the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church after which all the senior missionaries were presented to her. On the 20th. the Curatorium began discussions on the care and welfare of the missionary families for their future residence in Germany.

The remaining laymen of the Chota Nagpur Mission - Michaelowski, Mensel, Eckart and Patrick with the Ganges Mission laymen - Fanta, Gerwins and Naumann and the two pastors, Radsick and Gohlke, from Assam and Magedorno from Chota Nagpur were repatriated on the second voyage of the "Golconda". They were detained at the Alexandra Palace internment camp but all had arrived in Germany between the 7th. and 17th. June 1916.

(22)

BISHOP WESTCOTT TAKES RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LUTHERAN MISSION

We have noted the privilege of direct access to senior Government officials, including the Governor, enjoyed by Bishop Westcott, which enabled him to materially alter the policy of the Government of Bihar regarding the fate of the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur. His proposals made to the Governor and Sir Edward Gait, that it would be possible for him to superintend the Lutheran schools by placing his own missionaries at the disposal of the Government, were accepted at the meeting held on June 25th. 1915. On June 28th. the Bishop wrote to Sir Edward requesting that the order to inter immediately the Head of the Mission, the Revd. J. Stosch, should be countermanded to permit him to assist the Bishop with

the necessary important plans which the new policy entailed. When this was sanctioned it became possible for the Bishop and Stosch to work together for the whole of July and early August, before Stosch finally left Ranchi for Fuzulia on August 18th. We have also noted in the instructions issued to the Commissioner for the internment of the first Germans on June 30th, the official Government policy stating the reasons for the change in procedure included the charge that the Lutheran congregations had come to consider themselves as subjects of the German rather than of the British Empire. Stosch accordingly set himself to correct the misapprehension of the loyalty of the Lutheran Christian leaders, the pastors, teachers, catechists and elders, which had so concerned the British officers in Chota Nagpur, by writing to them a pastoral letter which was published in the Mission fortnightly Hindi-medium magazine Gharbandhu. On July 22nd, his article 'Honour the King' stressed the duty of everyone to be loyal to the Government; at the same time he gave the news of the internment of the party of young missionaries, and prepared his readers for the possible deportation of the whole German missionary staff. In attempting to explain the Government policy of internment, Stosch requested that co-operation and loyalty should be shown to whoever the Government appointed in place of the missionary staff, whether it was a local Christian or some other Indian official. On August 1st, a second article entitled 'Cheer up with Hope, Be Patient in Calamity, Be Strong in Prayer', was printed, giving the news that it was the wish of the Government that the Bishop of the English Church should take over responsibility for the Mission schools, hospitals, and the Leper Asylum which were to continue as Mission institutions with their permanent staff, the congregations would remain undisturbed and everyone, during the absence of the German missionaries who might be sent back to

missionaries, such as the missionaries who could be associated in their place. (23)

Released from the seal of official secrecy under which he had conducted the negotiations with the government, Bishop Martens wrote a formal letter to President Stosch in which he stated the terms under which he was prepared to work. After expressing his deep sympathy for the German missionaries he declared himself willing to take over the responsibility for the Lutheran schools with the promise to safeguard religious teaching.

Referring to the suspicion of disloyalty which had been levelled against the Lutheran Christians in official government circles, he undertook to do his best to remove this doubt, and pledged himself to hand over the Mission intact at the end of the war. He insisted that no attempt would be made to dissuade the congregations from their denominational loyalty, and formulated a series of questions asking to what extent the German missionaries would wish the work of the congregations to come under the supervision of his own missionaries. In welcoming the opportunity to try and remove the prejudices and misunderstandings between the Lutheran and Anglican Missions which had embittered their relations in the past the Bishop closed with the following words - 'I firmly hope that your missionaries would welcome and accept our help with the same affection that we give you and must not think we are usurping your place, but should think that we are servants of Jesus Christ and we want to spread His Kingdom'.

Stosch replied by sending a copy of the Bishop's letter to all the German missionary staff, and by endorsing the arrangements which the Bishop proposed. Over the questions relating to the work of

the congregations which he knew to be outside the control of the Government he insisted - 'Our native pastors ought to be responsible for their congregations and the sacraments and confirmation should be administered only by them; only the Lutheran liturgy should be used in the church services. We should welcome occasional preaching by Anglican missionaries to our congregations and would value advice and encouragement given to our Pastors'.

(24)

Following his return to Germany in 1916, Licentiate Stosch wrote a long article entitled 'The Gossner Mission from the beginning of the War to the Return of the German Missionaries', which was published as a Supplement to the General Mission Journal (Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift Berlin No 4, April, 1916), in which he clarified the policy of the Government of India and the internment of the German missionaries, and also answered possible criticisms regarding failure to hand over the Mission in Chota Nagpur to any Lutheran Society, rather than to the Anglican Bishop. Stosch showed admirable restraint in his comments on the official policy of the Indian Government towards German missions, but admitted that the problem created by Lutheran Christians being designated 'Germans' in Chota Nagpur also involved the principle that as the German missionaries had given their parole, not to mention the War, they were unable to act in this matter with any success. The possibility of handing over the Mission in Ranchi to either the Swedish or American Lutheran Societies already working in India, he dismissed as totally impractical, since the Government had sequestered the whole of the Mission property for the duration of the war, only permitting the use of the schools and other necessary buildings as required by Bishop Westcott. Without accommodation and a knowledge of the culture and the local language, he was certain the

Government would never allow any outside agency to take up the work. Stosch reassured his readers of his own trust and confidence in the arrangements agreed with Bishop Westcott as follows:-

In many respects the supervision of the English Bishop over our congregations offers undeniable advantages. On the financial side, it is quite impossible during the war to send money from here to our Christians. We have laid on them the obligation to care for the support of our pastors and catechists according to their means. But they are poor. They can scarcely carry on without contributions.

The Anglican Bishop is in a position and has the will to divert to them money from friends of our Mission in America and India. Further, on the political side, to represent our congregations with the Government we could wish for no one better. This temporary relationship of our Christians with him will, we hope, put an end to the foolish mistrust of many Englishmen towards them as "German Christians". Finally, by the supervision of the Anglican Bishop over our congregations a protection is afforded against the incursions of the Jesuits. If our congregations were left entirely to themselves or if they were placed in charge of a less influential missionary, because one less acquainted with the circumstances, there would be much to fear.

BISHOP MONTGOMERY AND SPG SUPPORT BISHOP WESTCOTT

The innovation of appointing a missionary bishop to be Secretary of SPG resulted from the decision of the Standing Committee of the Society which constituted an Episcopal Committee to recommend a successor to Prebendary H.W Tucker who resigned in 1901. The Committee included the two Primates, Frederick Temple and William Maclagan, Bishops Winnington-Ingram of London, Handley Moule of Durham, Randall Davidson of Winchester, Wyndham Kennion of Bath and Wells and Edgar Jacob of Newcastle who nominated Bishop Henry Montgomery of Tasmania. Bishop Montgomery was elected at a special meeting of the Society, called by the President, Archbishop Temple, on July 25th.1901.

From 1881-89 Montgomery had been the vicar of a flourishing south London parish St Mark's, Kennington Oval, from where he went out as the 4th. Bishop of Tasmania, a diocese which SPG had helped to establish in 1842, and which had a staff of 17 missionaries maintained by the Society. Following a pastoral visit in 1893 to Melanesian converts in Fiji, Bishop Montgomery in 1894 organised a Church Congress in Hobart where by means of his presidential address he was successful in directing the Australian Church to commence its own missions to evangelise New

Guinea and Melanesia. In 1900 he again took the lead in the celebrations of the centenary of the Australian Board of Missions, held in Sydney, and in glowing terms acknowledged the debt of the Churches in Australia and New Zealand to the work of the Society.

Bishop Montgomery attended the 4th. Lambeth Conference of 1897, where he renewed his friendship with his contemporary at Harrow, Randall Thomas Davidson, who in 1895 had been appointed Bishop of Winchester. The return to London as Secretary of SPG in 1901 further strengthened this friendship, when in 1903 Davidson moved to Lambeth as Archbishop and President of the Society. He appointed Montgomery to be the Episcopal Secretary of the 5th. Lambeth Conference, and gave his active support for the organising of the Pan-Anglican Congress, from June 15th-24th. 1908, which preceded the Lambeth Meeting and which had originated from a sermon preached by Bishop Montgomery in 1902. (26)

We have noted in our review of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, that the attendance of the Anglican episcopate and the delegates of SPG, committed the Church of England and the Catholic representatives of the Anglican missionary societies to the new inter-denominational principles which formed the basis for the Conference. In May 1909, Bishop Montgomery agreed to join

the small group of staunch Anglo-Catholics who had consented to work on the commissions in preparation for the Conference - these included Bishop Edward Talbot and Bishop Charles Gore, Father Frere and Father Bickersteth of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Mrs. Creighton and Mrs. Romanes. Having satisfied himself that no questions touching Church order would be discussed, Montgomery was appointed a member of Commission 1 'Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World' with his fellow Anglican, Dr. Eugene Stock of the CMS. No missionary of SPG was listed among the 94 consultants in India who co-operated in preparing the Report, but seven of the Indian Bishops - Madras, Travancore, Colombo, Rangoon, Lahore, Lucknow and Tinnevely responded to the invitation of the Commission which was chaired by Dr. John R. Mott. Bishop Montgomery was a member of both the British Executive and the Business Committees and in the Commission on Co-operation and Unity, No VIII he made a speech which explained the principles on which he and his fellow delegates had come to the Conference:

'We have no difficulty in conferring with you on almost every point except the nature of the Church and what its essentials are as a basis of union. I believe that undenominationalism is dead in the estimation of all. We have no use for the least common denominator of Christianity. Our contribution to you is from the Catholic basis; and we do not see how you can get that contribution

from any one else. We are Anglicans first, and Protestant in parts. We really feel all the respect for those from whom we learn so much, who yet to our great sorrow, are not yet in communion with us.' (27)

Bishop Montgomery's attendance as the leader of the SPG delegation at Edinburgh did not go unchallenged. On June 16th. 1910 seven members of the Society's Standing Committee, including three Proctors in Convocation - the Revd. Henry Arnott, Rector of Beckenham, Canon R.S. Hassard, Sub-Dean, and Canon A.J. Worlledge, Chancellor of Truro Cathedral, the Vicars of Harston (E.C. Baldwin) Chiswick (F.W. Isaacs) and St Giles, Reading (R.W.C. Hunt) with the leading Anglo-Catholic layman, Athelstan Riley, printed and circulated to the members of the Standing Committee of the Society their official Remonstrance, objecting to the presence at Edinburgh of the Secretary and delegates. In offering the Remonstrance, the signatories desired to express their feeling of loyalty to the Society and of gratitude for the earnest labours of its committees and officers, but felt conscientiously obliged to remonstrate "publicly and seriously against the action of the Standing Committee in rescinding their own resolution passed in December 1908, declining an invitation to the Society to be officially represented, and their appointment, at a late date, of Delegates (including our Secretary) to attend the assembly at Edinburgh".

The text of the Remonstrance continued -

'Members of the Standing Committee, and even its Officers, could have attended this gathering as private individuals, without compromising the principles on which the Society is founded, and on which it has hitherto acted. The safeguards secured for the Representatives of SPG in the discussions at Edinburgh fail to remove our objections.

We object to the Mission of the Delegates in an official capacity altogether.

We are compelled, therefore, with deep regret, to record our Remonstrance against the formal recognition of the Conference, because:-

1. The gathering is based on a principle which ignores the Organic Unity of the Catholic Church.
2. It acquiesces in the divisions of Christendom.
3. It treats as a matter of opinion, Doctrines and Institutions which we believe to be regarded alike in Holy Scripture, and in the formularies of the Church of England, as of fundamental consequence.

4. It obscures the fact that our Lord's Commission to evangelise the world was given to One Organic Society.
5. It encourages the fallacy of adopting a numerical test in Spiritual Work by its suggestion that the gathering should be officially recognised because the Missions of some Christian bodies are outwardly more successful and more numerous than our own.

It is our desire by this Remonstrance, to endeavour to check any further association on the part of our Society with the principle of Inter-Denominationalism, which we regard, in its practical results, as identical with Undenominationalism; and also to reassure the minds of some of our fellow Churchmen, who might otherwise be induced to withdraw support from the Venerable Society.'

The Remonstrance was published in the Daily Telegraph, and was signed by over 900 Incorporated Members of SPG with the result that all reference to the Edinburgh Conference was deleted from the Society's Official Report for 1910; more followed the postponement until 1918 of the Society's membership of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain, which came into existence in 1911 as a direct result of the Edinburgh Conference Continuation Committee.

Doubts and hesitations regarding attendance at the Edinburgh Conference had been shared by the President of SPG, Archbishop Davidson, who although he had come to know and trust John R. Hott personally, only consented to give the opening address in April 1910. Reflecting on the attitude expressed in the Remonstrance, Davidson wrote in 1917 -

'On the one hand there has been in SPG and elsewhere a growing nervousness about our relations to, or our conferences with Non-conformists. Or, perhaps it may be more true to say, that the greater life and vigour of the missionary societies has brought into prominence the feelings of 'Ring-Fence' exclusiveness and Anglican self-containedness which were there all along, but had less scope in quieter days a generation ago. My own feelings have always been strongly in sympathy with a desire, not only to confer with, but as far as possible, to work with Christians outside our own Church, and this, as I have always contended, can be done without any compromise of our own distinctive principles, if the difference between UN-denominationalism and INTER-denominationalism is kept prominent and clear.

The Missionary Conference at Edinburgh was a notable example My own action in going was widely criticised but I am certain that I was right.'

When the war broke out Davidson had been Archbishop of Canterbury for 11 years. The Church of England and the nation were fortunate to have as Primate one whose concern for the Church was set in the wider context of his concern for the Kingdom of God. During his primacy he knew each of the Prime Ministers personally and four of them were his personal friends. His cautious temperament made him unwilling to act precipitately during the War, when emotions against Germany ran high and some churchmen succumbed to them; the Archbishop's emotional reserve, his sober realism and his deep feeling for the international dimension of Christianity, preserved him from indulging in a narrow patriotism. During the War he was ready on occasions to take unpopular attitudes but generally he was too ready to take the advice of the politicians. (29)

On the basis of their participation in the Edinburgh Conference both Bishop Montgomery and Archbishop Davidson were equipped to respond to the appeal made by Bishop Westcott when the request to provide both men and funds to meet the crisis in the German Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur reached SPG in June 1915. This, however, could hardly be assumed to be the case with many members of the Catholic party in the Church of England. The distinction upheld by many supporters of SPG, who ranked German Lutherans with English Non-Conformists demanded that Bishop Montgomery should be able to justify giving support to

non-Churchmen at a period when the Society's participation at Edinburgh was still a vexed and provocative issue among Catholic members of the Church. Bishop Montgomery had expressed his frank nervousness over the function of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee in a lecture given at Bournemouth in May 1915 and subsequently printed in the 'Church Times'. The appeal of Bishop Westcott compelled Montgomery to work in the closest co-operation with J.H.Oldham who, as Secretary for the Conference of British Missionary Societies, from 1915 became the spokesman for the German missions, which in turn demanded the closest co-operation with the Government. In Sir Arthur Hirtzel, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office who acted as advisor to the Archbishop, Montgomery and Oldham, the cause of missions had a staunch supporter who was responsible for the liaison which developed during the war between the India Office and Church and missionary society representatives. (30)

We shall now review the correspondence which Bishop Westcott's appeal prompted and the response which Bishop Montgomery was able to make on behalf of SPG for the maintainance of the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur.

Bishop Montgomery's first action after receiving the Confidential Report, dated June 3rd. 1915, in which Bishop Westcott proposed that the Society should be prepared to take responsibility for maintaining the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur in the event of the German missionaries being removed from their work, was to share the news with Archbishop Davidson. He then showed the Report to Sir Arthur Hirtzel at the India Office, who requested a copy. Hirtzel informed Bishop Montgomery that the policy for the treatment of the German missionaries was left in the hands of the Government of India without reference to London; his personal opinion being that since no policy decision had been made for the permanent exclusion of Germans from India the matter could be postponed until after the war. On June 30th. the India Sub-Committee of SPG met and recommended that a statement should be prepared to be presented as a proposal to the Standing Committee of the Society at its meeting on July 8th. Bishop Montgomery drafted the statement as follows:

In reference to the letter of the Bishop of Chota Nagpur, dated June 3rd. 1915, agreed that in the event of a definite request being received for help to meet the situation which may arise, the Society is prepared to be responsible for the necessary funds, and will do its best to obtain the men.

It will be understood that the duty of the Society terminates with the provision of a grant to the Diocese of Chota Nagpur for the above purpose, and also with the

endeavour to obtain the necessary workers. The whole question of the best manner of coping with the situation - ecclesiastical and doctrinal - rests in the hands of the Bishop of the Diocese, and no doubt, after taking counsel with the Metropolitan of India and with the whole of the Indian Episcopate. The Society has no jurisdiction or responsibility in any such question.

In a letter to Bishop Westcott Montgomery gave his reasons for formulating the statement -

I think you will understand the first part is exactly what you want. The second part is what we need at home, especially at this time. My own feelings are that if you are really asked to undertake this great work it would be better not to inform us of the details of your organisation, ecclesiastical and doctrinal. It is not our business, and it would not be right for us to be made to feel, even indirectly, that such questions were to be handled and interfered with by us. (31)

On July 1st. Bishop Westcott's cable giving the news that the German missionaries had been interned was received and on July 9th. Bishop Montgomery was able to cable the reply that the

Society had taken responsibility for both men and their support. At the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Society held on July 8th. the Proposal from the India Sub-Committee had been discussed, and queries, raised by some of the 70 members present, had been answered to their entire satisfaction by Edwin James Palmer, the Bishop of Bombay, who happened to be present. The decision was also taken that nothing should be published by the Society without the sanction of Sir Arthur Hirtzel at the India Office who had replied to Bishop Montgomery's query on July 6th. as follows:-

There is no objection to your saying that owing to the necessity under which the Government of India have found themselves of interning the German missionaries, the Bishop has asked for eight men and their maintenance to take over the work during the war. It would be advisable not to foreshadow in any way what may happen after the war - if only because we don't know. You will, I am sure, put it in such a way to make it plain to honest people this is not a wicked attempt of the British Government to capture German Missions, like German commerce and German colonies. (32)

We have noted the singular position of the Church of England in India, established by Act of Parliament, which conferred the dignity of Metropolitan on the Bishop of Calcutta, according him identical status with the Archbishop of York within the Church of England, and uniting him in the closest ties with the Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The crisis produced by the action of the Government of India in interning the German missionaries prompted the Metropolitan, Bishop Lefroy, to write to Archbishop Davidson on June 22nd. 1915 requesting him to use his influence to moderate the intense anti-German feelings whose proponents were demanding that German missionaries should be excluded permanently from work in India. On July 16th, the Archbishop replied as follows:-

I need hardly tell you with what interest I have been considering the strangely difficult question which has arisen about the action we ought to take in consequence of the internment of the German missionaries. I do not think I have ever known a more perplexing condition of things and I am glad it is in such wise hands as those of yourself and Foss Westcott. I have had some talk with Montgomery about it, but he rightly shrinks, as representing the Society, from saying more than that the Society ought to aid the Bishops with men and money in what they desire to do. I do not think that anything would be gained at this moment by my own intervention, and probably I shall hear further from you, or from Bishop Westcott before long. You may rely on my

using any influence that I can in the whole matter. Sir

Arthur Hirtzel will obviously be a very helpful counsellor. (33)

On July 16th, the day the Archbishop wrote to Bishop Lefroy, the Church Times carried a letter from Bishop Montgomery under the heading 'A Call from India', appealing for clergymen who could speak Hindi and who would be prepared to put themselves at the disposal of the Church, with all expenses paid by SPG, for the duration of the war. The duty of supporting the Government received a prominent place in the appeal:-

The Government of India has interned the German missionaries in the diocese of Chota Nagpur for the duration of the war. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur has wired for eight clergy to help him to carry on necessary work, as required by the Government. There are hundreds of schools, dozens of Indian pastors, hundreds of catechists. The schools have to be maintained under Government regulations and the various living agents have to be paid and the buildings kept in order. The Government also urge for an immediate answer as to the number of men available for such work. It is, I think, of vital importance that we should be able to send clergymen to fill these posts.

The Editor of the Church Times had at first declined to publish the letter on the grounds that the proposed action involved collaboration with non-Churchmen, but after receiving a full explanation of the circumstances in India he consented on condition that Bishop Montgomery would answer any criticisms which appeared. (34)

Bishop Montgomery was also fortunate in being able to contact Canon Edward Waller, the Bishop-designate of Tinnevely, who was in England, and who for many years had been the Principal of the CMS Theological College at Allahabad, requesting him to recommend any retired CMS missionaries who, he thought, could suitably go out to Chota Nagpur. (35)

In our review of the development of the Diocese of Chota Nagpur we have noted that Bishop Westcott was able to achieve his plans for schools by encouraging friends and well-wishers to provide additional income, over and above the Annual Grant received from the Society. One of the pioneers in this innovatory scheme, Canon Lonsdale of Corbridge, Northumberland, the father of the Revd.H.R.Lonsdale,who had died in Ranchi on September 1st.1909,

after only two years service, approached Bishop Montgomery with the offer that friends were willing to contribute to the emergency fund which the Society had provisionally fixed at £1,000 for the crisis in Chota Nagpur. Canon Lonsdale was instrumental in collecting donations totalling £750 of which Mrs. (later Dame) Monica Wills and a friend contributed £250 each. These donations were acknowledged by Mr. C.F. Pascoe, the Society's lay secretary on August 9th 1915. (36)

BISHOP WESTCOTT ORGANISES THE LUTHERAN MISSION

We have noted in our review of the work of the SPG in the Diocese of Chota Nagpur, that in the decade preceding the outbreak of the World War from the death of Bishop Whitley in 1904 to the return of Bishop Westcott from furlough in October 1913, the Anglican mission had achieved a modest growth and financial stability enabling the development of five stations among the tribal communities of which the three oldest: Ranchi, Chaibasa and Hazaribagh dated from 1869 and Itki and Murhu had been established with resident missionaries after 1908. In addition, we have seen the necessity for developing a diversified ministry demanded by the influx of English and Anglo-Indian workers to the industrial and mining centres - Dhanbad, Adra, Giridih, Purulia and Sakshi. We have also noted

that compared with the Lutheran and Roman Catholic missions, both of whom had adopted an aggressive strategy of evangelism resulting in mission stations being planted far and wide across the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Anglican tribal converts were confined to an area within 40 miles of Ranchi; the station at Itki among the Oraon tribe and the station at Murhu among the Munda tribe being respectively 16 and 30 miles distant from Ranchi. In 1914 the total missionary staff at the Bishop's disposal numbered eleven English and seven Irish priests, the latter being members of the Dublin University Mission Brotherhood; the lay staff numbered two men and ten English and eleven Irish lady missionaries with two missionary wives and four honorary missionaries with private means who received no financial support from SPG. The development of the headquarters of both the Lutheran and Anglican missions at Ranchi had resulted in the duplication of institutions connected with education - schools for boys and girls with their attendant hostels, teacher training institutions for men and women and lace schools for the employment of married women and widows. In the out-stations of both missions, schools, both day and boarding with attendant hostels for boys and girls had been established, qualifying for the government grant-in-aid after obtaining recognition from the Director of Public Instruction and his inspectors. Pioneering in the field of medical work by the Lutherans had provided two Leper Asylums - one at Lohardaga amongst the tribals and the other more advanced institution at Purulia, both of which qualified for government grants. The

territory covered by the 13 Lutheran mission stations was in general estimation equal to that of England, as Bishop Palmer of Bombay had explained to the members of the Standing Committee of SPG in July, when the appeal for men and funds had been placed before the Society. The task facing Bishop Westcott as he reviewed the combined Anglican and Lutheran mission fields required very little in the way of innovation since both missions had developed along parallel lines with the 'lingua franca' of the Province, Hindi, being the medium of instruction in the schools and in the older stations used by the congregations in worship. Emergency measures required the amalgamation of institutions where this was practicable, the appointment of missionary staff as superintendents of the schools in those stations which it was possible to keep open and the closing down of stations where supervision proved impracticable.

The appeal for emergency staff, at Bishop Westcott's request, had included an approach to the Church Missionary Society, and when the Metropolitan visited Ranchi to stay with Foss Westcott during the first fortnight in July he endorsed the appeal which was circulated to the bishops of the Anglican diocese in India. The CMS were the first to respond by sending the Revd.W.E.Napier Munn from Bhagalpur, the Revd.W.V.K.Treanor, a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, who was working in Benares in the Lucknow diocese and the Revd.E.Cannon from Calcutta. The Cawnpore Brotherhood were able to send the Revd.A.W.Douglas who

was later released from the Brotherhood and permanently transferred to Chota Nagpur. The appeal in India had provided four out of the eight emergency staff required for the immediate needs of the Lutheran stations.

In England the appeal issued by Bishop Montgomery on behalf of SPG resulted in the return to Chota Nagpur of the Revd.E.H. Whitley, who was on furlough, and the agreement by the Revd.O.W. Stallard, who had left Itki in April 1915 after serving for five years with his wife, Dr.Stallard, to return for one year. They were later joined by the Revd.W.J.Simmons, a former Government chaplain in Kharagpur, and the Revd.A.H.Phillips also from Calcutta diocese. With the closing down of Bishop's College for the duration of the war, two members of staff moved to Ranchi - the Revd.J.H.Jennings and the Principal, the Revd.R.Gee.

The arrangement with the Government for superintending the Lutheran schools dictated the deployment of the additional staff who had come to assist Bishop Westcott during the late summer of 1915. For all members of the Anglican mission the arrangements undertaken were considered to be of a temporary nature since there was as yet no intimation that the War would be protracted with the result that the supervision of the Lutheran mission would remain the responsibility of Bishop Westcott until October 1919. In our review of the combined Anglican and Lutheran fields we shall identify the arrangement for the Lutheran institutions which, undertaken as an emergency measure, continued as a permanent arrangement for the duration of the War. With the

departure of the last party of German missionaries from Ranchi on August 18th. Bishop Westcott initiated the following adjustment in staff and institutions.

1. RANCHI

Canon Cosgrave, the Principal of St Paul's High School, took charge of the Lutheran High School assisted by the Revd. T. H. Page, BSc., up to December 1915. From January 1916 the Revd. Percy Martin took over the School assisted by the Revd. J. H. Jennings from Bishop's College, Calcutta until May. From June the Revd. R. Gee arrived in Ranchi with his wife and was appointed Principal, a post he continued to hold for the period of the war.

Miss Dorothy Ingles moved into the Lutheran compound to take charge of the Girls' hostels, the Training School students and the Lace School, She was later joined by Miss Amy Storrs, an honorary missionary, and both of them supervised the Lutheran girls and women for the duration of the war. From July 1916 the Lutheran Womens' Training School was closed down and the students amalgamated with the Anglican institution.

2. GOVINDPUR AND TAKARMA

Dr. and Mrs. Kennedy were transferred from Murhu to Govindpur, the station, founded in 1870, 47 miles from Ranchi, and the oldest centre of Lutheran work in the Munda country. Kennedy opened a clinic and continued his medical work for the duration of the war.

3. PURULIA

The Leprosy Mission Hospital was supervised by the Revd. Percy Martin from August to December 1915 when he was succeeded by the Revd. E. Cannon of the CMS who developed the work throughout the war and continued until October 1920 when he went on furlough.

4. LOHARDAGA

Lohardaga lying 50 miles west of Ranchi became the terminus of the narrow-gauge railway line, completed in 1916, linking Purulia and Ranchi. The Revd. S. B. Harris moved from Dhanbad where he had been the chaplain to the English and Anglo-Indian families working in the coal fields, and with his wife remained at Lohardaga throughout the war.

These four stations, Ranchi, Govindpur, Purulia and Lohardaga were maintained by Anglican missionaries who resided with the Lutherans for the entire period of the war. The railway linking Ranchi to Purulia and Lohardaga facilitated communications and dispelled the sense of isolation which the far flung mission stations manned by other missionaries, inevitably produced.

5. CHAINPUR AND GUMLA

These two stations situated on the far western border of the Chota Nagpur plateau, bordering on the Native State of Jashpur, were supervised by the CMS missionary, the Revd. Napier Munn, who settled in Chainpur in August 1915. In 1916 he transferred to Gumla where he remained until the CMS recalled him to Bhagalpur in August 1917 after completing two years service. Thereafter these two stations were closed down.

6. KINKEL AND KORONJO

The Revd. W. Treanor of the CMS remained in Kinkel from September to December 1915. From May 1916 the Revd. O. W. Stallard and his sister arrived at Koronjo from where they visited Kinkel. Stallard who had agreed to stay for one year extended his service to October 1918 when he and his sister left India. Miss Pope then took up residence until 1919.

7. RAJGANGPUR AND JHARSUGUDA, KARIMATTI AND KHUNTITOLI

On the Bengal Nagpur railway line at Manoharpur the Revd.G. Dickson had opened the Anglican mission in 1913, previously having been stationed at the railway centre at Chakradharpur. He was able to visit periodically the Lutheran centres in Orissa on the line at Rajgangpur and Jharsuguda. From January 1918 he was transferred from Manoharpur to the Lutheran station at Karamatti where he successfully opened a joint Lutheran-Anglican Boys' school, returning to Manoharpur in November 1919.

8. LUTHERAN STATIONS SUPERVISED FROM NEIGHBOURING ANGLICAN STATIONS: HAZARIBAGH, CHAIBASA, BURJU AND TAMAR, CHAKRADHARPUR

The Lutheran stations in Hazaribagh and Chaibasa after the schism of 1869 had seen the majority of the Gossner Brethren converts accompany the Senior Missionaries into the Anglican church. Thereafter neither station had been able to develop, and it proved possible to supervise the Lutheran centres with the help of the resident Anglican staff in both Hazaribagh and Chaibasa.

Burju, situated only four miles from Murhu was placed under the supervision of the Murhu missionaries who paid visits also to Tamar.

The Lutheran station at Chakradharpur was placed under the supervision of the chaplain to the Railway colony.

The following conspectus of the 18 Lutherans stations with the Anglican superintendent missionaries will demonstrate conveniently the arrangements made by Bishop Foss Westcott, initially as a temporary measure, covering the years 1915-1919.

<u>LUTHERAN STATION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUPERINTENDING ANGLICAN MISSIONARY</u>
RANCHI	1845	Revd.R.Gee, Miss D.Ingle, Miss A.Storrs
HAZARIBAGH	1853	Revd.J.C.Forrester DUM
PURULIA	1863	Revd.E.Cannon CMS
CHAIBASA	1865	Revd.A.Logsdail
BURJU	1869	Revd.E.H.Whitley
GOVINDPUR	1870	Dr.K.W.S.Kennedy
LOHARDAGA	1871	Revd.S.B.Harris
TAKARMA	1873	Dr.K.W.S.Kennedy
CHAINPUR	1892	Revd.Napier Munn CMS (1915-17)
CHAKRADHARPUR	1893	Revd.T.H.Page (1915-17) Revd.P.Martin 1918
KHUNTITOLI	1895	Revd.G.Dickson
GUMLA	1895	Revd.Napier Munn CMS (1915-17)
KINKEL	1899	Revd.O.Stallard, Miss Stallard (1916-18)

<u>LUTHERAN STATION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUPERINTENDING ANGLICAN MISSIONARY</u>
RAJGANGPUR	1900	Revd.G. Dickson
TAMAR	1901	Revd.E.H. Whitley
KARAMATTI	1902	Revd.G. Dickson
KORONJO	1903	Revd.O. Stallard, Miss Stallard (1916-18) Miss Pope (1919)
JHARSUGUDA	1904	Revd.G. Dickson

The five months from August to December 1915 covered the period of the emergency which had prompted the appeal made by Bishop Westcott for additional staff to ensure that the Lutheran mission schools in Chota Nagpur remained open. The question of the ultimate fate of the German missionaries and the disposal of the extensive properties belonging to the German missions by the end of 1915 had in principle been clarified. The Government decision to permanently exclude all German societies from returning to work in India demanded from Bishop Westcott the resolution to convert the temporary expedients of the emergency into the maintenance of both the Lutheran schools and congregations for the entire period of the War. (37)

WORK AND RESIDENCE AMONG THE LUTHERANS: AUGUST - DECEMBER 1915

The novelty of the situation facing members of the Anglican mission, both from the SPG and the CMS, who moved into residence with the Lutherans or accepted the oversight of Lutheran stations, was reflected in their reports and diary entries. We shall present a survey of their impressions which appear to be significant in view of the protracted length of their service, dictated by the Government of India's policy, and the unanticipated extension of the War.

The Revd. Gerald Dickson living at Manoharpur, the Anglican station opened in 1913 and not as yet developed, recorded in his diary his first impressions of the Lutheran missionaries on whom he called in August 1915.

August 5th 1915

I have received my marching orders to introduce myself to some of the Lutheran stations. The first is Rajgangpur, an important village on the railway. I find Mr. and Mrs. Diller at the commodious Lutheran bungalow. Naturally they are both depressed but not resentful. Mr. Diller said "I had no ulterior motives in coming to India. I simply wanted to preach the Gospel". They hoped I would return in the evening for supper. This I did and was regaled with roast goose and other delicacies. Next day we had a 24 mile trek in front of us, including the crossing of

the large river Sunk. Our objective Koronjo with its unusually fine bungalow and church. Next day we moved on to Khutitoli an older station, 20 miles to the north and found Mr and Mrs Yeshke still in residence. They have been here seven years and have four children at home. Very kindly they have arranged that I or my successor should have the use of everything we needed in the bungalow.

At supper Mr. Yeshke said it was not easy to carry on with a salary of only Rs.140/- per month. I remarked that I had always heard that the German wives were such good housekeepers that they were worth Rs.100/- a month to their husbands. To this she made a reply "Oh, but I am not a German, I am Dutch". Hereupon Yeshke broke in "Well, I am a German and I am proud of it."

On the return journey we halted at Koronjo for the Sunday. Since Mr. Klein left there is no resident pastor in this station. The pastoral work is carried on by the Candidat Marmasih and the educational work by Obed, the attractive Headmaster of the Middle English school. At their request I preached at the morning service. The hymns whether of penitence or praise, were sung in most hearty fashion, all sitting. A question about Holy Communion elicited the strange fact that the last Communion Service was on Good Friday.

November 14th 1915

Mrs. Yeshke has written to me asking me to sell off all her goods and let her have the cash. This is not possible at present so I sent off a cheque for Rs.100/- which I hope to recover later. To my surprise I found that the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr McLeod Smith has installed himself in the Mission bungalow at Khuntitoli

November 20th 1915

The Lutheran Indian pastor at Kinkel would like to throw in his lot with us but he said the Anglican doctrine of predestination was to him something of a stumbling block. The two brothers, August and Adolph John, were stationed here, each in his own bungalow. The younger, Adolph, used to work in leather before coming to India and the excellence of his chairs showed that he had not forgotten his craft. Of the elder brother the only thing I was told was that he usually got ill when the mangoes in his garden got ripe.

Dr. K.W.S.Kennedy was able to adapt himself quickly to the situation in Govindpur. In his report he commented:

The medical work brought me into close and friendly relations with the Lutheran Christians at once, and from that point of view having to use our veranda as a dispensary had its advantages. There was a friendly informality about it. However, since I obtained a Dispenser I have moved the work over to a vacant room built on the end of the church. I am getting the discarded wooden operating table from Murhu so as to deal with the cases that cannot or will not go to hospital.

I had the catechists of both missions in for a fortnight's instruction. I took them for three hours each morning, and in the afternoon the Lutheran pastor took his and I took more separately, for two hours more.

I am also in charge of a second Lutheran District, Takarma and I go there once a month for a couple of days. In these two districts with about the same number of Christians as there are Anglicans in the whole diocese I am responsible for 47 Lutheran village schools, all of which I visit and examine, as well as 24 Anglican schools. At Govindpur itself I am in charge of the Middle English School and the Training School for village school-masters. The Girls' Upper Primary School has only 35 boarders. My wife supervises this school

and the kindergarten day school. I have formed a very good opinion indeed of the staffs of these schools and all our relations have been most friendly. (39)

The Revd. Edward Whitley, the son of Bishop Whitley, who had been brought up as a boy in Ranchi, of all the Anglican missionaries, retained the closest relations with the German missionaries. He noted in his diary during 1914:-

May 20th 1914

Visited the Schmidts GEL at Burju nice folk and little Ida very friendly. (I little thought then, he later commented, that I should be for some years in charge of GEL Burju and all Germans cleared out). On November 11th 1914 he again called to say good-bye to the Schmidts before they left Burju for Ranchi. In his report Whitley reviewed the situation from Murhu as follows:-

I have to supervise as far as possible the educational and other work of the Lutherans. There are seven pastorates, more or less, intermingled with our three parishes and in some cases considerably beyond our borders. There are three European missionary stations

in this area, all now empty. There is a large Boys' boarding school at Burju with 10 masters, and 34 village schools, four of which are boarding schools. It is a great testing time for the Lutheran congregations and a heavy burden is thrown upon their Indian pastors. I meet these pastors monthly for a conference, and hope to visit them in their villages as I go about in Camp. The spiritual charge of the Lutherans is, of course, necessarily left in the hands of the Indian pastors. (40)

The Revd.W.L.McCormick, a member of the Dublin Mission paying his first visit from Hazaribagh to see the work in Ranchi, made comparisons with the Lutheran mission methods as follows:-

During the months of September and October 1915 I was sent by the Bishop to help out in Ranchi. Some insights into the methods of the Lutheran missionaries was most interesting. As one might expect, their methods or organisation are much more perfect than ours. For instance, names, numbers and results both of Secondary and Primary Schools are all carefully tabulated, and any information wanted can be found at once by turning to the books. In their High School at Ranul most of the teachers are non-Christians. For some reason which I could not gather, the German Missionaries do

not encourage their Christian boys to take up educational work. Their system of recruiting for their ministry is interesting. They pick out the clever boys, give them free education and a scholarship of Rs.3/- a month and draft them into a special theological class. As far as I can gather, they must devote their time to their special course, and are not allowed to matriculate.

The chief weakness of their schools from a missionary point of view, is that the personal intercourse and friendship which exist in our schools between the missionaries and the boys, seemed to be totally lacking. Not that their missionaries failed in kindness or interest in the boys, but that military methods and discipline seemed to prevail. Again, the Germans are not as a rule fond of games, so their educational institutions on that side are much behind ours. (41)

The Revd.W.V.K.Treanor of the CMS who remained at Kinkel for three months from October to December 1915 found the contrast to the work in Benares startling:-

The people were unfeignedly glad to welcome the British missionary for since the Germans were taken away they were continually threatened with persecution by those around them

and were told that as they were "without a head" or were "orphans" their hostile neighbours would treat them as they liked. The work was very interesting. The people - their manners and customs very different from what one was accustomed to in the United Provinces. Truthfulness and honesty were to be found everywhere, and it was most refreshing to find the people desirous of giving to the missionary (instead of getting from him) and ready to run their own work.

The German Lutheran organisation was excellent and thorough. There were various committees appointed by the people themselves which dealt with the different activities, both secular and spiritual, which a large Christian community required. For instance: there were sub-committees managing Mission Property, Agricultural Banks, Church Funds etc while a large council met monthly under the chairmanship of the missionary on which every catechist and schoolmaster had a seat. All transfers, questions of standing etc of mission workers, all school matters, questions of Church discipline, and all reports of sub-committees were dealt with by this body. This committee generally took two days as pay was given to the workers and also one session given up to religious exercises, with an address by the chairman.

There is a great deal of religious instruction in the schools, and candidates for Baptism or Confirmation have long

courses to go through before they are admitted to the grade to which they aspire. But most of the religious instruction consists of learning hymns and the Catechism by heart.

Little of the Bible is taught, and the spiritual meaning of what they learn is seldom explained to the scholars ...

Again, business capacity seems to be the first requisite in a catechist. When one enquires about the spiritual qualifications of a candidate the answer was frequently that he had passed such an examination and could easily teach all that was necessary.

Although the Lutherans have high views of the Holy Communion, yet they are not generally very keen on its celebration. There was little respect for the Holy Table. It was put to all kinds of purposes and I have even seen boys jump upon it to get something from the roof of the church.

The mission finances were well organised. Several funds contributed to the support of the work eg a house tax on every Christian household, harvest first fruits, harvest thanksgiving offerings, weekly church collections, marriage fees, poor funds and special contributions collected from all and sundry. The people fully recognised the need for self-support in all directions, but, on the other hand, one felt that spirituality was at rather a low ebb in the Lutheran congregations. (42)

The Revd. J. C. Forrester, Head of the Dublin University Mission, Hazaribagh, briefly reviewed the situation as follows:-

In our district the Lutheran Mission work is small. Their chief station is at Singhani, three miles outside Hazaribagh, where there was a Girls' boarding school and a small primary school. As the girls were all supported by the mission, shortly after the outbreak of the war they were all sent to their homes and the school closed down. The day-school lingered on for a while, and then closed down. About half the inhabitants of Dunar are Lutherans but the school is our own. There is a group of villages at Jala, about 12 miles away where there are some 100 Lutherans. There was therefore not much for us to do here. I have re-opened the day-school at Singhani and made arrangements for the school at Jala to continue. (43)

The reaction of the Revd. Arthur Logsdail, the senior SPG missionary in the diocese, proved to be the exception, since with his narrow Anglo-Catholic churchmanship he regarded collaboration with the Lutherans as tantamount to conniving at schism. Logsdail, whose personal relations with the German missionaries in Chaibasa had been friendly, confined himself to the following comment:-

It will be a blessed day for the Church when we can all be one. Indeed, only so have we any right to expect that we can win the world for Christ. To help to reproduce in India the babel of English and American Sectarian life is the reverse of desirable. If in the providence of God we are allowed to take over the Lutheran Mission at the end of the war, one important step towards unity will be made. In Chaibasa an almost ideal state of things will then exist, for the Roman Catholics have, with the exception of a single catechist and a very occasional visit from a priest, already given up the case.

It is an interesting fact that there are only two Ho boys in the Chaibasa Lutheran Mission school to 150 in ours, and there is no Roman Catholic school at all. (44)

Logsdail's aspirations for the Lutheran mission to be incorporated into the Church at the end of the war were shared by two of his Irish colleagues, the CMS missionary Treanor and Dr. Kennedy. These sentiments had already been adumbrated by Bishop Westcott in his letter to Bishop Montgomery in June 1915, but they remained unformulated at this stage of the war. Treanor addressing his remarks to the members of the Church of Ireland and the Home Committee of the DUM had grasped the inherent weakness of the Anglican mission's position in Chota Nagpur.

He noted:-

If one who has had a bird's eye view of much of the work in this diocese might hazard a prophecy, I should say that when the war is over, if the Germans are not allowed back, and then 100,000 Lutheran Christians press into the Church, she will have to put all her best efforts into shepherding them and teaching them the way of salvation more fully. More work will be needed at home to put the pressing needs of this diocese before the Church of Ireland and, possibly, the need for greater elasticity in some of the Community rules of the SUM is indicated if the needed men and women are to be led to answer the urgent call of Chota Nagpur. (45)

By November 1915 Dr. Kennedy's first impressions of his work at Govindpur were sufficiently clarified for him to be able to write a confidential letter to Mr. C.F. Pascoe, the lay foreign Secretary of the Society in London. Kennedy, who had completed the years 1912-14 as the Medical Secretary of the Society, presented proposals for the Lutheran Mission at the end of the War which demanded immediate action if they were to prove successful.

He urged his friend and former colleague as follows:

This is a purely unofficial letter so I may venture to say that I think it extremely unlikely that the German missionaries will return to India after the war. I acquit them entirely, so far as my own knowledge extends, of any political intrigues. But if I am asked whether from a missionary point of view I desire their return or not I can answer in a sentence. If the Anglican Communion is able and willing to staff the Lutheran Missions adequately without delay on the conclusion of the war, then how could I possibly wish that this unique opportunity of giving them the full Catholic privileges which we inherited should be lost?

While working with all my might to protect these orphaned children from the dangers of the lapse into heathenism, or the hardly less sad - as we see it here - perversion to Rome, I will say or do nothing to withdraw them from their Lutheran allegiance. But every day I work among them increases my sense of the inadequacy of their form of Christianity. And this is no fault of theirs. They accepted what they were brought. It is no fault of the Lutheran missionaries who gave the best they knew to the people of our Empire when we, as a church, failed to rise to our opportunities and duties. And so ones prayers and longings take this form: Oh! that we had the men NOW who, while

helping to preserve these 100,000 in the Faith they have received, might be fitting themselves to impart to them the fullness of our inheritance, if it be God's will, to give our Church another chance when the War is over. NOW is the time for men to come out to be ready for the opportunity if it comes, as I believe it will.

At present we stand in the position of being the Lutheran rescuers from disaster and are on a most friendly footing. This makes it all the more incumbent upon us to play fair. But I don't see that it should keep us from preparing for what we hope and pray for. (46)

On the sensitive issues of Catholic Faith and Order and administration of the Sacraments in the Lutheran congregations the Revd.J.C.Forrester wrote the most articulate defence of the policy advocated by Bishop Westcott, aimed at allaying fears amongst High Churchmen in Ireland and explaining the vital importance of maintaining the Lutheran schools:-

I am anxious that our friends at home should be under no misapprehension as to our relations with the Lutheran Mission. We all here realise very fully that very serious questions affecting the Principles of Catholic Faith and

Order may quite easily arise out of hasty and unconsidered action. SO FAR THEY HAVE NOT ARISEN - Our proposed relations with the German Mission are entirely secular. The arrangement with regard to the Lutheran congregations is quite clear. The Indian Lutheran pastors will take entire charge of the congregations, with the supervision of all the catechists. Anglican missionaries will not administer the Sacraments to Lutherans in Anglican or Lutheran churches, nor will they have control over the Lutheran pastors. If invited, however, they may preach to the Lutheran congregations. If desired they will also give the pastors advice and assistance in cases of difficulty. It will thus be seen that our position is clearly defined, and in no sense compromises us in the matter of Church order or discipline.

If it may be asked why the Church should undertake such a heavy burden of secular work in such a time of stress as the present, the advantages of doing so, I think, are great.

No-one who knows the difference in tone between a secular and a Mission school would be willing to contemplate without great concern the loss of that tone. This is true in every part of India. It is particularly true of Chota Nagpur and more especially of the southern part of the Diocese, where the schools are a powerful means of winning the aboriginal youths for Christ. Were all the Lutheran Mission schools to

become purely secular, a number of converts would assuredly be lost to Christianity. It will also be a gain that the Lutherans should come into closer contact with us. Furthermore, while the inculcation of loyalty to the King-~~Empercr~~ can hardly be called a leading aim of a Christian Mission, yet it is undoubtedly part of our duty, and, it must be said, that the influence of the German Missions throughout India has not been all that it should have been in this direction. Here at all events, we can do some little thing to bear the burden of the Empire.

I am not betraying confidence by stating that the Government of India has been approached by certain influential people, with the request that no German Mission be allowed to return to work in India. Under these circumstances the Bishop has made it very clear that he consents to take over charge of the schcols and institutions merely until the end of the war. He makes no secret of the fact that his hope is that at the close of the war, the German Mission will be allowed to resume work in Chota Nagpur. With regard to this matter I do not wish to express any definite opinion. There is a good deal to be said on both sides. (47)

THE REV. HANUCH DUTTA LAKRA AND THE CHURCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The terms agreed to between President Stosch and Bishop Westcott for the support and supervision of the Lutheran congregations placed the responsibility in the hands of the Indian pastors, of whom in 1915, there were 43. All of them had graduated from the seminary in Ranchi where their academic training, which included the study of Greek, was directed by the staff of German missionaries. After passing the final examination they were accredited as 'Candidats' and appointed for a probationary period of pastoral and practical work to one of the mission stations, again under the supervision of a missionary, and on completion of this term they were ordained by the President of the Mission assisted by fellow pastors who gave the laying on of hands. On June 15th. 1915 Stosch had conducted an ordination of the Candidats, but thereafter it proved impossible to maintain the seminary and it remained closed for the duration of the war.

The management of the Lutheran Mission was in accordance with the Constitution of 1868 which had created the 'Vorstand' or Executive Committee, of President, Secretary and Treasurer, and the General Meeting of the Mission which met annually in which the 'Ministerium' formed from all the ordained pastors, both German and Indian, sat with selected representative workers from each mission station. The Annual Meeting included both worship and business with a sermon and a celebration of the Holy Communion followed by a review of the past year and plans for

the future. During 1915 it proved impossible to arrange the Annual Meeting and Stosch relied on news printed in the bi-monthly mission magazine Gharbandhu to inform the congregations of the serious turn of events which culminated in the removal of all the missionary families from Chota Nagpur. For many of the senior members of the Indian congregations the departure of the missionaries recalled the situation which had been enacted in Ranchi 58 years before when at the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny in July 1857 the Gossner Brethren had been compelled to flee for their lives, leaving the congregation of native converts to undergo harsh persecution at the hands of the disaffected landlords. The fact that during this time of severe testing no-one had denied their Faith had been woven into the traditions of the history of the mission. The leader who emerged to take charge of the Lutheran congregations after the departure of the German missionaries in 1915, Hanuch Dutta Lakra, had been present during the Sepoy Mutiny and had taken a prominent part in the meetings which had provoked the schism of 1869, reassuring the representatives of the congregations to remain loyal to the Mission. When a Church Executive Committee was formed to replace the 'Vorstand', Lakra was unanimously chosen as President, a position he continued to hold for the duration of the war.

As this point a brief review of Hanuch Dutta Lakra's career is called for, since of all the native Christian leaders in the Lutheran mission, he was responsible for the decision at the end of the war which frustrated the hopes of Bishop Westcott and the

Anglican missionaries, who had spent the intervening years in charge of the Lutheran stations, that the Lutheran and Anglican missions in Chota Nagpur could unite.

Hanuch Dutta Lakra was born at Bardih Jaratoli, a village near Ranchi, in 1846 and entered the Mission Boys' school in January 1861, aged 15 years. He met his future wife, Liri Tirkey, who was one of the first pupils in the Mission Girls' school, and who, aged seven, had fled with her parents during the persecution which broke out at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny, but returned to Ranchi when the school was re-opened in 1858. After completing five years at school, Lakra was selected for work in the mission and appointed to Hazaribagh where he assisted Henry Batsch, returning to Ranchi for his wedding which took place on February 6th 1866. In the series of events which resulted in the schism in the mission in 1868/69, Lakra declined to follow the majority of the Lutheran congregation at Hazaribagh who accompanied Henry Batsch into the Anglican church. With his wife, already known as a staunch and loyal member of the mission, he was recalled to Ranchi and appointed headmaster of the Boys' School, a position he and his wife utilised to persuade his colleagues to remain loyal to their own mission and not secede with the Senior Brethren by joining the Anglican church.

At his wife's prompting, when the seminary class was started under the supervision of the Revd. Charles Haerberlin in 1870,

Lakra applied and was accepted, spending the years 1870-72 in Ranchi and as a Candidat at Tapkara, one of the out-stations connected with Govindpur. He was ordained by the Head of the Mission, the Revd. Hermann Gnash, at Govindpur, together with two of his fellow-students, and William Huss in 1875. He was appointed to the parish of Churdag from 1875-91 and then held a series of posts at Chiur, Rani-Khatangi and Hazaribagh. When war broke out in 1914 Lakra was living in semi-retirement, but with the departure of the German missionaries, at the age of 69, he became the leader of the Lutheran congregations when a Church Executive Committee was formed to replace the Vorstand. Lakra was elected President and with his two colleagues, Babu Nirmal Anandmasih Soy, as Secretary and Babu Samuel Purty, Sub-Registrar of Khunti, as Treasurer, he guided the fortunes of the mission throughout the war.

Not highly educated but a character of sterling worth, in his later years, he suffered an impediment in his speech which curtailed his speaking and preaching in public. Imbued with principles of intense loyalty to the Mission which had brought both him and his wife to Christ, his own sturdy independent character, as early as 1916, had begun to envisage the Mission, freed from missionary control, both German and English. (48)

The Church Executive Committee assumed responsibility for the congregations and decided all matters concerning church discipline, appointment of workers to the pastorates, quarrels and individual differences between members and matters of policy affecting the life and witness of Christians. Following the tradition established by the Vorstand which required the President to visit every mission station in the course of the year, the pastors could call on Hanuch Dutta Lakra to adjudicate in any particular situation. We catch a glimpse of him in this connection when the Revd.G.Dickson met him and entered in his diary the following remarks.

August 12th 1916

Hanuch, one of the leading pastors of GEL Ranchi has come today to Koronjo to settle a dispute. According to the Bishop, Hanuch is one of the most anti-Anglican of the GEL Pastors and works hard for absolute independence. Of course, they can get that if they want it, as far as pastoral work is concerned, but Government would never give the educational work and the grants into their hands. The English missionary is much more the Missionary-in-charge here than he is on the plateau. I wish I knew what old Hanuch, aged 71, was thinking as I sat in the chair and conducted business. I have 30 catechists who have come in for instruction. I like to teach by question and answer but to judge by their great desire to take notes, I imagine the German way was to dictate the instruction. (49)

It was in great measure because he refused to succumb to the general feeling of ineptitude, which inhibited the leaders of the congregations that Lakra established his worth during the war years. This atmosphere was recaptured by the editor of

Gharbandhu Mr. Peter Hurad, in an article he wrote in 1929 when the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church celebrated 10 years of independence from control by the Curatorium in Berlin. Hurad in his article 'Then and Now' reflected on the lack of preparation which had prevented the congregations from assuming responsibility for their own affairs as follows:

When the missionaries left in 1915 they had neither the time to hand over charge of the whole Mission field's administration to the mission workers nor had they time for organising and forming committees to administer the church. It seems incredible that this vital work was overlooked. Anyway, the 'Vorstand' in 1915 appointed the pastors to their stations but failed to hand over the responsibility for the Church Department to anybody, with the result that the Annual Meeting was not held. It is true that at that time there was virtually no-one who had been trained to take responsibility for administration of the Church or for financial matters. It was for this reason that the 'Vorstand' handed over the Mission Treasury to Bishop Westcott. The pastors, catechists and workers of the Gossner Mission were left in the hands of the Lord. No leader was appointed, no Executive or Committee formed to organise such

a large church. We were ignorant of how to conduct business with other missions, how to correspond with the Government over educational matters, how to provide income for the Church, maintain mission property, prepare a budget and live within our means. We were also quite ignorant how to comport ourselves in large and important gathering of missionaries and were lacking in all forms of social intercourse. Why? Because no-one was ever given the chance of learning such things. The missionaries themselves managed all such matters. (50)

In 1916 the Church Executive Committee were able to act decisively in response to the accusations which had been levelled against the Mission by the British civil authorities. It was agreed that the original name of the mission should be adopted by replacing the word 'German' by the name 'Gossner'.

On September 16th.1916 Dickson noted in his diary:-

What is to be the future of the GEL Mission? By the way, G in the GEL is now to stand for Gossner, not for German. It has been suggested that American Lutherans might take over after the war. But they also are of German extraction. (51)

At this point we can close our review of the Lutheran mission stations in Chota Nagpur. The emergency measures adopted by Bishop Westcott were maintained for the duration; the Anglican missionaries stationed in the Lutheran centres remained at their posts and continued to speculate on the future of the mission at the end of hostilities; the Church Executive Committee under the leadership of Hanuch Dutta Lakra benefited from the experience gained in being held responsible for the welfare of the parishes and congregations; financial support for the mission continued to be provided through the National Missionary Council who gave their full co-operation to the Bishop and the educational work of the mission was conducted to the satisfaction of the Government.

CHAPTER 7

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DECISION TO EXCLUDE PERMANENTLY
THE GERMAN MISSIONARIES FROM INDIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES
IN THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL AND IN CHOTA NAGPUR

1915 - 1917

THE WAR YEARS 1915-1919: A GENERAL SURVEY

In our review of the policies pursued by the Government of India with regard to the German missionfields, we have noted the extent to which the influence of Westminster and the House of Commons affected the conditions under which the German missionaries were permitted to work during the early months of the War. Conditions which at the commencement of hostilities were regarded generally as non-restrictive and lenient were later modified to bring them into line with the designs of the Home Government. Martial Law introduced in India in March 1915, thereafter demanded that all alien personnel, irrespective of their work or vocations, should be treated in accordance with the British Government's regulations, with the result that the privileges accorded to the German missionaries were withdrawn and the policies of internment and repatriation implemented.

For our purposes a review of the War years 1915-1919 will demonstrate that the influence of the Home Government remained paramount for the ultimate fate of the German missionfields within the British Empire, and that, by a parallel course of development, the initiatives taken in London on behalf of German Missions by the officers of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, John R. Mott and J. H. Oldham, provided the guidelines on which the National Missionary Council of India continued to work on behalf of the orphaned German missions.

A general survey of the British Government's policies during the War will provide us with the setting and context within which the Missionary Councils were compelled to work from 1915-1919.

We have noted the war hysteria against Germany which affected the population of Great Britain during 1914-15 leading to persecution of innocent people, on account of their German names, the banning of German music, and the teaching of the German language. One manifestation of the same hysteria led to the harrying of German missionaries in the British and French Empires. At first only those of military age were interned to prevent their return to Germany to fight in the German forces. Although the remaining older men and women missionaries carried on their work under the conditions of strict neutrality, in August 1915 they were also interned, except in South Africa, and finally deported. The missionaries were charged with behaviour prejudicial to British interests, but such general charges were never substantiated. The resulting injustice to the German missionaries who had acquitted themselves of their obligation of neutrality, and the fate of their thousands of converts who were left without leadership, became the responsibility of the international missionary community in the territories where German missions had been planted.

Following the interment in July of the German missionaries in India, on October 21st 1915, an inter-departmental conference was held in London between the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office

and the India Office regarding the future treatment of German and Austrian missions. The advisability of the removal permanently from India of those missions which were entirely German or Austrian was discussed, and the replacement of German and Austrian nationals in missionary institutions by other qualified personnel to whom exception could not be taken was considered. The introduction of a special form of application for non-British subjects engaged in educational work was also mentioned.

On December 4th. 1915 Sir Arthur Hirtzel, Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office, informally warned the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Government intended excluding all German missionaries from India at the end of the War. The Archbishop communicated this information to J.H. Oldham, who then approached the India Office with the request that consultations with the missionary society representatives should be allowed to take place before definite policy decisions were introduced. Oldham expressed the wish that the whole problem of the German missionfields might be postponed until after the War in the hope that calmer counsels might prevail. On April 12th. 1917, Sir Arthur Hirtzel informed Oldham that the Government of India had agreed to avail itself of the knowledge and practical experience of the Missionary Council of Great Britain before taking any decisions relating to the post-war position on non-British missions in India, and in November the India Office informed Oldham of the proposed plan for excluding permanently German and

Austrian missionaries from India and the introduction of a licensing permit for all other alien missions. On December 12th, 1917, a deputation of representatives from British missionary societies led by the Archbishop of Canterbury met Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India, at the India Office. The deputation included Bishop Montgomery, Secretary of SPG, the Revd. C.C.B. Bardsley of CMS, the Revd. W. Goudie of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Revd. C.E. Wilson; Sir Andrew Fraser, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, owing to illness was represented by Sir Robert Williams, MP, and J.H. Oldham acted as Secretary to the conference. The subsequent discussions relating to the proposed licensing scheme lasted almost a whole year, as the representatives of the missionary societies applied themselves to devise methods for ensuring the loyalty of foreign missions. The deputation finally agreed to the proposed policy of licensing as a temporary curtailment of the traditional freedom and independence of Christian missions from Government controls, but, when the announcement was made in 1918 after the Armistice, the India Office attached no definite time limit to the regulations which were finally published in 1919. This last bitter years of the war frustrated the hope that the problem of German missions could be deferred until the peace, and the Missionary Societies were compelled to support the Government of India's regulations for the permit system which regulated British, Canadian and American Missions, Roman Catholic Missions and Missions based in Neutral countries.

The Council of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, through its Committee on War and Missions, of which Oldham was Secretary, maintained the closest links with both the India Office and the Government throughout the war, and Oldham's personal ascendancy with government officials and departments resulted in his being consulted on all matters which concerned the German missions and their future. The concessions made by the representatives of the Missionary Societies in acquiescing in the exclusion of the German missions in the British Empire from their former fields, at the time, appeared to be a betrayal of trust, and the imputation of the general untrustworthiness of German missionaries continued to poison the atmosphere of the international missionary community. But, seen against the Government propaganda campaign of the vilification of the entire German nation and the wartime hysteria which prevailed, Oldham and his colleagues appear to have acted in a reasonably manner in their desire to co-operate with the Government. The war-time regime of stringent controls which affected the entire civilian populations of the belligerent countries, prohibited for an indefinite period the readmittance into India of missionaries and missionary societies of alien nationality.

REPARATIONS AND THE HARSH PEACE 1919

The Armistice between Germany and the Allied Powers was signed on November 11th.1918, and from January 1919 the delegations met in Paris to prepare the Peace Treaty which was signed by the

German delegation on June 23rd.1919. The political background to these events in Great Britain was provided by the passing of the Fourth Reform Bill early in 1918 which granted Manhood Suffrage and the first instalment of Woman's Suffrage to the British electorate. This was followed on the 25th. November 1918 by the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of the so-called 'Khaki Election' which took place in an atmosphere charged with the most virulent anti-German feeling in which the demand that the Kaiser should be hanged as a war criminal and the exaction of maximum reparations from Germany to pay for the cost of the war were the overriding popular demands to which all political parties eventually succumbed. On December 7th.1918, Mr. David Lloyd-George was returned to power as Prime Minister in the Coalition Government and with President Wilson and M. George Clemenceau of France, he merged as the spokesman for Great Britain in the peace settlement with Germany.

In barely four months the Allies and Associated Powers negotiated amongst themselves, often at loggerheads, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The German delegation was given a mere 15 days to present their written observations on the clauses of the Treaty, but, in fact, no negotiations took place with the Central Powers who were compelled to accept the ultimatum which was signed on June 23rd.1919. In April, 279 British Unionist MP's sent a telegram to Lloyd-George expostulating over his moderation and weakness towards reparations to be exacted from Germany. The final draconian

measures which pervaded the Treaty of Versailles were imbued with the vindictive spirit of the victors, and included, Article 297 authorising the confiscation of all private property belonging to Germans in the territories of the British and French Empires in order to pay the claims of allied nationals against Germany. German mission property came under this head and it was owing to the endeavours of J.H.Oldham and John R.Mott, acting on behalf of the missionary societies of Great Britain and the USA that Mr. Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, was able successfully to introduce Article 438 which exempted German mission property from confiscation. In the highly charged atmosphere of the Peace Conference this article created misunderstanding owing to a tactless remark of Lloyd-George who declared that the article was intended to permit British Protestant missions to take over German Lutheran properties. The German missionary societies felt they had been betrayed by their colleagues in British and American missions whom they indicted for having acquiesced in the expulsion of German missionaries from their fields of work during the War and by Article 438 had been responsible for preserving German mission properties as spoils of war for themselves.

The motives which prompted the initiatives taken by Oldham and Mott to save from confiscation and secularisation German mission properties valued at 20 million dollars stemmed from their determination that the former German missionfields should remain under Christian auspices and be controlled by missionary

agencies. In the event this decision was proved correct. After 1925 those German societies who were permitted to return and establish their work in their former fields received their properties returned to them virtually intact. (1)

Our review of the War years 1915-1919 has provided us with the significant actions of the British government relating to the German mission fields and their disposal in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. We shall now select those events in India which for our purpose relate to the actions and proceedings of the National Missionary Council as it was called upon to co-operate with the Government of India. The particular histories of the German missions in South India will be treated in general terms, and we shall review in detail the situation in Chota Nagpur which resulted in the decision to found an autonomous church with the name of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur and Assam which came into being on July 10th. 1919.

THE PERMANENT EXCLUSION OF THE GERMAN MISSIONS FROM INDIA

The Government proposal for the permanent exclusion of German missionaries from India at the end of the War was introduced in a Confidential Memorandum from the Governor-General-in-Council addressed to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, written from Simla dated August 13th.1915. A precis was provided of Government legislation from the outbreak of the war, culminating in the decision to sanction the internment and repatriation of missionaries working in German and Austrian missions, pure and simple, and attention drawn to mission institutions which employed German and Austrian missionaries, quoting, as examples, the Jesuit college and school in Bombay and the Basle Mission. The replacement of the German Jesuit teachers by members of the order to whom exception could not be taken was seen to present no particular problem and an identical policy was suggested with regard to the German personnel working in the Swiss controlled Basle Mission. The recommendation for permanent exclusion of German and Austrian elements regarded as dangerous and harmful was as follows:-

As regards the rest we have no hesitation in recommending that we should aim at their final removal. It is impossible to believe that the conclusion of the war will leave anything but a legacy of acute racial antagonism which will remain for many years the practical question, therefore, is whether, when peace is declared, we can

usefully re-admit Germans and Austrians who will return to our midst, embittered by all that has gone before and upon whom we cannot rely to resume their duties with the sole desire of assisting the development of the country in loyal adherence to our administration. To that question we can see no answer but a negative.

The Memorandum proposed that Provincial Governments should be asked to examine their local situations regarding German missions from this standpoint and closed on a note of regret that such action was now deemed imperative -

We regret exceedingly that we should have to propose action on these lines as we recognise that much good work, especially among the backward races has been done by these hostile foreign missions in the past but we do not think that we are justified in placing in German and Austrian hands in future the powers for harm which religious and educational enterprise confers, especially among the younger generation. We may add, this opinion is by no means confined to Europeans alone. Indian sentiment has emphatically reprobated German methods and aspirations as now revealed for all to appreciate and has no wish to see opportunities given for them to influence the future of this country in any degree.

The Memorandum was forwarded to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras by Mr. H. Wheeler, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on March 8th. 1916, with a covering letter in which the proposal for a system of permits, aimed at excluding permanently German and Austrian nationals, was presented for consideration by the Madras Government; a request for the valuation of all German mission properties in order to permit the Government of India to assess the problem, based on accurate information, was also requested. Wheeler clarified the Government's intentions as follows -

As regards property, confiscation is not contemplated, as in some way or another its value would have to be made good. As a preliminary the Government of India would be glad if an enumeration and valuation of property (other than moveables and personal effects) belonging to hostile missionaries could now be made, showing its character (eg whether land, houses, etc) and approximate worth. This would indicate the extent of the problem, while as regards alternative methods of disposal, compulsory sale in the open market, acquisition by Government or local bodies, which, for instance, as regards educational and medical relief, might carry on the work; or transfer by amicable arrangements to some other religious body, may all be feasible.

The Basle Mission presented special problems which Wheeler was prepared for the Government of Madras to deal with, and he drew attention to the constituency of the American Lutheran Missions in South India -

Instances have already been brought to the notice of the Government of India, and also to that of Local Governments, in which missions of ostensibly neutral designation, eg American, are practically German in character and control. It would be necessary to see that hostile missions were not merely replaced by bodies of this character.

On July 7th. 1916, Mr. L. Davidson, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, replied to Wheeler's enquiries giving the policy decisions arrived at by the Governor-in-Council:-

The Madras Government supported the proposed policy of permanent exclusion from India of all German and Austrian missionaries and agreed to the proposed policy to introduce a permit system, quoting the Foreigners Act of 1864 (section 25), which could be suitably amended, to form a precedent. The inventory of German mission properties and the regulations under which the Government of Madras had disposed of the German Missionfields were itemised as follows:-

The Leipzig Mission

Lands and buildings of the aggregate value of about 14 lakhs was owned in Madras city, Bangalore and in the Districts of South Arcot, Chingleput, Coimbatore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly consisting of schools, church and house sites and burial grounds; agricultural land also was leased out to members of the congregations from the depressed classes.

The Schleswig-Holstein Mission

Property valued at two and a half lakhs consisting of building sites forming mission stations in the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam District.

The Hermannsburg Mission

Property valued at two lakhs comprising land and buildings in the Nellore and North Arcot Districts with some property at the hill station in Kodaikanal.

The Basle Mission

Landed properties comprising 5,000 acres in the form of coffee plantations, wet lands, gardens etc in the Districts of Malabar, South Kanara, the Nilgiris and the Province of Coorg at a minimal estimate are worth six and a half lakhs and differ from ordinary mission properties such as schools and churches since they are investments appropriated to various endowments for the benefit of workers in the Mission. The value of actual Mission buildings is estimated by the missionaries to be 12 lakhs but the Collector of Malabar considers the figure may safely be increased to 15 lakhs.

The regulations under which the Mission fields had been transferred to other Missions were given as follows:-

The Leipzig Mission properties had been transferred to the Church of Sweden Mission and the Hermannsburg properties to the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio respectively, under licence issued by the Madras Government, clause 3 of the Hostile Foreigners' (Repatriation) Order of October 14th.1915 subject to the following conditions:-

1. No properties to be transferred except with the consent of the Government.
2. No present or former members of the Leipzig or Hermannsburg Missions permitted to sit on the Governing Bodies of the Missions and all such members of the Governing Bodies to be appointed with prior approval by the Government.
3. All European and American nationals working in the missions and institutions to obtain prior Government approval.

The Schleswig-Holstein Mission presented a security problem on account of the population of excitable aborigines who inhabited the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam District. In the early stage of the War, the Government had decided to remove all the German missionaries and intern them at Waltair as a security measure. For the same reason no American missionary from the Mission at Rajahmundry, to whom the Schleswig-Holstein properties had been temporally transferred, was permitted to enter the Agency without express permission from the Agent to the Governor in Vizagapatam. A Canadian missionary of German origin in the American Mission was acting as the trustee for the properties.

Davidson drew attention to the temporary nature of these arrangements, since they were in accordance with Ordinances which would expire at the end of the war. In order to ratify them on a permanent basis, new legislation would be required. The arrangements made for the educational work of the missions continued, since the ownership of the schools and institutions remained in the hands of the Government who had entrusted the management to local bodies wherever convenient and advisable.

The Basle Mission and the Basle Mission Industrials forming the Indian section of the Basle Mission Trading Company presented a unique problem for the Madras Government. We have noted that the Basle Mission retained its German name, and although undenominational and international in character, the majority of its missionaries were German and Swiss. By its constitution the

Director of the Mission was German, and the President Swiss and throughout the War the German Director, Dipper, remained in office at Basle, sending colour to the general impression that the Basle Mission was a German organisation. The second mission field within the British Empire developed by the Basle Mission was on the Gold Coast, based at Accra, where the Trading Company, on account of the local undeveloped nature of the Colony, served the purpose of general commerce and mercantile interests. To the Colonial Office, the Basle Trading Company in the Gold Coast presented the appearance of a secular German business concern since, unlike the situation in India, the necessity to provide employment for the Mission converts had not arisen. The requirement of co-ordinating policy with the Colonial Office with regard to the Basle Mission on the Gold Coast, dictated the attitude of the Government of India and Government of Madras in their dealings with the Basle Mission. The mischievous repercussions of the accusations against the Basle missionaries relating to the German sea-raider "Karlsruhe" in December 1914 continued to poison the attitude of the Government of Madras, who had placed the Basle missionaries in civil confinement in the Fort prison at Bellary. These circumstances formed the context for Davidson's remarks relating to the Government's intentions regarding treatment of the Basle Mission:-

The Governor-in-Council has no hesitation in regarding this mission as a society of marked German sympathies and under German control. The bulk of the property in issue belongs to the Evangelical Mission, the headquarters of which are in Switzerland, and the question is now under examination whether it cannot be brought under control under the provisions of the Hostile Foreigners (trading) Order 1914. Apart from the result of this examination, such properties as are devoted to non-religious purposes may be dealt with by acquisition, where suitable and I am to reiterate and desirability of giving effect to the proposal ... to sell as a going concern the Basle Mission Industrials, the profits of which go to support the religious mission. This would be the first step towards the disruption of this large organisation. And if personal permits were refused to the German agents and suspicious Swiss employees connected with the Industrials, the general mission would in all probability be forced to withdraw from the field and to transfer to other bodies such of its properties as have not been dealt with by acquisition or to dispose of them by sale to the public It is desirable that the course of extinction of the enemy element in this society should be gradual. (3)

The Circumstances which led the Government of India to propose the permanent exclusion of German and Austrian Missionaries from India at the close of the War were disclosed in a Memorandum prepared by the India Office dated April 14th.1916, which remarked on the use made by Germany, in her Hatred of England propaganda campaign, of the internment and repatriation of her missionaries in the British Empire as instances of brutality and inhumanity. Couched in terms capable of rebutting these charges, the Memorandum elucidated as follows:-

Among other manifestations of German propaganda a noteworthy feature has of late been the unscrupulous efforts made to misrepresent and vilify the action of the Indian authorities in their treatment of German missionaries. India is far off and what passes there is little known outside the British race. Propaganda feeds and thrives on ignorance and what better field than India in which to slander the British Government, and what more likely to appeal to persons of good intent, though ill-informed, than hardships inflicted on German missionaries? But it is unnecessary to refute attacks that are patently insincere or even adopt the tone of controversy. The record of the Indian Government in its treatment of missionaries of enemy nationality is manly, honest and worthy of the nation and will approve itself in the judgement of fair and moderate minded men if only the facts are set before them clearly.

The Government's attitude towards missionaries in general, and the influence and responsibilities they assumed in India, was described in terms which left no doubt that in the estimation of the Government their importance in philanthropic and educational work was highly appreciated:

Missionaries in India, naturally, are not occupied with religious duties only. They also undertake much useful philanthropic and educational work, sometimes among children, sometimes in the zenanas, sometimes among young men of ability, often among backward or aboriginal tribes. Their work is much appreciated by Government and on its philanthropic and educational side it is helped by public funds - not in its purely missionary side, for on that side Indian money could not properly be spent. Besides sharing in the prominence which distinguishes Europeans in a country where they stand to the total population in the proportion of one to a thousand, missionaries possess great influence as a class by their position as religious guides and teachers, and the force of their personal example is often very great. Great Britain has always assumed that the influence of missionaries would be for good and, as is well known, the work of those of non-British race has been as welcomed equally with that of British subjects. In view of the great influence exercised by missionaries in India it might have been supposed that to allow those of German race to continue at their work was not without its risks. But

This was not the attitude of the British Government. The German Missions had been allowed to remain and their educational grants were continued as before.

Delineating the tolerant and sympathetic policy towards the German missionaries which had followed the question raised in the House of Commons by their spokesman, Mr.C.Roberts,M.P, on August 27th.1914, that "Sympathetic consideration be extended to German missionaries engaged in purely religious work", (a policy which not one in ten Englishmen at that stage of the war would have wished to dissent from), the change to a more stringent policy was accounted for by the methods employed by Germany in her conduct of the War.

As the war went on, there began to be a change. The atrocities in Belgium, the treatment of British prisoners of war in Germany, the ramifications of the German system of espionage, the Gospel of Hate as expounded by Germany, were a rebellion to many Englishmen. It began to be asked if the tolerance was wise which permitted German teachers to work in India as if this war were peace.

The claim has been made that the position of German missionaries in India was similar to that of German clergymen in England. Such an analogy was obviously imperfect. The real analogy lay between German missionaries in India and British missionaries in the German colonies.

And in German East Africa British missionaries had been interned. In May 1915 the 'Lusitania' was sunk; the act raised a storm of protest in England, America, and other neutral countries, and focused the feelings which had been aroused by the acts of Germany in her conduct of the war - the bombardment of defenceless towns, the use of poison gas and many other violations of the Hague Convention.

On August 13th. 1915 the Government of India announced their adoption, with the consent of the Home Government, of a general policy of repatriation for all Germans in India, except men of military age. It was evidently impossible to exempt missionaries from these orders. What would such exemption have in fact implied? It would have implied nothing less than that these missionaries as a class could be treated as though they were not Germans - that they could expect to carry on their work in complete detachment from German sympathies and in cordial submission towards the Government of the country in which they served. And this at a time when the German government was sparing no pains to discredit British rule. It was impossible for the Indian Government to proceed on this assumption.

The Memorandum exonerated the Indian government's policy as follows:

It will be seen from the foregoing narrative that the action of the Indian Government towards the German missionaries was generous and humane. Their good intentions were defeated by the manner in which Germany chose to conduct the war. At no point was their attitude marked by any taint of vindictiveness nor, indeed, did they think it other than reasonable that the allegiance of the German missionaries should be primarily to their own country. But from their own point of view they may well say - "In India who is not for us is against us", and as regards the missionaries themselves - is it too much to conclude that there must have been many among them who would have found it difficult, while remaining in the country, to act up to the maxim, well known to British administrators in India, that Christian things must be done in a Christian way? (4)

DR. JOHN ABERLY AND HIS PROPOSALS TO BISHOP WESTCOTT

Our review of the arrangements made by the Madras Government for the supervision of the German missionfields in South India disclosed the longstanding fraternal relations which existed between the two American Lutheran Missions on the Telegu Coast, with the Schleswig-Holstein Mission to the north and the Hermannsburg Mission to the south. It proved possible for the

Americans, acting as neutrals, to negotiate with the Government for the appointment for a secretary from each Mission - the General Synod Mission in Guntur taking over the Hermannsburg field and the General Council Mission in Rajahmundry the Breklum of Schleswig-Holstein field. Before the outbreak of the War, the Lutheran missions working in India had held two All India Lutheran Conferences, in 1908 at Guntur and in 1912 at Rajahmundry, and all Lutheran missions had sent representatives to the conferences called by John R. Mott during his visit to India in 1912. Although divided by nationality - Danes, Swedes, Germans and Americans - the missions were united doctrinally in their adherence to the classical Lutheran articles and beliefs. The most influential of the Lutheran missionaries in South India was Dr. John Aberly, the President of the American Mission at Guntur, who on account of his seniority and standing as a DD was one of the 18 co-opted members serving on the National Missionary Council of India.

On December 13th. 1915, Dr. Aberly called to Guntur the secretaries of the neutral Lutheran missions in South India - the Church of Sweden, Danish and Ohio missions and the President of the American General Council Mission at Rajahmundry - to plan for the relief of the distressed Lutheran missions in India. The committee drew up a general appeal for funds in the form of a newsletter:-

It is our unanimous opinion that it is both the duty and the privilege of Lutheran bodies in neutral countries to provide for the present needs, and, if necessary, the future continuation of all Lutheran work; the more so, because it is certain that no help can be expected from other mission societies in as much as they will have their hands full with their own responsibilities.

The unique situation in Chota Nagpur, whereby the Gossner Mission had been committed to the Bishop of the Anglican diocese who was responsible for maintaining the work was noted critically:-

Our American Boards know already what arrangements have been made for the temporary oversight of the Gossner Mission. In as much as these were made by the consent of the President of the Mission our hands are tied. While highly appreciating the help rendered by the Bishop of Chota Nagpur, and having full confidence in the sincerity of his purposes we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the continuation of the present situation for any length of time must naturally lead to the loss of the mission to our Church. We therefore consider it of imperative importance that the Gossner Board make some arrangements with other Lutheran Boards about its work, and respectfully suggest some arrangement like those made for the Breklum and the Leipzig Mission.

Aberly forwarded a copy of the proposals to Bishop Moss Westcott, who in turn sent copies to both the Metropolitan and the Bihar Government. The intentions and proposals expressed by Aberly and his colleagues for the future maintainance of the Gossner Mission were made in total ignorance of the intentions of the Government of Bihar to exclude from entry into the Province any neutral mission, and in particular, any American mission.

Bishop Westcott, in his covering letter to the Metropolitan written on December 31st. 1915, outlined the political dimensions, affecting the Gossner Mission as follows:-

You may remember that I asked Sir Edward Gait when it was first proposed to me to take over the schools whether they would allow any other mission to enter the field. To this the reply was the Government would take over the whole of the property and though they could not prevent another mission coming in, they thought it would be extremely difficult. The Government will not go back on this position. It was taken up deliberately and the American Mission in especial was in their minds. My difficulty in answering Dr Aberly is in letting him know the position while not betraying the confidence of the Government.

The Bishop, after taking the advice of Sir Edward Gait and Sir William Vincent, wrote to Dr. Aberly advising him to deal direct with the Government of Bihar.

On May 5th. 1916, Bishop Westcott informed Bishop Montgomery of the latest proposals which he had received from Dr. Aberly:-

I received recently another letter from Dr. Aberly saying he thought his Society would wish to take over the Gossner Mission if the Germans did not return. I sent his letter to the Government to ascertain their views on his proposal that a deputation should visit the mission this month. The Government have sent a strongly worded reply saying that they consider it most inadvisable that such a deputation should come here at present, and stating that the whole future of foreign missions of hostile nationality are at present under their consideration in consultation with the Government of India. (5)

To this proposal of Dr. Aberly we may refer to the note sent by Mr. H. Wheeler in his letter to the Government of Madras, dated March 8th. 1916, in which he drew attention to the American Missions in South India being practically German in character and control:-

It would be necessary to see that hostile missions were not merely replaced by mission of this character. (6)

THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL: 1915

The National Missionary Council of India held its second meeting at Matheran outside Bombay from November 12th-16th. 1915, when the delegates, who included Dr. Campbell, the Revd. A.E. Collier and Bishop Westcott representing the Bihar Council, were informed of the arrangements made to date on behalf of the German mission fields and the present state of their affairs. The Treasurer of the Council, the Revd. W. E. S. Holland, presented the Report on the Continental Missions Relief Fund which included the revue of the German missions in South India provided by the Revd. J. H. Maclean, a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland mission, acting as Convenor of the German Relief Committee set up by the Madras Council of Missions.

The Government order relating to the repatriation of the German missionaries was received in August 1915, by which time all missionaries from both the Basle and Schleswig-Holstein missions had either been interned or removed from their stations. In the Hermannsburg field only one missionary, a British subject, was allowed to remain. The Leipzig Mission had been most seriously affected, since only four missionaries, two men and two women, who were Russian subjects, were exempt from the order. Regarding essential arrangements for the supervision of the various fields: the Leipzig Mission had asked permission from the Government to hand over all its work to the Church of Sweden Mission; the Basle Mission was continuing to function with its

own Swiss and British personnel; the Schleswig-Holstein Mission was in process of handing over its field to the American General Council Mission at Rajahmundry; the Hermannsburg Mission before 1914 had already disposed of two of its stations to the United Lutheran Synod of Ohio, and the remaining stations would be placed under the general supervision of the American General Synod Mission at Guntur. The problems associated with the German Missions Educational work were the responsibility of the Missionary Educational Council of South India, which had made strong representations to the Government through the Director of Public Instruction. Advance notice that all grants-in-aid to German missions would terminate on September 30th, (in the case of the Basle Mission on October 31st,) had promoted proposals that all German Mission Schools' management should be transferred into the hands of neutrals - Swedes, Swiss or Americans - and if this scheme was not approved, then it was proposed to enlist British missionaries, chaplains and laymen to accept responsibility for the educational work. To date only one British missionary, the Revd. G. E. Phillips of the London Missionary Society, had been seconded, with the full approval of the Madras Council of Missions, to be Principal of the Leipzig Mission High School at Shiyali.

The Secretaries of the National Missionary Council had been appealed to on several occasions, in order to present individual cases to the attention of the Government for modification of the statutory regulations. Each case had been treated on its own

merits. In addition, the Secretaries had taken up the case with the Government to rescind the order banning the entry into India of Swiss Missionary reinforcements.

The Report closed with the following:-

The Officers trust that the Council will approve the attempts that have been made to maintain Christian fellowship with members of Continental Missions, and to do whatever has seemed possible with perfect loyalty to the Government of India and Provincial Governments, to mitigate the unhappy circumstances in which many well known and devoted German missionaries and their families have been placed.

This information formed the prelude to the Council's full debate on the resolution to clear the German missionaries from the imputations of disloyalty to the Government and of ulterior political motives which had formed the smear-campaign in the Press. One of the senior missionaries from the Wesleyan Methodist Society, the Revd.H.Gulliford, working in Mysore, was a member of the committee which drafted the resolution and in his diary gave the details:-

Sunday 14th.November 1915

After dinner went to Bishop of Chota Nagpur's room to draft a resolution on the German missionaries (with J.H.Maclean, W.E.S.Holland, Canon Waller and Bishop of Chota Nagpur). At

7:45 to the Hall we took up the German Missionary question. After the financial statement had been disposed of Maclean moved the resolution we had drafted. It was some time before opposition began. Maclean spoke moderately and well. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur also spoke temperately and to the point. The difficulty was over a sentence in which the Council was "convinced" of the general integrity of German missionaries. Attempts were made to get all allusions to political propaganda left out. A sentence expressing approval of the Government's attitude was added. But criticisms of words and phrases went on, though no-one proposed the omission of any essential phrases. They showed that modification was necessary. We then adjourned with the understanding that the group that drew up the resolution should deal with it in the interval. After breakfast we tackled the thing again. We had the phrase "political propaganda" in the original resolution; and we felt that as a result of the debate this morning the phrase and the sentence must go; but we made a try again, and I suggested "ulterior political motives" and this was put in. Other alternatives were made and we were ready after the Council opened After sundry modifications in which the essentials were preserved, the resolution went through unanimously, except that Dr. Ferguson (American Baptist, Vepery Madras) declined to vote as a neutral American subject. All other Americans voted. There were many thankful hearts when the vote was unanimous. Dr. Glover was anxious to have the vote for the good of the people of England who are

ignorant and prejudiced against German missions. The debate was in perfect temper and nothing was said that ought to offend a German. One vote on a phrase was exactly equal 14 - 14. The Metropolitan left the original. Many little bits of bye-play were interesting and enlivened a most serious debate. I said nothing as there was no need.

The Council then passed the following Resolution:-

Resolution No 18

RESOLVED:

German Missionaries in India:- That the National Missionary Council desires to place on record an expression of its deep thankfulness to God for the disinterested and self-denying labours of German missionaries in India, to which we owe the establishment not only of the existing German, but also of some of the most flourishing British Missions. The Council is convinced that their labours have throughout been inspired by devotion to Jesus Christ, and directed to the spiritual elevation of the people of India. The Council regrets and would wholly dissociate itself from those imputations of ulterior political motives which have been so freely made against them. The Council recognises the grave difficulty of the situation created by the war, and gratefully appreciates the sympathetic consideration which has characterised the attitude of Government in dealing with it. At the same time the Council deeply regrets that the

labours of the missionaries have inevitably been interrupted, and sympathises with them in their present separation from the work which they love. Further, the Council deplores that the exigencies of the war have led to the interruption of that fellowship between German and other Missionaries which was enjoyed before its commencement, and earnestly hopes that on the conclusion of peace, in the good providence of God, conditions may be such as to make possible the resumption of this happy co-operation in the task of extending Christ's Kingdom. In such co-operation lies one great hope of accomplishing the complete reconciliation of the nations now so widely sundered.

The Council commended in another resolution (No.19) the efforts which had already been made on behalf of the German missions by the Provincial Councils of Missions in Madras and Bihar and by the Council's Executive; gratitude to the Missionary Councils in America and Great Britain for financial aid was recorded and a Special Committee on German Missions in India was formed from the Officers of the Executive - the Metropolitan, Professor S.C. Mukerji of Serampore College, the Secretaries and the Treasurer, to watch the situation and to act as correspondents with the Committee of Reference and Counsel in America and the Executive of the Missionary Societies of Great Britain. Finally, sympathy and solicitude was extended to the communities of Indian Lutheran Christians who had been compelled to face embarrassments and the interruption of important missionary

activities on account of the internment of the German missionaries and the curtailment of support from Germany. (7)

THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL 1916 AND 1917

The National Missionary Council held its third meeting at Jabalpure from October 27th-31st. 1916, when delegates were informed that the position regarding the German Missions in South India remained stable and that in only one field, that of the Basle Mission, was there cause for concern. Alerted by the arrival in India of Dr. P. de Benoit of Berne, Switzerland, who had forwarded to the Executive important papers giving the proposed intentions of the Government of India, in conjunction with the India Office and the Colonial Office, to replace the Basle Mission, as constituted, by a new Swiss Missionary Society from which all German elements were eliminated, the Council passed a Resolution in the form of a Memorial to the Government of India.

RESOLVED:

12 The National Missionary Council of India has been informed that proposals are now before the Government of India for the transfer to a newly formed Swiss Society of all rights in such of the Basle Missions as are in the British Empire. The Council has no title,

and no desire to express any view on the political aspects of such proposals. Missions in general in this country have repeatedly been recognised by Government as, apart from their specific propaganda, doing "work of national importance" in contributing to the educational, industrial, social, and moral elevation especially of the more backward classes of the community. In the interests of the maintenance of such work the Council would earnestly urge that no final decision be come to by the Government of India with regard to the future maintenance and direction of Missions of hostile nationalities without previous consultation with the National Missionary Council as representing the interests alike of the Indian Christian community and of Foreign Missionary Bodies.

(8)

The Executive of the MMC met in Calcutta on July 11th-12th. 1917, with Dr. P. de Bencit also present by invitation. The Secretary, the Revd. Herbert Anderson, summarised a series of confidential letters received since the last Council from J.H. Oldham dealing with the problem of the German missionfields in India. Laying down the policy to be adopted by the Council, Oldham recommended the following:-

1. Preserve as far as possible the work carried on for the past century.
2. Accept all conditions the Government considers it right and necessary to lay down.
3. Deal sympathetically with Swiss supporters.
4. Do not overlook the importance of the Indian Christian community in regard to the whole situation.

With regard to the Basle Mission, Oldham appealed to the MMC to make immediate provision to meet the difficulties by accepting responsibility for the Basle Mission field. He also advocated that the local Madras German Missions Committee should be appointed as a Special Committee of the Council with power to act and deal directly with all problems connected with the German missionfields in South India.

The Executive referred Oldham's proposals to the Madras Council with the appointment, if approved, of the Bishop of Madras as the convenor of the Special Committee and agreed, with the co-operation of Dr de Benoit, to disburse funds sent out for the Swiss missionaries working in the Basle field, provided that prior sanction for these arrangements had been received from both the Government of India and the Government of Madras.

In 1917 the Council met at Coonoor, South India from November 9th-13th. and received the Report on the German Missions from the Revd. J. H. Maclean, the Convenor of the Committee set up by the Madras Council of Missions. The stability of the Council's provisions for the maintenance of the individual German mission fields in the 3rd. year of the war continued to meet with the approval of the Government of Madras, but the additional work involved and the extensive nature of the supervision required by the missionary staff available had resulted, especially in the educational field, in a general lowering of standards. The particular situations with problems in each Mission was reviewed as follows:-

The Leipzig Mission

Financial support continued to be provided by grants from the Continental Missions Continuation Committee of the NMC and by donations from the Churches of Sweden and Denmark; the Danish Mission had also been able to second a married missionary for work in the Leipzig Field. The ordination of eight candidates immediately prior to the departure of the German missionaries had ensured that the number of Indian pastors was adequate and it was a cause of thankfulness and hope that in this crisis the leadership in the congregations was proving competent.

The Hermannsburg Mission

The financial support through the Synod of Ohio continued but the depletion of missionary workers had resulted in the general supervision for the mission proving inadequate. Of the former

missionaries only one remained under certain restrictions; the Mission Secretary appointed from the American General Synod Mission at Guntur could only give part-time supervision to his area, and a proposal was under consideration for sending a married missionary from Guntur to work full-time.

The Schleswig-Holstein Mission

Only one missionary (Neudorffer) from the American General Council Mission in Rajahmundry could be spared for the supervision of this field which numbered 20,000 converts; the difficulties of inaccessible terrain were compounded with those of language since no-one in the American Mission was competent to supervise the Oriya-speaking field. The lack of trained leadership was being met by training at Rajahmundry five Telugu-speaking candidates who had been called in from their areas. As far as was known the congregations were remaining faithful.

The Basle Mission

The review of the Basle Mission amplified the report presented to the Council in 1916 for a proposed new Swiss-based Society, and reported favourably on the maintainance of the pastoral work by the Swiss personnel of the Mission and the native pastors. The new Society was based in Berne, composed entirely of Swiss nationals on the Governing Body who were willing to allow the Swiss shareholders to buy out the German shares in the Mission Trading Company, estimated at 10% of the whole, and continue in

the same relationship to the Mission as its predecessor. The Madras Government, however, appeared to be unwilling to sanction these arrangements and, according to information received by the Committees concerned, continued to regard the Basle Trading Company as belonging to hostile aliens, and accordingly intended to put up for auction the industrial concerns of the Mission situated on the West Coast.

The Governor of Madras had been asked to receive a deputation on behalf of the Madras Council of Missions, and a written Memorandum had also been forwarded to the Government containing proposals for the reorganisation of the Trading Company on lines acceptable to the Government. The Constitution of the Missionary Society had been approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but had only received provisional approval from the Secretary of State for India who had promised the Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, Mr. J. H. Oldham, that he wished to avail himself of the offer to place at his disposal the Council's knowledge and practical experience of problems connected with the Basle Mission. A similar offer of assistance had been included in the Memorandum presented from the Madras Council to the Government of Madras.

The Council passed a Resolution relating to the Basle Mission as follows:-

RESOLVED:

- 23 The Council empowers the Executive to approach the Government of India in the interests of the Basle Mission if desired by the Madras Representative Council to do so. (9)

A bare 15 days after the delegates from Coonoor returned to their stations, having confirmed the arrangements made by the National Missionary Council for consultation with the Government of Madras over the future of the Basle Mission Industries, the event occurred off Liverpool which finally sealed the fate of the Basle Mission both on the Gold Coast and in India. On November 28th. 1917, the Elder-Demster liner 'Apapa', completing her voyage from West Africa to Liverpool, was torpedoed at the entrance to the Mersey by a German submarine with a loss of 77 passengers and crew. When news of this casualty of war reached Accra, the indiscreet and undisguised jubilation of the employees of the Basle Mission Trading Company brought them to the adverse notice of the Government. The hope that during 1917 the United Free Church of Scotland Mission in Accra would be willing to take over the Basle Mission remaining unrealised, the Government proceeded to take measures to suppress the Trading Company and on February 4th 1918 impounded all assets, totalling £340,000 in England and £266,000 in the Colony. The Gold Coast Government's action received endorsement from the reports forwarded to the

Sir Horace Rumbold
Foreign Office by the Minister of the British Government in
Berne, who strongly recommended that the Basle Trading Company,
despite being taken over by the French-Swiss body, 'Delegation
Swiss Missionaire', remained a centre of anti-British propaganda,
since all the company directors remained pro-German in sympathy.
The Minister recommended that the Basle Mission and its trading
Company should be suppressed, and a new British Company set up to
control the concerns both on the Gold Coast and in India. (10)

THE BIHAR REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL OF MISSIONS: 1916

The Statement on Comity and Co-operation: An Excursus

When the Bihar and Orissa Representative Council of Missions met
at Ranchi for its second meeting from August 24th-26th. 1916, the
delegates were presented with a "Statement on Comity" prepared
by the Committee on Co-operation and Unity of the National
Missionary Council and referred to the Provincial Councils for
discussion and ratification. The demand for this authoritative
Statement to provide the principles by which Protestant Missions
in India could be guided in their desire for active co-operation,
and in order to demonstrate before the world the essential
oneness of Protestant Christianity, originated in the discussions
held at the 3rd. Decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay in
1892. This was followed by the decision reached by the delegates

to the 4th. Decennial at Madras in 1902, that a Central Court of Arbitration between the Protestant Missions in the Indian Empire should be brought into being. In 1909 the Honorary Secretary, the Revd. J. H. Chandler of the American Board, working in Madura, forwarded to the editor of the Mission periodical, The Harvest Field, the Revd. H. Gulliford, a proposed draft constitution for the Central Court. In the preliminary remarks forming the introduction to the constitution, the urgent need was recognised for Protestant missionaries in India to attempt through Comity and co-operation to settle on the missionfield such questions as might arise from time to time; the conviction that it would not take long to demonstrate the great practical value of arbitration prefaced the composition of the Court, which, it was pointed out, was in no sense final and was open to further modification. The Central Court was composed of eight members elected from the 30 Mission Boards and Societies, whose representatives had attended the Madras Decennial; six Provincial Arbitration Courts constituted from the Missions at work in the areas designated were provided with eight Principles of Comity covering the procedure for presenting cases for arbitration, the occupation of new territory and of territory already occupied but neglected or not effectively worked, and the transfer of Indian Christians from one mission to another and their conditions of employment.

John R. Mott, before his visit to India in 1912, had prepared and circulated to all missions taking part in the regional conferences a Questionnaire to form the basis for discussion in

which five questions dealing with Comity and Co-operation leading to practical action had been included. At the India National Conference held in Calcutta in December 1912 four Rules on Comity had been agreed:- on Avoiding Breaches of Comity, on Promoting Comity and Co-operation, on Arbitration and on the Summons to Prayer for Unity. With the first meeting of the National Missionary Council in 1914 delegates acceded to the request from the Court of Arbitration that the Council should take over its duties. The time had also arrived for a restatement of the principles of Comity, and the Council asked its Committee on Co-operation and Unity to draft a Comprehensive Statement on Comity among Missions in India, which was presented for discussion in detail at the Council's second meeting at Matheran in 1915, and then forwarded to the Provincial Councils for ratification. (11)

The anomaly presented by the Church of England in India, whereby the names of the two Anglican missionary societies, the CMS and the SPG, were omitted from the official list of 30 Mission Boards and Societies sponsoring the Court of Arbitration, while, at the same time, two representatives were appointed to the Board of Arbitration - Bishop Henry Whitehead for SPG and Canon E. Sell of Madras for CMS - demonstrated the acute tension existing at the turn of the century between the Episcopal Synod

of the Church and the Missionaries at work in the field. The decision of the Synod regarding relations with other Christian bodies in India was recorded in the meeting of 1900 under the presidency of the Metropolitan, Bishop J.E.C.Welldon, as follows:

Tuesday 16th. January 1900

The Synod resumed the consideration of territorial agreements between different Missions (from the previous day). The Bishop of Madras (R.Whitehead) moved two resolutions which were passed in the following form, one member voting against the second resolution:-

RESOLVED:

- (a) No 10. In view of difficulties which have arisen from territorial agreements made between different missionary bodies, that the Synod holds that all members of the Church of England (in India) whether European or Indian, wherever they may be, have a right to the ministrations of the Church to which they belong, and that it is the duty of all Christian Congregations to be centres of missionary activity.
- (b) That therefore, while commending the spirit of the policy in accordance with which the Missions of different Christian bodies have endeavoured to avoid coming into collision with one another, the Synod deprecates any such territorial agreements in the future.

On the following day, January 17th, the Synod constituted in accordance with Resolution 40 of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 a Committee "to watch the opportunities of united prayer and united conference between representatives of different Christian Bodies and to give counsel where counsel may be asked in this matter".

A Pastoral letter drafted by the Metropolitan and addressed to all members of the Church in the Province disclosed the caution which characterised the Bishops' attitude towards co-operation, in the following terms:-

UNITY As Bishops of the Church we pray for visible Unity, but we pray with no less earnestness for sympathy and charity. The path of Christian Unity lies not so much in ignoring or disguising differences as in looking steadfastly at points of agreement We therefore heartily invite our fellow Christians of all denominations to join with us for Christ's sake in the fellowship of good works, in the cultivation of a charitable and sympathetic spirit throughout the Christian world and in United Prayer for these Sacred Ends.

The Synod of 1904 meeting under the Presidency of the Metropolitan, Bishop Reginald Copleston, came out strongly against the Board of Arbitration:-

RESOLUTION 21: Resolved: That the Synod does not view with favour the proposal for the Establishment of a Board of Arbitration which was put forward by the Decennial Conference of Missionaries held at Madras in December 1902.

Meeting in January 1908, the year of the Pan-Anglican Congress and the 5th. Lambeth Conference, the Synod was able to reach a decision encouraging co-operative action with other Christian denominations:-

RESOLUTION 23: Resolved: That the Synod earnestly desire to encourage and further by all means in their power the friendly co-operation and brotherly union of members of the Church of England with Christians of other denominations in all matters in which united action is possible without violation of principles.

They are most thankful to Almighty God for the advance in Christian fellowship which has been made in recent years, and they call upon all, both clergy and laity, to welcome every opportunity by which that fellowship can be promoted.

With regard to Intercommunion or of any occasional acts which are intended to encourage it:-

The Synod of this Province must be guided by such decisions as may be come to by the Lambeth Conference and cannot dissociate themselves in this matter from the action of the whole Anglican Communion.

They earnestly counsel the spirit of patience in dealing with this great subject and strongly deprecate any acts which might tend to create dissension within the Church of England herself in the effort to promote union with other bodies.

(12)

The lead given by the 1908 Lambeth Conference, which initiated discussions on possibilities of reunion with the Orthodox Churches, the Church of Sweden, the Unitas Fratrum, and in 1910 encouraged the National Council of Congregational Churches in the USA to commence fraternal discussions on Church unity, provided the principles needed for the leaders of the Church of England in India to take their full share in the negotiations which brought into being the National Christian Council in 1914.

Bishop Westcott had attended the Decennial Conference at Madras in 1902 as a delegate of SPG, had acted as Convenor of the permanent committee on Industrial Relations which had been constituted to develop co-operation amongst missions promoting

industrial schools; he had been a member of the Episcopal Synod of 1908, and had attended the 5th. Lambeth Conference. With the Metropolitans, Bishop Coppleston in 1912 and Bishop Lefroy in 1914, he had been a member of the Interim Committee and subsequently had been elected as a member of the Executive of the National Missionary Council. With the formation of the Provincial Council of Missions in Bihar he was appointed Vice-President, and one of the three representatives to the National Missionary Council.

We have included this excursus on the relations of the Church of England in India with other Christian missions working, for the most part, outside the large Presidential cities in clearly defined geographical areas, in view of the problems relating to Comity, Co-operation and Church Unity, which the Bihar Representative Council of Missions was called upon to resolve at the end of the war when Bishop Westcott made his proposal that the Anglican and Lutheran missions in Chota Nagpur should unite. At the meeting of the Council in 1916 this proposal had not yet been formulated, but the representation of the Anglican and Lutheran Missions at the Council will demonstrate the circumstances which prompted the Bishop to entertain this solution. The elected representatives from the Anglican mission were the Bishop and the Revd. E. H. Whitley, the only SPG missionary born and brought up in Chota Nagpur but educated and ordained in England; co-opted members were Miss M. E. Whitaker, the Principal of the Girls' High School in Ranchi representing

Education, and Dr. K.M.S. Kennedy representing Medical Missions. Out of the four Indian Christians who were members, the headmaster of the High School in Hazaribagh, the Revd. Pritam Singh MA, represented the Indian Church. The Ministerium of the Lutheran Mission in consultation with the Bishop had appointed as their representatives the Revd. R. Gee, the Principal of Bishop's College and Acting Principal of the Lutheran High School in Rancho, and Babu Nirmal Soy, the Secretary of the Church Executive Committee, which had replaced the Board of the Mission. The Anglican delegates numbered six of whom Whitley, Kennedy and Gee were involved in supervision of Lutheran stations and institutions.

The anxiety and disquietude of many members of the Catholic party in the Church of England over participation in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference was illustrated in Ranchi by the official withdrawal from Membership of the Council by the Dublin University Mission; equally, the anomaly of the Anglican position over the Board of Arbitration of 1902 was reproduced when Forrester, the Head of the DUM, was co-opted on the Council in the interests of Higher Education, since St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh, being the only Christian College in the Province, it was desirable that a member of the staff should be included.

The sole member of the Lutheran Mission who was fluent enough in English to take part in the proceedings was Babu Nirmal Soy, no ordained pastor being able to fulfil this requirement. The

disparity in education and status between the Anglican delegates and the one Lutheran representative to the Council in 1915 encouraged the supposition that despite the overwhelming disproportion in the size of the two missions, the Anglican proposal of a union of the missions would be acceptable to the Lutherans. That this proved to be a misreading of the relations between the two missions, resulting in the total rejection of the proposal, we shall in due course relate. Our present concern with the proceedings of the Council is the acceptance of the principle of Arbitration by the delegates from the missions working in Bihar, and we turn now to the review of the 1916 agenda.

The Statement on Comity among Missions in Bihar and Orissa was presented by the Secretary, the Revd. A.E. Collier, and after discussion involving one minor amendment, the document was adopted 'in toto'. In view of the decisive role the Council was called upon to play in 1918 and 1919 over the future of the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur. We shall present the clauses from the Statement dealing with Arbitration which provided guidelines and principles for action as follows:-

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION: It is agreed:-

1. That the principle of arbitration should be applied as widely as possible between missions, provided that the fundamental principles of the ecclesiastical bodies concerned be not thereby called in question.
2. That Provincial Councils should be ready to act in the matter of arbitration and conciliation and should make arrangements by which those matters can be dealt with between the Sessions of the Council.

4. That a Provincial Council should arbitrate only when any case is referred to it by the official representatives of both the Missions involved in any dispute.
7. That a Provincial Council may seek the aid of the National Missionary Council in any matter affecting arbitration between Missions.

Under Section 2: TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS, co-operation was limited to institutions which could form the basis for united action. Clause 4 provided guidance as follows:

That in areas where different missions are at work in close proximity to each other and under circumstances that are conducive to co-operative efforts, the different Missions should from time to time consult with one another as to the possibility of co-operation in institutional work (educational, medical, industrial etc) and no institutional work likely to affect the work of another mission should be initiated without consultation, and if possible agreement, with the missionary organisations occupying the same area.

In assessing the importance of this Statement on Comity adopted by the National Missionary Council and the Provincial Councils in India in 1916 it should be noted that the document was a worthy one and served as a model for mission councils in other countries. It laid down specific rules for arbitration and conciliation, territorial arrangements, transfer of mission

workers and Church members, common salary scales for workers and employees. Above all it emphasised that Comity basically consisted in the closest possible consultation between missions in order to provide co-operative efforts for the evangelisation of India. Only over the question of common worship and church order was the Statement restricted by the outlook of the Church of England representatives. The first draft prepared in 1915 had contained sentences encouraging missions and churches to recognise each other's ministry and to acknowledge each other's membership as a preparation for a federation or a union of different churches. Bishop Henry Whitehead of Madras had objected to this paragraph and it was deleted in the 1916 Statement. In due course we shall see that the proposal made by Bishop Westcott for a union of the Anglican and Lutheran missions in Chota Nagpur in 1919 foundered on this very principle to which Bishop Whitehead had objected - the mutual recognition of episcopal and non-episcopal ministries in their Lutheran and Anglican missions. It should be noted that not until 1947 was it proved possible to unite episcopal and non-episcopal ministries in the United Church of South India on a basis with which many Anglicans could not agree, and only with the formation of the United Church of North India in 1970 was the question of an episcopal ministry in a United Church finally resolved. In neither instance was any Lutheran mission or church involved in negotiations for unity.

We have already noted that the crisis in the Lutheran Mission, and the repatriation and internment of the German Missionaries, had prevented the Council meeting in 1915. When Bishop Westcott presented his report on the German Missions the majority of delegates were visiting Chota Nagpur for the first time, having had no previous contact or concern with the area and its problems. The Bishop apprised them of the arrangements made for the welfare of the German Missions, both the Ganges and the Chota Nagpur fields, as follows:-

It is just a year since a change in Government policy led to the removal of the German missionaries of the Gossner Mission and I assumed partial charge of the work. Some account of what has been done during the past year is due to those who have so generously supported me in maintaining the activities of the Mission as far as possible. The task that I undertook was threefold: Firstly to maintain the Educational Work. Secondly to afford such advise, counsel and spiritual help as I could. Thirdly to render such financial aid as appeared necessary.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

At the present time this comprises 267 schools of every grade from the High English School to the village infant school. I have been very fortunate in securing men to conduct the High School and it has been maintained, I think, without any diminution of efficiency. The number of boarders

has been well maintained though the fees were raised by the Lutheran Missionaries before they left. Of the five Middle English Schools, the staff of two was pronounced by the Inspector to be below the requisite standard but this defect has been remedied. One Middle School in Purulia has been reduced to Upper Primary standard. The school had never gained Government recognition and the staff was wholly inadequate for the work of a secondary school. The Training Class for Female Teachers had been amalgamated with that of our own Mission before the German Missionaries left and the arrangement has worked well. The students live in their own hostel in the Lutheran Compound attending the class as day scholars. The Training Class for Male Teachers has been maintained at Govindpur and has secured excellent results. One or two of the small village schools have been closed as the number attending were not sufficient to justify the expenditure of Government money upon them. The staff of teachers has worked loyally and well.

The Bishop gave a resume of the Pastoral work which had been entrusted to the Ministerium who had formed the Church Executive Committee in March 1916. Bible classes for pastors and summer schools for teachers had been organised in different centres and the Anglican missionaries had attended the District Panchayats. The Bishop closed his report, emphasising that no single Lutheran had been received into the Anglican church since the German missionaries had left, exceptions to this rule being Lutheran girls who had married Anglicans.

In presenting the Financial Statements for perusal by the delegates the Government Educational Grants were seen to total Rs.45,000/- expended on salaries to teachers and grants to hostels; the fund subsidised by the appeal made by the National Missionary Council for the Gossner Mission included Rs.8,000/- contributed by the NMC and Rs.6,000/- from the American Lutheran Mission at Guntur - the total expenditure for pastors and catechists' salaries amounting to Rs.16,000/- out of a total income of Rs.20,000/-. The Bishop's own discretionary Fund subsidised by donations sent out by SPG totalled Rs.18,000/- of which Rs.12,000/- covered allowances and salaries to missionaries, including the purchase of two horses and traps at a cost of Rs.335/-. The Bishop explained the unique arrangement whereby of the 20 Lutheran stations seven had been occupied by Anglican missionaries of either CMS or SPG, who continued to be paid by their Societies, and the remaining stations received monthly visits.

In the Bihar section of the Gossner Mission, situated in the Ganges Valley, the greater part of the work had been closed down. The only members of the Mission exempt from internment were Messrs.Lorbeer, father and son, who were naturalised British subjects, and who had removed to Ghazipur in the United Provinces where they were later joined by Mr.Winkler who was a Russian national. In September 1915, the Bishop had requested Dr. Campbell, President of the Bihar Council, and the Revd.Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the National Council, to visit Mr.Lorbeer

and advise on the finances of the stations; their recommendations had since been acted upon. The state of the Girls' Orphanage belonging to the Ganges Mission at Chaprah, left without supervision, had been brought to the notice of the Revd. A.E. Collier, the Bihar Secretary, who had found a lady to supervise the orphanage for the period of the war. To date, however, no reply had been received to this offer.

The Bishop closed his report with a reference to the Tana Movement, a local event amongst the tribals in Chota Nagpur which had acquired notoriety on account of the German missionaries being accused in the press of being the putative instigators. The Bishop's own investigations into the canards levelled against the German missionaries at the outbreak of the War had proved them similarly to be totally baseless:

I cannot conclude without some reference to the malicious anonymous charges which have been made against the German missionaries lately working in Chota Nagpur, for which every patriotic Englishman who values the national reputation for fair play must feel utterly ashamed. A movement developed during the past year amongst the Oraons, one of the tribes inhabiting the Ranchi Plateau. It was a movement largely agrarian in origin though it also contained a religious element. Because in the "mantras" used there occurred pro-German sentiments some persons at once inferred that it must have been the product of a seditious propaganda on the

the part of the German Missionaries. There was absolutely no proof of this and the Government repudiated the suggestion, as did also our own missionaries who had carefully studied the matter. Dissatisfaction with legal decisions rejecting the claims of the agitators and the rumours of German successes were quite enough to account for these sentiments, without attributing to German Missionaries a part in an anti-Christian movement in an area in which only two of their 21 stations are situated, and which originated in villages 15 miles from the nearest Mission Station.

The Bishop presented the result of his own investigations into the charges against the German Missionaries in Chota Nagpur which had received general credence after the outbreak of the War as follows:-

Three charges were made: First that in all their schools they had pictures of the German Emperor. I replied at the outside that not more than 20 such pictures would be likely to be found, but enquiry showed me that there was but one and that in the Ranchi school where it had been placed under special circumstances. (We have already noted that this portrait was not one of the Kaiser but a portrait of Gossner's friend and patron, King Frederick William IV, presented to the High School in 1908 together with a portrait of Count Bismarck by Herr Brunning of Calcutta).

Next they were accused of having used as a text book in their schools a Mundari book inculcating disloyalty. The book in question has never been used in any school, nor does it inculcate disloyalty but was an appeal to Mundas to seek education. And lastly they were charged with having prayed regularly for the German Emperor in their public services, whereas the truth is that no such prayer is included in their liturgies but one for the King Emperor and those in authority under him in this land, which is regularly used.

If the German missionaries are to be excluded from their work in India, at least let this policy be based on the exigencies of the international situation and not on false charges made against men whose record in India has been that of devoted Christian Missionaries. (14)

Bishop Westcott makes his proposals for the permanent control of the Lutheran Mission: March - July 1916

Significant events in the situation in Chota Nagpur regarding the supervision of the Lutheran Mission and its future relate to the 2nd.Meeting of the Bihar Council of Missions held in August 1916, and the 4th.Meeting of the National Missionary Council of India held at Coonoor in November 1917. The acceptance by the delegates of the mission working in Bihar and Orissa of the

principle of Arbitration ensured that the future of the Lutheran Mission would in all probability become a responsibility of the Bihar Provincial Council and the National Council. Bishop Westcott in his correspondence relating to his future plans for the Lutheran Mission was gradually compelled to acknowledge this and his first proposals for permission to initiate plans for a future union of the Lutheran and Anglican Missions in Chota Nagpur were made in a statement to the delegates of the National Missionary Council in November 1917.

We have noted that Bishop Westcott had known the proposed policy of the Government of Bihar to exclude the German missionaries from Chota Nagpur following his interview with the Governor, Sir Charles Bayley, on May 28th. 1915. On that occasion he had requested the Government that a final decision on the Mission and its future might be deferred until after the war, a request which subsequently developed into the policy of the Missionary Council, both in Great Britain and India, in their dealing with the intentions of the Government over the German Missionfields and their future. We shall now observe the growing certainty in India during 1916 that the Government had determined to exclude permanently the German missionaries from their work and the effects of this policy as they were reflected in Bishop Westcott's correspondence with Bishop Montgomery in London.

The correspondence between Bishop Westcott and Bishop Montgomery from March - July 1916 is the last continuous series of letters which have been preserved in the archives of the

Society. Thereafter only occasional letters dealing with relatively minor issues cover the remaining years of the war and the final decision reached in July 1919 that the Lutheran Mission should attain its independence from the Curatorium in Berlin.

We shall now review in detail the Bishop's proposals which formed the basis for the Coonoor statement in 1917 as they were formulated in response to the Government of India's decision to exclude permanently the German missionaries from Chota Nagpur at the close of the war.

On February 24th. 1916 Bishop Westcott noted in a short reply to Bishop Montgomery relating to applications for grants:-

Applications for special grants will be made later after consultation with the missionaries who meet here on March 20th. So much depends on the future of the Lutheran Mission. Of that we can form no trustworthy opinion at present.

Later on March 10th:-

Everything seems to be pointing to the non-return of the German missionaries when we shall have to consider the whole question of the work. As to making any further application for special grants I think till we know what the future in Chota Nagpur is to be it is wiser to wait.

From March 25th-31st. the Missionaries' Annual Retreat in Ranchi was followed by a conference during which the question of the Lutheran Mission and its future was reviewed. On April 1st., Bishop Westcott drafted a Confidential Memorandum for Bishop Montgomery and the Standing Committee of SPG in which his supervision of the Lutheran schools to date was reported and attention drawn to the change in attitude of the congregations which was already apparent:-

I am thankful to say that the Government of this Province has always recognised that Missions are the best agency to carry on the Primary education of the aboriginals of this Division. I think this is a principle which we ought to encourage. By our taking charge of the Lutheran schools so as to preserve their religious character we have shown the Government how highly we value this principle. The schools are the key to the position here, and by having charge of them we are brought into close contact with the teachers. By arrangement we give them religious instruction. We are not of course in spiritual charge of the congregations. But the people greatly value any help which we feel we can give them. They feel orphaned - that is the word they are always using - by the removal of the German missionaries. They are simple ignorant children of God who are as yet dependent on the help of their missionaries. To give them the sense they are cared for and not left, is surely a work which God would have us perform How greatly the Lutherans are

valuing the help which we can give them is shown by their constantly saying to me "When we were downcast at the thought of our missionaries being removed, you became a father to us and our hearts were glad". Personally these words are a source of gratitude to God who has given me this very wonderful way of befriending these who are his children, though as yet not understanding the fullness of their heritage.

You will understand that the prejudices which have grown up in their minds against the English Mission during the past years of its work in this Diocese are being dispelled. That is one of the great tasks which we have accomplished during this period of temporary work.

The ability to demonstrate that the supervision of the Lutheran Mission was being carried out in such a way that other missions at work in the Province would continue to give their moral and financial support was stressed as follows:-

By our work we are not only breaking down opposition to us of the Lutheran Christians but also leading missionaries of other Societies who might seek to enter this field if the Germans are excluded, to recognise that the work here should be handed over and left to us. Dr. Campbell, the well-known missionary of the Free Church Mission in Santalia (and President of the Bihar Council of Missions) who was lately

with me said that, if the Germans did not return, the SPG was the right Society to take over charge of the work. This may seem a small point to you and your Committee but it is of value in maintaining good relations between different Societies working in the Mission Field.

Bishop Westcott then referred to the attitude of the Government of Bihar relating to other Lutheran Missions already working in India:-

I think you may now take it as certain that the German Missionaries will not be allowed to return. Other Lutheran Societies will certainly desire to take over the work. But there are none which can really tackle it and the Government will not allow them to do so because of their Teutonic origin. Government has at the present moment appointed a special officer to make a survey of the Lutheran Mission, to prepare returns of all its property and its value, the extent of its work and the number and distribution of the converts. They have taken over the property and the tendency seems to be to liquidate the mission in some way similar to that which is being adopted in regard to commercial undertakings.

The resolutions passed at the 1908 Synod of the Bishops of the Church of England in India and the proposals for unity passed by the 5th. Lambeth Conference dictated that any local action

contemplated in Chota Nagpur should be in accord with Anglican principles -

I fully realise that the principles according to which we must act are not a matter of concern to this Diocese alone, but must be such as are approved by that Branch of the Church to which we belong. I am proposing to take counsel from those best qualified to give it on various questions which will have to be faced as we ought to be prepared for dealing with the position which the exclusion of the German missionaries would create and not wait till the situation has already arisen and has to be met.

The Bishop closed with a reference to supporters of SPG who might find his proposed policy unacceptable by quoting the Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, Canon E.F. Brown, who had conducted the Missionaries' Retreat and taken part in the Missionaries' Conference:-

I would say incidentally, as it may assure the minds of some of your supporters, that Canon Brown who was present at our Conference said how strongly he agreed with the policy which we had followed in dealing with the problem. I might add that the Oxford Mission has regularly contributed to the maintenance of this work.

On April 4th.1916, Bishop Westcott forwarded to Bishop Montgomery a Statement outlining the problems which would require attention, if the German missionaries were refused permission to return to Chota Nagpur, together with a survey of the entire area covered by the Lutheran and Anglican missions, prepared with the assistance of the two most experienced missionaries in the Diocese, Dr. K.W.S.Kennedy and the Revd.E.H.Whitley. Bishop Westcott introduced the report by ruling out the possibility of any other Lutheran Mission at present working in India being competent to undertake responsibility for the Chota Nagpur field:-

I am sending you a Statement of the problem which will confront us at the end of the War if the Germans are not allowed to return. Everyone here is agreed that it is most unlikely that they will return. There are other Lutheran Societies working in India and they will regard it as their duty to take the work over. There are, however, some considerations that make it, I think, unlikely that this will be the solution to the problem.

1. None of these Societies is working in this part of India. They are totally unacquainted with our language and people.

2. In South India where they are working there are other German Missions which have been closed and it will tax the recourage of the non-German Lutheran Missions (American, Swedish and Danish) to run these. I notice, for instance, that the Guntur Mission of the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission has only eight men apart from the College; that they have 50,000 adherents and people flocking in to them.
3. The Government is fully alive to the fact that the sympathy of these Americans is with the Germans and will be very loth to let them come in to the room of the German Missionaries.

The Bishop then outlined the principle of Comity that the Mission in possession of the field should receive preference in taking up the work:-

If these Missions do not step in, then I think that the other Missions, British and American working in India, will recognise that the opportunity of carrying on the work should be given to us, as already in the field.

and continued with his optimistic expectation that a large proportion of the Lutheran congregations might be admitted into the Anglican fold:-

Here let me say that our talking on the work of the Mission would not necessarily mean that all Lutheran Christians would seek admission to the Branch of the Church to which we belong; no attempt would be made to force them to act contrary to their consciences, but from what I have seen of them and know, I think that the great majority of them would have no difficulty whatever in seeking admission to the Anglican Communion (I have to use the term for want of a better). They are not convinced Lutherans. They have been accustomed to a liturgical service which as far as the Holy Communion is concerned is not very different from our own. They would find much that was like what they are accustomed to.

Recalling the conversation held with Praesses Johann Stosch in March 1915 when the Lutheran objections to the confirmation and re-ordination of their Church members had been clearly stated, Bishop Westcott acknowledged that these episcopal rites constituted the chief impediments in an otherwise hopeful situation:-

I do not wish to go into details but would ask you to assume that there is no intention on my part to attempt to take over a large body of people against their will and conscience. During this period, though we have respected our promise and made no attempt to proselytise, the people have grown accustomed to us; they ask questions of our native

pastors and others and apart from the two great stumbling-blocks (to them) - our demand for their confirmation and, in case of those who might be accepted for the priesthood, re-ordination, they would have no objection whatever.

The Bishop introduced the Survey of the combined Lutheran and Anglican missions by emphasising the vital importance of stationing missionaries in the district, a policy pursued with signal success by both the Lutheran and Jesuits in Chota Nagpur:

I think it may be well if I explain one or two points in connection with our present work which are possibly not plain to the members of your Standing Committee. We have missionaries occupying seven of the Lutheran Mission stations and these have with one exception, districts of our own work under their charge, so that their work is not confined to the charge of the Lutheran Mission but also includes the care and development of our own. As you know, the absence in the past of our missionaries living in the districts has been the main cause for our small advance in comparison with the Lutheran and Roman missions; and for the first time in the history of our Mission we are now represented in the districts and are within easy reach of villages in which our own people are living At Purulia we have now in the Revd.E.Cannon, lent by the C.I.S., a

Bengali-speaking missionary, and for the first time our congregations in that neighbourhood have the ministrations of a priest conversant with their own language.

I have gone into the question of men and means carefully with Dr. Kennedy and Whitley, and we have surveyed the field on the supposition that the opportunity for occupying the Lutheran stations is given to us. There are, all told, 21 Lutheran stations and seven of our own (excluding Hazaribagh); of these we propose that 16 should be occupied by European missionaries (ordained) one by ladies only and three by Indian missionaries It was felt that this was the minimum staff which could hope to tackle the work without grievous overwork. And we all felt that it would be better not to attempt the work rather than that we should attempt to run it with a staff that was quite unequal to the task.

As to the cost of the work: I have gone into the present expenditure and that which was, as far as I can ascertain, incurred in normal times and I think that the following grants would be the minimum:-

£

1. Travelling and Itineration	240
2. Station School Salaries	1,000
3. Village School Salaries	500
4. Boarding Houses - Boys	350
5. Boarding Houses - Girls	400
6. School Aparatus	65
7. Catechists	1,450
8. Repairs	300
9. Servants	100
10. Clerks	160
11. Rates and Taxes	175
12. Medicines	<u>100</u>
Total	<u>£4,840</u>

This is in addition to the grant which is being made to the Diocese at present The sum required is large, but the work is an extensive one. At the start I am sure that we could count on a special grant for school work from the Government. They would recognise that it was a very serious undertaking to take up work laid down by the Germans at a time when the Society was severely strained. The Government are giving £2,000 as a special grant at present and they would, I believe, continue this as a decreasing grant to disappear in a fixed number of years.

The Bishop closed with a direct appeal to the Society to assist him:-

We all feel that the readiness of the people to accept us and the teaching which we bring will depend on our being in a position to occupy the main stations of the Mission:- Govindpur, Takarma, Kinkel, Gumla, Koronjo, Rajgangpur, Karamatto, Purulia, Tokad, Khutitoli, Chainpur and Burju - in what way this will be possible it is not possible now to say. But the question we wish to ask is this: If the way is made clear for us to enter on this work can you undertake to supply us with the men that we need to man it, or, if you feel that you can only undertake the part - are you prepared that we should seek help for the remainder elsewhere?

On May 5th. 1916, Bishop Westcott again wrote to Bishop Montgomery reiterating his pastoral concern for the development of the Diocese, irrespective of whether it proved possible to take over the Lutheran centres, by asking the Society to guarantee the building of two additional mission stations in the districts, in the face of competitive and aggressive evangelism being conducted by the Belgian Jesuits:-

We ought to have at least two more stations. We are too far off from the people. The Missionaries in charge of districts have too large areas to cover and find it difficult to get round once a year. The native pastors cannot yet do what the

English missionary does. We seem to be gradually getting pushed out. Even at this time the Jesuits are acquiring land to start a new station in the South East corner of the District right among our people and those of the Lutheran mission. They have but few people of their own there and it is merely the desire to cover the field and secure our people that is leading them to take this step.

The place that the Romans are now taking up is one that I have often looked at and longed to get. I fear this is now out of the question Is it out of the question to make a special effort to strengthen our work supposing the call does come to us? I wish to urge as strongly as I can that whatever be the outcome with regard to the Lutheran Mission here, the Society make an earnest effort to occupy the District more effectively. I would find the cost of the initial buildings required for a new station if the Society can see its way to establish it.

You will see the point of this letter: it is not that I think that the Government will allow the Germans to come back or in the event of their non-return to allow the Americans to take their place. About that I know nothing more than you do. But while this is an open question I feel that in any case we ought to make the effort to establish ourselves, or rather our work, strongly in the District if it is to grow and be strong. I believe that there are parts

where we must open stations if we are really to make our work effective. (15)

For our purposes it will be illuminating to contrast the equivocal position of many members of the Standing Committee regarding the Society's pledge to support Bishop Westcott, contained in a letter from Bishop Montgomery dated March 3rd. 1916, with the resolution passed by the Committee in response to Bishop Westcott's appeals, on June 8th. 1916. On March 3rd. Bishop Montgomery appealed for clarification of the work undertaken by the missionaries who had been appointed to the Lutheran stations as follows:-

In almost every meeting of the Standing Committee one is asked by perplexed members what is the exact work of a priest who is superintending a German Mission. I have tried my best to explain on every occasion, pointing out, of course, how all discipline in every direction would be relaxed to breaking point as soon as European supervision was withdrawn, with fatal results. But I am asked now to ask you if you would be so good as to send me an account of the work in the ideal sense, or if you wish, the actual work done by any one of the clergy in any particular week. You will see the point. There are always some members who cannot

get away from the fact that clergy are not needed. There are others who think that the Government ought to pay the clergy and not ourselves. Without referring to these objections or criticisms I think it would be a good thing if you were to give us the account I now beg of you.

Bishop Westcott's letters of April 1st, 4th. and May 5th. were presented before the Standing Committee with the result that "all feelings of difficulty or restlessness about the position of the German Mission was entirely quenched" and on June 8th., Bishop Montgomery replied at length giving the Resolution passed on that date to the appeals from Chota Nagpur:-

In response to the appeal for missionaries to man the combined Lutheran and Anglican stations itemised as 14 European priests, three European laymen, three doctors, 12 lady missionary and three native missionaries together with the need to establish additional mission stations in the districts, the Standing Committee passed the following Resolution:-

AGREED: that the Society is prepared to do its utmost to support the Bishop of Chota Nagpur in prospect of the great development of a mission work in his Diocese, and that a Special Appeal for this purpose be made by the Society. The Society also pledges itself to do all in its power to obtain the additional workers needed by this Diocese.

Bishop Montgomery supplied the additional information that in addition to the Annual Grant to the Diocese a special grant of £2,000 had been budgeted for and that the Appeal was in process of being printed and circulated to recruit the additional staff and funds. He concluded:-

There is only one feeling here, and that is to do all that is possible for you and, if possible, to take on the whole burden ourselves The only Mission which I think at present I should like you to invite into your territory would be the American Episcopal Church. They have a good deal of money and manage things well You could carve off some bit of your Diocese by consent of the Indian Episcopate and hand it over to the American Church; it might solve a good many difficulties. There is no doubt the Government would not mind, though I am aware that even American missionaries must have leave before they come into your country in future. Do ask the Metropolitan what he thinks of this. But pray remember it is not official The India Office have asked me not to publish the facts about your demands for so many permanent men in addition to your present staff - that is, not to publish it until they have made their pronouncement in a few weeks about aliens and Missions in India. We are, however, at once taking steps to prepare our appeal and to try and get you all the men we can. I hope this will encourage you.

The precipitate action of Bishop Montgomery in London in issuing the Special Appeal was curbed by Bishop Westcott who cabled on July 7th:-

Please defer Appeal till Mission future definitely settled.

and in a letter of the same date quoting his previous letter of June 3rd, he pointed out the complexity of the future of the Lutheran Mission which involved the Government, the Council of Missions and the Gossner Mission authorities in Berlin:-

The position as to the future of the Lutheran Mission is this, I think. The Germans may come back (Very improbable). If not, the American Lutherans will want to take over the work though they do not yet understand what it involves. The Government may or may not allow them to do so because of their Teutonic associations. Failing this we are the obvious people to take over the work and this, those members of the National Council of Missions whom I have heard from, recognise. At the same time I hold that the Gossner Mission authorities are the natural people to dispose of their work, so far as the Government policy allows them free to do so, but as to the congregations they alone can say with whom they wish to be associated. The older pastors are against us. They have been drilled against us in years past. The younger are not prejudiced in this way and are very friendly.

I do not know what the Government is going to do but my position being that the only people who can dispose of the GEL Mission are the GEL Committee IF the Government leaves them free to do so. We must not issue an appeal till it is quite clear that it is not left to them to choose or, they desire us to take up the work. I do not regard the latter alternative as wholly out of the question.

The Bishop commented on the decision of the Bihar Government which had refused permission to the American Lutherans at Guntur to enter Chota Nagpur:-

The Government have told the Americans that while the Mission is to be carried on on Lutheran lines they do not wish any change in the present arrangements. That applies to the war time, I presume, but it has discouraged them from doing anything here at present. If Government says that it must be a British Society I am most anxious that it shall be clear to all that it is right for us to take on the work. I think all the Missions would agree that we are the right people. They must not be led to think that I have been acting with duplicity.

Referring to the Society's decision to issue an Appeal as premature Bishop Westcott concluded:-

I want, as you know, if the way is made clear to take over the work, and I believe that there would be gain in many ways, but I want to do so in a legitimate way and I am sure that you share this wish. If any appeal were put out before the future of the Mission was settled I am sure it would cause trouble. I can see possible trouble in the American Church coming in here and in any case without consulting the Metropolitan and perhaps other Bishops a new Diocese could not be formed.

On July 21st. 1916, Bishop Westcott wrote the letter which is the last one preserved in this exchange of correspondence, and which will serve as the prelude to the 16 months diplomatic silence which the Bishop maintained over his hopes and plans for the future of the Missions in Chota Nagpur. In the period covered from July 1916 to November 1917, in his reports made to the 3rd. Meeting of the National Missionary Council held at Jabbalpore from October 27th-31st 1916, and to the Bihar and Orissa Representative Council of Missions held at Cuttack from March 20th-27th. 1917, and in his report submitted to the Executive of the National Missionary Council held at Calcutta on July 11th. and 12th. 1917, the Bishop confined himself to routine observations on the educational work of the Lutheran schools. For our purposes the individual reports of the missionaries engaged in this important work will be of interest.

Bishop Westcott's privilege of direct access to and consultation with senior members of the Government of Bihar over the future of the Lutheran Mission in Chota Nagpur furnished him with information of a confidential character which he was not at liberty to divulge under the seal of diplomatic secrecy before the Government itself declared publicly its policy for the Lutheran Mission. The chain of responsibility which linked the Bihar Government to the Imperial Government which in turn was bound by the decisions of the Home Government, the India Office and the House of Commons accounted for the Bishop's silence from which he was only absolved in November 1917 when he made his tentative proposals for a union of the Lutheran and Anglican Missions to the delegates of the National Missionary Council at Coonoor.

Writing to Bishop Montgomery a Confidential Note dated July 21st. 1916 Bishop Westcott stated:-

I am writing to let you know what the present position is here. I had a long talk with the Member of Council who is in charge of the German Mission question and also with the Acting Chief Secretary. I gather this Government has not yet sent its answer to the Government of India but is being pressed to do so. The line they will take is, I think, that the Germans must not come back, and that it is inadvisable for the Americans to take on their work as they are very largely Teutonic. Enquiries from Madras elicited the fact that 90% of them were formerly of such extraction.

There can be no question of confiscating the Mission property and therefore its disposal must be either by friendly arrangement or by auction. The latter would be disastrous as I told them. We must therefore try for a friendly arrangement. This would need, I imagine, some conference between the Missionary Societies, and that must be arranged by you. Government cannot as far as I can see say that the work must be handed over to any particular Society but they can lay down restrictions on the disposal which the Gossner Evangelical Lutherans are at liberty to make of their work.

The Bishop concluded with a hopeful proposal based on pastoral rather than theological grounds for the union of the two Missions in Chota Nagpur:-

I feel that from the point of view of the congregations in the event of no other Lutheran Mission being able to enter the field, they have everything to gain by joining us. They would lose nothing of that which they value.

This would not be the case were they to seek alliance with any other Society. Their sacramental teaching, their Confirmation on which they lay such stress, their liturgy, their ornaments, etc are hardly consistent with union with one or other of the Protestant sects. I have been considering with my clergy lately how we can best put the

matter before them so as to make it as easy as possible. I have drafted a short note on the subject but this I am sending to some of my clergy for their opinion before I send it home to you.

With you will, I imagine, have to rest the entering into arrangements with the authorities of the Gossner Mission. With us out here it will remain to conciliate the members of the congregations. They would, I imagine, as Mr. Stosch himself said, be largely influenced by the advice which they received from their former missionaries.

(17)

BISHOP WESTCOTT'S PROPOSALS: 1917

During February and March 1917, Bishop Westcott entered into negotiations with the Government of Bihar over the disposal of the moveable property in the Lutheran Mission stations which by Government order had been designated to be sold, and from March to May he was in correspondence with the Government over raising a loan on the security of the Lutheran Mission property in order to maintain adequately the work of the Lutheran congregations, their pastors and catechists. We shall present extracts from the correspondence which help to illustrate conditions in Chota Nagpur during the early months of 1917.

On February 27th.1917 the Bishop informed Mr.Pascoe, the
lay-Secretary of SPG:-

I have just heard that the Government are issuing orders for
all the moveable property in the German Lutheran Mission to
be sold. This means of course all the furniture in the
bungalows etc. This is an important step and it is clear
that we should secure at any rate the essential furniture
for the bungalows in the various stations to be prepared for
future eventualities. The step is taken in view of the
deterioration of the property in this country which is not
in use or under the charge of anyone I shall
endeavour to get the Government to postpone the sale of
furniture in houses that we are occupying but even so, we
ought to secure that in some of the others. Can the Society
help? What I would suggest is that we be allowed to use the
Emergency Fund we have been raising, for this purpose
instead of remitting it to the Society as in 1916.

A personal interview with Mr.McPherson, the Chief Secretary to
the Government of Bihar had cleared up a possible misunder-
standing which the Bishop explained to Bishop Montgomery in a
letter of March 9th:-

The orders as issued were not quite what the Governor-in-
Council meant. They will do nothing which would hinder us in
carrying out our work. What I have suggested is that I be
asked to arrange for any repairs that are needed and be

refunded the cost by the Government; that no furniture be sold but what we might think will be disposed of, and at the same time that I be given the opportunity of taking over anything that is to be disposed of at a fair valuation The worst thing that could happen would be for the Government to put up for sale to the highest bidder. In that case the Romans will take all the stations that they most want and outsiders will come in. I am sure that we should urge that some arrangement if possible should be made with the Gossner Mission itself. Have you thought over this matter of the property and mission buildings at all?

The Bishop referred to his meeting with the Lutheran Ministerium which was holding its annual meeting in Ranchi and drew attention to the desire for independence from all missionary control which was motivating one section of the conference:-

I have come in from tour for two days to be present at some meetings of the Lutheran Conference of Pastors. I am to go in an hour to their meeting at which the subject is to be Self-Support. I am not sure what they have in mind - the question of the immediate present or of the post-war times. Some of them are keen to become independent and run themselves. Apart from educational matters in which obviously there is much they cannot do, they are not able to do this. Discipline is even now declining in their congregations and the spiritual tone going down. The pastors

are keen enough about the business side of their work and there is a good deal of this, but it is having a bad effect on their spirituality. They are putting business first.

The Bishop drew attention to the crisis which had arisen owing to the financial support arranged by the National Missionary Council, which had maintained the congregational work to date failing:-

Money which has been sent to me from the National Missionary Council for their evangelistic work has come to an end; more may come from Dr. Nott, but at present I shall not be able to meet their bills after this month. I have suggested to Government that money might be obtained on the security of the property ... it will have to go up to the Government of India.

In a letter to Bishop Montgomery of March 15th, the Bishop informed him that instructions had been given to the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division by the Chief Secretary, Mr. McPherson, that the Bishop should be consulted prior to any sale of effects and that the repairs done to mission property should be entrusted to the Bishop. The question of the Government's attitude to the Lutheran Mission property was referred to in the last letter in this correspondence, written on September 8th, in which Bishop Westcott noted the policy of the Government as follows:-

As a matter of fact, Government will probably sell very little as they allow us to say what should be sold and what should not, and only that which is really deteriorating and so is probably no use to us either is being sold. I imagine, however, that they wish to extinguish all enemy rights in property here before the end of the war so that a crisis in this respect may not arise. (18)

The incomplete correspondence between Bishop Westcott and the Government of Bihar dealing with the request made by the Bishop in his letter to Mr. McPherson, the Chief Secretary, for permission to raise a loan on the security of the Lutheran Mission property, valued at approximately six lakhs before the war, in order to meet the monthly expenses incurred by the pastoral and evangelistic work of the congregations, was forwarded to the Government of India. The telegram sent from Simla on March 31st. pointed out that Government policy precluded any assistance for such work and added that mission property could not be mortgaged until its ownership was settled, a process which would take considerable time.

On May 2nd, McPherson itemised the grants made by the Government of Bihar as follows:-

On the subject of raising funds for the GEL Mission I am desired to point out that the Mission received a special emergent grant of Rs.21,000/- from July 1915 to the end of that financial year and Rs.30,000/- for the year 1916-17, while the sum of Rs.33,000/- has been sanctioned for the current year 1917-18. In addition to these special grants the ordinary annual grant for maintainance amounting to Rs.15,672/- which the Mission received before the war have been continued from year to year.

I am now to enquire whether the actual educational expenses of the GEL Mission are fully met by these Government grants.

McPherson also enquired whether Lutheran pastors and catechists were being employed in the schools as teachers, since it might be permissable to make a special grant for allowances to such pastor-teachers, on the ground that it would be a serious loss to the schools if these men left on account of their remuneration as pastors being seriously curtailed.

The Bishop's reply on May 3rd. stated that no pastors were engaged in educational work and that only a small number of catechists since the outbreak of the war had taken up work as teachers, but, being untrained, their service in the schools was considered to be of small educational value that the Bishop was not justified in using part of the educational grant for their support. On May 4th. the Bishop proposed an alternative method of

raising money which included the significant comments on the ownership of the property and its disposal:-

My only object is to secure that any money which is given for the work of carrying on the Lutheran Mission should be a charge on the property of that Mission. Would it be possible for Government to give a guarantee that any sum so advanced with the addition of reasonable interest - say five percent should be a charge on the Estate when it is finally disposed of. I understand that there is no question that at present the property does belong to the German Missionary Society, and that Government does not mean to confiscate it, but that it is most unlikely that it will return into the hands of the German Missionary Society I recognise that a mortgage is out of the question as that can only be given by one who holds the title deeds to the property. (19)

We have included the exchange in correspondence between the Bishop and the Government of Bihar relating to the property of the Lutheran Mission and its disposal at the end of the war since this factor was destined to prove a vital and powerfully emotive cause for the ship wreck of Bishop Westcott's hopes for a union of the Lutheran and Anglican missions. The claim made by the leaders of the Lutheran Congregations in 1919 that the

Mission property should be awarded to them, brought overwhelming social and cultural support for the pastors who were the proponents of independence and autonomy. There is a fine irony in our juxtaposition of this last letter of Bishop Westcott with its reference to the property being owned by the Gossner Mission in Berlin, with the extract from his report, written at the end of 1916 which we now include, with its comments on the exclusive denominationalism which the German missionaries has fostered in their congregations which obviated any need or necessity for the spirit of unity:-

I recognise how well the German Missionaries worked to build up their congregations. A real corporate life is manifest and parish committees show a commendable zeal in working for self-support and in the management of congregational affairs, as also in the administration of the property which the foresight of the German Missionaries had secured as an endowment of the work. While the doctrinal differences which separate us, as far as I can discover them in my intercourse with their teachers, seem very slight, there has been but little desire evinced to bridge the gulf which is so shallow but seems so deep. This is no doubt due in part to the hope they cherish that their former Missionaries will return at the close of the war, and in part to the absence of any feeling that disunion is contrary to the mind of Christ and a hindrance to His work and should thus be a cause of constant pain and shame to His servants. There is also the

knowledge that so long as the war lasts there can be no question of receiving members of one congregation into another. That a better understanding between us will be brought about one cannot but believe, and if we can lead all, both our own and the Lutheran congregations to feel that in and through the present distress God is going to reveal Himself to us, and is preparing us to recognise truth which we have hitherto been perhaps too blind to see, and to show us if we will be but ready to follow it, the course which we must adopt to establish in fuller measure His Kingdom in Chota Nagpur, the work will not have been done in vain. (20)

That the Bishop's lofty ideals and desire for a union of the divided Missions in Chota Nagpur was frustrated by the demand of the Lutherans to be allowed to control their own landed property, once the claims of the Berlin Missionary Society to ownership had been disallowed by Government order, we shall relate in due course. For our purpose the Bishop's views expressed here in December 1916 were presented to the delegates of the National Missionary Council when they met at Coonoor in November 1917, and we now quote his report 'in extenso':-

The conditions under which the Lutheran missionaries were removed led me of my own accord to make two promises with regard to the work, which doubtless you know. I said that I would not receive any Lutherans into the Anglican church during the war, nor would I seek to turn the members of the congregations from their Lutheran allegiance. To these promises we have loyally adhered during the past nearly two and a half years The time has now come when some relaxation of this arrangement is necessary. Conditions have greatly changed from those which obtained when the arrangement was entered into. At that time I did not anticipate that the war would last another two and a half years and the end not be in sight then. I was not without hope that such conditions might obtain at the conclusion of the war as would not entirely preclude the return of the German missionaries. That is now, I believe, wholly impossible.

In these circumstances one cannot but look forward to the future and ask what is to happen after the war. The position of the Missions in the Ranchi District before the war was, I think, exceptional in that the number of stations manned by missionaries of foreign nationality was very large. There were 30 such stations in this one district of which 12 were occupied by Germans and the number was being added to from time to time. Whether the Government will think it politically wise to allow such a state of things to be re-established is, I think, doubtful.

Again, in a large part of the District there has been great overlapping, though not in all of it, and small villages are to be found with representatives of the three Missions - Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic, working side by side. Strong feelings were instilled into the Lutherans against the English Mission - not based, as far as I can discover, on special doctrinal grounds, but apparently as a protest against our presence. Consequently the Christians have no desire for unity, but seem to regard the present divisions as best subserving their material interests.

I still do not wish to seek liberty to take over any Lutherans who might wish to join us, during the war; but I wish to be free to set before them unity as the ideal of the Gospel, and to see if there is any way by which such unity can be attained. Indian Christian opinion holds that where congregations have been formed, the right function for the foreign Mission to fulfil, is that of training clergy and workers for the Indian church and educating the children, fulfilling, as it were, the duties of a teaching order, to the indigenous, self-supporting, self-governing branch of the Church. It may be that in the Providence of God such an Indian Church in full communion with the Anglican Church, working in the district may be possible. But we have first to realise that unity is our Lord's ideal for his Church before we can consider the basis of such a union.

Discussion after the report was confined to the financial crisis which the telegram of Dr. Mott, stating he had no further funds in hand to support the work of the Gossner Mission, revealed. The continued interest of the Americans at Guntur in the work in Chota Nagpur was demonstrated when Dr. John Aberly, the President of the Mission, undertook to secure necessary funds to continue the work.

The Council accordingly passed the following resolutions:

RESOLVED:

- 22 That the Council expresses its gratitude to Dr. J. Aberly for the promise to endeavour to secure the funds necessary to maintain the work of the Gossner Mission, and should he not be able to do so, instructs the Executive Committee to issue another appeal to friends in India for the purpose of raising the money needed. (21)

THE EDUCATIONAL REPORTS FROM THE LUTHERAN SCHOOLS: 1916 AND 1917

We have noted that Bishop Westcott in the meetings of the Councils of Missions, both the Bihar and Orissa Representative Council and the National Council, held during 1916 and 1917 confined himself to the educational work which the Government of

Bihar had entrusted to him and for which the Government held him responsible for the disbursement of the grants awarded to the Lutheran Mission schools. Bishop Westcott through the arrangements he had made for the supervision of the educational department of the Lutheran Mission by placing his missionary staff in the key institutions and stations was able to give delegates a satisfactory account of the work he had undertaken.

(22)

We turn now to a review of the reports submitted by the missionaries who were seconded for work amongst the Lutherans:-

The Revd. R. Gee in the GEL Mission High School, Ranchi

On May 31st. 1916, I arrived with my wife from Bishop's College, Calcutta to take over the charge of the school. The school reopened after the summer holidays on June 3rd. On the Saturday following the new hostel was formally opened by the Honourable Mr Maude, Officiating Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa. On the Government requirement of 60 square feet of floor space for each boy, each room accommodates 21 boys, that is 126 in all. The remainder of our number, 156 boys, have to be accommodated in the two large rooms of the old hostel. Other rooms set free in the old hostel are now occupied by boys of the Training Class and the Industrial Class who attend the Government Guru

Training School and the Government Industrial School. The hostel cost roughly Rs.30,000/- of which Government contributed three quarters and the German missionaries a quarter.

When the Anglican Mission took charge of the school in August 1915 the number of boys on the roll was 255: 154 Boarders; 101 Day-boys. In August 1916 the numbers had increased to 158 Boarders; 120 Day-boys We desire to open the Seminary class which has been closed since the German missionaries left. This school has a very small proportion of non-Christians and has in the past before all else been the training school for future workers of the Mission. We desire not to allow this tradition to be lost sight of and to secure this it is essential that the seminary classes should be reopened. The boys all attend the services in the Lutheran church on Sundays. The loyalty of the staff to me has been all that could be desired.

The only educational institution which had been combined with the Anglican counterpart prior to the departure of the German missionaries was the Womens' Teacher Training Class in Ranchi.

Miss Mary Whitaker, the Principal, St. Margaret's Training Class

reported as follows:

After July 1915 our work was increased by the amalgamation of the Lutheran Mission Training Class with ours. They had 12 students so that there were now 26 students in the joint class.

The transfer was much facilitated by the generous and helpful attitude of Miss Hahn the Principal. The girls of the two classes have settled down very happily together, and the greater numbers are in many ways advantageous. The supervision of the teaching practice has been the only real difficulty, but the amalgamation of the Lutheran class with our own has made it possible to have two classes, divided into first year and second year. This has of course entailed an increase in the work, but we have taken on the Lutheran Mission Training Class Assistant. The 1915 Examination results are as follows:

6 girls sent in 1 First Class

1 Failed

3 Lutheran girls sent in

1 girl Failed

Apart from the examination results, however, we have been most pleased with the teaching results, as the girls who have passed out are all doing most satisfactory work.

Miss Inghes: Report on the GFL Girls' School, Ranchi

Since August 1915 I have been working in the Lutheran Mission in Ranchi. I have charge of the Girls' School and also of the Boarders. The Hostel where the girls live who are training to be teachers has about 10 students besides three teachers and four girls who are reading in the Middle English School of the SPG Mission. The Training Students go daily to the English Mission to Miss Whitaker's class. I have also in my care a small Boys' Boarding School which has about 40 inmates. The Lace Class in the Lutheran Mission has about 35 women workers at present and we are hoping that before long this class may be amalgamated with the SPG Lace Class. I feel sure the result would be advantageous to both classes. I still continue to hold a weekly Bible Class in the SPG Mission Lace School for the married women. Otherwise my work lies entirely in the Lutheran Mission. I have not found any antagonism to the English Mission amongst the people, in fact, our relations with them are most friendly.

The Revd E. Cannon of the CMS in Purulia

The GEL schools in Manbhum District are for the most part small and not very flourishing. The Purulia school was nominally a Middle English School but the classes were very small and the staff quite adequate, being in no respect up to the standard required by Government. Six boys were sent up for the IE exam and only one passed, which clearly shows the poorness of the teaching. As there was no likelihood of

the school improving, it was reduced to the UE standard and in consequence a good many boys left and so the numbers during the year have been small in some of the classes. On the other hand I think that the work has been better, as the Masters have been able to manage their classes better. One teacher I dismissed, whom I sent over to Rudra, where there is a Christian community but no school. He started a school there and has since done well, and the school has been recognised by the District Board and receives a grant sufficient to pay for the master's salary.

The work of the Purulia Girls' School and the Kindergarten progress satisfactorily but the need of properly qualified teachers is making itself felt. The best school in the district is the one at Burda in which the numbers are good and both the teachers are qualified men and work for the best interests of the school. There are two small schools at Jargo and Tuta, both of which are in an unsatisfactory state and the numbers very low. There is another Primary School at Nunia for Santal Christians where the work is very fair but the school is very difficult to get at, being at the foot of the hills, far away from the road. I tried to get there but so far have failed in the attempt.

The 1917 reports include the transfer of the staff and boys from the recently founded Anglican Mission station at Manoharpur to the Lutheran station at Karamatti under the supervision of the Revd P Martin and the Revd.G.Dickson.

The Revd. G. Dickson at Karamatti

The outstanding event of the year is the transfer of the Mission headquarters from Manoharpur to Karamatti, a village in the heart of Gangpur state where Christianity had made progress. The migration was made on January 26th. 1917. I was able to spend a few days at the new centre then left for home on furlough. From then on until my return in October 1917 Mr. Martin was in charge. He reports as follows:

We settled in at Karamatti with mixed feelings. To many of our Indian workers a Lutheran station did not appeal as a suitable headquarters for Anglicans, even though the schools were in our charge and the property occupied by us. Workers and boarders were alive to certain advantages. Water was good and plentiful; rice was cheap; the compound was large and contained a small jungle, very ample therefore for games, for gardening, and for those joys of the schoolboy heart such as killing small birds with earthen bullets shot from the native home-made catapult. Still for a long time thoughts turned constantly to Manoharpur, the Jerusalem of the young exiles, but as time went on a spirit of contentment set in. A not unreasonable prejudice blinded them for a time, as prejudice usually does.

PS by the Revd. G. Dickson

Something should be added about the Lutheran work. As already indicated Karamatti is a Lutheran centre, but with the influx of the Manoharpur boarders and masters Anglicans

predominated. The day-school became a joint SFG and GLL School but with separate religious instruction and separate boarding arrangements. The village schoolmasters and readers come in every month and I usually attend their 'panchayat' for part of the time. In this gathering they report to the pastor whatever of interest or difficulty has happened during the month. He in turn asks some questions as to numbers, contributions etc enters the figures in a book, and at the time of paying salaries adjusts the accounts.

The most remote stations from Ranchi being two to four days distance away were Kinkel and Koronjo where the Revd.O.W. Stallard and his sister took up residence in May 1916.

The Revd.O.W.Stallard at Kinkel and Koronjo

From May 1916 to the end of September 1917 we have been stationed about half the time in Kinkel and half in Koronjo. During the Kinkel period our district consisted of three "dioceses" Kinkel, Khutitoli and Kondra; in the other period it was again three "diocoses" - Kinkel, Khutitoli and Koronjo. In each headquarters station there is a boarding school. Of these Koronjo where there is a Middle English School is by far the largest. Besides the boarding schools there are a number of Lower Primary Schools in each district. Before January of this year there were small boarding schools for girls at Kinkel, Khutitoli, and Koronjo. Mr.Fawcus, the Government Inspector, has advised

that they should be united and placed under the supervision of a European lady. We were all of one mind as regards the matter and the three schools were united at Koronjo. After a short time the girl boarders from Rajgangpur also joined. The result is a flourishing school of 63 boarders. Besides these, there are 30 day-scholars and the infants from the Boys' school also come to be taught in the Girls' school and their master has been added to the staff. There are now three masters and two mistresses but my sister hopes to reverse these numbers next year. I feel sure that the tone of the Girls' school before the re-arrangement. It is only fair to the young mistresses of such schools to have the benefit of a lady's efficient supervision. The union of the Girls' schools at Koronjo is the most notable event of the year, but a very interesting experiment is the opening of a Boarding School at Sarhpani in Jashpur State. Although the Gossner Mission has day schools in Kondra Parish there were none belonging to this mission Sarhpani. Some of the catechists suggested the opening of a boarding school, and agreed that the whole responsibility should rest on the local people, the Mission only providing the Master. I suggested that they should collect the fees of Rs.3/- per head per annum in advance. This was in addition to the rice which the boys would bring. They handed over to me Rs.40/- which I afterwards returned to them. Sahrpani is two days journey from Kinkel. I went there to see the site and later to see the partially completed boarding houses. The school

was started and has more than 20 boarders. According to the agreement the Mission gives nothing but the Master's salary. Three or four girls are being looked after by the Master's wife. (23)

We shall close this review of the educational work conducted by the Anglican Missionaries seconded to work in the Lutheran stations by providing glimpses of Bishop Westcott as he toured the combined Lutheran and Anglican mission stations during 1916 from the diary entries of the Revd. Gerald Dickson:-

Camp with Bishop Westcott: November 20th. 1915

The Bishop is in good form and has acquired a set of war pictures which the boys are delighted to see and which will be of great use in dispelling wrong thoughts in the minds of the Lutherans. The Bishop was most anxious to see a far-flung portion of the Lutheran work for which he has made himself responsible. Soon after crossing the River Sunk we met a Roman Catholic priest and lay-brother on horseback. They looked with amazement at our bicycles and thought we were mad. However, with carrying our bicycles one and a half hours we reached Rengadih, the Roman station. Father Cardon showed us his garden (pine-apples and guavas). It was kind of him to offer the plans for the building of our church at

Manoharpur, when the time comes. All the Roman padres have to live simply these days (they being Belgians). Their only luxury is cheroots and a little wine. The Bishop's boots gave up 36 miles from home. He had to take to rope sandals. He, more wisely, had two pairs of shoes with us.

Criticisms of Bishop Westcott as Pro-German: February 11th. 1916

I fear the Bishop has been overdoing it and has burst one of his varicose veins. He says it is not serious.

April 8th;;

The Bishop went off from Manoharpur. He has set himself a tremendous programme of work. It would be tragic if it proved over much and he broke down under it. The war casualty list is very heavy indeed of late: no family escapes and so it is not surprising that people are getting a bit worked up. The Bishop himself is getting much criticism for the helping hand he is giving to the Lutheran mission. Some folk think that the Lutheran Christians have been so indoctrinated that they are not to be trusted.

The Bishop and American Funds: June 1st. 1916

On June 1st. the Bishop passed through Manoharpur being occupied in an arduous one-man-tour of the Lutheran districts. He looked thin and tired. As the train was leaving the station I handed him a paper which told of a

Westcott death in France, probably his nephew. The workers of the GEL in Gangpur state are almost destitute, so it was with much pleasure that I was able to inform them that out of funds sent out from USA the Bishop has been able to allocate them the sum of Rs.116/- monthly. The workers in Rajgangpur were most grateful.

The Future of the GEL Mission: September 16th.1916

The Bishop is with us at Manoharpur. He is tired and must be reeling, overburdened with all this Lutheran work as well as his own Anglican work on his shoulders. What is to be the future of the GEL Mission? It has been suggested that the American Lutheran might be allowed to take over after the war. But they are also of German extraction. The Bishop would like some kind of federation with the Lutherans accepting the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

Dedication of a New Lutheran Church: December 1st.1916

The Lutherans at Ghoghor have at their own expense built a large church costing Rs.1,000/-. The Bishop was asked to dedicate the building. He agreed to preach a sermon while one of the senior pastors should be responsible for the actual dedication. Before we left the Bishop expressed fears that the corrugated iron roof was not safe and gave some useful advice.

